

**WORKING MOTHERS
IN
WHITE-COLLAR OCCUPATIONS**

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PREFACE

The question of working mothers and the impact of their work on family life was taken up for study because an increasing number of mothers are found in the labour force ; hence the information how mothers reconcile the work inside and outside the home, what factors help and hinder this task, what their views are on employment in relation to home-making, and how attitude to the one affects attitude to the other should be of importance and interest to the society. For many reasons, misgivings are likely to arise in the minds of people about the consequences of mothers' taking up employment in terms of effects on children, household management and other aspects of family life. A research study should be able to provide objective answers to many of these questions. No research study on these lines was known to have been done anywhere in India when the Madras School of Social Work chose this topic for its study.

The study was started in August, 1964. Interviewing working mothers was done during March—August, 1965 ; non-working mothers in March, 1966 ; and husbands of working and non-working mothers during July—August, 1966.

The study has been made possible through the financial assistance of the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and we place on record our deep gratitude to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. To Dr. Dorothy Lally, Dr. Genevieve W. Carter and Miss Marjorie M. Farley of the Health, Education and Welfare Department, and Dr. Ruby Pernell, formerly Social Welfare Attache of the American Embassy in India, we are very much indebted for their encouragement and technical guidance at various stages of the study. Our thanks are also due to the Ministry of Social Welfare, Government of India for approving our research proposal and recommending it for financial assistance from the U. S. Government.

Mr. P. Ramachandran, Lecturer, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, has been a very friendly critic through the various phases of the study. He went through our draft interview schedules for non-working mothers and for husbands of working and non-working mothers, and gave valuable suggestions for their modification. He also commented usefully on the first draft of our report, and the final draft has incorporated, with profit, the modifications suggested by him. We most gratefully acknowledge Mr. Ramachandran's valuable help and criticism.

We are singularly fortunate in having Dr. Sheldon D. Rose, formerly Assistant Professor of Social Work of the University of Michigan (United States) as our consultant. To him we owe a great deal.

Dr. (Mrs.) H. M. Sharma, Dr. N. Vasudeva Rao and other members of the Advisory Committee have been of immense help to us and we are deeply indebted to them. Mrs. Mary Clubwala Jadhav has always been a source of encouragement and we cannot adequately thank her.

Mr. M. Bhakthavatsalam, the then Chief Minister of Madras State, has been very enthusiastic about the research study. His letter of introduction to the employing agencies was of great help in eliciting their co-operation. And we are extremely thankful to him.

Our thanks are due to Mr. V. Ramamurthy for his efficient secretarial assistance, and Miss Mariamma Markose for cheerfully typing and retyping the manuscript.

Our grateful thanks go to the respondents—working and non-working mothers, and their husbands—for their patience and co-operation. We also express our sincere appreciation of the co-operation extended to us by all Government departments and private agencies in supplying us with addresses of working mothers, and husbands of working and non-working mothers, and in permitting us to contact the respondents during office hours.

Though this report is the outcome of team work, I appreciate, in particular, the significant contribution of Dr. B. Gnanadoss, Mr. T. Krishnan Nair and Mr. P. K. Visvesvaran.

Finally, we take this opportunity to express our thanks to all those who helped the research study in different ways.

Madras
May, 1970

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INTRODUCTION

This is a study of mothers who work. It was intended primarily to be a descriptive one aiming to ascertain the problems of working mothers in Madras city and their attitudes to the multi-dimensional aspects of family life seen in the light of their employment.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

More specifically, the objective of the study was to explore the problems of working mothers with reference to child care and training, household management, husband-wife relationship, and integration of work and home life. It was also a supplementary objective of the study to determine whether or not some of the problems faced by families of working mothers were also faced by families of non-working mothers. In other words, an attempt was to be made to pinpoint the problems that appeared to be exclusively those of working mothers.

DEFINITIONS

The following definitions were accepted for the purpose of the study.

Working Mother: A working mother was one who normally worked for the full working day (that is, 6 or 8 hours, as the case may be) in a gainful white-collar occupation.

Non-Working Mother: A non-working mother was one who was not in employment at the time of contact irrespective of whether she had worked before or was expecting to work in future.

Labour Force: Working mothers, as defined above, were considered to be inside the labour force; non-working mothers were considered to be outside the labour force.

Unitary Family: Unitary family was one consisting of the husband, wife and child (or children), or wife and child (or children) only if the husband was not alive or did not live with them.

Joint Family: Joint family was any kin-group other than the unitary family.

SCOPE

The study covered :

(1) Mothers employed full-time, working and living within the limits of Madras city, whose individual monthly income ranged between Rs. 100 and Rs. 500, and the age of whose youngest child was 15 years or below ;

(2) Husbands of working mothers the age of whose youngest child was 5 years or below ;

(3) Non-working mothers residing within the city limits who had had high school education, whether completed or not, and the per capita income¹ of whose family was Rs. 300 or below ; and

(4) Husbands of non-working mothers.

Some of the more important reasons for limiting the scope of the study in terms of educational and income levels, and the age of the youngest child of the respondents are spelt out below.

Working Mothers: The working mothers selected for the study were those with an individual monthly income of Rs. 100 to Rs. 500, who were holding white-collar jobs, and the age of whose youngest child was below 15 years.

It had been our assumption that the nature of problems of working mothers was different—objectively, and also in terms of their own attitudes to them—from one socio-economic group to another. Since it had been decided to limit the scope to one particular group, namely, the middle income group, it was decided to let important indicators of the characteristics of this group guide the selection of respondents. Thus, in the working population, holding of white-collar or office jobs was taken to be an important factor that almost certainly differentiated the middle income group from the ones that are usually placed below it in the socio-economic ladder. However, income was another important consideration. It was felt that women who were drawing a salary of Rs. 100 to Rs. 500 per month could safely be assumed to belong to this group. It is to be admitted that the limits set were arbitrary, but were reasonable enough from the point of view of common observations.

It was thought meaningful to select only mothers whose youngest child's age was 15 years or below, because the problems we were interested in were specially pertinent to mothers with relatively young children.

Non-Working Mothers : It was necessary to set certain limits in selecting the sample of non-working mothers in order to make this group in some way comparable to the group of working mothers. Thus, a minimum of some high school education for the mother and also a per capita income below Rs. 300 per month were taken to be characteristics that would place

¹Per capita income is arrived at by dividing the total family income per month by number of members in the family.

the group of non-working mothers in a socio-economically comparable position with the working mothers. (Per capita income is meant to be a rough indication of the amount of money that each member of a family ostensibly enjoys per month.)

However, the sample of non-working mothers to be studied was a very small one (as indeed were the other comparison groups, namely, husbands of working and non-working mothers) compared to the main sample, namely, working mothers. Hence, some amount of homogeneity with regard to certain important variables had to be ensured among the sample members. That is, they had to be more or less uniform in certain important characteristics. An amount of uniformity could be secured by selecting only mothers whose youngest child was 5 years old or below. Such a sample would certainly be more homogeneous regarding the age of the mothers and child care problems faced than it would be if it also included mothers with youngest children in higher age groups.

There was one more reason why the limit was laid at 5 years. There having been an interval between the time the interviews with working mothers were completed and those with non-working mothers commenced, the analysis of information thus far obtained had shown that there was a significant inverse association between the age of the youngest child and the degree of problems in child care: that is, the older the youngest child, the fewer the problems.

Thus, it was decided that the comparison groups (namely, non-working mothers and their husbands) should comprise families with children in the younger age groups (age of the youngest child being a maximum of 5 years). Inclusion of respondents with children in higher age groups would have watered down the information on child care problems especially because the size of each of these sample groups was small.

COVERAGE OF INFORMATION

With a view to fulfilling the objectives of the study, information and opinions were obtained from the four groups of respondents as below:

1. Working mothers were asked about their age, number of children, educational and vocational training undergone, religious affiliation, reasons for having taken up employment, own and husbands' attitude to employment, and difficulties that employment presented in the areas of child care and household management.

2. Non-working mothers were asked, in addition to many of the questions asked of the working mothers, about reasons, for non-employment, and their attitude to employment.

3. Husbands of working mothers were queried chiefly about reasons for wives' employment, their attitude to the same, satisfaction with home

management, difficulties arising from wives' employment, household work and financial management.

4. Husbands of non-working mothers were asked mainly about the reasons for wives' non-employment, attitudes to employment of mothers in general, satisfaction with home management, household work and financial management.

However, all the information collected does not find a place in the report. For, the usefulness of certain information became doubtful once they had been collected. Also, whenever it was found that the investigators had not interpreted certain questions in a uniform fashion, data derived from such questions were discarded.

SELECTION OF RESPONDENTS

Determining The Universe Of Working Mothers :

Since no ready list of all working mothers in Madras city was available, it was necessary to build the sample frame from the scratch. Though there is no reference to working mothers in the Census reports, the Census Department in Madras city provided, on enquiry, information on the estimated total population of working mothers in the city, but further break-downs, in terms of income range, etc., were not readily available. Such break-downs were, however, necessary for building the sample frame. Hence it was decided to approach all employing agencies in the city, and this was done personally by the investigators and by letters. The agencies were supplied special printed forms in which they were requested to indicate the number of working women and working mothers in their employ, if any, and their scales of pay; and the names, age, designations, number of children and house addresses of the working mothers. The form was accompanied by a letter signed by the Chief Minister² requesting the co-operation of the agency in filling out the form and sending it back to us.

In all, about 1,000 forms were sent along with letters. In many cases reminders had to be sent, many times over. Though both government and private agencies were approached, written response from the latter was relatively poor, but they, however, were co-operative when followed up by personal visits by investigators.

The names and addresses of all the agencies were obtained from two sources: the Telephone Directory and the Employment Exchange. It can

²The Chief Minister of the State is the leader of the majority party of the State Legislature and he presides over the Council of Ministers of the State. A letter from the chief executive of the State, namely, the Chief Minister, was felt necessary to elicit full co-operation of private as well as public agencies.

be claimed that the number of agencies approached for this purpose was exhaustive or very nearly so. All offices of the State and Central Governments, and the city Municipal Corporation, all quasi-government agencies, all schools and colleges, and all private firms and agencies including foreign Consulates and Trade Representations were approached.

Building The Sample Frame :

According to the 1961 Census there were 51,905 working women in the city of Madras. The approximate number of working mothers in the city, as given by the Census Department, was 24,000. This gives an approximate ratio of 2 : 1 between total working women and total working mothers.

The data collected by the research team on the number of working women and working mothers in the city showed that there were nearly 12,900 working women in the city drawing a salary from Rs. 100 to Rs. 500, and that out of these, nearly 6,000 were mothers. Again, this gives an approximate ratio of 2 : 1 between working women and working mothers in the income range of Rs. 100 — 500.

Thus, the figure of 6,000 working mothers was adopted as the universe of the study. Eight hundred or nearly 13.33 per cent of the total working mothers within the income group specified, and 3.33 per cent of all working mothers in the city were selected as sample for the study. It must be admitted no other special reason than that 800 was a big enough number but not an unwieldy one guided our deciding on this number.

Sub-Groups : It was decided to give representation in the sample to all types of employing agencies on the basis of the relative size of each type. Taking 6,000 as the size of the universe, 800 as the size of the sample and the type of employing agency as sub-group, it was intended that the size of the sample from any sub-group should be in the same proportion to the size of the entire sample, as the size of the sub-group itself was to the size of the universe. However, it turned out that the sizes of some of the sub-group samples were disproportionately larger, because of the fact that in some sub-groups there was a variety of further sub-categories (or sub-sub-categories, to be more precise) each of which had also to be represented. One such sub-group was the State Government which included such disparate categories of employees as hospital staff, college lecturers and ministerial staff. Since a sizeable number in each of these categories had to be included in the sample, this boosted the size of the sub-group sample as a whole. As a result of this, the sample sizes of certain other sub-groups which did not have the sub-sub-categories had to be pared down in order not to increase the size of the entire sample beyond the number 800.

The following Table indicates the types of sub-groups and the respective proportions in which they are represented in the sample.

TABLE I
THE STUDY POPULATION AND SAMPLE

Type of Agency (Sub-Group)	Approximate Total Number of Mothers (a)	Number of Mothers Selected for the Study (b)	Percentage of (b) to Size of Universe (c)	Percentage of (b) to Size of Total Sample (d)
State Government	980	250	4.16	31.25
Central Government	630	150	2.50	18.75
Corporation (Schools)	2200	170	2.83	21.25
*D. P. I. (Schools)	1920	150	2.50	18.75
Private	230	60	1.00	7.50
Quasi-Government	40	20	0.33	2.50
Total	6000 (c)	800 (d)	13.32	100.00

*D. P. I. means the Directorate of Public Instruction of the Government of Madras.

Sampling Method :

From the consolidated list of working mothers obtained in the manner mentioned earlier, every fourth name was selected for interview. The interviewers had been instructed to adhere to this procedure as far as possible, and only when the selected respondent was not available was the fifth or one of the following names taken.

This sampling method applied to all types of employing agencies except schools for which a different method was used.

Unlike other agencies, the schools did not have information on the number of working mothers in their employ, the number of working women alone being available. However, a small *ad hoc* survey carried out by the research team showed that it was very likely that 50 per cent of female teachers were mothers, and hence this proportion of the total female teachers in the city was taken as the population of mothers working as teachers.

Since in the selection of sample of teachers it was intended to give representation to all areas in the city, it was decided to go by the divisioning

of the city by the authorities for Census purposes. In each division an equal number of teachers were interviewed. The procedure adopted was a non-probability one. The investigators visited the schools, enquired if there were any mothers working as teachers, and if so, interviewed them.

Selection of the Sample of Non-Working Mothers: The method adopted in selecting this sample (50) was to visit the households in nearby localities, enquire if the housewife was a non-working mother, ascertain if she fulfilled the requirements earlier mentioned and interview her if she did.

No probability sampling technique was adopted because the time at our disposal being limited, the most co-operative of cases needed to be selected. Also the comparison of working and non-working mothers was not intended to be a means of testing any hypotheses but merely one of developing a few.

There was a gap of nearly a year between the time the bulk of the sample of working mothers had been interviewed and interviewing of non-working mothers begun.

Selection of the Sample of Husbands of Working Mothers: Seventyfive names were selected randomly from the list of working mothers whose youngest child's age was 5 years or below and letters were sent to both the wives and husbands seeking appointment with the husbands for interview. The number of letters sent was greater than the number of respondents required (50) since it was expected that all might not reply. Though stamped, reply letter had been enclosed, even after a fortnight had elapsed, only five replies had come in. Hence 200 more letters were sent in the hope of getting the required number of respondents, an expectation that was later borne out by the fact that only 55 letters were received, in all, agreeing to the interview. Five more refused to be interviewed for some reason or other. The rest did not reply. As planned, 50 husbands of working mothers were interviewed.

A period of about twelve months had elapsed between the time interviews with the working mothers had been completed and those with the husbands started.

Selection of the Sample of Husbands of Non-Working Mothers: As with the husbands of working mothers, the husbands of the 50 non-working mothers interviewed were sent letters in preparation for the proposed interviews. In this case too, the response was meagre, only about ten replies, in all, being received. In order to complete the required number of interviews, again a purposive selection was made of husbands of non-working mothers from households in the nearby localities and sometimes by locating them at government and private offices. At the offices, the investigators explained to the officials in charge the nature of the research study and the kind of respondents required, and sought to obtain the names and addresses of

husbands of non-working mothers. They tried to meet the respondents at the work-spot and wherever possible interviewed them even there, or fixed appointment with them for a later meeting at their homes.

Thus, it should be kept in mind that over 80 per cent of the non-working mothers and husbands interviewed were not couples but belonged to different families.

METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION

Data from the working mothers, non-working mothers and husbands of these were collected by interviewing them individually with the help of structured and pre-tested interview schedules. There was an independent interview schedule for each group of respondents.

Working mothers were interviewed at their respective work-spots, non-working mothers in their homes; husbands of working mothers too were interviewed in their homes whereas some of the husbands of non-working mothers were interviewed at the work-spots though most were interviewed in their homes.

Mothers were interviewed by women investigators alone. Husbands were interviewed both by men and women investigators. They reported excellent co-operation from respondents in almost all cases.

PROCESSING OF DATA AND ANALYSIS

The data were hand-tabulated and all calculations manually done. Wherever the Chi-square test has been applied, the level of significance at 0.05 has been accepted for determining significant relationships.

PLAN OF THE REPORT

Chapter II deals with the personal and social characteristics of mothers who work and their jobs. Chapter III attempts at deriving the reasons for mothers' employment — Section I dealing with the reasons reported and Section II attempting to arrive at conditions that favour employment. Chapter IV deals with the effects of employment on family life—Section I concerning itself with effects on family economy, Section II with effects on household management and child care, and Section III with effects on husband-wife relationship. Chapter V provides a summary and conclusions.

CHAPTER II

WORKING MOTHERS AND THEIR OCCUPATIONS

This Chapter is intended to provide some background information about the working mothers and about jobs held by them. Section I gives mostly non-study data, introducing the locale of the study and providing some background sociological information against which employment of mothers is to be viewed. Sections II and III are based on study data, the first giving background information about the working mothers and the second about jobs held by them.

SECTION I

THE BACKDROP TO THE STUDY

The Locale — Madras City :

Madras is the largest city in India south of Bombay, with a population of nearly two million. Slowly changing into a modern city, it still retains to a great extent its original country characteristics.

The Hindu temples, of which there are a good number in the city and the open, square or rectangular tanks with steps of stone which go with them will be forever giving the city a distinctly Indian look.

The streets in which live the middle income groups, who form the bulk of the population, do not very much differ from their semi-urban and country counterparts. Many houses still have piols, central open courtyard, and wells originally operated by pulley and rope, but now mostly by mechanical pumps. The only difference, of course, will be the absence of the open backyard which owing to pressure on space would have been floored, roofed and perhaps partitioned into rooms, necessitating sometimes the transferring of the toilet thence to somewhere inside the dwelling.

As there are areas of unchanging and little-changing primitivity, there are also areas boasting modern buildings. Hardly does one find the two types of buildings in the same street. The modern residential buildings are mainly of two types. To the first belong the quarters or flats; the other, the semi-bungalow and bungalow types. The quarters are usually multi-storied buildings, usually in blocks, each block containing a number of flats. These are erected mostly by government, and sometimes, by private agencies, for the families of their employees. These are, however, few and far apart.

There are certain areas in the city which are marked by their semi-aristocratic and aristocratic characteristics. Here the high income groups live. These buildings are usually two or three-storied, each complete with garden, two-way compound and garage.

A description of the city's landscape cannot be complete without giving an idea about its slums. Mud-walled or walled and roofed with scraps of tin or any otherwise unusable material, and huddling together, with little provision for sanitation or individual privacy, these slums sometimes line the banks of a narrow river and a canal that wind their ways across the city, or are to be found in vacant lots many of which are now surrounded by other new buildings. There are also pavement-dwellers especially in the areas close to the harbour. The inhabitants of these slums are, as can be imagined, those in the lowermost rungs of the economic ladder: mostly unskilled workers, rickshaw and hand-cart pullers and the like.

Buildings that house the government and private offices are, however, fast acquiring a modern look. There have been plenty of new, multi-storied constructions, while the old ones are expanded or reconstructed for increased accommodation. Many of them have always had the grand and impressive look, being the legacy of British India.

Madras is an important commercial and industrial centre. Factories and business concerns are growing in number contributing to the expansion of the city area in all directions reaching into the suburbs lying far out.

The city has scores of colleges and institutions for training in various professions.

The principal means of transportation within the city are the State-operated buses and electric trains. Most office-going men use bicycles.

There are plenty of cinema houses providing the only form of recreation for the majority; but of night-clubs and dance-halls and the like, we have but very few. Life for the day ends practically at ten at night and traffic starts thinning out, even on the normally busy roads, at eight.

Employment Of Mothers—Traditional Attitudes And Modern Trends :

In Madras city there is evidently an increasing tendency among mothers to take jobs outside their homes. And, to anticipate some of our findings, there is also a widely prevalent tendency in all quarters to support the idea of mothers taking to earning outside the home. Assuming the validity of common observations, it may be said that such a wide support for mothers' employment could not have been witnessed even ten or twenty years ago. The country has been undergoing an economic crisis for some years now,

resulting in acute hardship especially to families that rely for their livelihood on salary-income.¹

Another and perhaps a more important reason for the tendency of mothers to take employment, and of others to support the same, is that higher education is imparted to an increasing number of women. From higher education to employment is a logical step. Education and training mean acquiring of knowledge and skills, but to what end if they are not put into use in the practical fields of endeavour? Thus there is a measure of inevitability about higher education leading women to employment. In any tradition-bound society when the path is cleared for women's education, it will not be long before employment of women and mothers becomes the order of the day.

In many respects, Christians² in this and other parts of the country are considered to be much less 'conservative' than those belonging to other religions.

The term 'conservative' is used here to denote attitudes and practices that, among other things, place restrictions on the activities of women. There are really two aspects to this: the restrictions covering women's activities *per se*, and those covering the social relations between men and women in general. An example for the first is the attitude held by some that higher education is not so much essential for women as for men; an example for the second is the grown-ups' usual and deliberate avoidance — more a norm than a taboo — of sitting next to a stranger of the opposite sex in a transport vehicle or in a public place. It is an observable fact that more of

¹Mrs. Lila Majumdar, formerly Professor at Visvabharati, says: "Even one generation ago such a woman (woman of the middle class) would not have been called upon to plunge into this struggle for existence, but would have led the quiet, patient, pious life of the Hindu housewife, venerating her husband's parents, worshipping the *tulasi* (holy basil) plant, attending to her husband's needs and cherishing her children... She would have been obedient and conservative and would rather have died than become a wage-earner." Also, "It is not surprising — that Indian women, with their emaciated children and frustrated partners, should sometimes have looked towards the Western world for a better way of existence, having lost faith in their own ancient ideals of patience, submission and devotion." Expatiating on the idea of the "new emancipation born of necessity", the same author says: "Our mothers were not faced with such utter financial disaster; they may not have been wealthy, but they enjoyed a security and protection not to be dreamed of in this age of uncertainty and unrest. Their sheltered life is a thing of the past; the financial crisis of this generation is of such gigantic proportions as to require the utmost resources of both men and women."

Swami Madhavananda and Ramesh Chandra Majumdar (ed): *Great Women of India*, Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora, Himalayas, 1953, Pp. 112, 113, 114.

²In Madras city's female population, approximately seven out of every hundred women are Christians; but in our sample, they happened to number over forty in every hundred.

Hindus than Christians are prone to such attitudes and practices.³ However, these customs are fast changing, and the trend seems to be toward less and less interference in others' lives, even one's own children.

Joint Family :

The system of joint family is another phenomenon which for long characterised the Hindu community. Even only a few decades ago, it was a common custom for two or more brothers to live under the same roof, with their parents, spouses and children, sharing a common cooking fire. But owing to many reasons, which we will not be touching upon here, this phenomenon is rapidly disappearing in the cities. However, parents, in their old age, to a very large extent, depend partly or fully on the financial assistance of children especially of sons, though they may not always be living with them. In many cases, however, they do live with them. While the permanent presence of an aged parent or parents in the family does not qualify it for the name 'joint family' in the sense mentioned earlier, it is not also a unitary or nuclear family in the sense in which it is commonly understood.

While in the Christian community men and women are permitted to choose their respective marital partners more often than in the Hindu community, the former shares the phenomenon of extended family with the latter to a large extent.

These facts are presented here mainly to show that while restriction in the area of social relations between the members of opposite sexes is less often seen in the Christian community, thus perhaps providing for a liberalization of the role of women, and also explaining the predominance of Christians in our sample, it continues to be influenced by the customs and habits of the Hindu community.

A Note On The Use Of Domestic Assistants :

It is customary in India for elderly relatives to visit the son's or daughter's families in order to be of assistance during the confinement of the daughter-in-law or the daughter. Some, as already said, permanently.

³Another example of 'conservatism' is the custom of parents finding marital partners for children. Love marriage is an infrequent phenomenon. In our study it is found that about one-fifth of working mothers have themselves chosen their marital partners while in all other cases the marriage was arranged by parents or guardians. This proportion, however, cannot be true of the general population where it should be much less, for love marriage is more common in Christian community and members of this community, as already said, form a good percentage of our sample though they are a small minority in the general population. Out of 170 working mothers who have had love marriage, 110 are Christians. Asked which type of marriage they preferred, 180 expressed preference for love marriage out of whom 109 were again Christians.

Presence of supportive relatives notwithstanding, maid-servants and sometimes, male servants are usually employed in families belonging to middle income groups. Such assistants usually come from those classes of people who are in the low rungs of the economic and social ladder. The age of the servant may vary between ten and sixty years. It is a common observation that all the females in one family work as servant-maids sharing between them a row of houses in the same street. These are mostly employed part-time. Some make themselves available early in the morning for a couple of hours to clean the utensils used for cooking the previous night, and to sweep and usually mop the house floor and the house-front. Some in addition do the washing of the whole or part of the family linen. They will be able to go home by 9 or 10 o'clock in the morning. Sometimes they may come back at noon for an hour to do the remainder. In many houses they may return in the evening to repeat the operations mentioned earlier. Female labour of this kind was once very cheap, and it still is, in the less urban parts of the country. Till recently, a monthly wage of Rs. 3 and even less was paid to maid-servants for daily work involving cleaning of vessels, washing of clothes and cleaning of floor every day. Sometimes agreement may be reached whereby, in addition to monthly wages, the servant may be daily given the left-over food. In the cities and towns, however, it is becoming costlier to keep a servant in the home, the reason being that they are drawn to more remunerative types of work like hauling bricks at building construction sites. Nowadays it may cost as much as Rs. 15 per month to have a servant-maid for part-time work, besides giving her one square meal a day, and one or two cups of coffee or tea.

Full-time servants are scarce. Usually couples settling in the city get servants sent from their native villages, young girls or widowed ladies — and sometimes males too — (usually those already working in their native homes) for full-time assistance in household tasks. If the servant is of the same caste as the employing family, he or she may usually help in cooking and serving food too. With food, shelter and less frequently clothing (especially as festival gift) they may be paid a nominal monthly salary or pin-money. Unlike generally in the case of part-time servants, these village-sent full-time helpers usually become part and parcel of the family, wielding some kind of affectionate authority in minor matters, especially over children.

SECTION II

SOME BACKGROUND INFORMATION ABOUT THE WORKING MOTHERS

The background information regarding working mothers, such as age, educational level and religious affiliation are important for the following reasons: while this may help place the study group in the general population,

it might bring to light the important differences, if any, as between the working group from the non-working one, when they are compared in terms of these important variables.

Age :

One may expect to find among the working mothers a greater per cent belonging to relatively young age group, say between 25 and 35 years, since the entry of married women into labour force is a comparatively recent phenomenon. Also, the fact that economic necessity is the most important reason for mothers' employment (as will be seen in the next Chapter) and that young couples are likely to feel it most, provides the foundation for our belief that younger mothers could be found in greater number in the employed group. We see that about 68 per cent of working mothers belong to this age group.

By the same token a relatively lesser proportion of working mothers ought to be found in the higher age group, that is, 36 years and over. However, we find that the proportion of working mothers in this age group is greater than that of non-working mothers by as much as nearly 17 per cent. Probably the fact that we have confined the selection of non-working mothers to those the youngest child of whom is below 5 years of age accounts for the decrease in the percentage of non-working mothers as compared to working mothers in the age group of 36 years and above.

TABLE 2
MOTHERS¹ BY AGE GROUP

Labour Force Status	Age Group in Years			
	Below 24 %	25 to 35 %	36 and Above %	Total ² (100)%
Inside	3.87	67.50	28.63	800
Outside	10.00	78.00	12.00	50

¹Unless otherwise specified in the title of the Table, the figures are broken down by labour force status of mothers, whether the informants have been mothers themselves or their husbands.

²'Total' always refers to total number of persons.

The percentage of mothers below the age of 24 years is seen to be greater outside the labour force than inside. It may be surmised that working mothers would have had a longer period of education and specialized training than non-working mothers and also would have married later. This might account for the fact that whereas 10 per cent of non-working mothers are below 24 years of age, a much smaller per cent — less than 4 per cent — of working mothers are in the same younger age range.

Age Of Husbands And Labour Force Status Of Wives :

It would be reasonable to expect that the younger the age of the husband the greater the chances are of his wife being in employment. For one thing, employment of mothers is a recent phenomenon and for another, the economic pressures on a growing family are heavier. This is borne out, if only to a limited extent, by the figures in the following Table.

TABLE 3
HUSBANDS BY AGE, EDUCATION AND OCCUPATION*

Characteristics	Labour Force Status of Wives	
	Inside %	Outside %
Age		
Up to 35 years	46.00	40.00
36 to 45 years	50.00	50.00
46 to 55 years	4.00	10.00
Total (100%)	50	50
Education		
Collegiate	58.00	62.00
Non-collegiate	42.00	38.00
Total (100%)	50	50
Occupation		
High	20.00	44.00
Others	72.00	56.00
Unemployed	8.00	—
Total (100%)	50	50

*The occupations were initially arranged in a descending order of social status. The 'high' includes the professional, managerial and supervisory occupations.

There is an inverse relationship between the educational level of husbands and the chances of their wives being inside the labour force, since a majority of mothers take up employment for economic reasons. There is a greater likelihood of a college-educated husband getting a better-paid job and thus being in a sound economic position than a non-collegiate educated one. This is further supported by the Table showing the occupational status of husbands and the labour force status of their wives. A greater percentage of wives whose husbands have a 'high' occupational status are outside the labour force than others.

Education :

One may possibly expect a larger percentage of those women who have had higher education to be in the labour force.

TABLE 4
WORKING MOTHERS BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

Educational Level	Female Population %	Working Women* %	Working Mothers : Study Sample %
Degree holders	2.74	12.66	16.88
Non-degree holders	97.26	77.34	83.12

*In Madras city, according to 1961 Census; excludes illiterates and literates without educational qualification.

The data show that a greater proportion of degree holders than non-degree holders in the city's female population are in the labour force. Only about 3 out of every hundred women in the city are degree holders. The proportion is four times as large among employed women. But, the maximum proportion is found in the group of employed mothers where nearly seventeen out of every hundred are graduates or more highly qualified. This might mean either that it is easier for women with a degree to get into jobs or that more of such women seek to enter the labour force.

TABLE 5
MOTHERS BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

Labour Force Status	Educational Level		Total (100%)
	Collegiate %	Non-Collegiate %	
Inside	27.37	72.63	800
Outside	38.00	62.00	50

Chi-square : 2.633

Degree of freedom : 1

Level of significance : 0.20

p at 0.20 : 1.64

The increase in the percentage of mothers who have had collegiate education and still remain outside the labour force might reflect the persistence of the hold of the traditional norm of home being the most accepted place for a married woman, and it is only economic necessity which could successfully erode this social norm and practice. However, no significant association between educational level and labour force status being found, the above argument cannot be carried far.

Vocational Training :

One would expect a greater percentage of those inside the labour force to have had vocational training and a smaller percentage of those remaining outside the labour force to have any vocational training. This is so.

TABLE 6
MOTHERS BY VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Labour Force Status	Vocational Training		Total (100%)
	Yes %	No %	
Inside	77.50	22.50	800
Outside	24.00	76.00	50

Chi-square : 68.675
Degree of freedom : 1

Level of significance : 0.001
p at 0.001 : 10.83

There is a highly significant relationship between vocational training and activity-status.

Vocational training is one indication that a woman had employment in view when she went in for education. However, many acquire some specialized training to improve their chances of securing a job in case they were forced to work owing to the social and economic hazards that cross the life of a woman. This perhaps explains why we find vocationally trained mothers in the non-working group also.

TABLE 7
WORKING MOTHERS BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND SPECIALIZED TRAINING

Educational Level*	Specialized Training		Total (100%)
	Yes %	No %	
High school	83.30	16.70	581
Inter and PUC	61.93	38.07	84
Graduate and postgraduate	57.03	42.97	135

*School education, in India, consists of 11-year course. High school or secondary education refers to this full term of 11 years. On completion of this 11-year course, one qualifies for University education. Intermediate (or Inter) refers to the two-year opening course at the University, prior to the two-year Degree (or Graduate) course; this has now been replaced, in most Indian Universities, by the one-year Pre-University course (or PUC), followed by a three-year Degree or Graduate course.

Chi-square : 41.07
Degrees of freedom : 2

Level of significance : 0.001
p at 0.001 : 13.82

The above Table suggests a highly significant association between the level of education of working mothers and acquiring of additional specialized training. Those who have had no collegiate education seem to go in for specialized training in greater proportion than others, perhaps with a view to widening their chances of employment.

Religion :

We see that the percentage of Christians in our sample of working mothers is very much higher than their percentage in the total female population of the city.

The reasons that lead more of Christian mothers to take up jobs may be sought in the liberalization of the social role of women that is usually associated with this community ; and the consequent acquiring of educational and vocational training by more of such women.

However, common observation does not warrant associating employment of more Christian mothers with any hypothetical economic backwardness of that community.

TABLE 8
WORKING MOTHERS BY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

Religion	Female Population* %	Working Mothers : Study Sample %
Hindu	85.1	57.2
Christian	7.1	40.0
Muslim	7.1	2.8

*In Madras city, according to 1961 Census.

Mother Tongue :

We find in our sample only 68.13 per cent whose mother tongue is Tamil which is the regional language of the Madras State. Obviously, 32 per cent of the mothers have migrated from neighbouring States as may be seen from the following distribution.

TABLE 9
WORKING MOTHERS BY MOTHER TONGUE

Mother Tongue	Working Mothers : Study Sample %	Female Population* %
Tamil	68.13	71.69
Malayalam	10.25	2.50
Telugu	8.50	14.50
Others	13.12	11.31

*In Madras city, according to 1961 Census.

The fact that parts of the present Andhra Pradesh and Kerala were once part of the Madras State and the closeness of certain Telugu regions to Madras city accounts for the Telugu and Malayalam-speaking portion of the female work force. An additional explanation of the Malayalam component of the work force may be the high percentage of literacy of Kerala and lack of job opportunities in that most densely populated State.

In sum: The working mothers in Madras city are more likely to be in the younger age groups; non-collegiate than collegiate in education; to have obtained vocational training rather than not; more often Hindu, and only a little less often Christian; and Tamil-speaking.

SECTION III

JOB'S HELD BY WORKING MOTHERS

Though this study is primarily concerned with the effects of mothers' employment on their family life, it is in order that the reader is given some information about the type of jobs held by mothers and their attitude to working, before the more weighty questions of reasons for and consequences of working are taken up.

The fact that the sample of working mothers was not selected on the basis of occupations, but on the basis of types of employing agencies (vide Chapter I) has to be remembered while considering the following Table. The implication is that this Table should not be taken to reflect the exact proportions in which working mothers are distributed in the different occupational groups in the universe of the study.

TABLE 10
WORKING MOTHERS BY OCCUPATION

Occupation	Per cent
Teacher (Schools)	41.50
Clerical	32.25
Nurse	8.75
Telephone operator	6.00
Lecturer (Colleges)	4.13
Telegraphist	1.75
Other*	5.62

Total (100%) 800

*Includes occupations each of which forms less than 1 per cent of the sample.

However, the size of one of the occupational groups had accidentally been assessed when the sizes of the sub-groups namely, the different employing agencies (vide Chapter I), were determined. The occupational group was teachers and sub-group schools. Thus, it was found that teachers formed 68 per cent of the universe of working mothers within the income group of Rs. 100-500.

Though the Table shows that teachers form but 42 per cent of the study sample, read with the information on the population of teachers, it points to the fact that teaching is the occupation most frequently held by mothers. The reason may be simply that there are more vacancies in teaching than in any other occupation. Or, perhaps, large number of women voluntarily choose this occupation in preference to others, because of the common belief that more than any other job, teaching suits the temperament of women. Another attraction could be the periodic vacations that this job entails. In some cases, periods of advanced pregnancy and confinement may coincide with or be dovetailed into the vacation periods.

Those holding clerical jobs are the second largest group in the study sample, and the chances are that they are actually so even in the universe of the study, though their actual size there may not be as big, considering the fact that the first group is very large in size (68 per cent).

Job Tenure :

A very high percentage, that is 91.5 per cent, of working mothers hold permanent posts. Less than 10 per cent hold temporary jobs. It is clear that motherhood does not stand in the way of confirmation of women in jobs. It cannot be overlooked that only the mother with a permanent job can risk taking maternity leave without affecting her job-continuity or incurring the displeasure of the employers.

Time And Distance Travelled Between Home And Work-Spot :

We find a very significant association between hours of work and time and distance travelled by mothers to and from work-spot. Probably mothers take the trouble of travelling a longer way and over a longer time when the remunerations are generally higher, granted that the rewards are higher for longer hours of work.

TABLE 11
WORKING MOTHERS BY HOURS OF WORK AND TIME AND DISTANCE TRAVELLED BETWEEN HOME AND WORK-SPOT

Hours of Work	Per Cent Travelling				Total (100%)
	Up to ½ an Hour	More than ½ an Hour	Up to 10 Miles	Over 10 Miles	
*Up to 6	89.61	10.39	98.70	1.30	539
Over 6	43.68	56.32	88.89	11.11	261

*The number of working hours for teachers in schools run by the Madras Municipal Corporation is 6.

Chi-square : 192.85

Degree of freedom : 1

Level of significance : 0.001

p at 0.001 : 10.83

Chi-square : 37.84

Degree of freedom : 1

Level of significance : 0.001

p at 0.001 : 10.83

Time Of Arriving Home :

We may expect the school-going children to be back home between 4 p.m. and 5 p.m. However, 70 per cent of the working mothers reach much later than the time when their children are already back home from schools.

Extra-Office Hour Duties :

The mother's arrival in the home would be delayed if she had extra-duties at the office beyond the regular office hours. Of course, these extra-office hour duties are likely to be associated more with certain categories of jobs than others.

TABLE 12
WORKING MOTHERS BY CATEGORY OF JOB AND
EXTRA-OFFICE TIME AND NIGHT DUTIES

Type of Duty	Category of Job	
	Public Utility Service and Professional %	Others %
Night duty ...	41.61	—
Over-time ...	7.38	6.61
Office work carried home ...	2.01	32.26
Combination of two or more of the above duties ...	14.77	12.59
Not having any of the above duties ...	34.23	48.54
Total (100%)	149	651

Regarding extra-office hour duties we find that night duty is associated to a great extent with public utility service and professional type of jobs (public telephone operators, telegraphists and allied jobs, and hospital service); carrying office work home with other category of jobs (composed chiefly of teaching and clerical).

Initiative In Decision To Take Up Employment :

Nearly 82 per cent of the mothers have taken up employment on their own initiative. As against this, only 16 per cent have taken up employment under advice of either parents or husbands. We may say that the predominant group gives traces of 'inner-direction'* as against the minority who are still 'tradition-bound'. Only 2 per cent of the working mothers seem to be 'other-directed'. There is, no doubt, a trend towards education, circle of friendship, social approval and popularity among the peer-group becoming more and more symbols of success instead of just 'house-ownership' or job-security which may be associated with the traditional society. Thus we may venture to suggest that thinking among working mothers of our sample study points more to 'inner-direction' which is typical of a society in transition.

*D. Riesman: *The Lonely Crowd*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1953.

Of course, these concepts can have only a very limited significance with reference to our study population, for most of whom employment is (to anticipate again) a matter of necessity rather than one of choice.

Job Satisfaction :

We find a significant association between the nature of jobs held by the working mothers and the reasons expressed by them for their having chosen the same. A greater proportion of those engaged in professions like medicine, nursing, teaching, telegraphy and telephone operation have said that they chose their jobs because of job appeal than those holding clerical and secretarial jobs. A greater proportion of women in the latter category of jobs have given other reasons such as nearness of work-spot to home, friends' or relatives' persuasion, non-availability of other jobs, etc.

TABLE 13
WORKING MOTHERS BY NATURE OF CALLING AND REASON
FOR CHOOSING THE SAME

Occupation	Reason		Total (100%)
	Job Appeal %	Others %	
Clerical*	67.66	32.34	235
Non-clerical	79.29	20.71	565

*Excludes 23 respondents whose jobs are clerical by designation but have additional supervisory functions. They are included in the 'non-clerical' group.

Chi-square : 11.85

Level of significance : 0.001

Degree of freedom : 1

p at 0.001 : 10.83

At least in some cases the reasons expressed may be more an inadvertent reflection of the respondents' present state of liking for the jobs held by them than an explanation of why they originally chose them. Thus job appeal may more often imply the respondents' liking for the job than perhaps do other reasons.

It is a common experience that professional jobs are less monotonous and sedentary than clerical and secretarial occupations. A sense of achievement and fulfilment is more often realized in the former than in the latter. As such the latter may be said to have less job appeal. Thus, it is but understandable if a greater proportion of mothers engaged in these categories of jobs give non-job-appeal reasons for their having chosen these occupations.

Even among those holding non-professional, clerical and secretarial jobs we see a substantial proportion (67 per cent) speaking of the appeal their occupations hold. Though perhaps relatively less interesting than other

occupations, the reason why a great proportion of those holding such jobs speak in terms of job appeal may be that governmental jobs are pensionable and promise greater security. A good number of those in our sample holding secretarial and clerical occupations are government employees and thus job appeal might be a reference to these desirable qualities of governmental employment. The appeal, in this case, is thus probably more due to the terms of employment in their totality than to the nature of job as such.

Satisfaction at the work-spot is an important pre-requisite for a working mother if she should continue in a remunerative job without doing violence to her role as a home-maker. A very high percentage of working mothers express liking for and satisfaction with their jobs; 92.37 per cent of the working mothers fall in this category. Only under 8 per cent of the mothers express either indifference or dislike for their jobs.

The most frequently mentioned reason (74.92 per cent) for the satisfaction is their interest in the particular jobs in which they are employed. Other reasons such as good pay, proximity of work-spot to home, considerate and co-operative colleagues and superiors, and absence of outdoor work are mentioned with much lower frequency (about 6 per cent each, on the average).

Only a small percentage of mothers express dissatisfaction with respect to their jobs, and the important source of dissatisfaction is found outside their job situation. The most frequently mentioned reason for their dissatisfaction is the fact that they are being forced to work probably because of economic necessity. About 3 per cent of the mothers said that they would prefer to stay at home but are forced to work.

To sum up: Teaching is the most frequently encountered occupation of mothers, with clerical being next, and probably way behind, in order of frequency. Distance between office and home, and remuneration seem to be directly associated, if longer hours of work mean higher wages. Most mothers are free of any office work that is likely to detain them in the evening hours.

Mothers' employment seems mostly self-planned, not externally induced. Most mothers find their work interesting; more so, those in non-clerical occupations. Almost all of them seem to be satisfied with their work.

CHAPTER III

WHY MOTHERS SEEK WORK ?

This is a study of working mothers. Indian society has marched several steps away from the stage where education and work outside the home were not accepted norms of social life for women. Although prejudice towards the education of women and their employment in paid jobs outside homes is not to be met with visibly in any considerable measure, there could be found no expressed and explicit consensus about the employment of married women with children in jobs outside their homes. Perhaps, this is an area where the East and the West face a problem with common misgivings. The married women with children are faced with the intricate task of harmonising their two roles as home-makers and earners, whether it be in the East or the West. In the face of this delicate and intricate task there should be powerful driving forces that take a married woman and mother outside her home through the major part of her waking life.

Section I of this Chapter deals with the reasons for mothers' employment, and reasons for non-employment and for withdrawal from labour force ; Section II deals with the closely related question of conditions favouring or appearing to favour employment.

SECTION I

REASONS FOR MOTHERS' EMPLOYMENT

The following Table gives the responses of 800 working mothers (some giving more than one reason each) according to the frequency of mentioning the reasons that may be classified either as purely economic, including reasons that have something to do with the marital status or non-economic.

TABLE 14
WORKING MOTHERS' REASONS FOR EMPLOYMENT

Economic Reasons :	Per cent
Unemployment of husband ...	2.00
Lack of husband's support due to separation or divorce ...	2.17
Widowhood ...	4.83
To have standard of living raised ...	20.00
To help (mother's) parents ...	25.00
Inadequacy of husband's income ...	46.00
Total (100%) ...	600

Non-Economic Reasons :

	Per cent
To utilize leisure time ...	27.56
To have an independent income ...	31.80
To put to use training undergone ...	40.64
Total (100%) ...	283

Economic Reasons : The most frequently mentioned reason is the inadequacy of husband's income. The next one, but way behind the first, is 'to help parents'. The question of supplementing parents' income arises originally when the woman takes up employment where aged parents have to be helped through in the absence of alternative security arrangements. It is not unfamiliar or unknown that parents of the lower and middle classes in India become dependent on children in old age when once they have made a costly investment in terms of educating their children. There is an urgency for the mother to work if her own parents become so dependent and the husband is not earning enough.

It is worthy of note that among the most frequently mentioned reasons, we see the urge to improve one's living standards. It is no wonder that in a changing society many have an eye for an improved standard of life which may or may not be taken as a road towards improving social status. In other words, the level of aspiration is rising higher.

In all, about 7 per cent of the mothers are employed owing to lack of husband's support either because he is not earning or due to divorce or separation, or because he is deceased.

Education and Training : Education and training seem to form another major factor inducing mothers to seek jobs outside homes. More and more women are receiving higher and specialized training, and this will be a loss in economic and human terms if it should go unutilized, considering the expense and difficulties that are involved in acquiring the same. This can be a potential cause, too, of friction and frustration and hostile control at home if it is not made to pay dividends in terms of useful service to society and as a means of realising a sense of personal worth. General liberal education is one thing, but higher and specialized training is another in terms of economic waste to the individual and society at large. In a country where job opportunities are not so wide, specially for women, there is always a tendency

to go in for higher and specialized training to increase the likelihood of one's securing employment. Education has come to be looked upon as a worthwhile insurance against economic disasters that may befall a wife and mother. Many start working before marriage and continue to do so after marriage as a matter of course. In some cases certain types of training in which a candidate receives a stipend call for compulsory employment for a stipulated period. Such, for instance, is the teachers' training of the secondary and lower secondary levels. It may be recalled here that a good percentage of our sample is constituted of teachers who have received such training.

Non-Economic Reasons : Among the non-economic reasons, we find the desire for independent income mentioned by working mothers. Many women take up employment before they get married, as we have already observed, and having been accustomed to earn and enjoy an independent income they continue to seek the opportunity to do so even after marriage. Perhaps, one may see an undercurrent of ideological drive in this desire for an income independent of what the traditional bread-winner of the family brings home for the family coffer.

It is also interesting to see that there are personal reasons for employment. Nearly 10 per cent of the mothers have said that they work because that is how they like to use their spare time.

Question of Credibility : It must be said that one should not be hasty in accepting the non-economic reasons given by the mothers at their face value. This need for caution stems from several reasons. First, many among those who say they work for the sake of putting to use training received may be referring to the original reason for their taking up employment before marriage and not the reason for their being in employment after marriage (about 72 per cent of mothers have taken up employment before marriage). Second, allowance must be made for those who, in their reluctance to admit the inadequacy of husband's income, may give some reason as 'to put to use training received', which may only be partly true, if at all. Third, an originally avowed non-economic motive in getting oneself employed does not ensure its remaining so in the course of time ; a mother who has taken up employment, say, just 'to while away the time', may find herself reluctant, after a few years of service, to quit her job lest she may lose the economic and other benefits deriving from employment. The retirement pension carried by government jobs is a very relevant example in this connection. The fact that a few have mentioned this (in answer to a different question) makes one suspect that there are many more whose original motive in taking up a job may have been primarily non-economic but the reason for their remaining in employment at the moment may be partly, or even chiefly economic.

TABLE 15
WORKING MOTHERS BY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND REASONS FOR EMPLOYMENT*

Religious Affiliation	Economic Reasons %	Non-Economic Reasons %	Economic and Non-Economic Reasons %	Economic Necessity Arising from Lack of Husband's Support %	Total (100%)
Hindu	62.44	21.62	9.39	6.55	458
Christian	60.00	27.19	6.56	6.25	320
Muslim	40.94	36.36	4.54	18.16	22

*For an explanation of 'economic' and 'non-economic' reasons, see Table 14.

Religion-wise no significant difference is found in the percentage of those giving economic as against non-economic reasons for having taken up employment, except in the case of those belonging to Islam. In this group those giving reasons relating to non-economic factors and marital status are in the greatest proportion whereas in the other two groups those giving purely economic reasons are in the majority.

TABLE 16
WORKING MOTHERS BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND REASONS FOR EMPLOYMENT

Educational Level	Economic Reasons %	Non-Economic Reasons %	Total* (100%)
Non-collegiate	76.32	23.68	494
Collegiate	58.82	41.18	187

*Excludes 119 respondents giving multiple answers, i. e. both economic and non-economic reasons.

Chi-square : 20.89

Degree of freedom : 1

Level of significance : 0.001

p at 0.001 : 10.83

A greater percentage of mothers in the collegiate than in the non-collegiate group give non-economic reasons. Economic reasons for employment are given by a smaller percentage in the collegiate group, as compared to the non-collegiate. The above Table confirms the existence of a highly significant relationship between the level of education of working mothers and reasons given for taking up employment. However, the caution earlier given, about the acceptability of sheer non-economic reasons requires to be borne in mind.

The 50 non-working mothers who constitute the 'control group' of our study were asked for the reasons that may, in their opinion, justify mothers' taking up employment.

TABLE 17
NON-WORKING MOTHERS BY REASONS JUSTIFYING
EMPLOYMENT OF MOTHERS*

Economic Reasons :	Per cent
Economic need	40.83
To have standard of living raised	20.83
To help parents	20.00
To save for future	18.34
Total (100%)	120
<hr/>	
Non-Economic Reasons :	
To make use of education and training received	49.30
To utilize time	30.99
To improve own social status	12.68
To improve own family status	5.63
For an independent income	1.40
Total (100%)	71

*Total responses exceed 50 since each respondent was free to give more than one reason.

Since economic need has been mentioned most frequently by the 50 mothers, we may conclude that almost all mothers are agreed that the most powerful single factor that can justify mothers' employment in remunerative occupations is economic need. In this they are in agreement with the 'experimental' group. After this point the two groups seem to part company. For, the other subsidiary economic reasons like helping parents, raising standard of living and saving for future do not follow immediately after economic need in the same order of importance as we see in the responses of working mothers. We see, in the opinion of non-working mothers, the necessity to make use of education and training received outweighs in importance other subsidiary economic reasons mentioned above. Does it, perhaps, reflect a sense of frustration felt over the fact that their own educational training is run to waste by their remaining unemployed? The frequency with which economic need is mentioned may be taken as an objective assessment, and since the reason of education and training interposes between economic need and the subsidiary economic justifications, one may read an amount of subjective projection into the reason that runs in terms of training and education received.

Reasons For Mothers' Employment—Husbands' Version :

It has been said that one should be wary of accepting the non-economic reasons given by mothers at their face value.

None of the husbands mentioned a purely non-economic reason in answer to the question why their wives work. Over 70 per cent referred to

an economic reason which was either inadequacy of his own income to meet the bare necessities or the need for a supplementary income for raising the family's standard of living. The rest gave both economic and non-economic reasons. Comparing the responses of wives and husbands, it was found that in as many as 12 per cent of the cases there was an inconsistency as regards the reasons for employment. While in 10 per cent of these cases the wives had mentioned the reason 'to put to use training undergone' and 2 per cent 'to utilize leisure time' (both of which we have chosen to call 'non-economic' reasons), 10 per cent of the husbands gave purely economic reasons (either sheer inadequacy of own income or to 'improve standard of living') and 2 per cent mentioned non-economic reasons. It is possible that the inconsistency was due to the fact that, as said elsewhere, while the wives referred to reasons for their having taken up employment before marriage, in which case, there is a greater chance of these reasons being non-economic (such as 'to put to use training received' and 'to utilize leisure time'), the husbands referred to reasons for their wives continuing in employment, irrespective of their original motives for their taking up jobs. Anyhow, it is very safe to conclude that the chances of mothers being in employment for purely non-economic reasons, in the sense this term has been used here, are very slim.

Financial Need :

Exactly one half of the husbands of non-working mothers are not in favour of their wives taking up jobs. As financial need was found to be the main reason for mothers' seeking employment one may expect an inverse relationship between husbands' economic position and desire to have wives employed. This is proved right in the following Table.

TABLE 18
HUSBANDS OF NON-WORKING MOTHERS BY DESIRE TO HAVE WIVES EMPLOYED

Particulars Regarding Economic Position	Desire to Have Wives Employed		Total (100%)
	Yes %	No %	
Monthly Income¹			
Low	66.67	33.33	9
Middle	55.55	44.45	27
High	28.57	71.43	14
Self Estimate of Economic Position²			
Low	71.42	28.58	21
Middle	39.13	60.87	23
High	16.67	83.33	6

¹Low: Up to Rs. 250; Middle: Rs. 251-450; High: 451 and over.

²Low: 'Can't make ends meet'; Middle: 'Enough to get along'; High: 'Comfortable' or 'Well-to-do'.

A greater proportion in the 'low' income group and also estimating their economic position as 'low' are found to favour their wives taking up employment.

Reasons For Mothers' Non-Employment :

The most frequently mentioned reason by the husbands for the non-employment of their wives was that the wife was not qualified enough (61 per cent); the next reason was lack of suitable substitute arrangements in the family in the mother's absence (55 per cent); the other reasons were 'no need for a supplementary income' (36 per cent), both husband and wife were not in favour (27 per cent), 'not customary in the family' (23 per cent), husbands were not in favour though wife likes to take up employment (16 per cent), and wife is not in favour (5 per cent). (The reasons were not necessarily mutually exclusive). Comparing this to the mothers' own version of the reasons for their remaining non-employed, it is found that the most frequently mentioned reasons are 'not customary in the family' (33 per cent), inadequate education or training (19 per cent) and lack of financial necessity (17 per cent). Among other reasons mentioned with much less frequency are 'feels mother's place is the home' (9 per cent), 'unable to secure employment' (8 per cent) and 'duties at home don't permit' (3 per cent.)

To sum up the reasons for mothers' employment : Most mothers seem to work for economic reasons, and because income from other sources is inadequate ; husbands confirm this ; however, more of mothers with collegiate education tend to give non-economic reasons for being employed.

While most non-working mothers favour mothers' employment for economic reasons, their own reason for their non-employment is not necessary that economically they are too well off, but because such a step would be opposed to customary practices in the family.

SECTION II

CONDITIONS FAVOURING MOTHERS' EMPLOYMENT

In the last section it is seen that most mothers work for economic reasons, to eke out a livelihood. But, conversely, do all mothers who encounter economic hardships take up employment? If the answer is no, then what are the factors that favour or disfavour mothers being employed, so that we find only some are employed and not all? Having assumed the answer 'no' to the first question, an attempt will be made in this section to answer the second.

It is necessary to recall here certain information already presented in the last Chapter for the light they throw on conditions favouring mothers' employment.

Vocational Training: It was seen that vocational training was significantly associated with labour force status. Other things being equal, acquiring of vocational training appears to ensure mothers being in employment.

Education: Secondly, acquiring of a University degree also seems to be an important factor as derived from the fact that the ratio of the percentage of degree holders in the population to the percentage in the labour force is 1 : 6. In other words, the chances of those with a degree working are much greater than among the less qualified, though in numerical terms the non-collegiate might be predominant.

Religion: Thirdly, it was seen that the ratio of the percentage of Christians in the city's female population to Christians in the study sample was roughly 1 : 6, whereas in the case of Hindus it was 3 : 2. Thus, affiliation to the Christian religion seems to be a factor strongly favouring the mother being in employment. However, it is very difficult—and beyond the scope of the study—to determine what are the implications of this fact.

Attitudes: Now let us see how far the attitudes of the family members influence the mother being in the labour force. However, this study having covered, mostly, employed mothers only, the information in terms of attitudes favourable to employment cannot carry one far. For, in the analysis of information derived from working mothers, it is a crucial question, which is the dependent variable and which is the independent one. In other words, do the attitudes reported pave the way for employment or are they the result of employment? Any answer to this question, pending a separate study, can have no more validity than that of common observation.

Since one of the chief reasons mentioned by the husbands as well as mothers for the non-employment of the latter is its being uncustomary in their families, one may expect that the relatives of employed wives and of their husbands would be more favourable to mothers' seeking employment than those in families in which the mother is non-employed.

Nearly 87 per cent of the working mothers reported that their relatives were, in general, favourable to their being employed.

TABLE 19
HUSBANDS BY ATTITUDE OF RELATIVES TO EMPLOYMENT OF WIVES

Relatives	Labour Force Status of Wives	Attitude to Wives' Employment ¹			Total ³ (100%)
		Favourable %	Unfavourable %	Others ² %	
Grand parents or other elderly relatives	Inside	74.19	16.13	9.68	31
	Outside	43.90	48.78	7.32	41
In-laws	Inside	89.37	10.63	—	47
	Outside	56.25	39.58	4.17	48
Father	Inside	90.33	6.45	3.22	31
	Outside	61.11	36.11	2.78	36
Mother	Inside	87.50	12.50	—	32
	Outside	59.52	38.09	2.39	42
Brother	Inside	84.85	12.12	3.03	33
	Outside	66.67	30.95	2.38	42
Sister	Inside	86.11	8.33	5.56	36
	Outside	66.67	31.11	2.22	45

¹Actual (in the case of husbands of working mothers) or potential (in the case of husbands of non-working mothers).

²Includes 'No opinion' and 'Don't know' answers.

³Excludes cases where there were no relatives or are not living.

The following facts emerge while examining the attitude of relatives to wives' employment, actual or potential, as assessed by the husbands: the proportion of relatives favouring wives' employment is considerably greater in families in which the mother is inside the labour force; in both groups the least favourable attitude is registered by grand parents and elderly relatives, which one may say is natural, as they belong to a relatively older generation; however, contrary to expectations, there is no considerable difference, in either group, in the proportion of those unfavourable, between the second and third generations (between parents and siblings); one would have expected a greater proportion of siblings to be favourable, but this is not so.

Family Tradition :

In a custom and tradition-bound society like ours—one of the principal reasons offered for non-employment of women with children is that taking up a job outside the home is not customary in the family. Hence one might expect a greater proportion of husbands of non-working wives

to agree with the view that employment of mothers brings about a change in traditional family values. We find that 50 per cent of the husbands whose wives are inside the labour force, and 64 per cent in the outside-the-labour-force group subscribe to this view. However, while a vast majority in the former (88 per cent) welcome such change, a considerably lesser proportion in the latter (59 per cent) do so.

It is likely that husbands of non-working mothers would generally have an unfavourable attitude to employment of mothers and their opinion on the following aspects of mother's employment will differ considerably from the majority of the husbands of employed wives: the economic benefits deriving from mother's employment; mother's role as an earner; likelihood of harmonious relationship with relatives in the event of wife's employment; the likelihood of wife's employment adversely affecting the husband's social status.

TABLE 20
HUSBANDS BY OPINION ON STATEMENTS REGARDING
EMPLOYMENT OF MOTHERS

Statements	Labour Force Status of Wives	Opinion			Total (100%)
		Agree %	Disagree %	No Opinion %	
Employment of mother assures / will assure economic security to the family	Inside	90.00	10.00	—	50
	Outside	76.00	24.00	—	50
Earning should be the business of man alone	Inside	36.00	62.00	2.00	50
	Outside	44.00	56.00	—	50
It is much better for a family to face the absence of mother because of her employment than live in economic inadequacy	Inside	86.00	14.00	—	50
	Outside	48.00	50.00	2.00	50
Employment of wife does not / will not promote harmonious relationship with relatives	Inside	30.00	68.00	2.00	50
	Outside	36.00	64.00	—	50
Employment of wife adversely affects / will affect the social status of husband	Inside	12.00	88.00	—	50
	Outside	24.00	76.00	—	50

We find in the above Table that a greater proportion of husbands whose wives are inside the labour force agree that employment of mothers assures economic security to the family, and it is better for mothers to work than not to when the family has insufficient financial resources ; and a lesser proportion agree that earning should be the business of man alone, employment of wife affects harmonious relationship with relatives and also the social status of the husband.

In sum : A favourable attitude on the part of relatives and the tendency to see mother's employment as uninimical to family norms seem to encourage the employment of mothers, assuming that in the cases investigated, manifestation of such attitudes preceded, and not merely followed, mothers' employment.

Reasons For Mothers' Withdrawal From Labour Force :

Out of the six cases in which the wife was employed once but withdrew later, the reasons offered by the husbands were : 'wife's presence in the home became necessary for looking after children and the household' (3) ; 'for the sake of further professional training' (2) ; confinement and child birth (1). Four husbands would like their wives to take up employment again when conditions improve.

Asked to name three situations in which he would definitely decide to stop his wife from working, a majority of husbands of working mothers (70 per cent) mentioned the situation of increased income through a rise in own salary, or when the eldest child began to earn. The next most frequently mentioned situation was ill health of wife (40 per cent). The other circumstances named with much less frequency were 'when suitable substitute arrangement in the home is no longer possible', own or wife's job transfer, 'if wife no longer likes to work', 'when wife comes to have added responsibilities in the home' and 'when wife's help is needed for help in own occupation'.

Part-Time Employment :

It was found that 86 per cent of the husbands would like their wives to take up part-time jobs instead of full-time jobs, the rest wishing no change in the status quo. Of these, 54 per cent would prefer the number of working hours to be 4, 14 per cent 3, 10 per cent 5 and 8 per cent less than 3 ; and the time of the day preferred was 30 per cent morning, 24 per cent afternoon, 20 per cent evening and the rest split sessions (that is, a few

hours in the morning and a few hours later in the day). Regarding remuneration for part-time employment, 44 per cent of the husbands would like it to be between 75 and 100 per cent of their wives' present income, 22 per cent between 50 and 75 per cent, 12 per cent between 25 and 50 per cent, and 4 per cent 25 per cent or less.

In sum, the majority of husbands would like their wives to be engaged in part-time employment for 3 to 4 hours a day for a remuneration of 50 to 100 per cent of their present income.

CHAPTER IV

THE EFFECTS OF EMPLOYMENT ON FAMILY LIFE

In this Chapter we come to the core of the problem: employment of mothers—at what cost, if any, and with what results or effects?

It is to be admitted that the term 'effect', as used here, refers only to opinions of respondents regarding the effect of employment.

Section I deals with the effect of the mother's employment on the economic condition of the family; Section II the effect on child care and household management; and Section III the effect on husband-wife relationship as reflected in their respective attitudes to employment of the mother.

SECTION I

EFFECT ON THE ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE FAMILY

When one examines the effect of the mother's employment on family life, one must perhaps give the greatest importance to the most obviously tangible result that employment yields, viz., the additional income that the family enjoys.

On the average, the mother's income is equal to about 67 per cent of the husband's income and forms 40 per cent of the total family income. The economic benefits to the family deriving from the mother's income must be high when we consider the fact that the average monthly income of fathers in these families is around Rs. 300 which by itself could barely assure the family a hand to mouth living, judged by standards in Madras city.

Of course, the mother's earning has the greatest importance for families in which she is widowed, divorced, or separated, and has not remarried, and where the father has retired from active service due to natural or other reasons or is otherwise not earning. It has been mentioned elsewhere that 9 per cent of mothers in our sample fall in these categories. In a majority of these cases, the mother was found to be the chief or sole breadwinner.

In order to assess the effect of the mother's earnings on the economic condition of the family the husbands had been asked to estimate their financial position considering their own income and considering the total family income augmented by wives' earnings.

TABLE 21

HUSBANDS OF WORKING MOTHERS BY SELF ESTIMATE OF ECONOMIC POSITION ACCORDING TO OWN AND TOTAL FAMILY INCOME

Self Estimate of Economic Position					
Considering Own Income	Considering Total Family Income				
	Cannot Make Ends Meet	Enough to Get Along	Comfortable	Well-to-do	Total (100%)
	%	%	%	%	
Cannot make ends meet	28.13	62.50	9.37	—	32
Enough to get along	—	53.85	30.77	15.38	13
Comfortable	—	—	40.00	60.00	5

We find that a relatively greater proportion of husbands describing their economic position as 'low' (cannot make ends meet) and 'high' (comfortable) than 'middle' (enough to get along) find a considerable improvement in their position as a result of the wives' additional income.

However, husbands of working mothers generally tend to rate their economic position higher than husbands of non-working mothers, as seen below.

TABLE 22

HUSBANDS BY PER CAPITA INCOME, SELF ESTIMATE OF ECONOMIC POSITION AND LABOUR FORCE STATUS OF WIVES

Per Capita Income (Rs.)	Self Estimate of Economic Position					
	Can't Make Ends Meet		Enough to Get Along		Comfortable or Well-to-do	
	Labour Force Status of Wives					
	Inside %	Outside %	Inside %	Outside %	Inside %	Outside %
Up to 50	29	73	71	27	—	—
51 - 100	15	43	58	57	27	—
101 - 200	13	13	53	50	33	37

With a common per capita level of Rs. 50 and below, less than three-fourths of the husbands of working mothers describe their economic position as 'enough to get along' while about the same number of husbands of non-working mothers describe their economic position as 'cannot make ends meet'. It is possible that the husbands whose wives are inside the labour force tend to over-estimate their economic position since there are more sources of income than one. This response pattern is repeated in the 51-100 per capita income group also, some husbands whose wives are in the labour

force even describing their economic position as 'comfortable' or 'well-to-do'. But when the per capita income level is relatively high (Rs. 101-200), the pattern of rating is similar in both groups.

Now let us look into some of the factors that apparently influence the level of income in families in which the mother is employed.

TABLE 23
WORKING MOTHERS BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND
PER CAPITA INCOME

Level of Education	Per Capita Income		Total (100%)
	Up to Rs. 200 %	Above Rs. 200 %	
Non-collegiate	98.62	1.38	581
Collegiate	90.42	9.58	219

Chi-square : 30.28

Level of significance : 0.001

Degree of freedom : 1

p at 0.001 : 10.83

Mothers with college education are in the higher categories of employment receiving higher remunerations. And their husbands too draw relatively higher salaries. Hence, other things being equal, the per capita family income of working mothers who have had college education is likely to be higher than that of working mothers who have had no college education.

That there exists a relationship of a high degree of significance between the level of education of working mothers and the per capita monthly income of their families is borne out by the above Table.

TABLE 24
WORKING MOTHERS BY CATEGORY OF EMPLOYMENT AND
PER CAPITA INCOME

Category of Employment	Per Capita Income		Total (100%)
	Up to Rs. 100 %	Above Rs. 100 %	
Professional	46.05	53.95	152
Secretarial and Clerical	58.23	41.77	316
Teaching	74.10	25.90	332

Note: 'Professional' includes those engaged in hospital service, teaching in colleges and in other non-clerical jobs.

'Teaching' denotes only those teaching in schools.

'Secretarial and Clerical' includes, besides those actually engaged in such jobs also telephone operators in public and private concerns.

Chi-square : 38.47

Level of significance : 0.001

Degrees of freedom : 2

p at 0.001 : 13.82

There seems to exist a highly significant relationship between the type of job a mother holds and per capita monthly income, which is more in the case of professions like medicine, nursing, lecturership in college, etc., and less in the case of those employed as clerks and secretaries, and lowest in the case of teachers.

TABLE 25
WORKING MOTHERS BY TYPE OF FAMILY AND INCOME

Type of Family	Per Capita Income			Total (100%)
	Up to Rs. 100	Rs. 101-200	Rs. 201 and Over	
	%	%	%	
Unitary	55.47	39.92	4.61	393
Joint	69.29	28.01	2.70	407

Chi-square : 16.98

Degrees of freedom : 2

Level of significance : 0.001

p at 0.001 : 13.82

We have seen that mothers work chiefly for economic reasons. The additional income which the wife as a co-earner with the husband brings to the family coffer raises the per capita level of income.

Wherever a working woman lives in a joint family, either because such an arrangement was voluntarily sought for the sake of obtaining help from relatives in household management or because of other reasons, the per capita income of such a family will tend to be relatively low compared to unitary families.

The above Table shows that the type of family a working mother lives in and the per capita monthly income of her family are associated at a highly significant level. A greater proportion of mothers the per capita income level of whose families could be termed as high (Rs. 201 and above per month) and middle (Rs. 101-200 per month) rather than low (up to Rs. 100 per month) are found to be living in unitary families.

In a few cases where the reason expressed by the mothers for having taken up employment is economic need, the necessity to support, fully or partly, members other than one's own spouse and children might have been implied. Now these members may be either living with the mother's family itself, in which case the arrangement assumes the name joint family, or may be living apart in which case the mother's family remains unitary. In other words, the mere fact that a working mother lives in a joint or a unitary family is no indication of the fact whether a part of her family income is spent in supporting other people.

The reason why attention is drawn to this fact is this : if the necessity to support relatives contributed partly to the reason for mothers' taking up employment this necessity can arise both in joint and unitary families.

An explanation regarding our definition of the types of families will not, at this juncture, be out of place. A question that might readily arise in the reader's mind is whether reference to joint families will not necessarily imply the presence of supportive relatives, and to unitary families the absence of the same. But there are families which have the assistance of supportive relatives available and yet have been taken to be unitary for the purpose of the study. For, even in the case of a number of unitary families, help from relatives (the working mother's own or her husband's, who live apart, sometimes sharing a portion of the same house or living a few premises away, in the next street, or a few streets away) is found to be available to them. Such a family, though physically unitary has the advantages of a joint family in that it has the help of relatives. Also, there are families in which the presence of a supportive relative was reported to be purely temporary, in which cases it was decided that it would be more reasonable to call them unitary rather than joint. Thus joint families alone do not receive help from supportive relatives.

Relatives :

On two counts we may expect the number spending a considerable sum per month on relatives to be more among families in which the mother is employed than in which she is non-employed : the necessity to support relatives is, as we have seen, one of the reasons for mothers' taking up employment ; a greater number among families in which the mother is employed, the presence of a relative for help in household tasks is voluntarily sought. (We anticipate a little here ; this subject will be later dealt with in a more detailed fashion).

This expectation is borne out by the fact that though the difference in the proportion supporting relatives between mother-employed and mother-non-employed families is not significant (62 per cent and 60 per cent respectively), the number spending a substantial amount (between Rs. 50-100 and over Rs. 100 per month) on relatives is greater by 10 per cent in the mother-employed families. Also only these families (22 per cent of the total) are found regularly to spend a substantial amount on relatives, not residing with them or whose presence was not voluntarily sought.

In short, husbands in all income groups find improvement in their respective economic position owing to the fact that the wife earns. If the mother is college educated, or holds professional job the family's income tends to be higher than otherwise.

SECTION II

EFFECTS ON CHILD CARE AND HOUSEHOLD MANAGEMENT

Effect On Child Bearing :

Some might fear that holding of jobs might subject the mother to undue physical strain leading to unhealthy effects on the child-bearing process. However, the following Table shows it is not so. In fact non-working mothers have had a greater number of abnormal pregnancies such as stillbirth and abortion. However, there is no statistically significant association between frequency of parturition abnormalities of mothers and the fact whether they work or not.

TABLE 26
MOTHERS BY ABNORMAL PREGNANCIES

Labour Force Status	Ever Had Abnormal Pregnancy		Total (100%)
	Yes	No	
	%	%	
Inside	27.12	72.87	800
Outside	34.00	66.00	50

Chi-square : 0.897

Degree of freedom : 1

Level of significance : 0.5
p at 0.5 : 0.46

Breast-Feeding :

A serious type of mother-deprivation can be the denial of breast milk to the child for avoidable reasons. As many as 57.5 per cent have felt at some time or other the necessity to refrain from breast-feeding their children on account of the fact that they are employed. Possibly the fact that they cannot break their work-routine, and the distance and time involved in going between the residence and work-spot account for the fact that the breast-feeding of their children was interrupted. However, it is difficult to predict how far this would result in adverse effects on the children's physical and emotional growth.

Effect On Mothers' Health :

Very closely related is the question of the effect of employment on mother's own health. Over one-third (37 per cent) of the working mothers felt that their health suffered as a result of employment. About 34 per cent of the husbands of working mothers affirmed that there was a setback in their

wives' health in the recent period and of these, only 10 per cent felt it might be entirely due to employment, 14 per cent thought that employment might be partly responsible, and 10 per cent attributed the setback to reasons entirely other than employment.

Family Size :

It is an interesting question whether the fact of mothers being employed leads to smaller families, though it is very difficult, and not within the purview of this study, to assess the implications of such a trend, were such a one to be established. The following Table shows that there is a significant association between the labour force status of wives and number of children, increasingly greater proportions of working mothers having fewer children and an opposite trend being found true of non-working mothers.

TABLE 27
HUSBANDS BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Number of Children	Labour Force Status of Wives	
	Inside	Outside
	%	%
1	24.00	12.00
2	36.00	26.00
3 and over	40.00	62.00
Total (100%)	50	50

Chi-square : 7.59

Degrees of freedom : 2

Level of significance : 0.05

p at 0.05 : 5.99

It may be mentioned here that the 50 mothers inside the labour force and 50 outside, compared here, are in identical age groups : 8 per cent of working and 14 per cent of non-working mothers are within the age group of 25 years ; 80 and 76 per cent, respectively, in the 26-35 age group ; 12 and 10 per cent in the 36-45 age group. Considering the distribution in the first and third groups it can even be said that the proportion of younger mothers within the age groups is greater outside the labour force. Despite this, we find that the average number of children per non-working mother's family is 3.1 and that of working mothers 2.4.

No data have been collected that could establish whether the trend indicated is due to some preventive measures of conscious control on the part of working mothers. However, the views of working mothers towards limiting the size of family was ascertained.

TABLE 28

WORKING MOTHERS BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN AND
ATTITUDE TO LIMITING THE FAMILY SIZE

Number of Children	Opinion		Total (100%)
	Favourable %	Adverse %	
Up to 3	96.42	3.58	699
Above 3	89.11	10.89	101

Chi-square : 8.78

Level of significance : 0.01

Degree of freedom : 1

p at 0.01 : 6.64

Though nearly 95 per cent of the mothers are in favour of limiting the family size, interestingly it is mothers having fewer children who are more favourable to this idea. It is quite likely that these women are also in the younger age groups.

TABLE 29

WORKING MOTHERS BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND
ATTITUDE TO LIMITING THE FAMILY SIZE

Level of Education	Attitude		Total (100%)
	Favourable %	Adverse %	
High school	95.87	4.13	581
Inter and PUC	95.24	4.76	84
Graduate and postgraduate	94.07	5.93	135

Chi-square : 0.69

Level of significance : 0.80

Degree of freedom : 2

p at 0.80 : 0.45

Though the percentage of mothers giving adverse opinion regarding limiting the family size slightly increases through the successive levels of educational standards, we find that this trend may not be significant.

TABLE 30

WORKING MOTHERS BY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND
ATTITUDE TO LIMITING THE FAMILY SIZE

Religion	Attitude		Total (100%)
	Favourable %	Others %	
Hindu	98.21	1.79	458
Christian	91.55	8.44	320
Muslim	95.45	4.55	22

Among those who are not in favour of limiting the family size the largest percentage is found among Christians, probably belonging to the Roman Catholic denomination.

Effect On Children's Studies :

Among the working mothers 16 per cent feel that their employment adversely affects children's studies. Although it is a very low percentage we must reckon with the fact that the rest, nearly 84 per cent, are, in all probability, mothers who have no children studying in the higher standards.

TABLE 31
WORKING MOTHERS BY CHILDREN 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, AND EFFECT OF EMPLOYMENT ON CHILDREN'S STUDIES

Children 10 Years of Age and Over	Adverse Effect of Employment on Children's Education		Total (100%)
	Yes %	No %	
Yes	35.11	64.89	225
No	8.86	91.14	575

Chi-square : 79.62

Degree of freedom : 1

Level of significance : 0.001

p at 0.001 : 10.83

In the light of the fact that children enter the higher standards of their school-career around the age of ten, the association between the fact of working mothers having one child or more aged ten and above and the extent of adverse effect of employment felt by them on children's education is highly significant.

Asked why they felt that their children's studies were affected, the majority of mothers who have had only school education (about 84 per cent), and all those who have had higher education mentioned the lack of their supervision as the chief reason. But only the former gave such reasons also as 'children take care of younger siblings' and 'do household work'.

This may be explained as below : The non-graduate is likely to have married earlier ; thus she is likely to have grown-up children in the higher standards at the school ; these children may be made to spend a considerable amount of their time in doing household tasks including looking after the

younger siblings. Thus the mother may be led to feel that her children's studies are adversely affected by her being employed.

While 36 per cent of the husbands of working mothers agree that mothers' absence from home, owing to employment, affects children's education adversely, 54 per cent do not think so, and 10 per cent are not able to give any opinion on this as their children have not yet attained the school-going age. Regarding the good effects of mothers' employment, 64 per cent of husbands feel that the absence of the mother fosters a healthy sense of independence in their children, 26 per cent do not think so and 10 per cent have no opinion on the question.

Mother Substitution :

Apart from the fact that children suffer from partial mother-deprivation when they are sent away to the care and custody of far away relatives (6.12 per cent of the working mothers have done so) and suffer from a more serious form of early mother-deprivation through the denial of breast milk, they also suffer from mother-deprivation when the mother could not spend as much time as she should, and would otherwise, if she were not employed. Under such circumstances she frequently resorts to the help of relatives who are asked to spend their time with the family either whole-time or during the time of her absence from home. Otherwise, she lives in a family which comes under the description of extended family or joint family.

TABLE 32
WORKING MOTHERS BY INCOME AND TYPE OF SUPPORTIVE SERVICE

Total Family Income	Type of Supportive Service			Total (100%)
	Relatives %	Servants %	None %	
Low (Up to Rs. 300 p.m.)	65.84	14.29	19.87	161
Middle (Rs. 301—500)	69.97	24.36	5.67	353
High (Rs. 501 and over)	69.93	29.02	1.05	286

Chi-square : 46.088
Degrees of freedom : 4

Level of significance : 0.001
p at 0.001 : 18.46

It is evident that the majority of working mothers have relatives at home for help in household tasks.

Higher the income, greater is the proportion securing services of relatives and servants, and lesser the proportion who apparently have to depend entirely on themselves. This trend is statistically significant.

Presumably, having relatives and servants is costly, and so those with higher income are more often able to afford it.

TABLE 33
WORKING MOTHERS BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND TYPE OF SUPPORTIVE SERVICE

Level of Education	Type of Supportive Service		Total (100%)
	Servants %	Others %	
Collegiate	38.52	61.48	135
Non-collegiate	24.66	75.34	665

Chi-square : 11.42
Degree of freedom : 1

Level of significance : 0.001
p at 0.001 : 10.83

That a significantly greater proportion of working mothers with college education have hired help is borne out by the above Table. The difference in this respect between the collegiate and non-collegiate is about 15 per cent. It is interesting to read this with the facts mentioned elsewhere, namely, higher income is more associated with college education (Table 23) and more of higher income families tend to depend upon relatives (Table 32). This will mean that though the college educated can better afford to have relatives for home assistance they do not do so in all cases ; the opposite is true of the non-collegiate.

That this trend is statistically significant is, of course, no clear-cut proof that college educated wives tend to live in unitary families. But this may be taken as testifying to the growing tendency among college educated working mothers towards a greater degree of freedom of action.

TABLE 34

HUSBANDS BY PARTICULARS REGARDING SUPPORTIVE SERVICES AT HOME

Particulars Regarding Supportive Services at Home	Labour Force Status of Wives	
	Inside %	Outside %
Nature of Supportive Service		
Relatives and servants	32.00	34.00
Relatives	24.00	14.00
Servants	34.00	32.00
None	10.00	20.00
Total (100%)	50	50
Whether Supportive Relatives Were Voluntarily Sought		
Yes	67.85	12.50
No	32.15	87.50
Total* (100%)	28	24

*Total having relatives at home.

The above Table reveals the following :

(i) Though only a slightly larger proportion of families of working mothers (56 per cent) have relatives for assistance than families of non-working mothers (48 per cent), a very great proportion of working mothers have voluntarily sought such help whereas only a few non-working mothers have done so. Thus it is clear that the need for a relative to look after the home is acutely felt by mothers who work.

(ii) Understandably twice as many families of non-working mothers as those of working mothers apparently do not have use either for a relative or for a servant at home.

Sixty-four per cent of husbands of working mothers and 58 per cent of husbands of non-working mothers said that they preferred to live in a joint family. The difference in the percentage may be due to the fact that help in household work or child care is more necessary for the working mother.

TABLE 35

WORKING MOTHERS BY AGE OF THE YOUNGEST CHILD AND TYPE OF SUPPORTIVE SERVICE

Age of the Youngest Child	Type of Supportive Service			Total (100%)
	Relatives %	Servants %	Neither %	
11 months and below	79.26	18.52	2.22	135
1—2 years and 11 months	69.44	26.19	4.37	252
3—4 years and 11 months	66.21	26.89	6.90	145
5—9 years and 11 months	56.85	30.96	12.19	197
10-15 years	49.30	35.21	15.49	71

Chi-square : 41.40

Degrees of freedom : 8

Level of significance : 0.001

p at 0.001 : 26.12

We see a highly significant association between the age of the youngest child of the working mothers and the type of supportive service they rely upon. As the age of the last child increases, they tend to rely more on servants—or none at all—than on relatives, who seem to be the type of assistance most frequently sought by those working mothers the age of the youngest child of whom is relatively low. Probably mothers seek the presence of a supportive relative in the home to help them through confinement and in the early years of the new-born child.

The supportive relative is, in most cases, the aged and dependent mother of the working mother or her husband, or some other elderly relative, usually female. In some cases, it is also the sister of the working mother or husband.

Child Care Functions :

In the absence of relatives and servants, mothers who leave their child or children at home while going to work are seen to entrust them to the care of neighbours or co-tenants. However, such cases are very few (a little over 2 per cent), the rest having relatives or servants to do the baby-sitting.

It is to be expected that the mothers bear the brunt of the child care duties like bathing, feeding, dressing and putting to sleep, and from the responses that are available it is seen that mothers invariably share the major load of child care, their participation being 69 per cent ; relatives come next

with 15 per cent, husbands 10 per cent and servants 6 per cent. Mothers' share is much less in teaching the children and in accompanying them to school. Their share of work is greater in feeding, bathing and dressing the children. Many mothers have also mentioned more frequently the task of putting them to bed. It is quite apparent that fathers lend a helping hand in teaching the children and to a lesser extent in bathing, clothing and sending them to bed. They help least in feeding and in accompanying children to school. Relatives' share in child care reveals the same pattern of concern and participation as that of the mother although the degree as expressed by the frequency of mention is much less in the case of relatives. Although servants are mentioned least frequently with respect to the different functions, they accompany children to the school more often than husbands or relatives. They are least concerned with teaching children. Among the duties of child care allotted to servants feeding is most often mentioned. Likewise, among the duties allotted to relatives, the task of feeding is mentioned most often.

Areas Of Concern In Child Care :

Compared to one who is not employed, the working mother can spend but fewer hours in looking after the children. Hence it is pertinent to ask whether she is satisfied with the care given to her children in all the important areas.

TABLE 36
WORKING MOTHERS BY AREAS OF DISSATISFACTION IN CHILD CARE
ARRANGEMENT AND TYPE OF SUPPORTIVE SERVICE

Type of Supportive Service	Attending to Children When Ill		Other Areas of Child Care*		Total (100%)
	Whether Satisfied				
	Yes %	No %	Yes %	No %	
Relatives	90.10	9.90	92.19	7.81	525
Servants	73.62	26.38	79.86	20.14	216
None	77.97	22.03	78.65	21.35	59

*These columns show the average percentage of those satisfied and dissatisfied with arrangement for child care in the following areas : feeding, clothing, toilet, putting to sleep and sending to school.

Chi-square: 34.174

Degrees of freedom: 2

Level of significance: 0.001

p at 0.001: 13.82

Chi-square: 22.107

Degrees of freedom: 2

Level of significance: 0.001

p at 0.001: 13.82

In general, only a very small proportion of mothers are dissatisfied with arrangements for any area of child care. Of these, a greater proportion of mothers are dissatisfied with the arrangement for attending to children when ill. However, absence of someone close such as relatives to help in child care seems more often to lead to dissatisfaction, whether in the case of illness or in other areas.

TABLE 37
WORKING MOTHERS BY TYPE OF SUPPORTIVE SERVICE AND AREA OF ANXIETY REGARDING CHILD CARE

Area of Anxiety	Type of Supportive Service	
	Relatives %	Others %
Irregular feeding	5.14*	15.64**
Ill-treatment	3.24	12.36
Accident	5.71	13.45
Bad company	2.10	8.00
Indiscipline	1.33	8.00
Truancy	2.48	5.09

*5.14 per cent of those having supportive relatives expressed anxiety about irregular feeding. The rest (94.86 per cent) did not. All figures under 'relatives' are to be read in the same way.

**15.64 per cent of those having others for supportive services or none at all expressed anxiety about irregular feeding. The rest (84.36 per cent) did not. All figures under 'others' are to be read in the same way.

We see that a greater percentage of mothers having servants or none at all to help them in household work and child care than mothers having supportive relatives express anxiety regarding the care of their children in its various aspects. The areas have been listed in a descending order of the degree of difference in the respective percentages. The degree ranges from 10.50 per cent to 2.61 per cent. Having or not having relatives makes most difference in anxiety about feeding and least about truancy.

TABLE 38
HUSBANDS' ANXIETY ABOUT CHILD CARE: AS REPORTED BY WORKING MOTHERS

Age of the Last Child	Husbands Worried About Child Care		Total (100%)
	Yes %	No %	
Up to 5 years	43.79	56.21	532
Over 5 years	33.20	66.80	268

Chi-square: 8.40

Degree of freedom: 1

Level of significance: 0.01

p at 0.01: 6.64

We find a significant relationship between the age of the youngest child and number of husbands who are worried about child care. A greater proportion of husbands of working mothers, the age of the youngest child of whom is below 5 years, than others, tend to be worried about proper care being given to their children.

Relatively a greater proportion of husbands (26.50 per cent) were reported by the working mothers to be dissatisfied in the area of care during illness. Next in order is the amount of time that the working mother spends with the children (20.37 per cent), followed by time she spends with her husband (18.25 per cent). Elsewhere will be made an assessment of the satisfaction of husbands with the management of their respective homes as directly expressed by them.

Household Management :

The percentage of working mothers who do the major portion of household tasks is not significantly lower than the percentage among non-working mothers.

TABLE 39
MOTHERS BY SHARE OF HOUSEHOLD WORK

Labour Force Status	Does Major Part of Household Work		Total (100%)
	Yes %	No %	
Inside	52.50	47.50	800
Outside	56.00	44.00	50

Chi-square : 0.339

Level of significance : 0.70

Degree of freedom : 1

p at 0.70 : 0.15

In the light of the fact that only 7 per cent of the working mothers have neither servants nor relatives, we must consider the fact that there are nearly 53 per cent who do the major part of household work. This means that the working mothers do the major part of household work in spite of their having servants or supportive relatives staying with them.

TABLE 40
MOTHERS BY TIME SPENT IN HOUSEHOLD WORK

Labour Force Status	Time Spent in Household Work			Total (100%)
	Up to 3 Hours %	3 - 6 Hours %	Over 6 Hours %	
Inside*	19.36	54.88	25.76	532
Outside	26.00	54.00	20.00	50

*Excludes 268 working mothers the age of the youngest child of whom is above 5 years.

The working mothers seem to spend a little more time in household work than the non-working mothers do. The proportion of working mothers spending 3 to 6 hours and over 6 hours in household work is higher than that of non-working mothers by nearly 5 per cent and 6 per cent respectively. This might suggest the attempt made by the working mothers to compensate for their absence at home during the day. However, we do not find a significant association between labour force status and amount of time spent in household work, which may be explained as follows: working mothers, who have to crowd their activities into the limited time they spend at home during the day, apparently feel that they spend more time in household work than they actually do. Concentration and intensity should mark the employed mothers' work at home while non-working wives can afford to take work in their relaxed stride, resulting in a disproportionate sense of the amount of time involved. One tends to overestimate, the other to underestimate, and consequently the averages tend to converge.

TABLE 41
WORKING MOTHERS BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN AND TIME
SPENT IN HOUSEWORK

Number of Children	Time Spent in Housework Daily		Total (100%)
	Up to 5 Hours %	Over 5 Hours %	
Up to 3	34.91	65.09	699
4 and more	30.69	69.31	101

Chi-square: 0.43

Degree of freedom: 1

Level of significance: 0.70

p at 0.70: 0.15

Increase in the number of children does not necessarily increase the hours of work to any significant level probably because the household work does not multiply in the same proportion as the number of members. This may be an instance of economics of scale encountered in household management.

Labour Saving Devices:

If devices like electric heater and pressure cooker could be called labour saving devices, about 7 per cent of the working mothers are found to use these.

Areas Of Worry And Concern While At Work :

Asked about the areas of their concern and worry due to employment, 42 per cent said that they were worried about their children while at work ;

about 10 per cent of mothers were concerned about household management and nearly 6 per cent about husband-care, while at work ; 29 per cent felt that their employment came in the way of pursuit of their hobbies.

We find that the working mothers are concerned, next to child care, about themselves, their health and hobbies. The percentage of working mothers, who are concerned about themselves in these ways are greater than the percentage of those who are concerned about their husbands. Probably among the rest who express no concern for husbands there are a few who feel shy to express the same.

TABLE 42
AREAS ADVERSELY AFFECTED BY EMPLOYMENT

	Areas Adversely Affected			
	Food	Tidiness of Home	Management of Servants	Arrangement for Guests
	%	%	%	%
Educational Level				
High school	20.31*	21.12	18.59	13.25
Inter and PUC	17.86	23.81	15.48	11.90
Graduates	22.96	21.48	21.48	15.56
Type of Supportive Service				
Relatives	16.57†	20.19	9.52	15.81
Servants	26.39	25.00	22.69	23.61
None	33.90	27.12	15.27	27.11

*20.31 per cent of all those who were educated upto high school level felt that food was an area adversely affected by employment. The rest (79.69 per cent) did not feel so.

†16.57 per cent of all those who had relatives for help in household tasks felt food was an area adversely affected by employment. The rest (83.43 per cent) did not feel so.

All figures in this Table are to be read in the same way.

More graduates feel dissatisfied about the type of food that they can prepare. Many of them mentioned the lack of variety and balance they could introduce in the diet owing to their own employment. Many non-collegiate mothers said that they were worried about the quality of cooking. We also see that more of non-graduates in the collegiate group express dissatisfaction with respect to cleanliness of the house.

It is clear that mothers who depend upon servants express dissatisfaction mostly about cooking. Mothers who depend upon relatives express dissatisfaction regarding cleanliness of the house. Most probably in a household crowded with one's kith and kin it is difficult to maintain order and cleanliness. When mothers have neither servants nor relatives they are worried about the variety of food that they can prepare. This type of anxiety is similar to the chief anxiety felt by the graduate group.

TABLE 43
WORKING MOTHERS BY TYPE OF FAMILY AND AREAS OF CONCERN

Area of Concern	Type of Family	Worried %	Not Worried %	Total (100%)
*Child care	Unitary	48.35	51.65	393
	Joint	35.38	64.62	407
**Household management	Unitary	12.98	87.02	393
	Joint	7.31	92.69	407

*Chi-square: 13.89
Degree of freedom: 1

Level of significance: 0.001
p at 0.001: 10.83

**Chi-square: 6.65
Degree of freedom: 1

Level of significance: 0.01
p at 0.01: 6.64

It can be seen that mothers in unitary families are relatively more worried with respect to child care and household management. The percentage of mothers who express worry and concern in the areas of child care and household management is relatively low among those who live in joint or extended families. We see that the association between type of family and working mothers' feeling of concern and worry while at work is at a highly significant level in the areas of child care and household management.

Since supportive relatives living in the working mothers' families seem to fulfil an important need by providing help with child care and housework one may expect a greater proportion of these mothers than those outside the labour force to express preference for a joint family arrangement. But in fact there is a difference of only about 6 per cent. The reason most frequently mentioned by both working and non-working mothers for their preference for joint family is help that will be available in child care (73 per cent) and household management (65 per cent).

TABLE 44
MOTHERS BY PREFERENCE FOR TYPE OF FAMILY

Labour Force Status	Preference for Joint Family	Preference for Unitary Family	Total (100%)
	%	%	
Inside	58.37	41.25	800*
Outside	52.00	48.00	50

*Including 'No preference' (0.37 per cent)

Chi-square: 1.414

Degree of freedom: 1

Level of significance: 0.30

p at 0.30: 1.07

It is evident that in general mothers do not consider hired help a satisfactory mother substitute to be relied upon to the same appreciable extent as they could rely upon the services of a supportive relative or an elderly female relative who could be easily found in a joint family or any similar extended family group.

Husbands' Satisfaction With Household Management:

The husband's level of satisfaction with the way the home is managed can be taken to be an index of the impact of mother's employment on the household. For a note on how this was measured, see Appendix I.

TABLE 45
HUSBANDS BY LEVEL OF SATISFACTION*—I

Labour Force Status of Wives	Husband's Satisfaction Score		
	High	Middle and Low	Total (100%)
	%	%	
Inside	20.00	80.00	50
Outside	60.00	40.00	50

*'Level of satisfaction' refers to level of satisfaction with household management in this and the following Tables.

Chi-square: 16.66

Degree of freedom: 1

Level of significance: 0.001

p at 0.001: 10.83

The satisfaction score regarding household management and child care is higher among husbands of non-working mothers than those of working

mothers. This association is at a significant level. While this is to be expected, it is possible that the husbands of working mothers have a tendency to slightly exaggerate their dissatisfaction and are likely to attribute any lack in these areas to the fact of their wives' absence from home, due to employment.

If this were true, then the likelihood of husbands of working mothers having 'high' satisfaction should be more when the wife (and not anyone else) does the major part of household work. The following Table bears out this assumption.

TABLE 46
HUSBANDS BY LEVEL OF SATISFACTION—II

	Labour Force Status of Wives	Husbands' Satisfaction Score			Total (100%)
		High %	Middle %	Low %	
Persons Doing Major Part of Household Work					
Wife	Inside	42.86	32.14	25.00	28
	Outside	67.65	11.76	20.59	34
Servant	Inside	22.22	33.33	44.45	9
	Outside	33.33	—	66.67	3
Others	Inside	23.08	46.15	30.77	13
	Outside	53.84	23.08	23.08	13
Per Capita Income*					
Low	Inside	17.18	33.30	52.52	33
	Outside	69.44	11.11	19.45	36
Middle	Inside	26.67	46.66	26.67	15
	Outside	62.50	—	37.50	8
High	Inside	—	100.00	—	2
	Outside	—	50.00	50.00	6

*Low: Upto Rs. 100; Middle: Rs. 101-200; High: Rs. 201 and over.

The satisfaction score of husbands of non-working mothers is not necessarily lower (about 54 per cent 'high'), as in the other group (23 per cent 'high'), when the major part of the housework is not done by their wives, but by some one else.

When one compares the satisfaction scores of husbands of working and non-working mothers in the light of their per capita income there is a consistently high satisfaction score among husbands of non-working mothers in the low and middle per capita levels. The dissatisfaction of husbands of non-working mothers in the middle and high per capita levels is mostly in the areas of management of servants or company their children keep. The former may be due to the lack of reliability and efficiency amongst servants in general, and the latter due to bad neighbourhood or lack of good schooling. The dissatisfaction score of husbands of working wives is more in the low per capita income group thus indicating that low economic conditions may lower one's satisfaction level.

It is probable that if the effects of employment on the family were inimical, a good proportion of husbands would not rate high the desirability of mothers' employment in general. Thus this question can indirectly provide information on the extent of the adverse effect of employment on family life.

TABLE 47
HUSBANDS OF WORKING MOTHERS BY OPINION ON
MOTHERS' EMPLOYMENT

	Opinion on Mothers' Employment in General			Total (100%)
	Thoroughly Undesirable %	Somewhat Undesirable %	Thoroughly Desirable %	
Per Capita Income				
Low	12.50	37.50	50.00	33
Middle	—	62.50	37.50	15
High	50.00	—	50.00	2
Home Management Satisfaction Level				
Low	9.09	31.32	59.09	22
Middle	11.11	56.56	33.33	18
High	10.00	50.00	40.00	10

An equal proportion of husbands in the 'low' and 'high' per capita income groups are seen to be of the opinion that employment of mothers is completely desirable. This unstinted approval may be more due to economic necessity in the first group and the ability to provide satisfactory arrangements in the home in the mother's absence in the second. In the 'middle' income group the situation is likely to be in between these two, hence we find a greater proportion of husbands in this group having a middle opinion about mothers' employment describing it as 'somewhat undesirable'.

One might expect the satisfaction level of husbands and the likelihood of their assessing mothers' employment increasingly as desirable to be directly related. But this is disproved by the second half of the above Table.

TABLE 48
HUSBANDS OF WORKING MOTHERS BY ATTITUDE TO WIVES' EMPLOYMENT

	Attitude to Wives' Employment			Total (100%)
	Always Favourable	Sometimes Favourable	Seldom Favourable	
	%	%	%	
Per Capita Income				
Low	57.58	39.39	3.03	33
Middle	53.33	46.67	—	15
High	50.00	50.00	—	2
Home Management Satisfaction Level				
Low	54.55	40.90	4.55	22
Middle	50.00	50.00	—	18
High	70.00	30.00	—	10

The number of husbands who have always been favourable to their wives being in employment steadily increases as the per capita income level tends to go lower. It is possible that those with relatively low level of income do not feel free to express their unfavourableness since wife's earning has an important place in the household economy.

The more highly satisfied the husbands are regarding household management and child care the more favourable they are, as can be expected, towards their wives' employment, though there is a slight drop when the satisfaction score is at the middle level, which is not very significant.

In sum, the state of being employed apparently does not affect mothers' health in any appreciable number of cases. Nor does it seem to affect the normalcy of mothers' child-bearing process. However, it does seem to help keep the family size small. It does not generally seem to affect children's studies adversely.

Though most mothers depend on relatives for help with household tasks, more of college educated mothers and those in higher income brackets employ servants. Dependence on relatives decreases with increase in the age of the youngest child. However, in most cases, the working mothers themselves bear the brunt of child care duties, as well as other household work.

Very few mothers are dissatisfied with the amount of care they are personally able to give their children. Of these, many are dissatisfied with not being able to participate fully in attending to them when sick, especially when they do not have the help of a supportive relative at home. When at least one of the children is relatively young, husbands tend to be worried about child rearing. More of husbands of working mothers tend to express dissatisfaction with the way their home is taken care of.

SECTION III

EFFECT ON HUSBAND-WIFE RELATIONSHIP

Husbands' Share In Housework :

In the light of the fact that it is not customary for husbands in the Indian homes to help the wives with the household tasks, it would be interesting to consider the question whether wife's employment necessitates husband's participation in having the household chores done.

Only a slightly greater percentage of mothers inside the labour force than outside reported that their husbands helped them in child care and housework (74.66 per cent as against 72 per cent). However, the work done by a great majority of the husbands is outside the home, like purchasing grocery and vegetables for the home and not so much inside the home. Their participation in child care duties mentioned earlier is worth recalling.

It is clear that a greater percentage of husbands who have had collegiate education as compared to those who have not had collegiate education help their working wives in both the areas of household management and child care. However, a very low percentage of husbands, taking both the collegiate and non-collegiate groups, help their working wives in the area of child care.

TABLE 49
HUSBANDS' LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND HELP IN HOUSEWORK AS
REPORTED BY WORKING MOTHERS

Husband's Level of Education	Husband's Help				Total* (100%)
	In Housework		In Child Care		
	Yes %	No %	Yes %	No %	
Non-collegiate	60.00	40.00	5.05	94.95	435
Collegiate	67.18	32.82	9.59	90.41	323

*Excludes 42 cases of widowed, separated and divorced mothers.

Chi-square: 3.92

Degree of freedom: 1

Level of significance: 0.05

p at 0.05: 3.84

Chi-square: 5.28

Degree of freedom: 1

Level of significance: 0.05

p at 0.05: 3.84

The association between husbands' level of education and help in housework and child care is at a significant level. This may be due to two reasons: (1) Husbands who have had college education are more likely to be in the higher categories of employment, thus having more time to spend at home. Their hours of work may be such that they do not have to leave home very early in the morning or come back home very late in the evening (2) Perhaps level of education and the awareness of the need to help are directly associated.

TABLE 50
HUSBANDS' PARTICIPATION IN HOUSEHOLD TASKS

	Labour Force Status of Wives	
	Inside %	Outside %
Opinion Regarding Husbands' Participation in Household Tasks		
Should share equally with wife	68.00	60.00
Should do a small portion of it	30.00	34.00
Should share none at all	2.00	6.00
Total (100%)	50	50
Nature of Actual Participation		
Shares equally with wife	58.00	34.00
Does a small portion of it	36.00	46.00
Does none at all	6.00	20.00
Total (100%)	50	50

We see a pattern regarding the labour force status of wives and amount of husbands' participation in household tasks. A greater proportion of husbands whose wives are employed favour and also participate in household work. Also it is noteworthy that a greater per cent in this group participate than favour while it is the other way round in the wife-non-employed group, which must be indicative that husband's share in chores of the home is a necessity in families in which the mother goes for a job outside the home.

A great majority of the husbands, 82 per cent in the wife-employed group and 86 per cent in the wife-non-employed group, agree that the non-employed wife does not require as much help from the husband in household tasks as the employed wife does.

Would Husbands Like Wives To Continue To Work ?

Strain could develop in husband-wife relationship if wife goes to work without the husband's consent or against his wishes

A majority of mothers in our sample having been found to work for economic reasons, one may find the following question significant: Do mothers in the event of improved economic condition owing to rise in husbands' income or other reasons expect a favourable reaction from husbands for their continuance in employment? Also, this question may be taken as a rough and indirect indication of the husbands' attitude to her employment as understood and assessed by the working mother.

Less than one third (30.88 per cent) of the mothers reported that their husbands would be willing to let them work even if the family's economic position improved. Over half the total (53.50) said that their husbands would not let them continue working. A little over one-tenth (10.38) said that they were uncertain as to what their husbands' attitude would be. The question was inapplicable to the rest (5.25 per cent) since the husband was not alive or was not living with the wife.

About 73 per cent of the working mothers are willing to continue working even if their husbands' incomes were to go up. On the other hand, as already said, only about 31 per cent of the working mothers expect a favourable reaction from their husbands. This might be taken to be a strong indication of considerable tension and conflict in the minds of husband and wife in the matter of mother's continued employment in the absence of economic necessity. However, since the possibility of a rise in income in the next five years to the level desired by the husbands is found to exist only in 4 per cent of the cases, the question of conflict is no more than of academic interest.

The fact that about 73 per cent of the working mothers are willing to continue working even if the family income were to rise may confirm the high 'inner-direction' of working mothers.¹ Although economic reasons may be the most frequently mentioned factor that induced mothers to take up employment, their attitude to work is not so much influenced by the original reason. Perhaps, one may suggest that the opportunity for personal fulfilment, social contact and sense of purpose may govern their attitude towards the work situation, although the fundamental motive that takes them

¹David Reisman, *Op. Cit.*

away from homes may be economic necessity. It is also possible for one's values to change with change in economic circumstances, and mothers may possibly anticipate the same.

TABLE 51
WORKING MOTHERS NOT PREFERRING TO GIVE UP EMPLOYMENT BY
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND REASONS*

Educational Level	Economic Reasons	Non-Economic Reasons
	%	%
High school	85.87	14.13
Inter and PUC	75.00	25.00
Graduate and postgraduate	48.88	51.12

*This Table has been prepared from the responses of 215 mothers coming under this category; since some gave more than one reason, the total responses amounted to much more than 215 in number.

The frequency of mentioning economic reasons is greater among the high school, Inter and PUC groups than among graduates and postgraduates. The economic reasons in this case, of course, refer more to reasons of economic security than to economic sufficiency. The former includes such reasons as 'having a steady income', 'saving for future' and 'to help parents'.

Nearly 70 per cent of the 215 mothers who are not willing to continue working if family income went up are those whose youngest child is aged 5 and below. It must be an indication of the anxiety regarding one's ability to give proper care to younger children who have not yet attained the school going age.

The reasons given by the 215 mothers for their willingness to quit labour force in the event of a sufficient rise in the income of their husbands were: 'there will no more be any economic necessity' (49.32 per cent); 'to continue to work will be to detract from the husband's social status' (28.37 per cent); 'in order to be able to look after home and children better' (22.31 per cent).

TABLE 52
WORKING MOTHERS BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND WILLINGNESS
TO CONTINUE WORKING*

Willingness to Continue Working	Educational Level		Total (100%)
	Collegiate %	Non-Collegiate %	
Yes	27.69	72.31	585
No	26.51	73.49	215

*If family income went up otherwise than by mother's own employment.

Chi-square : 0.126

Level of significance : 0.80

Degree of freedom : 1

p at 0.80 : 0.064

Since we have seen that the proportion of collegiate mothers giving non-economic reasons for employment is significantly greater than that of the non-collegiate, we may expect that more of college educated mothers will be willing to continue in employment in the event of a rise in the family income otherwise than by the mothers' own employment. However, the data do not support this assumption.

The working mothers were asked whether their husbands would like them to stop working at the moment. About 24 per cent replied in the affirmative.

TABLE 53
HUSBANDS' DESIRE TO HAVE WIVES STOP WORKING :
AS REPORTED BY WORKING MOTHERS—I

Per Capita Income	Husbands' Desire to Have Wives Stop Working		Total* (100%)
	Yes %	No %	
Upto Rs. 100	59.86	40.14	416
Above Rs. 100	69.11	30.89	259

*Excludes 125 responses: 83 'uncertain' responses and 42 'not applicable' cases, i. e., where husbands are not alive or do not live with wives.

Chi-square : 6.07

Level of significance : 0.02

Degree of freedom : 1

p at 0.02 : 5.41

It is seen that a significantly greater proportion of men, the per capita income of whose families is Rs. 100 or below, are inclined to let their wives continue to work even if there was a rise in their own income. This may be because more of such men do not expect any increase in their income or only

a meagre increase if at all. Almost the same proportion of mothers (10.9 per cent each) in both groups (below and above Rs. 100 per capita income) are uncertain about their husbands' likely attitude.

TABLE 54
HUSBANDS' DESIRE TO HAVE WIVES STOP WORKING :
AS REPORTED BY WORKING MOTHERS — II

Husband's Worry About Child Care	Husbands' Desire to Have Wives Stop Working		Total (100%)
	Yes %	No %	
Yes	30.12	69.88	322
No	20.08	79.92	478

Chi-square : 10.21

Level of significance : 0.01

Degree of freedom : 1

p at 0.01 : 6.64

There is a significant relationship between husbands' resistance to their wives' employment and husbands' worry about child care. A greater proportion of husbands worried than not worried about child care reportedly desire to have their wives stop working.

In the direct version of the husbands themselves, 64 per cent of them would like their wives to stop working if there was a sufficient rise in their own income; 36 per cent do not like their wives to stop working even if their income goes up. The reasons given by them are as follows: to save for the future, to raise standard of living, to let wife put her education and training to some use, to let her serve the community, favourableness of non-economic conditions, to have an additional source of income, wife is used to working, improbability of a substantial rise in the husbands' own income. One husband offered the reason that his wife was too inefficient as house-keeper and mother!

TABLE 55
HUSBANDS OF WORKING MOTHERS BY DESIRE TO HAVE WIVES STOP
WORKING IN THE EVENT OF SUFFICIENT RISE IN OWN INCOME

Attitude to Wife's Employment	Assessment of Mothers' Employment in General			Desire to Have Wife Stop Working*		Total (100%)
	Thoroughly Undesirable %	Somewhat Undesirable %	Thoroughly Desirable %	Yes %	No %	
Sometimes favourable	19.05	61.90	19.05	80.95	19.05	21
Seldom favourable	—	—	100.00	100.00	—	1

*If there was a sufficient rise in own income.

We may expect that among the husbands whose attitude to wives' employment is always favourable, a majority would say that mothers' getting into employment is desirable.

While our expectation is proved correct, as seen in the above Table, we also find the only person who was seldom favourable to his wife going to work assess the employment of mothers as thoroughly desirable. One may take this to mean that while in his own case, due to some reasons, he could not approve of his wife going to work, he felt that employment of mothers as such is not undesirable.

Also we find that, as may be expected, as favourableness to wife's employment decreases there is an increasing proportion of husbands desiring to have wives stop working in case of a sufficient rise in their own income.

TABLE 56
HUSBANDS OF WORKING MOTHERS BY DESIRE TO HAVE WIVES
STOP WORKING ON OWN OR WIFE'S TRANSFER

Per Capita Income ¹	Desire to Have Wives Stop Working		Total ² (100%)
	Yes %	No %	
Low	29.16	70.84	24
Middle	60.00	40.00	15
High	—	100.00	1

1. Low: Up to Rs. 100; Middle: Rs. 101—200; High: Rs. 201 and above.

2. Excludes ten cases where no transfer is possible.

One may expect that among husbands of relatively low economic position a greater proportion would be unwilling to have their wives stop working in the event of a situation that compels them to have separate establishments for living. This is borne out by the above Table where we find that the willingness of the husbands of working mothers to allow their wives to withdraw from the labour force in the event of their own or wives' transfer is inversely related to their per capita income level. One-fifth of the husbands of working mothers felt that there was no likelihood of their own or wives' transfer.

TABLE 57
HUSBANDS BY OPINION ON FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

Labour Force Status of Wives	Opinion					
	Better Family Adjustment in Mother-Non-Employed Families			Better Family Adjustment in Mother-Employed Families		
	Inside			Outside		
Home Management Satisfaction Level	Agree %	Disagree %	Total (100%)	Agree %	Disagree %	Total (100%)
Low	40.91	59.09	22	46.15	53.85	13
Middle and high	43.21	56.79	28	38.89	61.11	36*

*No opinion—1

We find that an almost equal proportion of husbands in each group (the wife-employed and wife-non-employed groups; 42 per cent in the wife-employed group and 40 per cent in the wife-non-employed group) express the possibility of a better marital adjustment in the other group.

It is reasonable to think that if a person's satisfaction with home life is at a low level he will tend to think that were circumstances different he would be happier. Thus, husbands of working mothers whose satisfaction with home management is low may think that a better adjustment is possible in mother-non-employed families and vice versa.

Hence, one may conjecture that among husbands of working wives there will be an inverse association between home management satisfaction level and tendency to agree with the statement that there is a better husband-wife relationship in families in which the mother is not working, and a direct association in the case of husbands of non-working wives. The above Table supports this conjecture.

TABLE 58
HUSBANDS OF WORKING MOTHERS BY OPINION ON STATEMENTS
REGARDING MOTHERS' EMPLOYMENT

Statement	Home Management Satisfaction Level	Agreement		Total (100%)
		Yes %	No %	
Husbands of non-employed wives are happier than husbands of employed wives	Low	40.91	59.09	22
	Middle	38.89	61.11	18
	High	40.00	60.00	10
Children of non-employed mothers are happier than the children of employed mothers	Low	68.18	31.82	22
	Middle	38.89	61.11	18
	High	20.00	80.00	10
A woman who is a full-time worker in office cannot do full justice to her role as wife	Low	63.64	36.36	22
	Middle	38.89	61.11	18
	High	40.00	60.00	10

It is very likely that the lower the satisfaction level of husbands regarding conditions in the home, the greater the proportion that will agree with statements, like the ones found in the above Table, implying adverse effect of mothers' employment on family life.

That a substantial proportion of husbands of working mothers do feel adverse effects of their wives' employment is indirectly revealed by the facts that 40 per cent of them agree that husbands of non-working wives are happier than themselves; a little less than half of them (48 per cent) agree that children of non-employed mothers are happier than their own children;

and exactly half of them agree that a woman working full-time in an office cannot do full justice to her role as wife.

It is found that this is generally so, except in regard to the statement about the happiness of husbands of employed wives, which is perhaps too personal for the respondents in the low satisfaction level group to agree with, though they do so, in greater proportion, with other statements.

TABLE 59
HUSBANDS BY FREQUENCY OF SPENDING LEISURE TIME
WITH WIFE AND CHILDREN

Frequency of Spending Leisure Hours		Labour Force Status of Wives	
		Inside %	Outside %
With Wife			
Often	50.00	62.00
Sometimes	30.00	28.00
Rarely	20.00	10.00
Total (100%)		50	50
With Children			
Often	58.00	64.00
Sometimes	34.00	28.00
Rarely	8.00	8.00
Total (100%)		50	50

A greater proportion of the husbands of non-working wives are seen to spend their leisure hours often with their wives and a lesser proportion rarely, while it is the other way round in the case of husbands of working wives. However, no such significant difference is found in their frequency of spending leisure hours with children.

It is possible that the working hours of the husband and wife do not coincide in the case of some husbands and hence they may not be able to spend as much of their leisure with the family as they would like to. This also explains why a certain number of husbands say that they rarely spend any of their leisure with their wives.

TABLE 60
MOTHERS BY FREQUENCY OF HAVING MEALS TOGETHER WITH HUSBANDS

	Breakfast Lunch Dinner Together with Husband					
	Labour Force Status of Wives					
	Inside %	Outside %	Inside %	Outside %	Inside %	Outside %
Working days	43.38	56.00	6.63	34.00	74.75	72.00
Holidays	81.13	78.00	80.63	74.00	82.38	76.00
Total (100%)	800	50	800	50	800	50

In general, husband and wife seem to meet at the dinner table more often on holidays than on working days. However, this increase is greater in the mother-employed group by 15.75 per cent at breakfast, 34 per cent at lunch and 3.63 per cent at dinner than in the mother-non-employed group. This perhaps shows the anxiety on the part of husband and wife in the mother-employed families to come together for meals more frequently on holidays, an event which they are likely to miss on working days because of the fact that both of them are employed. It is very relevant to recall here the fact (as seen in the last Table) that the working wife and her husband are less often able to spend leisure time together than the non-working wife and her husband.

TABLE 61
HUSBANDS BY PATTERN OF FAMILY FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT

	Labour Force Status of Wives	
	Inside %	Outside %
Opinion as to the Most Desirable Pattern of Financial Management :		
Wife should play major role	36.00	20.00
Husband and wife should equally share the role	42.00	48.00
Husband should play major role	22.00	32.00
Total (100%)	50	50
Actual Pattern of Financial Management in the Family :		
Wife plays major role	26.00	16.00
Husband and wife equally share the role	44.00	38.00
Husband plays major role	30.00	44.00
Someone else manages*	—	2.00
Total (100%)	50	50

*Father.

The above Table reveals the following :

- i. More husbands of working mothers than those of non-working mothers would like their wives to manage the financial affairs of the household.
- ii. Not all men who would like their wives to be in charge of finance find their wives doing so. This is more true of working wives.

- iii. Fewer husbands of working wives than those of non-working wives would themselves like to be in charge of financial affairs. However, irrespective of whether their wives work or not, more men have to look after the financial affairs than are inclined to. This is more true of those whose wives are not employed.
- iv. Almost half the number of husbands of non-working wives prefer to manage financial affairs jointly with wife. In a substantial number of cases the state of affairs obtaining in this regard is different. On the contrary, in a greater number of mother-employed families husband and wife share the management of finance than the number of men expressing preference in this direction.

In short, in mother-employed families the husbands would rather let their wives take care of financial affairs; in mother-non-employed families the preference seems to be to do it on their own or jointly with wife.

Consultation With Husband :

We find that, on the average, nearly 96 per cent of the working mothers favour the idea of consultation. Also about 90 per cent of them are in the habit of consulting with their husbands on important activities of daily life. The corresponding figures for the non-working mothers are 90 per cent and 85 per cent, respectively.

TABLE 62

MOTHERS BY AREAS OF CONSULTATION WITH HUSBANDS

Area of Consultation	Those Favouring Consultation are More by ¹	
	Inside Labour Force %	Outside Labour Force %
Menu	3.25	10.00
Leisure time activities	4.25	4.00
Shopping	4.75	2.00
Child care	5.50	4.00 ²
Social visits	5.75	4.00
Children's education	6.00	4.00
Expenditure pattern	6.50	4.00
Property Matters	6.75	2.00

¹Than those practising consultation.

²Those practising are more by 4 per cent than those favouring, while it is the other way round in all the other cases.

If the increase in the number of those favouring consultation over the number practising this in any particular area is an indication of the mothers' insistence on having their say in the relevant area, we can say that working mothers demand to be consulted on more important areas like children's education, expenditure pattern and property matters, while non-working mothers do not seem to show such discriminating concern.

In sum : Most husbands want their wives to continue in employment, more so, if the family's income level is low. More of husbands, who are not satisfied with the amount of care being given to their children, want their wives to stop working. Some husbands of employed wives are of the view that marital harmony is more often seen in mother-non-employed families; some husbands of non-employed wives think just the opposite. Husbands of non-working mothers spend their leisure time with wives more often than husbands of working wives. Working wives look after the family finances more often than non-working wives, and they seem to be more often consulted by husbands on the more important aspects of family life.

Problems Of Husbands Due To Wives' Employment :

About 26 per cent said that they had no problems. The most frequently mentioned difficulty (24 per cent) was that husbands had to share housework with wives. About 10 per cent thought they did not get enough care from the wife, another 10 per cent said the same about children. Among the less frequently made comments were: 'not much happiness in the family'; 'we miss family life'; 'both of us are physically spent when we come home from office'; 'she is not able to receive me with a smile as perhaps a non-working wife would'; 'not able to go with wife to social functions'; 'I can't depend on her assistance for anything'; 'working wife loses her sense of economy'; 'I have to sacrifice my own comforts' ('by sharing housework'); and 'only minor problems: we have to eat our food early because she has to go to office, or have to serve ourselves'. A few husbands said that working tired their wives out, thus sometimes impairing their conjugal relations. One husband commented that working wife was an asset to the family and her working presented no problems.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

SUMMARY

The Study

Objectives and Scope : The purpose of the study was to explore the problems of working mothers in Madras city with reference to (i) child care and training, (ii) household management, (iii) husband-wife relationship, and (iv) integration of work and home life.

The Design : Data were collected by interviewing, with the help of structured schedules, 800 working mothers, 50 non-working mothers, and husbands of 50 working mothers and 50 non-working mothers.

Characteristics Of Working Mothers And Their Occupations

Age : A greater proportion of working mothers are in the relatively younger age groups, and this is true of the husbands of working mothers too.

Education : There is an inverse relationship between the level of education of husbands and the likelihood of their wives being in the labour force ; in the case of wives themselves, though a greater proportion of degree holders in the city's female population are in the labour force, still, compared to non-working mothers, a greater proportion of non-collegiate mothers are inside the labour force.

Vocational Training : There is a direct relationship between acquiring of vocational training and the likelihood of mothers being inside the labour force ; and an inverse association between level of education and acquiring of vocational training.

Religion : A relatively greater proportion of mothers belonging to the Christian religion in the city's female population are inside the labour force.

Initiative : A vast majority of working mothers have taken up employment on their own initiative.

Job Satisfaction : A very vast majority of mothers like the jobs held by them.

A greater proportion of mothers holding non-clerical jobs have taken up these because of job appeal.

Job Tenure : A great majority of mothers are in permanent jobs.

Time and Distance Travelled : There is a direct relationship between time and distance travelled by working mothers between home and work-spot, and hours of work at office.

A majority of working mothers return home after work much later than the usual hours by which children may be expected to arrive home from school. .

Extra-Office-Hour Duties : Night-duty is associated more with mothers employed in public utility services and hospital service, and carrying office work home with those in teaching and clerical jobs.

Reasons For Mothers' Employment

A great majority of mothers are employed for economic reasons.

Practically none of the husbands gives a purely non-economic reason for his wife being in employment.

Religion-wise no significant difference is found in responses related to reasons for employment, except that a greater proportion of Muslim mothers seem to work for reasons arising from their marital status.

A greater proportion of mothers having had collegiate education give purely non-economic reasons for employment.

A majority of non-working mothers favour mothers' employment for economic reasons.

A greater proportion of husbands of non-working mothers with low economic status, according to own estimate, favour their wives taking up employment.

Reasons for Non-Employment : While a majority of non-working mothers say that they are non-employed because employment is against family customs, a majority of their husbands mention the inadequacy of their wives' qualification as the chief reason.

Conditions Favouring Mothers' Employment : A greater proportion of relatives of working mothers have a favourable attitude to their employment, while a greater proportion of relatives of non-working mothers are unfavourably disposed to any potential employment of mothers.

While a lesser proportion of husbands of working mothers are of the opinion that employment of mothers affects the traditional family values and a greater proportion welcome these changes, it is the other way round in the case of husbands of non-working mothers.

More of husbands of non-working mothers have a negative attitude to (i) the likelihood of mother's earning assuring economic security to the family, (ii) woman's role as an earner, (iii) the likelihood of harmonious relationship with relatives in the event of wife's employment, and (iv) wife's employment as a factor commensurable with husband's social status.

There is an inverse relationship between number of children below 5 years of age and the likelihood of mothers being inside the labour force.

Reasons for Withdrawal from Labour Force : In the few cases reported, increase in household tasks necessitating mother's presence in the home, pregnancy and confinement, and further vocational training were the reasons why mothers withdrew from the labour force.

A majority of husbands would like their wives to stop working only if there was a sufficient rise in the family's level of income, excluding the wife's contribution to it.

Part-Time Employment : A vast majority of husbands prefer part-time employment for their wives ; more than half would like the number of working hours to be four ; the number liking the working time to be morning, afternoon, evening or split sessions is almost the same ; a little less than half want the remuneration to be at the maximum level of 75 to 100 per cent of the present income.

Effect Of Employment On Family Life :

Effect on Economic Conditions : A greater proportion of husbands in the 'low' and 'high' income groups, according to own estimates, find a considerable improvement in their position as a result of the wife's additional income.

Relatively higher per capita income is associated with higher level of education of mothers and professional type of jobs.

A greater proportion of families of working mothers support, by substantial sum of money per month, members other than those of the family.

Effect on Child Care : Non-working mothers have had more children and greater number of abnormal pregnancies than working mothers, but the difference between the two groups regarding these phenomena is not statistically significant.

A very vast majority of working mothers support the idea of limiting the family size.

About one-sixth of the working mothers and one-third of their husbands feel that mothers' employment affects children's studies adversely. There is significantly direct association between age of children and anxiety regarding adverse effect in this regard.

Breast-Feeding : More than half the number of mothers have had to interrupt feeding their children by breast, owing to employment.

Mother Substitution : The level of education of working mothers and the likelihood of having only servants in the home for substitute care are directly related.

A greater proportion of families of working mothers have relatives or both relatives and servants for supportive services; a greater proportion of families of non-working mothers have servants or no supportive services at all.

A slightly greater proportion of mothers inside the labour force, than outside, express preference for a joint family arrangement.

There is an inverse relationship between the age of the youngest child of working mothers and the likelihood of their having supportive relatives in the home.

Child Care Functions : In a great majority of families of working mothers, the mothers themselves carry out the main child care functions (despite the presence of supportive relatives or hired help).

Areas of Concern in Child Care : The area of dissatisfaction in child care for a relatively greater proportion of working mothers is attending to children when they fall ill.

The proportion of mothers expressing anxiety regarding this and other areas are relatively smaller among those who have supportive relatives in the home.

There is an inverse relationship between the age of the youngest child and the likelihood of husbands of working mothers being worried about child care.

Household Management : A little over half the number of working mothers do the major part of their household work; this is only slightly less than that of non-working mothers.

There is no significant difference between working and non-working mothers regarding the amount of time they spend daily in household work; nor do the presence or absence of supportive relatives and number of children make any significant difference in this regard.

Husband's Share in Housework : A majority of husbands share the household chores with their wives; a greater proportion of husbands of working wives, than of non-working wives, participate in household tasks and also favour such participation. In the case of working mothers' families, there is a direct relationship between level of education of the husbands and the likelihood of their participation in housework.

Areas of Worry and Concern: Mothers, who feel that the areas of household management like food, tidiness of house, management of servants and arrangement for guests are adversely affected as a result of their employment, are relatively less in families in which there are supportive relatives; also a relatively smaller proportion of working mothers living in joint families are worried about child care and household management while at work.

Husband's Satisfaction Regarding Household Management: The likelihood of higher level of husband's satisfaction in household management is associated, at a significant level, with families in which the mother is not employed.

The level of husband's satisfaction is relatively higher in families in which the wife, irrespective of labour force status, does the major part of household work and in which the per capita level of income is relatively higher.

A greater proportion of husbands with low and high levels of per capita income assess mothers' employment as thoroughly desirable.

Husbands' favourableness to wives' employment is inversely related to families' per capita level of income; and directly related to level of satisfaction regarding household management.

Effect on Husband-Wife Relationship: A greater proportion of working mothers do not expect their husbands to be favourable to their continuing in employment under improved economic conditions. But actual rise in income of husbands to the desired level is found to be possible only in a negligibly few cases.

The proportion of husbands desiring to have wives stop working increase from the 'low' per capita income group to 'middle', but falls again in 'high'. The likelihood of mothers giving economic reasons for their willingness to continue in employment in case of a rise in the total family income is inversely related to their educational level; but almost an equal proportion of mothers in collegiate and non-collegiate groups are willing to continue working. There is a direct relationship between the likelihood of husbands' dissatisfaction about child care and the likelihood of their desiring to have wives stop working.

The likelihood of husbands having a favourable attitude to wives' employment and of their assessing employment of mothers as desirable are directly related.

There is an inverse relationship between the level of per capita income (except when it is 'high') and husbands' desire to have wives stop working in the event of a job transfer.

Among husbands of working mothers, there is an inverse association between level of satisfaction regarding home management and tendency to agree with the statement that there is a better husband-wife relationship in families in which the mother is not working, and a direct relationship in the case of husbands of non-working mothers.

In general, there is an inverse relationship between husbands' level of satisfaction and the likelihood of their agreeing with statements that imply adverse effect of employment of mothers on family life.

A greater proportion of husbands of working mothers favour wife playing the major role in the families' financial affairs and a lesser proportion actually play major role.

Among families in which the mother is employed, the increase in the frequency of husband and wife dining together on holidays, compared to working days, is greater.

A greater proportion of working mothers, than non-working mothers, want to be consulted on relatively more important areas of home life like children's education, expenditure pattern and property matters.

Problems of Husbands: No husband referred to any serious problem arising out of his wife's employment; the majority mentioned the minor difficulties resulting from wife's late arrival at home.

CONCLUSIONS

Mothers' entry into the labour force is of recent origin in India. Indian society is in transition and so are its institutions. Traditional structures give way to new ones and traditional notions to new conceptions. The growing phenomenon of mothers' employment should, therefore, be viewed in this context.

Perhaps contrary to expectations of many, there seems to be very little resistance on the part of mothers' kinfolk to their being employed. It is a safe conclusion that at least once the mother's employment is a *fait accompli* there is very little expressed opposition from the family. Resistance on the part of husbands is almost non-existent. But this should not imply whole-hearted or total social acceptance of mothers' employment as is evident from the attitude of a greater proportion of husbands and relatives of non-working mothers to employment of mothers. Age-old attitudes take time to change; but, no doubt, change of values is inevitable in a changing society.

Religious affiliation determines, to some extent, woman's entering the labour force. In Madras city a mother is more likely to be working if she is a Christian than if she is a Hindu possibly because "the acceptance of new values and customs of family life is widespread among the Christian community."*

Perhaps again contrary to popular belief, it is the non-unitary family that is largely contributory to mothers' employment, being borne out by the fact that the majority of working mothers are dependent on relatives for help at home.

Without necessarily implying that felt economic need leads to employment of mothers in most cases, or even in many cases, it could be said that whenever a mother gets employed, the reason and motive are likely to be economic. Also, in all likelihood, she earns in order to be able to make ends meet, rather than to win extra comforts. The economic gains resulting from mothers' employment are tangible enough for the family.

All things considered, there appears to be a trend towards smaller families among working mothers in Madras city. However, this is an area which requires further inquiry before anything conclusive can be said.

Apparently, mothers' state of being employed has very little adverse effects on normalcy of parturition, on any aspect of child care including their studies, or on mothers' own health; nor does it seem to prevent mothers from carrying out routine household tasks. However, mothers' state of being employed does lead to misgivings in their own minds about proper care being given to children, and some amount of dissatisfaction of husbands with child care and household management. It is reasonable to assume that in many cases their misgivings stem not so much from the actual presence of serious problems but from the feeling of guilt arising out of the notion that mother's presence in the home at all time is imperative. However, the social and psychological effects of mothers' employment on children need to be studied in greater detail.

Working mothers look after the financial affairs of their families more often than non-working mothers, and they are more often consulted by husbands on important matters pertaining to household management. This, perhaps, is indicative of the shift in family power structure as a result of mothers' employment. However, employment of mothers does not necessarily

*Devanandan P.D., and Thomas M. M. (eds.): *The Changing Pattern of Family in India*, Bangalore : Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society, 1966 : P 109.

lead husbands to suspect greater possibilities of family accord in mother non-employed families and it is not felt by them to result in serious problems to themselves or to their families.

Employment of mothers is a growing phenomenon. It is, therefore, incumbent on the community to help working mothers meet the needs of their families. This implies provision of public services, such as day-care centres and mid-day meals for children. Employing agencies may consider the feasibility of providing part-time employment for mothers. In sum, working mothers should be viewed not only as employees but also as housewives, and social efforts should be directed toward enabling them to discharge their dual roles of homemaker and wage-earner equitably.

APPENDIX I

INDEX OF HUSBANDS' SATISFACTION WITH HOUSEHOLD MANAGEMENT

Responses of husbands of working and non-working mothers to questions (questions 21(i), 22(i) and 23 for husbands of working mothers and questions 18(i), 19(i) and 20 for husbands of non-working mothers) on satisfaction with household management† were quantified in the following way in order that the aggregate will indicate the level of satisfaction of each respondent.

Score : In the first two pairs of questions [22(i) and 18(i) and 22(i) and 19(i)] the respondent had been asked to grade his satisfaction along a continuum beginning with 'very satisfied' and ending with 'very dissatisfied'. The third (questions 23 and 22) was an 'yes or no' question.

The first pair of questions 21(i) and 18(i) contained 5 items each. A score of 5 was given to responses 'very satisfied' and 'satisfied', 3 to 'mildly satisfied', 2 to 'dissatisfied' and 0 to 'very dissatisfied'. The second pair [questions 22(i) and 19(i)] contained 4 items each, the responses to which were quantified in the same way as above.

But question 23 for husbands of working mothers contained two more items of inquiry than its counterpart 20 (for husbands of non-working mothers). The two items that were not included in question 20 pertained to anxiety about ill-treatment and irregular feeding of children, questions which were deemed inappropriate to the husbands of non-working mothers whose wives were supposed to be at home all the time. The number of items that were utilized for developing the index of satisfaction were 5 and 3 respectively from questions 23 and 20, the item dropped in both cases being a query on husbands' anxiety about their children being involved in accidents when they would be away at work. As such a fear was equally often expressed by the two groups of husbands, that item was not considered significant in bringing to light the differences between the two groups.

†Vide Appendices IV (pp. 109 and 110) and V (pp. 117 and 118)

As the number of items used for computing the index of satisfaction from questions 23 and 20 were different, a differential weightage was given to the various responses. A 'no' response was given a score of 4 in question 23, but the same response was given a score of 6.5 in question 20; similarly, a score of 1 was assigned to 'yes' response in the former case and 2 in the latter.

Thus the maximum obtainable scores for the three questions were 25, 20 and 20 respectively : total : 65*

Grading of Scores : It was arbitrarily decided that the maximum obtainable score of 65 would be termed 'high', scores between 56 and 64 'middle', and a score of 55 or below 'low'.

Admittedly the index devised has been a crude one. What was attempted at was not so much statistical precision but deriving a general indication of trends.

*Wherever the response indicated that a particular item was not applicable to a respondent ('truancy', for example, was not applicable where there was no child of school-going age) the maximum obtainable score for the particular item was given. In other words 'not applicable' was given the same score as 'satisfied'. This of course meant that the final scores in certain cases would be spuriously increased, but the spuriousness was offset by the fact that there were such cases in both the groups compared here.

APPENDIX II

SCHEDULE FOR INTERVIEW WITH WORKING MOTHERS

S. No.

1. (a) Name (c) Agency Address.....
 (b) Address.....
 (Residence)

2. **Religion** Hindu Christian Muslim
 Br./N. Br. Catholic/Protestant/
 Anglo-Indian
3. **Place of Birth** Village Town City State
4. (a) Reasons for coming to the City.
 (b) Duration of stay in the City.
5. **Age Completed**
 (a) Age at marriage (c) Age at first delivery
 (b) Age at menarche (d) Present age
6. **Civil Status**
 (a) Staying with husband/husband (c) Separated (Age)
 employed in Madras City/
 (d) Widowed (Age)
 husband employed elsewhere. (e) Remarried
 (Specify nature of job and
 income.)
 (b) Divorced (Age)
7. **Marriage**
 (a) Arranged by parents (c) Own caste
 (b) Love marriage (d) Inter-caste
 (e) Was the opportunity of meeting
 your husband created by your job? Yes/No

(f) Are you in favour of arranged marriage / love marriage ?

(g) Reasons for favouring :

Arranged Marriage

1. Better for adjustment
2. Help from relatives
3. Better for marital security
4. Would avoid quarrels with relatives
5. Other (specify)

Love Marriage

1. Can marry a person I like
2. Better for adjustment
3. Would remove casteism (inter-caste)
4. Can be more happy
5. Other (specify)

8. Educational Particulars

I Academic Training

(a) Primary school

(b) Middle school

(c) High school

(e) P. U. C. or Inter

(e) Graduate / Arts / Science / (specify subjects) Professional

(f) Post-graduate (specify)

F.T. P.T.

F.T. P.T.

II Subject of specialisation :

(a) Typewriting/Stenography

(b) Telegraphy and Telephone

(c) Book-keeping

(d) Teacher training

(e) Nursing

(f) Craft

(g) Library science

(h) Other (specify)

9. Family Size :

M.

F.

Total

Adults

Children (below 15 yrs.)

(a) Subject's

(b) Others'

10. Family Members :

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
No.	Age	Sex	Relationship	Literary std. (Class completed in case of children)	Occupation	Amount paid to the family towards expenses if any.

11. Is joint family / nuclear family more advantageous?—Please state the reasons :

Joint Family	Nuclear Family
1. Help in household management	1. Less interference from relatives (a) Household management
2. Help in child care	(b) Child care and training
3. Financial help	2. Need not satisfy others
4. Counselling benefits	3. Appreciation among family
5. More leisure	4. Can avoid quarrels with relatives
6. Less work—division of labour	5. Independent life
7. Other (specify)	6. Avoids jealousy
	7. Less work
	8. More leisure
	9. Other (specify)

12. (a) Is your child attending nursery school?

(1)	(2)
Yes	No

1. If no, reasons :

- (a) no nursery school nearby.
- (b) nursery school near my house is expensive—cannot afford.
- (c) nobody to accompany the child.
- (d) feels child is too young to attend nursery.
- (e) other (specify)

13. Any of your children staying away from home? Yes/No. If yes, number :
Children staying away from home :

(1) No.	(2) Age	(3) Sex	(4) Relationship to subject	(5) Reason for staying away	(6) Duration of stay	(7) Amount paid towards expenses if any	
						Cash	Kind

14. I. **Occupational Details :** (Present job)

(a) Designation

(b) Temporary / Permanent

(c) Work inside the office

1. deals with departmental staff.

2. deals with public.

3. others.

(d) Outdoor work - house visits / touring / others - Frequency

(e) Since when employed.

(f) Daily hours of work.

(g) Monthly earnings.

II. **Previous Employment Details :**

Did you work any time before? Yes/No

If yes :

(1) No.	(2) Nature of work	(3) Period of employment	(4) Salary drawn	(5) Reason for leaving	(6) Remarks
------------	--------------------------	--------------------------------	------------------------	------------------------------	----------------

15. I Why did you take up employment ?

(a) Economic reasons

1. Death of husband.

2. Inadequacy of husband's income to meet basic needs.

3. To raise standard of living. (for better comforts)

4. To have independent income.

5. No support from husband due to separation or divorce.

6. Unemployment of husband.

7. To help parents.

(b) To put to use the training received.

(c) To utilise leisure time.

II. Did you take up employment—

- (a) On your own initiative? (c) On advice from husband?
(b) On advice from your parents? (d) On advice from others?

III. Reasons for selecting this particular job.

- (a) Nature of job (specify)
(b) Nearness of place of work to the home.
(c) Friend's/relative's influence.
(d) As no other job was available.

IV. What are the benefits of being in employment?

- (a) Supplementary income (d) To utilise leisure time
(b) Improved standard of living (e) Other (specify)
(c) Independent income

16. What is the approximate total income of the family?

1. Self
2. Husband
3. Others

Total :

17. (a) Do you think that this income is sufficient to maintain the family with minimum comforts? Yes/No.
(b) If no, how do you manage?
(c) Do you have any saving? Yes/No.
If yes, specify:

18. (a) Would you like to continue to work even if your family income goes up (say if your husband or children earn more)?

Yes No

- | | |
|---|--|
| (b) If yes, why? | (c) If no, why? |
| 1. To have a steady income. | 1. As income would be sufficient for family maintenance. |
| 2. To raise the standard of living. | 2. Not good for husband's status to work. |
| 3. To save for future. | 3. Better management of house. |
| 4. To put to use experience gained. | 4. To provide better care for children. |
| 5. To utilise leisure time. | 5. Other (specify) |
| 6. It would add to social status. | |
| 7. As there is need for money. | |
| 8. To help parents. | |
| 9. For benefits from job. | |
| 10. To have a better say in family matters. | |
| 11. To have an independent income. | |
| 12. Other (specify) | |

PROBLEMS IN THE WORK

19. What is the distance from your residence to your work-place?
20. What is the nature of conveyance?
- | | |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Car | 4. Walk |
| 2. Bus | 5. Other (specify) |
| 3. Electric train | |
21. (a) Do you have conveyance difficulties? Yes/No
If there is difficulty in getting the usual conveyance what is the alternative?
22. How much time do you take to reach your work-place?
- | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| (a) Less than 15 minutes. | (d) 45 – 60 minutes. |
| (b) 15 – 30 minutes. | (e) Above 1 hour (specify) |
| (c) 30 – 45 minutes. | |
23. (a) Did you go to work late anytime last year? Yes / No
No. of times and Time
- (b) Please state the reasons :
1. Due to household duties.
 2. Children not well.
 3. Too many guests at home.
 4. Transport difficulty.
 5. Other (specify)
24. What is the punishment for going late?
25. (a) Were you ever punished for going late in the present job? Yes/No
(b) If yes, type of punishment.
26. Do you have the following arrangements in your work place?
- | | (1)
Yes/
No | (2)
Used/
Not
used | (3)
Adequate/
Inadequate | (4)
Suggestions
for
Improvement |
|------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| (a) Drinking water | | | | |
| (b) Refreshments | | | | |
| 1. Canteen | | | | |
| (c) 1. Lunch rooms | | | | |
| 2. Separate for ladies | | | | |

- (d) Medical care
 - 1. Benefits
 - 2. First aid facilities
- (e) Recreation
- (f) Rest.
 - 1. Interval
 - 2. Room
- (g) Safety measures
- (h) Separate toilet for ladies
- (i) Creche
- (j) Other (specify)

27. What other facilities would you like to have ?

28. (a) Do you work over-time ? Yes/No

(b) If yes (specify frequency) :

- | | |
|---------------|-------------|
| 1. Optional | 3. Daily |
| 2. Compulsory | 4. Seasonal |

(c) If yes, why ?

(d) How many hours per week ?

(e) Are you paid for this over-time work ? Yes/No

(f) If yes, rate of payment.

29. (a) Would you like to accept over-time work ? Yes/No

(b) If yes, why ?

(c) If no, Why ?

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. To earn more. | 1. Household responsibilities. |
| 2. Sense of responsibility | 2. Children are neglected. |
| 3. Relief from boredom. | 3. Feels tired |
| 4. Other (specify). | 4. Not interested. |
| | 5. House far away. |
| | 6. Conveyance difficulty. |
| | 7. Other (specify) |

30. (a) Do you have to work night shift ? Yes/No

(b) If yes :

- 1. Continuous/Split.
- 2. State frequency.

(c) Does it affect your family life ? If yes, how ?

31. (a) Is office work done at home? Yes/No
 (b) If yes, how often in a week/month/year?
 (c) What are the difficulties regarding such work?

32. Do you like your work?

Yes	No	Indifferent
If yes, please state the reasons :		If no, please state the reasons :
1. Interested in this particular job.		1. Lack of appreciation of work.
2. Better paid.		2. Low salary.
3. Employer and colleagues are considerate and co-operative.		3. Inconvenient hours.
4. Proximity to house.		4. No chance for promotion.
5. No outdoor work.		5. Too much interference by the employer.
6. Other (specify)		6. Forced to work.
		7. Other (specify)

33. (a) Do you feel that responsibilities at home hamper chances of promotion? Yes/No
 (b) If yes, why?

34. Do you work with only men/only women/both?

35. Do you prefer to work with a male/female superior?

Reasons for favouring male superior :

1. Less interference.
2. More considerate.
3. No jealousy.
4. Other (specify)

Reasons for favouring female superior :

1. Can confide difficulties.
2. More considerate.
3. No experience in working under a male superior
4. Other (specify)

36. What are the usual comments by your colleagues regarding employment of mothers?

Male

Female

37. Do you have any problems with your superiors/colleagues?

- | | | |
|-----------------|---------------|--------------|
| (1) | (2) | (3) |
| Official Yes/No | Social Yes/No | Other Yes/No |

38. (a) Were you ever warned/suspended/demoted in the present job ?
 (b) If yes, number of times? (d) What are the consequences ?
 (c) If yes, why ?
1. Increment cut.
 2. Increment delayed
 3. Promotion delayed.
 4. Transferred.
 5. Other (specify).
39. (a) Are you satisfied with your pay and terms of employment ?
- | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1 | 2 |
| Yes/No/Indifferent | Yes/No/Indifferent |
- (b) If no, why? (Pay) (Terms of Employment)
40. (a) Would you leave this job for a better paid/lower paid ?
- | | |
|--------|--------|
| Yes/No | Yes/No |
|--------|--------|
- (b) Why? Better paid Lower paid
41. Are you satisfied with facilities provided during night shifts ?
- | | | |
|-----------|---------------|-------|
| Satisfied | Not Satisfied | Why ? |
|-----------|---------------|-------|
1. Sleeping
 2. Arrangements for food
 3. Conveyance
 4. Other (specify)
42. Is your job transferable? Yes/No.
 If transferable, which of the following are you likely to do ?
- (a) Continue to work even if transferred
 - (b) Prefer to resign if transferred
 - (c) Would take leave indefinitely
 - (d) Other (specify)
43. Do you have any difficulty in obtaining the following facilities ?
- | | | | |
|---------|-----------------|------------|----------------|
| Yes/No. | Period allotted | Sufficient | Not sufficient |
|---------|-----------------|------------|----------------|
1. (a) Leave with pay
 - C. L.
 - E. L.
 - S. L.
 - (b) Leave without pay

(c) **Maternity leave and benefits**

2. Did you take leave without pay? Yes/No
3. If yes, what were the occasions?

44. 1. Do you consider that your health is affected favourably or adversely by employment?

2. If adversely affected, is it due to:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|
| (a) Occupational hazards? | (d) Shift duty? |
| (b) Fatigue due to much work? | (e) Irregular meal time? |
| (c) Mental worries due to work? | (f) Work during pregnancy? |
| | (g) Other (specify)? |

45. (a) How many pregnancies did you have?

(b) Did you have any of the following?

Yes	No
If yes, Number	

1. Abortion
2. Miscarriage
3. Still birth
4. Difficult delivery
5. Bleeding

46. If yes would you attribute your being in employment as partly or fully responsible for these?

47. Do you take leave during menstrual periods every month? Yes/No

Household Management (Daily Routine) :

48. What time do you get up from bed?

49. How much time do you devote to household work?

1. Before going to office
(specify type of work)
2. After returning from office
(specify type of work)

50. Household Work

- | | Self | Q. 49 | | Q. 85 | Q. 59 | Q. 57 |
|-----------------------|---------|-------|---------|---------|----------|---------|
| | Morning | Noon | Evening | Husband | Relative | Servant |
| 1. Sweeping | | | | | | |
| 2. Washing vessels | | | | | | |
| 3. Collecting water | | | | | | |
| 4. Cleaning house | | | | | | |
| 5. Washing clothes | | | | | | |
| 6. Ironing clothes | | | | | | |
| 7. Issuing provisions | | | | | | |
| 8. Cooking | | | | | | |
| 9. Serving food | | | | | | |
| 10. Marketing | | | | | | |
| 11. Other (specify) | | | | | | |

Children's Work

- | | Self | | | | | |
|---------------------------|---------|------|---------|---------|----------|---------|
| | Morning | Noon | Evening | Husband | Relative | Servant |
| 1. Giving bath | | | | | | |
| 2. Dressing up | | | | | | |
| 3. Feeding | | | | | | |
| 4. Accompanying to school | | | | | | |
| 5. Teaching | | | | | | |
| 6. Putting to sleep. | | | | | | |
| 7. Other (specify) | | | | | | |

51. What time do you reach home ?

52. Do you do any other work after reaching home in the evening ?
If yes, specify :

53. How do you feel on returning home after work ?

- | | Yes | No | Sometimes |
|-----------------|-----|----|-----------|
| 1. Tired | | | |
| 2. Irritated | | | |
| 3. Depressed | | | |
| 4. Feel alright | | | |

54. What are your timings for taking meals ?

- | | Breakfast | Lunch | Dinner |
|-------------------|-----------|-------|--------|
| 1. Working days : | | | |
| (a) Day duty | | | |
| (b) Night duty | | | |
| 2. Holidays | | | |

55. What time do you go to bed ?
56. Do you do the major part of the household work ? Yes/No
57. Do you have servants to do household work ? If yes, (specify Q. 54)
- (a) Full - time
- (b) Part - time
58. What are the reasons for not employing a servant ?
59. Do you have any of your relations at home to help you in your household work ? (specify nature of work Q. 50)
60. (a) Do you have labour saving devices ?
- (b) If yes, specify type
61. Do you feel that your absence from home has adverse effects on household management ?
1. Food
 2. Cooking
 3. Cleanliness
 4. Looking after guests
 5. Servants
 6. Other (specify)
62. How many children were born after taking up the present job ?
63. What were the arrangements for feeding children while you were/are at work ?
- | | | |
|--|----------|----|
| | Yes | No |
| | (when ?) | |
- Children were/are (a) Bottle fed
- (b) Carried to the work-spot
64. Was bottle feeding resorted to because of your employment ? Yes/No
65. What are the reasons to carry the children to the place of work ?
1. As the child has to be breast fed.
 2. There is nobody to look after the child at home
 3. Good facilities at the work spot
 4. For peace of mind
 5. Other (specify)

66. Who looks after the children when you are away from home ?

1. Grand parents
2. Other relatives
3. Neighbours
4. Maid servant

67. Do you feel that the arrangement made to look after the children with regard to the following are—

Satisfactory ?

Not satisfactory ?

- (a) Feeding
- (b) Clothing
- (c) Cleaning
- (d) Putting to sleep
- (e) Sending to school
- (f) Nursing when sick

68. Do you feel worried that your children are exposed to any of the following when you are away

Yes

No

Sometimes

- (a) Ill-treatment
- (b) Irregular feeding
- (c) Staying away from school
- (d) Accidents
- (e) Bad company
- (f) Indiscipline

69. Do you feel that your employment affects your children's studies adversely ?

Yes/No

If yes, please state the reasons :

- (a) They take care of younger children
- (b) They do household work
- (c) They help father in his work
- (d) No proper supervision
- (e) Other (specify)

70. If you were to advise your daughter or daughter-in-law having young children would you advise her to work ?

Yes

No

If yes, please state the reasons :

If no, please state the reasons :

71. Do you think that a working mother should limit the number of children? Yes/No

Please state the reasons :

72. (a) Do you consider that there are circumstances in which a mother should not take up employment? Yes/No.

(b) If yes, what are the circumstances?

1. Till the younger child is 1 year old.
2. Till children are of school going age.
3. If husband is transferred.
4. In case of illness of subject.
5. Other (specify).

73. Do you feel worried about the following while at work?

- (a) Children
- (b) Household management
- (c) Husband's care
- (d) Other (specify)

74. In your opinion which is the best suited position for a mother? Why?

75. (a) Would you be interested in a part-time job? Yes/No

(b) Please state the reasons :

(c) What types of part-time jobs do you think are suitable for mothers?
Please state the reasons :

(d) What working hours would be suitable?

Effects on Family Relations :

76. Would your husband like you to work if he earns more?

Yes/No

Why?

77. Would your husband like if you stop going to work?

Yes/No/Indifferent

Why?

78. Does he feel that you are having more freedom? Yes/No

79. Is your husband worried about bringing up your children properly?

Yes/No

80. Do you hand over your salary to your husband?

Yes/No/Partly

81. Do you get money from your husband for household expenditure?

Yes/No/Partly

82. How satisfied is your husband regarding your—

Satisfied

Not satisfied

- (a) Income ?
- (b) Nature of your work ?
- (c) People with whom you work ?
- (d) Hours of work ?
- (e) Arrangements for food for the family ?
- (f) Your attitude to other members of the family ?
- (g) Time you spend with him ?
- (h) The time you spend with children ?
- (i) Care during illness in the home ?

83. (a) Is your husband's job transferable? Yes/No

(b) If yes, how often ?

84. (a) Would you resign your job to join your husband if he is transferred?

Yes/No

Please state the reasons :

- (b) If husband is transferred or employed elsewhere, how long has he been away from home ?
- (c) What are the arrangements for getting the family together ?
 - 1. Transfer of self.
 - 2. Transfer of husband.
 - 3. Other (specify)

85. (a) Do you get help from your husband in the following ? (Refer Q.50)

Yes/No

(b) If no, why ?—Specify. (Refer Q. 50)

86. How often does your husband join you in the following ?

Working Days

Holidays

If no, why ?

- (a) Breakfast
- (b) Lunch
- (c) Dinner

87. (a) Is anybody among your relatives against your being in employment ?

Yes/No

If yes, who ?

(b) Please state the reasons :

88. (a) Do your neighbours comment about your going to work? Yes/No
 (b) If yes, please specify :
89. In which of the following leisure-time activities do you participate ?
- | | Yes | No | If yes, how often? |
|--|-----|----|--------------------|
| (a) Listening to radio programme | | | |
| (b) Playing games (specify) | | | |
| (c) Bible reading/prayers | | | |
| (d) Visiting places of worship (state who accompanies you) | | | |
| (e) Going to cinema (state who accompanies you) | | | |
| (f) Visiting friends (state who accompanies you) | | | |
| (g) Other (specify) | | | |
90. How do you spend your—
- | | Holidays? | Week ends? | Long leave? |
|---|-----------|------------|-------------|
| (a) With your family | | | |
| (b) Visiting friends and relatives | | | |
| (c) Taking care of children's education, etc. | | | |
| (d) Other (specify) | | | |
91. How do your husband and children spend their evenings ?
92. (a) Are you a member of any of the following Associations ?
- | Social/Cultural | Professional | Other |
|-----------------|--------------|--------|
| Yes/No | Yes/No | Yes/No |
93. Do you feel that your social life is affected by being in employment ?
 Yes/No
94. What are your hobbies ?
- (a) Embroidery and Tailoring
 (b) Sports
 (c) Music and Entertainments
 (d) Reading
 (e) Gardening
 (f) Other (specify)
95. Do you feel that your interest in these is affected favourably/adversely by being in employment ?

96. Do you think the wife should be consulted on

Does your husband consult you?

(a) Family Matters ?

Yes

No

Yes

No

1. Expenditure pattern
2. Menu
3. Child care
4. Children's education
5. Shopping and others
6. Leisure time activities
7. Social visits.

(b) Property Matters ?

97. What are the problems a working mother has to face according to you?

APPENDIX III

SCHEDULE FOR INTERVIEW WITH NON-WORKING MOTHERS

S. No.

1. **Name**.....
Address.....
2. **Religion :**
 - (i) Hindu (ii) Christian (iii) Muslim
 - (a) Brahmin (a) Catholic
 - (b) Non-Brahmin (b) Protestant
 - (c) Anglo-Indian
3. **Place of Birth :** Village Town City State
4. (a) Reasons for coming to the City :
(b) Duration of stay in the City :
5. **Age Completed :**
 - (a) Age at marriage :
 - (b) Age at first delivery :
 - (c) Present age :
6. **Marital Status :**
 - (a) Staying with husband/Husband employed in Madras city/Husband employed elsewhere (specify nature of job and income)
 - (b) Divorced (age)
 - (c) Separated (age)
 - (d) Widowed (age)
 - (e) Remarried (age)
7. **Marriage:**
 - (a) 1. Arranged by parents (b) 3. Own caste
 2. Love marriage 4. Inter-caste

- (c) 1. Are you in favour of arranged marriage/love marriage ?
 2. Reasons for favouring :

Arranged Marriage

1. Better for adjustment
2. Help from relatives
3. Better for marital security
4. Would avoid quarrels with relatives
5. Other (specify)

Love Marriage

1. Can marry a person I like
2. Better for adjustment
3. Would remove casteism
4. Can be more happy
5. Other (specify)

8. Educational Qualifications :

I. Academic :

- (a) Primary school
- (b) Middle school
- (c) High school
- (d) P. U. C /Inter
- (e) Graduate/Arts/Science (specify subjects)/ Professional
- (f) Postgraduate (specify)

II. Subject of specialization :

- (a) Typewriting/ Stenography
- (b) Telegraphy and Telephone
- (c) Book-keeping
- (d) Teacher training
- (e) Nursing
- (f) Craft
- (g) Library science
- (h) Other (specify)

9. (i) Family Members and Economic Status.

(a) No.	(b) Age	(c) Sex	(d) Relationship to respondent	(e) Literary std. (class completed in case of children)	(f) Occupation	(g) Amount paid to the family towards expenses if any

(ii) Per capita income per month (To be filled in after interview)

10. Is joint family/nuclear family more advantageous? Please state the reasons :

Joint family

Nuclear family

- | | |
|---|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Help in household management 2. Help in child care 3. Financial help 4. Counselling benefits 5. More leisure 6. Less work 7. Other (specify) | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Less interference from relatives in: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Household management (b) Child care and training 2. Need not satisfy others 3. Appreciation among family members 4. Can avoid quarrels with relatives 5. Independent life 6. Avoids jealousy 7. Less work 8. More leisure 9. Other (specify) |
|---|--|

11. Is your child attending nursery school? Yes/No.

1. If no, reasons :

- (a) No nursery school nearby
- (b) Nursery school near my house is expensive—cannot afford
- (c) Nobody to accompany the child
- (d) Child is too young to attend nursery
- (e) Other (specify)

12. Any of your children staying away from home? Yes/No

If yes, number :

Children staying away from home :

(a) No.	(b) Age	(c) Sex	(d) Relationship of guardian to the respondent	(e) Reason for staying away	(f) Duration of stay	(g) Amount paid to guardian towards expenses
------------	------------	------------	--	--------------------------------------	----------------------------	--

13. How many pregnancies did you have ?

(a) Did you have any of the following ?

Yes No
If yes, number

1. Abortion
2. Miscarriage
3. Still birth
4. Difficult delivery
5. Bleeding

14. Were you ever employed ?

Yes/No

If yes :

Full-time

Part-time

- (a) Nature of job
- (b) Remuneration at the time of leaving the job
- (c) Duration of employment

15. When did you leave your job ?

- (i) At the time of marriage
- (ii) After marriage (specify when)
- (iii) What were the reasons for leaving the job ?

- (a) Husband's objection
- (b) Objection from husband's relatives
- (c) Objection from her relatives
- (d) Household responsibilities did not permit
- (e) The nature of job did not suit married life
- (f) Husband employed elsewhere
- (g) Not customary in the family
- (h) Feels mother's place is at home
- (i) Children's education will be affected
- (j) Other (specify)

16. (a) If you were never employed, what were the reasons for your not taking up a job ?

1. Inadequate education/training
2. Not customary in the family
3. No economic necessity
4. Feels mother's place is at home
5. Duties at home do not permit
6. Inability to secure employment
7. Other (specify)

17. Do you agree that the following reasons justify a mother's taking up employment ?

Yes No

- (a) Economic need
- (b) To raise the standard of living
- (c) To save for the future
- (d) To make use of the education or training received
- (e) To utilise her leisure
- (f) To improve her social status
- (g) To better her position in the family
- (h) To help parents
- (i) Other (specify)

18. Under what conditions would you like mothers to take up employment ?

- 1. When there are relatives at home
- 2. When there is a servant
- 3. When the children are above.....years
- 4. When it is a part-time job
- 5. Other (specify)

19. Are you interested in taking up a job ? Yes/No

- (a) If yes, why ?
- (b) What type of job would you choose ?
- (c) If no, why ?

20. What, in your opinion, are the suitable jobs for mothers ?

Part-time : Full-time :

21. What is the monthly income

- 1. Of husband ?
- 2. Of other members ?
- 3. From other sources ?
- 4. Per capita income ? (To be filled in after interview)

22. Do you find the income of your family sufficient to maintain the family with minimum comforts ? Yes/No

(a) Do you have any savings ? Yes/No
If yes, specify

(b) Do you have debts ? Yes/No
If yes, how incurred ?

23. Does your husband join you in the following ?

Working days	Holidays
Never-Sometimes-Always	Never-Sometimes-Always

- (a) Breakfast
- (b) Lunch
- (c) Dinner

24. How do you spend your : Holidays ? Weekends ? Long leave ?

- (a) With your family
- (b) Visiting friends & relatives
- (c) Taking care of children's education, etc.
- (d) Other (specify)

25. How are evenings spent in your family ?

Together	Alone
(specify)	(specify)

26. What are your leisure-time activities ? How often ?

- (a) Listening to radio programme
- (b) Playing games
- (c) Reading religious books/prayers
- (d) Visiting places of worship
- (e) Going to cinema
- (f) Visiting friends
- (g) Reading
- (h) Other (specify)

27. (a) Are you a member of any of the following Associations ?

(1)	(2)
Social/Cultural	Others
Yes/No	Yes/No

28. What are your hobbies ?

- (a) Embroidery & Tailoring
- (b) Sports
- (c) Music and Entertainments
- (d) Reading
- (e) Gardening
- (f) Other (specify)

29. What time do you get up in the morning ?

30. (a) Do you do the major part of household work ? Yes/No

(b) How many hours do you devote daily ?

In the morning

In the evening

1. Household work

2. Child care

31. Do you have servants to do household work ?

(a) Full-time

(b) Part-time

If no, Please state the reasons for not employing one.

32. (i) Is consultation between spouses
necessary on the following ?

(ii) Is it done
in your family ?

Yes No

Yes No

(a) Family Matters

1. Expenditure
patterns

2. Menu

3. Child care

4. Children's
education

5. Shopping

6. Leisure time
activities

7. Social visits

(b) Property Matters:

33. Does your husband help you with :

No. of hours daily

1. Household work ?

2. Child care ?

34. Please give your opinion regarding the following statements :

- | | | |
|--|---|----------------------------------|
| 1. Employment of mother adversely affects the happiness of husband and wife | } | Agree / Disagree /
No opinion |
| 2. Employment of mother does not promote harmonious relationship with relatives | } | Agree / Disagree /
No opinion |
| 3. Employment of mother adversely affects the social status of the husband | } | Agree / Disagree /
No opinion |
| 4. Employment of mother leads to maladjustments among children | } | Agree / Disagree /
No opinion |
| 5. The material gains of working mothers cannot compensate the emotional losses in the family. | } | Agree / Disagree /
No opinion |
| 6. A right place for the mother is her home and not the work spot. | } | Agree / Disagree /
No opinion |



APPENDIX IV

S. No.

SCHEDULE FOR INTERVIEW WITH THE HUSBANDS OF WORKING MOTHERS

1. Personal Data :
 - (a) Name :
 - (b) Address :
 - (c) Age (i) Husband (ii) Wife
 - (d) Occupation :
 - (e) Wife's Occupation :

2. Religion :
 - (a) Hindu (b) Christian (c) Muslim (d) Other (Specify)

3. Educational Data :
 - (i) What is your educational qualification ? (Indicate the highest course completed)
 - (a) High school
 - (b) PUC or Inter
 - (c) Graduate or Postgraduate

 - (ii) What is your wife's educational qualification ? (Indicate the highest course completed)
 - (a) High school
 - (b) PUC or Inter
 - (c) Graduate or Postgraduate

4. Family Data :
 - (a) Total No. of Children :
 - (b) Below 5 years : No.
 - (c) Over 5 years : No.
 - (d) Age of the youngest child :
 - (e) Is any of your children attending a school or a college ? Yes/No

5. What is :

- (a) Your monthly income ?
- (b) Your wife's monthly income ?
- (c) Your income per month from other sources, if any ?
- (d) If your wife's income were not taken into account, how would you describe your economic position with reference to the question of maintaining the family ?
 - (i) Cannot make ends meet
 - (ii) Enough to get along
 - (iii) Comfortable
 - (iv) Well-to-do
- (e) Taking into account both your own income and your wife's, how would you describe your present economic position ?
 - (i) Cannot make ends meet
 - (ii) Enough to get along
 - (iii) Comfortable
 - (iv) Well-to-do
- (f) (i) Apart from your wife and children, do you regularly support anyone else, fully or partly, from your income? Yes/No.
 - (ii) If yes, on the average how much money per month do you spend for this ?
- (g) Per capita income (To be filled in after interview)
- (h) How much rise in your income do you expect in the next 5 years ?
Nil / Up to 25% / 25% to 50% / Over 50%

6. Do any of your relatives reside with you ?

(Yes) Temporarily / (Yes) Permanently / No

If yes :

- (a) Do they help your family in the household tasks? Yes/No
- (b) Did you seek their presence specifically for their helping you in household tasks? Yes/No

7. Do you have servants in your home? Yes/No

8. Some working mothers prefer to live in a joint family because relatives help in child care and house work.

From this point of view do you prefer a joint family? Yes/No

9. When did your wife take up employment ?

Before marriage/After marriage

(i) If after marriage,

(a) How many children did you have when your wife took up employment ?

(b) What was the age of the youngest child ?

(c) What was your monthly income then ?

(d) What were the reasons for your wife taking up employment ?

(ii) If before marriage,

(a) What was the most important reason for your wife taking up employment ?

10. If you were asked to name the one person who influenced her decision to take up employment whom would you mention ?

11. How do others in your family feel about your wife being in employment ?

Favourable/Unfavourable

(a) Father

(b) Mother

(c) Brother

(d) Sister

(e) In-laws

(f) Grandparents and/or other elderly relatives.

12. Which among the following statements would most closely describe your attitude to your wife's employment ?

Always favourable/Sometimes favourable/Seldom favourable

13. (i) Do you like your wife to continue in her job? Yes/No

(a) If yes, what are the most important reasons ?

(b) If no, what are the most important reasons ?

(ii) Would you like your wife to stop working if there was a sufficient rise in your income? Yes/No

(a) If yes, how much rise do you feel necessary ?

Up to 25% / 25% to 50% / 50% to 100% / Over 100%

(b) If no, what are the important reasons ?

14. (i) Was there any set-back in your wife's health in the recent period?

Yes/No

(ii) If yes, what was this due to?

15. What are the things that you do not like or things which, in your opinion, require improvement or modification in your wife's work spot and job situation?

16. If you or your wife were transferred to another place what would be your plans to deal with the situation?

17. (i) Which among the following statements would most closely describe your normal share of household work?

(a) Share it equally with your wife

(b) Do a small portion of it

(c) None at all

(ii) In your opinion, which among the above mentioned patterns is most desirable in a family?

18. Who in your family does the major part of household work?

(a) Wife

(b) Servant

(c) Other (specify)

19. (i) Which among the following statements would most closely describe the pattern of financial management in your family?

Wife plays major role/Husband and wife equally share the role/
Husband plays major role.

(ii) In your opinion, which among the above mentioned patterns is most desirable in a family?

20. (i) Generally how often do you and your wife together spend your common leisure hours?

Often/Sometimes/Rarely

(ii) How often do you spend your leisure hours with your children?

Often/Sometimes/Rarely

21. (i) Most heads of households are agreed that even when the best arrangements are available, there is always scope for improvement in the various aspects of one's household. How far are you satisfied with the present arrangements with regard to the following aspects in your household?

- (a) Food : Very dissatisfied/Dissatisfied/Mildly satisfied/Satisfied/Very satisfied.
- (b) Cleanliness : Very dissatisfied/Dissatisfied/Mildly satisfied/Satisfied/Very satisfied.
- (c) Treating guests : Very dissatisfied/Dissatisfied/Mildly satisfied/Satisfied/Very satisfied.
- (d) Management of servants : Very dissatisfied/Dissatisfied/Mildly Satisfied/Satisfied/Very satisfied.
- (e) Care when members of the family fall ill: Very dissatisfied/Dissatisfied/ Mildly satisfied/Satisfied/Very satisfied.
- (ii) If you are less than satisfied in any of the above mentioned areas, please state the important reasons.
22. (i) Even when the best arrangements are made for the care of children, most fathers tend to feel that there are areas in child care which could be looked after better. How far are you satisfied with the arrangements for the care of your children in the following areas?
- (a) Everyday physical needs: Very dissatisfied/Dissatisfied/Mildly satisfied/Satisfied/Very satisfied.
- (b) Arrangement for children's attending school and their studies : Very dissatisfied / Dissatisfied / Mildly satisfied / Satisfied / Very satisfied.
- (c) Care when they fall ill: Very dissatisfied/Dissatisfied/Mildly satisfied/Satisfied/Very satisfied.
- (d) Company children keep or playmates they find: Very dissatisfied/Dissatisfied/Mildly satisfied/Satisfied/Very satisfied.
- (ii) If you are less than satisfied with any of the above mentioned areas please state the important reasons.
23. Do you feel worried that your children are exposed to any of the following when you are at work ?
- | | |
|-----------------------|--------|
| (a) Ill-treatment | Yes/No |
| (b) Irregular feeding | Yes/No |
| (c) Truancy | Yes/No |
| (d) Accidents | Yes/No |
| (e) Bad company | Yes/No |
| (f) Indiscipline | Yes/No |

24. Some working mothers feel that their absence from home affects children's studies adversely. What is your opinion in this matter ?
- Agree/Disagree
25. How far do you agree with the view that mother's absence from home owing to employment helps the children to develop a healthy sense of independence ?
- Agree/Disagree
26. Would you favour your daughter or daughter-in-law with children taking up employment
- (a) For economic reasons? Yes/No
- (b) For non-economic reasons? Yes/No
27. Please give your opinion regarding the following statements :
- (a) Employment of mother assures economic security to the family
- Agree/Disagree
- (b) Husbands of non-employed wives are happier than husbands of employed wives
- Agree/Disagree
- (c) Earning should be the business of man alone
- Agree/Disagree
- (d) It is much better for a family to face the absence of mother because of her employment than live in economic inadequacy
- Agree/Disagree
- (e) Employment of wife does not promote harmonious relationship with relatives
- Agree/Disagree
- (f) Employment of wife adversely affects the social status of husband
- Agree/Disagree
- (g) Children of non-employed mothers are happier than children of employed mothers
- Agree/Disagree
- (h) A woman who is a full-time worker in office cannot do full justice to her role as
- (i) Wife Agree/Disagree
- (ii) Mother Agree/Disagree
- (i) The non-employed wife does not require as much help from the husband in household tasks as the employed wife does
- Agree/Disagree

28. Do you think that employment of mothers leads to change in traditional family values ?

Yes/No

(a) If yes, how do you feel about it ?

Welcome it/Do not like it

29. A recent research study has shown that in families in which the wife is engaged in full time home-making (that is, where she has not taken up employment) there is a more satisfactory relationship and a better adjustment between husband and wife than in families in which the wife is engaged in full time employment. In the light of your experience, do you think there is any truth in this statement ?

Yes/No

30. If there were three situations in which you would definitely decide to stop your wife from working what would they be ?

(i)

(ii)

(iii)

31. Would you be interested in a part-time job for your wife in the place of a full time job ?

Yes/No

(a) What working hours would be suitable? (i) No. of hours per day :
(ii) Morning/Afternoon/Evening/Other (Specify)

(b) What is the minimum remuneration that would be acceptable ?

32. What are the problems a working mother has to face according to you ?

33. What are the problems of a husband due to wife's employment ?

34. In general, how would you assess the desirability of mothers taking up employment ?

(a) Thoroughly undesirable, but can be inevitable

(b) Somewhat undesirable, but can be inevitable

(c) Thoroughly desirable.

APPENDIX V

S. No.

SCHEDULE FOR INTERVIEW WITH THE HUSBANDS OF NON-WORKING MOTHERS

1. Personal Data :

(a) Name :

(b) Address :

(c) Age : (i) Husband

(ii) Wife

(d) Occupation.

2. Religion :

(a) Hindu

(b) Christian

(c) Muslim

(d) Other (Specify)

3. Educational Data :

(i) What is your educational qualification? (Indicate the highest course completed)

(a) High school

(b) PUC or Inter

(c) Graduate or Postgraduate

(ii) What is your wife's educational qualification? (Indicate the highest course completed)

(a) High school

(b) PUC or Inter

(c) Graduate or Postgraduate

4. Family Data :

(a) Total No. of children :

(b) Below 5 years : No.

(c) Over 5 years : No.

(d) Age of the youngest child :

(e) Is any of your children attending a school or a college?

Yes/No

5. What is your
- (a) Monthly income ?
 - (b) Income, per month, from other sources, if any ?
 - (c) How would you describe your present economic position ?
 - (i) Cannot make ends meet
 - (ii) Enough to get along
 - (iii) Comfortable
 - (iv) Well-to-do.
 - (d) Apart from your wife and children, do you regularly support anyone else, fully or partly, from your income? Yes/No
 - (e) If yes, on the average, how much money per month do you spend for this?
 - (f) Per capita income (To be filled in after interview)
6. Do any of your relatives reside with you ?
 (Yes) Temporarily/(Yes) Permanently/No.
 If yes :
- (a) Do they help your family in the household tasks? Yes/No
 - (b) Did you seek their presence specifically for their helping you in household tasks? Yes/No
7. Do you have servants in your home? Yes/No
8. Some couples prefer to live in a joint family because relatives help in child care and household management.
 From this point of view do you prefer a joint family? Yes/No
9. Was your wife ever in employment? Yes/No
 (If no, proceed to question 10. i.)
- (a) If yes, when? Before marriage/After marriage.
 - (b) When did she quit employment? Before marriage/After marriage.
 - (c) If she quit employment after marriage, how soon after marriage?
 - (d) Please state the reasons for her giving up employment :
 - (e) What was the most important reason for your wife taking up employment?
 - (f) What was her remuneration at the time of leaving the job?

(g) Which among the following statements would most closely describe your attitude to your wife's employment in the past?

Always favourable/Sometimes favourable/Seldom favourable

(h) (i) Would you like your wife to take up employment again?

Yes/No

(ii) Why?

10. (i) If your wife has never taken up employment, what are the most important reasons?

(ii) How many and which among the following statements fully or partly explain the fact that your wife has never been in employment?

(a) There is no need for an additional income Yes/No

(b) You like it, but there is no one to look after the children and the home Yes/No

(c) You like it, but she is not qualified enough for a reasonably well salaried job Yes/No

(d) You like it, but it is not customary in your family Yes/No

(e) You like it, but she does not Yes/No

(f) She likes it, but you are not in favour Yes/No

(g) Both of you are not in favour Yes/No

(iii) Do you think that your wife could take up employment if there was improvement in certain situations or if certain conditions were fulfilled? Yes/No

If yes,

(a) What are they?

(b) Do you expect these situations to improve or these conditions to be fulfilled? Yes/No

11. If your wife were to take up employment what will be the reaction of your relatives?

Favourable/Unfavourable

(a) Father

(b) Mother

(c) Brother

(d) Sister

(e) In-laws

(f) Grand parents and/or other elderly relatives

12. In your opinion, which among the following reasons would justify a woman with children taking up employment (assuming that conditions are favourable)?
- | | |
|---|--------|
| (a) Inadequacy of husband's income | Yes/No |
| (b) To acquire more comforts than what husband's income alone could fetch | Yes/No |
| (c) To put to use one's education and training | Yes/No |
| (d) To make use of one's leisure | Yes/No |
| (e) To feel independent | Yes/No |
13. What is your opinion about a mother taking up employment for economic reasons under the following circumstances?
- | | |
|--|-------------------------|
| (a) When the youngest child is below one year | Favourable/Unfavourable |
| (b) When the youngest child has not started schooling yet | Favourable/Unfavourable |
| (c) When the husband is employed elsewhere | Favourable/Unfavourable |
| (d) When there are neither relatives nor servants to look after the home | Favourable/Unfavourable |
14. Who in your home does the major part of household work?
- | | | |
|----------|-------------|---------------------|
| (a) Wife | (b) Servant | (c) Other (Specify) |
|----------|-------------|---------------------|
15. (i) Which among the following statements would most closely describe your normal participation in household work?
- | |
|---------------------------------|
| (a) Share equally with wife |
| (b) Share a small portion of it |
| (c) None at all |
- (ii) In your opinion which among the above mentioned patterns would be most desirable in a family?
16. (i) Which among the following statements would most closely describe the pattern of financial management in your family?
- | |
|---|
| (a) Husband plays major role |
| (b) Husband and wife equally share the role |
| (c) Wife plays major role |
- (ii) In your opinion which among the above mentioned patterns would be most desirable in a family?

17. Generally how often do you spend leisure hours with your

(i) Wife? Often/Sometimes/Rarely

(ii) Children? Often/Sometimes/Rarely

18. (i) Most heads of households are agreed that even when the best arrangements are available, there is always scope for improvement in the various aspects of one's household. How far are you satisfied with the present arrangements with regard to the following aspects in your household?

(a) Food

Very dissatisfied/Dissatisfied/Mildly satisfied/Satisfied/Very satisfied

(b) Cleanliness

Very dissatisfied/Dissatisfied/Mildly satisfied/Satisfied/Very satisfied

(c) Treating guests

Very dissatisfied/Dissatisfied/Mildly satisfied/Satisfied/Very satisfied

(d) Management of servants

Very dissatisfied/Dissatisfied/Satisfied/Mildly satisfied/Very satisfied

(e) Care when members of the family fall ill

Very dissatisfied/Dissatisfied/Mildly satisfied/Satisfied/Very satisfied

(ii) If you are less than satisfied in any of the above-mentioned areas, please state the important reasons.

19. (i) Even when the best arrangements are made for the care of children, most fathers tend to feel that there are areas in child care which could be looked after better. How far are you satisfied with the arrangements for the care of your children in the following areas?

(a) Everyday physical needs

Very dissatisfied/Dissatisfied/Mildly satisfied/Satisfied/Very satisfied

(b) Arrangement for children's attending school and their studies

Very dissatisfied/Dissatisfied/Mildly satisfied/Satisfied/Very satisfied

(c) Care when they fall ill

Very dissatisfied / Dissatisfied / Mildly dissatisfied / Satisfied / Very satisfied

(d) Company children keep or playmates they find

Very dissatisfied / Dissatisfied / Mildly dissatisfied / Satisfied / Very satisfied

(ii) If you are less than satisfied with any of the above-mentioned areas please state the important reasons.

20. Do you feel worried that your children are exposed to the following when you are at work ?

(a) Truancy Yes/No

(b) Accidents Yes/No

(c) Bad Company Yes/No

(d) Indiscipline Yes/No

21. Please give your opinion regarding the following statements :

(a) Employment of mother will assure economic security to the family
Agree/Disagree

(b) Husbands of non-employed wives are happier than husbands of employed wives
Agree/Disagree

(c) Earning should be the business of man alone
Agree/Disagree

(d) Employment of wife will not promote harmonious relationship with relatives
Agree/Disagree

(e) It is much better for a family to face the absence of mother because of her employment than live in economic inadequacy
Agree/Disagree

(f) Employment of wife will adversely affect the social status of husband
Agree/Disagree

(g) Children of non-employed mothers are happier than children of employed mothers
Agree/Disagree

(h) A woman who is a full-time worker in office cannot do full justice to her role as

(i) Wife Agree/Disagree

(ii) Mother Agree/Disagree

(i) The non-employed wife does not require as much help from the husband in household tasks as the employed wife does.

Agree/Disagree

22. Do you think that employment of mothers leads to change in traditional family values?

Yes/No

(a) If yes, how do you feel about it?

Welcome it/Do not like it.

23. A recent research study has shown that in families in which the wife is engaged in full-time employment there is a more satisfactory relationship and a better adjustment between husband and wife than in families in which the wife is engaged in full-time home-making (that is, where she has not taken up employment).

In the light of your experience do you think that there is any truth in this statement?

Yes/No

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