AN ANALYSIS OF PATRIARCHAL CONTROL IN KOLKATA'S FORMAL EMPLOYMENT SECTOR

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[This paper is based on an original study carried on by the author for his doctoral dissertation. The paper focuses on patriarchal control of workforce analysed from a representative sample drawn from 50 corporate houses in and around Kolkata. The study, though subjective, tries to project the ground realities on the issue of male dominance over females at the workplace based on empirical evidences. By having a better understanding of the factors contributing to the phenomenon, decision makers will be better able to structure the policies on provisions of equal opportunity in the formal employment sector.

Keywords: patriarchy, male-dominance, gender oppression, female employment, inequality, equal opportunity, job segregation, role orientation]

Introduction

Woman in comparison with man is gifted with equal mental capacities. She has the right to participate in the minutest details of the activities of man and she has the same right of freedom and liberty as he….By sheer force of vicious custom, even the most ignorant and worthless men have been enjoying a superiority over women which they do not deserve and ought not to have. - Gandhiji, Young India, 1918.

The father of the nation had a broad view on the liberation of women from the clutches of male domination and to get them equal foothold in every sphere of life and living but analyzing the status of women in our contemporary society, it is found that in general, it is one of subservience to men. It gets reflected in different ways, many of which go unnoticed or uncalled for. In every society people behave according to some prescribed form of behaviour for each gender. Each gender has some definite rights, duties, restrictions and obligations towards the society and they have to maintain it by behaving in appropriate ways. The very foundation of the society was laid on definite and distinctive role allotted to each gender as per the requirements and capabilities. The civilized world has accepted the view on gender role orientation and it is followed globally.

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It is true that at the time of birth, both male and female are biologically different. The natural difference between male and female is primarily that women can menstruate, conceive and breast feed but all these do not prove that female is the weaker sex and male is the stronger one (Kumar,1998). Definitely, over the years as male and female grow in the society, their accessibility to different resources, tangible and intangible changes. The social norms and practices get divided and the 'male' and 'female' gets translated into man and woman which is a social construct. The man-woman construction is by the society and not by nature. It is further assumed that men can perform some kind of tasks better than women and women can do some tasks better than men. Consequently, from the very childhood males and females are trained to perform their prescribed tasks. The division of labour is culturally determined but there are some universal tasks which are performed by each gender in all societies and in all times.

Men are bestowed with superior physical strength and in case of physical conflict they invariably overpower women. Serra (1993) calls it 'biological asymmetry' between sexes and states, "While the man's threat of violence against women is an affirmation of his physical power, the woman's threat to man does not pose any danger- of her overwhelming him physically". The physical supremacy according to Serra is thus the basis of male dominance over females. Even today, in modern urban societies scores are settled on the basis of physical strength. Thousands of cases of domestic violence, dowry torture, etc. are registered against males but the reverse is seldom noticed which goes beyond doubt to prove Serra's theory.

The phenomenon of dominance has been theorized by various scholars who have their own logic of male dominance over women. The phenomenon can be best explained through the concept of 'Patriarchy' which literally means the 'rule of the father' but it is a term that has been widely used in a range of contrasting accounts which seek to describe or explain male superiority over women. Patriarchy as per Walby (1994) is a system of social structure and practices in which male dominate, oppress and exploit women. This view of patriarchy undermines women's socio-economic power and freedom in comparison to those of the men's though there is no logical or material base for undermining their abilities and performances. This view is supported by Bhasin (1993) who states that women's productive and labour power is under the patriarchal control both within the household and outside in paid

work. This control over and exploitation of woman's labour means men benefit materially from patriarchy. According to her, the material base for patriarchy is derived from the male breadwinner concept and on the fact that usually women are economically and socially dependent on their men.

The age old tradition of male dominance in the formal employment sector has been broken down to a significant extent in the last century and the present day employer recruits employees from both genders at all levels of the organisation. An interesting observation was made by Mukherjee (2008), where she stated that by 2026, the working population would be 68% of our total population. In her conclusion she made an analysis and predicted that a large section of the women would henceforth be absorbed in the labour market. There has been an enormous growth of the service sector which requires soft skills and gives wider scope to the females. The opportunities in the service sectors have become the primary reason for increasing the employability of large section of educated women.

The concern over patriarchal control at the workplace has been addressed by many scholars and government agencies. Laws have been enacted and Equal Employment Opportunity Commissions (EEOC) has been set up in many countries of the world to bar exploitation and discrimination. The Indian Constitution along with numerous labour laws attempt to address the issue with great concern. The present paper makes an attempt to go beyond the previous studies and project the ground realities prevalent today in the corporate houses in Kolkata. The specific objectives of the study are:

- To determine the actual level of male dominance (patriarchal control) in the corporate houses in Kolkata.

- To determine the various causes that lead to the above-mentioned situation.

The paper is structured in the following manner- Section II briefly reviews the theoretical literature on the issue of patriarchy. The data and methodology of the study is discussed in Section III. The findings and outcome of the survey is discussed in Section IV. Section V analyses and interprets the various outcomes from the survey. Finally, Section VI summarises and concludes the paper.

A Conceptual Discussion

Jack Tanner, President of The Amalgamated Engineering Union in 1940 quoted, "We, as an organisation are opposed to the introduction of women as a general principle." The statement might send shock waves in

the minds of readers today but such policies have been observed in organisations from time immemorial and are found till date.

To understand the concept in a better way this section provides a better understanding on the issue of Patriarchy and the implication of the concept at the workplace.

There is a common acknowledgement among all that (a) although men and women live intimately, gender is the principal division among members in society; (b) there are many social sources of gender oppression and inequality; and (c) the patriarchal structures of societies are one of the sources of such oppression (Turner, 1998). The structure of patriarchy was thus, according to him one of the primary influencial factors leading to inequality and gender oppression.

According to Manu, the first codifier of Hindu law and customs, "Women in childhood should be kept under her father's guardianship, in youth under her husband's and in old age under her son's. A woman must never seek independence" (Storrow, 1977). So women from Manu's age have been labelled as inferiors and jobs have been assigned to them through the ages accordingly. Breaking the tradition of thousands of years becomes practically impossible for any tradition or culture.

Relaxations in some customs or regulations are the only achievements which could be attained after years of dedicated effort and feminist movements.

Goldberg (1977) opines that patriarchy is any system of organisation (political, economic, industrial, financial, religious or social) in which the overwhelming number of upper positions in hierarchies is occupied by males. It refers to supra familiar levels of organisations; authority in familiar and dyadic relationships in a manifestation of the psycho physiological reality that is commonly called male dominance. The domains of patriarchy according to Goldberg are all pervasive and exist in all levels of life and living including occupation, employment, vocation and profession.

Hartmann (1979) defines patriarchy as a set of social relations between men, which have a material base, and which, though hierarchical, establish or create independence and solidarity among men and enable them to dominate women.

Hunnicutt (2009) opines patriarchy is a set of social arrangements that privilege males, where men collectively dominate women as a group, both structurally and ideologically. She further states that there are patriarchal systems at macro level (bureaucracies, government, law market, religion) and there are patriarchal relations at the micro level

(interactions, families, organisations, patterned behaviour between intimates).

Millett (1977) suggests that patriarchal relations are to be found everywhere and are not confined to particular spheres of social life. She argues that every aspect of social life, including the family, economy, force, socialism, religion, sexuality and psychology contributes to maintenance of patriarchy. There are various customs, traditions, rituals and practices to uphold and maintain the domination of males and rejection of these would lead to social separation or confinement and may even lead to severe social punishment.

Dube (2006) observed that the Indian social system, with a few exceptions, is characterised by patriarchy which recognises male dominance and female subordination. He further observes that a sizable part of the Indian society is 'Patrilocal' were the wife leaves her paternal home and moves to live in her husband's father's house (or grandfather's or uncle's house, in the event of father not being there). Although 'Matrilocal residence' (husband moving to live with the wife's mother's family), 'Neolocal residence' (a new house for the newly wed couple) and 'Duolocal residence' (the husband continuing to live in his mother's Tarawad and the wife in her mother's Tarawad) are present in small pockets of the country, patrilocal residence is most widely seen and accepted in India.

Walby (1986) stated that the control of women's access to paid work is maintained primarily by patriarchal relations in the workplace and in the state as well as those in the household.

The concept of patriarchy has been defined in multiple ways, but with two similar core elements. Firstly, there is a core notion of gender inequality. Secondly, there is a degree of systematic arrangement in which the different aspects of gender relations are connected in some way or the other. Patriarchy, like capitalism is a world system and is maintained by a series of structures and practices including the family, systematic violence and exploitation on women's labour.

The last century witnessed a complete change in female employability and the main factors leading to this may be attributed to the need among women to be self-sufficient; to contribute to family income; increased need of consumerism; aspirations of higher standard of living; longer life span and improved family health along with the introduction of modern time and labour saving home appliances encouraged women to utilise their excess time more gainfully. Lowered fertility rate and delay in marriage along with an increase of educational level among the females and encouragement from their families

to be in formal employment are the most important factors favouring women's employment. The women's income help to support their parents, provide better food for their family members, and give better education and extra-curricular activities for their children and acquisition of better consumer goods for their family (De, 2011). Women themselves get some amount of social and psychological space, more social contacts outside the family sphere and also good deal of self-esteem.

Standing (1989) has suggested that there are seven areas where the degree of control that women have over the rewards for paid work need to be considered and advocates for a collection of better data. The areas are :

1. Control over itself (example as bonded labours)

2. Control over hours of work (no longer that they wish)

3. Control over means of production

4. Control over raw materials

5. Control over output (if she can sell herself)

6. Control over proceeds of output (control of wages being paid)

7. Control over labour reproduction (increase of education or skill)

The form of this control over women's labour at the workplace has varied with time and place to a significant extent. The forms of control include non-admittance of women to forms of training; the restriction of the percentage of women in certain occupations; discrimination in hiring practices which reduces or eliminates the number of women in a particular occupation; the ejection of women from an occupation or the reduction of their rights to remain in it on marriage (Scharf,1980); the ejection of women from certain occupations through legislative actions (Braybon,1981); the sacking of women before men in situation of redundancy (Mackay et al.,1971); the restrictions on the amount of certain kind of paid work that women can do with implications for their entry to those occupations as is done in Indian Factories Act, 1948. This exclusionary practices falls into two types: restriction of entry to particular occupations and ways of ejecting women rather than men from certain occupations. Most of the above-mentioned practices are supported by the prevailing customs and traditions and they are rarely challenged in the court of law. People are conditioned to accept them accordingly as norms of the said work or its requirements.

Walby (1996) contends that there have been two forms of patriarchy namely

private and public. They differ on variety of levels first in terms of relation between the structures and second, in institutional form of each structure. Private patriarchy is based upon household production with a patriarch controlling women individually and directly in the relatively private sphere of home. Public patriarchy is based on structures other than household. Rather institutions regarded as a part of public domain are central in maintenance of patriarchy. Women are not barred from public arena but they are nevertheless subordinated within them. The expropriation of women is performed more collectively by individual patriarchs causing women to stay at a disadvantaged position. She further states that there has been a shift in patriarchal strategy from exclusionary to segregationist and subordinating. Presence of women is accepted but they are confined to jobs usually segregated from and graded lower to those of men.

Job segregation by sex and family wage are important aspect of ways in which patriarchy and capitalism have interacted felt Hartmann (1979). She argues that men have organised together to exclude women from much of paid work primarily, though not exclusively, through the device of job segregation by sex. This serves to lower the wages of women in jobs that remain open to them and thus to pressurise women to remain dependents on men within the family. Men demand a family wage which completes this vicious circle, in which women are pushed away from paid work into unpaid domestic work from which men benefit. The material base on which patriarchy rests, according to her, lies most fundamentally in men's control over women's labour.

Connel (1987) viewed women's unpaid labour in private sphere as the primary reason for the devaluation of their labour in other places, he in effect essentialised women's inferior position in labour markets, making it difficult to imagine gender constructions that did not devalue the position of women in the labour force. This view is supported by Young (1997) who advocated that women's oppression commenced with their relationship to the private sphere and were subordinated and devalued in private life and could only serve as a reserve army of cheap labour to the ultimate benefit of the capitalist system of production. It is further argued by Goldberg (1977) that every society gives higher status to male roles than to non maternal roles of females. In every society, he states, males attain high status (non maternal) roles and positions and perform the high status tasks, whatever those tasks are.

Patriarchal system must be understood as 'terrains of power' (Flax, 1993). In these terrains, both men and women wield varying types and amounts of power. Male motives are taken for granted as power maintenance and thus the females are considered powerless and helpless. A common patriarchal value is protection of women (Hunnicutt, 2009). Patriarchal ideologies carve out havens of protection for some women but not others. The degree and level of protection depends upon many socio-economic and cultural factors and the protection is usually withdrawn in case of any protest or challenge by the women. Acceptance of dominance is deemed to be the cost of protection for the females. The actions of protection also serve as instruments of repression. Women may be dependent on the mercy of men for protection and thus, be subjected to their aggression and domination.

Friere's fundamental thesis (1970) claimed that there was no neutral education. "Education is either for domestication or for freedom. Although it is customarily conceived as a conditioning process, education can equally be an instrument for deconditioning." Education could be deconditioning because man was capable of knowing what conditioned him, capable of reflecting his action and behaviour and of perceiving his perceptions. Both genders are accordingly conditioned by the society, its culture and religion to accept their gendered role orientation and perform as per norms.

From the above survey of literature, it can be observed that the notion of patriarchy is omnipresent and almost every society accepts it in some form or other. The phenomenon is bound to influence every aspect of life including the workplace. The empirical survey in the following section tries to assess the concept of patriarchy present in the formal employment sector of Kolkata.

Data and Methodology of Study

For the purpose of the study, the employment sector is divided into two halves namely Public Sector and Private Sector. A total of 50 corporate houses were selected which included 16 companies from the public sector and 36 from the private sector. For the convenience of the study and for inclusion of different types of employers (employment), the sectors were further classified into Information Technology, Consumer Products, Manufacturing House, Factory, Bank, Telecommunication, Education, Finance, Healthcare Services, Hotel and Other Allied Services. Five institutions from each sector were selected on the basis of their size (market capitalization) and availability (location of office in or

around Kolkata with HR Department and willingness to give information or time). Each subdivision had companies from the private sector as well as those from the public sector.

The research instrument (questionnaire) was prepared keeping the research objectives in mind. Close ended questions with multiple options were presented to the respondents and they were asked to choose the best alternative among those provided. The questionnaires were filled up by the researcher on the basis of the responses obtained from the respondents viz. the HR/ Personnel Officer/ CEO and ten employees from each institution selected randomly. Thus, the study consists of 50 responses from the HR managers relating to corporate policies and 500 responses from the employees (250 males and 250 females) randomly selected from these companies using non-probabilistic (judgmental) sampling technique. The survey was conducted from January 2009 to May 2010.

After collection of data, the information was tabulated (Excel), summarised, analysed and presented through tables and bar diagrams. Meaningful inferences are drawn on the basis of this data.

Findings from the Survey

Observation 1: Composition of the governing body-

36 companies provided information regarding their governing body/ board of directors. It is observed that 9 institutions do not have any female representation in their governing body. None of the institutions had more female representatives in the governing body as compared to males. Moreover, on enquiry it was found that among the female representatives who made it to the governing body some got a chance by virtue of their birth/ family shareholding or marriage which was done to prevent the balance of decision making power to shift away from the clutches of the family.

Observation 2: Composition of the managerial level-

Out of the 50 institutions surveyed, only one private school had more females at the managerial position. It is seen that 5 institutions (10% of total sample) had no female manager and another 6 institutions had less than 10% female managers. It is worth mentioning that only in 18 institutions, 50% or more of the total male representation as managers could be achieved by females.

**Observation 3:** Composition of the workforce (employees)-

Males out number females in every institution surveyed except in 2 private schools and 1 private sector hospital. The worst male female ratio is found in the manufacturing sector. In contrast to the manufacturing sector, the Schools, Information Technology Sector and the Hospitals present a more favourable picture. It can also be seen that the private sector presents a better picture as compared to the public sector. It may be said from this observation that the reflection of the remarkable increase of female literacy rate is found missing through female representation in the offices visited during the course of survey.

Observation 4: Resignation from the institutions-

It is found that in 9 institutions (out of 30 providing this information) more females have put down their papers as compared to males. Parity is found between males and females only on the issue of resignation which shows more unhappiness among the females regarding their present job. Although the females are in minority in the institutions surveyed, they are seen in matching numbers on the issue of resignation with their male counterparts. In contrast, more males have completed their tenure of service and have retired from the offices surveyed. This shows that men are more stable at their positions as compared to the women. Thus, it can be said that the females have more difficulties, discontentment or problems at their present workplace as compared to the males.

Observation 5: Diagram showing the performer of the household chores of the employees (person responsible for cooking and washing clothes)
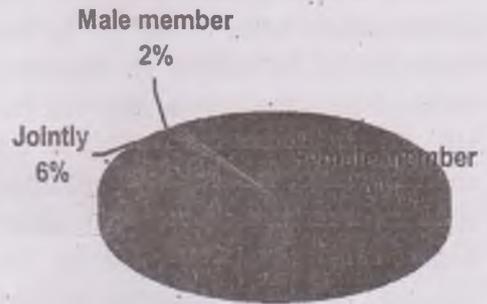
The male members very rarely perform the routine domestic responsibilities and it is observed from the above figure that in 92% of the families surveyed the routine household chores like cooking and washing clothes are conducted by the female members of the family. As most women surveyed live in nuclear families, it is evident that they are responsible for their domestic duties. Working in the same routine like a man at the workplace does not absolve the females from their domestic responsibilities.

Observation 6: Table showing the purchase decision maker of consumer durables in the house of the employees-

|	Male member	Female member	Joint decision	Total
Male	147	5	98	250
Female	113	17	120	250
Total	260	22	218	500

It is noticed that economic decision making in case of high value goods is generally denied to the females. Although, the females surveyed were economically independent, only a few of them admit that they independently take purchase decision of durable goods and it was further noticed that most of them were unmarried. It was observed that economic decision making is usually male dominated (52% of the sample) and even in the case of joint decisions, the final verdict is usually dominated by a male member.

Observation 7: Views of employees that their spouse would accompany them and settle abroad-

From the responses, it is seen that only 5% of the female respondents feel that they would get adequate support from their husbands in case of overseas transfer. This observation also proves that there is a lack of support for the married females to prosper or excel in their careers. 42% of the males are positive on this issue and few among those who are undecided felt on enquiry that their wives might leave their job or relocate themselves if they insisted on the new assignment. 51% of the females feel that their husbands would not accompany them if they are posted overseas. Few females also jovially remarked that divorce was the only option available to them in case of such ambitious persuasion.

**Observation 8:** Employees perception about the grounds on which pay hike is given-
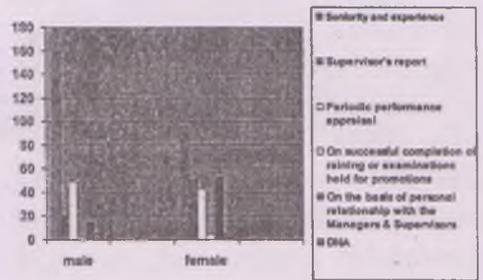
Seniority and experience and performance appraisal is deemed to be the most important clause for increase in payment by the males. Personal relationship with managers and supervisor's report are considered very important by the females besides the other basis stated by their male counterparts. It may be assumed from this observation that the females tend to please their supervisors more in comparison to the males.

Observation 9: Table showing employee's preference for a boss/co-worker of the same gender for better efficiency and performance at the office.

		Strongly agree	Somehow agree	Undecided	Somehow disagree	Strongly disagree	DNA
Public	Male	29	26	10	6	9	1
	Female	35	24	12	3	5	0
Private	Male	43	72	34	7	11	2
	Female	53	63	37	7	10	1

It is found from the above table that 68% of the employees prefer to have a superior or boss of the same gender for more efficiency or better performance. From table 5.6 it is also seen that 345 employees prefer to have a co-worker of the same gender for more efficiency or better performance. The above two results prove that the majority of the employees are more comfortable working with people of their gender and since the present workforce is male dominated, this observation might have an adverse effect on the females.

Observation 10: Diagram showing the preference of the employers in selection of an employee on the basis of gender (male/female).
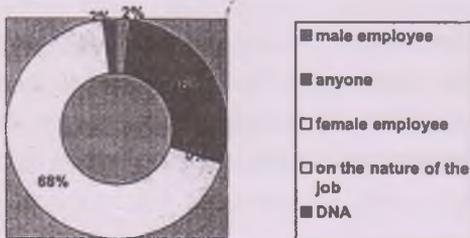

It has been noted that gender based reservations are virtually absent in the institutions surveyed. The above response was obtained when the HR managers were enquired about their personal preference on selection of an employee on the basis of gender. It is observed that 28% of the employers are indifferent about their choice of candidate on the basis of gender, that is, they would select anyone. 68% of the employers would like to select a candidate on the nature of the job but interestingly, none of the employers would prefer a female candidate if they had a choice. Since the personnel department is one of the most important factors in the process of selection, recruitment and promotion, their perceptions have an important influence on the outcome of the process.

Observation 11: The employees were asked to relate a few jobs with gender and the following results were obtained from the survey-

It is seen that jobs which require high degree of care or are quite repetitive in nature are deemed to be performed by females with a better degree of precision and success. Nursing and primary teaching which require care and personal involvement of the performer are said to be female chores by 85% and 71% of the respondents respectively.

Jobs which require physical power (bus driver) or high intellectual ability/ leadership qualities (CEO) or courage and quick decision making are deemed to be performed better by the males. 97%, 90% and 60% of the respondents feel that the job of a bus driver, air force pilot or a CEO of a company would be better performed by males or the above-mentioned are primarily male jobs. Thus, it can be concluded that many jobs are gendered in the perception of individuals and mostly, the other gender is deemed unfit to perform the job with requisite skill, accuracy or precision.

Observation 12: Diagram showing the preference of employees to have their spouse at a superior job position for enhancement of their self-esteem.
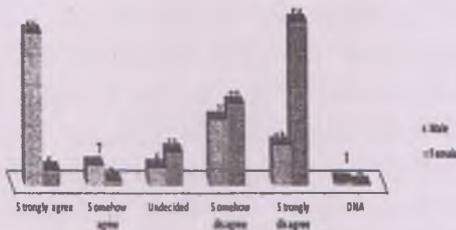
It is the view of 58% of the women surveyed that their self-esteem increases if their husbands are in a position superior to them. This view clearly supports the tradition of acceptance of male superiority in the marital relationship by the females and also suggests that the females themselves think their employment to be

a secondary source of income for the family. It is interesting to note that 35% of the females who opposes this view are mostly unmarried young ladies.

Almost 81% of the males do not want their better halves to hold a position superior to them. The psychological problems and conservative culture is clearly reflected on this issue. It is clearly observed that the males surveyed refused to accept female dominance within the family are even ready to forgo money for the sake of their conservative ego. Offices are a miniature reflection of the society and thus the social norms, views and perceptions are clearly reflected in the corporate culture, tradition and behaviour.

Interpretation of the Results

The analysis of patriarchal control at the workplace is based on twelve observations selected from the survey for the purpose of this paper.

Looking at the representation of women either in the governing body of the organizations or at managerial positions, it is found that effective representation of women is negligibly small to influence corporate decision making in any appreciable way. Even the decisions on feminine issues like necessary provisions for women workers, establishment of crèches, special assistance for females in case of late

night duty, etc. are taken by the decision making bodies which are dominated by males who can easily influence any decision due to their majority status.

The number of males working in these organizations outnumbers the females in all except three private sector concerns. The number of female employees working in the private sector is slightly more in comparison to the public sector. However, most of the female employees in the private sector are either in informal employment or working at the entry level. On the whole, there is a huge disparity on the basis of gender in representation as employees in these organizations. The institutional data show that more males complete their tenure at the workplace than the females. Premature retirement among females is high due to family responsibilities and other personal obligations. As a consequence of the same reason many females have to resign if there is a transfer of location of their husband's job. The data from institutions reveal that discontentment on their present job among the females is more as compared to the males.

It is found that the working ladies are not absolved from their petty domestic obligations like cooking and washing clothes at home and to some extent, they are obliged to perform their domestic duty along their official work. Shouldering of these dual responsibilities significantly hamper their career growth at the workplaces. Moreover, it was found that female empowerment in case of economic decision making has not attained significant importance in their families. Only a few females are empowered to take independent purchase decision on high value items. This proves that employment or economic independence has not given full empowerment or liberty to the females in their families. Many females want to excel or prosper in their corporate lives but they do not get adequate support from their families. Only a negligible percent of female respondents expect some considerations from their spouse in case of an assignment which requires outstation posting. Due to family obligations and social compulsions many women prefer to sacrifice their career ambition or promotion. The cause behind the above observations is due to the acceptance of male dominance in personal lives (patriarchy) by the females as majority of them admits that their self-esteem increases if their spouses are in a better job position as compared to them. 81% of the males oppose this idea which clearly shows lack of acceptance of female superiority in their personal lives.

From the employee's responses it is found that majority of the respondent surveyed wish to have a co-worker or superior of their same gender for

enhancing their efficiency at the workplace. This personal view adversely effect the females as in the matter of decision making, the males have a greater voice or control as already observed from the study. The personal preference of a superior or a co-worker of the same gender somehow shifts the scale in favour of the males who are the dominant gender in the institutions surveyed.

From the employee's responses it is found that jobs requiring high level of intellectual ability, leadership qualities, physical power, courage or decision making (high esteem jobs) are deemed to be more suitable for males and the jobs requiring personal care and interaction are deemed to be more suitable for females. Gender discrimination or special gender based reservations are absent in the process of selection of an employee or as a matter of standing policy (except legal reservation or circumstantial compulsion). If given a choice, most employers (HR officers) would select a candidate on the nature of the job and the above responses prove beyond doubt that presence of females would be accepted in the organisations but they would be confined to jobs usually segregated from and graded lower to those of men.

Conclusion :

There has been a huge growth in female literacy as per the census reports but this reflection is not observed in participation of females at the workplaces surveyed. Males outnumber the females in almost all the institutions and effective female representation in the decision making body to influence corporate decisions in any appreciable manner is also not found. The number of women in top management or leadership roles is not representative of the workforce population. This observation confirms Goldberg's (1977) and Hunnicutt's (2009) observations on patriarchy outside the private domain.

Patriarchal relations at the household are clearly observed in the responses of the females where they accept that their self-esteem enhances in having a superior partner. It is also seen that major economic decisions are denied to most females and they are entrusted with responsibilities of household work. The women are thus conditioned to accept themselves as a secondary earner's role.

Patriarchal dominance at the workplace is maintained to a chain of linking activities and the females at the workplace are found to be more

considerate and co-operating as compared to the males. It is observed that jobs are gendered in the perception of the employees and most HR managers would like to select a candidate on the nature of the job which adversely affects the females. Most employees want to have a co-worker or superior of their gender for better efficiency which again helps to maintain male domination and control at the workplace. It can be concluded in the words of Walby (1996) that the women are not barred at the workplaces but they stay at a disadvantaged position and are segregated and subordinated in status to that of men.

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