

<u>A STUDY ON INDIAN MEN AND THEIR</u> <u>MULTIDIMENSIONAL PERCEPTIONS OF WOMEN CAREERS</u>

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Abstract:

The quintessential Indian woman of today has a career orientation very different from her counterparts of a few decades back. Centuries old gender stereotypes have been broken; urban Indian women have proved their mettle, they have been able to widen their expanse beyond the four walls of their homes. This is an achievement, that too, a revolutionary one in itself. And it needs to be acknowledged that this would not have been possible without an attitudinal shift in Indian men upon which they began to recognise the potential of the women in their families and consequently helped them unleash it. This research was aimed at observing and analysing the perceptions of cohorts of Indian men spanning generationally segmented age groups on various aspects of women careers. An attempt to uncover the perceived framework in the minds of Indian men on various aspects of their wives' careers namely on 1) their wives' income, 2) their sense of independence, 3) their need for getting their careers enabled, 4) their role in the families and 5) their bond with their children, was consequently made. The key findings were indicative of the fact that younger men have more liberal attitudes towards their wives' employed status. Husbands of all age groups unanimously agreed that flexible working arrangements is the one key career enabler that can help women integrate their work and life, better. While the results of such a study would inspire Indian Women Professionals to gain further career momentum, it will also help the men in our society keep themselves informed of the underlying commonalities that they share with other men with regards to views on women careers and strive their best to further enable the careers of their partners.

Keywords: Cohort, Egalitarian belief, Gender stereotype, Indian Women Professional

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Introduction

The last few decades have been nothing short of revolutionary with regard to education, empowerment and careers of Indian women. Gender stereotypes that have been in existence since time immemorial have been challenged; Indian women professionals have made their professional diversity and versatility amply clear. The India of today boasts of some exceptional women leaders who are at the highest echelons of corporate hierarchy. Many young womentrained &qualified, aspire to emulate these success sagas; their ambitions are often sky high. However, in the Indian socio cultural milieu, women are still in the process of taking the first nascent steps to achieving complete solidarity in their lives and careers. Cultural conditioning and the institution of marriage has been found to greatly influence their career choices (Steve Crabtree and Anita Pugliese, 2012) (Dehejia, 2011). Furthermore, the men in their lives play a pivotal role in shaping their career trajectories. In fact, a recent study shows that Indian men are slightly hesitant to handle busy corporate wives. (Jha, 2009). However on a positive note, many successful corporate women of today in the course of sharing their success stories have mentioned albeit proudly that had it not been for the unconditional support and encouragement from their spouses they wouldn't have made it this far (Mate Value, 2006) (The men behind the power women, 2009).

Researches with varying scopes have been undertaken around the world to assess the transforming society's views on traditional gender roles (the behaviours, attitudes, values and other things that a particular culture considers appropriate for males and females); this is to say that how men and women perceive their roles in the family has been extensively studied. As much as the fact that youngsters today have more egalitarian beliefs when it comes to gender roles, some traditional mindsets are hard to topple. (Tinklin, Croxford, & Frame, 2005). A study on American adolescents' views on gender roles showed that those with working mothers had more egalitarian attitudes (Bazik, 2011). A research on different cohorts in Australia indicated that men are less conservative with regard to gender role perceptions as against women (Egmond, Baxter, & Western, 2010). Yet another study on a sample of the American society established that traditional gender role attitudes accounted for the concave shape of the evolution of female labour force participation over the past 30 years (Fortin, 2009). An extensive research conducted across 75 countries worldwide (including India) on the global development of egalitarian beliefs went on to show that recent birth cohorts espoused more progressive beliefs about the extra-familial role of women than earlier-born cohorts and there was a near-universal source of secular change in gender attitudes (Dorius & Alwin, 2010). A recent survey on a sample of employed Indian men and women for understanding their gender role ideologies concluded that traditional women experienced a greater extent of family interference with work than egalitarian men and women and traditional men (Rajadhyaksha & Velgach, 2009). It was proved that although gender role attitudes are becoming less traditional for men and for women, traditional gender role orientation continues to exacerbate the gender wage gap as women continue to opt for careers that promise them a better work life balance (Judge & Livingston,

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2008). Yet another research on how parenthood influenced men and women careers showed that mothers with partners working full time reduced their work hours more than mothers with partners not working full time which is indicative of the fact that family models still loosely follow the 'male breadwinner – female homemaker' model (Abele & Spurk, 2011).

A study dated back in 1986 found that husbands of working wives felt less adequate as family breadwinners than did husbands of housewives, and this appeared to account for their lower levels of job and life satisfaction (Staines, Pottick, & Fudge, 1986). A review of the effect of wives' employment on the mental health of married men was made in this paper (Kessle & James A. McRae, 1982). It showed that men who help most with childcare are those least distressed by their spouses working outside the home. Another early research (Parasuraman, Greenhaus, Rabinowitz, Bedian, & Mossholder, 1989) indicated that a wife's employment was negatively related to husband's satisfaction with childcare. An interesting study along the same lines on how the wife's employment status impacts a husband's well being, life satisfaction and happiness (across men in 29 countries) showed that though societal changes have altered the emotional landscape for married men and the economic benefits to the wife's job have increased with public opinion becoming more supportive of dual-earner couples, the happiness advantage was greater for homemakers' husbands compared to other married men (Judith, Tai, & Chloe, 2011). Another recent research initiated in Japan indicated in spite of the technological revolution, household chores were still considered predominantly the wife's duties by Japanese husbands (Wulansari, 2013). How men in Japan resist their wives' career growth and are most satisfied by having a wife who is on part time employment was studied by (Usuda, 2009). This study also showed that the reason for the comparatively low rate of participation of Japanese wives in full-time employment was due to the husbands seeking to maintain traditional gender roles so as to sustain their self-esteem. A comparative study on American and Japanese husbands established that American husbands spend four times as much time on housework and childcare than Japanese husbands do and that American women manage to balance their career and family lives by using private services and sharing housework and childcare with their husbands (Jibu, 2007). It is of great interest to learn that it is not only the husbands that influence a woman's career progress, but also other men who are her bosses; a recent study concluded that married male employees who have stay-at- home wives are more likely to exhibit attitudes, beliefs, and behaviours that are harmful to other women in their workplaces (Desai, Ethics, & Chugh, 2012).

With first person evidence reinforcing the indispensability of a man's role in his wife's career, it would be of great interest to understand the trends that attitudes of different cohorts of Indian men follow with regard to the multiple dimensions of women careers. The influences that men have at different stages in a woman's career may vary and this justifies the intention to analyse the perceptions of husbands of various age groups. Also, such a study would unveil the positives of the 'orthodox to liberal' transformation that the attitudes of Indian men have undergone over the years and make pronounced the deltas that exist amongst the mindsets of Indian men

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spanning various age brackets, on multiple dimensions of a woman's career. The study attempted to first understand the significance Indian men attach to their wives' income. The next phase of the study was to observe the extent of reception Indian husbands have on the sense of independence of their spouses. The study explored Indian men's viewpoints on the need to enable their partner's career taking into consideration the irreplaceable familial role she plays, as also their views on their employed partner's role in the family. The similarities that exist in the attitudes of these men on the bonds the wife shares with their children, against the backdrop of her career, were also studied.

In the Indian socio cultural context where the terms women and career came to be closely associated only recently, it is all the more important to initiate such research. Furthermore, the age old family structure of that of a joint family is giving way to nuclear family, more so in the urban areas in India. The preconceptions (on women's careers) of the husband in a dual career couple tends to greatly influence his wife's career success, particularly so if the family is a nuclear one. With external support systems not readily available, the husband and the wife are dependent mutually, in managing their job induced stress alongside the task of executing routine errands while steering forward in their career tracks. The traditionally patriarchal mindset of the Indian society increases the gravity of this dependence on women. Given this context, the outcome of this study will provide pointers to the underlying similarities that lace Indian men's attitudes towards their spouses' careers and highlight attitudinal planes that have tremendous room for improvement.

The paper is structured as follows: the research methodology is presented, initially. This is followed by a discussion on the key findings of the research. Author conclusions and recommendations constitute the last section. As an end note, we also present a plan for the future of this research.

Research Methodology

A comprehensive questionnaire which had 25 different questions encompassing various aspects of women's careers were handed out to men belonging to four discrete generations, namely, *Group 1(1940-'60 - Year of Birth), Group 2(1960-'70 - Year of Birth)*, *Group 3(1970-'80 -Year of Birth) and Group 4(1980-'90 - Year of Birth)*. They were requested to share their views on various dimensions of their partner's career namely, *a) Their partner's income, b) The need for complete independence of their partner, c) The need to enable women in their careers, d) The role of the employed women in her family, and last but not the least, e) The relationship between their employed wives and children.* The questions were chosen after prolonged research that involved observations and analyses. The respondents were required to express their degrees of agreement (from strong agreement to strong disagreement) to the questions in the survey questionnaire.

The comprehensive questionnaire is attached in the appendix.

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Key Findings

In this section, key findings of the statistical analyses on the responses are presented. The pivotal questions that represent the views of the cohorts of men are enlisted. While agreements to certain questions are indicative of liberal mindsets, neutral opinion stands for views that are undergoing transformation. The segregated analyses on men's views on each of the five different aspects of women careers are contained in this section.

Views about partner's income

The study threw open a few critical questions to men whose wives were employed, on their mindsets towards remuneration their wives earn. The idea was to assess the extent of generation gap in terms of husbands' attitudes towards the need for their wives to earn, the financial independence they consider their wives were deserving of and their sense of acceptance to their wives' ability to earn.

In this age of sky-rocketing commodity prices and a decent urban lifestyle demanding princely sums of money, it was natural to try to understand the husband's views on the contribution of their wives' to the family's finances. As can be seen from Figure 1, the oldest generation has mixed views towards this aspect. While 33% of Group 1 men were in agreement to the lifestyle enhancement their partners' careers bring, another 33% were in strong disagreement. Among Group 2 men, few were in agreement to this, 36% had a neutral view and an 18% were in strong disagreement. One third of the third classifications of husbands were in agreement, disagreement was lesser. 33% of the 4th group of men, the youngest husbands of the lot, was in agreement and 67% preferred to be neutral. The inference that follows is that younger generations of husbands were happy with the 'family income enhancement' their wives' careers guarantee and the extents of disagreements were greater for the older generations. This could be because men belonging to the older generations still hold on to traditional gender roles that a 'male bread winner – female home maker' model prescribes.



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Figure 2: Response to ownership of wives' incomes

Analyses show that across generations, most men respect the income brought home by their partners and are fair enough to understand that the spending power on the income their partners created is rightfully the partners'. This attitudinal transformation is proof enough to justify the fact that our society is inching closer to the vision of gender equality. For the record, the oldest generation were mostly of the opinion that it is upto their wives how to spend it, according to Figure 2. Amongst Group 2 husbands, 27% were in agreement and another 9% in strong agreement regarding the 'autonomy' of their wives' incomes; but 27% were also in disagreement. Half of group 3 men were in strong agreement of the point whereas majority of the men in group 4 (67%) were neutral as to the ownership of their wives' earnings.

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Figure 3: Response to accepting a monetary gift from spouse

As can be inferred from Figure 3, majority of men across generations were ready to accept monetary gifts from their wives and did not consider this in anyway disgraceful. Disagreements were fewer and farther in between, with 8% from the Group 3 men admitting that they are reluctant to accept monetary favours from their wives. The results indicate that Indian husbands in general have learned to accept the ability of their partner to bring bread to the table and take pleasure in accepting monetary gifts from them.

Views on women and their sense of independence

Having undertaken such a study, it was imperative to attempt to understand Indian men's attitudes towards their wives' sense of independence. The questions were centered on the need for women to work and have a life outside home, the equality of opportunities offered to men and women, the sense of well-being a woman's career bestows her with and the freedom a woman needs to be given to pursue a career of her choice. The response analyses on the related questions are detailed here on.





The results in Figure 4 indicate that older husbands as well as the younger ones are mostly (averaging 66%) in agreement with the need for women to have a life outside of home. There is absolutely no disagreement from men of any generation regarding this. It is a few among the Group 3 and 4 husbands who have a neutral view on this. The responses make it evident that the Indian men have abandoned the archaic theory according to which a woman's world was considered her home.



Figure 5: Response to the equality of career opportunities men and women have

As can be inferred from Figure 5, Group 1 husbands are 100% in agreement with the unfair deal meted out to women in terms of career opportunities. Disagreements exist amongst husbands in group 2 and 3 on this, though a larger number of them agree with it. The majority of the youngest lot of husbands is in agreement with this fact. The study shows that most men across



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generations are thus bold enough to admit the gender bias that continues to exist in all 'happening' career tracks of today.



Figure 6: Response to the sense of well being career gives a woman

As is shown in Figure 6, husbands from the oldest generation of Group 1 were in strong agreement that when a woman pursues her preferred career, she automatically gains a sense of well being. Group 2 men also majorly agreed with this fact. There weren't any men in Group 3 who had a disagreement on the ability of a favoured career to instil in a woman confidence and contentment. All of the Group 4 men were also in agreement to this. This validates the fact that the vast majority of Indian men feel that educated women of today feel complete only when they are given the choice of an exciting career.





Figure 7: Response to the need for women to pursue a career of their choice

From Figure, it follows that Group 1 men, perhaps emboldened by wisdom of the years, are cent percent in agreement with the need for their partners to chase their dreams with a free spirit. Surprisingly, 9% of men in Group 2 disagree with this. Group 3&4 men voice agreement for the need for their partners to build their dream careers, putting to use their latent talents. It is heartening to note that Indian men of all ages acknowledge the need for their partners to choose a career of their choice that will help channel the creative potential of their partners' productively.

Views on the need to enable wives' careers

While it is the will and ambition of a woman that paves the way for a successful career, it is beyond doubt that for this professional journey to be relatively smooth, it needs cushioning and enabling from her spouse and the society. The survey questions on this aspect ranged from men's readiness to boost their partners' talents to their approach towards flexi-time working for women to the need for quota systems for women in jobs that could ensure a gender balanced workforce. The respondents were also asked to share their views on women's workmanship as against that of men and their ideas about women leaders. Also the participants were asked to comment on a woman's natural ability to better strike a balance between home and work and the need for a woman to take control over her emotions as not to disturb this delicate balance.



Figure 8: Response to men's willingness to boss their partners' careers

From Figure 8 it follows that all Group 1 men are willing to whole heartedly nurture their partners' talents. 36% of men in Group 2 are not ready to support their partners' professional growths. The younger men of Groups 3 and 4 are in agreement to the need to support their spouses' talents at work. Though a minority is unwilling to let go off the gender stereotypes, it can be taken as a good sign that the rest of the men are ready to support their wives' to the best of their abilities.

As can be seen in Figure 9 (attached below), majority of men from the older generations are in favour of flexi-time^[1] working for women as this would ensure that they have the luxury of time that can avert work-life conflicts. 8% of men in Group 3 disagree with this. Group 4 men are also in total agreement to the need for flexi-time working for women. The responses show that Indian men are in acceptance of the reality that women continue to be primarily responsible for domestic duties and child care and that flexible working is the single most important enabler that can help women juggle work and home efficiently.

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Figure 10: Response to the futility of quota system for women

As for the need for quota systems that reserve a percentage of job vacancies for women, men belonging to Group 1 deem it unnecessary. While majority of men in Group 2 & 3, 72% and 75% respectively feel that there isn't a requirement for a quota system, 9% and 25% opine otherwise. All of Group 4 men are of the opinion that women do not require the additional support of a quota system to make their marks. This indicates that most Indian men have come to view and treat women as equals and hence consider quota systems unnecessary as they are not any less competent than men.

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As per Figure 11, a greater fraction of men belonging to the oldest generation (66%) said that they do not give women co-workers any preferential treatment, nor are they subjugated; they are treated at par with other men at work as both genders operate within the same professional environment. 9% of men in Group 2 prefer to differ in their treatment of female colleagues, as also 17% and 33% of Group 3 & 4 men. To note that 14% of men on an average still believe that women at work are to be treated differently is slightly disheartening.



Figure 12: Response to the equal occurrence of men and women leaders

As can be inferred from Figure 12, 67% of men in Group 1 and 54% of men in Group 2 disagree to the fact that women leaders are common. While 33% of Group 3 men agree, 42% disagree. As

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for the youngest generation of Indian men, 33% strongly agree and 67% expressed agreement. The results go on to show that the older generations of men have seen only fewer women being able to break the glass ceiling^[2] as against the younger generations of men.



Figure 13: Response to women's ability to better manage home and work

Results in Figure 13 indicate that all of the men in Group 1 are in agreement of the fact that women are naturally endowed with a greater capacity to balance work and home. Men belonging to Groups 2 & 3 also majorly agree with this fact, with only 18% & 8% of them disagreeing. 66% of men in Group 4 also admit the truth behind this statement. Most Indian men, irrespective of the generation they belong to opine that women are better equipped to handle the pressure of juggling personal and professional commitments.





Figure 14: Response to the need for women to avoid intermixing of professional and personal tensions

As can be inferred from Figure 14, men generally are of the opinion that women should control spill over of negative emotions from work into family as this could affect the mood of the home as such. Only a few of the Group 2 men disagree with this. 33% of men from the first group and 17% from the third group prefer a neutral stance. Group 4 men are either in strong agreement or agreement of this. The inference is that most commonly it is the woman's temperament that decides the mood in the family and Indian husbands almost unanimously feel that the home will benefit if their wives' do not let professional tensions disturb the peace in the family.

Views on employed women's role in their families

Women have traditionally donned the caps of caregivers in the family, across countries, across cultures. The stereotypes that were created as a result of this consisting of a male bread winner and a stay at home wife, have not completely been falsified. An unfair share of domestic chores is still considered a woman's responsibility. The questions pertaining to the views of Indian men on the role of their employed wife in the family included the need for the presence of an employed woman in her family, the man's willingness to take up odd chores at home, woman's responsibility towards her family and the need for women to prioritize their families over their careers at certain points of time.





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Figure 15: Response to the need for an employed woman's presence in the family

As can be inferred from Figure 15, all of the oldest generation of men feels that when a woman immerses herself into full time employment, she is often not present for her family. Amongst Group 2 & 3 men, 82% and 42% respectively are in agreement of this; 9% and 33% in disagreement. As for the youngest generation of Indian husbands, 33% opine that a woman misses out being there for her family, when working full-time but 67% of men seek to disagree. The analysis implies that most men belonging to the younger generations feel that their wives' careers are important enough to justify their physical absence in the family during a typical work day. The older men have slightly contradicting views on this as they tend to feel that a woman cannot do full justice to her familial responsibilities while not physically present.

From Figure 16 (attached below), it can be understood that while 33% of men in Group 1 were willing to do their share of household duties, another 33% felt they were not ready to pick up odd jobs. Men belonging to Group 2 (90%) were by and large willing to help out with chores at home. 58% of Group 3 men were also ready to participate in 'home-making', while 25% chose a neutral stand. Amongst Group 4 men, 33% expressed their willingness to carry out odd jobs, while 67% had a neutral view on this. The results indicate that Indian men are still a little hesitant when it comes to executing typical feminine responsibilities like cooking and cleaning.



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Figure 17: Response to the responsibility of Indian women to the family

Results in Figure 17 show that 100% of men from Group 1 do not agree with the statement that women are more responsible towards their homes than men. 18% of Group 2 men and 17% of Group 3 men agreed with the statement; 63% and 41% respectively disagreed. For men belonging to Group 4, all were in agreement to the statement that women need to be more responsible towards their homes than men. Once again what the results communicate is that women are still considered the natural homemakers, inspite of the society's thoughts progressing by leaps and bounds.

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Figure 18: Response to the need for women to take a career break

Figure 18 shows that 33% of men belonging to Group 1 opined that a woman should place her family before her career for a few years of her life; an equal number disagreed. 58% of Group 2 men also nodded agreement to this, with only 9% disagreeing. 42% of men in Group 3 also felt that women should push their careers to the backseat for a few years for the greater good of the family. All men belonging to the youngest generation also were in agreement. It has been found that having an uninterrupted career is almost an impossibility for an average woman in any part of the world, with Indian women being no exception. The results of the survey indicate that most men feel their spouses need to attend to demands at home, particularly during extremely critical times as early motherhood or chronic illness of a parent.

Views on employed women's bond with their children

Apart from being primary caregivers, women are also considered the nurturers of the young ones at home. Their involvement in basic child rearing deeds as also cognitive development of the children is much more than that of men, proves many researches. This is true of societies across the world, more so in the Indian socio cultural context. The questions posed to men on whom this research is based, about the relationship of employed women with their children revolved around the criticality of a mother's presence for her children, the unique ability of a woman to bear and rear children that makes her special, whether children impede a woman's career growth and the recent phenomenon of women postponing childbirth to focus on their careers.

As can be observed from Figure 19, men of all generations feel that a woman's presence is almost indispensable for her home and her children. Though this is indicative that some of the stereotypical gender roles are hard to counter, recent researches support the theory that a mother's presence is critical for her child's cognitive development (Working mothers risk damaging child's prospects).

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Figure 20: Response to how feminine activities of child bearing and child rearing make a woman special

As can be inferred from Figure 20, majority of men in Group 1 agree that child bearing and rearing make women unique indeed. While 54% of Group 2 men also agree, 36% sought to disagree. As for men belonging to Group 3, 50% vouch for the truth behind the statement; only 8% expressed strong disagreement. Group 4 men were all in agreement of the case presented. The responses of men across generations prove that majority of men respect the natural ability of

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a woman to bear and rear children and believe that these feminine activities make them special and unique.



Figure 21: Response to children not being an impediment for a woman's career progress

Figure 21 goes on to show that 67% of men from the oldest generation feel that children tend to slow down a woman's career. 46% of Group 2 men feel that having children does not significantly affect a woman's career journey, 36% feel otherwise. As for men in Group 3, only 25% are of the opinion that children are no threat to a woman's career, 42% are of a counter opinion. 67% of the younger lot of husbands chose a neutral stand as a response. There are almost an equal number of men agreeing and disagreeing to the fact that children steal a woman's focus from her career. This should probably be because the effect of children on a woman's career depends greatly on the family structure and other external support systems available which may vary on a case by case basis.

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Figure 22: Response to the question, 'Do women postpone childbirth for career?'

Figure 22 indicates that 67% of men in Group 1 chose not to comment on the fact that women actually sacrifice life changing events like childbirth for career growth. 54% of men in Group 2 felt that this is not true. From amongst the Group 3 men, 59% also had the same opinion. While 33% of Group 4 men agreed with the statement, 27% opined that this is not true of Indian women of today. More than half of the men are of the opinion that urban women in India are giving motherhood a second thought atleast early on in their careers. This slightly disturbing trend does communicate a positive and negative aspect each, the positive being the fact that women are now as ambitious as men with respect to their careers, the negative aspect being the adverse effect on a woman's health owing to postponement of childbirth.

Conclusions & Recommendations

Thanks to the global exposure, mindsets of Indian men have undergone modernisation with technology catalysing the whole process. Career aspirations of women have begun to be accepted and to a great extent respected. But a few deeply etched ideas about a woman's role in her family and the notion that her career needs to play second fiddle to her responsibilities at home, still linger on in the minds of a few men. While the absence of such ideals in a husband greatly enables his wife's career, their presence begins to wreck havoc in a woman professional's career journey when she is faced with the humongous task of juggling home and work. The findings of the study show that younger generations of Indian men have a more liberal attitude to their wife's income rather than the older generations. Men of all ages tend to respect the sense of independence the neo Indian woman has come to enjoy. The general trend was one of agreement as to their willingness to enable their wives' careers. All generations of men surveyed also admitted to the fact that the role a woman plays in her family cannot be entirely substituted by men. But it is a reason to cheer that many of them are willing to participate in what is considered

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typical feminine responsibility like the household chores and thereby pave way for their wives' career growths. Flexi-working for women resonated with men, old and young, alike. As for a woman's presence in her family the younger groups of Indian husbands felt that it was possible for women to acknowledge their familial responsibilities even while pursuing a full time career; the older men had slightly more rigid views on this.

It is recommended that men of the younger generations draw from the experience gifted wisdom of the older men and demystify some of their misconceptions towards women careers. The older generation of husbands can also imbibe a few modern ideals of the younger men on the importance of a woman's career and do their best to enable the careers of other women in their lives – the daughters, the nieces, and the daughters-in-law et.al. With that said, the movement towards a gender diverse workforce will assume true strength only when Indian men in all their capacities as that of a husband, a father, a brother and a boss endorse the significance of women careers.

Future Work

The future course of this study would be to delve deeper into the reasons behind certain attitudes of men that aren't very supportive of women careers. The linkage between the socio, economic and educational profile of a man and his points of view could also be established consequently. Further on, we also plan to capture the attitudes of Indian woman Professionals on the role their spouses and other important men in their lives played in enabling their careers.

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