

**WORKING MOTHERS AND ROLE CONFLICT IN NAGA SOCIETY**

**THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE NAGALAND UNIVERSITY IN  
FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE  
AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**ANETKALA WALLING**



**DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY  
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
NAGALAND UNIVERSITY**

**H.Q: LUMAMI**

**2023**

नागालैण्ड विश्वविद्यालय

NAGALAND UNIVERSITY



(संसद द्वारा पारित अधिनियम 1989, क्रमांक 35 के अंतर्गत स्थापित केंद्रीय

विश्वविद्यालय)

(A Central University established by an Act of Parliament No.35 of 1989)

मुख्यालय : लुमामी, जुन्हेबोटो (नागालैण्ड), पिन कोड – 798627

Headquarters: Lumami, Dist: Zunheboto, (Nagaland), Pin Code-798 627

वेबसाइट/Website:www.nagalanduniversity.ac.in

### Department of Sociology

---

*This is to certify that the Ph.D Thesis entitled “**Working Mothers and Role Conflict in Naga Society**” is an original work carried out by Ms. Anetkala Walling bearing Regd.no. PhD/SOC/00053 dated 27/08/2017, based on her field study conducted under my supervision. The Thesis fulfills all the norms of Ph.D. Thesis under the rules and regulations of Nagaland University.*

*To the best of my knowledge, the Thesis has not been submitted to any university or educational institution for award of any degree or diploma.*

*This Thesis may therefore be placed before the External Examiner for evaluation.*

**(PROF. ATHUNGO OVUNG)**

**HoD**

**(PROF. TOSHIMENLA JAMIR)**

**Supervisor**

**DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY  
NAGALAND UNIVERSITY  
H.Q: LUMAMI**

**DECLARATION OF THE CANDIDATE**

I hereby declare that the Thesis entitled “**Working Mothers and Role Conflict in Naga Society**” submitted for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Sociology, Nagaland University, is my original work and the contents of which have not been the basis of the award of any previous degree to me or anybody else to the best of my knowledge. The content of this Thesis has not been published or submitted by me to any other university for any other purpose.

Dated:

**(Anetkala Walling)**



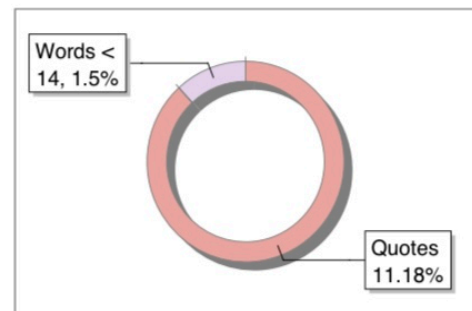
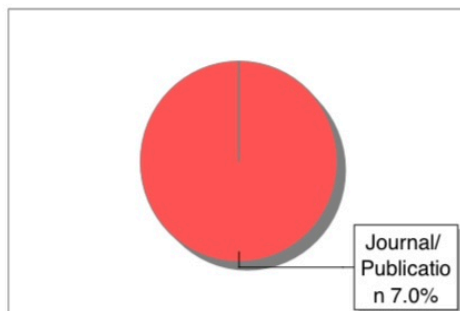
The Report is Generated by DrillBit Plagiarism Detection Software

### Submission Information

Author Name	Anetkala Walling
Title	Working Mothers and Role Conflict in Naga Society
Paper/Submission ID	1130862
Submitted by	toshimenla@nagalanduniversity.ac.in
Submission Date	2023-11-24 17:04:23
Total Pages	161
Document type	Thesis

### Result Information

Similarity **7 %**



### Exclude Information

Quotes	Excluded
References/Bibliography	Excluded
Sources: Less than 14 Words Similarity	Excluded
Excluded Source	<b>0 %</b>
Excluded Phrases	Not Excluded

A Unique QR Code use to View/Download/Share Pdf File





(संसद द्वारा पारित अधिनियम 1989, क्रमांक 35 के अंतर्गत स्थापित केंद्रीय विश्वविद्यालय )

(A Central University established by an Act of Parliament No.35 of 1989)

मुख्यालय : लुमामी | Headquarters : Lumami

**PLAGIARISM FREE UNDERTAKING**

**साहित्यिक चोरी मुक्त शपथ-पत्र**

<b>Name of Research Scholar/Student</b> शोधार्थी/विद्यार्थी का नाम	ANETKALA WALLING
<b>Ph.D/M.Phil. Registration Number</b> पीएच.डी/एम.फिल. पंजीयन संख्या	PHD/SOC/00053
<b>Title of Ph.D thesis /M.Phil. Dissertation</b> पीएच.डी थीसिस/एम.फिल. शोध-प्रबंध का शीर्षक	WORKING MOTHERS AND ROLE CONFLICT IN NAGA SOCIETY
<b>Name &amp; Institutional Address of the Supervisor/Joint Supervisor</b> शोध-निर्देशक/सह शोध-निर्देशक का नाम व संस्थानिक पता	PROF. TOSHIMENLA JAMIR NAGALAND UNIVERSITY
<b>Name of the Department/School</b> विभाग/संकाय का नाम	SOCIOLOGY
<b>Date of Submission</b> प्रस्तुत करने की तिथि	1-12-2023
<b>Date of Plagiarism Check</b> साहित्यिक चोरी की जांच की तारीख	24-11-2023
<b>Percentage of similarity detected by the DrillBit software</b> ड्रिलबिट सॉफ्टवेयर द्वारा खोजी गई समानता का प्रतिशत	7%

I hereby declare/certify that the Ph.D Thesis/M.Phil. Dissertation submitted by me is complete in all respect, as per the guidelines of Nagaland University (NU) for this purpose. I also certify that the Thesis/Dissertation (soft copy) has been checked for plagiarism using **DrillBit** similarity check software. It is also certified that the contents of the electronic version of the thesis/dissertation are the same as the final hardcopy of the thesis/dissertation. Copy of the Report generated by the **DrillBit** software is also enclosed.

मैं एतद् द्वारा घोषित/प्रमाणित करता/करती हूँ कि पीएच.डी. थीसिस/एम.फिल. इस उद्देश्य के लिए नागालैण्ड विश्वविद्यालय (एनयू) के दिशा-निर्देशों के अनुसार मेरे द्वारा प्रस्तुत शोध प्रबंध सभी प्रकार से पूर्ण है। मैं यह भी प्रमाणित करता/करती हूँ कि थीसिस/शोध-प्रबंध (सॉफ्ट कॉपी) को **ड्रिलबिट** समानता जाँच सॉफ्टवेयर का उपयोग करके साहित्यिक चोरी के लिए जाँचा गया है। यह भी प्रमाणित किया जाता है कि थीसिस / शोध-प्रबंध के इलेक्ट्रॉनिक संस्करण की सामग्री थीसिस / शोध-प्रबंध की अंतिम हार्डकॉपी के समान है। **ड्रिलबिट** सॉफ्टवेयर द्वारा तैयार की गई रिपोर्ट की प्रति भी संलग्न है।

Date/दिनांक :

Place/स्थान :

(Name & Signature of the Scholar)

(शोधार्थी का नाम व हस्ताक्षर)

Name & Signature of the Supervisor (With Seal) :

शोध-निर्देशक का नाम व हस्ताक्षर (मुहर सहित)

Name & Signature of the Joint-Supervisor (With Seal) (If any) :

सह शोध-निर्देशक का नाम व हस्ताक्षर (मुहर सहित) (यदि कोई)

## ***Acknowledgement***

*First and foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Toshimenla Jamir, Department of Sociology, Nagaland University for her patient and valuable guidance, help and suggestions through every stage of the present Thesis. She never gave up on me and constantly pushed me forward to work harder for which I will remain ever grateful.*

*I extend my appreciation and indebtedness to the faculty and staff of Sociology Department, Nagaland University for all their consideration and co-operation rendered throughout my research.*

*I also take this opportunity to sincerely thank all my respondents who provided the necessary primary data for the study undertaken, without which this research wouldn't have been possible.*

*My sincere thanks to my friend Sentinaro and Yimyanger Ozukum, research scholar, department of economics, Nagaland University for guiding me in my statistical work.*

*I extend my immeasurable gratitude to my beloved husband Sanen, my sisters Aien, Naro and Yala for always being there for me unconditionally throughout the entire journey of this Thesis.*

*Special thanks are also due to my families-in law for their constant prayer support and encouragement which has been a source of moral encouragement all throughout.*

*Last but not the least, I would like to thank my father, Tia and my mother, Lily for always believing in me and never limiting my role as a woman, and for showing me that gender should never be a barrier to achieve my dreams. I will always remember their endless love, support, prayers and encouragement. What I am today is because of them.*

*Above all, I thank God almighty for making this research work possible.*

*I take sole responsibility for whatever error or shortcomings may exist in the Thesis.*

*Anetkala Walling*

## **Abbreviation**

<b>ACA</b>	Area Council Act
<b>ANDWU</b>	All Nagaland Domestic Workers Union
<b>CECS</b>	Community Educational Centre Society
<b>COR</b>	Conservation of Resource
<b>HMI</b>	Henry Martyn Institute
<b>IDWF</b>	Domestic Workers Federation
<b>ILO</b>	International Labour Organisation
<b>IM</b>	Intensive Motherhood
<b>IWGIA</b>	International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs
<b>NDWM</b>	Nagaland Domestic Workers Movement
<b>NER</b>	North-Eastern Region
<b>NWU</b>	Naga Women's Union
<b>PIMS</b>	Personal Information Management System
<b>VC</b>	Village Council
<b>VCA</b>	Village Council Act
<b>VDB</b>	Village Development Board
<b>VDMR</b>	Village Development Model Rule
<b>WIEGO</b>	Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing
<b>WHO</b>	World Health Organization
<b>WRC</b>	Wet Rice Cultivation
<b>WTRC</b>	Wet Terrace Rice Cultivation

## Glossary

<i>Akukatou</i>	-	Supreme Chief of a village for the Sumi tribe
<i>Alhou</i>	-	Supreme Being of the Sumi Nagas
<i>Amu</i>	-	Paternal aunt in Ao dialect
<i>Angh</i>	-	Supreme Chief of the Konyak tribe
<i>Aphu Ahoho</i>	-	Village Council for the Sumi tribe
<i>Apu</i>	-	Father in Sumi dialect
<i>Arichu</i>	-	Boys morung for the Ao Nagas
<i>Atsokhyongo</i>	-	Nephew in Lotha dialect
<i>Atsolo</i>	-	Niece in Lotha dialect
<i>Aza</i>	-	Mother in Sumi dialect
<i>Bang</i>	-	Boys morung for the Phom Nagas
<i>Chambo</i>	-	Boys morung for the Lotha Nagas
<i>Chochomi</i>	-	Village government among the Sumi tribe
<i>Dahu</i>	-	Dahu is a grave of the priest which is usually situated on the Highest level of a village. Women are restricted to sit on it
<i>Dao</i>	-	Dao is a big knife and can be used for cutting trees and chopping meat
<i>Efa</i>	-	Sister in Sangtam Naga dialect
<i>Ema</i>	-	Brother in Sangtam Naga dialect
<i>Genna</i>	-	The genna has its roots in the Angami-Naga word kenna, which means 'it is forbidden'. During the genna period, much of everyday life comes to a standstill such as being forbidden to travel, to eat certain foods etc



<b><i>Hahzang</i></b>	-	Supreme Being of the Konyak Nagas
<b><i>Haki</i></b>	-	Boys morung for the Chang Nagas
<b><i>Karta</i></b>	-	The senior most male member of the Hindu joint family
<b><i>Khel</i></b>	-	Khel is a distinct Naga institution that brings together several clans within the village community. Membership of a khel is either decided by birth or heredity. This is the most important and effective institution in village governance
<b><i>Kukughu</i></b>	-	Supreme Chief of the Rengma Nagas
<b><i>Lijaba</i></b>	-	Supreme Being of the Ao Nagas
<b><i>Luchu kai</i></b>	-	Girls dormitory for the Rengma Nagas
<b><i>Mali</i></b>	-	Gardener
<b><i>Manna</i></b>	-	Manna is a supernatural force in a person, place or object
<b><i>Mekhalas</i></b>	-	Mekhala is a traditional wrap worn by Naga women known by different dialects such as chiecha (Angami), Waro Süpedi (Ao)
<b><i>Morung</i></b>	-	Bachelor's dormitory of the Nagas which was a traditional institution for learning and socialization of the young
<b><i>Oku</i></b>	-	Paternal uncle in Ao dialect
<b><i>Pangti</i></b>	-	Village government among the Lotha tribe
<b><i>Potso</i></b>	-	Supreme Being of the Lotha Nagas
<b><i>Putu Menden</i></b>	-	Village government among the Ao tribe
<b><i>Tsüki</i></b>	-	Girls dormitory for the Ao Nagas
<b><i>Ukepenuopfu</i></b>	-	Supreme being of the Angami Nagas
<b><i>Ywo</i></b>	-	Girls dormitory for the Konyak Nagas

## Contents

Contents	Pages
<b>Certificate</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>Declaration</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>Plagiarism Report</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>Plagiarism free undertaking</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>Acknowledgement</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>List of Abbreviations</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>Glossary</b>	<b>vii-viii</b>
<b>List of tables</b>	<b>xiii</b>
<b>List of figures</b>	<b>xiv-xv</b>
<b>CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1-31</b>
1.1. Women and work	1-3
1.2. Conceptual and theoretical framework	3
1.2.A. Role and Role conflict	3-6
1.2. B. Conflicting two worlds of working mothers	6-11
1.3. Review of literature	11
1.3. A. Status, Role and role conflict	11-13
1.3. B. Debate on the public and the private divide	13-14
1.3. C. Gender, dual role and professional challenges	14-15
1.3. D. Interface of traditional and modern gender role expectations in Indian context	16-18
1.3. E. Cultural context of working women and role conflict in north east India	18-21
1.4. Statement of the problem	21-22
1.5. Objectives of the study	22
1.6. Hypothesis of the study	22
1.7. Methodology	22
1.8. Universe of the study	22-23
1.9. Sampling design	23
1.10. Techniques of data collection	24

1.11. Data analysis	24
1.12. Ethical considerations	25
1.13. Profile of the respondents	25
1.13. A. Age group of respondents	25-26
1.13. B. Marital status and type of family	26-27
1.13. C. Income-type of family	27
1.13. D. Educational profile of respondents and spouses	27-28
1.13. E. Occupation profile of respondents and spouses	28-30
1.13. F. Monthly income of the respondents	30-31
 <b>CHAPTER II: NAGA SOCIAL STRUCTURE</b>	 <b>32-50</b>
2.1. Introduction	32-33
2.2. Traditional social institutions	33-34
2.2. A. Village polity	34-37
2.2. B. The Naga Family	37-38
2.2. C. Traditional economic systems	38-39
2.2. D. Religion and belief system of the Nagas	39-43
2.2. E. Kinship and clan system	43-44
2.2. F. Education in the Naga society	44-46
2.3. Understanding Naga household work	46-50
2.4. Women and work participation	50
 <b>CHAPTER III: STRADDLING TWO WORLDS: NEGOTIATING WORK AND HOME</b>	 <b>51-73</b>
3.1. Introduction	51-52
3.2. Gender role and division of labour	52
3.3. Division of labour in Naga household	53-55
3.4. Women and work: motivating factors	55-57
3.4. A. Financial self-sufficiency	57
3.4. B. Self-esteem and self-respect	57-58
3.4. C. Supplementing family income	58-59
3.4. D. To improve standard of living	59
3.4. E. Utilization of educational qualifications	59-60
3.4. F. Parental pressure	60-61
3.5. Duration of daily work hours	61-63

3.6. Women as provider: type of earner	63-65
3.7. Decision making in family	65-67
3.8. Women and budget management	67-69
3.9. Spill-over between the worlds of work and home	69-73

#### **CHAPTER IV: NATURE OF ROLE CONFLICT IN NAGA SOCIETY**

	<b>74-101</b>
4.1. Introduction	74
4.2. Sources of Role conflict	74-75
4.2. A. Time budgeting	76-79
4.2. B. Work related stress	79-82
4.2. C. Primacy of mothering role	82-84
4.2. D. Primacy of professional role	84-85
4.2. E. Incompatible role expectations	85-86
4.2. F. Inadequate role sharing	86-87
4.2. G. Ambiguity and uncertainty	87-88
4.2. H. Attitude of relatives	88-92
4.2. I. Attitude of husband	92-95
4.3. Mother's guilt syndrome	95-96
4.4. Respondents' awareness on the Paternity leave policy	96
4.5. Challenges of working mothers in professional life	96-97
4.5. A. Career compromises made by respondents	97-99
4.5. B. Gender discrimination in the workplace	99-101

#### **CHAPTER V: NAVIGATING MOTHERHOOD AND CAREER: CHALLENGES AND RESPONSES**

	<b>102-134</b>
5.1. Introduction	102
5.2. Maternal employment and infants	102-104
5.3. Working mothers and academic performance of children	105
5.4. After-work Childcare	106-107
5.5. Mother's employment from a child's perspective	107-108
5.6. Conflict of professional and mothering role	109-111
5.7. Pregnancy related challenges of working mothers	111-112
5.8. Maternal employment and childcare arrangements	112-115

5.9. Impact of maternal employment on children	115-119
5.10. Self-reflection of working mothers	119-124
5.11. Understanding coping models in Role conflict	124-126
5.12. Coping strategies of working mothers in Naga society	126
5.12. A. Efficient time management	127-128
5.12. B Supportive role of spouse and children	128-129
5.12. C. Service of substitute caregivers	129-132
5.12. D. Rationalization as a coping strategy	132-134

<b>CHAPTER VI: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION</b>	<b>135-155</b>
---	----------------

*Bibliography*

*Annexures*

### List of tables

<b>Table number</b>	<b>Name of table</b>	<b>Page</b>
Table 1.1	Sample representation	24
Table 2.1	Total state population and Literacy by sex (2011 census)	46
Table 2.2	Traditional gender-based division of work (i)	47
Table 2.3	Traditional gender-based division of work (ii)	48
Table 3.1	Motivating factors for working	56
Table 4.1	Sources of Role Conflict	75
Table 4.2	Correlation of Relatives' attitude towards respondents' work and spousal conflict over division of housework	90
Table 4.3	Correlation of relatives' attitude towards respondents' work with conflict between work and family obligations	92
Table 4.4	Career compromises of respondents	97
Table 5.1	Maternal childcare after work and absence of problem in children	118
Table 5.2	Childcare arrangement of working mothers	130
Table 6.1	Respondents observed frequency	144
Table 6.2	Table for calculation of $\chi^2$ value	144
Table 6.3	Test statistics	145
Table 6.4	Respondents' frequency table	145

### List of figures

<b>Figure number</b>	<b>Name of figure</b>	<b>Page</b>
Figure 1.1	Age group of respondents	25
Figure 1.2	Marital status of respondents	26
Figure 1.3	Type of family	26
Figure 1.4	Income-type of family	27
Figure 1.5	Educational profile of the respondents and spouses	28
Figure 1.6	Occupational profile of the respondents	28
Figure 1.7	Occupational profile of the spouse	29
Figure 1.8	Monthly income of the respondents	30
Figure 3.1	Respondents' leisure activities	53
Figure 3.2	Spousal conflict over division of housework	54
Figure 3.3	Work experience of the respondents in years	55
Figure 3.4	Time spent by working mothers on household chores daily	62
Figure 3.5	Duration of working hours at workplace including travel timing	62
Figure 3.6	Type of earner	64
Figure 3.7	Decision making in the family	66
Figure 3.8	Family budget management	68
Figure 3.9	Stressing over work at home	70
Figure 3.10	Conflict between work and family obligations	70
Figure 3.11	Concordance of profession and family	71
Figure 4.1	Manage time to attend social functions	77
Figure 4.2	Perceived stress from work-family conflict	80
Figure 4.3	Mental and physical health impact of profession	81
Figure 4.4	Relatives' attitude towards respondents' work	89
Figure 4.5	Attitude of husband in conflict situation	91
Figure 4.6	Husband's support of wife's working status	93
Figure 4.7	Gender discrimination in the workplace	100
Figure 5.1	Age of youngest child	103
Figure 5.2	Duration of exclusive breastfeeding to youngest child	104
Figure 5.3	Academic performance of children	105
Figure 5.4	Childcare after work	106

Figure 5.5	Child's awareness of mother's profession	107
Figure 5.6	Children's approval of mother's work outside the home	108
Figure 5.7	Conflict of professional and mothering role	109
Figure 5.8	Respondents' opinion on justifying motherhood	110
Figure 5.9	Flexibility or special considerations during pregnancy	111
Figure 5.10	Attitude towards child-care agencies	114
Figure 5.11	Quality time spent with children	115
Figure 5.12	Behavioural and health problems of children	117
Figure 5.13	Society's opinion of working mothers	120
Figure 5.14	Respondents' attitude on justification of professional role	121
Figure 5.15	Job satisfaction of respondents	122
Figure 5.16	Working mother and regrets	123
Figure 5.17	Satisfaction with child-care arrangement	131



# **CHAPTER I**

## **INTRODUCTION**

## **CHAPTER I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1. Women and work**

One of the most significant economic developments of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was the entry of women into the paid workforce. The growing participation of women in the labour market was a major trend in virtually all industrialized nations in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and this trend is also increasing at a remarkable rate in less developing nations today. Demographic changes such as lower birth rates, rising divorce rates, and delays in marriage and childbearing, as well as other developments such as women's rising education levels, changes in social attitudes and the growing demand for women in jobs are changing the labour force dynamic (Carstairs, 2007). It is also evident that over the last 30 years, the number of women in the labour force with children under 18 years of age has also more than doubled globally (Meece, 2002). In the past, women have been primarily associated with the world of home and men with the world of work and with the prevailing societal norms and beliefs in most societies, women are expected to look after the domestic responsibilities. With the varied socio-economic and emotional issues pressing on working mothers today, it becomes challenging for many women to balance family and profession proficiently. With the widespread social changes brought about by the Industrial movement, women's movements known variously as the feminist movement, women's liberation movement or women's rights movement, enabled women to realize the primary cause of their subordinate position in the society which was accredited to their sole economic dependence on men and their lack of educational, political and social opportunities (Nisa, 2009). However, with greater occupational mobility and the emergence of new economic patterns made possible by the introduction of modern education, the traditional view regarding women's place and role is slowly losing ground in present day society.

Evidence of the significant increase of women in the paid workforce across the world is well registered as according to the International Labour Organization (ILO) between 1993 to 2003 the number of women in the workforce globally increased by 20 per cent from 1.0 to 1.2 billion workers. Even though the female workforce participation has increased over the past thirty years, women still encounter societal barriers that prevent them from attaining success as quickly as men (Heilman & Okimoto, 2008). Even in the home, women are still

performing the majority of unpaid work which pertains to the domestic work such as cooking, washing, cleaning as well as caring for children, ageing parents and sick family members (Messenger, 2007). In most cultures, traditionally the man was responsible for all major decisions and the woman was in charge of housework and childcare but it is apparent that with the rapid change in society, the family structure has also changed along with it.

In the modern context, with the financial demands of the family rising day by day along with the rising cost of living, increasing cost on children's education are some of the reasons which often necessitates both spouses to seek paid employment for the family's sustenance. There are instances where families find it difficult to feed their children unless the mothers work outside the home leading many researchers to hypothesize that many parents will be forced to work outside the home as the living costs increases (Nisa, 2009). Women today are more educated and relatively independent and are engaged in domains that were earlier dominated by men. But when women have children and still choose to continue working in their paid jobs, they have to engage with the consequences of the dual role as a result of the prevailing traditional role expectations and obligations that is attached to the motherhood role. Acharya (1998) states that women are now passing through a phase between subjugation and emancipation and have now left behind the old tradition of being confined to domesticity. However, with this change it is also notable to point out that as the number of women seeking paid employment continue to increase, the adversity lies in the increasing number of children under the age of 6 who have to spend part of their day being cared for others (Meece, 2009) which thereby, signifies the prominent aspect of childcare challenges for dual earner families. With motherhood being the traditionally assigned role and primary obligation for women in any given society, working mothers therefore are caught up in the varied professional and family challenges that arise as they attempt to perform both the roles efficiently. On the contrary, most men continue to maintain their traditional role and are not quite burdened with household duties and childcare responsibilities as women.

In the present scenario, as many educated women continuously shift their allegiance to the paid workforce and break the traditional mould, obligations attached to family responsibilities in particular, childcare, poses a vital challenge for many women. Therefore, working women who deviate from traditionally assigned role and strive to attain good positions in their careers encounter conflict between of the societal value systems which

continue to dictate women's career ambitions and their motivations to work outside the home.

## **1.2. Conceptual and theoretical framework**

The present study is concerned with examining the relationship between the dual role of working mothers in the context of the Naga society as a mother and as a professional and the conflict between the dual roles that may arise when it is performed by a single person in a society that expects its members to adhere to traditional gender norms. This section elucidates the concepts and theoretical parameters for the present study so as to provide a matrix for the analysis.

### **1.2. A. Role and Role conflict**

'Role' is sociologically important because it demonstrates how activities of individuals are socially influenced and follows regular patterns. In social role theory, there are two broad approaches. The first approach can be found in the systematic use of the concept of role by G.H. Mead who is regarded as the father of the school of symbolic interactionism in sociology and social psychology. Mead (1934) analysed 'roles' as the outcome of a process of interaction that is tentative and creative. The second approach to role theory can be seen in the work of Ralf Linton which went on to become the hallmark of functionalism. Linton (1936) describes roles as "*essentially prescribed and static expectations of behaviour, as prescriptions inherent in particular position*" and he derived these prescriptions of roles from society's culture that are expressed in social norms that guide behaviours in roles. Linton (1936) thus states, "*...the more perfectly the members of any society are adjusted to their statuses and roles the more smoothly the society will function.*" Linton's (1936) major concepts in sociology are 'status' and 'role' wherein status is defined as "*a position in a social system involving designated rights and obligation*" and role is defined as "*the behaviour oriented to others' patterned expectations.*" Linton therefore concluded that every person in society inevitably occupies multiple statuses and each of these statuses comes with it an associated role. However, it may be noted that although 'Status' and 'role' are considered as two different words yet are in fact words for the same phenomenon which led Linton (1963) to remark that, "*role is the dynamic aspect of status*". In simple definition, both status and role are closely related and one cannot be separated from the other. The concept of status has been distinguished by Linton (1936) as ascribed status and achieved status. Ascribed status are "*those which are assigned to individuals without reference to their innate differences or abilities*" such as age, sex, race, caste whereas achieved status are those

that are “*left open to be filled through competition and individual effort*” such as education, profession or marital statuses. This classification of statuses has further been elucidated by Parsons (1954) who provided a framework for empirical sociological study of the family and the differentiation of sex roles. He examines the relationship between the kinship system and the wider society defining class status as “*the status of any given individual in the system of stratification in a society.*” Similar to Linton, Parsons describes ascribed status as one that is through membership in a kinship unit whereas the achieved status is one that is obtained through position in the occupational structure, further stating that both ascribed and achieved status have their own share of certain similarities as well as differences. Thus, statuses are seen as culturally defined in society, notwithstanding the fact that they may be based on biological factors such as sex, caste or race.

Given the fact that social reality is much more complex, the general assumption is that each social position has one clearly defined role when in fact there are many roles related to any one social position that occurs frequently. In this connection, Merton (1957) who is regarded as the champion of role theory however is seen to depart from Linton’s concepts of status and role. Merton sees it not as a single associated role but an array of roles that comes with each social status and termed this as ‘role set’ thereby positing that for any social position there is “*a complement of role-relationships in which persons are involved by virtue of occupying a particular social status*”. By this, he means that each status carries with it not one role but a role-set consisting of a collection of roles that are performed in relation to different role partners, thus leading him to define role set as “*the various roles associated with occupying a particular status when combined.*” However, in sociology the most common definition of ‘role’ is given by Biddle and Thomas (1966) who defined it as “*the set of prescriptions defining what the behaviour of a position member should be.*” Biddle (1986) expounds the role theory in an alternative way stating that, “*it concerns one of the most important characteristics of social behaviour; the fact that human beings behave in ways that are different and predictable depending on their respective social identities and the situation.*” Along with his work on role theory, his role conflict theory is regarded as one of the key concepts in sociology which he proposes as “*the concurrent appearance of two or more incompatible expectations for the behaviour of a person.*” Individuals in a given society can find themselves in role conflicting situations as a consequence of the many statuses one holds which can eventually create role conflict due to the incompatible and competing demands in the individual’s desire to achieve success in goal fulfilment.

An attempt is made here to understand the existing theories on role conflict which would aid in addressing the conflict and dilemma in the study context. Studies show that women experience more role conflict in their marriages and family as compared to the husbands (Bernard, 1975; Rappoport & Rappoport, 1969). In role conflict studies, it becomes pertinent to note the two types of role conflict distinguished by Gullahorn & Gullahorn (1963) namely the ‘status produced role conflict’ that arises from the actor’s incumbency in a single status subject to incompatible expectations or obligations and secondly, the ‘contingent role conflict’ which arises from incumbency in two statuses whose legitimate sets of expectations from both statuses cannot be simultaneously fulfilled. Subsequently, along with the conceptual framework of role conflict, it is also imperative to understand the two commonly used concepts in role conflict studies which are ‘inter-role conflict’ and ‘intra-role conflict’. Inter-role conflict refers to a form of stressful role conflict situations that results from the conflicting demands of different spheres in life as Iannuci & MacPhail (2018) states. Whereas, intra-role conflict refers to the conflict that arises from single role’s expectations and needs either from family or the workplace according to Grywacz (2020). As a woman enters into paid profession, the role expectations arising from her dual roles become contradictory and equally demanding and the strain which is produced because of her dual statuses is known as status strain or ‘inter-role conflict’. Whereas, when the conflicting roles are both associated with the same status, it is known as role strain or ‘intra-role conflict’. Initially, this work-family conflict originated from Merton’s (1957) role theory and later from Goode’s (1960) role strain hypothesis. ‘Role strain’ as a concept was however introduced in a first by Goode (1960) to signify the difficulty from performing multiple roles, asserting that the resultant tendency toward strain is a ubiquitous feature of social life (cited in Sieber, 1974). In their now classic paper, Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) defined work-family conflict as *“a form of inter-role conflict in which the role pressures from the work and family domains are mutually incompatible in some respect that is, participation in the work (family) role is made more difficult by virtue of participation in the family (work) role”*. The authors further highlight the role conflict theories elaborated in the 1960s by Kahn and his colleagues (Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Snoek, & Rosenthal, 1964; Katz & Khan, 1966) and these theories infer that the actor is not able to face expectations and requests that emerges from the various roles a person plays (Colombo & Ghislieri, 2008). From the above theoretical concepts, role conflict is therefore, perceived to occur when incompatible demands are placed upon a person such that compliance with both would be difficult and may lead to role strain. Goode (1960) further expounded that having multiple roles in life is

‘distracting, depletes resources and results in role strain and overload’. In the context of the rise in number of working mothers in paid employment today, situations of role conflict, tension and strain occur as women take on additional roles as professionals, especially when she is a mother. This often leads to a dilemma of balancing work and family roles.

### **1.2. B. Conflicting worlds of working mothers**

The family unit is regarded as the cornerstone of society by many social scientists and it is probably the most important arena where primary socialisation takes place. Singh (1996) regards the family as being the basic and universal social structure of human society fulfilling the needs and performs functions which are indispensable for the continuity, integration and change in the social system. Along with the changes in the technological and economic structure of the society, the forms and functions of family have undergone adaptive changes leading to the transition of a traditional family-based society to a nuclear-based family system. The change in the family structure has also been cited by Bongaarts (2001) who suggested that urbanization leads to households becoming less extended and more nuclear and this trend would be observed in developing countries.

Women form nearly half of the global human population but find themselves visibly deprived in most social, political and economic privileges in society. Even the social codes, social regulations and the political structures for the community are formulated by men which is only seen to establish unfair social order. In almost every society, women’s tasks are comparatively less privileged than men, yet, they make the most adjustments along with the changing functions of the family once they enter into paid profession. One could define a working mother as a woman with the ability to combine a career with the additional responsibility of raising a child. Within this broad term may be encompassed two different categories of a working woman: the stay-at-home mother who works from home and the woman who works away from home while managing to fulfil her maternal duties (Poduval and Poduval, 2009). Traditionally, mothers are assigned the primary role of caregiver and the husbands are assigned the role of provider. With more nuclear families today, the complexity of division of housework among working couples can become high. Along with the complexity of modern life’s emphasis on individuality, it becomes difficult for many dual earner nuclear families to adjust to their new roles.

Once a woman becomes a professional and a mother, the two competing and demanding roles brings with it a multitude of challenges, responses and adjustment. According to Acharya (1998) the acceptance of home and workplace goals simultaneously may lead to conflict for many, if not for all educated working mothers. As such, a working

mother's role that demands high commitment to professional responsibilities is subjected to considerable internal conflicts and insecurities. With the reproductive role of women being emphasized as more important than their professional role in most patriarchal societies, many working women enter into frequent work-family conflict and end up compromising on their careers while continuing to take on a major share of domestic responsibilities at home, particularly of childcare. This gendered ideology traces its roots from the theory of sexual division of labour in the family and the doctrine of separate spheres as expounded by Parsons and Bales (1956) in their renowned work *Family Socialization and Interaction Process* which assigns the expressive role of nurturer to women and the instrumental role of breadwinner to men. These assigned roles align with biological sex because according to them, women are perceived to be more tied to the family; that the wife's expressive role within the household complemented the husband's instrumental one in the market and together, were the cornerstone of a functional equilibrium in the family. This has been previously stated by Parsons (1949) in *Sex Roles in American Kinship Systems* as, "the sexual division of labour is functional as it eliminates the competition between the husband and wife in terms of status as such competition would undermine the solidarity of the family unit." However, one may find that this specialization coincides with the traditional gender roles of men and women which is how a gendered division of labour emerges in the family as women begin to take charge of the home production and men in market production. Ann Oakley (1974) has refuted the Parsonian view of the expressive and instrumental roles within the family by arguing that the expressive housewife-mother role is not necessary for the functioning of the family unit as she saw it as merely existing for men's convenience and to men's advantage. Oakley further claims that Parson's explanation of gender role is simply a validating myth for the 'domestic oppression of women' and therefore concluded that gender roles are not biologically determined but are culturally created (cited in Haralambos & Heald, 1980). Similar perspective has been held by Sudha (2000) who argue from a feminist standpoint that gender differentiation is not biological but rather cultural; that assignment of domestic roles for women and non-domestic roles for men was not on the basis of their biological differences but it was due to the cultural practices and consequent patterns of socialization.

Gender role attitudes within families are generally conceived as opinions and beliefs about the ways in which family and work roles do and should differ according to sex (Harris & Firestone, 1998). Along with the feminist perspectives on the family socialization patterns, psychoanalytic perspectives on gender also hold that gender identities are created through



the family socialization process, hinged on two of Sigmund Freud's notion of *internal conflict* and the idea that individuals have an *unconscious* part of themselves that motivates them about which one is unaware of. It is by this process through which males and females learn and perceive gender differently in the family. Freud was one of the first figures to posit gender as not destined and innate, but rather one that is acquired in society (Bell, 2004; Carter, 2014).

In the context of the present study, it is essential to first and foremost understand 'work' before distinguishing the domestic and public domains which is fundamental in studying the role conflict of working mothers. Work is a basic element of humanity and one may work with or without remuneration and recognition. According to the International Labour Organization (ILO), decent work involves "*work opportunities that are productive and deliver a fair income, security in the workplace and social protection for families, better prospects for personal development and social integration, freedom for people to express their concerns, organize and participate in the decisions that affect their lives and equality of opportunity and treatment for all men and women.*" Globally, a gap of 26 per cent separates women and men in labour force participation, but the divides are much wider in certain parts of the world (Gallup, Inc. and the International Labour Organization, 2017). Although Hochschild (1997) observed that "*the female pattern is converging with the male pattern as women are increasingly transferring their allegiance to the workplace*", however, working women in general still struggle to find a balance between the unpaid care work and paid work which is perceived as barriers for some women to seek paid employment. This underlying problem can be understood from the 'motherhood penalty hypothesis' as proposed by Ridgeway & Correll (2004a) who extrapolates that in the context of work, motherhood due to the primary role of mothers as caregivers is a socially devalued status and it is because of this that mothers are viewed as less worthy and less competent when it comes to work (cited in Cheung, et.al, 2022). Where traditional societies are concerned, the responsibility of women has always been in the domestic front and in spite of not contributing in monetary terms, women were rather considered as economic assets in the family. The division of household labour is thus regarded as a gendered process through which women, regardless of employment status assume a larger share of the total hours of household chores (Sanchez & Thompson, 1997; Dex, 2003). The dichotomous spheres of the public and private which emerged as a result of its gendered nature associating 'masculinity' with the public sphere and 'femininity' with the private sphere of the home assumes importance in the study context. The concept of public and private dichotomy can

be further comprehended in general from Sanday (1974) who posits that the activities performed within the realm of the localized family unit is known as domestic domain whereas, the public domain includes the sphere of political and economic activities which takes place beyond the localized family unit and controls persons or things. By the 1920s, as women in many democratic nations won the right to citizenship and equal voting rights with men, they also posed the question of gender as the sole basis of division in society. It was then that the opposition between women's nature and men's culture became central to understanding the universal subordination of women in society. The public and private spheres traditionally assigned to men and women have roots in religious, cultural, and sexual traditions in bourgeois society according to Smyth (2008). It was only after industrialization that women started to actively engage in paid labour. However, in spite of the active women participating in the paid workforce, they were still in charge of majority of the domestic responsibilities at home. The feminist perspective therefore, holds the view that men dominate the public sphere whereas women belong to the private sphere and it is because of this distinction entrenched in the patriarchal social structure how women's oppression in society continues and women are idealized as being in the centre of hearth or more realistically, the reproductive role of women being their primary role. As Pilcher and Whelehan (2004) notes that historically it is men who have acted within the public realm and moved freely between it and the private realm while women and children have been mostly restricted to the private realm, and subjected to the authority of men within it.

The concept of the household division of labour however came to prominence in academic debates only in the seventies. Several feminist theorists have attempted to explain the traditional division of labour. Whilst domestic division of labour is perceived to benefit capitalism for some, others emphasize on its connection between capitalism and patriarchy. In view of this, Squires (2003) states, "*there is no single public-private distinction that the nature of the distinction is profoundly different in each.*" She thus maintains that the two ambiguous conceptions of the private namely the liberal and classical traditions have only worked to the advantage of the norms within patriarchy and has failed to benefit women in any way, thereby, essentializing the concept of the two dichotomous spheres in order to understand women's oppression in society. With the origination of private property, women's position in society also started to decline and women went from being free and equally productive members of the society to dependent wives and wards as initially elucidated by Engels (1884). He asserts that the communal ownership of land and resources in the past and work as an activity was collectively done by both sexes who existed as equal

members of the group contributing to the group's entire economic and political life. As technology advanced, large-scale access to natural resources and then the private ownership of property began which changed the entire economic and political relations in the larger society. With the passage of time, the nature of the household transformed and so did the significance of women's work within the household, which led to the subordination of women as they started working for the husband and families rather than for society. As men began owning private property and headed the household, women's reproductive labour ultimately went from social to private. Thus, the two dichotomous spheres are viewed as gender-oriented and two completely distinct realms which are perceived to further reinforce the ideology of gender separation and gender inequality in society. The activities assigned to men were seen as more valuable and pertinent to society as compared to the activities assigned to women.

In recent times, although legal equal rights have been granted in most modern constitutions, socially, women are still considered inferior to men (Rahman, 2005) and are seen to constitute the 'second sex', the 'other' (cited in Bhardwaj, 2005) or second-class citizens because of society's characterization on the dogmas of patrilineality and patrilocality which are the basis of women being deprived of their rights on productive assets. Additionally, as women continue to be deprived of equality in the public sphere, they still perform a larger share of unpaid work in the private sphere of the home which is the 'double burden' as described by Dex (2010). Dex then argues that this uneven share of housework has prevented women from competing effectively with men in the workplace especially with regard to promotion. Because of the double burden of working women, they usually go home earlier to fulfil their domestic duties while men can stay late at the workplace, can be seen in the office even after office hours, and be able to attend early evening or breakfast meetings. This phenomenon can be seen through the role congruity theory of Eagly and Karau (2002) who expounded in this theory the prejudices that women in leadership face which occurs because of inconsistencies that exist between the characteristics associated with the gender stereotype of women and those associated with the typical leadership. They argued that women are discriminated by being prevented from achieving positions of high status or success in leadership roles based on gender stereotypes. Their work also shows that women in leadership roles are perceived in a less positive manner as compared to men. Another perspective of this theory can be observed from the work of Eagly and Diekmann (2005) who proposed that the positive evaluation of a group will occur only when the group's characteristics are said to align with the typical social roles of the group. These gender

stereotypes reflect the traditional female-male division labour in society which is consistent with the traditional social role of men as breadwinners (Eagly & Wood, 2012). This can be an expected norm in patriarchal societies as traditional attitudes reinforce or conform to expected differences in roles for men and women (Somej & Drach-Zachavy, 2007). The concept of double burden has also been highlighted by scholars like Smith and Converse (2020) where double burden also known as double day, second shift, or double duty, is characterized as the workload of people who work outside the home to earn income yet, are also responsible for significant amounts of unpaid domestic labour (cited in Moen, 1989). The phenomenon has also been referred to as the 'Second Shift' by Hochschild (1989) and occurs when both partners are in paid employment but the women typically end up spending significantly more amount of time doing household chores and care giving work than men. This is concurrent to Hay's (1996) Intensive Motherhood (IM) ideology which is a cultural model for appropriate parenting that prioritizes childcare and child rearing by the mother. Intensive motherhood ideology further characterizes parenting as child-centred, emotionally draining, time consuming and a task that is best suited for women as they are the 'expert' caregivers as Hays thus asserts. Another key concept can be found in Younkin's (2010) concept of 'work-family spill-over' which results from individuals performing multiple roles and this phenomenon can occur when the demands from family and home life interfere with women's ability to efficiently perform in the workplace. As such, working mothers find themselves in situations where they face work-family spill-over as they conform to the demands of their multiple roles, notwithstanding the adverse effects it has on one's attitude and behaviour within the family emanating from the pressures of one's workplace.

### **1.3. Review of Literature**

The following section presents an overview of the review of relevant literature for the phenomenon under study.

#### **1.3. A. Status, Role and role conflict**

Role theory provides a comprehensive understanding of how individuals navigate and enact their roles within social structures and explains the human tendency to form characteristic patterns which may be predicted if the social context in which those behaviours appear can be ascertained. Societal role expectations interpret people's behaviour, identity and interpersonal relationships within social structures. Several influential texts on role theory

and how it started to evolve over the course of time in response to changing societal norms and individual experiences can be found in the existing body of knowledge. An elaborate comprehension on role theory can be drawn from Sargent's (1951) work *Concepts of role and ego in contemporary psychology* who viewed role as a pattern or type of social behaviour which in terms of the demands and expectations of those in his group appears to be situationally appropriate. He further went on to discuss the three main ingredients attached to a role which are cultural, personal and situational dimensions, affirming that a role is never "wholly cultural, wholly personal or wholly situational". Ogburn and Nimkoff (1958) in *Sociology* also describes role as, "a set of socially expected and approved behaviour patterns consisting of both duties and privileges, associated with a particular position in a group." However, Banton's (1996) work in *Role* is usually applied to understand 'role' in social science research. According to him, role can be interpreted as the expected behaviour associated with a particular social position. Therefore, role is essentially a set of expectations constituting the ways by which an actor occupying a particular position in society is expected to behave. 'Role expectation' arising from the status an individual occupies in society is explained by Newcomb (1951) as "the expected behaviour of an individual from being an incumbent of a particular position in the groups" in his work *Social Psychology*. However, as individuals hold multiples statuses and roles in society, the difficulty in fulfilling the demands and obligations of their varied role expectations becomes magnified and perplexing for an actor. As such, individuals can find themselves in role conflict situations due to the roles being incompatible or sometimes even, competing. Role conflict has been interpreted by Getzels and Guba (1954) in *Role Conflict and Effective Study: A Comparative Study* as the situation where an actor is required to simultaneously play two or more roles which presents itself as a contradicting or even mutually exclusive expectation. Therefore, when such role conflicting situations arise, for one to realistically conform to the role demands and role expectations becomes difficult for the actor, leading to the possibility of role strain. This problem has been addressed by Coverman (1989) in *Role overload, role conflict, and stress: Addressing consequences of multiple role demands* who also analysed role conflict and role overload and found that both the concepts are correlated and used interchangeably although rather distinct from each other. According to him, when persons (usually women) try to fulfil multiple roles simultaneously such as spouse, parent and paid worker, role conflict arises. He talks of role overload situations which can occur when individuals attempt to fulfil several roles simultaneously and proposes that role overload will lead to role conflict only

when the demands of one from the multiple roles make it difficult to fulfil the demands of another role.

Role conflict of working mothers has also been examined by Behera and Padhi (1993) in *Role conflict and adjustment patterns of working mothers* who explains it as the incompatible demands that are placed upon an actor (individual or a group) because of his role relationships with two or more groups. Generally, what they imply here is that the person(s) involved feel internally obligated to meet the competing demands failing which they face the threat to possible sanctions and yet, they find it impossible to comply fully with the opposing obligations. Thus, one can draw from Parsons (1951) work in *The Social System* which concluded that “the source of conflict may not be ego made. It may be imposed upon the actor from the mal-integration of the social system itself”. Therefore, Parsons’ interpretation of role conflict is regarded as a disruptive and tension inducing process, leading to adverse effects for both the role occupants and the organisation of which he is a member. Much has been written on working mothers’ experiences of role conflict globally and it is unmistakably evident that many women are subjected to face role conflict when she has multiple status to hold. The sanctions imposed on her are perceived as social constructs that emerged from one’s culture. Therefore, there emerges a research gap contextualizing the varied nature of role conflict of working mothers against the cultural and social setting of Naga patriarchal society to ascertain the specific nature of emergent role conflict that may arise as women take on multiple roles in an evolving society.

### **1.3. B. Debate on the public and the private divide**

In examining the role behaviour of individuals in the context of patriarchal societies then, where all social norms and behaviours are regulated by its rigid social structures and traditions, when educated modern women decide to break traditional stereotypes and enter into paid employment, they can enter into role conflict situations emerging from the gender and cultural dogmas of patriarchal social structures. This has been delineated by Sylvia Walby (1989) in *Theorising Patriarchy* when she describes the two forms of patriarchy which are public and private patriarchy. Where private patriarchy is based upon the relative exclusion of women from arenas of social life apart from the household with a patriarch appropriating women’s service individually and directly in the apparently private sphere of the home, public patriarchy on the other hand does not exclude women from certain sites but rather subordinates women in all of them. In this form, the appropriation of women is seen to take place more collectively instead of individually. However, work and family are not

separate but rather intersect each other in complex ways as a perspective by Wharton (2012) in *The Sociology of Gender: An introduction to theory and research* holds. She describes the 'separate worlds' of work and family as corresponding to the belief that men and women had distinct, non-overlapping responsibilities and roles. She then attempts to explain the historically intertwined conceptions of gender in work and family relations and contended that although work and family may continue to change, social change is always deemed to be uneven thereby adding that, "Although people's work and family lives today are very different from those of their parents and grandparents, people's taken-for-granted beliefs about these institutions have not changed as quickly...overcoming structural lag is a challenge for the years ahead." Broadly, the separation of roles for men and women are seen as societal constructs under patriarchy and feminists view the demand for equal rights for women and men within the family and the political sphere as an essential feature of struggle and oppression which is why they conclude that women can achieve empowerment and emancipation only when they are released from the hierarchical relations between the two dichotomous realms. Although societies constantly keep evolving, most patriarchal societies continue to remain entrenched in traditional values and fails to accommodate the transformed and multiple roles of modern progressive women. One finds a research gap in respect of the role conflict experiences of contemporary working women employed in varied public sectors against the prevailing gender relations within the patriarchal social families.

### **1.3. C. Gender, dual role and professional challenges**

Damico and Nevill (1975) in *The Highly Educated Woman: A study in Role Conflict* elucidates how the behaviour of certain classes of individuals can no longer be accurately defined by traditional roles during periods of rapid social change and as a result of this change, the behaviours appropriate for their life styles clash with women's commonly defined expectations frequently leading to role conflict. Badri and Yunus (2021) also identified an internal conflict that occurs between job and family role obligations which are at odds with each other and the challenges of fulfilling both roles concurrently. As people in modern, high-income countries juggle many responsibilities demanded by their various status and multiple roles, situations of role conflict are bound to emerge. One commonly recognized role conflicting situation is that which arises from work and family role demands as both roles drain one physically and emotionally. When a woman chooses a dual career lifestyle as a full-time paid professional besides her role as mother, she may not be prepared for the conflicts that arise from the deep-rooted value systems regarding the maternal role as

argued by Gilbert *et. al.* (1981), in *Coping with Conflict between Professional and Maternal Roles*. The authors noted that these value systems may remain untested until a woman assumes a professional role or until a child enters the family structure. As such, the consequences of the conflict are reflected in both professional and domestic domains. A cultural perspective has been adopted by Gani and Ara (2010) in *Conflicting Worlds of Working Women: Findings of an Exploratory Study* where they pointed out that conflict arises when educated wives, through their egalitarian ideas and attitudes, threaten the culturally determined order of priorities.

In the workplace setting, working mothers are expected to have the career capacity and characteristics of a man whereas, at home she is expected to be the culturally prescribed ideal mother or ideal wife. So, a working mother's inability to balance both dual role demands can lead to a phenomenon referred to as spill-over or crossover effects (Younkin, 2010) between work and family domains that has the potential to adversely affect the individual as well as other family members in the household. Such adverse effects on women in paid professions have been analysed in a study by Maryam Zarra-Nezhad *et.al.* (2010) in *Occupational Stress and Family Difficulties of Working Women* where the authors argue that many women face occupational stress as a result of 'work and family spill-over'. They also concur to the notion that although men may play the caregiver role in the family, it is the women who are perceived as primary caregivers. The authors cited a literature gap on how the occupational stress of the sandwich generation of working mothers could adversely affect their families, without suggesting possible measures to tackle this problem. The concept of sandwich generation was initially introduced in by Dorothy Miller in the year 1989 to portray women in their 30s to 40s who were caring for their young children and ageing parents. Similarly, Shobha Sundaresan (2014) in *Work-life balance: Implications for women* found that 67 per cent of the working mothers in her study stated to experience high levels of stress and anxiety from excessive work overload which prevented them from progressing in their careers. She concludes that the challenges with regard to childcare, career and social life, coupled with poor work-life balance inhibited many working mothers from realizing their full potential. Therefore, as the family structure continues to evolve with the changing society, so will the work-life implications faced by working mothers with repercussions not only on their selves but extend to the family members and her social circle.



### **1.3. D. Interface of traditional and modern gender role expectations in Indian context**

In the context of Indian society, Singh (1996) in *Modernisation of Indian Tradition* points out that the forms and functions of family have undergone adaptive changes alongside the changes in the technological and economic structure of society. He talks about structural change in families citing an example of the transition of traditional family to nuclear based family and the changes in the family's workforce participation. The aspect of change in India has also been highlighted by Itishree Padhi Acharya (1998) in her study *Working Mothers: Role conflict and adjustments*. She describes how the status of women in India have undergone profound changes and as women increasingly work outside the home, their problems have also become more complex, especially once she becomes a mother. D.K. Sudha (2000) in *Gender Roles* states that with higher education, women have been able to achieve employment opportunities and as a result, favour small family norms, equality between the sexes and being educated has enabled them to consider career as an alternative to marriage. Similarly, Kadale, *et. al.* (2018) in their study *Challenges of working mothers: balancing motherhood and profession* also explains how traditionally, Indian women had been home makers but over the last decade, many women have shifted from home to career with the spread of education, awareness and the rising cost of living. However, in spite of this development, women are still seen as the family manager at home thereby, emphasizing the need to understand the challenges faced by working mothers in balancing multiple roles. Similar perspective is held by C. P. Rai (2002) who studied urban working mothers in India in *Working Women in India*. He states that much of the problems emanating from work and family conflicts are based on the continuing notions of the society, the internalized patriarchal values by men and women and role expectations from women on household duties. The author concluded that it was only with a changed family relation based on egalitarian family power relations within the family and between couples that can solve this problem for working mothers.

Rao and Rao (1973) in *An Analysis of the Employed Mother in India*, examines the case of employed mothers in the metropolitan cities of India and finds that it is becoming an increasingly significant addition to the familial and economic structure. Emerging studies shows that with the mother's participation in the work force, a new division of labour formed between the family and social institutions as a result of alterations in the family structure and function. This can be observed in *Women and Domestic Labour: A sociological Agenda* by Rajendra Kshetri (2013) who examined the role of women in domestic and household work

and argued that almost half of the world's population make up of women but their domestic work is neither recognized nor considered, meaning there is discrimination of women and inequality in the socio-economic, political and legal spheres. The author therefore, emphasizes on the need to re-examine, re-evaluate and re-state the domestic work done by women in order to bring about development in its truest sense. The subordinated role of women in society is unmistakably evident and this aspect has been examined by Sabina Hussain (2003) in *Gender and Reproductive Behaviour: The Role of Men* where the author contends that even within the family, communities, policy making and programmes, women are treated as objects. The author argues that the various state policies are targeted only on women's reproductive process rather than on their economic role. Women are still performing their household work but are excluded from decision making on issues concerning their own lives and bodies. One therefore sees a paradox between the traditional gender role and the emergent working status of mothers. The persistence of the traditional gender roles appears to conflict with the multiple roles that modern working women have assumed. This is particularly acute in the area of childcare and related matters.

The issue of childcare arrangements becomes a major concern for many working mothers. Studies have found that one of the main areas of conflict which working mothers face today is in childcare, which can lead to stress, anxiety, worries and strain in the daily life of a working mother. As observed in a study on *Working Women and Child Development: A Sociological Study* by Sham Sun Nisa (2009), in Indian society women are conditioned by society to conform to the belief regarding care and upbringing of children being the primary responsibility of the mother. With the substantial increase of working mothers over the past few decades, the socio-psychological and family processes are affected and married women face major challenges not only as professional women but also in terms of child care.

A.D Mishra (1994) in his study *Problems and Prospects of Working Women in Urban India* argue that the emergence of working mothers in the country has been phenomenal in recent times. However, in regard to childcare, Indian society has remained traditional, pointing to feelings of guilt, tension and anxiety faced by working mothers. In some cases, working mothers take the drastic decision to leave their careers due to the lack of proper childcare arrangements at home. The feelings of guilt or anxiety that develops from a mother's sense of neglecting the mothering role is seen to derive from society's traditional gender norms that has been internalised by members over time. This is expounded by Sanjay

Ketan Jena (1993) in *Working Women and Modernisation* who studied 420 working women in state and central offices, colleges, schools, hospitals and various private undertakings in Cuttack city, Orissa. He found that family norms have been internalized by women and that modern values and attitudes have not been fully incorporated into the traditional attitude. Bowman (1942) in his study *Marriage for Moderns* dealt with the problems of working married women and opined that, “the cultural tradition of our society makes employment less acceptable for a woman than that of a man.” Similarly, Ahmad (1984) in his study *The Trishankus: Women in the professions in India* stresses that as long as the polarity between masculine and feminine role continues, role conflict will continue to exist.

Dual roles being incompatible and conflicting, it creates problems of adjustment due to the varied role expectations. This issue has been discussed by Rita Sood (1991) in *Changing Status and Adjustment of Women*. Sood identified the problems in adjustment for working mothers in the transitional period from being torn between the dual commitments of home and work and hence, becoming a victim of work-family conflict and ambiguous role-expectations in both the domestic and professional fields.

### **1.3. E. Cultural context of working women and role conflict in north east India**

Women in patriarchal societies are subordinated in most societal spheres and like women elsewhere, experience role conflicting situations once she becomes a mother and decides to prioritize her professional role as well. This ongoing predicament is reflected in the case of working mothers in the context of the north eastern region of India, being predominantly patriarchal except for the matrilineal communities of Meghalaya. Bimal K. Kar (2002) in his book *Women Population of North East India* notes that with the ongoing social transformation, women’s participation outside the home is also increasing. However, this phenomenon is more evident among the educated women in the urban areas of the region. He states that most of the educated girls, particularly in the urban areas desire to achieve economic independence before marriage. Moreover, with the rising cost of living the adoption of dual career norm in many families has increased especially in the large urban centres of the region.

Similarly, in the context of the Naga society, Lucy Zehol (1998) in her book *Women in Naga Society* opined that the status of the women is impacted due to the patriarchal norms and attitudes, wherein social institutions and tradition are inspired by the belief in male dominance and female inferiority. She sheds light on the status of women in traditional

societies where they were usually described in relation to her family as a daughter, wife, sister and mother. However, in the new emerging situation, a woman's status is seen in terms of her educational achievements, career achievements and position in society. As contemporary women in Naga society venture out of their homes, so also is their awareness for individual and gender rights on the rise. This has been highlighted by Temjensosang (2013) in *Self-governing institutions of Nagas* who notes that with the spread of modern education, Naga women today are increasingly becoming self-conscious about their vital roles in society and gender related issues in general. He therefore suggested that in any socio-cultural revolution, only one's self-consciousness regarding one's right and privilege could change the old system. However, because of the prevailing traditional ethos that restricts women's mobility in societal arenas, the role of Naga women is constrained and achieving their full potential as economic agents remains a challenge for many career-oriented Naga women. A closer look at the gender roles in Naga society can disclose the fact that the primary role for the women is found to be her reproductive and domestic roles. On the contrary Naga men take charge of the wider society including village administration and other vital issues of public importance. Temjensosang *et. al.* (2015) in their book *Women and Gender: Emerging Issues from Northeast India* have focussed on gender related issues in the fields of politics, education, economics and social strata especially pertaining to the status of women in a male dominated society and discusses the varied social factors leading to the hindrance of women in various areas. However, their study has overlooked a deeper analysis of how these challenges can affect women especially, mothers in particular who are employed in the state's public sector. The existence of gender inequality in the Naga society is established in many studies and many see it as a given social phenomenon which is strongly normalized if not legalized by customary laws and traditional practices. The aspect of gender inequality has also been highlighted by Kikhi & Kikhi (2009) in *Changing Gender Equation with Special Reference to Nagaland*. They opined that gender inequality is a problem of mindset and attitudes. Just as patriarchy influences the world views of men, it also has its influence on women's views towards life. They argued that women themselves resist change and unless they are trained to think outside the box of patriarchy, they will continue to be deprived of equal opportunities for personal growth and social development. The prevailing norms and attitudes of patriarchy, the patrilineal and patriarchal system as well as the traditional institutions which believe in male dominance and inferiority of women is seen to affect the status of women in Naga society. Similarly, in *Gender Empowerment: An insight from Kohima district of Nagaland* Kedilezo Kikhi and Chozüle Kikhi (2009)

asserts the strong influence of patriarchy and customary law on women which affects their status in Naga society. Their study shed light on the status of women in Naga society by citing the example of many women who do not avail the benefits of the Village Development Board because of the prevailing social construction of gender division of labour that prevails in Naga society. The authors affirm that even if the labour done by women turns into productive asset, they would not have any share due to the inheritance laws that prevails in Naga society. Although the traditions and customs practised by the Nagas in the past were meant to benefit women, the discrimination faced by women today is because of such age-old practices as Adino Vitso (2003) in *The customary Law and Women* notes.

Women in modern Naga society are more educated and many have broken traditional gender stereotypes by actively engaging in the paid workforce. However, in spite of this change, the review of literature review points to the fact that Naga women are still discriminated at the societal level because of the prevailing traditional customs and norms that instructs the role of men and women based on a strict division of labour. This restricts their mobility in all societal levels and inhibits them from realizing their full potential as productive agents in the workplace. As individuals go on to occupy particular statuses in society, they are to necessarily conform to the expected set of role behaviours and attitudes that comes with their new status. As the sex-role segregation for men and women in the private and public sphere remains entrenched in traditional gender socialization patterns in a patriarchal social structure, women's role becomes limited in both spheres. As Zillah Eisenstein (1999) notes in *Constructing a theory of capitalist patriarchy and socialist feminism*, the reciprocal relationship between men and women, the family and society, production and reproduction determines the entire living of men and women everywhere as it is throughout human history. Thus, the nature of role conflicts faced by many educated, ambitious and contemporary women who steadily continue to detach themselves from the conventional patriarchal set-ups and break gender stereotypes by entering into male dominated settings in the public space need to be studied taking into account the cultural specifics of different communities.

With the rapid change in Naga society today, the likelihood of the traditional role of women to contradict with their professional role is magnified which entails explorative research on the possible causes of inequality, challenges, discrimination and inconsistencies in attitude towards women especially mothers at the workplace that has been overlooked in the existing body of knowledge. Additionally, a research gap pertaining to the gender

relations among dual earner couples in Naga society especially with regard to the household decision-making aspect and domestic division of labour can be discerned. These crucial aspects as social scientists' postulate, can eventually translate into status strain or role strain for many employed mothers if there are no adjustments to accommodate her new role. Significantly there is a lack of research in the area of work-family conflict of working mothers in the context of tribal society in general and of Naga society in particular. Given the findings of different studies regarding the adverse effects of dual roles on a working mother's wellbeing, there exists a gap in the literature on the workplace and domestic challenges confronting Naga women engaged in the public sectors who find themselves straddling two worlds simultaneously- the world of home and the world of work.

#### **1.4. Statement of the problem**

The emerging norm in Naga society sees an increasing number of women achieving high educational status and seeking paid employment outside the home. However, attempting to excel at both motherhood and professional roles becomes a challenge for many women within patriarchal social structures. Women in Naga society undoubtedly belong to the disadvantaged stratum and are deprived from many privileges in the public sphere as compared to their male counterparts. There is a research gap in the sociological analysis of the experiences of educated Naga women who have become self-conscious about their transformed role in a changing society and are participating in the paid workforce alongside men. The increased participation of women in the workforce, albeit bringing about a significant shift in the traditional gender roles, challenges the traditional notion of the family system. Being a society strongly steeped in traditional roots, the question arises as to how do working mothers in contemporary Naga society with their achieved status as employed professionals strive to excel in their careers while at the same time fulfil their traditionally ascribed role as caregivers and homemakers. With the lack of organized institutional child-care facilities at the workplace, how do younger working mothers who wish to be proficient in their careers as well fulfil their motherhood roles and manage the work-family conflict? Naga traditional gender ideologies, norms, conventions and rigid gendered division of labour continues to exert control over its members in all the societal arenas, and it poses a dilemma for educated Naga women who find themselves wedged between the requirements of tradition and modernity. Therefore, the present study is intended to bridge the gap in the literature by focussing on the aforementioned questions concerning working mothers in the public service in Nagaland. Additionally, there is a need to explore the unique experiences,

perspectives and coping mechanisms of the working mothers to shed light on the broader implications for organizational structures in the public service, as well as the societal expectations. The findings of the study can be illuminative to the formulation of suitable state policies to enable a conducive social and working ecosystem where working mothers can realize their full potential as vital economic and social agents.

### **1.5. Objectives of the study**

The following are the objectives of the study:

- i. To examine the factors that motivates women to enter the world of work.
- ii. To study the nature of role conflict of working mothers in Naga society.
- iii. To examine the coping mechanisms adopted by the respondents to circumvent situations of role-conflict.

### **1.6. Hypothesis of the study**

The sole hypothesis of the study is that the professional role of women conflicts with mothering role in Naga society.

### **1.7. Methodology**

For an in-depth and nuanced understanding of the problem under study, a combination of both qualitative and quantitative methods was used in the present research.

The data for the study was garnered from both primary and secondary sources. Secondary data was drawn from journals, books, magazines, newspaper, articles, relevant publication and websites related to the problem of the study, while the empirical data was collected through a well-defined sample using a blend of appropriate research tools in the form of interview schedule and questionnaire.

### **1.8. Universe of the study**

The universe of the study is the working mothers in Nagaland belonging to the Naga community employed in the public sector. This section encompasses the dynamic intersection of professional careers and motherhood within the public service as the review of literature reveal that it is generally after women get married and have children that challenges in adjusting work and family arises. However, for all practical purposes, the selected area of study is de-limited to the working mothers aged 30 to 60 employed in the public sector (both state and central government) from the two urban areas namely Dimapur

and Kohima which have recorded the highest growth of population in the State over the last decade. These two towns stand out from among the other towns in terms of social, cultural and economic composition. Both the towns being cosmopolitan in nature they comprise of all Naga tribes with Dimapur being the commercial hub of the state, and Kohima being the capital state of Nagaland where all the components of government departments are located.

### **1.9. Sampling design**

The study adopted a stratified random sampling method as respondents were identified on the basis of the strata of job. A sample size of 265 respondents comprising of working mothers in the public sector from 4 different strata of the public service: Grade I, Grade II, Grade III and Grade IV employees were selected of whom 135 respondents were from Dimapur and 130 respondents from Kohima. With regard to the strata of job hierarchy in the public service, it may be noted that officially, the term Class and Grade are used interchangeably. Class I is also referred to as Grade I or Group A (Gazetted) who are officials belonging to the managerial or highest tier of public service structure in terms of appointment, authority and responsibilities. Officials such as engineers, doctors, lawyers, professors, bureaucrats, etc are subsumed under this category. Class II/Grade II/Group B (Gazetted) are the second highest tier of government officials who would generally be deputed supervisory works such as inspectors, junior engineers, accountants, accounts officers, section officers and others. Class III/Grade III/Group C are officials in non-supervisory roles such as head clerks or section heads of offices, head police personnels, primary school teachers, stenographers, typists and others. Whereas, Class IV/Grade IV/Group D designates the bottom rung in the public service and they would encompass positions such as manual skilled or semi-skilled personnels such as peons, sweepers, drivers, cleaners, etc. In the present study, the classification of respondents' strata of job is therefore referred to on the basis of Grade as Grade I, Grade II, Grade III and Grade IV level.

In addition to working mothers, to garner supplementary inputs from a child's perspective 20 child respondents aged 5 to 12 of working mothers were also selected for the study. Accordingly, the sample size total to 285 respondents.



**Table.1.1 Sample representation**

Study Area	Working mothers	Child respondents
Dimapur	135	20
Kohima	130	
265+ 20 = 285		

#### **1.10. Techniques of data collection**

For the data collection, the questionnaire and interview schedule methods were used. The questionnaire was structured and comprised of both open and close ended questions. It was administered to 240 respondents who were selected using the stratified random sampling method. For an in-depth understanding of the problem, the interview schedule was used to garner supplementary data for the study given the type of research and respondents. Accordingly, 25 working mothers: 5 respondents each from all the different strata of job hierarchy were interviewed. Additionally, 5 respondents who were previously engaged in the public sector but subsequently left their jobs were also selected for the interview. Along with the working mothers, 20 child respondents were also interviewed to get the additional inputs from a child's perspective. Hence, a total of 45 respondents were interviewed altogether.

#### **1.11. Data analysis**

The data collected from the field were carefully placed in a master tabular chart. The data was scrutinized for validity and completeness of the information. For the present study, simple percentage method was used to tabulate the obtained data and interpreted using basic statistical tools like bar graph, pie chart, mean and percentage. For the interview data, the researcher conducted face-to-face interaction with the respondents and used transcripts for analysis. Wherever relevant, various statistical methods such as co-efficient correlation test and chi-square test were also used. Chi square test has been applied for the testing of hypothesis.

### 1.12. Ethical considerations

Due considerations of ethical issues in research were taken into account for present study. For the interviews with the working mothers, the researcher initially sought the informed consent of the respondents prior to the interviews and explained to the respondents the nature of the current study carried out with emphasis on confidentiality while also informing them that their participation was purely voluntary and they had the right to withdraw from the interview at any time.

With regard to the interview of children, the researcher took prior consent of the parents and explained to the parents the purpose and nature of the children's participation in the research conducted. The children were given the freedom to withdraw from participating in the interviews if they wanted to at their own will.

Furthermore, wherever the respondents are quoted in the Thesis, their names have been changed in order to protect their identity and maintain confidentiality.

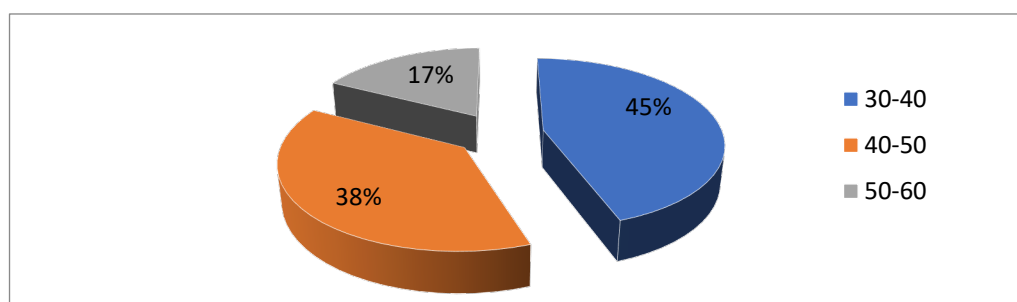
### 1.13. Profile of the respondents

This section presents the social characteristics of the selected respondents. For the purpose of the present study the main variables used to classify the socio-economic profile of the respondents were age, marital status, type of family, type of earner in the family, educational profile of respondents and spouses, besides the occupational profile and respondents' monthly income.

#### 1.13. A. Age group of the respondents

On the basis of the age-group, on an average 45 per cent of the respondents fall under the age group between 30 to 40 years, 38 per cent of the respondents fall between the age group of 40 to 50 years, while another 17 per cent of the respondents fall between the ages of 50 to 60 years.

**Fig 1.1. Age group of respondents**

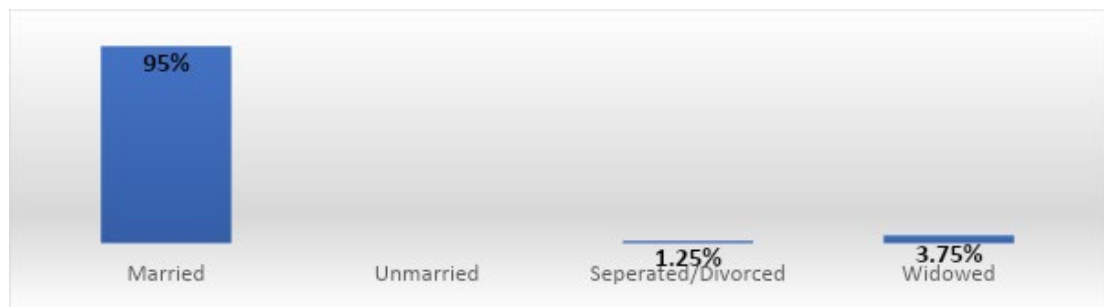


From the above table, it indicates the upward trend of many younger generation of working mothers in the paid workforce which is a universal phenomenon that is observed worldwide.

### 1.13. B. Marital status and type of family

Given that a majority of respondents fall between the ages of 30 to 50 years, it was required to explore the marital status of the respondents which was followed by the type of family system for the respondents.

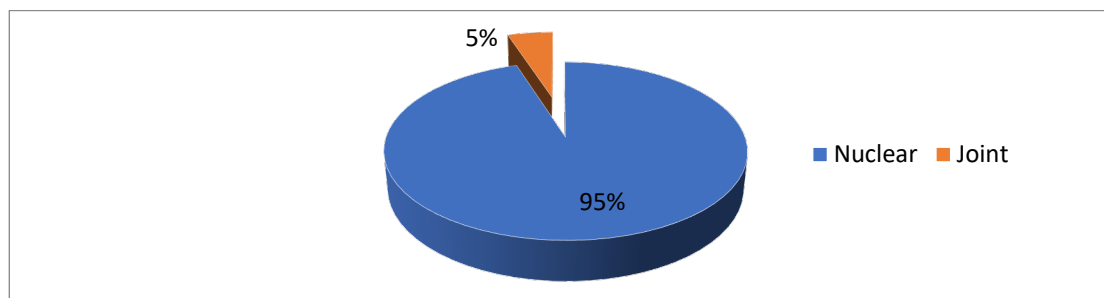
**Fig.1.2. Marital status of respondents**



95 per cent of the respondents were married, 4 per cent were widows, 1 per cent were divorcees. There were no unmarried respondents as only working mothers were selected for the present study. Generally, unmarried mothers in Naga society are frowned upon on account of which it may be noted that it is not a common phenomenon.

The existing nature of Naga families in the modern context can be seen from fig.1.3, where the respondents were queried on the type of family. From the data presented below, it is evident that a majority of the respondents at 95 per cent belonged to nuclear families and a mere 5 per cent were found to be from joint families.

**Fig.1.3. Type of Family**



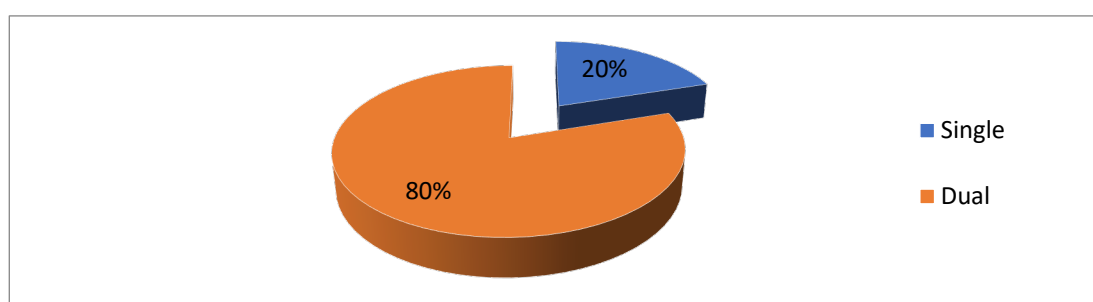
Most Naga families practice the neo-local family system and the joint family system is not favoured by the Nagas and as such it is rarely practiced; it may be found under certain circumstances such as, on account of poverty, physical handicap, etc. (Thong, 2011) or additional members in the family could possibly be an aged parent, widowed parent or

unmarried siblings. The general practice of every Naga couple is to set up a home of their own right after marriage.

### 1.13. C. Income-type of family

Given that majority of the respondents follow the nuclear family structure in the present context, it was deemed imperative to find out whether the respondents were from single or dual income families. Majority of the respondents at 80 per cent were found to be from dual income families and only 20 per cent of the respondents from single income families.

**Fig.1.4. Income-type of family**

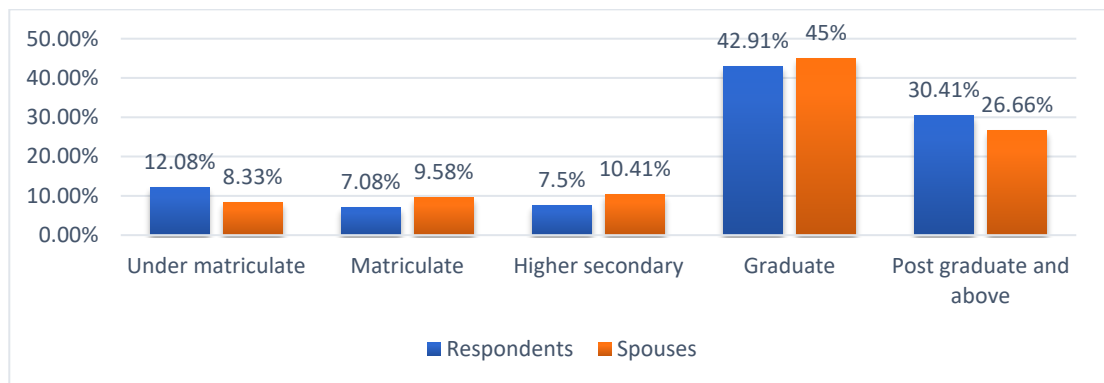


In the case of the single earner families, the spouses generally were found to be retired government official while some were unemployed as well. Given the prevailing ideology of males as the bread-earner in the study context, and the targeted respondents being working mothers, the fact that most respondents belong to dual- income families were along expected line.

### 1.13. D. Educational profile of respondents and their spouses

Experts on women's studies as well as women themselves have often been prone to take the view that the question of education and employment is fundamental to their enjoyment of equality and status. Underlying much of the clamour for better employment opportunities for educated women is the assumption that employment gives a woman earning capacity which in turn enhances her social status (Ahmad, 1979). With regard to the status of working mothers in the study context, the educational profile of the respondents and spouses is presented in fig.1.5

**Fig. 1.5. Educational profile of the respondents and spouses**

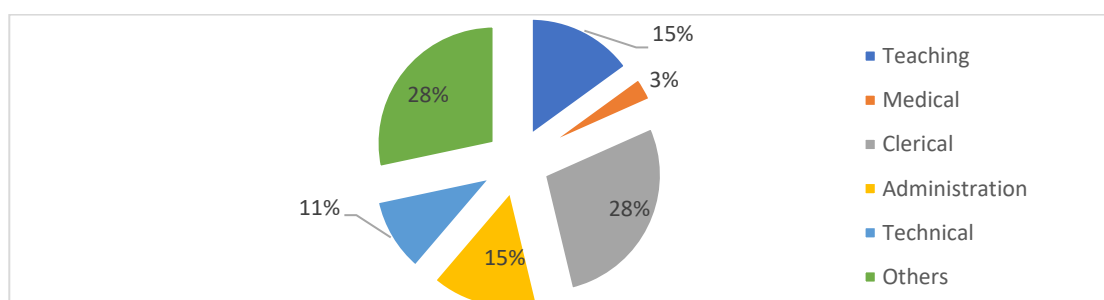


The above figure indicates that most of the respondents were graduates with 42.91 per cent, followed by post graduates and above at 30.41 per cent. 7.5 per cent of them have studied up to higher secondary while 12.08 per cent of the respondents are under-matriculate and matriculates were found to comprise 7.08 per cent of the total sample. Additionally, the respondents were also queried on their spouses' educational profile and a majority of the spouses were found to be graduates at 45 per cent. However, the number of post graduates and above went down comparatively for the spouses at 26.66 per cent as against the 30.41 percent of the respondents. 8.33 per cent of the spouses were under matriculate, 9.58 per cent matriculates, and 10.41 per cent of them completed higher secondary. The data is indicative of the fact that more women are opting for higher education and competing alongside the men in the educational field, an arena where girls in the traditional society were initially not encouraged to be a part of.

### 1.13. E. Occupation profile of respondents and their spouses

The significant role that modern education has played in transforming the Naga society from a traditional based education system to a formal form of education has been instrumental in the developmental process of the social and economic life of the Naga people. This change has further resulted in a diversification of occupation of the people of the state. A look at the occupational profile of the respondents stands testament to this fact.

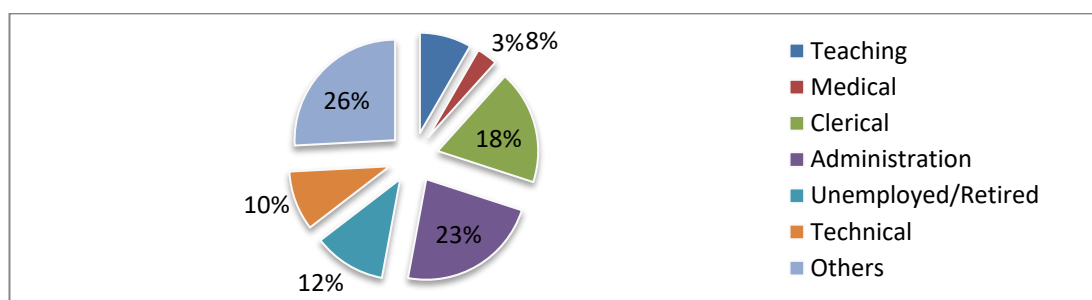
**Fig.1.6. Occupational profile of the respondents**



15 per cent of the respondents were from the teaching profession, 3 per cent in the medical profession, 28 per cent were clerical, 15 per cent in administration, 11 per cent technical professions and 28 per cent fall within 'others' category. The jobs in 'others' category comprises of sectors like police, law, banking, postal, sweepers, peons, mali, office attendants, cleaners, chowkidar and personal secretaries. One of the most noticeable aspects in the employment profile of the respondents is the tendency to cluster in a few occupations, such as teaching, nursing, clerical and related jobs. For instance, the highest proportion of respondents were clerical personnel and 'others' category at 28 per cent for both. Of the respondents in the teaching profession, 47.2 per cent are assistant professors in undergraduate and post-graduate level, 22.2 per cent are higher secondary lecturers and 31 per cent are primary and high school teachers. Respondents in the 'others' category included 29.4 per cent peons, 26.4 per cent are in the police department, 10.25 per cent are office attendants, 7.3 per cent are sweepers, 5.8 per cent are bankers, 5.8 per cent are advocates, 4.4 per cent are personal secretaries, 4.4 per cent in postal jobs, 3 per cent are mali, 2 per cent are cleaners and 2 per cent are chowkidars.

Having established the occupational profile of the respondents, the same was assessed for the spouses of the respondents wherever relevant.

**Fig. 1.7. Occupational profile of the spouse**



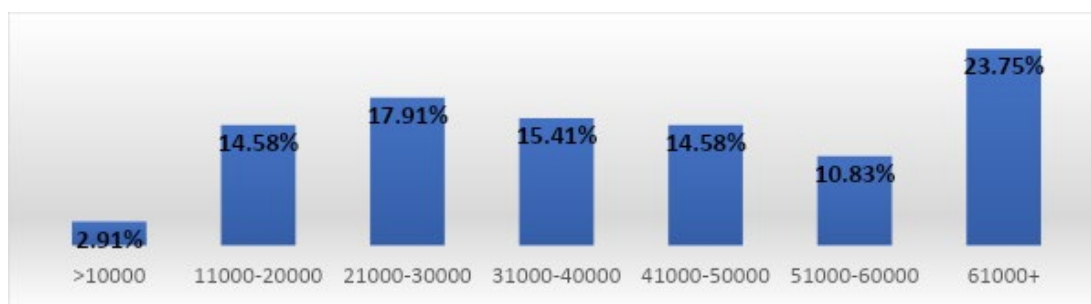
A majority of the spouses were found to be engaged in the 'other' category of professions at 26 per cent comprising of majority in the private sector, followed closely by public sector employees comprising of police personnels, lawyers, unskilled workers, politicians and office attendants. A singular occupation that stands out is observed to be administration where 23 per cent of the spouses were engaged, which may be seen to be a corollary of the traditional political system where men had sole charge of public affairs. Unlike the high percentage of respondents found engaged in the teaching profession, only 8 per cent of the spouses were teachers, while 3 per cent were in the medical profession and 18 per cent had

clerical jobs. Data shows that 12 per cent of the husbands were either unemployed or retired and 10 per cent of them were found to be in technical jobs.

### 1.13. F. Monthly income of the respondents

Financial self-sufficiency is an outcome of gainfully employed persons who are dependent on their remuneration. The following table presents the approximate monthly income of the respondents.

**Fig.1.8. Monthly income of the respondents**



Almost a quarter of respondents at 23.75 per cent earn a monthly salary above ₹61000. A small percentage of respondents at 2.91 earned a monthly salary of less than ₹10000, 14.58 per cent earned between ₹11000 to ₹20000 per month, while 17.91 per cent earned in the monthly bracket of ₹21000 to ₹30000. Another 15.41 per cent gets a monthly salary between ₹31000 to ₹40000, 14.58 per cent of the respondents earned between ₹41000 to ₹50000 per month, and finally, 10.83 per cent of the respondents monthly income stands between ₹51000-₹60000.

Modern education has enabled the Naga women to pursue higher education and attain financial self-sustenance while at the same time working alongside their male counterparts in many domains such as administration, police, law and others. This new found professional role has to co-exist alongside their traditional role as managers of the house in a culture that is traditionally characterized by a strict gender division of labour. This has been pointed out by Jamir (2012) when she states, “*The common trait of most tribal societies can be found in the division of labour which is based more on gender and age than on hierarchy and occupation.*” Such trait can be attributed to the Naga society with its patrilineal, patrilocal and patriarchal social system where institutional set-ups and traditional customary laws are inspired by the belief in male dominance and female inferiority. Even in matters of public participation, women in Naga society are culturally marginalized irrespective of her competencies, qualifications and abilities. To draw a statement by NWU, IWGIA & HMI (2018) that “*The Naga communities are transitioning from traditional to more modern ways*

*of thinking about changing women's roles. Education, in this regard, is a key enabler for defining new status of women in the society and much progress has been made in this arena."*

In the next chapter, to understand the social and cultural setting of the study, the Naga traditional social structure will be elucidated with a focus on the major societal institutions.



## **CHAPTER II**

# **NAGA SOCIAL STRUCTURE**

## CHAPTER II

### NAGA SOCIAL STRUCTURE

#### 2.1. Introduction

Nagaland is a landlocked state in north-eastern corner of India, bounded on the north-east by Arunachal Pradesh, on the west by Assam, in the South by Manipur and by the Sagaing Region of Myanmar on the east. The population of Nagaland is 19,80,602 as per the 2011 census of India and it is one of the smallest states in India. It is one of the eight sisters commonly called as the North-Eastern Region (NER) that comprises of Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Arunachal Pradesh, Tripura and Sikkim. The Naga people are known for their vibrant culture and distinct traditions which form the core of the population and the preservation of their cultural heritage remains a significant aspect for their identity. Societal structures revolved around close-knitted communities emphasizing on communal harmony and the archaic traditional practices that still continues to hold dominance over every arena. The social structure of the Naga society is characterized by rigid traditional gender norms and distinct divide between the public and private arena whereby men hold authority over all major decision-making institutions and women are relegated to the affairs of the home. Traditionally, women were always considered as primary caretakers of the husband, children and elderly family members in the family. Being agriculturists, both Naga men and women worked together in the fields and in instances when women contributed to the family income through their handworks such as weaving, embroidery etc., they were inherently perceived as secondary earners in the family. The socialization process in Naga society was deeply entrenched in patriarchal norms whereby girls were socialized to embrace their feminine qualities such as being ‘good’ mothers, nurturers and ‘good’ housewives. On the other hand, the boys were trained to nurture their masculine or agentic characteristics that include being assertive, confident, and authoritative, to eventually assume their future role as leaders of the community.

Like all other human society, in the Naga Society too, social and cultural factors have always played a significant part in shaping the interrelationship and authority structure within the society. E. B. Tylor (1871) saw culture as “*a complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, art, moral, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.*” Culture defines individuals by their ways of thinking, acting, behaviour, ways of greeting persons etc. The relationship between culture and society

can be seen through Linton's (1955) perspective of society as *"an organized group of individuals and a culture is an organized group of learned responses characteristic of a particular society."* Hofstede (1980) sees culture as *"the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group from another"*. Culture, while being transmitted from generation to generation, constantly changes and evolves because each generation adds something of its own before passing it on. Another similar perspective of culture may be found in the work of Abraham (2006) who defined culture as *"a total way of life of a social group, meaning everything they are, they do and they have. It is a complex system that consists of beliefs, values, standards, practices, language and technology shared by members of a social group."* No Naga tribe has written record of their early history and therefore traditions and customs are passed on orally from generation to generation through the medium of folklores, folksongs, myths and legends. The Nagas as a whole exhibit a rich traditional heritage and has a similar culture and much in common in their way of life and customs. As Jamir & Shikhu (2017) states, *"the culture of the Nagas reveals something about the past- their functioning of their lives, their habits, territories and laws that bind them to form a community, their social structure and their defence system...It identifies the existence of a tribe, the depth of knowledge, the continuity and changes that either directly or indirectly modified as well as strengthened the present culture...Thus, culture is considered vital to the continuation of life among the Nagas."* Accordingly, Naga culture encompasses the way of life, inherited behaviours, thoughts, and norms of the people, passed on from generation to generation through oral traditions and day to day practices and lifestyles in the form of customs, traditions, norms, value, beliefs and conventions acquired through the process of time, change, innovation, evolution and growth; contact, diffusions, integration, imitation and acculturation (Thong, 1997).

## **2.2. Traditional social institutions**

Nagaland is basically a land of villages and the traditional life of every Naga revolves around the village. In the past a Naga village was the highest political unit and primarily based on the institution of clans and *Khels*. In the Naga society it is not the tribe but the village that is seen as the primary political and social unit. According to North (1990) *"Institutions are the rules of the game in a society or more formally, the humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction...they structure incentives in human exchange, whether political, social or economic."* Hence, the framework within which social life takes place in society is regulated and established by institutions. Social institutions are thus the organized patterns

of beliefs, norms, practices, rules and behaviour centred on the basic social needs of individuals in a society which are accepted as a fundamental part of culture. A social institution is established in order to meet the basic requirements of the people living in a society and often work in a collective setting. For the Nagas, traditional social institutions influence human behaviour such as morals, norms, values, conventions, traditions, and codes of conduct in the cultural and societal level. Usually, informal institutions underlie formal institutions because they determine a society's basic attitudes and beliefs and hence, its value system (Aoki, 2001; Boettke, Coyne & Leeson, 2008; Greif, 2006; North, 2005). Significant social institutions are the village, family, kinship system, educational institution, religious institution, and political institution. In the context of the present study, it is imperative to understand the traditional social institutions of Naga society which is the epicentre of all the activities the members in the Naga society are expected to carry out. The traditional Naga social institutions can be further examined under the following headings:

## **2.2. A. Village polity**

In the context of Nagaland, Mills (1926) remarked that with all the real political units of the tribe it is the village government that governs and administers the people of the village. According to Smith (1926) village administration since time immemorial was the only government known to the Nagas and it is an accepted institution with a strong sense of solidarity. The village as a unit was held together by social, political and religious bonds. Horam (1975) contended that Naga villages can be termed as petty republics in themselves; they were politically organized association like the ancient Greek city-states and the village government was run without written laws. The customary usages were the basis for running the affairs of the village government (Horam, 1975; Roy Burman, 1983; Ao, 1993; Talukdar, 1994; Haloi, 2004; 2006, Devi, 2007). The structure of traditional village government in Nagaland was different for different tribes and was known by different names. For instance, village government is known as '*Putu Menden*' among the Ao, '*Chochomi*' among Semas and '*Pangti*' among Lothas (Sengupta, 2008). Though the form of government differs from tribe to tribe, it is republic in nature for most tribes (Thong, 1997). Haloi (2006) states that the organization at the village level has a long tradition of continuity and authority of control and management, touching nearly all spheres of rural life.

With regard to the social and political organization of the Nagas, there is much variety created by different combinations of basic common elements: the clan, the chief, the village council and in the old day it was the *Morung* today replaced by the age groups

(Liuthui, 2001). When it comes to Naga polity, Nagas by nature are democratic and the final political authority rests in the hands of the people with the exception of the Konyak and the Sema tribe who practiced a monarchical system. The Sumi and Konyak tribes follow a polity of Chieftainship where the office is inherited through the patrilineal lineage and where a Supreme Chief (*Akukatou*) of a village in the context of the Sumis and the Supreme Chief (Great *Ahng*) of many villages among Konyaks is practiced (Shohe, 2022). Whereas, the Angami and Ao tribes administered their villages through a democratic form of governance where male representatives of various clans (usually the eldest) form the leadership. The Angamis have neither chiefs nor formal village councils but village elders who are consulted on difficult issues which is why Major Butler in 1855 remarked that, “Their government is decidedly democratic; for, although each village community has a nominal head or chief, it is evident their chiefs have no absolute power over the people” (cited in Dani, 1960). In the past, the Semas and Konyaks had very powerful hereditary chiefs with almost absolute authority. But among most of the Naga tribes, the village council regularly convenes the village general assemblies, traditionally presided over by the chief in most cases. However, in the case of the Angami tribe any member of the village enjoys the right to call a public meeting and a person with good standing moderates the meeting where all the adult male members of the village have the right to participate as equals in the discussions (Liuthui, 2001). The Rengma tribe on the other hand maintained the system of chieftainship with the chief being called as ‘*Kukughu*’ while the system had no particular name (Hutton, 1969; Mills, 1980; Horam, 1975, Hameindorf, 2004). However, over the course of time with the gradual introduction of modern system of democracy during the colonial and post-colonial periods, the traditional village system of Nagaland went through different phases and have undergone major changes. The system of Village Council emerged in 1978 as a statutory body under the Nagaland Village and Area Council Act 1978. The Act brought the power and functions of traditional village administration of different Naga tribes under one umbrella and the Village Council is given uniform powers and duties to all the recognized villages (Temjensosang, 2005). The Village Council today is the apex political unit for a village. Initially, there was no fixed tenure so the members enjoyed the office for a long period of time. However, the tenure was fixed for five years with the Nagaland Village and Area Council Act 1978 and the villagers have the authority to choose the members in accordance with the customary law. For instance, according to the customs of the Ao, the members of the ‘*Putu menden*’ or Village Council is invariably selected from the clan of Longkhum, Jamir and Pongen (Temjensosang, 2005). For the sumi tribe, ‘*Aphu Ahoho*’ or

Village Council is formed from members of the village who are well versed in the customary laws, usages and procedures of the tribes, respected by his clan and villagers and the decision made by them is considered final and binding (Jamir & Shikhu, 2017). It may also be noted that the land and the means of livelihood belongs to the people under the custody of the Village Council and the decision of the Village Council is held supreme and abiding for one and all. Furthermore, the Village Council performs the duties as per the traditional customary practices and usages of the tribes concerned. The Customary law by definition means the unwritten customs, cultural patterns, conventions, social norms and practices which binds members of the community, including penalty for violators of the norms. These usages are transmitted via oral tradition by the members of the society as a means of control for the harmony and good relationship among the members of the community (Thong, 1997). The traditional administrative functions of the Naga villages have undergone certain modifications and alterations over the years ever since the Village Council Act of 1978 was introduced. However, the age-old practices still continue to persist in many villages with little variation. Although empowerment being a distinct feature under this Act providing the Village Council with a wide range of powers encompassing the areas of administration of justice, law and order, development and natural resources management, this Act has however failed in empowering women in Naga society as women still continue to be subjugated in the public space under the trenches of patriarchy. In recent years, the Village Development Board (VDB) was formed in 1980 under Clause 12 of Section 12 of the said Act and is known as the Village Development Model Rule 1980 (Jamir & Longkumer, 2015). The VDBs have proven to be an important institution and a cornerstone for decentralization of activities at the grass root level and are involved in all spheres of developmental activities which include maintaining infrastructures, water supply, roads, allocation of funds, selection of beneficiaries and schemes etc. (Jamir & Shikhu, 1997). If one were to trace the roots of power relations in Naga society and narrow down to the village formation among the Nagas, one can find that only the founding male members were acknowledged and recorded in history and the village community holds the descendants of these men in high esteem even today, even having the honour of playing an important role in the village administration. Whereas, the women who accompanied these men are not recorded and barely mentioned in the historical records. Only recorded women leaders would be by Mills (1926) in his book the *Ao Nagas* providing details of two women rulers, one was Sangtemla and the other laid the foundation of Kubza village in Mokokchung district of Nagaland. The denial of women in leadership is very much supported and accepted widely in the Naga society. Chana (1992)

states thus, “*women were excluded from men’s culturally assigned occupations because it was assumed that women lack capabilities.*” This can also be observed from the analysis of gender by Chaudhuri (2003) who argued that if one looks at the cultural traditions, patriarchal force plays an important role in choosing the cultural practices of community. As such, women in Naga society are placed at a juncture of conflict between compromising tradition and modernity.

## **2.2. B. The Naga family**

Family being the primary social institution and a basic primary group in any given society, perform multifaceted functions performed by it makes it a much-needed institution in a society. In the Naga society, the institution of family is organized around the norms of patriarchy and patriliney. Naga society follows a patrilineal descent where the descent is traced through the male line. According to the Naga customs, sons can inherit all the immovable properties like house, forest and land while movable properties can be given to daughters like clothes, ornaments, livestock etc. As soon as a woman marries, she leaves her parental home and loses the privilege of using her father’s property. In some cases, gift in the form of land is given to the daughter but such properties are reverted to either brother or uncle after her death. Even the land purchased by women from her earning is inherited by her son. In case of the death of the husband, the widow can continue to live in the house and use the land during her lifetime. However, if she remarries, she forfeits her right to the land and house and it reverts back to her husband’s family. The land is accorded to the son or if there is no son, the land goes to the husband’s brother or husband’s relatives.

Marriage is considered as the foundation of Naga social structure and socially valued. Monogamy is the general form of family structure among the Nagas. However, among the Nagas, only the *Anghs* of Konyak tribe is known to practice polygamy. It was considered prestigious to marry more than one wife for the *Anghs* as having more wives meant having more children. Marriage is also vital for the social advancement of the individual male and for most of the ceremonial feasts that confer status depends on a man having a wife (Jacobs, 1990). After the marriage, the new household is considered as both a new economic and ritual unit where both the husband and wife become in effect a ritual unit responsible for the rituals to promote the health of the family and the family’s crops. In time, the new household goes on to reproduce children and be married off where the parents in a hierarchical group for instance, the Semas will try and use their daughters to secure the highest possible bride-price and will insist on marrying their daughters off within the chiefly clans which are

considered more or less an aristocratic class. Having more sons also is considered a privilege for the chief as it means being able to expand the area of their political influence.

In the modern context, most Naga families are found to practice neo-local type of family where the newlyweds leave their parental home and start a separate family. Naga society being patriarchal, the father has full custody of the child in case of a divorce. In the event of an infant during divorce, the child is allowed to remain with the mother till the infant is weaned after which, the father takes sole custody of the child. In case of the husband's death, the mother takes full responsibility of the children but if she remarries, either the child comes under the custody of her husband's parents or sometimes the child is raised by the mother under mutual consent provided the child's surname remains unchanged. In Naga society, clan exogamy is followed whereby marriage within the clans is prohibited. It is considered a taboo and violation of such is severely punished according to the customary law. Practice of endogamy is therefore never encouraged nor practiced among the Naga tribes.

## **2.2. C. Traditional economic systems**

Traditionally, agriculture was the mainstay of the Naga society. It can be stated that although centuries have passed, the Nagas' dependency on agriculture still remains to be an integral part of their social and economic life as agriculture engages about 73% of the total population of Nagaland (Senotsy & Kinny, 2016). Rice is the staple food of the Nagas apart from other crops and is cultivated on a large scale. There are three types of rice cultivation practiced in Nagaland– Shifting Cultivation, Wet Rice Cultivation (WRC) and Wet Terrace Rice Cultivation (WTRC) which is considered to be the source of livelihood for the people living in a village and almost all the Naga tribes practice shifting cultivation except the Angami and Chakhesang tribe who practice WTRC in the district of Kohima and Phek and WRC is found to be practiced in some parts of the state like Dimapur, Jalukie, Tizit and Baghty (Jamir & Shikhu, 2017). Besides cultivation of paddy and variety of crops, the economy also included hunting, fishing, domestication of animal etc. The Nagas consider meat as the most important food item and besides being used as food, animals and poultry were used for propitiating the supernatural beings and spirits for good fortune during hunting, head-hunting, fertility of crops, animals and men, for rituals, for celebrating the feast of merit, birth rites, marriage feasts, death rites, agricultural festivals and many others (Kath & Thong, 2011). A significant feature of the Naga economy is the absence of landlords or any class of landless peasants. One can say that the village society is so organized that



every individual is assured of the basic necessities such as food, clothing and shelter. When it comes to division of labour for cultivation processes, it is the women who get up by dawn to start the daily chores observed as a traditional gender role. This often results in more work hours for women than men in the Naga society. Most necessary equipment or tools like spade or *dao* or utensils to be used in the field were carried by the women folk. This practice was based on the belief that men worked harder than women in the fields so the equipment/tools should be carried by the women. Women were responsible for all household chores even after returning home from the day's work in the field whereas the men went to the '*dahw*' to relax and spend time with friends. Traditionally, Naga women were responsible for weaving clothing items such as shawls and *mekhalas*, basketry and handicrafts which adds to the sustenance of the village economy. However, with modernisation the influence of the western culture in terms of food habits, sense of dressing and the lifestyle in the twenty-first century has led to loss of traditional knowledge of weaving, basket making and handloom products. The whole system of life has changed in the process of development due to diffusion, accumulation, adoption as assimilation of the western ideology and beliefs (Kath & Thong, 2011).

## **2.2. D. Religion and belief system of the Nagas**

Durkheim (1915) saw religion as "*a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say set apart and forbidden, beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community, called a church, all those who adhere to them.*" Religion as one of the basic institutions plays an integral role in the Naga society in the past up to the present. James Frazer (1957) in his seminal work *The Golden Bough* defined religion as "*a propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to man which are believed to control the course of nature or human life*". There are numerous opinions regarding the belief system of the Nagas or the religion of the Nagas. According to Bareh (1970), "*Naga religion is described by sociologists to be animistic which lay emphasis on the existence of the deified manifestations of nature and propitiation of spirits both benevolent and malevolent.*" Jacobs (1990) differed by stating that "*traditionally, Nagas were described as animists... in fact, this is only half true because they also believed in gods.*" Longchar (1995) also affirms that Naga religion is not animistic but rather is a community religion whereby there is involvement of the whole community and religious ethos is contained in people's heart and oral history and not in idol worship. Therefore, for one to assume that Nagas are animistic beings is found to be misleading. The indigenous religion of the Nagas can thus be understood as a belief in a

Supreme Being rather than being animistic in the sense implied by Tylor (1871) as, “*animism is the attribution of a soul or spirit to living things and inanimate objects. In full-blown animism, nothing is really inanimate; everything is alive in spirit, alive or not.*” The dichotomy of the sacred and the secular or the spiritual and the material, was unknown in the traditional Naga religion (Shikhu, 2007). The Nagas were generally very religious which was manifested through rituals and rites in all their life processes. They had a concept of belief in God and spirits which did not affect the society directly but influenced them in the form of malevolent and benevolent characteristics (Watienla, 2019). Frazer (1957) believed that in the natural world, there are laws in nature that is ruled by one or more deities. The Nagas also used magic to deal with recovery from sickness, in case of proceedings of rain, the observance of *genna* and taboo which also contains certain elements of magic and is extensively practiced by the Nagas for social and religious life at family and community level (Jamir & Shikhu, 2017). One *genna* is referred to as prohibition when the residents of the village are forbidden to work and such *gennas* are observed on the occasions of festivals, agricultural operations and occurrence of natural calamities, while the second type of *genna* is referred to the individuals, family and clan (Nshoga, 2009). The word ‘taboo’ comes from the Polynesian dialect simply mean ‘prohibition’ and it was first introduced by Captain Cook in 1777. According to Henry Presler, taboo or taboos are those “*caution established to guard against supernaturally dangerous things like plants, animals or person especially those who possess mana*” (cited in Longchar, 1995). Naga life was fully submerged in the sea of taboos that includes taboo relating to birth, death, agriculture, marriage, war etc. and each and every activity is bound by taboo (Mahato, 2023). In a nutshell, taboo determines a person’s course in life and defines the social and cultural life of the Naga community. For instance, it is taboo for pregnant women to eat bear meat which was a symbol of stupidity because of the fear that the child born will be stupid. Taboo and *genna* are so close and inter-woven that in many instances the observation of one lead to the other at the same time (Kath & Thong, 2011). Elements of Totemism could also be found amongst the Naga people. The concept of totemism as a form of religion was first formulated by John McLennan in an article “*The Worship of Animals and plants*” in 1869-1870 which was the start of the study on what would be called totemism. The Nagas believed that they emerged from animal, birds, insects, stone and trees. Among the Chakhesang, a clan known as *Merisunuomi* is believed to be descendent of a mushroom; among the Ao Naga, *Ozukum* clan is said to be born out of a bird and *Kichu* from sparrow and among the Rengma tribe, the *Tepinyu* clan is believed to have emerged from the tiger (Jamir & Shikhu, 2017).

The phenomenon of Lycanthropy is another aspect of the Naga belief system. Lycanthropy refers to the supernatural phenomenon of mythical transformation of a person into an animal or a form of madness in which people imagine themselves as an animal (Shikhu, 2007). Lycanthropy in general is the belief that humans can metamorphosis into a tiger, wolf or other wild animal. Lycanthropy is elaborately developed among many Naga groups and in some villages, it is believed to be inhabited by were-tigers or were-leopard people. Many Naga tribes practice lycanthropy in which it is commonly believed that a person is having a spirit in the form of a tiger (Martemjen & Lkr, 2014). The existence of lycanthropy among the Naga tribes was first reported by Davis in 1891 who wrote: *“Men with the power of turning themselves into tigers. Tiger-men are well known and I have the pleasure of the acquaintance of one. This gentleman is a Sema Chief of a small village in Tizü Valley. He himself disclaims the power, but that he has it is implicitly believed by the whole of Sema and Angami tribes. A whole village of tiger-man is said to exist in the far northeast”* (cited in Lanunungsang & Jamir, 2005). Generally, lycanthrope is believed to be inherited and perpetuated in some families or clan. It is said that in the initial stage, the partner animal (the person’s spirit) takes place with an ordinary grasshopper or reptile, and then gradually transforms into a wildcat, wolf, leopard, and finally a real tiger whereby the spirit of a tiger man is believed to be replaced six times and five times in case of a tiger woman during the entire span of life (Lanunungsang & Jamir, 2005). The Naga tiger-man or woman still play an important role in the socio-religious life of the Nagas even today as it was in the past. They are regarded as diviners and often consulted for the whereabouts of missing cattle, theft, locate criminals, to point out any untoward social elements or incidents and also to find out the causation of any kind of sickness (Watienla, 2019). As such, when it comes to crucial occasions or events the tiger man/woman is consulted for the safety of the individual as well as the village community.

The religion of the Nagas thus is found to be similar to other tribal groups around the world where communities believed in the Supreme Being or the Spirit God who creates everything. This manifestation was expressed through their traditional myths, songs and folklore. It has provided them with a clear understanding of the living world in which they are an integral part (Martemjen & Lkr, 2014). The Supreme Being has different names among the different Naga tribes: the Ao Nagas call it *Lijaba*, the Semas refer to it as *Alhou*, the Angami Nagas *Ukepenuopfu*, the Lothas call it *Potso*, and the Konyak call it as *Hahzang* (Watienla, 2019). To the Nagas, the Supreme Being represents the manifestation of the unseen divine power behind every creation and all productive activity of men and the destiny

of humankind (Kath & Thong, 2011). The Nagas also believed in the existence of spirits, in different gods for different social and spiritual needs such as god for home, for wealth, for forest, for rivers and lakes and mountains etc. (Martemjen & Lkr, 2014). There were both benevolent and malevolent spirits and some even indifferent spirits where benevolent spirits were generally thought to be responsible for the welfare and prosperity of humans and malevolent spirits on the other hand were thought to be dangerous and destructive to human affairs (Watienla, 2019). Another dimension of the Nagas was the belief in omens, divination and dreams which were considered as not just mere objects but living and dynamic in nature. Dudek (2008) states that the idea and belief in omens, divination and dreams have a tremendous impact on the lives of the people. They not only look for strength, guidance and inspiration but all the important directions and decision in life were expected to be in consonance with the signs of omens, divination and dreams (Longchar, 1995). The Naga people observed the omens meticulously before undertaking any event in life like farming, going on a journey, war or hunting etc. The strong beliefs and practices govern all aspects of culture, tradition and life of the Naga people. As such, the above mentioned are some of the significant elements of belief system observed by the Naga people in the olden days. For the Nagas, religion and belief system encompassed the entire social and cultural life of the community. Strict routines were maintained and followed by every individual, group and village.

Christianity came to the Naga Hills in the 19<sup>th</sup> century during the colonial period under the protection and moral support of the British Government (Achumi, 2012). The gospel was first preached at Molungyimsen and that was “*the beginning of change from the old faith, culture filled with superstitious and fear, to the gracious act of the cross*” (Imchen, 1993). With the advent of Christianity in Nagaland, the traditional life of the Nagas underwent substantial transformation. Much of the age-old religious beliefs were abandoned under the influence of Christian proselytization and the religious practices, social organizations and the community life of the Nagas met a new beginning. Hutton (1969) thus notes in ‘The Angami Naga’ that, “*Old beliefs and customs are dying; the old traditions are being forgotten, the number of Christians or quasi- Christians, is steadily increasing and the spirit of change is invading and pervading every aspect of village life*” (cited in Nshoga, 2009) and it has also been recorded that the most massive movement of Christianity was among the Nagas in all of Asia (Eaton, 1997).

The introduction of Christianity in the Naga hills affected the functioning of the *Morung* as the traditional institutions were considered as not being in line with the Christian values and principles. With the introduction of modern education, the Nagas started attending school and became literate. The entire social, cultural and religious system of the Nagas was infused with the western influence. With the onset of modernization in the Naga Hills, strict adherence to traditional beliefs and practices became laxer, yet the Naga people still respect their social and cultural ethos which are upheld and promoted although 87.93 per cent of the people are Christians today (Census of India, 2011).

It is pertinent to note that although Christianity preaches equality, it failed to eradicate the patriarchal stronghold in Naga society as the ideology of patriarchy itself has been strongly emphasized in the scripture. Women are presented as temptresses who distract men from worship such as Eve in the Bible who disobeys God and tempts Adam to his downfall. Similarly, in many religious teachings, women are assigned the role of nurturing, caring and mothering. While Christianity is often credited with elevating the status of women, it has served to reinforced patriarchal values in the society. If women fail to conform to the traditionally assigned gender stereotypes, they are seen as deviating from Christian principles. As Jacobs (1990) states “*the traditional Naga beliefs are related to traditional society and how (consciously or not) missionary beliefs either fitted in harmoniously with these pre-existing systems, or else appeared to challenge them*”.

## **2.2. E. Kinship and clan system**

For the Nagas, kinship represents one of the important bases of social function which influenced every social, economic, political and religious activity. Naga society is structured and defined by a complex kinship matrix system based on an ancestral social institution (Nienu, 2015). The Naga people follow agnatic descent through the male heir leading to strong male preference as it is the means to continue the clan lineage. As such, among the Nagas the structure of the kinship system is based along patrilineal lines. Kinship terminology is another significant aspect of Naga Society and every Naga tribe has certain kinship terminologies where respect is shown to an elder/older person by addressing them with kinship terms. Kinship terminology such as *Apu* and *Aza* (father and mother in Sumi dialect), *Oko* and *Amo* (Parental uncle and aunty in Ao dialect), *Ema* and *Efa* (Brother and Sister in Sangtam Dialect), *Atsolo* and *Atsokhyongo* (Niece and Nephew in Lotha Dialect) are used to address them (Jamir & Shikhu, 2017). In the Naga society, obedience and respect to parents and elders is assumed to be of utmost importance. Kinship system through its

systematic organisation prescribed the rules of marriage and descent. Thus, kinship rules ascribe to a person whom he can marry, who would bear his children, who would inherit his property (either son or daughter) and ultimately at the time of demise, who would conduct the last rites (Jamir & Shikhu, 2017). Thus, kinship is a basic organising principle for the Naga people which provide a model for their interpersonal behaviour from birth to death.

A crucial aspect of the Naga kinship structure is the clan. Members of a clan believe they descended from a common ancestor through the culturally accepted line of descent whether matrilineal or patrilineal (Ovung, 2012). A clan is a very important part of an individual's self-identity and finds concrete expression in the mutual obligation clan members owe to each other (Jacobs, 1990). The clan relationship is very strong in village community as the members had to act collectively in matters of head-hunting, village building, repairing of footpath, making of clan wells, construction of clan member's houses, construction of clan or khel's *morung*, co-operative efforts in marriages of clan member's houses, sharing responsibility and joy during festivals and so on (Thong, 2011). In the clan system, it is the eldest male member of the clan who wields authority over the clan and he is regarded in high esteem. Clan membership is believed to be through a common ancestor so clan exogamy is upheld strongly till date. And all social institutions like marriage, polity, and inheritance and succession of property have a direct relation with the clan system of the Nagas. The clan system is thus understood as a source of identity for the Nagas and holds a pivotal role in creating a sense of solidarity among the Naga villagers.

## **2.2. F. Education in the Naga Society**

The Nagas as a whole exhibit a rich traditional heritage and has a similar culture and much in common in their customs and way of life. An important traditional institution found in many Naga tribes was the institution of the Bachelors' dormitory commonly known as '*Morung*' which was an institution for learning and socialization of the young. Before the advent of Christianity, the *Morung* was the only social institution through which older housemates enlightened the boys and girls on the traditional customs and traditions of the society. The boys *Morung* were known variously as '*Arichu*' for the Aos, the Lothas call it '*chambo*', the Phom call it '*bang*', the chang call it '*haki*' respectively (Stirn & Ham, 2003). The girls' dormitory was known by the name '*ywo*' for the Konyaks, '*tsüki*' for the Ao and the Rengmas call it '*luchu kai*' (Borah & Sengupta, 2016). The boys were taught about the art of life and war whereas girls were taught to learn everything to do with household, agricultural affairs, handiwork and embroidery and were taught to believe that they are

primarily responsible for housework. The ‘graduates’ of the *Morung* go on to occupy high seats in the village administration comprising of the council of elders commonly known as the Village Council. Evidently the *Morung* played a more pivotal role in the village polity and served as the centre for most of the village’s decision-making processes. Thus, *Morung* system of education socialized the members according to a well-defined sexual division of labour. The disintegration of the *Morung* commenced with the introduction of formal schools. Although it is no longer followed in the present day, traditional socio-cultural activities are still kept alive in the form of relics displayed during traditional festivals and celebrations (Jamir & Shikhu, 2017).

Formal education was introduced into the Naga Hills by the American Baptist missionaries in the late nineteenth century, followed by the British. The first Mission was set up in 1840 by Mr. Bronson at Namsang in the Tirap Frontier division (Imchen, 1993). It was in the year 1872 that missionaries Godhula Brown, Rev. E.W Clark and his wife Mary Clark who established church in the Ao area of the Naga Hills and the first formal school in the Naga Hills was started in the year 1878 at Molungyimsen Village by Mrs. Mary Mead Clark (Kiremwati, 1995). The school was established originally with the intention for educating the Naga girls so that the Naga converts can have Christian wives who can build Christian homes and not so much for its own sake. Incidence of difficulty in persuading Naga parents to send their daughters for schooling has been reported by Downs (1996). The main reason being, if daughters were to be sent to school, there would be no one to do the domestic chores in the house or work in the farms, which reflects the almost regimented gender division of labour that existed in Naga society. Similar view is cited by Imchen (2001) in this regard who states thus, “*In the beginning the parents strongly objected to the education of their daughters. They believed that if they were sent to school, who would work for the family? It was a prevalent belief that women were only fit for household works.*”

However, in spite of the initial hesitation and qualms of the Nagas with regard to education for girls, the efforts of the Christian missionaries paid off and today, the literacy rate of Naga women stands at 76.67 per cent against the total State literacy rate of 80.11 per cent (2011 census).

### 2.1. Total state population and Literacy by Sex (2011)

Total Population	Literate population		
	Persons	Male	Female
1.980,602	1,357,579	731,796	625,783
	80.11%	83.29%	76.69%

Source: Census of India 2011, Nagaland, Series 14.

The advent and advancement of modern education has enabled women to deviate from culturally imposed roles and modern Naga society has seen an increasing number of women entering the world of work. The impact of modernisation and formal education has brought the Nagas to a point in time where a conflict is observed between tradition and modern values, particularly in terms of gender role. As Temjensosang (2013) notes, “*Educated women today are more into profession besides their home service. They have begun to realize a new identity that they can hold any position not assigned by traditional customs, conventions nor by right, but by virtue of their own merit. Women’s entry into professional employment outside the home has opened a new chapter and therefore represents a radical change in the status of women in the Naga society.*”

### 2.3. Understanding Naga household work

Work being the primary human activity and a defining force in people’s livelihood, the concept of work in the context of Naga Society is explored in the following section. In the context of the Naga society, a household can be defined as a social, cultural and religious entity and each household is a unit of food production, consumption, distribution and ownership of property (Shimray, 2004). Every household encompasses a wide range of kin including grandparents, parents, children, unmarried brothers and sisters, cousins or aunts and uncles and even if these people are not inhabitants of the same household, compound or village, there is still a sense of communal responsibility and obligation that is strongly felt and remains wide ranged. For the Naga people, household work plays a significant role in their livelihood system and in order to understand the concept of ‘work’ in the Naga context, one can analyse the division of chores founded on cultural norms. The traditional gender-based division of work in Naga society is presented in table 2.2 and table 2.3.



**Table 2.2 Traditional gender-based division of work (i)**

<b>Chores performed by men</b>	<b>Chores performed by women</b>
Head-hunting and war, metal work, wood carving and wood works, basketry, pottery (for Eastern Angami and Tangkhul), Priesthood, Chieftainship, construction of house and granary, killing of Mithun, pig or wild animals, collection of construction tools and materials, felling of trees, making implements for production of textiles, making of household implements, making utensils, making furniture, making and repair of weapons, making agricultural implements, hunting of birds, wild animals and fishing, wrestling, war dance, inter-village friendship negotiation, major decision making, participation in village administration, payment of marriage price, barter on bottle, trapping of animals, construction of grave, tending of cattle, painting, and demarcation of jhum fields and other land, clearing jungle, tilling soil, demarcation of plots and construction of work house in the field, path clearing, threshing	Spinning, weaving, sowing, cooking, washing, delivery attendant, pottery (for Ao, Rengma and Sema-exclusively females up to the firing stage), thatch cutting, carrying of thatch, house cleaning, brewing of rice beer, making fire, feeding of pig and fowl, feeding of children, husking rice, collection of firewood, fetching water, barter in vegetable, collection of wild vegetables, gardening, tattooing, embroidery works, preparation of yeast, distillation, food preservation work, weeding, winnowing, clearing fields for next year's sowing. In the case of Naga women, they are absent in the major decision making and village administration.

*Sources: Kath & Thong, 2011; Jacobs, 1990*

**Table. 2.3. Traditional gender-based division of work (ii)**

<b>Work done mostly by men and partly by women</b>	<b>Work done mostly by women and partly by men</b>	<b>Work done by both men and women</b>
Clearing jungles, tilling of soil, clearing of paths, threshing of paddy, games and sports (leisure)	Sowing paddy, weeding, winnowing, daily offering of meat, rice and rice beer to the spirit	Reaping, work in bone, ivory and shell, practice of sorcery, medicine making, dancing, singing, fishing, marriage negotiation, trading

*Sources: Kath & Thong, 2011; Jacobs, 1990*

As is evident from the tables, most economic activities are distinguished according to gender although this is more of a general tendency rather than a set of strict rules. It is evident that women in Naga society have always been very much a part of the agricultural and economic activities that sustains the household although being primarily identified as managers of the home. As Yano & Tsolo (2015) states, *“From a very early age, a girl child is taught how to work in household chores and help in fieldwork when her brothers and boys of her same age were out playing with their friends... a mother gets little or no help from her husband and sons when it comes to household works but her daughters help her.”* Shimray (2004) points out that women’s participation in numerous activities clearly provides a comprehensive picture of work done by them which predominantly falls under the domain of household duties. This breakup of activities, according to Shimray is clearly indicative of the fact that housework is not a homogenous category applicable for all women and that it is done in addition to chores like cooking, cleaning and childcare. Women have a greater range of domestic responsibilities starting from sustaining the household to various agricultural activities even though they have immense work burden in both. The traditional nuclear families give the impression of a bread earner father and a home making mother with children. However, contrary to patriarchal beliefs, nurturing is not just a feminine trait. Mukhim (2015) has rightly pointed out that men can nurture and care as women do. It is because of the patriarchal ideology which holds the mother as the primary caregiver or a mere housewife, disregarding the numerous economic contributions of women as child-care is not regarded as an economic activity. Whereas, the father who is elevated to the role of bread winner in society is regarded the head and centre of the family and this is how domination is believed to begin in the family. Sociologists Delphy & Leonard (1992) argue

that with all the housework and childcare handled by women, their contribution to the family remains the largest. On the other hand, men are seen to make lesser contribution in the household yet, stand to gain the most in society and are also perceived to exploit the wives for unpaid household labour. A similar argument was posited by Ann Oakley in the 1970s who also argued that as difficult as housework is, it is unrewarding for women and the arrangement of free labour only works in favour of men.

Based on the above discussion, it can be inferred that gender socialisation in the Naga society is influenced, strengthened and reinforced by social institutions such as the traditional economic systems, religion, family structure, village governance and education. All these traditional social institutions are founded on patriarchal ethos and continue to condition the behaviour and attitude of the Naga people. Whether it is the Naga traditional institutions or the customary law and practices which are all inspired by the belief in male dominance and inspired by oral traditions of folklores or myths which focus on male dominance and the bravery of the men-folk whereas, women are depicted as weak or subordinate beings who needed men's protection. Socialisation that occurs within the family conditions boys and girls to accept traditional gender roles from a very young age; that the roles are assigned on the basis of the biological differences between men and women. Oakley (1979) argues that gender socialisation forces individuals to conform to gender expectations right from a young age. This can be further interpreted as hegemonic masculinity which is the expectation that boys have to be protectors, providers and aggressors whereas, girls are expected to be nurturing, calm and focused on their appearance. As such, from a very young age boys and girls are taught to believe that masculine traits are 'superior' to girls. These gendered distinctions between boys and girls are also reinforced through gender-specific toys, books, appearances, and media representations (among many others). Whether work is understood in terms of education or the Naga traditional agricultural practices, women in Naga society continue to be seen as belonging to the disadvantaged stratum. Even in terms of religious beliefs, with almost 90% of the Nagas identifying as Christians according to the 2011 census, one can surmise that patriarchal ethos in Christianity itself constitutes an important force for reinforcing gender stereotypes. The influence of Christianity in strengthening the patriarchal ethos in Naga society is apparent as Zehol (2009) contended that of all the modern forces of change, the oldest and most influential positions is occupied by Christianity as far as tribal societies in India are concerned. In terms of the lack of representation of women in the village governance or family inheritance rights, Naga women continue to be marginalized and disseminated. To

quote Thong (1997), “*the position of women in the Naga society is comparatively high and they are honoured for their role in the family and majority of the domestic affairs are in her hands...the lady of the house is the last to retire at night and the first to rise long break of the dawn. Much to the similarity of Proverbs 31 that describes the ideal women*”. This rhetoric statement indicates the inherent attitude that is patriarchal by nature and the irony of labelling the status of women in Naga society to be one of ‘high status’ when in fact, objective analysis of gender relations in Naga society clearly suggests that women are subjugated by cultural customs, traditions, norms, value beliefs and conventions.

#### **2.4. Women and work participation**

In recent times, with the development in the state’s employment pattern, the steady increase in female workforce participation in recent times can be observed from the PIMS report (see *annexure III*) which shows that the total female government employees comprised of only 22.46 per cent of the total employees during 2014 which substantially increased to 31.26 per cent in 2021 in different strata of professional hierarchy (Department of Economics and Statistics, Government of Nagaland, 2022-2023). Therefore, this growth in women’s active participation in Nagaland’s public service points to a positive trend showcasing a gradual increase in gender inclusivity and representation in the public sphere of work earlier considered as a male domain.

The growing presence of Naga women in Nagaland’s public service therefore, marks a significant stride towards harnessing the full potential of women and also foster a work environment that values diversity and inclusion of its employees. However, given this development, the efforts to enhance this trend remains a pressing challenge for many working women especially mothers in particular whereby the issues of gender equality and socio-economic development is concerned. With many working mothers in the public service today, the need to address barriers at profession and home is crucial in realizing these aspirations to create a more equitable future for working mothers in Naga society.

The succeeding chapter will provide a detailed account on the issues related to women and work in the Naga society, analysis of the gender division of labour and gender norms in the Naga society and the motivating factors for working mothers to engage in paid profession.

**CHAPTER III**

**STRADDLING TWO WORLDS:**

**NEGOTIATING WORK AND HOME**

## CHAPTER III

### STRADDLING TWO WORLDS: NEGOTIATING WORK AND HOME

#### 3.1. Introduction

Families have been changing, so have places of work, paid work distribution, varied economic opportunities and also the composition of gender at the workplace. Globally, women in the workforce are increasing and today an increasing proportion of the workforce is female as 56 per cent of women make up the workforce worldwide (Skalli, 2007). Women apparently seek employment outside the home for the same reason as men do which is to provide for their welfare, their families or other reasons. But because of their dual role, women are perceived to have heavier responsibilities as compared to men. Suwondo (1981) suggests the 'roles of women' in simple terms as *"firstly, being member of a country in regard to civil rights and politics; it includes fair deal to female labour force participation, also called as external function. Secondly, being a mother in a family and wife in the husband-wife household, also called as internal function"* (cited in Lantara, 2015). These internal and external functions are considered to be intrinsic for many women today, especially for career driven women. In order to do justice to the demands and requirements of both roles working mothers end up having to adapt at managing the dual sided roles. As Cunningham (2005) states, *"Negligence may bring discord in cases where some women prefer one role over the others. If career is preferred, some of them face threat of broken home or if things come to worst, divorce."* Dual earner families are faced with new issues especially with regard to time management challenges as they strive to combine the responsibilities of paid work and care-giving for both children and elderly members in the family. As Dex (2004) states, *"Evidence has been mounting that families are under pressure either from having too much paid work, time poor- money rich, or having too little and insufficient income; time rich – money poor."*

Women have always been regarded as the weaker gender throughout history, even in physical and intellectual capacities. However, as women gradually entered the workforce, they have gained increasingly prestigious positions (Dejong, 2010). In the context of the present study, the traditional Naga society confined women to the drudgery of domestic affairs while the men go out to work. However, today mothers form a substantial part of the government employees in Nagaland as the 2011 Census shows that the work force participation rate for females in Nagaland state stands at 44.7 per cent against 53.4 per cent

for males (Annual Administrative Report 2020-21 of Economics & Statistics department, Nagaland). The role and status of women in the Naga society is therefore transitioning to one where they are participating alongside men in various areas of life. In spite of this fact the notion regarding women's primary place as home makers is still culturally embedded in the Naga society. The present chapter therefore seeks to understand the gender role and division of labour within the Naga household, the motivating factors for the respondents to engage in paid profession and also explore the question of authority over the family's finance and decision-making processes.

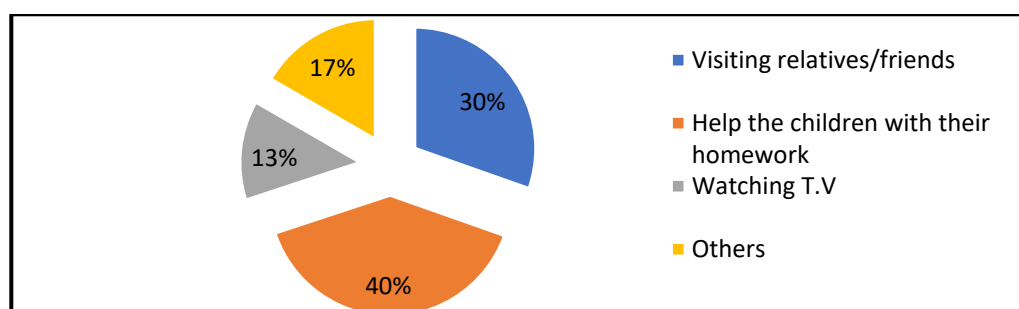
### **3.2. Gender role and division of labour**

Division of labour in most society is believed to be developed along the lines of sex. Historically, although work as an activity is performed by every individual regardless of gender, it is the gendered division of labour which ensures that tasks are assigned largely on the basis of sex. The division of labour is thus conceived as the most fundamental way through which sex-based distinctions are expressed in human societies. Within households the sex-based division of labour is reflected most directly in the differential child-bearing responsibilities for men and women. Wharton (2012) states that, *"Women (and not men) give birth- a biological fact- but women in most societies have primary responsibility for children's care and rearing. Gendered differences in the responsibility for children are an important component of family as a gendered institution, and shape many aspects of women's and men's work and family lives."* The gendered division of labour is one that is culturally created which is seen to work to men's advantage. The family unit is also held as a reproductive ground where patriarchal values are transmitted which in turn create a patriarchal society as Thompson (2014) notes. A similar perspective was also forwarded by Moser (1993) who states that, *"Gender roles are activities assigned to men/women on the basis of presumed differences... It means learned behaviour that determines which activities, tasks and responsibilities are considered male or female, including reproductive, productive, community managing and political functions"*. In the context of the Indian society spheres of adult activities are one that is segregated by gender. Mahapatra (2002) states therefore, *"Ideologically, males are viewed as producers who provide material needs of their women and children; women on the contrary are treated as 'consumers' whose place is in the household and perform socially defined roles of cooking of food and caring of children. The division of work among men and women, rather than being arbitrary, is socially defined."* The division of labour in Naga society is no exception.

### 3.3. Division of labour in Naga household

Even before the advent of Christianity, there was a strict division of labour ascribing particular roles to men and women in Naga society. Though there were no taboo as such against men and women in crossing these clearly defined gender roles, however, doing so was generally viewed as improper and disrupting the general order of the cultural norms. The labour done by women was not seen as less important but in fact was considered crucial for the sustenance of the village community (Lokho, 2017). One persisting feature of the Naga society is the segregation of responsibilities in Naga society where ideologically, males are viewed as the ‘man of the house’ providing for the family’s needs whereas, women are treated as dependents bearing the primary responsibility of childcare and domestic chores. This is an almost ubiquitous phenomenon and Mahapatra (2002) states that the men are assigned the difficult, heavy and arduous tasks where physical strength is required whereas, women are delegated to perform household dominated activities such as cleaning, washing, cooking and childcare which are relatively less arduous but is supplementary and supportive to men-folk. This is reflected even through the leisure activities of the respondents.

#### 3.1. Respondents’ leisure activities



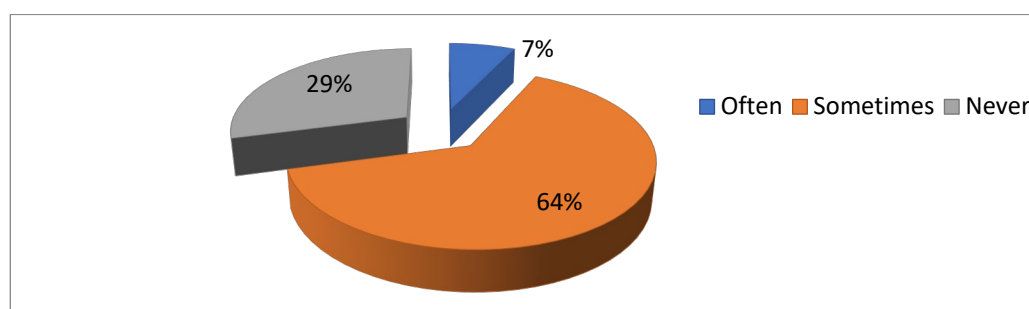
As presented in the figure above, majority of the respondents at 40 per cent help their children with their homework when they are home, 30 per cent visit relatives and friends, 13 per cent spends their leisure time watching TV and for the 17 per cent who chose ‘others’, undertook activities such as gardening, reading, cooking, sewing, taking the children to the park, sightseeing, baking, browsing the internet, engaging in one’s hobby, and spending time with family. It is a clear indication that the leisure activities of the respondents are in most ways related to childcare and nurturing and other household related chores and obligations.

The modern family pattern is not without trauma as Hall and Hall (1979) in their study of dual career families report that the most serious fights among couples occur not in the bedroom but in the kitchen, between couples who profess a commitment to equality but who find actually implementing it difficult (cited in Skolnick & Skolnick, 1989). Other



studies of the unequal division of household resources also show that women have a lesser share in the consumption of the household goods in contrast to men which ranges from food to leisure time (Deem, 1986; Pahl, 1983; Delphy, 1978). And as women in Naga society increasingly enter the labour market, it is pertinent to explore whether the division of labour becomes more fluid, or whether it results in conflict. 64 per cent of the respondents in the current study reportedly came into conflict with their husbands over division of housework, 29 per cent responded they never got into any conflict while 7 per cent respondents got into conflict very often with their spouse over division of housework.

**Fig.3.2. Spousal conflict over division of housework**



Majority of the respondents who got into conflict with the spouse very often were found to be between the 30 to 50 years of age who are employed in lower grade IV posts. On the basis of working hours, 72 per cent of the respondents spend 5 to 8 hours daily at work and 64 per cent of the respondents spend more than 4 hours doing household chores daily. Most of them have children under the age of 5. One may surmise that factors for frequent conflict with the spouse over division of housework is correlated to the long working hours and the presence of children under the age of 5 who requires hands-on attention. Therefore, the data suggests that the most significant variables for the respondents to get in conflict with their spouses over division of housework is found to be the respondents' age, working hours and age of the children. This finding corroborates the prevailing gendered division of labour in Naga society where the mother is ascribed the primary responsibility of work in the household and in instances where the spouse does housework, it is seen as '*helping*' instead of '*doing*' household chores. Additionally, even from the children's interviews it was found that majority of the children confirmed that their mother took care of most household chores in addition to helping the children with their homework.

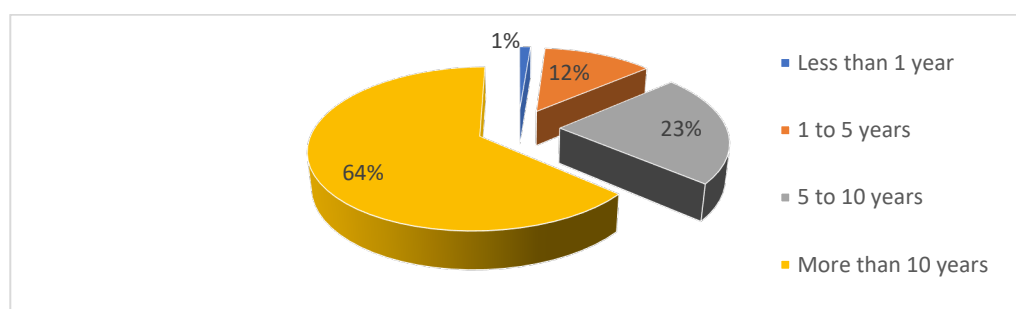
Regardless of age, majority of the respondents who experienced conflict over division of housework were found to be employed in Grade IV jobs which corresponds to a study by

Raver (2003) who found that women who held lower rung jobs experience more negativity when it comes to the parenting styles. Considering that income increase is a really positive factor that leads to better mental health of the family unit in the long term, low wage jobs may not benefit the family unit materially or economically. These factors can have an effect on the parenting style in working mothers. While the husbands in dual earning families may increasingly contribute to household chores, the respondents still shoulder primary care giving responsibilities at home. This prompts the present research to look into the motivating factors that propel Naga women into the labour force.

### 3.4. Women and work: motivating factors

The instinct of work prepares individuals to work, at least for sustenance of self, family or personal reasons. Individuals thus have to work in order to maintain what they consider to be their level of subsistence. The transfer of male-female relations into the public space is very important as through this the concealing of gender-based discrimination becomes much more difficult and this issue therefore is deemed crucial in combating poverty and promoting holistic development. Before exploring the motivating factors for working, an attempt was made to know the extent of work experience of the respondents in years. It was found that a substantial number of respondents at 64 per cent had work experience of more than 10 years, 23 per cent had been working between 5 to 10 years, 12 per cent of the respondents had work experience of 1 to 5 years while only 1 percent had less than 1 year of work experience as presented in fig.3.3.

**Fig.3.3. Work experience of the respondents in years**



On the rationale for engaging in paid profession of working mothers being one of the objectives of the present study, respondents were provided with six (6) factors that motivated them to engage in paid work outside the home and were asked to rank the factors in terms of importance to them: 1 being the most important and 6 being the least important. The motivating factors for working provided were financial self-sufficiency, self-esteem and self-respect, to improve standard of living, to supplement family income, to utilize

educational qualifications and parental pressure. The top ranked factor for seeking employment by the respondents was found to be ‘financial self-sufficiency’ at 20.81 per cent, followed by ‘self-esteem and self-respect’ at 20.04 per cent.

**Table 3.1 Motivating factors for working**

Sl. No	Motivating factors for working	Percentage
1	Financial self-sufficiency	20.81
2	Self-esteem and self-respect	20.04
3	Supplementing family income	19.54
4	To improve standard of living	17.14
5	Utilization of educational qualifications	15.24
6	Parental pressure	7.18
	Total	100

Employment may have various meanings to different people, especially in the context of the working mothers in this study. To some it may be seen as a financial necessity, obligation, and even a burden, while for others it may be a pleasurable experience and an opportunity to fulfil one's own capability or potential. In the analysis of power by Kabeer (1999) she has talked about the positive sense of the agency of ‘power to’, which according to her refers to *“people's capacity to define their own life-choices and to pursue their own goals, even in the face of opposition from others.”* In a related study Kabeer (2005) further posits that, *“One way of thinking about power is in terms of the ability to make choices. To be disempowered means to be denied choice, while empowerment refers to the processes by which those who have been denied the ability to make choices acquire such ability. In other words, empowerment entails change. People who exercise a great deal of choice in their lives may be very powerful, but they are not empowered, in the sense in which I use the term, because they were never disempowered in the first place.”* Given the cultural context of the Naga society where men hold the decision-making authority, perhaps the choice of the women to work outside the home (private domain) can be seen as the strategic need of the respondents to achieve the status of being ‘empowered women’ or ‘empowered working mothers’ in a society that limits the role women to a homemaker first, before considered as a professional worker. How then are the respondents by going out of the home to work, able to fulfil self's definition of an empowered working mother? As an NGO activist cited in Batliwala (1993) puts it, *“I like the term empowerment because no one has defined it clearly yet; so, it gives*

*us a breathing space to work it out in action terms before we have to pin ourselves down to what it means.*” Therefore, an evaluation of the motivating factors for being in paid employment from the respondents’ perspective is elucidated in the following sections.

### **3.4. A. Financial self-sufficiency**

Mothers in full-time employment are under researched yet, their continuous engagement in full-time employment emerges as being presented with opportunities for enhancing women's stand in the labour force and furthering assistance in promoting their security for a lifetime. Liberal feminists see this as a means for women to achieve advancement (Cooke & Gash, 2007). From table 3.1, financial self-sufficiency emerges as the top motivating factor for the respondents to engage in paid work at 20.81 per cent. This fact is consistent with existing literature which shows that the primary reason mothers go out to work is economic which has not changed since the seventies (Martin & Roberts, 1984; Harkness, Machin & Waldfogel, 1995). Paid work outside the home as a strategic means for women’s economic independence in the context of the Naga society is reflected in a quote of a 32 year old teacher who says, *“I wanted to be a government school teacher because even though my husband is also in the government service, I wanted to be financially self-dependent so that I can have the freedom to make use of my savings howsoever and whenever I want.”* Reiterating the same, a female organization leader Chubasangla Longkumer is stated, *“When we look at the family structures, we are not deprived of any right, we are liberated, but when it comes to political representation or economic empowerment, we are far behind. Economic independence of a woman will pave the way for her empowerment in many other aspects of her life, so that’s our focus now”* (cited in Longkumer, 2019). Therefore, the ‘choice’ to work outside home for the purpose of financial self-sufficiency for majority of the respondents can be perceived as one of the indicators among many that fulfils the respondents’ definition of self-empowerment and thereby, challenge the traditional gender role of women as a mere home maker.

### **3.4. B. Self-esteem and self-respect**

Self-esteem as a term was first coined by William James in 1890. In psychological term, self-esteem or self-worth is seen as *“a person’s subjective appraisal of self to be either intrinsically positive or negative”* (Sedikides & Gregg, 2003). The ability to assess oneself accurately and still accept and value oneself unconditionally is seen to be healthy self-esteem. By this, it means to be able to realistically acknowledge one’s strengths while at the same time accepting self as worthy and worthwhile without conditions or reservations

(Johnson & Ferguson, 1991). Self-esteem and self-respect came next to financial self-sufficiency as a motivating factor for them to engage in paid profession at 20.04 per cent. In light of this, a 36 year old assistant professor says, *“After my PhD, I was employed as an assistant professor in a government college. Though demands from home do interfere with my profession most times, I am enjoying my profession as it builds up my confidence and self-respect, and earn respect from my peers and colleagues. Yes, my self-esteem has definitely gone up from the time when I was unemployed.”* A study by Sachdeva & Malhotra (2001) found that work enhances the self-esteem of women and working women were found to have higher self-esteem as compared to homemakers which the authors attributed to the fact that these women would have something positive such as higher status or economic independence by working outside the home. A similar finding has also been seen in the work of Park (2000) and Flammer (1990) who concluded that professional working women have higher gratification than housewives, were found to enjoy more in their job and developed a feeling of self-worth.

#### **3.4. C. Supplementing family income**

Engels (1972) initially proposed a connection between women’s employment and their liberation when he posited that women’s inferior position in society was accredited to their economic oppression in society. The economic oppression of women because of legal inequality has been noted by Sharma (1990) who states that *“Economic subordination stems from the dependence of the wife on her husband's earnings and the privatisation of the services she renders in the household.”* Established studies hold that mothers’ employed status was found to benefit children by improving the family’s income and also in better disciplining of work behaviour and better structure of family routines (Poduval & Poduval, 2009). Similarly, mothers who work full-time at the societal level were found to contribute to minimising the pay gap between men and women (Kanji, 2011). In the context of the present study, ‘supplementing family income’ was the third cited motivating factor to work outside the home. A 39 year old respondent employed as an (LDA) says, *“After my studies, I wanted to work as a white collared worker not only for my financial independence which is the first factor for working for me, but also to be a source in maximizing my family’s income, especially saving for our future and children’s future.”* From this narration, the respondents’ motivation to go out of the home to work is perceived firstly, as a liberating step for the respondents in empowering themselves as most respondents viewed themselves as primary earners in dual-earning families; being equal contributors along with husband

regardless of income was important to them, than simply concluding that the respondents' working outside the home is merely a means to 'supplement the husband's income'.

#### **3.4. D. To improve standard of living**

According to Nickell and Dorsey (1951) family Income can be simply defined as "*the stream of money, goods, services and satisfactions that come under the control of the family, to be used by them to satisfy needs and desires and to discharge obligations.*" Improving the standard of living comes fourth in order of importance for working outside the home. For a woman to go out of the home and engage in full-time paid employment whilst also attempting to fulfil motherhood duties is a challenging task. Many mothers feel the need to be able to contribute to the family's income but also to be able to contribute in improving the family's lifestyle. This feeling could be discerned in the statement of a 31 year old respondent who said, "*Being a career woman, I am happy that I am able to buy all the latest facilities to upgrade my home and also my parent's home with my own earnings. This gives me so much joy and motivates me to work harder every day.*" Another narrative is of a 44 year old teacher who stated her elevation in social status once she got into paid employment: "*Now that I am earning a decent income, I can also keep up with my competitive neighbours and friends and who are always up to date with the latest appliances at home.*" One sees here an element of upward social mobility associated with the phenomenon of engaging in full time work for respondents. Working mothers are not only able to support themselves and their dependents, able to supplement the family income but additionally, achieve a decent standard of living, perceived in relation to 'others' who seem to occupy a higher position in the socio-economic ladder.

#### **3.4. E. Utilization of educational qualifications**

The introduction of modern education has enlightened women, enhanced their self-consciousness and awareness for emancipation and liberation. In the present study, a majority of the respondents are graduates at 42.71 per cent and 30.41 per cent are postgraduates and above. Seeking paid employment becomes almost a corollary of the high educational qualification to utilize one's professional trainings and achieve professional goals. This is reflected in a statement by a 35 year old respondent who says, "*After my postgraduate studies, I wanted to work in the state public service because I did not want all my hard work, resources and my educational qualification to go to waste. In being a working mother, I also want to teach my children the importance of utilizing one's area of expertise and being responsible people in society.*" Education enables women to gain control over

their lives and brings about changes in power relationships within and outside the household, including less tolerance to domestic violence (Sen, 1999). Further, educated women even those who have access to secondary education had enhanced capacity to exercise control and also helped in enhancing their self-esteem, literacy and numeracy skills (Ibid). Similar findings were also recorded in rural Bangladesh by Schuler *et. al.* (1996). However, there are also limitations to educations as a route to empowerment as the prevailing educational system in Indian school curriculum that mirrors wider gender inequalities, gender stereotyping such as portraying girls as modest, shy, caring and calm while boys are seen as brave, strong and ambitious in the text books which thereby, reinforces traditional gender roles in society. Education can thus, even serve as an agency to internalize gender roles in society especially for women in poorer countries. Some studies suggest the changes associated with education are likely to be conditioned by the context in which it is provided and the social relationships that these changes embody and promotes. For instance, Kabeer (2005) notes, *“in societies characterised by extreme forms of gender inequality, women's role in society is defined purely in reproductive terms, education is seen in terms of equipping girls to be better wives and mothers, or increasing their chances of getting a suitable husband. These are legitimate aspirations, given the realities of the society. However, they do little to equip girls and women to question the world around them, and the subordinate status assigned to them.”*

#### **3.4. F. Parental pressure**

Parental pressure is the emotional stress that parents supposedly impose on their children and frequently associated with academic performance, cultural and social standards and other factors. In the context of the present study, parental pressure can be understood as the pressure from the parents on the respondents to seek employment in government service, to acquire societal standing as being unemployed is considered as an undesirable state especially for people with high educational qualifications. Goffman (1963) states *“The unemployed have been identified as a possibly psychologically stigmatized social group.”* The present study however, found that ‘parental pressure’ was not a significant factor for engaging in paid work by the respondents as this factor was ranked last in the list of motivating factors.

Furthermore, there was a rather distinct narrative from a 45 year old respondent that departs from the above listed motivating factors for seeking paid employment. The respondent said, *“I think it is essential to keep one’s brain active or busy which I’d like to*

*believe is basically to keep your brain working consistently just like body muscles which needs regular exercises to get stronger. Once when I was on a long leave, I realised that I was becoming very lazy and passive. What I am trying to say is that in my case, I had the feeling that by spending my days at home relaxing turned me into a less lively and moody person.*” Couzy (2012) had noted that many women work not only because of wanting to work but more specifically because of their need to work. By ‘need’, she describes it as one which has more to do with mental health than financial and as such, work activities are perceived as beneficial for the brain’s overall health.

Kabeer (1999) talks about the ‘*consequences of choice*’ which is seen in terms of the need to distinguish between strategic life choices. She has also evaluated the consequences of choice in terms of their transformatory significance, which according to her is “*the extent to which the choices made have the potential for challenging and destabilizing social inequalities and the extent to which they merely express and reproduce those inequalities.*” Likewise, the consequences from one’s choice to seek paid employment has in turn, inescapable consequences when it challenges the gender division of labour in cultures where rigid gender norms persist. Consequently, “*whether a mother works out of financial compulsion, a desire for self-fulfilment or to supplement the family’s income, in all of these three instances, she is a working mother, but the implications of her situation are different*” as Poduval and Poduval (2009) contends. Skalli (2007) also stated that the key importance of paid work to women is that it brings them financial independence, takes them outside the family home and thereby challenges the traditional sex-based division of labour. The social and economic motivations that drive women to work such that one can strive to succeed in maintaining one’s personal identity, add pattern to one’s life and also to have interpersonal ties to the wider social structure remain the significant motivating factors for women to engage in paid employment today. Earning their own wage has enabled women to become more financially independent while in the process, builds their self-esteem, self-respect and self-confidence. These are in fact, seen as crucial accomplishments for women living in strong patriarchal cultures like the Naga society.

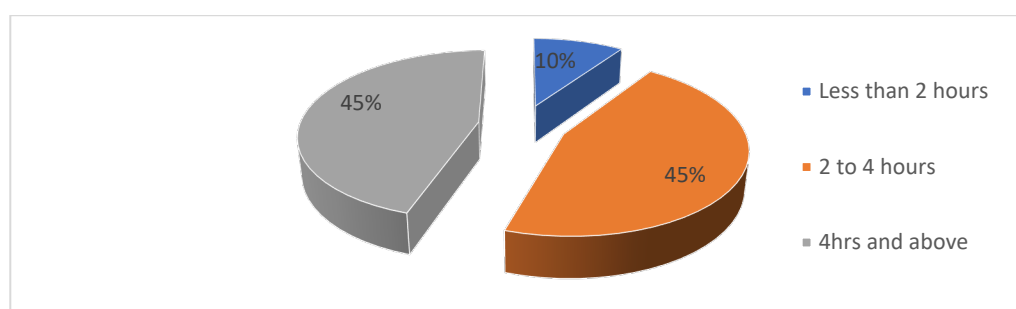
### **3.5. Duration of daily work hours**

According to the International Labour Organization (ILO), ‘working hours’ is the period during which an employee is available for employment including short breaks allowed to an employee by agreement for rest and fresh air other than the breaks provided. Long working hours is recognized as working for a length of time which exceeds standard working hours.



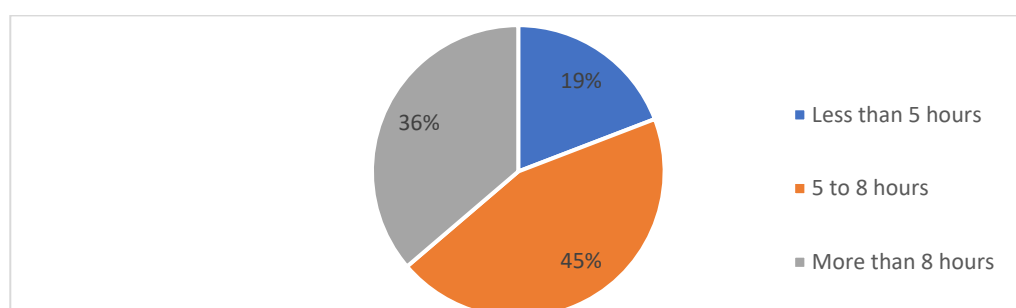
The definition of standard working hours however, may differ from country to country. For instance, in the Indian public service the standard working hours is time is usually 8 to 10 hours daily and weekly working hours is capped at 50 to 60 including overtime (Labour and employment, 2022). The present study required the evaluation of the working hours of the respondents on a daily basis which would include the time respondents spend on household chores daily and the duration of time the respondents spend at the workplace inclusive of travel timing.

**Fig.3.4. Time spent by working mothers on household chores daily**



As presented in the fig.3.4 above, almost half of the respondents at 45 per cent spend more than 4 hours on household chores on a daily basis while another 45 per cent of the respondents spend 2 to 4 hours on household chores. Only 10 per cent of the respondents are seen to spend less than 2 hours on the daily chores. Along with the time spent daily on household chores, the respondents were also queried on the duration of working hours at workplace every working day inclusive of travel timing. For 45 per cent of the respondents, the duration of working hours including commuting to and from work is between 5 to 8 hours daily, for 36 per cent it is more than 8 hours, while for 19 per cent of the respondents it is less than 5 hours (fig. 3.5).

**Fig.3.5. Duration of working hours at workplace including travel timing**



Taking into account the number of working hours at the workplace in addition to the time spent doing household chores, it can be estimated that many working mothers spend more than 12 hours working. In spite of the fact that total working hours may be becoming equal

for many married men and women, there still exists a significant sexual division of labour as Levitan and Belous (1981) found in their study which is in tandem with data from the present study which reveals that almost half of the respondents are engaged doing household chores for more than 4 hours daily even when they spend more than 8 hours at the workplace. Wherever working hours are concerned, it is pertinent to look into the concept of 'housework' which remains an area of much debate and discourse in feminist studies. Housework is not considered to be productive work and it is done within the home, unpaid for and unaccounted for, not done through the market where it can be remunerated (Delphy, 1978; Kaluzynska, 1980). Costa and James (1973) also argued that housework is unpaid work wherein it covers all the work that women do to for themselves and their families. Because of the existing traditional gender norms that are dominant in the Naga society, respondents in the present study are seen to conform to the existing social and cultural norms that dictates the behaviour of individuals in society.

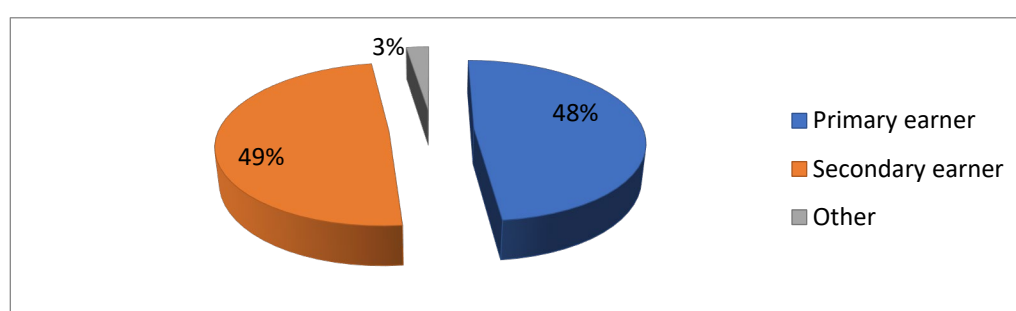
### **3.6. Women as provider: type of earner**

In the definition of gender boundaries, a fundamental distinction lies in the question of the provider and caregiver role (Potuchek, 1997). Earlier it was elucidated by Parsons and Bales (1956) when he talked about the structural differentiation between instrumental and expressive roles in the family where women are involved in the bearing/nursing of children (expressive), and the men are involved with the provision of resources such as food, clothing, shelter, decision making and family management (instrumental). However, feminist scholars rule out this view and one such example is drawn from Middleton's work (1974) who argued that, "*in academic sociology, the view that female activity in the home as essentially cultural has often been associated with a denial of the proposition that women do in fact constitute a subordinate group at all*". Though Parsons has acknowledged women working outside the home, the economic implications of women working outside the home in paid employment has been completely ignored since women's role still continued to be defined in expressive terms. For women to be recognised as breadwinners is not simply derived from their economic contribution but is perceived more as a matter of symbolic negotiation, according to Hood (1986). Regardless of the earnings in the family, men are seen as the provider while women are not always considered breadwinners even on instances where women earn more than the spouse or equivalent to the spouse (Potuchek, 1997). Women in the traditional Naga society have been marginalized in the public domain considered to be a male domain for ages. The transition from the ascribed traditional role of women as caregivers or nurturers to

their role as economic agents in society has challenged the traditional stereotype of gender ideology.

In multi-earner families, the *primary* or the *main earner* is the person in the household with the highest earnings from work and the *second earner* is usually referred to as the employed partner of the primary earner, with the second highest earnings in the household (Tamayo & Popova, 2021). With the emerging role of women as providers, it was crucial to examine this aspect. Hence, a question was posed on whether the respondents perceived themselves as primary or secondary earner in the family.

**Fig.3.6. Type of earner**



Almost half of the respondents at 48 per cent perceived themselves to be primary earners in the family while an almost equal number of respondents at 49 per cent stated they were secondary earners. A small section of respondents at 3 per cent did not identify themselves as either primary or secondary earner. Out of the respondents who saw themselves to be primary earners in the family, 58 per cent rationalised it to be so as they earned more than their spouses and so managed the family's major expenses. Another 18 per cent of respondents stated that they are primary earners in the family as they considered themselves as equal contributors or co-breadwinners with their spouse. Majority of these respondents shared equal educational qualifications as their spouse and also included a few respondents whose educational level was higher than their spouses'. This points to the role of education as a key determinant in elevating the perception of women as 'empowered' in the study context. Education has enabled the respondents to be aware of their rights, realize their self-worth, pursue a career outside the home and contribute to the family's income. 24 per cent of respondents who stated that they are primary earners in the family were found to be single earners in the family comprising largely widows, some divorced respondents, and a few respondents whose spouse had retired.

In traditional households, the value of resources contributed to the family by the husband far exceeds those made by the wife and accordingly, husbands are the ones who tend to dominate

in household decisions (Oh, 1992). However, when wives are employed and generate their own income, this situation is said to be altered. Several other studies also found the wives' employment as an important factor that increases their participation in the family's decision-making process and thereby, influencing the family's household decisions (Strober & Weinberg, 1977; Spiro, 1983; Weinberg & Winer, 1983; Hesse-Biber & Williamson, 1984; Shukla & Kapoor, 1990). Respondents who perceived themselves as secondary earners did so based on the ground that their spouses earned more than them and took major responsibility for household expenses. It affirms that when husbands earn more than the wife in dual earner families, the decision-making authority remains asymmetrical in the family in favour of the male.

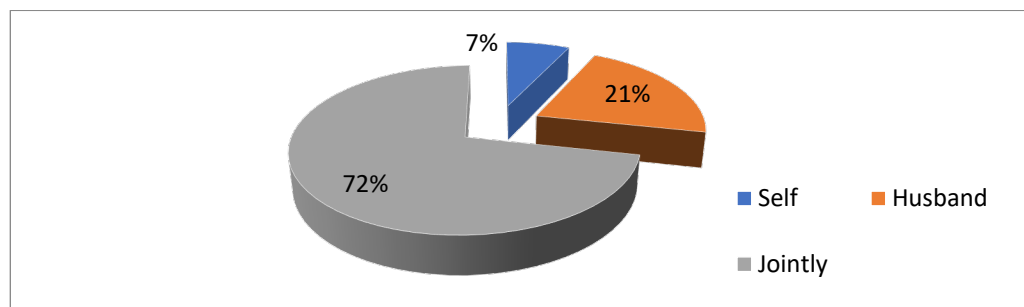
The question of who earns more is however not the only determinant for unequal decision-making power in the household. Cultural ideology of family authority structure was found to be at play too. The case of a Grade IV police personnel who shared the same profession as well as equal income as her spouse stated that her husband was the primary earner in the family because "*he was the head of the family*". This is a clear manifestation of the internationalization of gender norms that continue to determine gender relations in Naga society notwithstanding the entry of women into the labour force. In light of the data discussed above, the significant variables for respondents' perception of themselves as either primary or secondary earner in the family was found to be the educational qualification and level of income of respondents and spouses. Therefore, one may surmise that as women increasingly attain high level of education and become financially independent it brings about relative changes in gender relations within the family structure. This crucial aspect of the significant role of education and income generation in influencing the gender relations in the family structure has been further discussed in the following sections on the decision-making aspect in the family.

### **3.7. Decision making in family**

The household decision making framework can be generally attributed to economist Gary Becker (1965) who sees all individuals in the family as having a common interest he termed as "household utility function" and the goal of all family members is to advance the family interest to maximize the overall family welfare. With regard to decision making in the family, the roles played by husbands and wives has been one of the areas of concerns for sociologists (Safilios-Rothschild, 1967). Blood and Wolfe (1960) in their 'resource theory' contended that the responsibility of decision making corresponds to the spouse who can

provide the resource necessary to satisfy the needs of the other spouse (cited in Qualls, 1987). To understand the decision-making aspect in the family, one can begin by exploring the ‘major’ decision making aspect in the family which relates to choices that have a significant impact on the family’s direction or the lives of the family members. These decisions may involve aspects like moving to a new house, choosing a new school or college for the children or purchasing a car. In the context of the Naga family, traditionally the father is considered as the head of the family and hence the responsibility of major decision-making rests in his hands, while the wife is usually in charge of smaller decision-making choices that affect day to day life but may not have far reaching consequences, such as, selecting dinner menu, planning weekend leisure activities, deciding household routines which are basically monotonous and repetitive in nature. With many dual earning families today, the question of major decision-making authority in the family becomes a crucial aspect to ascertain. The respondents were hence queried on who takes the major decisions in the family, to which 72 per cent of the respondents responded that they took major decision jointly along with their spouses while 21 per cent of the respondents said the husband takes the major decision. Just 7 per cent of the respondents stated that they took independent decisions on their own.

**Fig.3.7. Decision making in the family**



Of those respondents who stated that their husbands took the major decision making in the family, it was found that there were more ‘secondary earners’ in this category. Therefore, one may rationalize their response on the basis that their spouse’s income is more so the husband makes all the major decisions in the household. While a majority of the respondents who stated that they took major decisions on their own were self-identified ‘primary earners’ with either no living spouse or who were divorced. Apart from widows and divorcees respondents, the rest were found to be working women whose husbands were employed in the private sector and earned less than them. This point to the importance of economic empowerment as a crucial factor that could elevate women’s decision-making ability within the household as well as in the larger society. One can relate this vital aspect to the ‘resource

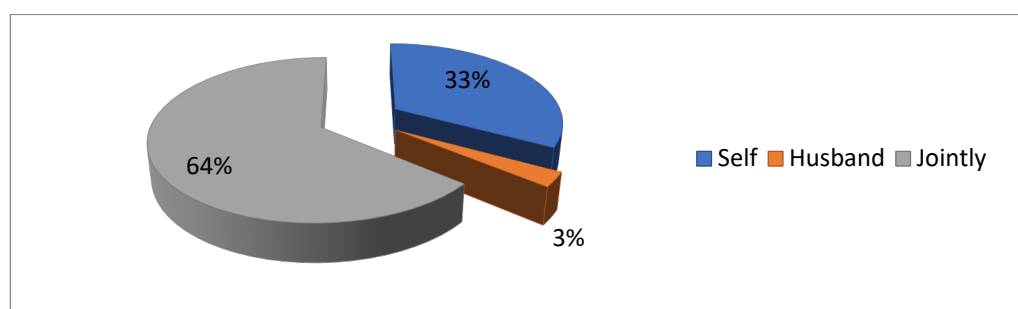
theory' by Blood and Wolfe (1960) who stated that power in the family is based upon the resources of a person as opposed to the 'ideological theory' that regards tradition as the basis of power. Granbois (1974) also noted that decision making in the family is done jointly and is more likely *"the more nearly equal the contribution of resources such as income, education and social participation by husbands and wives"* (cited in Jenkins, 1980). An insight by Scanzoni and Szinovacz (1980) also emphasizes the relationship between sex role and power when they opined, *"the more sex-role egalitarian the couple, the greater the likelihood of symmetrical power and satisfactory outcomes."* Therefore, when the power of decision making in the public sphere of Naga society clearly lies in the hands of the men, it is imperative to look into the discourse of 'power relations' in the family. In family and gender studies, it is crucial to understand how families function as a unit to make decisions regarding finance, lifestyle choices, academic and career choices or parenting preferences, which all come under the concept of 'family power'. This is articulated by Safilios-Rothschild (1967) as *"the bases of family power are a reflection of culturally defined gender ideologies and gender-segregated resources in the wider society in which a family is embedded."* In the context of power relations in the Naga family structure, one can perceive it is as a reflection of the prevailing dominance of the patriarchal ethos that has legitimate power which has seeped its influence over all spheres in the Naga social structure.

### **3.8. Women and budget management**

In seeking to understand women's access to resource and financial decision making in the family, one can draw from Pahl's (1983) typology of household "allocative systems" namely the "whole wage" system where one partner usually the wife is responsible for management and expenditure of all household money except the partner's spending money; the "allowance system" where the primary earner (usually the husband) retains control of his earning but hands over a set amount to cover specific expenditures; the "shared management" or pooling system where both partners have equal access and responsibility to all the household money and expenditure and lastly, the "independent management" system where each partner keeps their income separately and neither has access to all household money and each is responsible for specific expenditures (cited in Kenny, 2006). Subsequently, further refinements on this typology were developed to distinguish pooling systems from "joint" pooling systems (Pahl, 1990; Vogler & Pahl, 1993) and "partial pooling" (where each partner puts only a proportion of their income into a common pot for household expenditures while they keep the rest) from either independent management or

fully pooled systems (Pahl, 2004; Vogler, 2005). In the Indian context, it may be noted that in most of the family structures it is “*the patriarch or the matriarch (in matrilineal systems) of the family or the karta in the case of joint families, who has the responsibility and authority to manage assets take key decisions*” (Ramachandran & Antony, 2020). The management of income in the family was explored in the study context wherein it emerged that 64 per cent of the respondents manage the budget jointly with the husband while 33 per cent of them managed the budget on their own. A small section of the respondents at 3 per cent said the family budget is managed by the husband.

**Fig.3.8. Family budget management**



It clearly indicates that although the Naga society is patriarchal, most of the respondents take decisions jointly with their husbands on financial matters. This situation corresponds to Pahl’s (1983) “shared management” or joint pooling system where both partners contribute their income into a common pot for household use and controlled equally by both partners. An in-depth examination of the respondents who took financial decisions on their own reveals that the highest number of respondents were found to perceive themselves as primary earners in the family on the ground that they are “*equal contributors with husband*” and “*both earners are important*”. Increases in women’s labour force participation has been associated with the weakening of norms that favours redistribution among partners within households or a strengthening of beliefs in the entitlement of the individual earner to control one’s own earning (Kenny, 2006). Pahl (2004) had also posited that more individualistic norms regarding money are unlikely to be a problem and may in fact increase autonomy when individual incomes are close to equal.

The level of education is also a crucial determinant impinging on the decision-making capacity of women. This can be discerned through the fact that respondents who took joint decisions with their husbands were mostly graduates and above. An earlier study by Oropesa (1997) had also concluded that wives with higher education were equal to their husbands when it comes to family power and also derived more satisfaction by being able to

have influence in the family. There were also respondents who were single earners in this category. Self-perception of oneself as ‘primary earners’ in the family was found to be strongly correlated to the ability of respondents to take joint decisions with their spouse on financial matters.

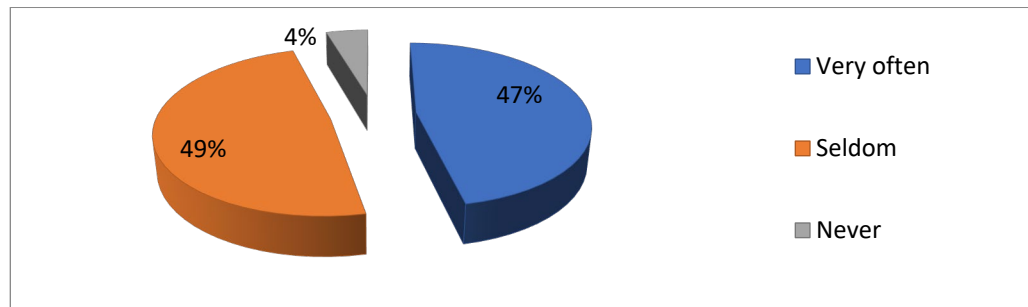
In reference to the miniscule category of respondents whose husbands made all financial decisions in the family, income level is seen to be a significant determinant as their spouses was found to make higher incomes. Significantly, most of them were the same respondents who had stated that their husbands took the major decisions in the family (fig.3.7). Blumstein & Schwartz (1983) found that when husbands made substantially more income than their spouse, they were more likely to exert greater power in financial decision-making in comparison to husbands who made about the same income as their spouse. Similarly, Sharma (1986) states that women's employment outside the home helped in increasing women's opportunity to be more knowledgeable about wages thereby noting that, *“it would be hard therefore for husbands to throw a veil of mystery around the family finances in order to exercise control over their wives”*. This can be supplemented by Blood and Wolfe's (1960) argument that *“power is apportioned between husbands and wives based on the relative resources that each contributed to the family.”* However, it may be noted that sociologists have criticised resource theory for pointing out that income, occupation, and education are the only three among the many resources that are seen to influence family power. Consequently, to assume that education is the sole variable influencing the decision-making ability of working mothers is an aspect that requires more dialogue.

### **3.9. Spill-over between the worlds of work and home**

‘Spill-over’ is the generalization of behaviour, emotions, attitudes, or stress of one life domain to another life domain (Wilensky, 1960; Geurts & Demeruti, 2003). In the context of the present study, spill-over is implied as a phenomenon wherein the stress experienced in the private domain ‘spills over’ into the public domain or vice versa which leads to stress or strain for the working mother. In terms of role theory, this spill-over can emanate from work to family and from family to work (Kahn & Byosiore, 1992) whereas, in terms of role-conflict, it can occur from work-to-family conflict and from family-to-work conflict (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). In order to understand the intrusion of profession into home or the ‘spill-over’ effects, the respondents were asked how often they found themselves stressing about their professional work when they were at home.



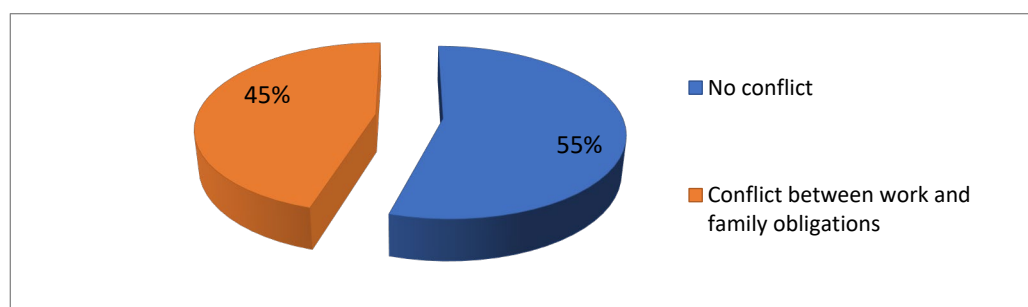
**Fig.3.9. Stressing over work at home**



49 per cent of the respondents stated to '*seldom*' stress over work at home. On the contrary, almost half of the respondents at 47 per cent responded that '*very often*' stress over work even at home. A small section of respondents at 4 per cent stated that they '*never*' think of work when at home. It was found that majority of respondents who worry and stress often over work while at home belong to the higher positions in the occupation hierarchy (Grade I category). A substantial number of the respondents were from the teaching profession followed by respondents in administration, technical, clerical, police, banking and law professions. As a general rule, those who occupy the highest position in the professional hierarchy often shoulder more responsibilities and duties. Alongside the privileges, prestige and power comes heavier mental stress as well which could account for the spill-over effect of profession into the home front for the respondents in Grade I professions. Hence, for this particular issue, the level of employment status and nature of profession is an important determinant.

Given the above findings, the respondents were then queried on whether they experience conflict between work and family obligations. Contrary to popular perception, 55 per cent of the respondents stated that they do not experience conflict between work and family obligations while 45 per cent of the respondents stated to face conflict as a result of work and family obligations.

**Fig.3.10. Conflict between work and family obligations**

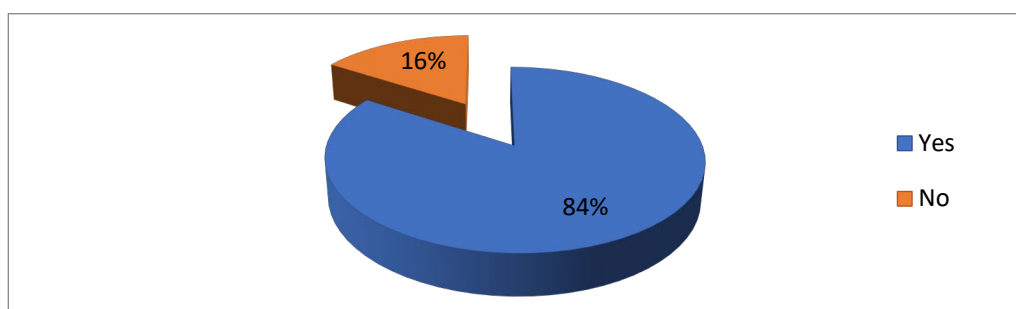


Most of the respondents at 45 per cent who experienced conflict between work and family obligations belong to the age group 30 to 40 years who are employed in lower Grade

positions. There were also a substantial number of respondents in teaching, police, clerical and technical professions and a notable common feature to these respondents was the fact that majority of these respondents had children under the age of 5. Older respondents aged 40 to 60 years who admitted to work-home conflict largely belong to Grade I level, from professions like teaching, technical, police and clerical. Only a few from this segment of respondents had children under the age of 5. For this category of respondents one can surmise that the significant variable for work-family conflict was the level in the occupational hierarchy.

An effort was made to find out if the respondents could combine profession and family in concordance. ‘Concordance’ is derived from the Latin word *concordans* which means "being of one mind." In simple terms, when things are in concordance, it is said to be in agreement or in harmony. Therefore, in the context of the present study, ‘concordance between work and profession’ can be understood as the harmonious combination of work and profession demands. To the query on whether there can be concordance between work and home, a large proportion of the respondents at 84 per cent of the respondents responded in affirmative. Only 18 per cent disagreed that there can be concordance between work and home.

**Fig.3.11. Concordance of profession and family**



Most of the respondents who stated that they could not combine work and family in concordance were found to be Grade III employees, mostly police personnels followed by few respondents in teaching, clerical, technical, administration and medical professions. A significant point to note in this case is that, all the respondents in Grade III professions who did not concur to the concordance of profession and family had children under the age of 5. There were also a high number of respondents in Grade IV posts employed as office attendants followed by respondents in technical, clerical, medical and teaching profession. For the respondents between the age of 40 to 60 years, majority of the respondents were

employed in grade I profession in teaching and administrative posts and for those in that age group, small children were not an issue as none of them had children below the age of 5. The cited reasons for lack of concordance were such as, “*cannot combine work and family*”, “*cannot compromise and sacrifice one role for the other*”, “*two different worlds- each with its stress and strains*”, “*new regulations at work makes it difficult to attend to family demands*” and “*two equally demanding worlds so cannot balance work and family harmoniously*”. In this regard, reference can be made to Parsons (1954) who contended that occupational system coexists with a strong institutional emphasis on the ties of kinship which is why there is a contradictory relationship between the occupational system and the kinship system and therefore, is a source of disharmony. Juxtaposing the data of fig.3.10 and fig.3.11 with regard to the conflict between work and family obligations and concordance of profession and family, it was found that 75 per cent of respondents who had said that there was conflict between work and family obligations (refer fig.3.10) were able to combine work and family in concordance (refer fig.3.11). Notwithstanding the conflict between the worlds of work and home, a majority of the respondents concurs to a state of concordance between family and profession. This situation has been addressed by Parsons (1954) through his view that families have developed in such a way to minimise the strain between the kinship system and the occupational system, being a contradicting relationship. He says thus, “*The conjugal family with dependent children, which is the dominant unit in our society, is, of all types of kinship unit, the one which is probably the least exposed to strain and possible breaking-up by the dispersion of its members both geographically and with respect to stratification in the modern type of occupational hierarchy.*” Along the same lines Mahapatra (2002) identified the internal structure developed by conjugal families which has adapted to the occupational system’s functional requirements. Therefore, in an attempt to make sense of this apparently contradictory situation, it was imperative to explore further regarding the ways by which respondents mediate the conflict situation. Majority of the respondents cited efficient time management, prioritizing one role over the other in terms of importance (family demands happened to be the first priority), having an understanding spouse and children, delegating childcare to relatives, requesting for job transfer to one’s hometown, having a positive mindset, and availing leave from office, among others. The respondents have therefore, adopted certain coping strategies to circumvent situations of conflict on account of their dual role, the coping strategies the respondents use for preventing spill-over effects. Therefore, the significant role of coping strategies in balancing the role conflict of the respondents will be further discussed in chapter five. In the succeeding chapter, the nature of role conflict of

the respondents as a consequence of the conflicting domains of work and family, the sources of role conflict and the challenges faced by the respondents will be further explored.

**CHAPTER IV**

**NATURE OF ROLE CONFLICT IN NAGA**

**SOCIETY**

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **NATURE OF ROLE CONFLICT IN NAGA SOCIETY**

#### **4.1. Introduction**

Gender norms and gender roles play an important role in maintaining unequal equation between men and women as they provide the ideology about what men and women should be like. Women who take up multiple roles conform to conflicts between work and family spheres as the activities of both spheres demand time and energy. Gani and Ara (2010) posits that when a housewife enters into gainful employment outside the home, she finds herself under increasing pressure in trying to reconcile the dual burden of both roles as each role requires full-time commitment. As elucidated in the preceding sections, contemporary working mothers in Naga society are highly educated, financially independent, and apparently participate jointly with their spouses in intra-household decision-making. However, in spite of this new development, women still face the challenge of creating lives where they can play both the roles of a provider and a mother proficiently. With the pressures of maintaining a balanced family and work life, the sources of role conflict, if any, are explored in the following sections. This chapter will also accentuate the concept of the ‘mother’s guilt’ syndrome which is a pertinent issue for many working mothers and look at the challenges faced by the respondents at the workplace.

#### **4.2. Sources of Role conflict**

Role conflict situation is understood to occur when an individual cannot properly enact two or more roles at the same time without facing problems in the process. The word “properly” in this context has two meanings as Couzy (2012) explains. The first is that, the expectations associated with the role are successfully achieved and the second is that the enactment of the role provides the role’s incumbent with happiness and fulfilment. Through this perspective, Couzy expounds that the work-family conflict is a situation where a woman cannot enact her dual roles properly because both roles simultaneously demand different expectations at the same time. A working woman who is also a mother with additional role-sets to handle still have to face the expectations from her family members. As women have entered into salaried professions, there is lack of a definite pattern of role adjustments for working mothers in the modern context. The lack of sufficient knowledge about the ways through which working mothers can efficiently balance the dual role commitments so that one can thrive in both the spheres could possibly translate to role conflict. The behaviours

appropriate for their life styles frequently clash with commonly defined expectations for women which results in role conflict (Damico & Nevill, 1975). In order to understand this issue, the respondents were provided with nine (9) probable sources of role conflict. They were thereafter asked to rank the sources of role conflict from 1 to 9, with 1 being the most significant source of role conflict and 9 being the least. The sources of conflict listed were Work related stress, Incompatible role expectations, Ambiguity and uncertainty, Attitude of husband, Attitude of relatives, Inadequate role sharing, Primacy of mothering role, Primacy of professional role and Time budgeting which are intrinsic to working mother's role and the circumstances.

**Table.4.1. Sources of Role Conflict**

<b>Sl No.</b>	<b>Sources of Role Conflict</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>1</b>	Time budgeting	14.93
<b>2</b>	Work related stress	14.07
<b>3</b>	Primacy of mothering role	13.77
<b>4</b>	Primacy of professional role	12.17
<b>5</b>	Incompatible role expectations	12.02
<b>6</b>	Inadequate role sharing	10.88
<b>7</b>	Ambiguity and uncertainty	10.37
<b>8</b>	Attitude of Relatives	6.44
<b>9</b>	Attitude of Husband	5.33
	<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>

From the tabular presentation, it is seen that the most significant source of role conflict for the respondents was time budgeting at 14.93 per cent. This was followed by work-related stress at 14.07 per cent, primacy of mothering role came third at 13.77 per cent, primacy of professional role at 12.17 per cent, incompatible role expectations at 12.02 per cent, inadequate role sharing at 10.88 per cent, ambiguity and uncertainty at 10.37 per cent, attitude of relatives at 6.44 per cent, and attitude of husband at 5.33 per cent. These specific sources of role conflict encountered by working mothers can be further elaborated as follows:

#### 4.2. A. Time budgeting

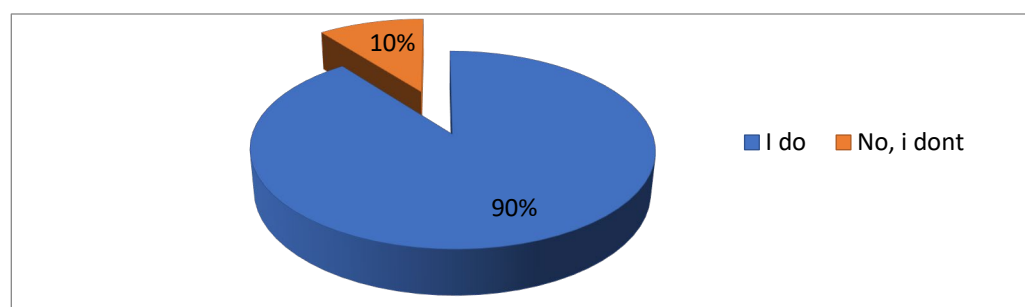
Time factor plays a crucial role as far as role conflict is concerned in households where both partners are engaged in professional jobs. This problem is compounded when women give birth and is magnified by an individual's needs for achievement. The inability of dual career couples to meticulously plan or organise their daily routine may lead to marital conflict for many. As time constraints are caused by having too many tasks at work, the employee's need to utilize time allocated to the family role could cause work-family conflict (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Studies on time utilisation show that married women spend substantial amounts of their time performing multiple roles (Hing, 1984; Airmy et al., 1991; Aminah & Narimah, 1992; Van Der Lippe et al., 1992). Moreover, role theory postulates that multiple roles can lead to inter-role conflict which in turn could lead to symptoms of strain in individuals (Katz & Khan, 1978). In the context of the Indian society, Kapoor (1984) found that most women when they enter any profession face a problem of adjustment with regard to time management as very less is known about time apportion measures and resources between these two major responsibilities which can create tension, strain and conflict. Furthermore, the conflict that arises out of this improper time adjustment is what led Kapoor to remark as the 'conflict of adjustment'. Strain from housework as well as workplace or lack of access to domestic help can contribute to the role conflict of working mothers. With more dual earning families today, the subject of reliable caregivers poses a problem especially for working mothers as with the persistence of gender norms in Naga society, ultimately the mother becomes primarily responsible for all the domestic tasks. The dilemma of working mothers who end up sacrificing one role for the other can be found in a narrative of a 38 year old respondent Tovi who has a 5 year old son and her husband is in the police force, one of the most demanding jobs in the public service. The respondent was previously working as a clinical counsellor at one of the reputed hospitals in Dimapur *"I used to leave for work at 6:30 AM-7:00 AM and returned only around 6:00 PM-7:00 PM at night depending on the traffic. The distance from my house to my work place takes about an hour and being a busy institution, there is not much work flexibility for my job. When I leave the house, my son is still sleeping. My husband's posting is in another district so he's home only once or twice a month. We do have a house help but I do get anxious thinking about leaving my young son in the hands of the house help every day for long hours. My parents live just next to us and since they're still in their professional jobs, they are too busy to look after my son. This created a lot of stress for me given the demanding job that I'm in and the child-care problem. When my husband is home, he does all the child-care and household duties*



*while I'm at work but I also don't get to enjoy quality time with my husband and son and that creates a lot of strain in my life."* The respondent quit her job citing the failure of managing time between home and the long working hours in her profession. This narrative is a reflection of the perception of women's role in Naga society which remains grounded in traditional values that emphasizes the primacy of women's reproductive role. Because the mothering role is deemed as the most important for women in many cultures, societal norms that expects women to prioritise familial obligations before going out to work hinders many women who wish to succeed in their career role. Hence, the respondent being unable to pursue her professional goals, ended up quitting her career because of the inability to balance work and family efficiently. Elman and Gilbert (1984) notes that in addition to the time conflicts experienced by all professionals who are parents, professional women must cope with societal values and with their own internalized beliefs about what is required of the "competent professional" and "good mother" values which are sometimes incompatible. Merton (1957) stated that for any social position, a complement of role-relationships in which persons are involved by virtue of occupying a particular social status exists which implies that each status carries with it a role set consisting of a collection of roles performed in relation to different role partners.

In addition to the reproductive and professional roles that women have to appropriately carry out, working mothers also perform various other roles as members of a community. The respondents as such have other roles alongside the mothering role and the professional role such as being a church member, obligatory participation in family gatherings, local or cultural organizations at various levels, etc. In light of this, the respondents were asked if they could manage time to attend to social obligations and 90 per cent of the respondents responded that they could manage time to attend social functions while 10 per cent of the respondents could not manage time to attend social functions owing to time constraint, child-care, household chores and others.

**Fig.4.1. Manage time to attend social functions**



The data above shows that majority of the respondents at 90 per cent are able to attend social events/functions while there are also respondents who are deprived of a social life. For the 10 per cent of respondents who did not have time to attend social functions, majority of these respondents were between the ages 30 to 40 years employed as Grade III workers in the police, technical, medical, clerical and administrative jobs. Almost 84 per cent of these respondents had children under the age of 5 at home. In terms of working hours, majority of these respondents at 92 per cent were found to spend 5 to 8 hours daily at the office followed by another 4 hours or more doing household chores which leaves little or no space to attend to other societal obligations.

Whereas, the respondents aged between 40 to 50 years who were not able to enjoy a social life were mostly employed in Grade I and Grade II professions in administration and clerical jobs, majority with children over the age of 5. In terms of working hours, majority of the respondents at 55 per cent spend 5 to 8 hours at the workplace daily in addition to another 4 hours or more doing household chores. One significant finding in this case is that, though the work load in clerical profession is not as much as compared to the administrative or technical tasks, the present study however found that respondents in clerical professions comprised the majority in this age group who were deprived of an active social life. This can be attributed to the fact that all these respondents had children under the age of 5 and hence, the diversion of ‘me-time’ into childcare and domestic responsibilities. The age of children is therefore a significant determinant of time management and social capability of the respondents.

On the other hand, for the older respondents, i.e., between the ages of 50 to 60 years, the significant variable was found to be time constraint due to professional and domestic commitments. Generally, individuals in the age group 50 to 60 would most likely be in senior grade level in the occupational hierarchy if age is considered and hence, the reason for the respondents in this age group to forgo their social life for professional demands. The narration by a 53 year old respondent Vilivi, who is a senior planning officer addresses this issue. She says, *“There is no flexibility for me as I am posted in the busiest cell in my department. My husband is a banker and both of us get home only around 6:00 PM in the evening. On Sundays I attend Church and visit relatives and friends but I miss out on a lot of social activities such as birthdays and weddings. Along with this, I cannot give enough time to my husband and children too. I feel so helpless.”* Citing Kabeer (2005) in such a case where she notes that although many women migrate to towns for better opportunities such

as making new friends or building a better life, yet they end up being deprived of time for such cited opportunities. Such instances continue to happen on account of the fact that the division of labour in almost every society is rarely re-negotiated between individuals on matters of domestic chores and childcare.

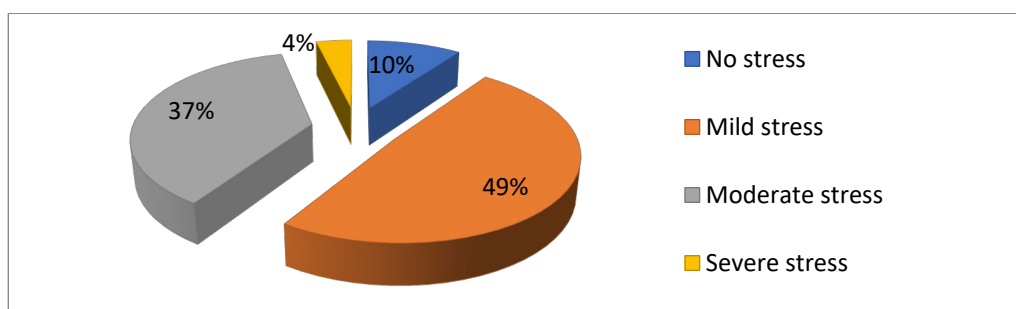
#### **4.2. B. Work related stress**

Stress is a universal growing problem for all workers irrespective of gender. Work and family balance issues can be major stressors for women in the workplace (Abdullah et al., 2008). In a study on stress and workload between men and women managers, Frankenhaeuser *et.al.* (1989) found that both women and men report positive behaviour against their working condition. However, women were found to report significantly more stress at the workplace because of the lack of communication and support from their superiors and colleagues. Additionally, women were found to show more physiological stress response after they get home from work as compared to men (Connerley & Wu, 2016). For many working mothers, their career development is subjected to more complexity which puts greater pressure on their non-career aspects. Many working mothers performing professional as well as family roles without making the changes that would complement their role relations with members of the family end up as victims of conflicting role expectations from both domains (Kapur, 1969). This also appears to be relevant in the present context. The working mothers as is elsewhere, have to perform professional as well as familial roles without the necessary complementary changes in her role relations with other members of the family. This is reflected in a narrative of Tina, a 53 year old assistant Headmistress in a school situated in the outskirts of Dimapur town where she says, “*I spend more than 9 hours daily at work including travel time. We are frequently sent for trainings to nearby towns and villages which is very taxing as I have to be away from home for a few days. I have an eight (8) year old and it just hurts me knowing that I am unable to spend time with her. By the time I reach home, it’s already 6-7 o’clock in the evening. With my position, there are also a lot of paper works that I have to deal with besides teaching. I can say I’m severely stressed from my work and I feel guilty that I am not justifying my role as a mother.*” In the case of this particular respondent, she however had the support of a stay-at-home husband which alleviated the stress for her considerably. She states, “*My husband being a stay-at-home dad tends to every need of my daughter from dropping and picking her up from school, helping with her homework, cooking and even picking me up from my place of work. It is only because of my understanding husband that I can push on. Also, my*

*daughter never complains about me being away for long hours, which is one reason why I am able to manage my stress.*” This narrative serves to reiterate the point that the attitude of a supportive spouse is significant for working mothers to manage her dual role efficiently, thus reducing the stress from work-family conflict.

In the present study, 49 per cent of the respondents stated that they experienced mild stress which was stated to be manifested in the form of fatigue, headaches or loss of appetite although such symptoms were stated to occur in times of work overload. While 37 per cent responded that they experienced moderate stress in the form of anxiety and irritability, skin problems and insomnia. 4 per cent experienced severe stress in the form of anxiety and job dissatisfaction, excessive irritability and getting into frequent arguments with family members, weight loss from work overload and burnout as some symptoms. Whereas, 10 per cent of the respondents did not experience any stress from work-family conflict.

**Fig.4.2. Perceived stress from work-family conflict**



Respondents who stated to have severe stress resulting from work-family conflict were largely found to be between the ages 30 to 40 years occupying Grade III and Grade IV occupations as technical, medical and police personnel, all with children under the age of 5. Time wise, they were found to spend more than 8 hours at the workplace besides more than 4 hours on household chores daily. One may infer that the high level of stress emanates from their professional demands while simultaneously raising a small child, at an age requiring the hands-on attention of parents. The high stress situation also intersects with the time the respondents spend at the workplace in addition to routine household chores.

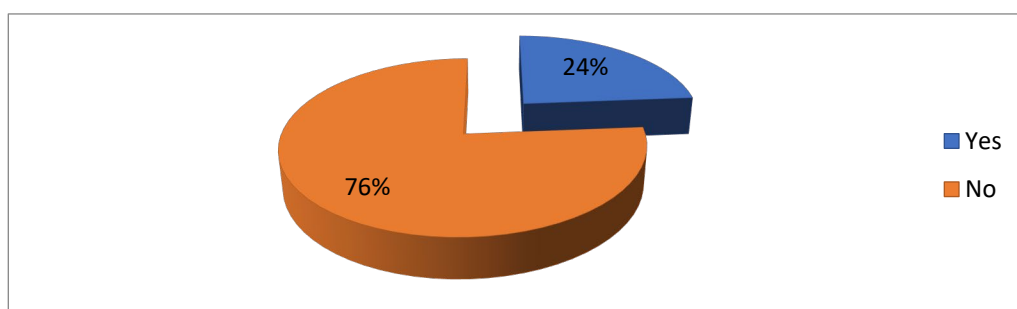
Respondents in the age group 40 to 50 years who are employed in Grade I profession as administrative and police personnel also stated to have severe stress as a result of work-family conflict even though their children are already above the age of 5. These respondents were found to spend more than 8 hours daily at the workplace in addition to household chores. For women in this category, it was not so much the time factor per se, but the stress can be attributed to decision making responsibilities that accompany senior level positions.

In respect to the small percentage of respondents who do not experience work stress, it was found to comprise of respondents between the ages of 30 to 40 years employed as lower Grade IV staff. The lower rung positions in the public sector are not quite demanding in terms of administrative and decision-making responsibilities, and with the children of these respondents all past the age of 5 years, the lack of perceived stress can be understood.

The study thus reveals an intersection between the age of children, nature of job and working hours to the respondents' perceived work-family stress. Age of the respondents is another significant variable in understanding work-family related stress because age often determines an individual's station in the job hierarchy. One can infer from Elman and Gilbert's (1984) study which had concluded that working women who are beginning their careers may feel they cannot ask for structural change and it is perceived that the early years in many careers are quite demanding and less secure than those later in the career cycle, to relate to the nature of stress felt by respondents in the study context. For respondents who do not face any stress, the nature of profession and the children's age were found to be significant determinants.

Studies have found that multiple role-playing have both positive and negative effects on the mental health and well-being of professional women (Reddy et al., 2010). In addition to the respondents' perceived stress, the study explored the implications of their professional life on their health. In light of this, the respondents were asked if the professional life affected their mental and physical health to which 76 per cent responded in affirmative and 24 per cent responded 'no'.

**Fig.4.3. Mental and physical health impact of profession**



Most of the respondents who feel that their professional life affected their mental and physical health was found to be respondents between the ages of 30 to 40 who are employed in Grade III clerical and police posts and the effect was found to be manifested negatively in the form of health problems such as “*drastic weight loss from working too much*”, “*mental exhaustion*” and “*insomnia*” among others. The age of children again seems to be a factor as

almost all the respondents were found to have children under the age of 5. In light of this, a 34 year old JDA says, *“I find myself worrying a lot and under constant stress because of my inability to properly attend to my 3 year old as I spend so much time trying to complete my assigned tasks at work”*. Employee stress, according to Cox (1979), is a perceptual phenomenon resulting from a comparison between the demand on a person and his ability to cope; an imbalance in this mechanism gives rise to the experience of stress and to the stress response. Therefore, an improper fit between an individual and his or her environment could lead to the individual experiencing stress (Boles, Wood & Johnson, 2003). In contrast to the younger respondents, the grounds for professional life affecting the health of respondents aged between 40 to 60 can be said to be related to the type of occupation as most were from the teaching and administrative professions who spend relatively long hours of 5 to 8 hours at work in addition to their household chores. For this category of respondents, the age of the children was not found to be significant as the children were already past the hands-on stage. Therefore, the chances for younger working mothers to develop health issues shows a positive correlation to the young age of children.

#### **4.2. C. Primacy of mothering role**

In a report by Business Insider India, job after marriage for women is still a relatively new concept in India as even after marriage, most women tend to engage significantly lesser in professional tasks than men because of family and household responsibilities (Sethi, 2021). Gender is more decisive for women in general and it is the defining factor which differentiates them from the norm, their differences highlighted particularly in understandings of parenthood. Women in most cultures are socialized to assume the motherhood role and consider that as their primary role in life. A woman is faced with the idea of maternity regardless of whether she is or is not, whether she wishes or does not wish to become a mother (Phoenix & Woollett, 1991). After becoming parents, dual career couples undergo certain pressure in the normalization process. Having a child can easily pull the partners towards more traditional sex-role behaviours and expectations (Johnson & Johnson, 1977). Such was the case of Reena, a 37 year old technical officer in a central University who says, *“I go to work at 10:00 AM and I’m home mostly by 4:00 PM. The distance from my home to work takes almost 30-40 minutes. My work is mostly training-based so sometimes I have to go to the nearby villages to conduct trainings and have to be away from home for more than a day. My eldest just joined pre-school and my youngest is just 2 years old and I have to leave them with our 12 year old house help the whole day which gives me a lot of anxiety. My husband is in the police force and being posted in a different town, he is*

*very busy and we meet only twice or thrice a year. Being in equally demanding jobs in the public service, the most challenging thing about being a working mother is the fact that my kids are home for long hours during the day without proper adult supervision. The biggest challenge strikes when my children fall ill and I am unable to take care of them especially when I travel for work related duties. For me, my family is my top priority so I end up taking multiple leaves, neglecting my professional role demands quite often. Sometimes I want to quit my job...*" This emotive narrative can be analysed in reference to the concept of 'Intensive mothering'. Intensive mothering (IM) as proposed by Hays (1996) is a cultural model of appropriate mothering that holds the mother as primarily responsible for childrearing. As such, the ideology of intensive mothering posits that raising a child should be the first priority of mothers which will benefit the society. This concept further posits that raising a child is more worthwhile than paid work for a woman. Subscribing to such kind of hegemonic ideologies has been found to be associated to higher levels of stress (Wall, 2010) and anxiety (Henderson *et.al.*, 2016). From the narratives of the respondents besides the one presented above, it is evident that this hegemonic ideology is deeply rooted in the attitude of mothers in Naga society, the idea of an ideal motherhood.

The association of a young woman with motherhood reflects a biological and psychological interpretation of women's behaviour and supports the traditional view of the differences between men and women (Kugelberg, 1999). A narrative by a 30 year old doctor points towards an ambivalent stance towards gender equality and socialization. According to the respondent, *"In our society, we are brought up with gender stereotyping within the family itself; that football, GI-Joe and toy cars are for boys whereas, Barbie, kitchen-kitchen is for girls, that the colour blue is for boys and pink is for girls. Now that I'm married and have a child, I try to follow gender neutral values in my family. Sometimes my relatives and in-laws try to impose their own rules and traditional values on our family, even criticising my parenting as the mother gets the blame for everything wrong with the child and the father gets all the credit. Since Naga society is still very traditional, we are compelled to follow norms and customs. Not that I despise our culture but my only concern is that if my child grows up to question his own stand in a society- from what he is taught at home and if he ends up influenced by the society."* Gender stereotyping prescribes the nurturant role to women and by that logic, the mother generally gets blamed for any negative outcome of a child whereas, any credit for the child goes to the father. The age-old universal notion states that *'mother is the first teacher of a child'* which is derived from an archaic school of thought that holds women responsible for anything and everything that goes wrong with a family

(Tandon, 2022). Contemporary sociologists recognize that gender roles, particularly family-based roles, are socially constructed and taught through the process of socialization. Gender stereotyping such as women being natural nurturers and men as natural leaders are thus clearly linked to clearly differentiated gender based social roles (Vogel et al., 2003).

#### **4.2. D. Primacy of professional role**

The next source of role conflict in order of significance was found to be the primacy of professional role. In this context, the working mothers accord primary importance to their professions such that in situations of role conflict, they prioritize their professional role over family. There would be less active participation in the family matters often culminating in reprimands and criticisms from the kins and family in patriarchal family structures and related values. As Chhakchhuak (2015) extrapolates, *“under the present scenario as long as women ‘know’ their place, which is as the cook, cleaner, caregiver of children and her husband or family, the women have the freedom to pursue a career or study etc... but if she decides to take decisions that conflicts with her role as the unpaid manager of the home front or she decides to step out of this role to demand greater responsibility or demand equal responsibilities and pay, it would create a major friction at all levels, from the domestic front where family members would insist on reminding her of her duties as a ‘woman’ and on the sociological front where her choice would be invariably stamped as being against the age-old traditions and customary practices and generally a threat to the social harmony.”* Whether a working mother is a career-oriented woman or one who is not so focused on career advancement, primacy of professional role becomes a critical source of role conflict particularly for working mothers in any society regulated by stereotypical-traditional roles. Such is the case of a 39 year old doctor whose husband is in the private sector and they have two school going children. She says, *“I am a junior surgeon and my job is very demanding that on surgery days, I cannot be at home the whole day and return very late. I can say that I am very passionate and ambitious about my profession and I don’t mind the long working hours as I’ve always wanted to be a doctor and I enjoy the rapport with my colleagues. My parents on the other hand don’t like that I am away from home for long hours and keep insisting that I should not be too ambitious; that I stay at home more often on days when I don’t have surgery and to compromise with my colleagues for shift work. But I don’t feel my presence is really needed at home as my husband is mostly at home and my children are also independent in their own way so why can’t they just accept it?* For working mothers to achieve life satisfaction and to fully function happily, whether in the domestic domain or



work domain, cannot be separated from the satisfactory enactment of roles in both domains. For those respondents who put their career before their family, they cited having to bear the brunt of being labelled as “*selfish*”, “*not an ideal mother*”, “*bad mother*” by members of their social circle. Aryee *et. al.* (2005) pointed out that one of the factors that can support the working mothers to achieve the satisfaction of life is in the balancing of work and family role in concordance. The balance of work-family is an equilibrium in each role and is characterized by the emergence of feelings of achieving a satisfactory resolution to the demands of roles in both the family and work domains.

#### **4.2. E. Incompatible role expectations**

Women aged 30 to their 60s are known today as the ‘sandwich generation’ which refers to “*adults who have a living parent age 65 or older and are either raising a child under age 18 or supporting a grown child—are pulled in many directions*” (Parker & Patten, 2013). The sandwich generation is further interpreted by Rose (2017) that “*...the sandwich generation, where women are feeling busy and time pressured, and feeling stress and guilt from all of their caring responsibilities- not only their children but their parents as well.*” Many working mothers in the Naga society too can be said to belong to the working ‘sandwich generation’ of women. Hence, a gap exists in the current literature in the study context regarding the range of strategies for individual role balance for the ‘sandwich generation’ working women in Naga society which can effectively help them manage their multiple roles efficiently. With the continued relevance of the patriarchal gender narratives in the Naga society, the working mothers go through an identity crisis due to the societal role expectations even when they strive to break the traditional mould. A 43 year old executive engineer narrates, “*I am posted in Kohima and my husband is also an engineer but he is posted in Dimapur. We got married quite late so our kids are still young. For me, the main problem arises when my children have their exams and I am unable to be with them to help with their studies due to unavoidable job obligations. Similarly, when my children are unwell, I end up failing to fulfil my job assignments which creates a lot of strain in the process. As both family and job are equally important to me, this kind of situation creates the most role conflict for me.*” This narrative points to the role strain experienced by the respondent as a result of her incompatible role expectations which can emerge when the demands of both work and family roles becomes incompatible. In role conflict literature, role-strain is a concept that is often used (Wendling et.al, 2018) and is referred to as the tension experienced by a person as a result of competing demands within a particular role

and the fulfilment of expected roles becomes challenging (Jamil et.al, 2021). In Goode's (1960) view, individuals make a series of bargains within societies about what roles they will take on in life and perform the role either poorly or well. Role strain can also be detected in the case of a respondent Avinuo, aged 28 who shared her difficulty in managing her job while juggling motherhood duties as a first-time employee as well as a first-time mom. She says, *"Right after I joined my work, I got married and had a baby. Having zero experience at both work and motherhood, I faced a lot of problems at balancing the two roles. I was happy for securing a job in this overly competitive world today where unemployment rate is very high. Once I got married, motherhood happened and along with it the sleepless nights, stress from work and family problems; quitting my job was not an option."* Role strain is thus an inevitable consequence of balancing multiple roles at a time which could be conflicting, ambiguous, or overwhelming (Nickerson, 2021).

#### **4.2. F. Inadequate role sharing**

Sociologists have long observed that modifications in expected role behaviour change more slowly than the actual behaviour of role incumbent and a marriage style based on equal sharing of traditionally segregated gender roles have been neglected by many social scientists. The dual responsibility of working mothers necessitates balancing work and family life. Fully developed role-sharing can be defined as the sharing by husband and wife of each of the traditionally segregated family roles including the provider role, domestic role, kinship role, decision making or childcare role (Haas, 1980). Equitable role sharing is yet to be however achieved in many cultures, including the Naga society. A case in point can be cited through the narrative of a respondent who says there was no role sharing lifestyle in the family. She says, *"Though I earn more than my husband, my husband nags at me when I don't take care of the children or do chores at home because for him, he cannot let go of the traditional idea that the father is the provider in the family since he is the head of the family. Even on the weekends, I bring home many files to work with but he does not assist with chores or help with the children's homework also."* The respondent is a 35 year old Junior Accounts Assistant (JAA) in the department of Treasuries and Accounts; which is one of the busiest departments in the State. The respondent's husband is an Upper Divisional Assistant (UDA) and they have a 6 year old son. This narrative is a typical instance of men who adhere to traditional gender ideology and do not follow work sharing in the family. In such a case of inadequacy of role sharing, lack of accountability and clarity of expectations can therefore lead to tension and conflict between the dual earning couple. Poorly defined

or conflicting roles are conceived as reasons to create stress in a working mother's life. Women end up doing more childcare and housework, even in situations where both sexes are equally productive in the labour market (Auspurg et.al, 2017). As such, the behaviours appropriate for their life styles frequently clash with commonly defined role expectations for women and an additional source of role conflict emerges as women attempt to fulfil multiple roles and sets of expectations simultaneously (Damico & Nevill, 1975)

#### **4.2. G. Ambiguity and uncertainty**

Role ambiguity refers to a lack of clear information regarding the expectations of a role, how to fulfil these expectations, or the consequences of role performance (Mobily, 1991). Role ambiguity is another significant aspect of work-related role stress which results when the duties and actions required of an employee are unclear to the employee. Research indicates that the strain associated in dealing with issues of unclear responsibility is strongly related to job stress (Behrman & Perreault, 1984). In simple terms, all employees regardless of age, strata of job or work experience, have a role to play in the workplace as each professional role is defined in the form of rules, regulations and procedures to be followed. However, as roles may not always be described in detail, it can be difficult to understand or ambiguous to the individual. Such cases can lead to stressful or straining discrepancies. Role conflict and role ambiguity have been linked to burnout (McCormack & Cotter, 2013) and high level of role conflict and role ambiguity has been found to create high levels of burnout (Tunc & Kutanis, 2009). Such was found to be the case of a respondent aged 36 who is an RDO who experience role strain frequently as a result of the ambiguous role sharing in her workplace. She says, *"As I am posted in the directorate, there are a lot of work assignments as compared to professionals who are in my same rank but posted in the blocks. When I first joined my work, that was a time of extreme role conflict in my life because I was given tasks which I was not familiar with and had to travel for trainings, seminars and attend conferences. Sometimes I return home only around 12:00 AM to 1:00 AM in the morning especially on days before an audit. I get into frequent argument with my husband because of this. I am so stressed from this work and I want to quit my job also but at times like this where everything is so expensive, I have no choice but to continue working."* Role ambiguity is usually interpreted as a result of miscommunication and it is posited that only a clear communication of job responsibilities can solve this problem (Furtado et al., 2016). For any actor in a social position if role expectations remain ambiguous, both the role occupant and others around them are prone to face negative consequences (Breaugh & Colihan, 1994; Doherty & Hoye,

2011). Therefore, in concurring to Acharya (1998) who noted that in dual career families, many couples may find it difficult to adjust to their marital obligations as a result of the ambiguous or uncertain role expectations that are typical factors of modern life.

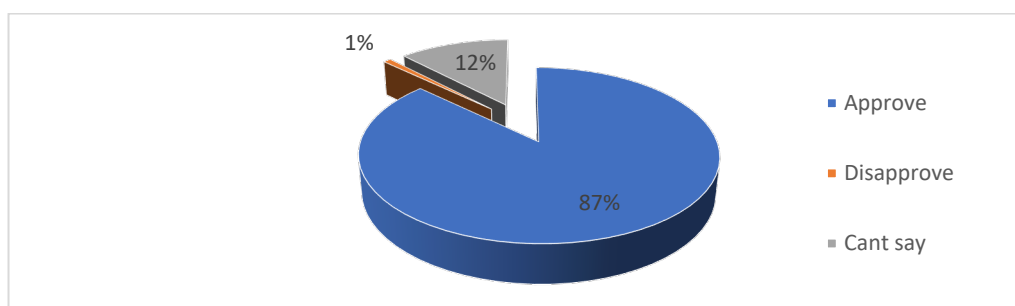
#### **4.2. H. Attitude of relatives**

Women are expected to live by the terms and conditions of the traditional customs in society (Dhanaraju & Nukshirenla, 2021) wherein the attitude of kin towards a working mother's status is a crucial element that may contribute towards role conflict and hinder the adjustment process between dual earner couples. A married woman's decision to engage or not in a career depends upon the views and the requirements of her husband and other family members in many cases as pointed out by Dahlstrom (1967). Risa, a 27 year old LDA, besides being an entrepreneur and a mother of three children narrates, *"It is true that elderly persons in the family are in the habit of interfering in almost every household affair. My parents-in-law live just 50 metres away from us. My husband is an engineer in one of the busiest departments. For me, the conflict is not really in my job though I go to work besides running my part-time business which is quite demanding. But the main issue is in the interference of my in-laws, mostly to do with their mind-set about what roles a husband and wife should play in the family. This aggravated my postpartum depression which I went through after the birth of my first child and it really affected my work life as well as the relationship with my husband, child and my family members for some months... My mother-in-law thinks that her son should not cook, as it is the duty of the wife or the house helps; once when my husband had to carry our baby daughter when visiting guests, my mother-in-law reprimanded him saying an engineer son should not embarrass himself by doing the job of a 'mother'. ... If you ask me what the top source of role conflict is, I'd have to say that it's in the societal standards of a good-wife or a good daughter-in-law."* Social role theory posits that the roles people enact are influential in shaping the traits they are believed to possess. When biological and historical forces lead men and women to self-segregate into different roles, this role segregation then shapes the stereotypes believed to define gender differences (Eagly, 1987; Eagly et al., 2000).

In the context of the Naga society, it is stated that the social as well as the political relations and activities are governed by patriarchal systems of socialisation and cultural practices that favour the interest of men above those of women (Amer, 2012). Gender expectations that limit women to conventional domestic roles are still defined because men who perform their household work are regarded as female wrappers (Olawoye et al, 2010;

Klumb, Hoppmann & Landes, 2006). Men have been socialized and pressurized to comply with rules on how to think, feel and behave and men give greater importance to institutional rights and rivalry while women value care and cooperative relationships, even within their family structures (Gaspar & Klinke, 2009; Philaretou & Allen 2001; Coltrane, 2000; Connell, 1995; Pittman, 1993; Rodgers & White, 1993). In the study, the respondents were asked if the relatives (from both husband and wife's side) supported the mother working outside the home to which 87 per cent said their relatives supported the mother working outside the home, 12 per cent said they can't say and 1 per cent had experienced disapproval of the mother's employment outside the home.

**Fig.4.4. Relatives' attitude towards respondents' work**



Of the two respondents who had experienced relative's disapproval of their working status, it was found that both the respondents were between the ages of 30 to 40 years with children under the age of 5. A respondent who is a higher secondary school teacher stated, *"Motherhood is perceived to be the first priority for women by my relatives"*, while the other respondent who is an LDA says, *"My in-laws keep telling me to stop working as my husband is also working. They want me to be more involved in my children's lives."* Such statements are illustrative of the motherhood ideology that still prevails strongly. In this case, neither the profession nor the strata of occupation were found to be significant in relation to the relative's disapproving attitude towards the respondent's dual role. The age of the child was found to be the common variable for the relatives' disapproval towards the dual role of the mother which corresponds to Pou's (2015) opinion of the invisible identity of Naga Women. His argument is framed around the stagnant traditional values that are not conducive to contemporary Naga society. He draws the views and argument of various Naga scholars on the reality that exists at the grassroots level and points out thus, *"Though women in Naga society are often said to enjoy a better status compared to most societies... the amount of freedom endowed may be debatable."* Thus, relatives' disapproval towards working mothers

in the study can be said to emerge from the persistent conventions in the Naga society that assigns the primary caregiver role to the mother regardless of their professional status. In order to understand the correlation between relatives' attitude towards respondents' work and spousal conflict over division of housework, a coefficient correlation test was conducted.

**Table 4.2. Correlation of relatives' attitude towards respondents' work and spousal conflict over division of housework**

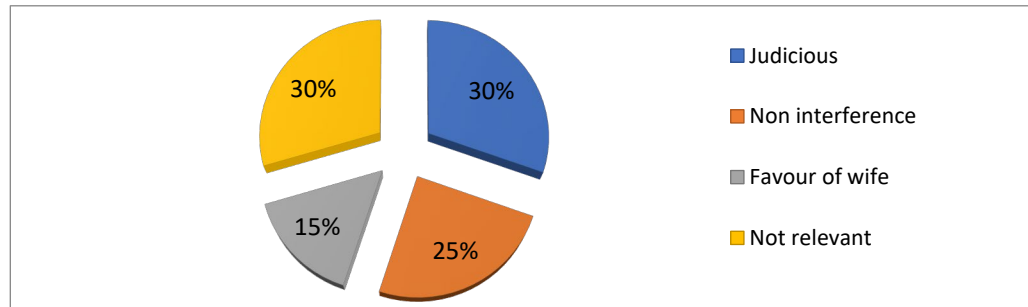
		Relatives' attitude towards respondents' work	Spousal conflict over division of housework
Relatives' attitude towards respondents' work	Pearson Correlation	1	.534**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	100	100
Spousal conflict over division of housework	Pearson Correlation	.534**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	100	100

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

The correlation test indicates that relatives' attitude towards respondents' work has a statistically significant linear relationship with spousal conflict over division of housework ( $r = .534$ ,  $p < .001$ ). The direction of the relationship is positive, i.e., relatives' attitude towards respondents' work and spousal conflict over division of housework positively correlated, meaning that these variables tend to increase together. The respondents opined that there was more pressure for being a "good" mother when the relatives were not supportive of the mother's work; and most of the criticisms came from families which strongly emphasized on the reproductive role rather than the productive role of the mother. The current study therefore finds that when the relatives are not supportive of the working mother's dual role, the conflict with the husband over her dual role and the stress from the expectations of each assigned role also tends to increase concomitantly. Housework in the study context is not just seen as work but more as an aspect of the ascribed conventional feminine role.

The attitude of the husband in a situation of conflict, if there were any, between the members of his family and his wife was also explored in the study.

**Fig.4.5 Attitude of husband in conflict situation**



The data shows that 30 per cent of respondents opined that their spouse was judicious at such situations which implies that during conflict situations between wife and other family members, the spouse weighed and considered the differing points of both sides impartially without necessarily taking sides. 30 per cent of the respondents have never encountered such a situation, while 25 per cent of the respondents said there was non-interference on the part of the husband. Husband's support in such a situation was said to be received by 15 per cent of the respondents. With respect to those respondents who stated that their husbands were judicious during conflict situations in the family, a correlation was made based on the educational qualifications of the respondents and their spouses'. It was found that a substantial number of these respondents at 48 per cent shared the same educational qualifications with their spouses as graduates and above. In addition to this, majority of these respondents at 54 per cent were found to be joint decision-makers with their spouses. Therefore, parity of educational qualification and participation in decision-making appears to be important factors influencing the attitude of husbands during situations of conflict between the wife and family members.

For a more in-depth understanding, the correlation between Relatives' attitude towards respondents' work and conflict between work and family obligations was made through a coefficient correlation test which is presented in table 4.3.

**Table 4.3. Correlation of relatives' attitude towards respondents' work with Conflict between work and family obligations**

		Relatives' attitude towards respondents' work	Conflict between work and family obligations
Relatives' attitude towards respondents' work	Pearson Correlation	1	.423**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	100	100
Conflict between work and family obligations	Pearson Correlation	.423**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	100	100

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

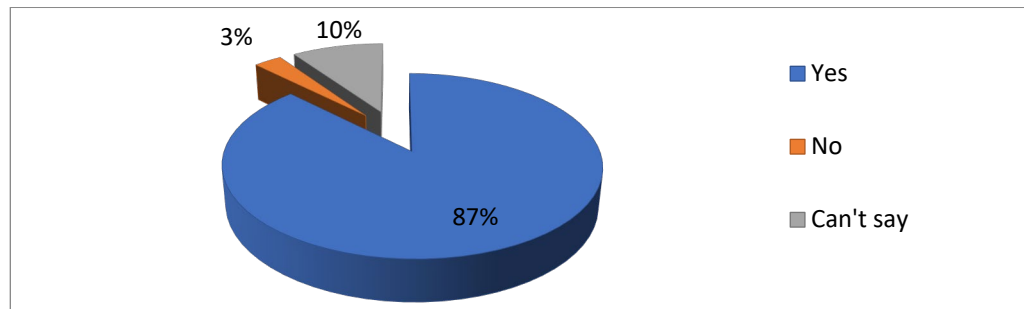
The test indicates that relatives' attitude towards respondents' work has a statistically significant linear relationship with conflict between work and family obligations ( $r = .423$ ,  $p < .001$ ). The direction of the relationship is positive i.e., relatives' attitude towards respondents' work and conflict between work and family obligations are positively correlated, meaning that these variables tend to increase together. Therefore, it implies that when the relatives are not supportive of the working mother's dual role, the conflict between work-family obligations also tends to increase concomitantly. Women choosing the dual-career life style, although well trained to handle conflicts arising from the professional role, may not be as well prepared to deal with conflicts arising from family roles (Gilbert et al., 1981). However, as cited by Knight (2018), "*Two careers can mean twice the stress, but it can also mean twice the empathy and understanding*" which implies that a situation of empathy and understanding can be arrived at only through work-family balance, facilitated in large measure further by a supportive spouse.

#### **4.2. I. Attitude of husband**

The spousal's attitude and support are of prime importance in mitigating situations of role conflict for any working mother. The husband's support and approval for the wife's professional role is significant as it facilitates the working wife in balancing the dual role commitments. Queried on whether their husband appreciated the dual role of the working mother, 87 per cent responded in the affirmative while 10 per cent responded that they could not say. A small segment of respondents at 3 per cent however stated that their husbands were not supportive of their professional status.



**Fig.4.6. Husband's support of wife's working status**



The figure above indicates that majority of the respondents' spouses are supportive of the wife's working status and hence her dual role as a working mother. However, for the 3 per cent of respondents, it was a completely different situation as they did not receive spousal support of their professional roles. It was found that a majority of the respondents from this category fall between the ages of 30 to 50 years employed in Grade III and Grade IV jobs, primarily in the medical, technical, clerical, administration and teaching professions. Three-fourth of the respondents have children over the age of 5 and in terms of working hours, all the respondents spend approximately 5 to 8 hours at work except for the respondents in nursing jobs who spend more than 8 hours at work daily. It is notable that out of 7 respondents in this category, 5 identified themselves as primary earners in the family as either they earned more than the spouse or as the husband was retired. With regard to the educational qualifications, the respondents were comparatively more educated than their spouse. Therefore, one can infer that with most of these respondents being primary earners in the family and being more educated than their spouse, a plausible factor for the husband's disapproval of the wife's dual working status could be due to a perceived threat to their authority in the family. In Naga society, positions of dominance, authority and privileges are primarily held by the men in the public sphere and even within the private sphere of the home, they are socially conditioned to be the "head of the family". Traditional gender norms condition men to perceive their role and place in society according to patriarchal ethos regardless of one's socio-economic status. This can be seen through a narrative of a 43 year old respondent whose husband was not supportive towards her working status. She said, *"Right from cooking, driving my kids to school and picking them up, showing up to all the church meetings and visiting homes for prayers and many other church related activities, I am overworked. Being the wife to a husband who is the youngest among their siblings, the pressure of dealing with the criticisms and expectations of my in-laws is even worse than all the stress from work. My husband is also in the government service and he does not like me working at all. All the financial and major decisions are taken by my husband. Many a times*

*he has told me to quit my government job by saying that I have to stay at home but I never gave in to his demands. It's not that I'm so ambitious, but I take up my roles in order to meet the needs of my family as the joint monthly income is also not enough to run the kitchen. Neither is my husband supportive of my multiple roles, nor does he help when I face role-conflicting situations at times. I wish he was more understanding.*" The respondent is a Grade IV employee in the PHED department; she is also the Associate Women's pastor in a church which comes with multiple societal obligations besides being a mother of two teenagers. The narrative by this respondent resonates to what Lancaster (1975) describes as the 'the most difficult husband' who is not the one who maintains the notion of "a woman's place is in the home" but as the one who expresses neutral or weak positive reactions about the job, then sabotages the wife's ability to cope with work-family conflict. There is always exception to the norm as can be seen in a contrasting narrative by a 52 year old accountant who extolled her spouse's supportive attitude towards her dual role: *"My husband retired two years back and our sons are already in the government service. My job is very hectic, stressful and some days I return home really late at night. Sometimes when the workload is too much, I wish to take voluntary pension as my children are financially settled and my husband and I can manage with our pensions. But because of my husband's constant encouragement and his positive attitude, I am able to carry on."* According to Sharma (1999) a husband's support and involvement was positively related to lower levels of role conflict for working women. Other studies have also emphasized the significance of spousal support for working mothers who are struggling to balance work and family. For instance, Amin *et. al.* (2017) examined the relationship between spousal support and success in the subjective profession through work-life balance and dedication to a career. The theoretical base for such study is based on the Conservation of Resource (COR) theory which described the positive relationship between spousal support and work-life balance.

Through the spouse's support, working mothers are able to remain much more relaxed and calmer while rendering the required activities both at one's job and home (Williams et al., 2016). With the husband usually being the closest person to his wife, spousal support appears to be of high importance for the working wife (Wani, 2022). Working mothers in the study context have expressed their views on this matter and clearly the support of husbands facilitated them in balancing the work-family conflict to a great degree especially after the birth of children or when young children are involved. Many working mothers however, are able to navigate through the work-family conflict whilst prioritizing their family, if backed by a supportive spouse and family. Meanwhile, the

respondents who stated to experience severe stress as a result of the work-family conflict cited reasons such as little or no support (physical, emotional and mentally) from the husband and other family members. As the old saying goes, “*Behind every successful man is a supportive wife*”. So, why this can’t be applied the other way around like, “*Behind every successful woman is a supportive and understanding husband*”? In a changing Naga society, the reverse can also be held true for a working mother.

#### **4.3. Mother’s guilt syndrome**

The near-universal phenomenon of ‘mother’s guilt’ experienced by employed mothers is associated with gender-based role conflict. Evidence of this syndrome is the guilt of failing to fulfil both home and work roles simultaneously. While some of the guilt is prompted by others, others come from within the self as Lancaster (1975) states, “*many women have grown up believing that a ‘woman’s place’ is in the home, and prior internalization of this belief leads to feelings of guilt. It is almost as though the working mother must pay a certain price for the privilege of working and the price is calculated in degrees of guilt feelings. If the woman really enjoys her work, her guilt may be greater than if the job is unpleasant and she really dislikes it.*” The phenomenon of ‘mother’s guilt’ or ‘guilty mother syndrome’ can be understood through the work of Choudhary (2022). According to her, it involves a range of emotions from feeling guilty about not doing enough as a parent, not doing things right, or making decisions for the child that may prove to be adverse in the longer run. This guilt experienced by the mother is heavier than the father due to societal gender roles which mandate that mothers are the primary caregivers so they should be fully invested in their child at all times. Varied situations can arise to make a mother question her actions and decisions which may lead to guilt and the negative self-perception as being a ‘bad mother’. This predicament can be exacerbated by the internalized notion that home is the primary domain for women. Working mothers end up with feelings of guilt for not devoting adequate time for their maternal responsibilities and family. This double responsibility proves the double burden on women making it difficult to fight concurrently on both fronts (Zarra-Nezhad et.al., 2010). Such is the case for Rusano, a 32 year old teacher who says, “*In our (Naga) society, women have to be a good mother, a good wife, a good daughter-in-law, sister-in-law, a good employee, a good church worker at the same time and feel happy about it. It is so difficult.*” The prevailing gender stereotype in Naga society reinforces such emotions. Stereotypes are representative of a society’s collective knowledge of customs, myths, ideas, religions and sciences (Crespi, 2003) and the way that stereotypes are learned, transmitted and changed is part of the socialization process.

Culture influences how individuals integrate stereotypes. The burden and expectations that mothers have to live up to thus, initiates a cycle of emotions that exacerbate feelings of guilt in the mother. Motherhood is different for every woman and does not necessarily account as guilt-filled or burdensome for all. But the fact remains that mothers are expected to fit into certain pre-defined gendered notions of nurture and care-giving which makes it burdensome for many working mothers.

#### **4.4. Respondents' awareness on the Paternity leave policy**

The Nagaland government on the 5<sup>th</sup> of July, 2019 announced paternity leave for male government employees in the state. The paternity leave is in line with the Central Civil Services (Leave) Rules, 1972 (Ambrocia, 2019) and states that a male Government servant (including an apprentice) with one or two surviving children may be granted Paternity Leave by an authority competent to grant leave for a period of 15 days, during the confinement of his wife for childbirth, i.e., up to 15 days before, or up to six months from the date of delivery of the child (The All India Services (Leave) Rules, 1955, p.12). Upon the time of data collection for the present research, many respondents were not aware of this government provision as yet. About the awareness on the part of the respondent whether this notice was issued in the respective departments of one's work, it was found that many of the respondents interviewed were not aware of any notifications to that effect. One respondent Mercy aged 35 whose husband did avail this leave says, *"My husband availed the paternity leave after the birth of my second child but if I may be very frank, it was not of much of a help on my end. The reason being, whether my husband was on paternity leave or not, I found myself doing most of the work I do at home on a daily basis. For my husband, it was more of a holiday and not to utilize the leave to help at home. Of course, having an extra hand at home to assist me in childcare duties is an added bonus but maybe it would have been better if the leave is longer than fifteen (15) days."* The government provision of granting 15 days paternity leave as compared to the maternity leave of 180 days simply reinforces the conventional norms in the Naga society reposing primary childcare responsibilities to women.

#### **4.5. Challenges of working mothers in professional life**

According to the conflict theory by Evans and Bartolome (1984) success or satisfaction in one environment relates to loss or sacrifice in the other. These two environments comprise of different norms and requirements. The conflict between role demands of job and family demands work-life balance and flexibility by working mothers (Tajlili, 2014). A major

challenge or problem faced by many working mothers is concerned with opportunities related to career growth whereas. Evidence from studies suggests that working mothers face several barriers in their career advancement (Kuruppuarachchi & Surangi, 2020; Islam & Jantan, 2017). In this regard, Kuruppuarachchi and Surangi (2020) stated that the "glass ceiling" effect is one of the barriers experienced by women in their quest to advance their career. By glass ceiling effect, it refers to discriminatory barriers that prevent women from rising to positions of power or responsibility and advancing to higher positions within an organization simply because they are women (Li & Leung, 2001). The issues related to career compromises by the respondents and gender discrimination in the workplace will be discussed in the following sections:

#### **4.5. A. Career compromises made by respondents**

The dual role demands on working mothers may compel them to sacrifice one role over the other through career compromise decisions such as turning down a promotion, turning down a transfer or a preferred portfolio, reduced work hours, taking a significant time off or even quitting their jobs. Hence, it is important to understand the challenges that professional working mothers face in coping with the stress of handling multiple roles. In this regard, the respondents were asked if they at any point had to make career compromises in their career and the form it took.

**Table 4.4. Career compromises of respondents**

<b>Sl.No</b>	<b>Career compromises</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>1</b>	Reduced work hours	111	42.22
<b>2</b>	Turned down a promotion	15	5.98
<b>3</b>	Turned down a responsible portfolio at a preferred location	19	7.57
<b>4</b>	Taken a significant time off	71	28.29
<b>5</b>	Quit job	3	1.20
<b>6</b>	None	32	12.75
	Total	251	100

The most cited career compromise of the respondents was reducing their work hours. This was found to be the case for 42.22 per cent of the respondents in order to meet the demands from home. 5.98 per cent of the respondents turned down promotions while 7.57 per cent of respondents refused a responsible portfolio at a preferred location for the sake of family. 28.29 per cent of respondents had taken a significant time off, 1.20 per cent of the respondents quit their job. Just 12.27 per cent of the respondents did not have any career

compromises so far. The study also found that 2.1 per cent of the respondents had reduced work hours in addition to taking a significant time off. Reduced work hours and taking a significant time off was in the form of maternity leave, office leave and on health grounds. For those respondents who stated to have turned down promotions, majority of them were found to be between the ages of 50 to 60 years employed in Grade I and Grade II positions in administration, law, technical and police professions. The primary reasons in turning down promotions were stated to be on account of family and health issues.

Respondents aged between 40 to 50 years were also well represented in the category of turning down promotions. They were found to be largely employed in Grade II, Grade III and Grade IV professions in clerical and police posts. Similar to the respondents aged between 50 to 60 years, the respondents in this age group also had children over the age of 5 years so the problem of childcare was found irrelevant to the career decision made. Commitment to the children's education, quest to balance work and family, and desire to be near family was found to be the primary reasons among this age group. For the respondents aged between 30 to 40 years who had turned down promotions, they were found to be employed in Grade II and Grade III professions in teaching and clerical posts. The main reasons provided for turning down promotions was concerning childcare since all the respondents in this age group were found to have children under the age of 5. Therefore, child care problem is identified to be the primary reason for the respondents to turn down promotions for younger mothers who are in the early working years with young children, while for older working mothers the primary factor ensued from concerns of children's education, family and health issues.

As for those respondents who had refused a responsible portfolio, the highest number of respondents was found to be between the ages of 30 to 40 years employed in Grade I professions in teaching and police posts who had children between the ages of 5 to 10 years. For the respondents aged between 40 to 50 years, most of them were found to be employed in Grade I and Grade II professions in administration, clerical, technical, teaching and the police posts whose children were under the age of 5 as well as older. There were few respondents between the ages of 50 to 60 years employed in Grade I and Grade II professions in clerical and teaching posts with children over the age of 5 but in this group, the primary reason was found to be sacrifice of profession over family responsibilities.

There is another category of respondents who gave up their job and all were found to be between the ages of 30 to 40 years having children under the age of 5. The respondents

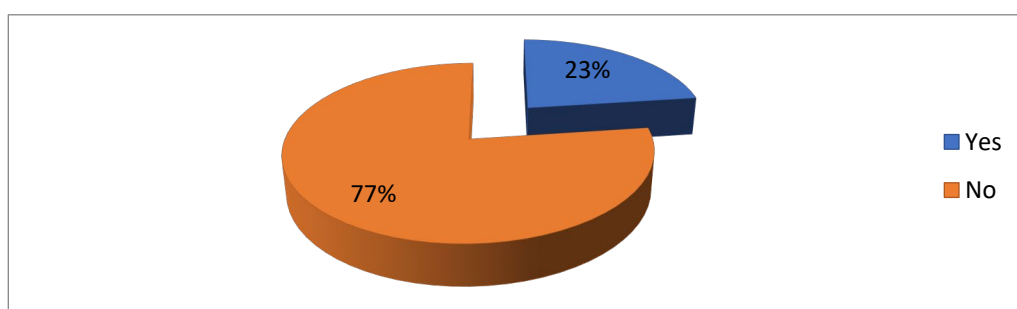
were Grade III and Grade IV working mothers in technical, medical and clerical professions and the reasons stated for quitting their jobs was to take care of their child and indifferent attitude of colleagues. A 36 year old junior nurse narrates, *“I had to quit my job because it was very difficult for me to take breaks from work and with no one to look after my child, it was deemed necessary at that time.”* Another respondent, a 32 year old technical assistant who quit her job says, *“I could not coordinate with my team at work because my superiors did not understand my need for more work flexibility since I was nursing a baby now.”* This narrative indicates the lack of gender sensitivity at the workplace which is found to be a crucial issue that still persists at large in almost every society. The question of gender discrimination of professional working mothers in Nagaland is therefore addressed in the following section.

#### **4.5. B. Gender discrimination in the workplace**

In a study by McKinsey (2020) it was reported that women continuously face discrimination in the workplace and for every 100 men promoted to manager, the number of women who got promoted was only 85. The issue of discrimination against women in the workplace is highlighted in several studies and still continues to be an impediment to gender equality in the workplace (Sultana & Zulkefli, 2012; Gorman, 2005). Generally, scholars and researchers have related discrimination against women in the workplace to cultural beliefs, socio-economic norms and values (Ridgeway & England 2007; Sultana & Zulkefli, 2012). Theoretical explanations for workplace discrimination against working mothers have been grounded in status characteristics theory and social role theory as postulated by Berger *et. al.* (1977). Such theories contend that when the social value of one social category is more than another (Ridgeway, 2001), the valued social category becomes a status characteristic and members of this group are perceived to possess greater worth and competence (Cheung, *et.al.*, 2022). Existing literature indicate that mothers experience higher levels of discrimination across different employment settings as compared to fathers, men without children and women without children whether it is formally such as pay, hiring, and promotion opportunities, or interpersonally such as incivility and hostility (Budig & England, 2001; Budig & Hodges, 2010; Correll *et. al.*, 2007; Hebl *et. al.*, 2007; Heilman & Okimoto, 2008). In light of this, it is crucial to pose questions on gender discrimination at the work places to understand the phenomenon in the study context. While 77 per cent of the respondents stated there was no gender discrimination in the workplace, almost one-

fourth of the respondents at 23 per cent encountered gender discrimination in their workplace.

**Fig.4.7. Gender discrimination in the workplace**



The respondents who faced discrimination was found to be spread across all age group and grade of job. So, it is clear that gender discrimination is not confined to any age group or level of occupation. However, a common denominator is observed amongst the category of respondents who stated that they face gender discrimination in their workplace, i.e., 82 percent of them are found to be highly educated, constituting graduates and above. It can be surmised therefore that the respondents, being highly educated, are conscious of their rights and being discriminated against at the workplace.

In terms of profession, the police profession was found to be the most represented amongst those respondents who experienced discrimination in the work place. To understand this phenomenon, one can refer to a study by Patil & Bagavandas (2020) in their study on women and gender issues in the police profession in India. They found that men oppose women's entry into the police force as jobs related to the management of law and order is perceived by men as their forte. In the context of the Naga society too, the same can be assumed as women have broken barriers and stereotypes by entering into police profession that was hitherto considered traditionally as a male domain. According to studies, police establishments have also been found to be less than sensitive in treating women during and after their pregnancy period. There is absence of clarity on role allocation during pregnancy period, while some women are relegated to clerical work whereas some are forced to carry out their regular duty without any concession (Sousa & Gauthier, 2008). This was found to be the case of a 46 year old Grade IV police personnel who says, *"Actually I think there is discrimination in my workplace not only from my male bosses but also some female superiors who are indifferent to us lower grade staffs. I felt it more when I gave birth to my youngest daughter two years ago and was in need of time off from work. I had a female superior who instead of understanding my situation was rather indifferent. I ended up having to adjust with my colleagues on my own will."* Researchers in the past have also indicated



that gender stereotyping may contribute to discrimination against women in the workplace (Bobbitt-Zeher, 2011). Women are often stereotyped as less invested workers, viewed as sexual objects, and there are notions of women's traits as incompatible with specific jobs. The 'stereotype fit hypothesis' was developed by Heilman (2001) to evaluate the role of women in high-power positions in the workplace. Since the initial research by Heilman, many studies have further been carried out to determine how women are affected by job positions considered to be more masculine. This 'stereotype fit hypothesis' is seen in the case of a 55 year old respondent who is a project director in one of the state departments says, *"I feel that the men are given more opportunities at work especially when it comes to important assignments. Of course, there are capable female officers who put up a fight with the males when it comes to availing such opportunities as they are tired of the male dominance even at the work place...I wish there was more equality at the workplace."* Such narrative drives home the point that gender-based discrimination is experienced at the workplace by the respondents in the study context as with women everywhere. Burgess & Borgidas (1999) stated that descriptive stereotyping normally occurs in traditionally male-dominated settings.

While that may be a ubiquitous feature in many work places, the gendered experience in the Naga society can be asserted to be reflective of the patriarchal ethos in the society. In the next chapter, the issues related to the challenges of combining motherhood and profession, childcare problems resulting from maternal employment, childcare options and coping strategies of the respondents will be further explored.

## **CHAPTER V**

# **NAVIGATING MOTHERHOOD AND CAREER: CHALLENGES AND RESPONSES**

## CHAPTER V

### NAVIGATING MOTHERHOOD AND CAREER: CHALLENGES AND RESPONSES

*“For me, being a mother made me a better professional, because coming home every night to my girls reminded me what I was working for. And being a professional made me a better mother, because by pursuing my dreams, I was modelling for my girls how to pursue their dreams.”* - Michelle Obama, former First Lady of the US

#### 5.1. Introduction

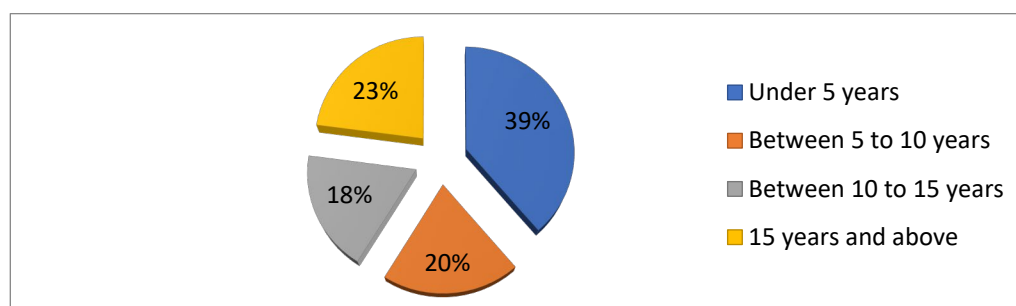
As working mothers have gained a greater presence in the labour force, the pressing need for attention on increasing the supply of formal child care has become a crucial concern for many working parents. The continued trend toward large numbers of mothers in paid employment highlights the pressing need for quality, affordable, accessible and convenient child care arrangements for employed mothers in the workplace as well as the larger society. As the steady rise in dual earner families continue in Naga society, the necessity to address the challenges of childcare faced by working mothers is explored in this chapter by focusing on the everyday lives of the respondents, paying particular attention to the respondents' perspectives on combining motherhood, employment, child care and the social and personal implications. Additionally, to gain better insight from a child's perspective on the issue, twenty children of working mothers aged 5 to 12 years were also interviewed.

#### 5.2. Maternal employment and infants

The effect of parental time inputs and child care quality on children's development has been widely analysed especially in psychology and sociology literature as rightly pointed out by Bernal (2008). The implications of the mother's absence on the child's basic security have long been a critical issue for social scientists and this problem of providing adequate substitute care for pre-school children while the parents are in the workplace poses a serious concern. In a study by the National Institute of Child Health and Development in 1991, it was found that working mothers who work full-time when the child is an infant is more likely to be associated with the child facing subsequent difficulties as it is a critical period in terms of attachment, emotional and cognitive growth for an infant (cited in Pelcovitz, 2013). Breastfeeding is recognised as an act that fosters emotional and cognitive bond

between babies and their mothers. Given its physical and emotional importance the respondents were queried on the age of youngest child and the breastfeeding duration of their children.

**Fig.5.1. Age of youngest child**

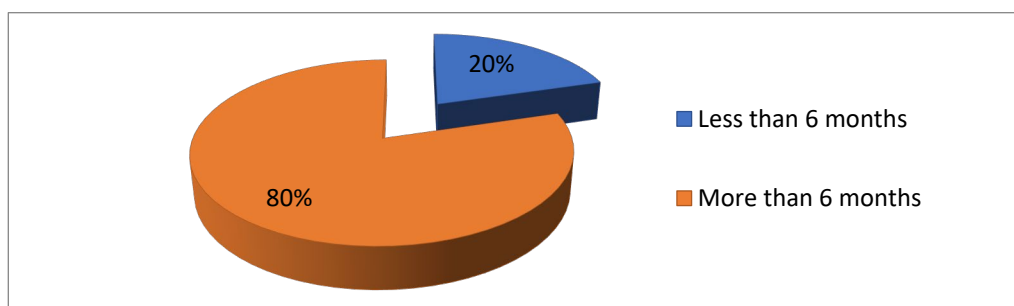


The youngest child for 39 per cent of the respondents was below 5 years of age, while for 23 per cent, the age of the youngest child was between 15 years and above. The age of the youngest child was between 5 to 10 years for 20 per cent of the respondents and for 18 per cent of the respondents, the age of the youngest child is between 10 to 15 years.

Experts consider breastfeeding as one of the most efficient and effective ways to ensure the overall health and survival of the child. Theoretical models based on the ‘New Household Economics’ draw on the notion of household production introduced into economics by Becker (1965). These models have proven to be conducive in illuminating the household determinants of nutrition, especially formalizing the idea of the productive nature of domestic activities of women. A ‘nutrition production function’ specifically relates the child’s nutritional status (usually measured by height or weight for different ages) to a set of health ‘inputs’ and includes the nutrient intake of the child, access to breastmilk, duration of breastfeeding, preventative and curative medical care, and the quantity and quality of time provided by the mother or others in care-related activities (cited in Glick, 2001). A World Health Organization (WHO) study found that nearly 2 out of 3 infants are not exclusively breastfed for the recommended 6 months- a rate that has not improved in 2 decades, according to WHO which recommends that infants are to be exclusively breastfed for at least 6 months (cited in Abekah-Nkrumah *et.al.*, 2020). Given this fact, it was considered crucial to examine the respondents’ duration of exclusive breastfeeding of their child as studies had shown that a mother’s full-time employment has a negative influence on duration of breastfeeding (Calnen, 2007; Fein & Roe, 1998; Kimbro, 2006; Kurinij *et.al.*, 1989; Ryan *et.al.*, 2006). With regard to the breastfeeding duration of respondents, it may be reiterated that the maternity leave for female employees in Nagaland’s public service is 180 days.

However, for 20 per cent of the respondents the duration of breastfeeding to their child was found to be less than six months. This trend concurs with established studies that employment of mothers has a negative influence on the duration of breastfeeding.

**Fig.5.2. Duration of exclusive breastfeeding to youngest child**

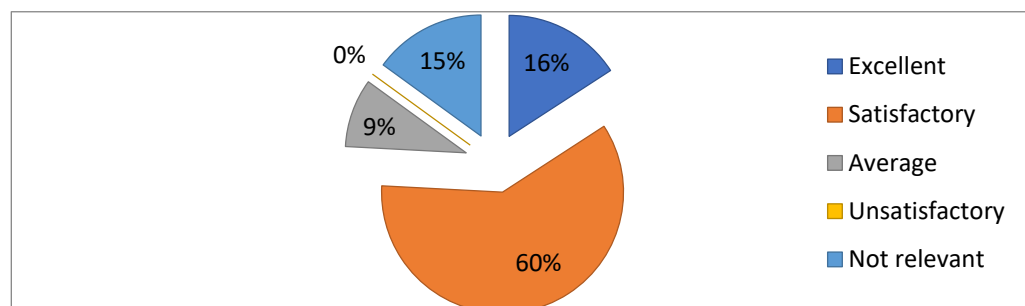


A 32 year old respondent who is a junior administrative staff narrated the challenges of exclusive breastfeeding of the child. She explained: *“I know that, we are supposed to breastfeed a baby for six months for the baby’s health. However, by 9:00 AM I leave for work and return around 3:00 PM. Since I cannot take my baby to work, I have to feed her infant formula during my absence. Of course, nothing can compare to the mother’s natural breast milk for the baby’s health and nutrition, I am left with only this option. Infant formula is also more than 400 rupees these days and for me I’m glad I can afford it. My main concern is for the mothers with young babies who are in the lower Grade jobs who would be most affected as there are hardly any proper childcare facilities operating at the workplace”*. The challenge of balancing breastfeeding and paid employment is a crucial factor contributing to the early cessation of breastfeeding among working mothers according to Guendelman *et.al.* (2009) and circumventing this challenge can be found in flexible work schedules. A 37 years old respondent who resided close by her workplace narrated how she took intermittent breaks from work to go home to breastfeed her baby. She says, *“I was fortunate to reside in the official quarter in the vicinity of the office; so after my six months maternity leave was over, I had to try to balance my work and breastfeeding time. There are times that the breastfeeding timing clashes with work and vice versa. But somehow it works out.”* Respondents cited the lack of institutional child care support as one of the factors militating against the effortless practice of breastfeeding. According to Shuster (1993) a challenge for working mothers was the valuable time and experiences with their infants which they missed out on after resuming work notwithstanding the concerns for child care quality, unresolved conflicts in integrating parenthood and paid profession.

### 5.3. Working mothers and academic performance of children

A common perception that strengthens the conventional stereotype of men as provider or breadwinner and women as homemaker or caregiver is that the mother's employment outside the home will affect the children in academic progress. Khan and Hassan (2011) posit that a mother's employment created a number of problems for the children which lead to contestations relating maternal employment with a child's development. A general assumption is that the maternal employment results in the children's mediocre academic performance. Similarly, Ruhm (2004) also concluded that children of working mothers who were in paid employment during their child's infancy showed poorer academic performance as compared to those children whose mothers stayed at home during the same period. Against such perspectives, a question related to academic performance of the children was posed to the respondents. Contrary to the popular perception of the negative impact of maternal employment on children, the present study found that a majority of the respondents' children were stated to be performing well academically.

**Fig.5.3. Academic performance of children**

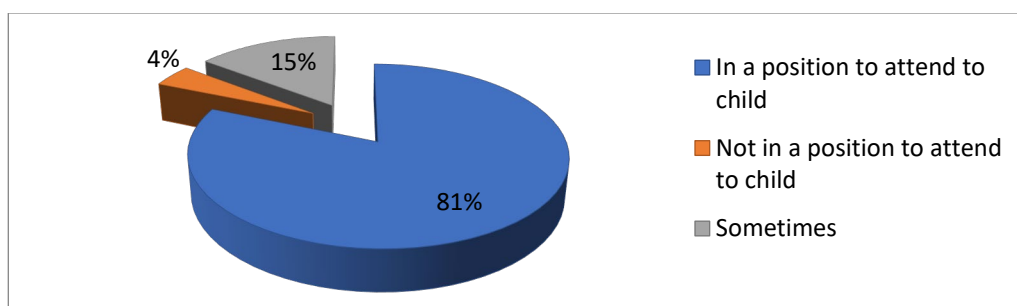


Academic excellence of their children was stated by 16 per cent of the respondents, while 60 per cent said it was satisfactory, implying good performance. According to 9 per cent of respondents, their child/ children's academic achievements were average (mediocre) and for 15 per cent it was not relevant as their children were not yet of school age. The finding of the present study is consistent with the study of Al-Khoury, Zein & Saade (2018) who argued against the popular conception that children's academic performance is negatively affected when the mother works outside the home. Similarly, Lucas-Thompson *et.al.* (2010) had also concluded that early maternal employment is not associated with lower academic performance or behaviour problems and in fact found that children of working mothers had no problems in learning, behavioural or social problems, high achievers in school, less depressed and had less anxiety.

#### 5.4. After-work Childcare

Of all dimensions of unbalanced gender roles and expectations in society, the areas centred around motherhood and childcare is considered as most significant. Gender-based expectations about family roles often result in women bearing the bulk of the childcare responsibilities (UNDP, 2022). Tasks carried out by women such as preparing food and drinks, fetching water and seeking preventative and curative medical care are deemed crucial for the overall health and development of the children. Because of their multi-faceted roles as caregivers and providers of family income, women face challenging situations in bringing the right welfare of their children (Devi, 2020). Taking into account the magnitude of time spent at work place and commuting between home and work it was pertinent to examine if the respondents were able to attend to childcare post work. Showing there is no let-up in maternal chores, 81 per cent of the respondents attended to the children's needs upon return from workplace daily, whereas 15 per cent of the respondents stated that they were able to do so only sometimes. However, 4 per cent of the respondents stated that child care was not a possibility after returning home from work.

**Fig.5.4. Childcare after work**



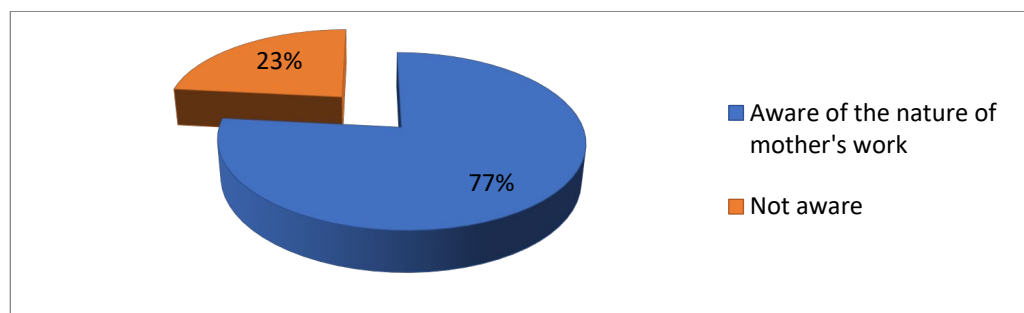
Majority of the respondents who were not able to attend to the child after returning from work fall between the ages of 30 to 50 years mostly employed as Grade IV office attendants who spend between 5 to 8 hours at the workplace in addition to 4 hours and more on household chores. Of the 4 per cent (10 number) of respondents who stated that they were not able to attend to their children after work, 4 respondents said their children were already grown up so did not require hands-on care while 6 respondents stated that they were exhausted from the long working hours when they reach home. In light of this, a 51 year old secretariat assistant says, *“Though I have a child under the age of five and the older kids are in school, I am unable to give time to my elder kids since I am already exhausted when I get home from work. I have to look after my infant's needs first and I end up neglecting my other*

*children's needs.*" Additionally, many working mothers are often compelled to prioritize childcare over their own needs.

### 5.5. Mother's employment from a child's perspective

A child's perspective on the issue of maternal employment including the awareness/knowledge of the child towards the nature of the mother's work and the attitude of the child towards the mother's dual status was made. 77 per cent of the mother respondents had stated that their children were aware of the nature of their work or profession while 23 per cent stated that their children were not aware of it yet, which was due to the fact that the children were very young.

**Fig.5.5. Child's awareness of mother's profession**

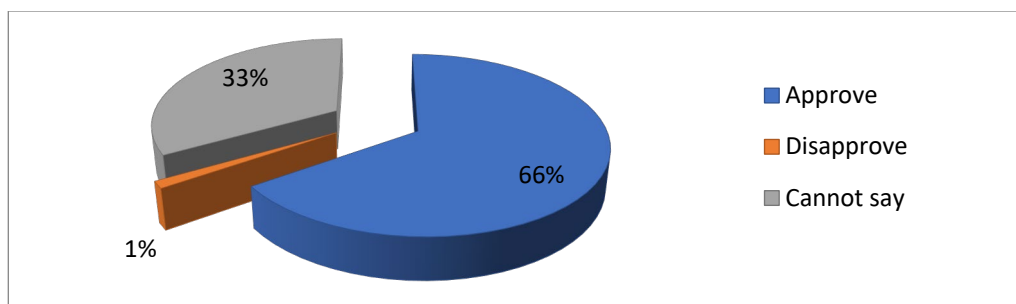


The child's knowledge about the nature of mother's work and its importance was found to play a key role towards the maternal work-family conflict. Respondents reiterated the importance of sitting down with the children to explain the nature of their work, which has proven to assist the respondents in effectively managing the demands of their dual commitments to a great extent. A respondent Yanbeni who is a junior engineer (32 years) says, *"I have two young kids aged four and one. My husband is in the administration. My eldest daughter joined pre-school only this year and my husband and I made it a point to explain to her about why we have to go to work. Sometimes we even take her to our workplace to show her what an office looks like. Fortunately, she took it better than we expected. Seeing this attitude from her, we are overwhelmed and also glad for doing what we did. Hopefully, the youngest will follow suit when grows up."* Given the children's knowledge of the mother's work, the respondents were then queried regarding the attitude of the children/child towards the mother working outside the home. While 66 per cent of the respondents (mothers) stated that their children approved of them working outside the home, 33 per cent of the respondents didn't have any say on this as their children were still very young. Only 1 per cent of the working mothers stated that their children did not approve of



their work outside the home, the reason being the lack of quality time together due to paucity of time of the mother.

**Fig.5.6. Children’s approval of mother’s work outside the home**



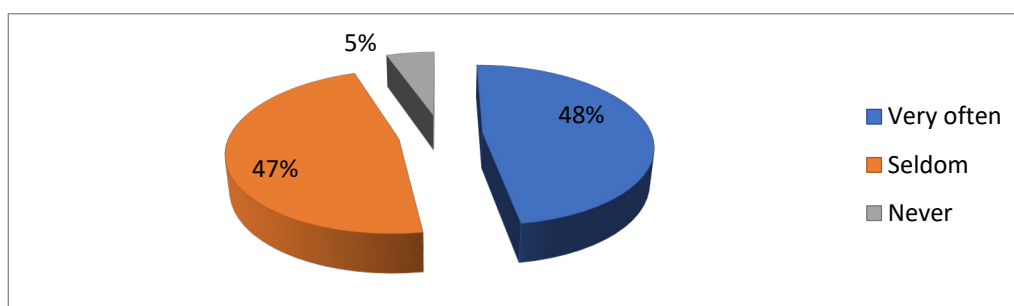
Similar question was posed to the child respondents to get insight from a child’s perspective. Narrations from two respondents aged 10 and 12 whose mother is an Upper Divisional Assistant (UDA) is given below:

The older brother said, *“I approve my mother going out of the home to work. She works so hard so that she can buy us gifts! I hope I can give back to her when I grow up.”* According to the younger sibling, *“I am happy that my mother is working outside the home as she has to earn for our family. But I wish she spend more time with us at home.”* While the older boy showed unequivocal approval of the mother’s work, in the narrative of the younger one, an element of ambiguity could be discerned whilst he expressed the longing for more time together with their mother, though he understood why she has to work outside. A display of maturity could be gauged from a 9 year old who stated, *“I want my mother to go to office every day because she enjoys her work and her work friends are also very good. I am happy when I see my mom happy.”* Overall, interview with the children found that 90 per cent of them were in support of the mothers’ employment outside the home. The general picture that emerges is that the children have a positive attitude towards the mother’s dual status. While rationalizing in a positive light the need for the mother to work, the children’s wish for the mother to spend more time was at the same time visibly expressed. On the whole, it can be inferred that when the children of working mothers approve of the mother’s dual-role, the mothers take up their professional role confidently as opposed to those mothers whose children preferred them to be a stay-at-home mom. Studies show that younger women and women who had working mothers themselves were found to be generally more supportive of combining work with motherhood (Brayfield, Jones & Alder 2001; Knudsen & Wærness, 2001).

## 5.6. Conflict of professional and mothering role

Hock (1980) proposes that a match between a woman's employment status and her beliefs about the exclusivity of maternal care may lead to greater satisfaction in the mothering role and thereby enhance the relationship between the mother and infant. He proposes that a career invested mother who does not believe in the exclusivity of maternal care is more likely to be a satisfied being a mother than an employed mother who strongly believes in the exclusivity of maternal care. As such, the latter type is perceived as likely to experience role conflict which may negatively affect her relationship with her child. When a woman becomes a paid professional, situation of conflict arising from her dual role commitments arises with the demands of one role affecting the demands of the other. When queried on whether the demands from the professional role conflicts with mothering role (fig.5.7), 48 per cent of respondents stated that the demands from their professional role conflicts with the mothering role '*very often*', 47 per cent stated that the conflict was '*seldom*' while a small section of respondents at 5 per cent stated that there was no conflict.

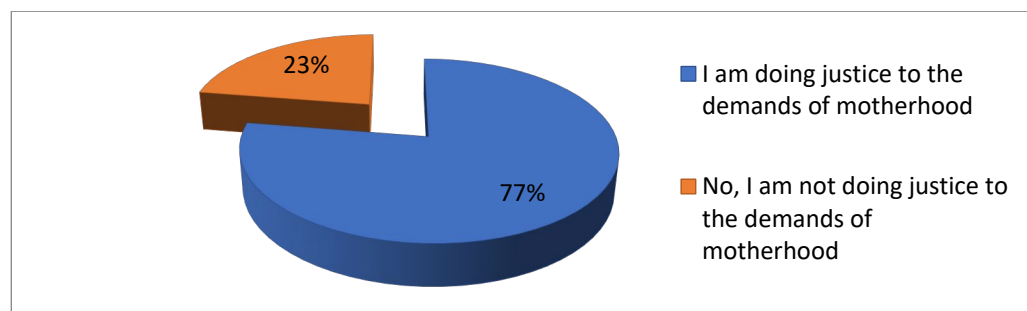
**Fig.5.7. Conflict of professional and mothering role**



Majority of respondents who stated that the conflict of professional role and mothering role was experienced frequently were between the ages of 30 to 40 years employed in Grade IV level followed by respondents in clerical, medical and police profession. Significantly 87.5 per cent of these respondents were found to have children under the age of 5. Most respondents between the ages of 40 to 60 years were employed in Grade I and Grade II professions in the technical, teaching and administrative profession whose children were over the age of 10 although a few respondents also had children under the age of 10. The respondents in this category spend 5 to 8 hours at work in addition to another 2 to 4 hours doing household chores. Officials in higher occupational hierarchy shoulder heavier work responsibilities and demands. Since the children of most respondents in this category were not small, the age of children is not related to the conflict between the dual role. In this case, the significant variable was found to be the strata of job hierarchy and age of the respondents.

This substantiates the general assumption that working mothers over the age of 50 years would generally be occupying senior ranks in their career hierarchy if ‘age’ is taken as a factor, which would necessitate them to fulfil more professional demands and responsibilities. Respondents also stated that the demands from professional role conflicts with family more under certain situations such as when the children are sick or when the respondents have to travel for work related duties and when there was work overload. The respondents were then asked whether they thought they were justifying the demands of motherhood. While 77 per cent stated that they are doing justice to the demands of motherhood, 23 per cent of the respondents were of the opinion that they were not doing justice to the demands of motherhood.

**Fig.5.8. Respondents’ opinion on justifying motherhood**



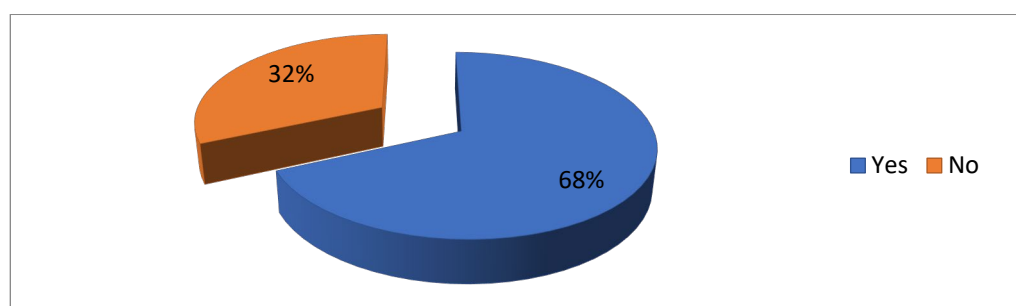
Majority of the respondents who stated that they were not doing justice to the demands of motherhood fall between the ages of 30 to 40 years mostly in Grade IV jobs. 82 per cent of the respondents had children under the age of 5 which is found to be a determinant variable for this query. In terms of time usage, these respondents spend 5 to 8 hours daily at work. Thus, the most significant variable for the respondents in this age group not being able to justify the demands of motherhood is seen to be the age of the respondents, children’s age, working hours and strata of profession. All the respondents emphasised their concern regarding their inability to spend enough time with their child and strongly expressed the need for flexible working hours in government offices for working mothers. They shared suggestions for Saturdays to be off- days for working mothers who have small children. In light of this, a respondent (36 years) says, *“I am in one of the busiest departments in the State Government and I don’t even get time to spend quality time with my husband and son, so leisure time for myself is just out of the question. It is difficult to take leave from work also because I work in the accounts section. I wish there was more flexibility at work for young mothers as first-time mothers struggle a lot with her new role.”* Hays’ (1996) “intensive motherhood” ideology represents children as vulnerable and precious beings demanding extraordinary time and emotional commitments as well as proper nurturing by the primary

caregiver, preferably by the mother (Phoenix, Woollett & Lloyd ,1991; Zelizer, 1985). The present study finds that for the respondents cutting across age, strata of job hierarchy or profession, their biggest concern remains their inability to spend enough time with their children. This brings into question the issue of alternative childcare challenges that working mothers in Naga society encounter, which is elaborated below:

### 5.7. Pregnancy related challenges of working mothers

The treatment of women in society has always been linked to the way care is provided to children and other dependents in the family (Folbre & Himmelweit, 2000). The authors contented that feminist theory is shaped by debates over both the meaning and the organization of ‘care giving’, with arguments centred around women’s liberty to pursue one’s personal needs rather than as primary caregivers. Because parenthood is viewed differently to men and women due to the gendered division of labour in society, Reynolds and Johnson (2012) assert that with the arrival of children, women tend to be more influenced than men and cites the lag between actions and attitudes between men and women that occurs with every social change. In the context of the present study, although people may be willing to accept the idea of a career woman, to however excuse them from their duties as career moms is not found to be fulfilled in practice. Taking into account that the respondents in this study are from both state and central services where maternity leave for both state and central government female employees is 180 days. However, it may be noted that central government female employees have additional leaves like child-care leave which can be availed up to a maximum period of 2 years i.e., 730 days, which is not available for female employees in the state government. In light of this, the respondents were asked if they received special considerations during their pregnancy. While 68 per cent of the respondents replied in affirmative, 32 per cent did not experience any special considerations in the work place during their pregnancy.

**Fig.5.9. Flexibility or special considerations during pregnancy**



Respondents who did not receive any special considerations during their pregnancy were mostly found to be from teaching jobs followed by clerical. Apart from this, respondents in the central services such as banks and lawyers were also included in this category. Therefore, the nature of profession is seen to be a visible signifier on this issue as a majority of the respondents were concentrated in teaching profession in all the three strata of job hierarchy. Whether respondents received special consideration and flexibility or had usual working hours at the office whilst being pregnant, all respondents expressed their concern about getting left behind in their careers. This can be illustrated through a narration from Menang who is a 40 year old engineer: *“After giving birth to my youngest son in 2019, I was in the midst of having to choose between being a full-time mother or fulfil my career goal by returning as a full-time worker. I had to give up many opportunities for career growth during this period because of my pregnancy and I also had young children at home. It would be great if every office gives more flexible working hours to working mothers, especially pregnant mothers, new mothers or mothers with toddlers at home.”* Many young mothers with small children do not receive sympathy or special considerations at the workplace, such as flexibility in working hours for instance which strongly indicates the lack of gender sensitivity in the workplace as was earlier highlighted in chapter 4. Charles Fourier in the early nineteenth century suggested that the level of development of a society should be measured by its treatment of women; after almost two hundred years women insist that the progress of a society should also be measured by the quality of child-care and other dependents (cited in Folbre & Himmelweit, 2000). The issue of special work considerations for full-time working mothers especially for those with young children is a pertinent issue that requires more discourse.

## **5.8. Maternal employment and childcare arrangements**

As an increasing number of women enter into the male market interface, the significance and vulnerability of their traditional caregiver role becomes increasingly apparent. ‘Childcare’ is a term that is typically applied to adults taking responsibility for younger children and looking after them on a daily basis at home. In dual earner families, small children may be cared for by kin or may be commercialized through private childcare agencies. A related term is child rearing which refers to the bringing-up of children by parents or parent substitutes and consists of practices that are grounded in cultural patterns and beliefs according to Saramma and Thomas (2010). It is therefore the most challenging responsibility for working parents when the child is still an infant. Childcare arrangements

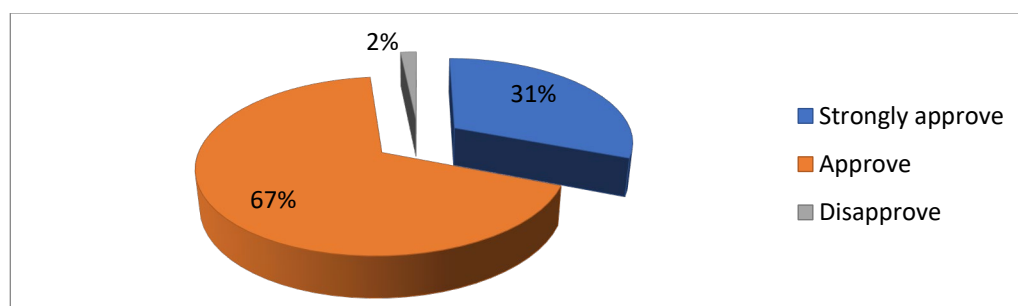
are a key element in the work decisions taken by mothers in so far as these are fundamental to the ability of women to juggle childcare and participation in the labour market (Arpino *et.al.*, 2014). The concern lies in the situation of children of working mothers, particularly the available quality of care when the mother is at the workplace.

With most respondents being from nuclear family homes (refer fig.1.2) the respondents have no option but to leave the children with the kin or non-kin support networks such as child-care agencies or in some instances, some enrol their children for early schooling especially when there is no help at home. Ethnographic studies indicate the wide range of alternative providers used, including other members of the household, kin or non-kin support networks outside the household, hired domestic help and formal day care (Joeke, 1989). Child care arrangement by non-kin however is usually not the first option, as the preferred type of care is one by close kin like grandparents or other relatives. In instances where the working mother has to delegate childcare to non-kin, the awareness of the children regarding the nature of the mother's work is crucial. Rose, a 45 year old BDO in Dimapur narrates, *"I go to work at 10:00 AM and I'm home usually by 4:00 PM. My work is mostly in the field so on busy days, I return home only around 5:00 PM- 6:00 PM. My husband is in the police force and he is posted in Kohima. For me, the most challenging thing about being a working mother is when my children fall ill and my husband and I are unable to take care of our children. My children are mostly under the care of the house-help. The main reason why I am able to face the challenges in life as a working mother is because of the immense support from my kids ... They strongly approve of my work and have never complained for not being able to be with them most of the time. Perhaps, my children being so understanding may be due to the fact that from a very young age my husband and I have explained to them the nature of our work and the reason why we have to work. Because of this, my children understand why their mommy and daddy cannot be there for them sometimes when our presence is required, they have grown up to be independent on their own and the older siblings assist the younger ones in their needs."* The changing dynamics within Naga families today characterized by the fluidity in the provider and homemaker roles corresponds to Klein's (1965) study where he proposed the receding significance of the "Parsonian-instrumental dichotomy" of defining women's role in society as women's social roles have only increased today and vast avenues where they are enacted. Klein also talks about the emerging change in family structure where the traditional patriarchal family would be replaced by a more democratic form of family characterised by an equitable relationship between couples which could also propel children's relative independence as individuals.

Contrary to popular belief, a working mother can have a positive impact on her growing children but the most important variable to consider would be the availability of child-care facilities (Poduval & Poduval, 2009). Childcare arrangements are an essential element of parental employment and there have been significant changes in the patterns of usage of the varied types of childcare arrangements in the last 30 years (Uttal, 1999).

For employed women, child care was broadly defined to include any care while the mother leaves for work. Today, particularly noticeable in Nagaland is the boom of the child care arrangements in the form of pre-schools and children's activity centres (day-care). However, in spite of this new development, most working parents still continue to express a strong preference for care of the children by relatives, especially for their infants, toddlers, and preschool-aged children. Yet, the perception that relative care is an ideal substitute for parent care may exceed real preferences. Among the employed mothers in the present study, a question was posed on their attitude towards Montessori/nurseries and child-care agencies existing in the society. While 31 per cent of the respondents strongly approved of such institutions or agencies, 67 per cent approved of the same.

**Fig.5.10. Attitude towards child-care agencies**



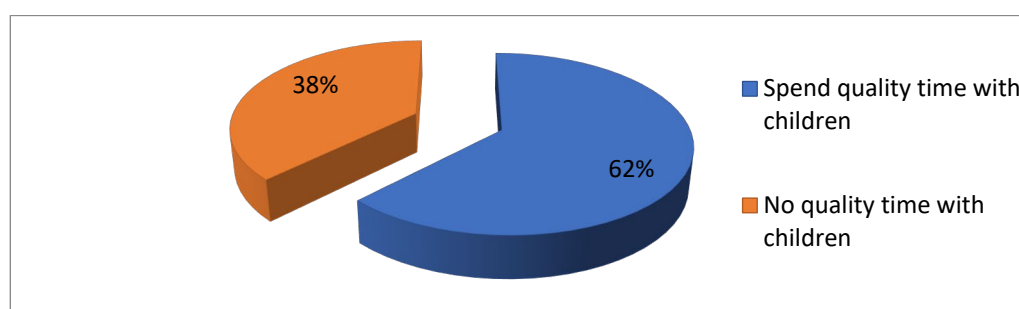
Thus, a total of 98 per cent of respondents approve of child-care agencies in varying degrees seeing it as a viable care alternative paving the way for the mothers to pursue their professional roles in the public sphere. However, a small percent of respondents at 2 per cent did not approve of such agencies. The rationale for disapproval best expressed through a respondent (48 years) who stated, "I don't approve of these Montessori or child-care agencies as for me they more or less seem to be more focused on generating money and not so concerned about my child's holistic development." A few respondents did not view the child care agencies as suitable alternative care-givers and were comfortable discussing their ambivalent feelings about combining parenting with employment and availing day care services for their children. With the lack of properly organized and functioning crèches at

the workplace, respondents expressed the growing awareness and need for crèches facilities at their place of work.

### 5.9. Impact of maternal employment on children

The early years of 0 to 8 years of a child are considered the most extraordinary period of growth and development of a child and the impact can last a lifetime according to a report by UNICEF. Therefore, the child's early years are considered as extremely vulnerable which requires adequate protection, care and stimulation to nurture the foundation for the child's overall development and well-being. Most families today have many different individual arrangements for childcare but whatever the arrangement, child psychology experts agree that it is equally important that both parents play an active, supportive and loving role towards the children's upbringing. 'Quality time' has become a part of cultural discourse concerning what it means to be a 'good' parent (Snyder, 2007) who in trying to understand how parents define quality time presented three distinct views of quality time namely-structured-planning family, viewed as planning family activities, child-centred families emphasized heart-to-heart talks with their children and time intensive parents believed that all the time they spent with their families was quality time. In light of this, the respondents were queried on the quality time spent with the children on a daily basis to which 62 per cent of the respondents stated that they spent adequate time with the children while for 38 per cent of the respondents, they felt they were not spending enough time with the children.

**Fig.5.11. Quality time spent with children**



Respondents who were unable to spend quality time with their children were found to be from across professions and positions, hence, it includes respondents from the police department, clerical, teaching, medical and administration. However, it is significant that with regard to the strata of job hierarchy, most of the respondents in this category were found to belong to Grade III and IV levels, from the police, technical and clerical jobs who spend approximately 5 to 8 hours at the office daily while respondents in the police profession were found to spend more than 8 hours at the workplace daily. 53 per cent of the respondents in



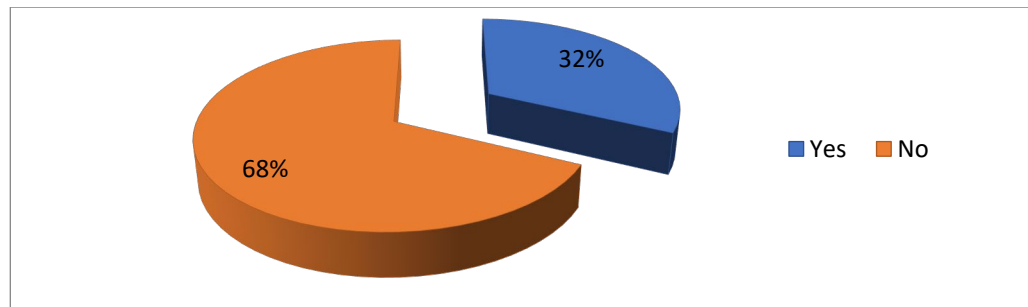
this category were found to spend more than 4 hours doing household chores. It can be inferred that the significant factors for the respondents in this age group for their inability to spend quality time with their children is related to the level of profession and the working hours of the respondents. Lower grade employees are required to undertake whatever tasks are assigned to them by the superiors, irrespective of the time of duration. The most represented age group in this category were younger respondents between the ages of 30 to 40 years. A significant point to note here pertains to the fact that about half of the respondents at 47 per cent who could not spend quality time with their children were found to be primary earners in the family.

Glick (2002) asserts the importance of working mothers to spend quality time with their children as young children especially infants tend to have particularly strong needs for care and are also perceived to be more affected by negative effects of the mother's work as compared to older children. However, the notion that the child has to be cared for by the mother whether the mother is a stay-at-home mom or in paid employment indicates the essentialization of the mother as the primary caregiver of the child as can be found in most societies. Verniers, Bonnot & Assilam'ehou-Kunz (2022) argues that gendered descriptions only tend to essentialize and emphasize the complementarity of parental roles with fathers largely absent from the family's daily life whereas, mothers are subjected to primary caregivers and most concerned with rearing children.

The essentializing of mother's role in the upbringing of a child has also been emphasised by Dejong (2010) who noted that children develop several cognitive and behavioural effects as a result of their mother's employment outside the home during their initial childhood years. Similarly, Han, Waldfogel & Brooks-Gunn (2001) examined the effect of maternal employment early on the child's behavioural and cognitive outcomes during the child's early life and found that maternal employment in the first year of a child's life adversely affected the child's cognitive outcomes by age three or four. These cognitive effects were found to appear when the child reaches the age of seven or eight. They also pointed to a correlation between mothers working during a child's first year of life and child's behavioural problems in later years of childhood. In light of such studies, the respondents in the present study were queried if they perceived any problems with their child because of their absence at home. A majority of the respondents at 68 per cent stated that their children had no behavioural issues. However, about a third of the respondents at 32 per cent said their children exhibited certain health or behavioural problems ranging from minor

physical issues such as injuries from inadequate supervision, poor eyesight due to excessive screen-time, unhealthy eating habits. Additionally, behavioural problems cited were unruly behaviour, social anxiety, agitation and emotional blunting. The observed pattern in the study was that children with behavioural and health problems fall in the category of 3 to 8 years which is the most formative phase of a child's growing years.

**Fig.5.12. Behavioural and health problems of children**



A respondent, nurse by profession aged 35 narrates, *“My 4 year old son developed speech and health problems because of being home with the babysitter whole day while I’m at work. He also became a very picky eater as there was no proper supervision during his meal time.”* While the medical veracity of this narrative stand outside the purview of the present study, the mother assigns the cause of the child's health issue to her absence from home. Whether mothers choose to stay at home with the child or join work after they've given birth, how old their child is when they decide to return to work and how many hours they are working are all crucial factors in the developmental environment (Klein & Kühhirt, 2017). According to existing literature, the mother's employment is seen to have implications on the overall growth, development and well-being of their children. The first five years of life are very crucial for child's cognitive, affective, social, emotional and psychomotor development (Bishnoi, et.al, 2020) and psychologically, the interaction between mother and child has a direct impact on child's cognitive development (Papalia & Martorell, 2014; Stevens, 1971). Such studies appear to validate the necessity of adequate physical care, intimate bond and continuous care for infants by the mother. However, it is pertinent to note that *“it has not shown that these needs must be satisfied by mothers rather than fathers, (or) by females rather than by males”* (Oakley, 1972). A general perception is that females have a physiological response to infants which is not shared by males and makes them more suitable as infant caregivers. Notwithstanding this perception, recent research on physiological responsiveness does not support this belief, as Wolfson (1981) in his study states, *“It appears that men have the underlying physiological capacity to interact effectively with infants, but that they have been socialized not to behave in line with this potential responsiveness.”* Given

the debate on this issue, a correlation test was conducted to assess if mothers' ability for childcare after work is related to the absence of behavioural and health problems in children.

**Table 5.1. Maternal childcare after work and absence of problem in children**

		Behavioural and health problems of children	Child care after work
Behavioural and health problems of children	Pearson Correlation	1	.311**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.002
	N	100	100
Child care after work	Pearson Correlation	.311**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	
	N	100	100

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

The above table implies that absence of behavioural and health problems of children has a statistically significant linear relationship with child care after work ( $r = .311$ ,  $p < .001$ ). The direction of the relationship is positive i.e., lack of behavioural and health problems of children and child care after work are positively correlated. Those respondents who were unable to provide time for childcare after work generally cited expressions of guilt. This was particularly acute for the working mothers whose children had problems- behavioural, health, cognitive etc. A respondent (34 years) who is a field analyst in the central service stated, *"I go to work at 9 and return home only around 4-5 in the evening, sometimes I have to go on regional as well as national field tours, trainings and workshops for a week. When my eldest daughter was born, my husband was posted in another State then. He is also in the central service. So, when I go to work, my 3 year old daughter was under the care of the babysitter. My problem is, because of my inability to give time to my daughter, she has developed behavioural issues as well as problems with her diet. She has anger issues, irritability and has also picked up the habit of swearing from being on YouTube all day."* Whether children of working mothers are better off than those children of stay-at-home mothers, is a matter of much debate in general. According to psychologist Friedman (2018) the emotional health of children tends to be higher when parents believed that family is first priority regardless of the amount of time they spent in the workplace.

Although many studies appear to have focused on the adverse or negative effects of maternal employment on the children, there is however, a necessity to point the focus on the positive effects as well- the proven benefits of children of working mothers. A study by

Anand & Roope (2016), for instance, which comprised of children from India aged 2 to 3 years, found that young children of stay-at-home mothers were found to have lower capabilities in terms of talking, social skills, movement and daily skills; In contrast they found that spending more time in day-care centres is associated with better social skills and better everyday skills of children, while spending more hours being cared for by grandparents is associated with better talking skills and social skills. Therefore, when studying working mothers, it is essential to consider this perspective as well, i.e., the ‘positive effects of maternal employment on children’. In the present study, a case of a 34 year old respondent with a 3 year old child resonated with Anand and Roope’s finding as she narrates, *“Though I can always leave my child with my parents when my husband and I go to work, I instead send him to a day care cum pre-school and from few months of experience there, I have noticed that my child has improved his social skills and is now more confident, expressive, warms up to people easily now. I have made the right decision.”* Similarly, Snyder (2007) contended that it was not the amount of time the parents spent with the children that was important; rather it was the quality of the time that mattered. Evidently, for working mothers, spending quality time and interaction with the children is more vital than the quantity of time spent with them.

In light of the multiple issues and challenges that come along with being working mothers, how respondents perceive themselves in terms of job satisfaction and their perception of engagement in paid profession notwithstanding the consequences that comes with breaking new grounds is explored.

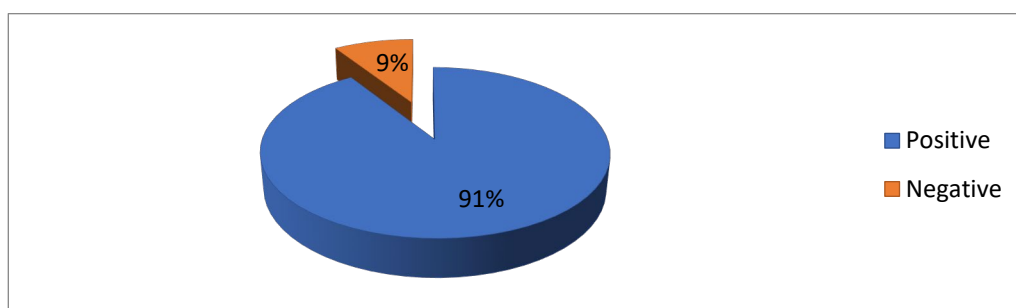
#### **5.10. Self-reflection of working mothers**

Much work on the ‘self’ was carried out by pragmatists such as John Dewey (1922), William James (1912) and George Herbert Mead (1934). In the present study, Mead’s theoretical framework known as symbolic interaction is employed to understand the self-reflection of mothers as working professionals in Naga society. The self is viewed as a continuous process that takes place in interaction with others and in self-reflection-the communication with self about self. Because all interaction requires a language that is socially and culturally ascribed, the society and the individual are inextricably intertwined (Mead, 1934). The reflexive self is one’s ability to reflect upon and consider who one is in relation to others, the ability to engage in an internal conversation with oneself as both the subject and object, according to Falk & Miller (1998). From a symbolic interactionist perspective, the reflexive self develops from other people’s response to one’s appearance, actions or attitudes. Therefore, a person’s

self-esteem is determined by their positive or negative feelings about themselves based on people's judgement.

Women's role has evolved in contemporary Naga society and has expanded much beyond their traditional nurturant role as homemakers and caregivers to sharing the provider role in the family with the husband. Faced with a plethora of challenges of being a working professional and mother concomitantly, ranging from pregnancy related challenges to childcare, time budgeting, balancing family and professional roles, the respondents' perception of the self is deemed necessary for a better understanding regarding the problem under study.

**Fig.5.13. Society's opinion of working mothers**

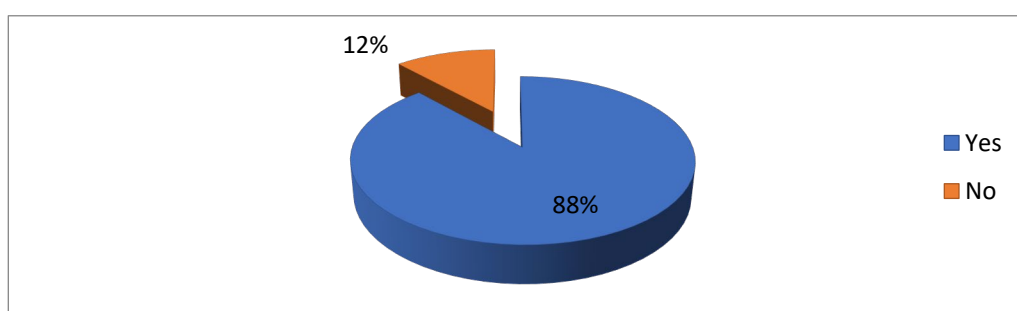


The respondents were asked about their thoughts on society's opinion of working mothers to which 91 per cent responded '*positive*' and just 9 per cent opted for '*negative*'. Majority of the respondents who said that society had a negative view of working mothers were in the age group of 30 to 40 years, across professions in administrative, clerical, technical and police departments. The commonly cited reasons for the perceived negative opinion were "*people say a mother should be with the child at home and not be ambitious if the husband is working*" and "*if a mother works, who will cook for the husband when he returns home from work?*" In spite of these responses which likely emerged from the respondents' lived experiences, it is reiterated that an overwhelming percentage of respondents at 91 per cent who opine that societal attitude towards working women is positive, were optimistic that Naga society is moving towards a more open-minded attitude by supporting working mothers.

Drawing from the works of Dewey, James and Mead's work, the reflection of 'self' is understood as one that occurs through an interaction with others. This implies that, by observing the responses of others can a person arrive at knowing and judging oneself. The societal perception that "*women should not be too ambitious and just take care of the children*" or "*working mothers who find it difficult to juggle work and home should re-*

*consider their job if the husband is also in paid profession*” that prevails in Naga society provides a definition of ‘good mothers’ for the women and at the same time, evaluates her actions. In this way, working mothers see themselves from the perspective of the society and based on that attitude, learns to appraise one’s actions. Consequent to the respondents’ perception of society’s attitude towards working mothers, the researcher followed with the query on the respondents’ attitude towards self on whether they felt that they are justifying the demands of their professional role. 88 per cent of respondents said ‘yes’ while 12 per cent said ‘no’.

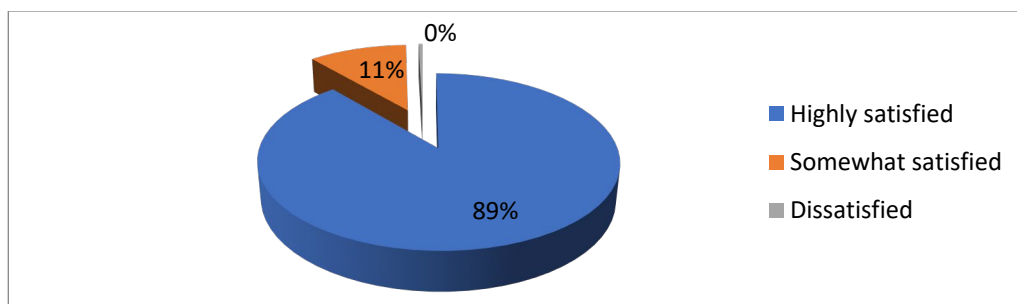
**Fig.5.14. Respondents’ attitude on justification of professional role**



For the 12 per cent of respondents who stated that they were not justifying the demands of their professional role, majority of the respondents were between the ages of 30 to 40 years, all had children under the age of 5 and majority had more than 2 children. In terms of profession, majority of the respondents were employed in Grade I profession in teaching and technical posts. The most significant variable for the respondents in this age group for not being able to justify the demands of professional role is seen to be the age of the respondents, age of the children and the number of children. A 37 year old respondent says, *“I cannot apportion time equally between my work and family so I end up having to sacrifice one for the other. Usually, my family role overtakes my professional role demands.”* Whereas, for the respondents between the ages of 40 to 60 years, majority of the respondents were employed in Grade I profession in teaching jobs and were found to have more than 2 children although the children were already grown up and in school and college level. According to a 51 year old professor, *“I have 5 children and my youngest son is still in primary school so I am unable to prioritize my ambition over the demands from family role.”* Another respondent, a 53 year old undergraduate teacher says, *“I am posted in a remote area so I end up sacrificing my work to meet my family needs.”* Based on such narratives, crucial variables for the respondents not being able to justify the demands of profession is the nature of profession and the number of children. This is reflected when a 46 year old doctor says, *“Being a mother of 4 children, it is impossible to meet all the demands at my profession.”* In

spite of such challenges, the study shows that 89 per cent of respondents are highly satisfied with their jobs, 11 per cent of the respondents are somewhat satisfied with their jobs and not a single respondent was expressed dissatisfaction with their jobs.

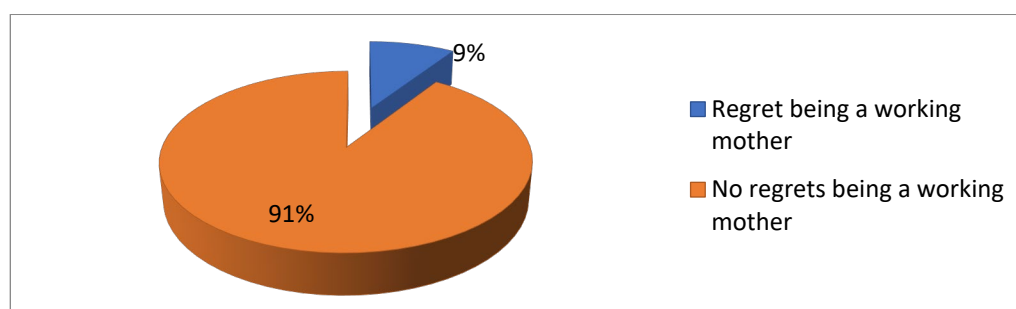
**Fig.5.15. Job satisfaction of respondents**



Respondents who stated that they are only somewhat satisfied with their jobs, were largely found to be in the clerical profession in all the age groups. This indicates that clerical jobs offer the least job satisfaction with respect to the working mothers in the study. In order to explore why a substantiate section of respondents are not fully satisfied with their professional role, an attempt was made to correlate it to considerations during pregnancy or the perception of gender discrimination in the workplace which may be possibly instrumental for the lack of job satisfaction. Accordingly, it was found that majority of the respondents who did not get work flexibility or special considerations during their pregnancy fell between the ages of 30 to 40 years employed in Grade II and Grade III clerical posts. This was further analysed on the issue of gender discrimination at the work place which revealed that most respondents who had experienced the problem of gender discrimination at the workplace were from lower-level clerical jobs. Thus, one can infer that there is a correlation between factors such as lack of work flexibility and special considerations during pregnancy or the prevalence of gender discrimination in the workplace to feelings of job dissatisfaction among the respondents.

To the query on whether the respondents regretted being a working mother, most respondents at 91 per cent stated that they had no regrets while 9 per cent expressed regrets on being a working mother.

**Fig.5.16. Working mother and regrets**



A majority of the respondents who lamented being working mothers belong to the age group of 30 to 40 years, largely employed as Grade IV personnel. They were followed by respondents in the same age group from Grade I positions in technical and administrative jobs. 78 per cent of respondents in the said age group are found to have children under the age of 5. Incidentally, a majority of the respondents expressing regrets had ranked ‘work related stress’ to be the top source of role conflict for them. Most of the respondents in this age group were found to spend 5 to 8 hours at the office and more than 4 hours doing household chores. A culmination of all these factors could have consequently resulted in feelings of lamentation and frustrations. The most significant variable that emerges here is work related stress derived from respondents’ long working hours and the age of the child/children. It is significant to note that 50 per cent of respondents from among those respondents who had regrets on being a working mother had stated that their children had developed health, behavioural and nutritional problems on account of their absence from home. Some of the reflective reasons for their regrets are narrated as, “*being unable to be there for the children especially during the children’s formative growing years*” for a 51 year old architect; similarly a 54 year old doctor says, “*I neglect my family a lot due to the demands from work*”, and a 44 year old assistant professor says, “*Because I cannot nurse my baby well*”. All the respondents cited the primary factor for regretting being a working mother was found to be associated with ‘time constraints for family time’. It may be stated that the finding of the present study parallels the finding of Aarntzen *et.al.*, (2019; 2022) who concluded that working mothers experienced more work-family conflict on days where they worked longer hours. Their study also found that working mothers who spend more than eight hours at work daily were mothers who held more traditional stereotypes of a women’s role and therefore, viewed this as experiencing work-family conflict and also stated to experience more guilt than those women who held less-traditional gender stereotypes. Notwithstanding the small section of women with regrets, a majority of the respondents at 91 per cent were satisfied to be a working professional and in spite of the challenges faced



as a working professional, most did not consider quitting their job and continue to strive for a balance between the work and family sphere. In this regard, a respondent (58 years) says, *“when I had my first son, my husband was posted in another town and he came home only once every 2-3 months depending on his superior’s grace. During that time, we were building our house and our son was just a few months old. I was a junior accounts staff during that time so I had my job to go to, an infant to look after and a house under construction that needed my supervision. It was a very taxing moment in my life and without my husband in town, everything was on my head. At times I thought of divorcing my husband because it stressed me out a lot and made me so angry but I have never considered quitting my job in such situations.”* Another 49 year old doctor shared a peculiar narrative where her main concern is not with her children but self’s needs. She says, *“I have a very hectic and busy job as a surgeon and because all these years of me being occupied with work and less of a hands-on-mother, I cannot enjoy my work to the fullest with my kids complaining that I’m married to my job and they are not wrong. In our society, being in the medical profession as myself, we are made to re-think our specialization options also but for men, it is not so; they can opt for any specialized field or what society calls, the ‘male sphere’. Women are said to be more fitted for less hectic clinical posts such as dermatology, microbiology, pathology, dental and some others...as the other posts are too demanding to fulfil with no leave or job flexibility, more so once she becomes a mother. Balancing a demanding profession and motherhood is difficult but I believe it is possible.”* Women face the added obstacles of sceptical attitudes about women's ability in their chosen field as well as women's ability to maintain both a family and an independent professional career (Elman & Gilbert, 1984). Respondents in the present study opined that the successful integration of work and motherhood roles were indeed a personal one and also pointed to the lack of proper institutional care and support from society.

With role conflict being an inescapable reality how are the respondents navigating the work-family conflict, or, what are the coping strategies and measures adopted to circumvent situations of conflict by the respondents? This is a question that is explored in the following section.

### **5.11. Understanding coping models in Role conflict**

Working mothers have various motivating reasons for working outside the home although generating independent income was found to be the most common. Many women work because they truly enjoy their jobs and gain pleasure from achieving a successful career

life. Such employment was found to engender many positive feelings resulting in increased self-confidence, self-respect, and independence for many working mothers. Childcare arrangement is necessary for working mothers yet it has become an increasingly challenging experience for many full-time employed mothers to stay committed in the workforce. This section attempts to delve into the coping strategies which working mothers in Naga society have adopted in the course of navigating possible conflict between their parental and professional roles. Coping strategies encompasses behavioural and/or cognitive attempts to manage specific situational demands which are appraised as taxing or exceeding one's ability to adapt (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984).

The coping model developed by Hall (1972) for role conflict identified three levels of the role process namely- structurally imposed demands, personal role conception and role behaviour. These three strategies correspond to the levels of the role process described by Levinson (1959) as structurally given role demands, personal role conceptions and role behaviour. Given these three levels of the role process described by Levinson, it is possible to derive coping mechanisms which intervene in the role process at each level. Similarly, Hall had also suggested that an individual can alter structurally-given demands, modify personal role definitions or even meet all role requirements in response to varied role conflict situations. In respect of the coping model by Hall (1972), Structural Role Redefinition is one that typically involves negotiations with others as a way to alter structurally given demands and come to mutual agreement on a revised set of expectations. Thus, individuals using this strategy to handle work-family role conflicts might arrange flexible work schedules with employers to attend to parenting responsibilities, negotiate timing schedule with spouses or even make alternative child care arrangements. This type of coping strategy is similar to Goode's concept (1960) of role bargains. An example would be a working mother who negotiates an agreement with the superior to finish work at 2:00 p.m. so that she can be home when her children arrive home from school. Structural demands can also be altered in another way by re-allocating or sharing one's household tasks such as cleaning, washing and child care. The second type of coping according to Hall (1972) is Personal Role Redefinition which involves changing one's definition of important roles in life. Individuals using this strategy to cope with work-family conflict might view either family or profession as more important and accordingly alter one's career or other aspirations. Another response pertains to individuals adopting the attitude that role conflict is an inevitable fact in life and to hope for its decrease in time. Personal role redefinition, if not accompanied by structural redefinition, was however viewed by Kroeber (1963) more as a defence tactic rather than a

coping process. In contrast to the above cited strategies, the third type of coping strategy in Hall's (1972) model is the Increased Role Behaviour. Here, the individual works more efficiently and time is carefully planned so that one can fit everything at once. Individuals by adopting increased role behaviour, attempt at improving the quality of their role performance so that all the role demands are satisfied. The main goal of the above elaborated strategies by Hall is the management or elimination of role conflicting situations and hence, these strategies are perceived as 'problem-focused' strategies. Psychologists Lazarus & Launier (1978) also developed two fundamental types of coping strategies which are 'problem-focused' that relates to making changes in the role conflict situation itself, and the second one is 'emotion-focused' which deals with alleviating the emotional reaction that emerges from stressful role-conflicting situations. There are other psychological concepts like Cognitive Restructuring which refers to changes in one's attitude to alter the meaning of the conflict situation and Tension Reduction which refers to unconcealed behaviours that is targeted at stress reduction adopted by individuals in conflict management. A person using Cognitive Restructuring as a coping strategy to deal with work-family conflict might think, *"my situation could be worse than this"* or *"This is a natural reaction that is normal for any working parent."* Finally, Tension Reduction as a strategy might involve changes in eating, sleeping, or exercise patterns and/or overt expression of feelings about the situation (Elman & Gilbert, 1984). These coping models discussed above would serve as a lens to analyse the strategies adopted by the respondents in the study context to combat home-work conflict. Whilst doing so, it is pertinent to take note of the point made by Rotondo *et.al.* (2003) that no coping style is universally appropriate as some strategies might work better with specific forms of conflict or within specific contexts such as culture or personal values.

#### **5.12. Coping strategies of working mothers in Naga society**

The data from the current study suggests that most working mothers in Naga society are able to juggle the incongruent roles of a wife, mother and an employed professional albeit confirming to recognizing situations of role conflict at some point in life. Most respondents are able to balance the work-family conflict because of certain coping strategies or coping mechanisms that they have adopted over the course of striving to strike a balance between home and career. On the basis of empirical data from the field, the coping strategies of the working mothers in the study context can be understood under the following broad categories:

### 5.12. A. Efficient time management

The study reveals that time constraint was ranked as the top source of role conflict for the respondents. When efficient time management is practiced respondents could circumvent and manage the work-family conflict sans much stress. With 45 per cent of the respondents being between the ages of 30 to 40 years, many of the working mothers are weighed down with novel roles of being first time mothers with considerably low work experience. In role conflicting situations it is found that most of them adopted Personal role redefinition and Increased role redefinition strategies along with cognitive restructuring. A case in point can be illustrated with the narrative of a 34 year old respondent, an engineer, who said, *“It is a known fact that younger junior officers end up doing majority of the office work in every department. If the senior officers do not want to travel for trainings or conferences, we are the ones to go by default no matter our work schedule or demands at the home front. Being a young mother with a demanding job, it is impossible for me to avail Leaves often. I feel terrible as a mother for not being able to give time to my child especially when I have to travel for work. So, the only option for me was to fix a daily routine schedule in order to manage my busy schedule.”* Her narrative corresponds with Elman and Gilbert’s (1984) study who found that professional women with young children may feel a desire and an obligation to fulfil many aspects of the parental role rather than delegating these responsibilities, perhaps out of guilt associated with perceived neglect of the parental role.

The age of the respondents emerged as a key factor for the occurrence of role conflict situations, ranging from mild to severe. The respondents between the ages of 30 to 40 years were found to comprise the majority who stated to have more role conflicting situations as compared to older respondents above the age of 40 whose children were past the ‘hands-on’ stage and presumably young adults. A 55 year old respondent who is a senior planning officer said thus, *“My children are all in college now, and in the work place also it is more relaxed now compared to the earlier years. On days when I have a lot of work or have family emergency to attend to, I delegate the work to my colleagues who are willing to fill in my duties. If you ask me, I concur that the early years of being an employee with young children at home was the time when I faced more conflict from my dual role as compared to my life at present. I think most mothers my age would agree with me on this.”* Many respondents who were mothers to children under the age of 5 also cited time management as an effective source for balancing their dual role and are of the opinion that they bear with the difficulties as it is only a temporary thing; once the child grows up, their difficulties will also decrease.

This construal echoes the work of Gilbert *et. al.*, (1981) who found that younger professional women in dual-career families tend to use the equivalent of Increased Role Behaviour in managing conflicts between their professional and parental roles while older women tend to use Structural Role Redefinition and Personal Role Redefinition. Thus, the given coping strategies adopted by the respondents can be said to be intuitively wise.

#### **5.12. B. Supportive role of spouse and children**

The supportive role of a spouse was found to play a significant role in the way the family functions when a mother is in paid employment, and on the working mother's ability to handle her dual role efficiently. Most significant is a husband who is understanding and supportive of the wife's working status. Respondents have acknowledged their husbands who encouraged them to go out of the home to work as they have spent years mastering a degree so their education should not go to waste, husbands who shared household work so the wife can continue working. Strong spousal support is also vital, both emotionally and for assisting the wife in performing her role responsibilities. Emotional support enables working mothers to have the freedom to make major career commitments and also have a positive outlook about work and family life integration. Lack of such spousal support can contribute to feelings of inadequacy, particularly with regard to parenting role expectations. Furthermore, spousal assistance in meeting role demands associated with childcare and household chores not only keep working mothers from being unduly burdened by home responsibilities but also facilitate the development of a family pattern in which major life roles are more equitably shared (Elman and Gilbert, 1984). The situational variables of spousal and social support being significant for lowering conflict has also been pointed out by several other studies, with higher levels of spousal support associated with lower role conflict (Bebbington, 1973; Holahan & Gilbert, 1979a; 1979b; Polomma, 1972). Similarly, both spousal and social support are found to effectively contribute in coping during major life transitions (Hamburg & Adams, 1967) and in combining family and career roles (Holahan & Gilbert, 1979b; Holmstrom, 1972; Rapoport & Rapoport, 1969). In this regard, one can refer to the concept of 'the second shift' (Milkie *et. al.*, 2009; Hochschild & Machung, 2012; Croft *et. al.*, 2014) which women in dual earner households often face wherein, they engage in more household chores and childcare than their husband. The above cited studies highlighted the fact that women with more domestically involved spouses is correlated to more flexibility in pursuing career ambitions, closing the gender career achievement gap and reduced second shift for working women.

According to Settles *et.al*, (2009) families are regarded as the safety net for society because they handle whatever problems for which there are no adequate programs or organizational responses in the larger society. They also highlight the concept of intergenerational transfers and its vital role in reducing family stress and supporting individuals at certain turning points and transitions in life. Along with the spousal support, the respondents have also referenced the positive attitude of the children towards the mother's dual-role that has proved to be instrumental in reducing guilt from childcare problems to a great extent.

#### **5.12. C. Service of substitute caregivers**

According to Casper (1997) substitute caregivers are broadly grouped into two categories: *Familial* and *non-familial* caregivers: *Familial* caregivers are related to the child and include fathers, grandparents, older siblings, aunts and uncles, and other relatives. Whereas, *non-familial* caregivers are those who are not related to the child and include group arrangements (preschool, nurseries, day care centres), and in-home care (baby-sitters/nannies or domestic help). The essential role grandparents play in childcare of dual earner families have been identified in studies such as by Kamo and Zhou (1994) who found that in Asian societies, grandparents are more likely to reside with their grandchildren and adult children in extended households or in households headed by their adult children rather than living on their own. Similarly, Nauck and Suckow (2006) found that many grandparents especially in Asia, still live with their adult child. In the Indian context, women are found to spend most of their time doing unpaid work, looking after their children and the elderly in the family (Chandrashekar & Agarwal, 2017). Similarly, in the study context, 95 per cent of the respondents belonged to nuclear family type with mentions of aged parent(s) cohabiting with the nuclear family unit. In light of this, a 50 year old Stenographer can be cited, “*My parent's house is just a stone throw away from our house. My husband is posted in another town so when I go to work, my parents look after my kids which is a big relief for me as I don't feel safe leaving childcare in the hands of people other than immediate family.*” These narratives by the respondents serves to illustrate the critical place grandparents, unmarried siblings and other relatives often have in meeting the needs of a working parent. Research has indicated that informal child care provided by grandparents is valued by parents and continues to be an important source of support to young parents (Ferguson *et.al.*, 2004; Mitchell, 2007; Wheelock & Jones, 2002). Descriptive studies of maternal and family characteristics associated with the likelihood of childcare by relatives have found that it is positively associated with the belief that parents should be caring for their own children

(Hertz & Ferguson, 1996; Kuhlthau & Mason, 1996) and for families with small children under the age of two (Hofferth *et.al.*, 1991; Kuhlthau & Mason, 1996). Such was the case for a 32 year old respondent who says, *“Both my husband and I are professionals with young children and sometimes when we have too much work to attend to, my mother voluntarily looks after the children- right from picking up my eldest child from pre-school to tending to her after school needs until we get home from work.”* It is obvious that many respondents delegated childcare to their elderly parents at times when they were unable to be at home, had to travel out of town for work, or had too much work. Therefore, ushering in the importance of kinship networks in child-care for working parents. Wellman and Wortley (1989) view kinship networks as forms of social structure in society that can facilitate support to individuals. Respondents were queried on the kind of childcare arrangements they availed when the mother goes out to work, and provided with some options to choose from including domestic help, relative, neighbours and others. Majority of the respondents being from dual earner families, ‘husband’ as an option was incorporated into the ‘others’ category. The respondents were asked to tick whichever option is applicable.

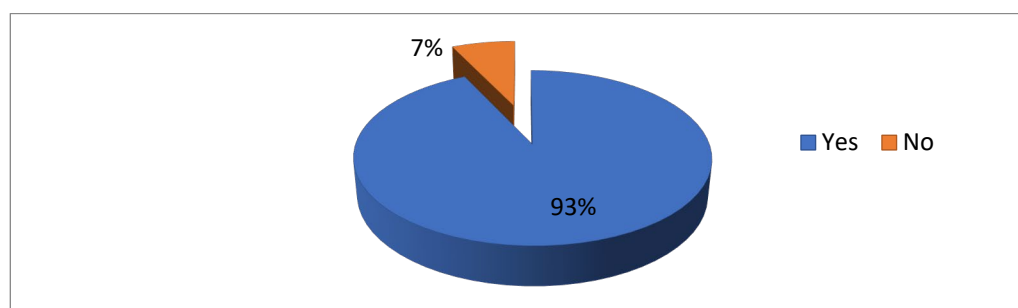
**Table 5.2. Child-care arrangement of working mothers**

Sl.No	Childcare arrangement	Frequency	Percentage
1	Domestic help/babysitter	118	45.74
2	Relatives	87	33.72
3	Neighbour	2	0.78
4	Carry to workplace	0	0.00
5	Others	51	19.77
	Total	258	100

The table above shows that while the total number of respondents in the study is 240, the responses recorded for this question is however 258. This ensued because 7 per cent of the respondents marked both ‘domestic help/babysitter’ as well as ‘relatives’ as the preferred childcare arrangement. 45.74 per cent (118 respondents) delegated childcare to the domestic help/babysitter when the mother goes to work, followed by relatives or kin at 33.72 per cent. Not a single respondent took the child to the workplace. This validates the case stated earlier about the imperative of crèches at the workplace especially more so when a child is in the breastfeeding stage. Not only would it be beneficial for a working mother, every working parent would benefit from this arrangement. For the respondents who chose ‘others’, the

responses were “*my child goes to school*” and “*child/children is/are grown up so they can take care of themselves*”. A survey done through the All Nagaland Domestic Workers Union (ANDWU) and the Nagaland Domestic Workers Movement (NDWM) in collaboration with The International Domestic Workers Federation (IDWF) and Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO) found that in terms of child care, family is the main source of support with 64 per cent of respondents with children reporting that they leave their child in the care of a family member while they are at work (WIEGO Policy Brief No 27, 2021). On being queried whether the respondents were satisfied with their child care arrangement, 93 per cent of the respondents replied in the affirmative while 7 per cent said they were not satisfied.

**Fig.5.17. Satisfaction with child-care arrangement**



For the respondents who said “No”, reasons given were, “*infant has to be cared for by the mother*” and “*others don’t understand the needs of the child like the mother does*”. These statements point to the internalization of gender norms by the respondents, consistent with the symbolic-interactionist perspective that socially defined standards of conduct function as self-regulatory guides for the individual through internalization (Mead 1934). Gender stereotypes in most societies prescribe mothers and not fathers to prioritize their family over their work. Therefore, internalization of gender stereotypes may predict higher levels of guilt among mothers when they prioritize their work over their family in certain situations (Aarntzen *et.al.*, 2019; 2022). In the context of the Naga society, not all working mothers can afford childcare while some do not believe in delegating childcare in the hands of childcare substitutes. These respondents eventually end up conforming to the ‘mother role’ as ascribed by society and often tend to passively cope with both wage work and unpaid housework. Harris *et.al.* (2002) point out that most working mothers are not making a *child-care decision* but rather make *child-care decisions* for their children. The family context, and in particular the number and age composition of children is crucial in decision making related to childcare arrangements. In this context, a 35 year old lecturer says, “*I am a mother of five children, all under the ages of 8. I have two domestic helpers at home and they look*



*after the kids when I am at work. I know it is not easy to look after five toddlers and there are times when my helpers are in the wrong and I have to correct them but I try to control myself not to scold them often as, should they decide to leave, our family will suffer. It is very difficult to get good babysitters nowadays so it leaves us with no option but to compromise on our part.”* In the context of the Naga society, social activist Suponenba Longkumer notes, *“The growing number of working women in recent years has given rise to the need for cheap labour to assist in household work, and also care for children in the absence of parent”* (cited in Chubayanger, 2013). However, it would also be noteworthy to mention that, with the rise in child labour, exploitation and problem of trafficking, many parents are reluctant to send their children to the urban areas as domestic helpers with promised education or other incentives. As stated by Chubayanger (2013) it is common practice in Nagaland today to bring poor children from villages to urban areas to work as domestic help in exchange for a better life for the child, away from poverty. Attributions such as ‘domestic helper’ or ‘baby-sitters’ are often criticized for being camouflaged nomenclature for ‘child labour’.

#### **5.12. D. Rationalization as a coping strategy**

With financial independence, increased self-esteem and self-respect as working professionals, the respondents in the study have gained a sense of ‘rationalization’ over the years that has sustained them during role-conflicting situations. Rationalization as a term initially was coined by Max Weber and refers to the process of thinking up socially approved reasons for one’s behaviour. It refers to the replacement of traditions, values, and emotions as motivators for behaviour in society with concepts based on rationality and reason (Papastephanou, 2001). Rationalization as a defence mechanism was identified by Anna Freud (1937) and according to her it refers to a phenomenon whereby *“when people are not able to deal with the reasons they behave in particular ways, they protect themselves by creating self-justifying explanations for their behaviours.”* Rationalization is a defence mechanism which permits an individual to deal with emotional conflicts or internal or external stressors by devising reassuring or self-serving but incorrect explanations for his or her own or others’ thoughts, actions, or feelings, which cover up other motives (Perry, 1990). Rationalization can be further understood from the point of Shah (2022) who describes two types of rationalization where the first type is the ‘silver lining’ which is an assumption that everything happens for the best so one needs to find the blessing in disguise in it. This type of rationalization was exhibited by a 42 year old respondent working as an assistant

professor who says, *"I have made my parents and myself proud by earning a Ph.D degree so I should remind myself that on days when I feel like my work stress is too much and I'm on the verge of quitting!"* Similarly, a 47 year old respondent employed as a Senior Accounts Officer says, *"My life would be monotonous if I stayed at home so I may as well go to work."* Another respondent, a 56 year old Administrator of a school says, *"If I don't go to work, I fear my children will be less ambitious in life. I am trying to set a good example to my kids."* The second type of rationalization according to the Shah (2022) goes by the term 'sour grapes phenomenon' which is said to be derived from the renowned Aesop's fable about the fox and the grapes and in this type of rationalization, the person may say, *"I wasn't interested in this job anyway."* This was found to be the case of a 45 year old advocate who said, *"If I am unable to meet the demands from my work and family, I am willing to quit my job as my husband also earns more than enough to look after the family's needs."* Thus, rationalizing is found to be largely adopted by the respondents as a coping mechanism to navigate through the strains of conflict of straddling work and family simultaneously. Hall (1972) notes that a person attempting to resolve role conflicts may go through a process of first clarifying and accepting her own attitudes and perceptions and then confronting her role senders; the latter (structural role redefinition), may be difficult to do without the former (Personal role redefinition). Therefore, working mothers typically have a number of different coping strategies available to them and often use some to a greater or lesser degree than others in dealing with role conflict situations. The respondents in this study are no exception to this; having used all three strategies to some degree, and used some strategies more than others. It is evident that Structural role redefinition was found to be the most highly adopted coping strategy by the respondents followed by Increased Role Behaviour. To reiterate, Increased Role Behaviour involves efforts by the individual 'to execute whatever work is assigned to them' by working harder and more efficiently though the demands from the professional and family roles may remain unchanged. The least used coping strategy was found to be Personal Role Redefinition.

The respondents also reported a high degree of effectiveness in coping with conflicts between work-family roles, influenced in large measure by the desire 'to be acceptable' in a society which does not provide much encouragement for a career-oriented mother. The question arises then, how one is to describe the nature of role conflict in respect of working mothers in Naga society who perceive themselves as effectively managing their work and family roles? It is very clear that the nature of role conflict in Naga society is culturally created. The work-family conflict of respondents in the current study emerges from the role

expectations derived from traditional Naga cultural values and traditions. Hall (1972) had suggested that a collective strategy may be more effective to deal with role conflict at the organizational or cultural level. Therefore, in the study context, a collective strategy would be more appropriate for effectively dealing with the inevitable conflict situations that occur when mothers try to balance home and work life simultaneously.

## **CHAPTER VI**

### **SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION**

## Chapter VI

### Summary and Conclusion

*“A love for tradition has never weakened a Nation; indeed it has strengthened nations in their hour of peril- Winston Churchill”*

Social norms and values are the basic components of ‘role’ and with the changing society, the norms and values that define women’s role in society today are also a fusion of traditional and modern elements. As women today increasingly perform multiple roles that often conflict, the discrepancy that comes with the way individuals are expected to behave is because of this very fact. Throughout history, women’s existence everywhere has been defined in terms of socio-cultural, political and economic terms such that the role of women has been identified primarily as a nurturer or caregiver. The patriarchal culture and practices of the Naga society defines and lays down ‘correct’ forms of conduct for both men and women. In the dynamic landscape of the Naga society, the traditional role of women has been deeply rooted in cultural and societal norms where Naga women traditionally held the primary responsibilities as household managers, played the nurturant role and ensured the family’s wellbeing which also extended to maintaining the social cohesion within their community. However, with social change, modern influences have gradually reshaped the traditional gender roles of men and women. The role of working mothers in present Naga society today remains a nuanced interplay of aspirations, responsibilities and societal expectations. Naga women today have broken traditional barriers of a ‘homemaker’ and have entered into the world of paid employment as professionals. This new norm, while considered a strategic means of self-empowerment in a society that had traditionally limited women’s role, also challenges the traditional gender role expectations in Naga society as women increasingly participate in education, careers and the public sphere. While the traditional values confine women’s primary role to the family and to be subjected to the authority of men, on the other hand, modernity stresses women to be liberated, independent and be at par with men in society. It is this interface of traditional and modern values for Naga women that reflects a dynamic tension between the deeply ingrained cultural norms and the evolving influences of modernity. As many educated modern Naga women traverse the spheres of family and professional pursuits whilst also attempting to preserve one’s cultural identity and embrace modern opportunities, the challenge of work and family conflict emerges as a central theme. Therefore, the present study was undertaken to explore into the motivating factors for working mothers from seeking paid employment outside the

home and also to examine the nature of role conflict experienced by working mothers in the public service of the state that emerges as one adapts, negotiates and coexists with the diverse influences that shapes roles of men and women in the cultural context.

In the Naga society, the traditional gender ideology expects mothers to prioritize domestic responsibilities including childcare over her professional responsibilities, and irrespective of the lack of time and energy, most working mothers wind up doing a major portion of the unpaid housework. The persistence of conventional gendered division of labour often culminated in situations of conflict between the respondents and their spouses over division of housework. Respondents who found themselves conflicting with their spouse '*very often*' over division of housework were largely found to belong to the age-group of 30 to 50 years employed in clerical, teaching, administration and police professions, including a few office attendants. The significant variables accounting for the frequent conflict with the spouse was found to be the respondents' working hours both at home and in the workplace, and age of children. Alongside these variables, the gendered division of labour in the family, for instance, reflected through the fact that majority of the respondents spend leisure time helping the children with their homework/studies (refer fig.3.1 & fig.3.2), leaving practically no leisure time for themselves precipitated situations of conflict with spouses. This accentuates the fact that women in Naga society continue to hold responsibility of the domestic sphere notwithstanding her additional role as a paid professional. The patriarchal structure and ethos that supports this ideology continue to operate in the interface of the worlds of work and home, creating role inconsistencies and role strain for the working women.

In every society, the classification of gender roles such as that of a breadwinner and a homemaker have contributed to gender differences through stereotypes, expectations, beliefs and skills leading to differences in behaviour for men and women (Eagly, 1987). In the study context, the traditional gender ideology of Naga society has failed to recognize women as 'breadwinners' as that privilege was restricted to men and women's proper place was the private domain of home. A significant pointer to a change in this dichotomous ideology was, almost half of the respondents perceive themselves as 'primary earners' in the family. This in itself challenges the traditional gender ideology where men are viewed as the 'breadwinners' in the family. The changing paradigm of the 'bread-earner' ideology can further be gauged through the top motivating factor for seeking paid employment by the respondents which were found to be financial self-sufficiency. This indicates that women no longer perceived themselves as dependents on male members in society. Financial self-

sufficiency was found to be closely followed by other motivating factors of self-esteem and self-respect, and supplementing family income. In light of this change, a crucial aspect that demands attention in contemporary Naga society pertains to the household decision-making behaviour whereby traditionally the father or the husbands wield utmost authority on all major issues in the family. In contrast to the patriarchal approach, Becker (1964) and Manser & Brown's (1980) talks of a 'bargaining approach' which contends that members of a family make household decisions and distribution of household resources such as control and use of income through an internal bargaining process, such that that it meets their personal preferences. The bargaining approach has proved to play a central role in the analysis of decision-making behaviour since the 1980s (Pollack, 2005). The household decision-making aspect was explored focussing on major decision making of the respondents and their spouses. The finding contests the general notion of male dominance on matters of family decision-making. It emerged that majority of the respondents at 72 per cent took decision jointly with their spouses on major household issues, while in the case of a smaller section of respondents at 21 per cent, their spouses are stated to be in control of the major decision makings. Along with the household general decision-making behaviour, the question of who holds authority in managing the family income or wealth was also explored as studies recognize economic power as the key variable in bargaining the family's power balance in matters of marriage or household decisions (Friedberg & Webb, 2006; Blumberg & Coleman, 1989; Blood & Woolfe, 1960; Lim, 1997). 64 per cent of the respondents took joint financial decisions with their spouse while 33 per cent of the respondents took the family's financial matters on their own.

Hence, the study points to a clear correlation between decision making authority and the educational level and income level of the incumbent. The decisive variable for the lack of decision-making capability among the respondents was found to be their lower income and lower educational qualification relative to their spouses'. By contrast, those respondents who took joint decisions with their spouses were all found to be having either equal or higher educational level, as well as comparative income levels with their spouses. The relevance of resource control to decision making is further highlighted by the fact that respondents who earned more than their spouses were found to be the primary decision makers in the household. In this context, it can be concluded that the higher the income and education of the husband, the more authority they exert on the major decision-making process in the family. Significantly, a correlation can be observed between major decision-making aspect and financial management in the family, as majority of the respondents' spouses who

exercised authority in the household decision-making process were also found to control authority in the financial decisions as well. The study finding concurs with Lin's (2009) argument that the resources possessed by each spouse such as income, occupational status and education provide leverage in the bargaining and negotiation between spouses thus affecting the marital power and the family's decision-making process. It corresponds to Friedberg & Webb's (2006) study who found that amongst all the factors tested that may influence decision making power in the family such as education, occupation, race, etc., the relative household earnings of the family viz-a-viz the ratio of average earnings of husband and wife was found to have the biggest effect. The financial independence of the respondents which enabled them to equally contribute to the household income, along with the husband's less earning in the case of some respondents has led to a shift in the role of women within the family and the loosening of the patriarchal provider-housekeeper ideology considerably. The study also finds a strong correlation between self-perception of self as 'primary earner' and the ability of respondents to take joint decisions with spouses.

This relative shift reflected in a more equal distribution of decision-making power within the family on issues of major decision making and financial management, however, has not brought corresponding changes in traditional division of labour in the household. This can be substantiated through an examination of the division of labour within the household. The study finds that 45 per cent of the respondents spend more than 4 hours daily on household chores in addition to approximately 8 or more hours at the workplace daily. As Hochschild and Machung (2012) had argued, women's historically newer role of worker, when added to a relatively unchanged home/family role results in a 'second shift' putting them at increased risk of time scarcity and overload. With an unprecedented number of women today sharing equal financial burden with their partners, it is notable that most men have not affected a parallel move to equitably share the domestic responsibilities with their wives (Dugan & Barnes-Farrell, 2018). This is found to be true for the respondents in the present study who, alongside professional responsibilities still bear primary responsibilities for domestic work, revealing the phenomenon of 'second shift' in Naga society today. It has led to situations of role conflict with more than half of the respondents stated to have experience conflict between work and family obligations (fig.3.10). However, in spite of the role conflict, 84 per cent of the respondents stated that they could combine profession and family in concordance (fig.3.11) which presented somewhat of a paradoxical situation. A further correlation of these two contradictory findings reveals that respondents who felt that they experienced conflict between work-family obligations could balance the conflict by



adopting coping strategies such as efficient time management, supportive role of spouse and children, service of alternative caregivers and having a rational attitude in mitigating role conflicting situations.

As working mothers simultaneously straddle work and family obligations, the pressures of dual role commitments can spillover into the daily life of working mothers. Given the phenomenon of second shifting characterising the daily life of working mothers, the respondents had ranked the top source of role conflict as time constraint. This was followed closely by work-related stress. Due to the time constraint or time scarcity, the respondents particularly belonging to the age group between 30 to 40 years, largely employed as lower-level clerks expressed inability to fulfil social obligations. The significant variable leading to this predicament was found to be the duration of office working hours and presence of young children at home. Linton (1936) had argued, the violation of one role requirement often occurs in the course of conformity to another which creates situations of role conflict as a result of role incompatibility. This is found to be true for the respondents who end up sacrificing their social life and obligation in order to conform to the demands of home and work. The presence of young children at home was found to be a crucial determinant variable for all working mothers in relation to the issue of conflict between home and work. A substantial number of respondents at 39 per cent had children under the age of 5 years.

Majority of the respondents at 86 per cent perceived themselves to have mild to moderate stress and the significant variables for this were found to be the age of the youngest child, strata of job and the nature of profession. Criticising studies on time demands, Holahan & Gilbert (1979) point out that dual career couples perceived a moderate level of role conflict. Subsequent to the findings of the perceived stress of the respondents as stated above, 72 per cent of the respondents stated that their professional life affected their mental and physical health. However, the impact on working mothers was not all negative as there were important positive consequences of being a working professional. The positive aspects cited were increase in self-esteem, self-respect, confidence and rise in one's status in society deriving from financially self-sufficiency. The respondents perceived themselves as 'financially independent individuals', 'empowered working mothers' and 'equal contributors' to household income, and in most cases, equal decision-makers in the household. Such self-perceptions and processes have been instrumental to the respondents' response towards role conflicting situations. This is concurrent with studies which show that maintaining work-life balance can impact on a mother's psychological well-being, including

satisfaction with life, self-esteem and self-acceptance (Barnett, 1998; Burke & McKeen, 1994). The respondents cited work-related stress, anxiety and guilt from inefficient time management between work-family demands as the primary negative elements of being working mothers. It is evident that the respondents were conscious of the conflict between work and family that affects their wellbeing but regardless of the perceived negative penalty, only a miniscule number of respondents at 9 percent expressed regret at being a working mother, while an overwhelming number at 91 percent had no regrets of their choice to pursue a career. Supporting factors that boost them on notwithstanding the challenges were found to be spousal support, relatives' support and positive attitude of society towards their working status. Judicious handling of conflict situations by husbands between respondents and other relatives, especially parents-in-law, also emerged as a significant sustaining factor which accentuates the fundamental role that spousal support plays in influencing the respondents' overall positive self-perception as a working mother and the respondents' ability to manage the conflicts that frequently arises out of their dual commitments. Generally, Naga men are very protective of their women and in the domestic sphere, women are found to enjoy full freedom in running the household with her given role as mistress of the house and as long as the house is running smoothly, the husband does not interfere with the household affairs (Jamir, 2005).

While the societal and spousal attitude towards working mothers may be shifting positively, yet the work place ecosystem continues to be rife with challenges for working mothers. The absence or lack of institutional child care facilities in the work places is recognized as an important public lapse that compelled many respondents to make career compromises as the study found that 42.22 per cent of the respondents had their work hours reduced in order to meet domestic responsibilities. Not only that, 5.98 per cent of them have turned down promotions, 7.57 per cent have refused responsible assignments at a preferred location, while 28.29 per cent of respondents have taken a significant time off from work while prioritising domestic responsibilities. A mere 12.27 per cent of the respondents in the study had not made any career compromises, but 1.20 per cent had taken the drastic decision to resign from their job. The primary reasons for reduced work hours and taking a significant time off was maternity leave, and childcare leave (besides health grounds) which indicates that majority of the respondents prioritize mothering role over their professional role.

As working mothers continue to make career compromises to perform family duties, they can become victims of discriminatory attitude at the workplace as the mothering role contradicts with the perceptions of a competent employee. Eagly and Karau (1991) posited

that discrimination may occur when employers perceive mothers as incompetent workers because of the role incongruence between the communal qualities associated with the mothering role and the agentic qualities associated with the professional role. The respondents cited that gender discrimination was an ongoing phenomenon in the workplace. It particularly affected younger working mothers employed in lower-level Grade III jobs. An analysis of the nature of discrimination faced by these respondents suggests that most cases were related to the lack of gender sensitivity in the workplace by colleagues or superiors who marginalized female workers based on gender, and strata of profession.

A critical challenge that working mothers in their reproductive years face in the workplace is the lack of work flexibility or special considerations during pregnancy. A substantial number of respondents (32 per cent) faced this challenge as there were no provisions for pregnant workers for work flexibility or considerations during their pregnancy. This issue was found to be congruent among respondents employed in both state and central services. While female employees in central government jobs can claim 730 days as child-care leave when in service, the same has not been provided by the Nagaland state government for its female employees. Given the lack of childcare facilities at the workplace as well as the lack of special considerations at the workplace for the reproductive functions of women, 98 per cent of the respondents stated their approval towards the need for child care agencies. This reflects the growing awareness and sensitization on the need for organised child care facilities at the workplace as well as privately-owned child care facilities which would not only help working mothers in reducing their role conflict but also help the children in their cognitive development.

Alongside the workplace challenges, respondents also encountered varied childcare challenges in the course of navigating motherhood and professional roles. The presence of young children at home was found to be a crucial determinant variable for all working mothers in relation to the issue of conflict between home and work. A substantial number of respondents at 39 per cent had children under the age of 5 years. One important childcare challenge was in the duration of exclusive breastfeeding period as 20 per cent of the respondents could maintain exclusive breastfeeding of their baby for less than six months, an issue with crucial impact on the health of the babies. Apart from the issue of breastfeeding, the academic and cognitive development of the children of working mothers in the study do not seem to be hampered by the dual role of mothers. Contrary to the perception that the mother's employment affects the academic progress of the children, the present study found

that a majority of the respondents at 76 per cent stated that their children's academic performance was either excellent or satisfactory. Most respondents were found to be very invested in keeping pace with the academic schedule of their children by personally supervising their home studies, even during their leisure time. The extent of intensive mothering by the respondents can be observed through the fact that more than 80 percent of them spend time in child care after their return from workplace. The small percentage of respondents who were unable to attend to their children after returning from work were largely employed in Grade IV jobs as office attendants, had small children and long working hours. The reason for their inability to care for the children was attributed to exhaustion from working long hours. Gani & Ara (2010) had stated that the chances of role conflict increases when the mother has more pre-school children and does not have satisfactory child-care provision at home. Therefore, working mothers with young children, engaged in long working hours both at home and workplace tend to encounter frequent situations of role conflicts and problems of adjustment which further results in a role straining process for the respondents. The role strain emerges from the role overload from their assigned roles in that position. Traditional views that regard a good mother as someone who 'is there' for their children and prioritises her child's needs over her own (including employment related needs) colour the way in which many people regard maternal employment (Dex, 2003). This view is found to resonate even with the respondents as 38 per cent of them feel they were failing to spend enough 'quality time' with their children. The inability to spend quality time was found to be correlated to the nature of profession of the respondents as well as the duration of work hours. Age was also an important factor in this regard with respondents in this category falling largely between 30 to 40 years of age. This reveals that for many young and less experienced working mothers who simultaneously strive to fulfil the demands of both career and family face role overload from multiple role demands which culminates in a role straining situation depriving them of quality time with their children.

Many studies have concluded that children of working mothers face cognitive and behavioural problems (Dejong, 2010; Han, Waldfogel and Brooks-Gunn, 2001). About a third of the respondents' children were stated to have developed health and behavioural problems, which the respondents attribute to their absence from home. The debate on whether the problems exhibited by the children were really affected through maternal absence from home is one that requires further in-depth study. Apart from the much written about negative consequences of children, the present study found that the mother's employment also resulted in certain positive impact on the children. According to the

respondents, their children developed better social and talking skills through time spent in childcare agencies and pre-schools. These positive developments in the children cannot be only credited to the children spending time at day care or pre-schools but also in the vital role played by the parents in structuring the children's perception and responses to their mother working outside the home. The children's awareness about the nature of their mother's work and the positive attitude of the children towards their mother's dual role was found to be a key determinant that have served to reduce the work-family conflict for the respondents. 77 per cent of the respondents' children were aware of the nature of their mother's work, and personal interview of the children found that almost 90 per cent of the children were supportive of the mother's employment outside the home and stated that they were happy if their mothers were happy, though a few child respondents expressed their wish for their mothers to spend more time with them. This shows that when children of working mothers are aware and educated of the nature of their mother's work, the role conflict of working mothers tend to be mitigated.

Notwithstanding the plethora of challenges in being full-time career women most of the respondents at 88 per cent feel that they are justifying the demands of their professional role and 89 per cent of them had job satisfaction. The few respondents who lamented being a working mother had small children under the age of 5, long working hours and were found to have ranked '*work related stress*' as the top source of role conflict. This indicates that the factor of time scarcity, being sandwiched between the professional and mothering roles can prove to be overwhelming for some mothers. Most working mothers evidently accorded primacy to the mothering role, a socio-cultural consequence of the socialization process in Naga society. The internalisation of the reproductive role by the respondents is reflected through the fact that although most working mothers have by necessity delegate childcare to baby sitters and other domestic helpers during office hours, quite a few of them expressed dissatisfaction with this arrangement based on the reasoning that only a mother understand the needs of the child (fig.5.17). Thus, the fundamental question of whether the professional role of women conflicts with the mothering role in the study context needs to be addressed. In order to test the hypothesis, the chi-square test was applied which is presented as follow:

$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(O_i - E_i)^2}{E_i}$$

$\chi^2$  = chi square

$O_i$  = Observed value

$E_i$  = Expected value

Test criteria: if the value of  $\chi^2$  is greater than the tabulated value of  $\chi^2$  at 5% level of significance with a certain degree of freedom, then we reject the null hypothesis  $H_0$  otherwise not.

### Hypothesis

**$H_0$  (Null hypothesis):** Professional role of women does not conflict with mothering role in Naga society

**$H_i$  (Alternate hypothesis):** Professional role of women conflicts with mothering role in Naga society

**Table.6.1. Respondents' observed frequency**

Sl.No	Conflict of professional and mothering role	Frequency
1	Very often	114
2	Seldom	113
3	Never	13
	Total	240

Expected frequencies =  $\frac{114+113+13}{3} = \frac{240}{3} = 80$

$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(O_i - E_i)^2}{E_i}$$

$$= 84.175$$

**Table 6.2. Table for calculation of  $\chi^2$  value**

$O_i$	$E_i$	$O_i - E_i$	$\frac{(O_i - E_i)^2}{E_i}$
114	80	34	14.45
113	80	33	13.6125
13	80	-67	56.1125
			84.175

Calculated  $\chi^2 = 84.175$  is greater than the tabulated  $\chi^2 = 5.991$ , therefore we reject the null hypothesis  $H_0$ .

**Table 6.3. Test statistics**

<b>Estimated chi-square components</b>	<b>Professional role conflicts with mothering role</b>
	84.175
<b>Df</b>	2
<b>Asymp. Sig.</b>	.000

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 80.0.

**Table. 6.4. Respondents' frequency table**

<b>Conflict of professional and mothering role</b>	<b>Observed N</b>	<b>Expected N</b>	<b>Residual</b>
<b>Very often</b>	114	80.0	34.0
<b>Seldom</b>	113	80.0	33.0
<b>Never</b>	13	80.0	-67.0
<b>Total</b>	240		

With degree of freedom = 2, it is seen from table 6.3 that the p-value for the estimated chi-square value is practically zero indicating that the null hypothesis is rejected at 5 per cent and 1 per cent level of significance. Therefore, it shows that the professional role conflicts with mothering role in Naga society which validates the hypothesis of the present study. Simmel (1955) terms conflict as a form of 'sociation' in itself, opining that in every social group and processes, conflict plays a dynamic role in its change and development. However, it is also argued that a society plagued with conflict is not a healthy sign for development and requires to be treated with equitable solutions and resolutions. From the test results above, professional role does conflict with the mothering role for respondents in the present study but the nature of conflict experienced varied amongst respondents in all the three age groups. Respondents between the ages of 30 to 40 years employed in the Grade IV jobs were the most represented in the category facing professional role conflicts with the mothering role and a majority of these respondents at 87.5 per cent have children under the age of 5. There were also respondents who did not have small children but encountered situation of role-conflict on account of the working hours duration. Meanwhile, the respondents between the ages of 40 to 50 years were mostly employed in Grade I and Grade II administrative jobs who cited long working hours as the primary factor for conflict between the professional and mothering roles. Finally, the respondents between the ages of 50 to 60 years were mostly

employed in Grade I professions in administration, teaching, technical and clerical jobs and the conflict between the dual roles was found to be related to the strata of job. Furthermore, all the respondents expressed that the professional role conflicts with mothering role more when the children are sick, when they have to travel on work-related assignments or when there was work overload. The hypothesis test results do concede that the professional role conflicts with the mothering role in Naga society however, in the context of the present study, younger working mothers with small children in all strata of job hierarchy were found to be the most to experience role conflict. Hence evidently younger working mothers experience inter-role conflict and contingent role conflict consequent to their incumbency in fulfilling both demands of family and work simultaneously. It also affirms the persistence of the ideology of reproductive role of women as nurturer and caregiver that is predominant in patriarchal cultures. Another concurrent perspective is Hay's (1996) intensive motherhood ideology which posits that the most important thing a mother can do in society is raising a child well which is ruled as more worthwhile than being a paid professional. This ideology is found to be reflected strongly among the respondents most affected by the work-family conflict. One can conclude that such hegemonic models of appropriate mothering only continue to reinforce patriarchy in Naga society. It is further exacerbated by societal expectations of male and female roles, strengthened by the lack of supportive policies in the workplace for working mothers and limited childcare options. The presence of small children under the age of 5 years is found to be significantly associated with work-family conflict for almost all the respondents. Whereas, for older working mothers the work-family conflict experience is observed to be correlated to their positions as senior officers which entails more professional responsibilities. Gani & Ara (2010) states that maturity in age and mind increases the adaptability of a person and that working women who are older in age are likely to adjust better in role conflicting situations than the younger ones. The present study therefore indicates that senior women officers experience status-produced role conflict that derives from their incumbency in a single status subjected to varied career role demands and expectations.

The working mothers in the present study grapple with multifaceted nature of role conflict which emerges from the intricate interplay between traditional role expectations of a woman and modern career aspirations. The challenge arises when contemporary educated women strive to fulfil family roles that are deeply engrained in cultural norms as well as fulfil their professional role as professionals. The nature of role conflict faced by the respondents includes navigating the dichotomy between traditional caregiver or nurturant



responsibilities and the demands of her public service responsibilities, often leading to challenges in time management, constant negotiation of priorities and unavoidable societal criticisms. This is exacerbated by the presence of small children among the younger working mothers with less experience in both family and professional roles. In a traditional society like the Naga society working mothers appear to experience a greater penalty for entering the sphere of work, traditionally considered as a male domain as compared to men who enter the traditionally designated 'female' sphere of the home. The present study shows that the nature of role conflict in Naga society is culturally created.

Coverman (1989) posits that role overload will likely lead to role conflict situations only when there are no alternative mechanisms to help people in efficiently fulfilling their various roles. The working mothers in the study have been able to navigate the challenges of work-home conflict by adopting strategies such as efficient time management, engaging the service of childcare providers, rationalizing as a coping strategy, and calling on the support of spouse and children. Rationalizing was found to be largely adopted by the respondents as a coping mechanism to navigate through the strains of conflict of straddling from work-family simultaneously. Additionally, structural role redefinition was found to be the most highly adopted coping strategy by the respondents followed by Increased Role Behaviour. Increased Role Behaviour is related to efficient time management strategy and involves efforts to execute whatever work is assigned to them by working harder and more efficiently though the demands from the professional and family roles may remain unchanged. The respondents also reported a high degree of effectiveness in coping with conflicts between work-family roles, influenced in large measure by the desire 'to be acceptable' in a society which does not provide much encouragement for a career-oriented mother. The study shows that younger women in dual-career families tend to use the equivalent of Increased Role Behaviour in managing conflicts between their professional and parental roles while older women tend to use Structural Role Redefinition and Personal Role Redefinition.

The current study points to the respondents experiencing more role straining situations as they navigate their time between the worlds of work and home. The respondents resort to making role bargains to mediate the conflict arising from the dual role commitments. Role bargaining theory served as a critical framework for assessing the management of conflict in the study context. Goode's (1960) theory of role bargaining posits that when two or more roles are held simultaneously, it leads to conflict. The respondents in

the study, after developing a reasoned set of priorities for both family and professional roles, bargain with the role partners in their quest to manage the work-family conflict. The current study presents a specific aspect of work-family conflict of working mothers in Naga society which is the 'inter-role conflict' resulting from incompatible role expectations arising from her dual role-as an employee and as a mother and the 'contingent role conflict' that results from incumbency in her dual status as a mother and a paid employee both of whose legitimate role expectations cannot be fulfilled simultaneously. Hunt & Hunt (1977) had noted that the integration of maternal and professional roles within a dual-career nuclear family structure is an innovative lifestyle, neither fully accepted nor greatly supported at the societal level.

In the traditional Naga society, to be a better mother is emphasized more than being a highly educated individual or a high earning professional. Coupled with the traditional values, Nagaland being a Christian dominated State with almost 90 per cent (2011 census) of Nagas identifying themselves as Christians, one cannot overlook the fact that Christianity itself is grounded on patriarchal ideology. Biblical interpretations can be culturally interpreted suiting the context and objectives of the Naga society. The cultural interpretation of the Bible project the husband as the head of the family, the provider, that wives should submit to their husbands and also addresses women as the weaker vessel, that women be submissive, etc., which serves to reinforce the patriarchal relations in Naga society. One cannot therefore ignore the possibility of the intersection between religion (in this case, Christianity) and tradition reinforcing and strengthening the patriarchal ideology in the context of gender relations in Naga society which requires further research.

Social pressure, consolidated in common cultural practices has always emphasized women's reproductive role (Major, 1993) in which respect men still seem, even today, to be offering a support more in terms of 'being side by side' rather than practice equitable role sharing (Hochschild, 1997). In the context of the Naga society, traditionally men are more engaged in the public sphere than in the domestic sphere and many men may shy away when it comes to taking up domestic roles. The present study however reveals a fluidity and equitable gender role sharing between couples in dual earner families where the husbands take responsibility of the nurturant and caregiver role at home and also contribute in household tasks while the wife works outside the home. This significant development points to the loosening of rigid gender norms among employed dual earner couples in Naga society. Considering the fact that the present study comprised exclusively of working mothers (except for data on husband's educational qualifications and profession), for one to

hypothesize that the Naga society is stuck in a relentless cycle of pluralistic ignorance is a gap in the literature that requires further research. Pluralistic ignorance means the incorrect belief of one's personal attitudes being different from the majorities' attitudes, and thus one goes along with what one thinks others people think (Miller & McFarland, 1991) and is projected to occur when people do not engage in certain behaviours because they think others would not engage in such behaviours (Miller & McFarland, 1991; Stangor et al., 2001; Sechrist & Stangor, 2005). With the increasing number of mothers in the work force, especially mothers with preschool children, there is a need for further research on this area to understand how this important social change affects gender relations in society, with particular focus on authority structure within the family.

### **Summing up and Suggestions**

*"People are not born into the role of parent. People become parents and the demands of that role change with the number and ages of children in the household"* (Reynolds & Johnson, 2012). The family is perhaps the most taken-for-granted of all social institutions. In part this is because the family is sometimes assumed to be natural, biological, or somehow "functional" for society, rather than a social construction whose configurations vary historically and culturally (Thorne, 1982). People's uncritical faith in these assumptions which reinforce the taken-for-grantedness of the family as an institution, have provoked (and continue to provoke) anxieties and concerns as the structure, composition and meaning of family changes (Wharton, 2012). A working parent usually performs three roles simultaneously which are the roles of a worker, parent and spouse. Social norms, gendered roles within the family, societal obligations and various restrictions on mobility have barred many working mothers from achieving their full potential. The need to support a working mother is well recognized and the presumption that the mother plays the dominant role in childcare only affects the professional life of women more than men (Poduval & Poduval, 2009). Accordingly, when a working mother puts her career first before her socially prescribed role as a caregiver it is considered a selfish act and it is because of this pre-conceived notion why women in society cannot be progressive in their career as opposed to their male counterparts. Only when the critique of current conditions come from the women themselves, then, can development processes effectively challenge the relations of patriarchal domination and achieve empowerment in whatever form it may be (Sharp *et.al.* (2003).

The role conflict faced by the educated working mothers in the present study can therefore, be perceived as a psychological phenomenon or 'attitudinal conflict' that stems

from the gender role expectations of a culturally engrained society that is struggling to break away from a traditional patriarchal ethos that continue to remain strong and dominate all aspects of the Naga society. The traditional gender roles are so deeply entrenched in the psyche of the Nagas that they often see them through without questioning them. The ‘motherhood’ image has been assigned a high position in Naga society and it has been driven to that course. Considering this from a working woman’s point of view, the definition however, would need to be re-defined based on the contemporary cultural context of working mothers in Naga society. Jamir states, “*The feminist consciousness is at a nascent stage in Naga society; isolated voices of women empowerment are located within very conservative social mores... society is still traditional in spite of the apparent signs of modernization*” (cited in Das, 2019). As such, it can be inferred that although Naga society continues to evolve, the traditional structural values and contemporary values still collide. Although Naga women have greater freedom in many spaces today, the tradition and customary rules holds them back from the promises of modernity. Hence, the synthesis of traditional values and modern values remains obscure in present Naga society. Then what is Naga culture? Is it the culture to confine women in the domestic front? Notwithstanding the fact that Naga women do enjoy some privileges that are denied to their counterparts in some other States, it is an expected norm for women to be available at home even if they take up profession outside the home (Changkija, 2014). Echoing the words of Kuotsu (2018), “*The segregation of roles between women and men seems to be strongly etched in the minds of the Nagas. As a result of the ‘gendered habitus’ in the Naga society, both women and men endorse the traditional practice of engaging women in soft tasks...the apparent conflict between the democratic values and the Naga traditional values is a manifestation of the reality that the Naga society being a patriarchal society, their customs are largely patrifocal... mindset of people are narrow, education has still not broken down the invisible barriers.*” The respondents have recognized situations of role-conflict as a result of their dual role commitments. They further state that family roles come in the way of professional duties although the nature of role conflict was found to vary according to age. The work-family-conflict of the working mothers can be ameliorated to a large extent if the rigid dichotomous sphere of masculinity and femininity becomes more fluid. This obviously cannot altogether resolve the role conflict situations of working mothers as Walby (1989) asserted that the elimination of any one patriarchal structure does not lead to the demise of the system as a whole, nonetheless it would pave way for other changes at a cultural level.

The present study reveals that role demands does remain unchanged and the younger respondents experienced more role conflict irrespective of the strata of job hierarchy, presence of small children and inaccessible or satisfactory child-care provision at home during their school years. This corresponds to Kahn *et. al.*'s (1964) inter-role conflict theory in which the pressures from the dual role of work and family become mutually incompatible in some respects and both demands from both the family and work environment require time, energy and commitment. Juggling multiple roles simultaneously becomes difficult for working mothers because of the spill-over effects of inter-role conflict when work intrudes into family and vice versa. Coverman (1989) had also noted that a person may experience role conflict from the conflicting demands of multiple roles but will not necessarily encounter role overload unless time pressure is an issue. The present study found that 'time constraint' is pivotal in predicting the outcome of the nature of role conflict for the respondents. With 'time constraint' being adjudged as the top source of role conflict for the respondents and 'efficient time management' as the most effective means of role conflict coping strategy for the respondents, the issue of 'time scarcity' is found to emerge from traditional conventions of the Naga society that makes women to strain themselves to make time for both the domains of home and work. Therefore, role overload is very much an issue for the respondents, which results in role conflict. In light of this, to quote Nahar *et.al.* (1996), "*Today's woman in profession faces a singularly complex dilemma where she has to switch her roles from a house-keeping, family-raising individual to the efficient professional desperately seeking to produce the best results*". As such, the multiples roles of the working mother create feelings of guilt, strain and tension, that regardless of the nature of role conflict experienced, the consequence is always borne by the mother.

So, what can a working mother do to cope with her roles that frequently conflict? Bettelheim (1970) posits that the most important factor when the mother works is her attitude toward work, that if she hates her job, the child will most likely suffer and if she likes her work, the child will pick up her enthusiasm and view life optimistically. This has been found to be true for the child respondents in the present study who shared their mothers' positive attitude and optimism towards work. This attitude has proved to assist the respondents in balancing their dual role commitments. Pediatrician Mary Howell (1973) affirmed that if paid work could enhance a working mother's sense of recognition, competence, achievement, and self-worth, then this enhancement could likely generalize to all her activities. Furthermore, the factors that would affect the child more than the mother's employment were parental attitudes about the mother's employment, the kind of child care

arrangement and the parenting practices. The Naga society is seen to be moving towards a neo-traditional society with the unmistakable upward trend of dual earner families. Most of the respondents in the study have found combining profession and family as challenging yet worthy, notwithstanding the conflicting gender role expectations from society.

Based on the empirical findings of the study, some suggestions are made herewith. The nature of role conflict in respect of the working mothers in the study is found to emanate from the traditional gender role expectations which are culturally created. The Naga cultural ethos that influences men's viewpoint about women's place and role in society still remains but women themselves have internalised patriarchal norms, perpetuating it through the socialization process. As Lachman (2001) states, "*attitude toward gender role like another attitude is learned through experience.*" Socialization is a powerful force that teaches children at very young age to identify gender roles based on role enactment by adults in the family. As the primary caregiver in most homes, mothers can consciously steer away from normative gender norm formation in children. This necessitates increased gender education and awareness for all parents, regardless of gender.

Education emerged as a vital factor that enabled respondents to influence the family's decision-making behaviour in the study context. Furthermore, education also plays a significant role in the elevation of self-perception for the working mothers in the study context. It is imperative to promote higher education among girls and pursue career goals. The present study found that gender stereotyping occurs in the work places which effectively marginalized many respondents professionally and hinder their career progression. In light of this problem, the state can mandate all government departments to regularly conduct awareness and gender sensitisation programmes in all public institutions and departments. The role of the state is crucial to curb the problem of gender discrimination and sexual harassment in the work places. The Sexual Harassment of women at work place (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act 2013 needs to be implemented in letter and spirit in all the work places. This Indian act deals with issues of harassment of women at work places and is binding on every organization, public or private, having more than 10 employees.

The lack of child care facilities in the work places is acutely felt by working mothers, especially younger mothers with small children. The need for child care services for working parents has been recognized by the Ministry of Women and child Development through the implementation of the Maternity Benefit Act 2017, which requires employers with 50 or more employees to provide crèche facilities close to the work place which should be made available to all women employees. The said Act provides for children between 6 months up

to 6 years to be admitted to the crèches. The Nagaland government should take cognizance of the Act and implement in all the state departments. Such a provision would greatly enhance the productivity of working mothers who would be able to carry out their professional responsibilities efficiently without worrying about rushing home for child care chores. The Nagaland government till date has maintained an indifferent attitude towards creating a suitable environment for working mothers in workplaces. The Steering Committee on Women's Agency and Child Rights for the Twelfth Five Year Plan (2012-2017) under the aegis of the Planning Commission in its report has pointed out that the National Crèche Scheme (NCS) has so far fallen short of its target in providing quality day-care services for children in the country.

The state government also need to align its official Leave policy in line with the national policy of Childcare Leave to women employees for duration of 730 days during their service. This provision would allow women employees to fulfil the minimum required duration of six months exclusive breastfeeding of babies which would positively impact the health of both child and mother.

Charles and Cech (2010) suggested that ideals of motherhood in society are influenced by national institutional structures and social policy arrangements that legitimize certain family forms and make certain child care arrangements more or less viable. Therefore, exploring such variability in the public space can help in contextualizing dominant cultural ideals and practices towards motherhood and produce beneficial insights with regard to certain personal and structural factors that are attached to different conceptualizations of motherhood. Thus, normative understandings of motherhood become essential since they assist in shaping women's place and role in the public space and also play a key role towards the early life experiences of children which can influence the domestic division of labour.

The current study reveals that the respondents experience more work-family conflict when the children are sick leading to feelings of guilt and stress in mothers. Moore (1978) had stated that the new norm for women in general and mothers in particular although liberating, may also pose new dilemmas especially for mothers with small children. Perry-Smith and Blum (2000) also point to the necessity of family friendly environment for employed parents by providing conditions such as flex-time, family leave, on-site day care, career-break schemes, or informal support networks which is not a privilege but a necessity of the twenty first century. Therefore, varied alternative provisions can be provided for

working parents whether it requires working from home, flexible work hours for nursing mothers along with provisions for institutional childcare facilities at the work place or in close proximity to one's place of employment, longer paternity leave, increased access to good-quality affordable child-care and after-school care, which would assist many working mothers to be productive at the workplace. An example of working parents-friendly policy can be that of Scandinavian countries. These countries are often heralded for providing equal opportunities to women and men, while at the same time provide policies that allow women's employment contribution to be different from men's in having longer parental leave and long periods of part-time work following childbirth. Sweden for instance, offers fathers of young children 2 and half months of paid leave, Norway (2 months), and Iceland (3 months), often referred to as 'Daddy Leave'. This illustration can be considered in light of the 15 days paternal leave of government employees in the country. This official provision in fact just serves to essentialize the mothering role of women, and is in tandem with the conventional mindset of a patriarchal society that prescribes primary responsibility of childcare to a mother.

The issue of postpartum depression which is a common phenomenon experienced by many mothers after they give birth was also found to be the case of a respondent in the present study which underlines the need for awareness on this important issue. With varying symptoms of stress seen in the respondents' overall wellbeing on account of role conflict, it therefore becomes a serious issue not only for the physical and mental wellbeing of the working mothers but also the family members, colleagues and others who could also be adversely affected by the 'spill-over effects' of work- family conflict. Therefore, the service of well-trained health professionals, counsellors and clinical psychologists can be made available to employees, irrespective of gender, to assist in managing their wellbeing and thereby enhancing their personal growth and productivity at the workplace.

The consequence of role conflict, as living and dynamic as it exists in nature, competing and incompatible roles is inevitable and will continue to be. As more and more women would be adding on a new role to the traditional role of a homemaker, the incidence of different types of role conflict would be more common in future. Thus, there is always a need for further research in this area so as to explore the factors generating role conflicting situations and in the meantime work out coping strategies based on one's cultural environment to accommodate the transformed role of a working mother. The present study reveals that, albeit the time-scarcity factor, the traditional engrained role expectations of the



Naga society created problems of adjustment for working mothers whereby the role conflict of working mothers is culturally created. The culturally assigned gender roles that have been practised in the past can no longer be accommodated in the present-day scenario.

The findings of the study point towards the significance of Ralph Linton's (1936) role theory which was certainly found to have utility for the study undertaken. Linton described roles as the essentially prescribed and static expectations of behaviour, as prescriptions inherent in particular position thereby, stating that these prescriptions of roles are derived from society's culture and expressed through social norms. In the present study, majority of the respondents prioritized their mothering role over their career role which is in line with Hock's (1980) proposition that an employed mother who strongly believes in the exclusivity of maternal care is less likely to experience work-family role conflict as compared to a woman who is more career driven.

Linton remarked that the more perfectly the members of any given society adjust to their statuses and roles, the more smoothly the society functions. In the study context, when situations of role conflict emerged, working mothers are pressured to make certain role adjustments or role bargaining so that the prevailing traditions and values of Naga society are not disturbed by her new status. Situations of role conflict occur and vary according to the strata of job, nature of profession, age of the working mother, age of the children, attitude of family members, workplace environment and can also be affected by one's commitment towards the dual roles, satisfaction of one's goal achievements and autonomy in managing the obligations of her social roles.

Finally, organizational change and interventions can be developed and initiated to help the working parents to identify and intensify the use of adaptive coping strategies in light of situational and individual differences so that working mothers can build more flexibility between work and family life. With the emerging sandwich generation of working mothers in Nagaland, it becomes crucial to bridge the gap in the literature for role-conflict coping strategies that would benefit many working mothers to balance their multiple roles efficiently.

To conclude with a quote by Gloria Steinem, *"You can't do it all. No one can have a full-time job, raise perfect children, prepare meals and be multi-orgasmic 'til dawn...Superwoman is the adversary of the women's movement."*

## **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

### 1. Books:

- Abraham, M. F. (2006). *Contemporary Sociology: An Introduction to Concepts and Theory*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Acharya, I. P. (1998). *Working Mothers: Role Conflicts and Adjustments*. New Delhi: Reliance Publishing House.
- Achumi, P. (2012). *British Policy and Administration in Nagaland* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). scholar Publishing House.
- Amer, M. (2012). *Women's political status and engagement*. Akansha publishing house: New Delhi.
- Ao, A. N. (1993). *Rural Development in Nagaland*. Har Anand Publication, New Delhi.
- Aoki, M. (2001). *Towards a Comparative Institutional Analysis*, Cambridge, MIT Press.
- Banton, M. (1996). Role. In Kuper, Adam and Jessica Kuper (eds). *The Social Science Encyclopedia*. (2nd Edition). London and New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.
- Batliwala, S. (1993). *Empowerment of Women in South Asia: Concepts and Practices*. New Delhi: FAO-FFHC/AD.
- Bareh H. (1970). *Nagaland District Gazeteers*. Publisher: Government of Nagaland.
- Becker, G. (1964). *Human Capital*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Bernard, J. (1975). *Women, Wives and mothers: values and options*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.
- Bhardwaj, P.R. (2005). *Gender Discrimination: Politics of Women Empowerment*. New Delhi: Anamika Publishers & Distributors.
- Biddle, B.J., & Thomas, E.J. (Eds.). (1966). *Role Theory: Concepts and Research*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Blood, R. O. & Wolfe, D. M. (1960). *Husbands and Wives*. New York: Free Press.
- Blumstein, P., & Schwartz, P. (1983). *American Couples: Money, Work, and Sex*. New York: Morrow.
- Bowman, H. A. (1942). *Marriage for moderns*. Whittlesey House, Mcgraw-Hill.

- Brayfield, A., Jones, R. K., & Adler, M. A. (2001). Harmonizing work and family in the European Union: Public perceptions of children as an obstacle to women's employment. In *Women's employment in comparative perspective*, ed. Tanja van der Lippe and Liset Van Dijk, 179–202. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Carstairs, S. (2007). Changing patterns of work in a global context In *Women and Work: Seminar for members of parliamentary bodies dealing with gender equality and committees addressing labour issues*. (December 6-7), pp. 32-34, ILO: Geneva.
- Casper, I. M. (1997). *My daddy takes care of me! Fathers as care providers*. Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau.
- Changkija, M. (2014). *Cogitating for a better deal*. Heritage publishing house: Dimapur.
- Channa, M. (1992). *Nagaland: A Contemporary Ethnography*. New Delhi: Cosmo Publication.
- Charles, M., & Cech, E. (eds.) (2010). 'Beliefs about Maternal Employment', in Judith Treas, and Sonja Drobníč (eds), *Dividing the Domestic: Men, Women, and Household Work in Cross-National Perspective*, pp.147-174. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Chaudhuri, M. (2003). Gender in the making of the Indian Nation State. In R Sharmila (Ed.): *Sociology of Gender: The Challenge of Feminist Sociological Knowledge*. New Delhi: Sage Publications, pp. 340-366.
- Chhakchhuak (2015). Women's Movement: Breaking the Status Quo in Temjensosang, Athungo Ovung and A. Lanunungsang Ao's *Women and Gender: Emerging voices from North-East India*, Dimapur: Heritage Publishing House.
- Connell, R. W. (1995). *Masculinities*. University of California Press: Berkely, LA. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition.
- Connerly, M. L., & Wu, J. (2016). *Handbook on well-being of working women*. Springer: New York.
- Cooke, L. P., & Gash, V. (2007). *Panacea or Pitfall? Women's Part-time Employment and Marital Stability in West Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States*. University of Cambridge Cambridge, UK. GeNet Working Paper, 28.
- Costa, D. M., & James, S. (1973). *The power of women and the subversion of the community*. Falling wall press: Bristol.

- Couzy, M. (2012). *Conflicting Roles: Balancing Family and Professional life- A challenge for Working Women*. Master Thesis. Linnæus University: Sweden.
- Dahlstrom, E. (1967). *The Changing Roles of Men and Women*. London: Gerald Dickworth.
- Dani, A. H. (1960). *Prehistory and Protohistory of Eastern India*, Calcutta.
- Delphy, C. (1978). Close to home: a materialist analysis of women's oppression in Leonard, Diana (edited) *The feminist classics*. Versco publications: London.
- Dephy, C., & Leonard, D. (1992). *Familiar exploitation: a new analysis of marriage in contemporary western societies*. Polity press: Cambridge, UK.
- Dewey, J. (1922). *Human nature and conduct: an introduction to social psychology*. Henry Holt: New York.
- Dex, S. (2003). *Families and Work in the Twenty-first Century*. London: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Downs, F. S. (1996). The Christian impact on the status of women in North-east India. North-Eastern Hill University Publications: Shillong.
- Dudek, E. E. (2008). 'Tribal Religious Beliefs of North East India with Special Emphasis on Nagaland and the Introduction & Effect of the Gospel'. *Globe Serve Journal of Missions*, ISSN 1943-6459.
- Eagly, A. H. (1987). *Sex differences in social behavior: A social-role interpretation*. Psychology Press, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Eagly, A. H., & Diekmann, A. B. (2005). What is the problem? Prejudice as an attitude-in-context. In J. Dovidio, P. Glick, & L. Rudman (Eds.), *On the nature of prejudice: Fifty years after Allport* (pp. 19-35). Blackwell Publishing: Gospons.
- Eagly, A. H., & Wood, W. (2012). Social role theory. In P. van Lange, A. Kruglanski, & E. T. Higgins (Eds.), *Handbook of theories in social psychology* (pp. 458-476) Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications: CA.
- Engels, F. (1884). *Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*. Hottingen-Zurich.
- Ferguson, N., Douglas, G., & Lowe, N., Murch, M. & Robinson, M. (2004). *Grandparenting in Divorced Families*. Policy Press: Bristol, UK.

- Flammer, A. (1990). *Experiencing self-efficacy. Introduction to the psychology of control beliefs*. Huber: Berlin.
- Frazer, J. G. (1957). *The Golden Bough: A Study in Religion and Magic* (complete). Abridged Edition. New York: Dover Publications, Inc.
- Freud, A. (1937). *The Ego and the mechanisms of defense*, London: Hogarth Press and Institute of Psycho-Analysis.
- Gallup & ILO. (2017). *Towards a better future for women and work: voices of women and men*. Gallup, Inc. and ILO.
- Geurts, S. A. E. & Demerouti, E. (2003). Work/NonWork Interface: A Review of Theories and Findings. In M. J. Schabracq, J. A. M. Winnubst & C. L. Cooper (eds.) *Handbook of Work and Health Psychology*. Wiley & Sons: Chichester, pp. 279-312.
- Glick, P. (2001). *Women's Employment and Its Relation to Children's Health and Schooling in Developing Countries: Conceptual Links, Empirical Evidence, and Policies*, Cornell university.
- Goffman, E. (1963). *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. New York: Prentice Hall.
- Greif, A. (2006). *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy: Lessons from Medieval Trade*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Haimendorf, C. V. (2004). *The Naked Nagas*. Spectrum Publication: Guwahati.
- Hall, D., & Hall, F. (1979). *The two-career couple*. Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley.
- Haloi, K. (2004). Village Council: An Experience of Decentralised Planning in Nagaland In Globalisation and Development Dilemma in M.C. Behera (edited) *Reflection from North East India*, Mittal Publication: New Delhi.
- Haloi, K. (2006). Grass Root Level Institution in NER in *North East Emerging Horizon in Agree-Business* Edited by A Sema et al., Nagaland University, Nagaland.
- Haralambos, M., & Heald, R. M. (1980). *Sociology: Themes and perspectives*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Harkness, S., Machin, S., & Waldfogel, J. (1995). *Evaluating the pin money hypothesis: The relationship between women's labour market activity, family income and poverty in*

- Britain*. Welfare State Programme, Volume 108. London: STICERD, London School of Economics.
- Hays, S. (1996). *The cultural contradictions of motherhood*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Henderson, A., Harmon, S., & Newman, H. (2015). The Price Mothers Pay, Even When They Are Not Buying It: Mental Health Consequences of Idealized Motherhood. *Sex Roles*. 74. 10.1007/s11199-015-0534-5.
- Hing, A. Y. (1984). Women and work in West Malaysia. In *Women in Malaysia and Social Conditions*, ed. Hing Ai Yun. Nik Safiah Karim and Rokiah Talib. Petaling Jaya: Pelanduk.
- Hochschild, A. R. (1989). *The Second Shift*. New York: Viking Penguin.
- Hochschild, A. R. (1997). *The Time Bind: When work becomes home and home becomes work*. Metropolitan books: New York.
- Hochschild, A., & Machung, A. (2012). *The Second Shift: Working Parents and the Revolution at Home*. New York, NY: Penguin.
- Hofferth, S.L., Brayfield, A., Deich, S., & Holocomb, P. (1991). *National child care survey, 1990*. Urban Institute press: Washington, DC.
- Hofstede, G. (1980). *Culture's Consequences: International Differences in Work related Values*. London: Sage Publications.
- Holmstrom, L. L. (1972). *The two-career family*. Cambridge, MA: Schenkman.
- Horam, N. (1975). *Naga Polity*, Delhi: B. R. Publishing Corporation.
- Hutton, J. H. (1969). *Angami Nagas*. London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd.
- Imchen, P. (1993). *Ancient Ao Naga Religion and Culture*, New Delhi: Har-Anand Publications.
- Imchen, N. (2001). *Women in Church and Society*. Jorhat, Assam: Eastern Theological College.
- Jacobs, J. (1990). *The Nagas: Hill Peoples of Northeast India*. Germany: Thames and Hudson.
- James, W. (1912). Does consciousness exist? In James, W. (eds.) *Essays in radical empiricism*, pp. 1-38. New York: Longman, Green.

- Jamir, T., & Longkumer. I. (2015). *Women and Rural Development. A Study of Women VDB In Nagaland, State Institute of Rural Development*. Kohima: N.V Press.
- Jamir, T. (2005). *Political Consciousness and Participation of Naga Women: A sociological inquiry*. Doctoral Thesis, Lumami: Nagaland University.
- Jamir, T. (2012). *Women and Politics in Nagaland: Challenges and Imperatives*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company Pvt. Ltd.
- Jena, S. K. (1993). *Working Women and Modernisation*. New Delhi: Ashish Publishing House.
- Jenkins, R. L. (1980). Contributions of theory to the study of family decision-making In *NA-Advances in consumer research volume 7*, (eds.) Jerry C. Olson, Ann Abor, MI: Association for consumer research, pp.207-211.
- Joeke, S. (1989). Women's work and social support for childcare in the third world. In J. Leslie and M. Paolisso (eds.) *Women, work and child welfare in the third world*. Boulder, CO: Westview press.
- Johnson, k., & Ferguson, T. (1991). *Trusting ourselves: The complete guide to emotional well-being for women*. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press.
- Kahn, R. L., Wolfe, D. M., Quinn, R. P., Snoek, J. D., & Rosenthal, R. A. (1964). *Organizational Stress: Studies in Role Conflict and Ambiguity*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Kahn, R. L., & Byosiore, P. (1992). Stress in Organizations. In D. Dunnette & L. M. Hough (Eds.), *Handbook of industrial and psychological Psychology*. Palo Alto, CA: consulting Psychology Press.
- Kapoor, P. (1984). *Marriage and working women in India*. New Delhi: Vikas Publications.
- Kar, B. K. (2002). *Women Population of Northeast India: A study in gender geography*. New Delhi: Regency publications.
- Katz, D., & Kahn, R. L. (1966). *The social psychology of organizations*. New York: Wiley.
- Katz, D., & Kahn, R. L. (1978). *The Social Psychology of Organisations* 2nd edn. New York: Wiley.
- Kikhi, K., & Kikhi, N. D. (2009). *Changing Gender Equation with Special Reference to Nagaland*. (Eds.) New Delhi: Akansha Publishing House.
- Kiremwati (1995) *Education and the Nagas*. Kohima.



- Klein, V. (1965). *Britain's Married Women Workers*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Kshetri, R. (2013). "Women and Domestic Labour: A Sociological Agenda" in Meinam Binota and Naorem Sunita (ed.) *Women in Science and Social Science: Challenges and Issues in North-East India*. New Delhi: Sunmarg Publishers and Distributors. pp. 135-141.
- Kuotsu, R. K. (2018). *Patrifocal conventions, institutions and legal pluralism: rethinking resistance of women in Nagaland electoral politics*. Unpublished doctoral thesis. Nagaland: National Institute of technology.
- Lachman, R. (ed.). (2001). *The encyclopaedic dictionary of sociology* (4<sup>th</sup> ed.). Hightstown, NJ: McGraw-Hill/Dushkin.
- Lanunungsang, A., & Jamir, N. T. (2005). *Naga Society and Culture: A Case Study of the Ao Naga Society and Culture*. Lumami: Nagaland University Tribal Research Centre, pp. 125-153.
- Lazarus, R. S., & Launier, R. (1978). Stress-related transactions between person and environment. In L. A. Pervin & M. Lewis (Eds.), *Perspectives in interactional psychology* (pp. 121-156). New York: Plenum Press.
- Lazarus, R. S., & Folkman, S. (1984). *Stress, appraisal and coping*. New York: Springer.
- Lin, L. (2009). *Parents, Patriarchy and Decision-making Power: A Study of Gender Relations as Reflected by Co-Residence Patterns of Older Parents in the Immigrant Household*. Doctoral Dissertation. Amherst: University of Massachusetts.
- Linton, R. (1936). *The study of man: an introduction*. New York: Appleton.
- Linton, R. (1955). *The Tree of Culture*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Linton, R. (1963). *The Study of Man*. United States of America: Appleton Century-Crofts.
- Liuthui, S. (2001). *Naga: A people struggling for self-determination*. Asia: IWGIA.
- Lokho, K. (2017). *Gender & Politics in India: Experiences from the Northeast*. New Delhi: Akansha Publishing House.
- Longchar, A. W. (1995). *The Traditional Tribal Worldview and Modernity (Focus on North East India)*. Jorhat: Eastern Theological College.
- Longkumer, W. I. (2019). *Naga women's perspectives on gender roles: An analysis of literary narratives*. New Delhi: Zubaan.

- Mahapatra, S. (2002). *Women Participation in Labour Force*. New Delhi: Rajat Publications.
- Martin, J., & Roberts, C. (1984). *Women and Employment: A Life Time Perspective*. Department of Employment/Office of Population Censuses and Surveys, London: HMSO.
- McCormack, N., & Cotter, C. (2013). in *Managing Burnout in the Workplace*. Woodhead publishing Ltd.
- McCormack, N., & Cotter, C. (2013). Factors contributing to burnout In *Managing burnout in the workplace: a guide for information professionals*, (eds.) N. McCormack and C. Cotter. Oxford: Chandos Publishing, pp.27-56.
- McLennan, J. (1869-1870) 1896. The worship of animals and plants In *Studies in ancient history*, edited by McLennan, E., Platt, A. London: Macmillan. Pp. 491-569.
- Mead, G. H. (1934). *Mind, Self and Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Meece, J. L. (2002). *Child and Adolescent Development for Educators*. New York: McGraw Hill Companies, Inc.
- Messenger, J. C. (2007). Changing patterns in the world of work: women, men and working conditions In *Women and Work: Seminar for members of parliamentary bodies dealing with gender equality and committees addressing labour issues*. (December 6-7), pp. 28-31, Geneva: ILO.
- Middleton, C. (1974). Sexual inequality and stratification theory In *The social analysis of class struggle* edited by Frank Parkin. UK: Routledge.
- Miller, D. T., & McFarland, C. (1991). "When social comparison goes awry: the case of pluralistic ignorance," in *Social Comparison: Contemporary theory and research*, eds J. Suls and T. A. Wills, Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, pp.287-313.
- Mills, J. P. (1973). *The Ao Nagas*, London: Oxford University Press, 2nd edition.
- Mills, J. P. (1980). *The Rengma Naga*, (First published, 1937), Guwahati: Spectrum Publications.
- Mishra, A. D. (1994). *Problems and Prospects of Working Women in Urban India*. New Delhi: Mittal Publications.
- Moen, P. (1989). *Working Parents*. University of Wisconsin Press, p. 4. ISBN 9780299121044.
- Moser, C. (1993). *Gender, Planning and Development: Theory, Practice and Training*. New York and London: Routledge.

- Mukhim, P. (2015). *Gender and Development: Problems and Strategies for Action in Temjensasang, Athungo Ovung and A. Lanunungsang Ao's Women and Gender: Emerging voices from North-East India*, Dimapur: Heritage Publishing House.
- Nahar, U. R., Talwar, U., Chandani, A., & Rajimwale, K. (1996). *Woman's Place: Options and Limits in Professional Career*. New Delhi: Rawat Publications.
- Newcomb, T. (1951). *Social Psychology*. New York: The Dryden Press.
- Nickell, P., & Dorsey, J. M. (1951). *Management in Family living*. New York, London: John Wesley and Sons 3rd edition, p.208.
- Nienu, V. (2015). *Naga Cultural Milieu. An Adaptation to Mountain Ecosystem*. San Francisco: Thomson Press (I) Limited.
- Nisa, S. S. (2009). *Working Women and Child Development: A sociological Study*. New Delhi: Anmol Publications Pvt Ltd.
- North, D. C. (1990). *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- North, D. C. (2005). *Understanding the Process of Economic Change*, Princeton, NY: Princeton University Press.
- Nshoga. A. (2009). *Traditional Naga Village System and its Transformation*. Delhi: Akanshah Publishing House.
- NWU, IWGIA & HMI (2018). *The place of women in Naga society*. Guwahati: Christian Literature Centre.
- Oakley, A. (1972). *Sex, Gender, and Society*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Oakley, A. (1974). *Housewife*, London: Allen Lane.
- Oakley, A. (1979). *'Becoming a mother'*. Oxford: Martin Robertson.
- Ogburn, W. F., & Nimkoff, M. F. (1958). *Sociology*. University of California: Houghton Mifflin.
- Ovung, A. (2012). *Social stratification in Naga society*. New Delhi: Mittal Publications.
- Pahl, J. (1983). *Private Violence and Public Police: The Needs of Battered Women and the Response of the Public Services*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

- Pahl, J. (2004). *Individualization and patterns of money management within families*. Paper presented at ESPAnet conference, Oxford University, 9-11 September.
- Papalia D., & Martorell G. (2014). *Experience human development*. London: McGraw-Hill Higher Education.
- Parsons, T. (1951). *The Social System*, England: Rouledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.
- Parsons, T. (1954). *Essay in Sociological Theory*. New York: Free Press.
- Parsons, T., & Bales, R.F. (1956). *Family: Socialisation and Interaction Process*. London: Rouledge & Kegan Paul.
- Phoenix, A., Woollett, A., & Lloyd, E. (Eds.). (1991). *Motherhood: Meanings, practices and ideologies*. Sage Publications, Inc.
- Pilcher, J., & Whelehan, I. (2004). *Fifty key concepts in gender studies*. Sage publications Ltd.
- Pittman, F. (1993). *Man enough: Fathers, sons and the search for masculinity*. New York, NY: Putnam.
- Polomma, M. M. (1972). Role conflict and the married professional woman. In C. Safilios-Rothschild (Eds.), *Toward a sociology of women*, pp. 199-215, Lexington, MA: Xerox College Publishing.
- Pou, V. K. B. (2015). 'Charting a Space of their Own: Naga Women and Writing,' in K B Veio Pou *Literary Cultures of India's Northeast: Naga Writings in English*. Nagaland: Heritage Publishing House, pp.160-190.
- Potuchek, J. L. (1997). *Who supports the family? Gender and breadwinning in dual-earner marriages*. Stanford University Press.
- Rahman, Z. (2005). *Women and Society*. New Delhi: Kalpaz Publications.
- Rai, C. P. (2002). *Working Women in India*. Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd.: New Delhi.
- Ridgeway, C. L. (2001). Social status and group structure. In M. A. Hogg & S. Tindale (Eds.), *Blackwell handbook of social psychology: Group processes* (pp. 352–275). Blackwell.
- Ridgeway, C. L., & England, P. (2007). Sociological approaches to sex discrimination in employment In *Sex discrimination in the workplace*, (eds.) by Faye J. Crosby, Margaret S. Stockdale, and S. Ann Ropp. Maiden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

- Rodgers, R. H., & White, J. M. (1993). Family development theory. In *Sourcebook of family theories and methods: A contextual approach* edited by P. G. Boss, W. J Doherty, R. La Rossa, W. R. Schumm and S. K. Steinmetz, pp. 225-257, Plenum Press.
- Royburman, B. K. (1983). *Towards Poverty Alleviation in Nagaland and Manipur*, Mittal Publication: New Delhi.
- Sanday, P. (1974). Female Status in the Public Domain in *Women, Culture and Society*. M. Rosaldo and L. Lamphere eds., pp.189-206. Stanford: Stanford University
- Sargent, S. (1951). 'Concepts of role and ego in contemporary psychology', in J.H. Rohrer and M. Sherif (eds.), *Social Psychology at the Crossroads*. Harper and Brothers, New York, pp. 355–370.
- Scanzoni, J., & Szinovacz, M. (1980). *Family Decision-Making: A Developmental Sex Role Model*, Sage Publications, Inc.
- Sedikides, C., & Gregg. A.P. (2003). *Portraits of the self" in Hogg, M. A & J. cooper sage handbook of social psychology*. London: sage publications.
- Sengupta, S. (2018). *Anthropology in Northeast India*. Gyan publishing house: New Delhi.
- Sharma, U. (1990). Public Employment and Private Relations: Women and Work in India in Stichter, Sharon & Parpart, Jane L. *Women, Employment and the Family in the International Division of Labour*, Shaw, Timothy M. (eds.), UK: The Macmillan Press Ltd.
- Shikhu, I. Y. (2007). *A re-discovery and re-building of Naga Cultural Values-An analytical Approach with special references to Maori as a Colonized and Minority Group of people in New Zealand*. New Delhi: Regency Publication.
- Simmel, G. (1955). *Conflict and the web of group affiliations*. New York: The Free press.
- Singh, Y. (1996). *Modernisation of Indian Tradition*. New Delhi: Rawat Publications.
- Skolnick, Arlene, S., & Skolnick, Jerome, H., (1989). *Family in transition*. USA: Scott, Foresman and Company.
- Smith, W. C. (1926). *Ao Naga Tribes of Assam*. London: MacMillan Co. Ltd.
- Smith, S., & Converse, D. (2020). *Double Day Work: How Women Cope with Time Demands at the Wayback Machine*. University of Florida, IFAS Extension.

- Sood, R. (1991). *Changing Status and Adjustment of Women*. Delhi: Manak Publications Pvt Ltd.
- Stirn, A. & Ham, P. V. (2013). *The hidden world of the Naga: Living traditions in Northeast India and Burma*. Berlin: Prestel.
- Sudha, D.K. (2000). *Gender Roles*. New Delhi: Science House.
- Temjensosang (2005). *Self-Governing Institutions of the Ao-Nagas*. Doctoral thesis. Lumami: Nagaland University.
- Temjensosang (2013). *Self-Governing Institutions of Nagas*. New Delhi: Akansha Publishing House.
- Temjensosang, Ovung, A., & Ao, L. A. (2015). *Women and Gender: Emerging voices from North-East India*. Dimapur, Nagaland: Heritage publishing house.
- Thong, J. S. (1997). *Head-Hunters Culture: Historic Culture of Nagas*, edited by Khinyi Woch.
- Thong, J. S., & Kath, P. (2011). *Glimpses of Naga legacy and culture*. Kerala, Kottayam: Society for Naga Students' Welfare.
- Thorne, B. (1982). Feminist rethinking of the family: an overview In *Rethinking the family: some feminist questions*. (eds.) B. Thorne and M. Yalom. New York and London: Longman.
- Tylor, E. B. (1871). *Primitive Culture: Researches into the development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art and Custom*. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street.
- UNDP (2022). *Thai Women's Unpaid Care and Domestic Work and the Impact on Decent Employment*. Bangkok: UNDP.
- Vitso, A. (2003). *The Customary Law and Women*. New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House.
- Wharton, A. S. (2012). *The Sociology of Gender: An Introduction to Theory and Research*. UK: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.
- Younkin, G. F. L. (2010). *Work-family spillover, division of labor and relationship satisfaction*. MSc. Thesis. Ohio State University.
- Zehol, L. (1998). *Women in Naga Society*. New Delhi: Regency Publications, 1998.

Zehol. L. (2009). Changing Kezha Culture, Christianity and Women: Some Observations. In Subba, T.B., Joseph Puthenpurakal and Shaji Joseph Puykunel's *Christianity and Change in Northeast India*. New Delhi: Concept publishing company.

Zelizer, V. A. (1985). *Pricing the priceless child: the changing social value of children*. New York: Basic books.

## **B. Articles/Journals/Periodicals**

Aarntzen, L., & Derks, B., & Steenbergen, E. V., & Ryan, M., & Lippe, T. (2019). Work-family guilt as a straightjacket. An interview and diary study on consequences of mothers' work-family guilt. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*. 115. 103336. 10.1016/j.jvb.2019.103336.

Aarntzen, L., Derks, B., Steenbergen, E. V. & Van Der Lippe, T. (2022). When work–family guilt becomes a women's issue: Internalized gender stereotypes predict high guilt in working mothers but low guilt in working fathers, *British Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol 62 (1), pp.12-29, <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12575> (Accessed on 08-05-2023).

Abdullah, R., Jahan, S., & Saha, S. (2008), *Occupational stress, social and family difficulties and job contentment of working women: Bangladesh perspective*. Daffodil International University, Bangladesh.

Abekah-Nkrumah, G., Antwi, M. Y., Nkrumah, J. *et al.* (2020). Examining working mothers' experience of exclusive breastfeeding in Ghana. *Int Breastfeed J* 15, 56. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s13006-020-00300-0> (Accessed on 20-01-2023).

Ahmad, K. (1979). Studies of Educated Working Women in India: Trends and Issues. *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 14, No. 33 (Aug. 18, 1979), pp. 1435+1437-1440. (Accessed on 07-02-2019).

Ahmad, K. (1984). The Trishankus: Women in the Professions in India. *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol 33 (1), march-september.

Airmy, J. O., Sulaiman, H., Masud, J., Muhamad, M., Yatim, M., & Juharl, R. (1991). *Report of case study on the integration of productive roles of women in rural and agricultural Development in Jelebu*, Negeri Sembilan: Malaysia. Project funded by FAO/Malaysia.

- Al-Khoury, P., Zein, D. C., & Saade, R. (2018). Is The Children CGPA Affected by Working Mothers: Across Sectional Study of Students in Lebanese Universities. *Archives of Business Research*, 6(6), pp.333-338.
- Amin, S., Arshad, R., & Ghani, A. R. (2017). Spousal Support and Subjective Career Success: The Role of Work-Family Balance and Career Commitment as Mediator. *Journal Pengurusan*, 50, pp.133-142. <https://doi.org/10.17576/pengurusan-2017-50-12>.
- Aminah, A., & Ismail, N. (1992). Wives' work role among rubber farming households in two districts in Malaysia In Abstracts of the Research Presentations of the XVIIth World Congress of the International Federation for Home Economics, ed. H. Funke, p. 24. Paris: International Federation for Home Economics.
- Anand, P., & Roope, L. (2016). The development and happiness of very young children. *Social Choice and Welfare*. ISSN 0176-1714 DOI: 10.1007/s00355-016-0993-9.
- Arpino, B., Pronzato, C. D., & Tavares, L. P. (2014). *European journal of population*. Vol 30 (4), pp. 369-390.
- Aryee, S., Srinivas, E. S & Tan, H. H. (2005) "Rhythms of life: antecedents and outcomes of work-family balance in employed parents." *Journal of Applied Psychology*, Vol 90(1), pp. 132-146.
- Auspurg, K., Hinz, T., & Sauer, C. (2017). Why Should Women Get Less? Evidence on the Gender Pay Gap from Multifactorial Survey Experiments. *American Sociological Review*. 82. 1-32. 10.1177/0003122416683393.
- Badri, S. K. Z., & Yunus, W. M. A. W. M. (2022). The relationship between academic vs. family/personal role conflict and Malaysian students' psychological wellbeing during COVID-19 lockdown, *Journal of Further and Higher Education*, 46:1, 76-88, DOI: 10.1080/0309877X.2021.1884210.
- Barnett, R.C. (1998). Toward a review and re-conceptualisation of the work/family literature. *Genetic, Social and General psychology Monographs*, 124 (2): 125-182.
- Bebbington, A. C. (1973). The function of stress in the establishment of the dual-career family. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 35, 530-537.
- Becker, G. (1965). A model of the allocation of time. *Economic Journal*. 75, 493-517.



- Behera, D. K., & Padhi, I. (1993). Role conflict and adjustment patterns of working mothers. *Indian Anthropologist*, 23. 7-20.
- Behrman, D. H., & Perreault, W. D. Jr. (1984) "A Role Stress Model of the Performance and Satisfaction of Industrial Salespersons," *Journal of Marketing*, 48 (Fall), 9- 21.
- Bell, L. C. (2004). "Psychoanalytic theories of gender." In *The Psychology of Gender*. Edited by Alice H. Eagly, Anne H. Beall and Robert J. Sternberg. New York: The Guilford Press, pp. 145–68.
- Berger, J. M., Fisek, H., Norman, R. Z., & Zelditch, M. (1977). *Status characteristics and social interaction: An expectation states approach*. Elsevier.
- Bernal, R. (2008). The Effect of Maternal Employment and Child Care on Children's Cognitive Development. *International Economic Review*, 49(4), 1173–1209. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20486836> (Accessed on 05-05-2023).
- Bettleheim, B. (1970). Why working mothers have happier children. *Ladies' Home J.* 87:24, p. 87.
- Biddle B. J. (1986). Recent developments in role theory. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 12: 67-92.
- Bishnoi, S., & Malik, P., & Yadav, P. (2020). A Review of Effects of Working Mothers on Children's Development. *Research Trends in Home Science and Extension*, Volume-4, pp.41-56.
- Blood, R., & Wolfe, D. (1960). *Husbands and Wives: The Dynamics of Married Living*. New York: Free Press.
- Blumberg, R. L. & Coleman, M. T. (1989). A Theoretical Look at the Gender Balance of Power in the American Couple. *Journal of Family Issues*, 10, 2, 225-250.
- Bobbitt-Zeher, D. (2011). Gender discrimination at work: Connecting gender stereotypes, institutional policies and gender composition of the workplace. *Gender & Society*, 25(6), pp.764-786. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243211424741>.
- Boettke, P. J., Coyne, C. J. & Leeson, P. T. (2008). Institutional Stickiness and the New Development Economics, *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 67(2), pp. 331–358.

- Boles, J. S., Wood, J. A., & Johnson, J. (2003). Interrelationships of role conflict, role ambiguity, and work-family conflict with different facets of job satisfaction and the moderating effects of gender. *Journal of Personal Selling & Sales Management*, 23(2), 99–113.
- Bongaarts, J. (2001). Household size and composition in the developing world in the 1990s. *Population studies*. Vol 55 (3), pp.263-279.
- Bora, J., & Sengupta, S. (2016). Youth dormitories among the tribes of North-East India. *The Indian Journal of Anthropology*. Vol 4 (1), pp.83-90.
- Breaugh, J. A., & Colihan, J. P. (1994). Measuring facets of job ambiguity: Construct validity evidence. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 79(2), 191-203.
- Budig, M. J., & England, P. (2001). The wage penalty for motherhood. *American Sociological Review*, 66, 204–225. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2657415>.
- Budig, M. J., & Hodges, M. J. (2010). Differences in disadvantage: Variation in the motherhood penalty across white women's earnings distribution. *American Sociological Review*, 75(5), 705–728.
- Burgess, D., & Borgida, E. (1999). Who women are who women should be: Descriptive and prescriptive gender stereotyping in sex discrimination. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law*, 5(3), 665–692.
- Burke, R. J., & McKeen, C. A. (1994). Work, career, and life experiences associated with different career patterns among managerial and professional women. In G. P. Keita & J. J. Hurrell, Jr. (Eds.), *Job stress in a changing workforce: Investigating gender, diversity, and family issues* (pp. 301–310). American Psychological Association. <https://doi.org/10.1037/10165-019>.
- Calnen, G. (2007). Paid maternity leave and its impact on breastfeeding in the United States: an historic, economic, political and social perspective. *Breastfeed Med*; 2(1) pp. 34–44.
- Carter, M. J. (2014). Gender Socialization and Identity Theory, *Social Sciences* 3, no. 2: 242-263. <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci3020242>.
- Cheung, H. K., Anderson, A. J., King, E. B. *et al.* (2022). Beyond the Baby Bump: Subtle Discrimination Against Working Mothers in the Hiring Process. *J Bus Psychol* 37, 1181–1198. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10869-022-09790-7>.

- Colombo, L., & Ghislieri, C. (2008). The work-to-family conflict: Theories and measures. *TPM* Vol. 15, No. 1, pp.35-55.
- Coltrane, S. (2000). Research on household labor: Modeling and measuring the social embeddedness of routine family work. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 62, pp. 1208–1233.
- Correll, S. J., Benard, S., & Paik, I. (2007). Getting a job: Is there a motherhood penalty? *American Journal of Sociology*, 112, 1297–1339. <https://doi.org/10.1086/511799>.
- Coverman, S. (1989). Role overload, role conflict, and stress: Addressing consequences of multiple role demands. *Social Forces*, 67(4), 965-982. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/67.4.965>.
- Cox, T. (1979). "Psychophysiological Response to Occupational Stress," in *Response to Stress: Occupational Aspects- A Collection of Papers Presented at the Ergonomics Society s Conference*, Colin McKay and Thomas Cox, eds., Cambridge, MA: IPC Science and Technology Press, pp. 1-30.
- Crespi, I. (2003). Socialization and gender roles within the family: a study on adolescents and their parents in Great Britain. *MCFA Annals*, Vol 3 (2), pp.1-8.
- Croft, A., Schmader, T., Block, K., & Baron, A. S. (2014). The second shift reflected in the second generation: do parents' gender roles at home predict children's aspirations? *Psychol. Sci.* 25, 1418–1428. doi: 10.1177/ 0956797614533968.
- Cunningham, M. (2005). Gender in cohabitation and marriage: the influence of gender ideology on housework allocation over the life course. *Journal of family issues*. Vol 26, pp. 1037-1061.
- Damico, S., & Nevill, D. (1975). The Highly Educated Woman: A study in Role Conflict. *Council on Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, Vol. 6, No. 3, Women in Schools and Society, pp. 16-19.
- Deem, R. (1986). *All work and no play? Sociology of women and leisure*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Dejong, A. (2010). "Working Mothers: Cognitive and Behavioral Effects on Children" *The Journal of Undergraduate Research*. Volume 8, Article 9.

- Delphy, C., & Leonard, D. (2016). *Close to home: a materialist analysis of women's oppression*. ISBN 9781784782528, Verso: UK.
- Devi, A. A. (2020). Academic performance of children of educated working class mothers: A study in Imphal West District, Manipur. *International Journal of Research Culture Society*, ISSN: 2456-6683 Volume - 4, Issue - 12, Dec – 2020.
- Dex, S. (2010). Can state policies produce equality in housework? In Judith Treas & Drobnič, Sonja (eds.) *Dividing the domestic: men, women and household work in cross-national perspective*. pp.79-104. Stanford university press: Stanford, California.
- Dhanaraju, V., & Nukshirenla, N. (2021). The Status of Ao Naga Women: Reflections on The Recent Debates in Nagaland. *Shodh Sanchar Bulletin*. Jan-March, Vol 11 (41), pp.1-5.
- Doherty, A., & Hoye, R. (2011). Role Ambiguity and Volunteer Board Member Performance in Nonprofit Sport Organizations. *Nonprofit Management and Leadership*. Vol 22. Pp.107-28. 10.1002/nml.20043.
- Dugan, A. G., & Barnes-Farrell, J. L. (2018). Working mothers' second-shift, personal resources and self-care. *Community, work and family*. DOI:10.1080/13668803.2018.1449732.
- Eagly, A. H. (1987). Reporting sex differences undergraduate curricula of leading psychology departments. *Am. Psychol.* 42, 757–758. doi: 10.1037/0003-066X.42. 7.756.
- Eagly, A.H & Karau, S.J. (1991). Gender and the emergence of leaders: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 60, 685- 710.
- Eagly, A. H., Wood, W., & Diekmann, A. B. (2000). Social role theory of sex differences and similarities: a current appraisal in *The Development of Social Psychology of Gender*, Eds T. Eckes and H. M. Trautner (Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum), pp.123–174.
- Eagly, A. H., & Karau, S. J. (2002). Role congruity theory of prejudice toward female leaders. *Psychological Review*, 109, 573–598. doi:10.1037/0033-295X.109.3.573.
- Elman, M. R., & Gilbert, L. A. (1984). Coping Strategies for Role Conflict in Married Professional Women with Children. *Family Relations*, Vol. 33, No. 2, pp. 317-327.
- Eaton, R. M. (1997). Comparative History as World History: Religious Conversion in Modern India. *Journal of World History* 8(2), 243-271. doi:10.1353/jwh.2005.0063.

- Eisenstein, Z. (1999). Constructing a theory of capitalist patriarchy and socialist feminism. *Critical Sociology*. Vol 23 (2-3), pp. 196-217. <https://doi.org/10.1177/08969205990250020901>.
- Engels, F. (1972). *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (with an introduction and notes by Eleanor Burke Leacock), Lawrence and Wishart: London.
- Evans, P., & Bartolomé, F. (1984). The changing pictures of the relationship between careers and family. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 5(1), 9-21. <https://doi.org/10.1002/job.4030050103>.
- Falk, F. R., & Miller, N. B. (1998). The reflexive self: A sociological perspective, *Roeper Review*, 20:3, 150-153, DOI: 10.1080/02783199809553881.
- Fein S. B., & Roe, B. (1998). The effect of work status on initiation and duration of breastfeeding. *Am J Public Health*; 88(7) pp.1042–1046.
- Folbre, N., & Himmelweit, S. (2000). Introduction - Children and Family Policy: a Feminist Issue, 6:1, 1-3, DOI: 10.1080/135457000337633.
- Frankenhaeuser, M., Lundberg, U., Fredrickson, M., Melin, B., Tuomisto, M., Myrsten, A. L., Hedman, M., Bergman-Losman, B., & Wallin, L. (1989). Stress on and off the job as related to sex and occupational status in white-collar workers. *Journal of organizational behaviour*. Vol 10 (4). Pp. 321-346.
- Friedberg, L. & Webb, A. (2006). Determinants and Consequences of Bargaining Power in Households (Working Paper 12367). Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Furtado, L., Sobral, F., & Peci, A. (2016). Linking demands to work-family conflict through boundary strength. *J. Manage. Psychol.* 31, 1327-1342. Doi: 10.1108/JMP-11-2015-0408.
- Gani, A., & Ara, R., (2010). Conflicting Worlds of Working Women: Findings of an exploratory study. *Indian Journal of Industrial Relations*, Vol. 46, No. 1, pp. 61-73.
- Gaspar, S. & Klinké, M. (2009). Household division of labour among European mixed partnerships, CIES e-Working Paper 78, *CIES-Gender & Behaviour*, 14 (3) 2016 7852 ISCTE-IUL, Lisboa.

- Gilbert, L. A., Holahan, C. K., & Manning, L., (1981). Coping with conflict between professional and maternal roles. *Family relations*, Vol 30 (3), pp.419-426.
- Greenhaus, J. H., & Beutell, N. J. (1985). Sources of conflict between work and family roles. *Academy of management review*, 10(1), pp. 76-88.
- Goode, W. (1960). A Theory of Role Strain. *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 25, No. 4, August, pp. 483-496.
- Gorman, E. H. (2005). Gender stereotypes, same-gender preferences and organisational variation in the hiring of women: Evidence from law firms. *American Sociological Review*, 70(4), 702-28.
- Getzels, J. S., & Guba, E. G. (1954). Role Conflict and Effective Study: A Comparative Study. *American Sociological Review*. Vol 19 (2), pp. 164-175.
- Gilbert, L. A., Holahan, C. K., & Manning, L. (1981). Coping with conflict between professional and maternal roles. *Family Relations*, 30, 71-79.
- Glick, P. (2002). Women's employment and its relation to children's health and schooling in developing countries: conceptual links, empirical evidence, and policies. Cornell food and nutrition policy program working paper, no. 131.
- Goode, W. J. (1960). "Theory of role strain." *American Sociological Review*, 25; 483-496.
- Greenhaus, J. H. & Beutell, N. J. (1985). Sources of conflict between work and family roles. *Academy of Management Review*, 10, 76-88.
- Grywacz, A. (2020). Indonesia's (inter) national role as a Muslim democracy model: effectiveness and conflict between the conception and prescription roles. *Pac.Rev.* 33, pp.728-756. Doi: 10.1080/09512748.2019.1585387.
- Gullahorn, J. T., & Gullahorn, J. E. (1963). Role conflict and its resolution, *Sociological Quarterly*, 4: 32-47. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1533-8525.1963.tb02246.x>.
- Guendelman S., Kosa J.L., Pearl M., Graham S., Goodman J., & Kharrazi M. (2009). Juggling work and breastfeeding: effects of maternity leave and occupational characteristics. *Pediatrics*; 123: e pp. 38–46. (Accessed on 20-01-2023).
- Haas, L. (1980). Role sharing couples: a study of egalitarian marriages. *Family relations*, 29 (3), pp. 289-296.

- Hall, D. T. (1972). A Model of Coping with Role Conflict: The Role Behavior of College Educated Women. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, Vol. 17, No. 4, pp. 471-486.
- Hamburg, D. A., & Adams, J. E. (1967). A perspective on coping behavior: Seeking and utilizing behavior in major transitions. *Archives of General Psychiatry*, 17, pp. 277-284.
- Han, W.J., Waldfogel, J., & Brooks-Gunn, J. (2001). The effects of early maternal employment on later cognitive and behavioural outcomes. *Journal of marriage and family*, 63(2), 336-354. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2001.00336.x>.
- Harris, R. J., & Firestone, J. M. (1998). Changes in predictors of gender role ideologies among women: A multivariate analysis. *Sex roles*, Vol 38, pp. 239-252.
- Harris, K. M., Raley, R. K., & Rindfuss, R. R. (2002). Family Configurations and Child-Care Patterns: Families with Two or More Preschool-Age Children, *Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. 83, No. 2, pp. 455-471.
- Hebl, M. R., King, E. B., Glick, P., Singletary, S. L., & Kazama, S. (2007). Hostile and benevolent reactions toward pregnant women: Complementary interpersonal punishments and rewards that maintain traditional roles. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 92, 1499–1511. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.92.6.1499>.
- Heilman, M. (2001). "Description and prescription: How gender stereotypes prevent women's ascent up the organizational ladder". *Journal of Social Issues, Gender, Hierarchy, and Leadership* 57 (4): 657-674.
- Heilman, M. E., & Okimoto, T. G. (2008). Motherhood: A potential source of bias in employment decisions. *Journal of Applied Psychology*. Vol 93 (1), pp. 189-198.
- Hertz, R., & Ferguson, F.T. (1996). Childcare choice and constraints in the United States: Social class, race and the influence of family views. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 27, pp. 249-280.
- Hesse-Biber, S. & Williamson, J. (1984). "Resource Theory and power in Families; Life Cycle Considerations," *Family Press*, pp. 261-278.
- Hock, E. (1980). Working and nonworking mothers and their infants: A comparative study of maternal care-giving characteristics and infant social behaviour. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, 26, pp. 79-10.

- Holahan, C. K., & Gilbert, L. A. (1979a). Conflict between major life roles: Women and men in dual-career couples. *Human Relations*, 32, pp. 451-468.
- Holahan, C. K., & Gilbert, L. A. (1979b). Inter-role conflict for working women: Careers versus jobs. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 64, pp. 86-90.
- Hood, J. C. (1986). The provider role: Its meaning and measurement. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 48(2), 349– 359.
- Howell, M. C. (1973). Employed mothers and their families; Part 2. *Pediatrics*. 52, p. 330.
- Hunt, J. G., & Hunt, L. L. (1977). Dilemmas and contradictions of status: The case of the dual-career family. *Social Problems*, 24, pp. 407-416.
- Hussain, S. (2003). “Gender and Reproductive Behaviour: The Role of Men”, *Indian Journal of Gender Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 1, March, pp. 45-76.
- Iannucci, C. & MacPhail, A. (2018). One teacher’s experience of teaching physical education and school subject: an inter-role conflict? *Res. O. Exerc. Sport* 89, pp. 235-245. Doi: 10.1080/02701367.2018.1446069.
- Islam, M. A., & Jantan, A. H. (2017). The Glass ceiling: Career Barriers for Female Employees in the Ready-Made Garments (Rmg) Industry of Bangladesh. *Academy of Strategic Management Journal*, 16(3), 1-11.
- Jamil. K., Hussain, Z., Shahzad, M.A., & Zubair, A. (2021). The effect of consumer self-confidence on information search and share intention. *Inf.Discov.Deliv* doi: 10.1108/IDD-12-2020-0155.
- Tamayo, H. X. J., & Popova, D. (2021). Second earners and in-work poverty in Europe. *Journal of Social Policy*. Vol 50, pp. 470-492. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S004727942000027>.
- Johnson, F. A., & Johnson, C. L (1977) “Role strain in high commitment career women.” *Journal of American Psychoanalysis*, Volume 4: 1, pp. 13-36.
- Kabeer, N. (1999). 'Resources, agency, achievements: reflections on the measurement of women's empowerment'. *Development and Change*, 30(3): pp.435-464.
- Kabeer, N. (2005). Gender equality and women's empowerment: a critical analysis of the third Millennium Development Goal, *Gender anti-development*, Vol. 13, No. 1, March 2005.



- Kadale, P., Pandey, A., & Raje, S. (2018). Challenges of working mothers: balancing motherhood and profession. *International Journal of Community Medicine and Public Health*. 5. 2905. 10.18203/2394-6040.ijcmph20182620.
- Kaluzynska, E. (1980). Wiping the Floor with Theory: A Survey of Writings on Housework. *Feminist Review*, 1980, No. 6 (1980), pp. 27-54.
- Kamo, Y., & Zhou, M. (1994). Living arrangements of elderly Chinese and Japanese in the U.S. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 56, pp. 544-558.
- Kanji, S. (2011). What Keeps Mothers in Full-time Employment? *European Sociological Review*, Vol. 27, No. 4 (AUGUST 2011), pp. 509-525.
- Kapur, R. (1969). Role conflict among employed housewives. *Indian journal of industrial relations*. Vol 5 (1). Pp. 39-67.
- Kenny, C. T. (2006). The Power of the Purse: Allocative Systems and Inequality in Couple Households. *Gender & Society*. Vol 20 (3). June 2006, pp. 354-381. Doi: 10.1177/0891243206286742.
- Khan, M., & Hassan, A. (2011). Academic Achievement of Children of Working and Non-Working Mothers. *Insight- Journal of Applied Research in Education*. 16, pp.33-38.
- Kikhi, K. & Kikhi, C. (2009). "Gender Empowerment: An Insight from Kohima District of Nagaland". Paper presented at the UGC sponsored 2 days National Seminar on Tribal Societies and the Challenges of Modernisation in North-East India, 9- 10 April 2009, orgd by St. Joseph's College Jakhama, Department of Sociology (Unpublished).
- Kimbro, R. T. (2006). On-the-job moms: work and breastfeeding initiation and duration for a sample of low-income women. *Matern Child Health J.*; 10(1) pp. 19–26.
- Klumb, P., Hoppmann, C., & Staats, M. (2006). Division of labor in German dual-earner families: Testing equity theoretical hypotheses. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 68, 870 – 882.
- Knudsen, K. & Wærness, K. (2001). National context, individual characteristics and attitudes on mothers' employment: A comparative analysis of Great Britain, Sweden and Norway. *Acta Sociologica*, 44: 67–79.
- Kroeber, T. (1963). "Coping and defensive functions of the ego." In R. W. White (ed.), *A Study of Lives*. New York: Atherton Press.

- Kugelberg, C. (1999). Perceiving motherhood and fatherhood: Swedish working parents with young children. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Uppsala studies in cultural Anthropology, 26, Uppsala Sweden.
- Kuhlthau, K., & Mason, K. O. (1996). Market child care versus care by relatives: Choices made by employed and non-employed mothers. *Journal of Family Issues*, 17, pp. 561-578.
- Kurini N., Shiono, P. H, Ezrine, S. F., & Rhoads, G. G. (1989). Does maternal employment affect breast-feeding? *Am J Public Health*; 79(9) pp. 1247–1250.
- Kuruppuarachchi, K. A. P.S. T., & Surangi, H. A. K. N. S. (2020). The Glass Ceiling and Women Career Advancement: A Study based on Ready–Made Garment Industry in Sri Lanka. *Kelaniya Journal of Management*, 8(2), 18–39. <https://doi.org/10.4038/kjm.v8i2.7581>.
- Lancaster, J. (1975). Coping Mechanisms for the Working Mother. *The American Journal of Nursing*, Vol. 75, No. 8, August, pp. 1322-1323.
- Lantara, N. K. (2015). The roles of woman as leader and housewife. *Journal of defence management*. Vol 5 (1), DOI: 10.4172/2167-0374.1000125.
- Levitan, S. A., & Belous, R. S. (1981). Working Wives and Mothers: What happens to family life? *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. 104, No. 9, pp. 26-30.
- Levinson, D. (1959). "Role, personality, and social structure in the organizational setting" *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 58, pp. 170-180.
- Li, L., & Leung, R. W. (2001). Female managers in Asian hotels: profile and career challenges. *Int. J. Contemp. Hosp. Manag.* Vol 13, pp. 189-196. Doi: 10.1108/09596110110389511.
- Lim, I. S. (1997). Korean Immigrant Women's Challenge to Gender Inequality at Home: The Interplay of Economic Resources, Gender, and Family. *Gender & Society*, 11, 1, 31-51.
- Lucas-Thompson, R. G., Goldberg, W. A., & Prause, J. (2010). Maternal work early in the lives of children and its distal associations with achievement and behavior problems: a meta-analysis. *Psychological bulletin*, 136(6), p. 915.
- Mahato, S. (2023). Vignettes of Naga Culture: A reading of Easterine Kire's Sky is my father. *Literary Voice*, Vol 1 (1), pp.99-107. <https://doi.org/10.59136/lv.2023.1.1.112>.
- Major, B. (1993). Gender, entitlement, and distinction of family labor. *Journal of Social Issues*, 49, 141- 159.

- Manser, M. & Brown, M. (1980). Marriage and Household Decision-making: A Bargaining Analysis. *International Economic Review*, 21, 1, 31-44.
- Martemjen & Lkr, L. (2014). 'Biodiversity Conservation Ethos in Naga Folklore and Folksongs'. *International Journal of Advanced Research*, Vol. 2, Issue 5, pp.1008- 1013.
- McLennan, J. F. (1869). The worship of animals and plants. *Fortnightly Review*, 6, 407-427. 562-582.
- McLennan, J. F. (1870). The worship of animals and plants. *Fortnightly Review*, 7, 194-216.
- Merton R. K. (1957). The role-set: problems in sociological theory. *British Journal of Sociology*, 8: 106-120.
- Messenger, J. C. (2007). Changing Patterns in the World of Work: Women, Men and Working Conditions, in *Women and Work: Seminar for Members of Parliamentary Bodies Dealing with Gender Equality and Committees Addressing Labour Issues*. (December 6-8). ILO Headquarters: Geneva, p. 28.
- Milkie, M. A., Raley, S. B., & Bianchi, S. M. (2009). Taking on the second shift: time allocations and time pressures of U.S. parents with preschoolers. *Soc. Forces* 88, 487–517. Doi: 10.1353/sof.0.0268.
- Miller, D. A. (1981). The “sandwich” generation: Adult children of the aging. *Social work*. vol 27 (5), pp. 419-423.
- Mitchell, W. (2007). The role of grandparents in intergenerational support for families with disabled children: A research review. *Child and Family Social Work*, 12.
- Mobily, P. R. (1991). An Examination of Role Strain for University Nurse Faculty and its Relation to Socialization Experiences and Personal Characteristics. *Journal of Nursing Education*, 30(2), 73-80. doi:10.3928/0148-4834-19910201-08.
- Moore (1978). Working Mothers and Their Children. *Young Children*, Vol. 34, No. 1, pp. 77-82. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/42643573> (Accessed on 06-02-2019).
- Nauck, B., & Suckow, J. (2006). Intergenerational relationships in cross-cultural comparison: How social networks frame intergenerational relations between mothers and grandmothers in Japan, Korea, China, Indonesia, Israel, Germany, and Turkey. *Journal of Family Issues*, 27(8), pp. 1159-1185.

- Olawoye, O., Bola, T., Aderinto, Y., Adeyefa, I. (2010). Social Construction of Manhood in Nigeria: Implications for Male Responsibility in Reproductive Health. *African Population Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 2, 2004, Pp. 1-20.
- Oropesa, R. S. (1997). "Development and Marital Power in Mexico." *Social Forces* 75, pp.1291–1317.
- Pahl, J. (1983). The allocation of money and the structuring of inequality with marriage. *Sociological Review*. 31: 237-62
- Pahl, J. (1990). Household spending, personal spending and the control of money in marriage. *Sociology*. Vol 24, pp.119-138.
- Papastephanou, M. (2001). "Modernization, Rationalization, and Education: Responding to the Other". *Sociological Research Online*. 6 (3): pp.105–115. doi:10.5153/sro.638. ISSN 1360-7804. S2CID 144352443.
- Park, J. (2000). The effect of multiple roles of South Korean Married Women Professors: Role changes and the factors which influence potential role gratification and strain. Sex roles: *A journal of Research*. October.
- Parsons, T. (1949). Sex roles in American kinship systems. In T. Parsons, *Essays in Sociological Theory*, Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.
- Patil, R. R., & Bagavandas, M. (2020). Gender discrimination as determinants of stress in police profession. *J Forensic Sci & Criminal Inves*. Vol 13 (3): 555863. DOI: 10.19080/JFSCI.2020.13.555863. (Accessed on 05-05-2023).
- Perry, J. C. (1990). *Defense mechanism rating scales: Manual* (5th ed.). Boston: Cambridge University.
- Perry-Smith, J. E., & Blum, T. C. (2000). Work-family human resource bundles and perceived organizational performance. *Academy of Management Journal*, Vol 43, pp. 1107-1117.
- Philaretou, A. G., & Allen, K. R. (2001). Reconstructing masculinity and sexuality. *The Journal of Men's Studies*, 9:3, 301-321.
- Phoenix, A., & Woollett, A. (1991). Motherhood: Social construction, politics and psychology. In A. Phoenix, A. Woollett, & E. Lloyd (Eds.), *Motherhood: Meanings, practices and ideologies* (pp. 13–27). Sage Publications, Inc.

- Poduval, J., & Poduval, M. (2009). Working Mothers: How Much Working, How Much Mothers, And Where Is the Womanhood? *Mens Sana Monographs*, Volume 7(1), pp. 63-79.
- Pollak, R. A. (2005). Bargaining Power in Marriage: Earnings, Wage Rates and Household Production (Working Paper 11239). Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Qualls, W. J. (1987). "Household Decision Behaviour: The Impact of Husbands' and Wives' Sex Role Orientation," *Journal of Consumer Research*, vol. 14, Sep, pp. 264-276.
- Ramachandran, K., & Antony, S. P. (2020). Decision-making Processes in Indian Joint Families and Their Implications for HR Professionals. *NHRD Network Journal*, 13(1), 62–72. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2631454119900426>.
- Rao, N. V., & Rao, P. V. V. (1973). An Analysis of the Employed Mother in India. *International Journal of Sociology of the Family*, Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 169-178.
- Rapoport, R., & Rapoport, R. N. (1969). The dual-career family. *Human Relations*, 22, pp. 3-30.
- Raver, C. C. (2003). Does work pay psychologically as well as economically? The role of employment in predicting depressive symptoms and parenting among low-income families. *Child development*. Vol 74, pp. 1720-1736.
- Reddy, N. K., Vranda, M. N., Ahmed, A., Nirmala, B. P., & Siddaramu, B. (2010). Work-Life Balance among Married Women Employees. *Indian journal of psychological medicine*, 32(2), 112–118. <https://doi.org/10.4103/0253-7176.78508> (Accessed on 01-06-2022).
- Ridgeway, C. L., & Correll, S. J. (2004a). Unpacking the gender system: A theoretical perspectives on gender beliefs and social relations. *Gender & Society*, 18(4), 510–531. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243204265269>.
- Rose, J. (2017). Never enough hours in the day”: Employed mothers’ perceptions of time pressure. *Australian Journal of Social Sciences*. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ajs4.2>.
- Rotondo, D. N., Carlson, D. S., & Kincaid, J. F. (2003). Coping with multiple dimensions of work-family conflict. *Personal Review*, Vol 32, pp. 275-296.
- Ruhm, C. (2004). Parental Employment and Child Cognitive Development. *The Journal of Human Resources*, 39, 155-192.

- Ryan A. S., Zhou, W., Arensberg, M. B. (2006). The effect of employment status on breastfeeding in the United States. *Womens Health Issues*; 16(5) pp. 243–251.
- Sachdeva, S. & Malhotra, S. (2001). Working women: A psychological perspective. *Asian Journal of psychological and education*, Vol 24, pp.30-31.
- Safilios-Rothschild, C. (1967). "A Comparison of Power Structure in Marital Satisfaction in Urban Greek and French Families." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 29, pp. 345–352.
- Sanchez, L., & Thompson, E. (1997). Becoming mothers and fathers: parenthood, gender and the division of labour. *Gender and society*. Vol 11, pp. 747-772.
- Saramma, P. P., Thomas, S. V. (2010). Child rearing knowledge and practice scales for women with epilepsy. *Ann Indian Acad Neurol*. Jul;13(3):171-9. doi: 10.4103/0972-2327.70877. PMID: 21085526; PMCID: PMC2981753 (Accessed on 07-05-2023).
- Scanzoni, J., & Fox, G. L. (1980). Sex Roles, Family and Society: The Seventies and Beyond. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 42(4), 743–756. <https://doi.org/10.2307/351822>.
- Schuler, S. R., Hashemi, S. M., Riley, A. P., & Akhter, A. (1996). 'Credit programs, patriarchy and men's violence against women in rural Bangladesh', *Social Science and Medicine*, 43(12): 1729-42.
- Sechrist, G. B., & Stangor, C. (2005). "Prejudice as social norms," in *Social Psychology of Prejudice: Historical and Contemporary Issues* (eds.) C. S. Crandall and M. Schaller (Lawrence, KS: Lewinian Press), pp. 167–187.
- Sen, P. (1999). 'Enhancing women's choices in responding to domestic violence in Calcutta: a comparison of employment and education'. *The European Journal of Development Research*, Vol 11 (2).
- Senotsu, M., & Kinny, A. (2016). Shifting Cultivation in Nagaland: Prospects and Challenges. *ENVIS Bulletin Himalayan Ecology*, Vol 24.
- Settles, B. H., Zhao, J., Mancini, K. D., Rich, A., Pierre, S., & Oduor, A. (2009). Grandparents Caring for their Grandchildren: Emerging Roles and Exchanges in Global Perspectives, *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 5, pp. 827-848.

- Sharma, S. (1999). Multiple-roles and women's health: a multi-linear model. *Equal Opportunities International*.
- Sharp, J., Briggs, J., Yacoup, H., & Hamed, N. (2003). Doing gender and development: understanding empowerment and local gender relations. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, Vol. 28 (3), pp. 281-295.
- Shimray, U. A. (2004). Women's Work in Naga Society: Household Work, Workforce Participation and Division of Labour, *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol. 39, No. 17 (Apr. 24-30, 2004), pp. 1698-1711.
- Shohe, L. (2022). Naga Indigenous Religion: Restructuring its Nomenclatures. *PURJA*, Volume XLVII, No 2, ISSN 0970 5260.
- Shukla, A., & Kapoor, m. (1990). "Sex Role Identity, Marital Power, and Marital Satisfaction Among Middle-Class Couples in India," *Sex Roles*, vol. 22, 11/12, pp. 693-706.
- Shuster, C. (1993). Employed First-Time Mothers: A Typology of Maternal Responses to Integrating Parenting and Employment. *Family Relations*, 42(1), 13–20. <https://doi.org/10.2307/584915>.
- Sieber, S. D. (1974). Toward a theory of role accumulation. *American Sociological Review*, 39-, pp. 567-578.
- Skalli, N. (2007). Women and Work: Key Trends and Challenges in *Women and Work: Seminar for Members of Parliamentary Bodies Dealing with Gender Equality and Committees Addressing Labour Issues*, 6–8 December 2007, ILO Headquarters.
- Smyth, J. (2008). Transcending Traditional Gender Boundaries: Defining Gender Roles Through Public and Private Spheres, *Elements*, VOL 4 NO 1, P. 8.
- Snyder, K. A. (2007). A Vocabulary of Motives: Understanding how parents define quality time. *Journal of Marriage and Family*. Vol. 69, No. 2 (May, 2007), pp. 320-340.
- Somech, A. & Drach-Zahavy, A. (2007). Strategies for coping with work-family conflict: The distinctive relationships of gender role ideology. *Journal of occupational health psychology*. 12. 1-19. 10.1037/1076-8998.12.1.1.
- Sousa, W. H., & Gauthier, J. F. (2008). Gender Diversity in Officers' Evaluations of Police Work: A Survey of Job Satisfaction in the Police Workplace. *Justice Policy Journal (JPJ)*, Vol 5 (1).

- Spiro, R. L. (1983). "Persuasion in Family Decision-Making," *Journal of Consumer Research*, vol. 9, Mar., pp. 393-401.
- Squires, J. (2003). Public and private. In R. Bellamy & A. Mason (Eds.), *Political concepts* (pp. 131–144). Manchester University Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt155jbcx.15>.
- Stangor, C., Sechrist, G. B., & Jost, J. T. (2001). Changing racial beliefs by providing consensus information. *Pers. Soc. Psychol. Bull.* 27, 486–496. doi: 10.1177/0146167201274009.
- Stevens J. H. (1971). Current directions in the study of parental facilitation of children's cognitive development. *Educational Horizons*. 50(2), pp. 62-67.
- Strober, M., & Weinberg, C. J. (1977). Working wives and major family expenditures. *Journal of Consumer Research*. Vol 4 (December), pp.141-147.
- Sultana, A. M., & Zulkefli, N. E. B. M. (2012). Discrimination against women in the developing countries: a comparative study. *International Journal of Social Science and Humanity*, 2(3), 256.
- Sundaresan, S. (2014). Work-life balance–implications for working women. *OIDA International Journal of Sustainable Development*, 7(7), 93-102.
- Tajlili, M. H. (2014). A framework for promoting women's career intentionality and work-life integration. *The Career Development Quarterly*, 62(3), 254-267. <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.2161-0045.2014.00083.x>.
- Talukdar, A. C. (1994). "Self-Governing Institutions and Their Role as Village Government Among the Tribes of Arunachal Pradesh" in *Journal of N.E. Indian Council for Science and Research*, Vol. 12, No. 1. (April 1988).
- Tunc, T., & Kutanis R, O. (2009). Role conflict, role ambiguity, and burnout in nurses and physicians at a university hospital in Turkey. *Nurs Health Sci.* Dec;11(4):410-6. doi: 10.1111/j.1442-2018.2009.00475x. PMID: 19909450.
- Uttal, L. (1999). Using Kin for Child Care: Embedment in the Socioeconomic Networks of Extended Families. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, Vol. 61, No. 4, pp. 845-857 (URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/354007>, Accessed on 05-02-2023).
- Van Der Lippe, Van Dourne-Hourskes, T., & Siagers, J. J. (1992). *Division of household and paid labour between partners*. Paper presented at the XVIIth Congress of the International Federation for Home Economics, Hanover, Germany, 26-31 July.



- Verniers, C., Bonnot, V., & Assilaméhou-Kunz, Y. (2022). Intensive mothering and the perpetuation of gender inequality: evidence from a mixed method research. *Acta Psychologica*, 227, 103614.
- Vogel, D., Wester, S., Heesacker, M., & Madon, S. (2003). Confirming gender stereotypes: A Social role perspective. *Sex Roles*, 48(11/12), 519-528.
- Vogler, C., & Pahl, J., (1993). Social and economic change and the organization of money within marriage. *Work, Employment and Society*. Vol 7, pp. 71-95.
- Vogler, C. (2005). Cohabiting couples: Rethinking money in the household at the beginning of the twenty first century. *Sociological Review*. Vol 58, pp. 1-29.
- Walby, S. (1989). Theorizing Patriarchy. *Sociology*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (May 1989), pp. 213-234 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/42853921> (Accessed on 12-08-2023).
- Wall, G. (2010). Mothers' experiences with intensive parenting and brain development discourse. *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol 33, pp. 253-263. Doi: 10.1016/j.wsif.2010.02.019.
- Watienla (2019). Traditional Belief System and Health Practices of Tribal People: A Case of the Naga People in Northeast India. *JETIR*, June 2019, Volume 6, Issue 6.
- Wani, A. K. (2022). Spousal support and working woman's career progression: A qualitative study of woman academicians in the University of Kashmir. *Journal of Global Responsibility*, 14(1), 27-45. <https://doi.org/10.1108/jgr-05-2021-0050>.
- Weinberg, C. & Winer, R. (1983). Working wives and major family expenditures. *Journal of Consumer Research*. Vol 10 (September), pp.259-263.
- Wellman, W., & Wortley, S. (1989). Brothers' keepers: situating kinship relations in broader networks of social support. *Social Prospect*, 32 (2): pp. 273-306. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1389119>.
- Wendling, E., Kellison, T. B., & Sagar, M. (2018). A conceptual examination of college athletes' role conflict through the lens of conservation of resources theory. *Quest*, 70, 28-47.
- Wheelock, J. & Jones, K. (2002). Grandparents are the next best thing: informal childcare for working parents in urban Britain. *Journal of Social Policy*, 31, p. 4.

- Wilensky, H. (1960) Work, careers and social integration. *International Social Science Journal*, 12, 543- 560.
- Williams, J., Berdahl, J., & Vandello, J. (2016). Beyond Work-Life "Integration." *Annual Review of Psychology*, 67(1), 515-539. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-122414-033710>.
- Wolfson, C. D. S. (1981). Shared-care giving fathers in intact families: An exploration of personality characteristics, motivation, and antecedents. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Loyola University.
- Yano, V., & Tsolu, K. (2015). Economic contributions of women in traditional Naga society. *International Journal of Interdisciplinary and Multidisciplinary Studies (IJIMS)*, Vol 2, No.6, pp.158-162.
- Zarra-Nezhad, M., Moazami-Goodarzi, A., Hasannejad, L., & Roushani, K. (2010) Occupational Stress and Family Difficulties of Working Women. *Current Research in Psychology* 1 (2): 75-81 (Accessed on 26-05-2022).

### C. Websites

- The All India Services (Leave) Rules, 1955. [https://dopt.gov.in/sites/default/files/Revised\\_AIS\\_Rule\\_Vol\\_I\\_Rule\\_03.pdf](https://dopt.gov.in/sites/default/files/Revised_AIS_Rule_Vol_I_Rule_03.pdf) (Accessed on 2-12-2022).
- Ambrocia, M. (2019, July 6). Nagaland govt announces 'paternity leave' for state employees. East Mojo. <https://www.eastmojo.com/news/2019/07/06/nagaland-govt-announces-paternity-leave-for-state-employees/> (Accessed on 12-08-2022)
- Annual Administrative Report (2020-2021). Economics & Statistics department, Government of Nagaland. <https://statistics.nagaland.gov.in/> (Accessed on 20-05-2022).
- Census of India 2011. <https://www.census2011.co.in/census/state/districtlist/nagaland.html> (Accessed on 17-10-2023).
- Census of India 2011. *Provisional Population Totals, Nagaland Series 14*, Directorate of Census Operations, Kohima, Nagaland. <https://censusindia.gov.in/nada/index.php/catalog/894>. (Accessed on 17-10-2023).
- Chandrashekar, A., & Agarwal, P. (2017, August 9). Indiaspend.com. More Indian women could go to work if they found alternative caregivers. <https://scroll.in/article/846382/more->

- indian-women-could-go-to-work-if-they-found-alternative-caregivers (Accessed on 09-01-2023).
- Choudhary, S. (May 6, 2022). What is mother's guilt?: understanding the nuances of guilty mother syndrome. <https://feminisminindia.com/2022/05/06/what-is-mothers-guilt-understanding-the-nuances-of-guilty-mother-syndrome/> (Accessed on 10-08-2023).
- Chubayanger, T. (2013). Migrant and Trafficked Children in Hazardous Employment: The Case of Nagaland. NLI Research Studies Series No. 103/2013. V.V. Giri National Labour Institute. <https://vvgnli.gov.in/sites/default/files/2013-103.pdf>.
- Decent work. <https://www.ilo.org/global/topics/decent-work/lang--en/index.htm> (Accessed on 12-08-2018).
- Das, Yudhajit Shankar (September 18, 2019) Times of India. *Why women dominate the entire intellectual spectrum*. <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/kohima/why-women-dominate-the-entire-intellectual-spectrum-in-nagaland/articleshow/71181512.cms> (Accessed on 24-11-2022).
- Devi, J. Traditional Village Government and Village Council in Nagaland. *Man in India*, Vol 95 (2), pp.261-274. [https://serialsjournals.com/abstract/66127\\_9.pdf](https://serialsjournals.com/abstract/66127_9.pdf) (Accessed on 20-04-2023).
- Durkheim, E. (1915). "*The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*", *The Project Gutenberg EBook* #41360, p. 431, [http://www.gutenberg.org/files/41360/41360-h/41360-h.htm#Page\\_445](http://www.gutenberg.org/files/41360/41360-h/41360-h.htm#Page_445) (Accessed on 13-08-2023).
- Friedman, S. D., (2018, November 14). How our careers affect our children. *Harvard Business Review*. <https://hbr.org/2018/11/how-our-careers-affect-our-children> (Accessed on 24-01-2023).
- ILO. Hours of work and rest law 5711-1951. <https://www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/docs/ELECTRONIC/36146/81476/F1584867301/ISR36146.pdf> (Accessed on 11-05-2023).
- Jamir, T. & Shikhu, A. C. (2017). *Women and resources management: A study of shifting cultivation in Nagaland*. Unpublished doctoral thesis, Nagaland University, <https://hdl.handle.net/10603/219633>.

- Klein, M. & Kühhirt, M. (July 28, 2017). The conversation. Being a working mother is not bad for your children. <https://theconversation.com/being-a-working-mother-is-not-bad-for-your-children-78439> (Accessed on 04-05-2023).
- Knight, R. (2018, August 20). How to help your spouse cope with work stress. Harvard business review. <https://hbr.org/2018/08/how-to-help-your-spouse-cope-with-work-stress> (Accessed on 03-06-2022).
- Labour and employment (2022, October 6). Work hours and office timing in India. <https://www.indialawoffices.com/legal-articles/work-hours-and-office-timing-in-india#:~:text=Daily%20working%20hours%20range%20from,for%20more%20than%205%20hours> (Accessed on 11-05-2023).
- McKinsey (2020, September 30). Women in the Workplace 2020. <https://doi.org/10.1144/geosci-30-8> (Accessed on 2-09-2023).
- Nagaland State Government Employees Census Report, Government of Nagaland (2012). <https://statistics.nagaland.gov.in/statistics/category/26> (Accessed on 23-01-2023).
- Nickerson, C. (2021). What is Role Strain? Definition and examples. <https://www.simplypsychology.org/what-is-role-strain-in-sociology.html> (Accessed on 29-05-2022).
- Oh, H. (1992). Family decision making in convention participation. UNLV Retrospective Theses & Dissertations. 244. <http://dx.doi.org/10.25669/rgwq-13rx>. (Accessed on 07-2-2023).
- Parker, K. & Patten, E. (2013, January 30). The sandwich generation: Rising financial burdens for middle-age Americans. <https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2013/01/30/the-sandwich-generation/#:~:text=Adults%20who%20are%20part%20of,are%20pulled%20in%20many%20directions> (Accessed on 13-07-2023).
- Pelcovitz, D. (2013). The impact of working mothers on child development. <https://www.ou.org/life/parenting/impact-working-mothers-child-development-empirical-research-david-pelcovitz/> (Accessed on 05-05-2023).
- Reynolds, J., & Johnson, D. R. (2012, september) Don't Blame the Babies: Work Hour Mismatches and the Role of Children, *Social Forces*, Vol. 91, No. 1, pp. 131-155. [https://ecommons.luc.edu/luc\\_theses/3332](https://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_theses/3332) (Accessed on 24-01-2023)

- Sethi, Vaamanaa (2021). Only 32% of the married women in India are employed, reveals NFHS survey. *Business Insider India*. Retrieved from <https://www.businessinsider.in/careers/news/only-32-of-the-married-women-in-india-are-employed-reveals-nfhs-survey/articleshow/91513514.cms> (Accessed on 11-04-2023).
- Shah, N. (2022). Psychological defence mechanism- complete guide. <https://instituteofclinicalhypnosis.com/psychotherapy-coaching/rationalization-defense-mechanism/> (Accessed on 06-04-2023).
- Statistical Handbook of Nagaland (2001 to 2015). Directorate of Economics & Statistic Government of Nagaland. <https://statistics.nagaland.gov.in/> (Accessed on 23-06-2023).
- Tandon, A. (2022, April 11). Why are mothers blamed for every mistake their child makes? <https://www.shethepeople.tv/top-stories/opinion/mothers-blamed-for-childs-mistakes/> (Accessed on 12-09-2023).
- Thompson, K. (2014). Feminist perspectives on the family, *Families and Households, Feminism, Sex and gender*. <https://revisesociology.com/2014/02/10/feminist-perspectives-family/> (Accessed on June 5, 2023).
- UNICEF. Early childhood development (ECD). <https://www.unicef.org/india/what-we-do/early-childhood-development> (Accessed on 20-11-2023).
- WIEGO Policy Brief No 27 (October 2021). Domestic Workers and Social Protection in Nagaland. <https://www.wiego.org/sites/default/files/publications/file/WIEGO%20Policy%20Brief%20N27%20Nagaland%20for%20web.pdf> (Accessed on 12-03-2022).

## **ANNEXURES**

Sl.no.....

*Annexure I*

Questionnaire schedule

on

Working Mothers and Role Conflict in Naga Society

**I. GENERAL BACKGROUND OF RESPONDENT (WORKING MOTHER):**

1. Name:

2. Contact No.:

3. Age Group

(a) 30-40

(b) 40-50

(c) 50-60

4. Marital Status

(a) Married

(b) Unmarried

(c) Separated/divorced

(d) Widowed

5. Type of family:

(a) Nuclear

(b) Joint

6. Single earner or dual earner family:

(a) Single earner

(b) Dual Earner

7. Educational Qualification:

- (a) Under Matriculate
- (b) Matriculate
- (c). Pre- University
- (d) Graduate
- (e) Post- Graduate and above

8. Profession:

- (a) Teaching
- (b) Medical
- (c) Clerical
- (d) Administration
- (e) Others (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

9. What is your monthly income?

- (a) Less than 10000
- (b) 11000-20000
- (c) 21000-30000
- (d) 31000-40000
- (e) 41000-50000
- (f) 51000-60000
- (g) 61000 and above

10. Strata of occupation:

- (a) Grade I
- (b) Grade II
- (c) Grade III
- (d) Grade IV

11. Total no. of children:

- (a) 1
- (b) 2
- (c) 3



(d) 4 and above

12. As a bread earner in the family, how do you consider yourself?

(a) Primary earner

(b) Secondary earner

Kindly explain why?

---

---

13. Time spent on household chores daily:

(a) Less than 2 hours

(b) 2 to 4 hours

(c) 4 hours and above

14. Leisure activity:

(a) Visiting relatives/friends

(b) Helping children with their homework

(c) Watching T.V

(d) Others (please specify)

---

15. Husband's educational qualification:

(a) Under Matriculate

(b) Matriculate

(c) Pre- University

(d) Graduate

(e) Post- Graduate and above

16. Husband's profession:

(a) Teaching

(b) Medical

(c) Clerical

(d) Administration

(e) Unemployed/Retired

(f) Others (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

17. Among the following factors for working, please rank them in order of importance from 1 to 6; where 1 is most important to you and 6 is least important:

(for example: if (c) is the top factor for working according to you, rank it as 1 and if (e) is the second factor for working, rank it as 2 and so on till rank 6)

(a) Financial self-sufficiency

(b) Self-esteem and self-respect

(c) To improve the standard of living

(d) To supplement family income

(e) To utilise educational qualifications

(f) Parental pressure

(g) Others (specify)

---

---

---

## **II. Work Environment of the respondent:**

1. Total work experience in years:

(a) Less than 1 year

(b) 1 to 5 years

(c) 5 to 10 years

(d) More than 10 years

2. Duration of working hours including travel timing:

(a) Less than 5 hours

(b) 5 to 8 hours

(c) More than 8 hours

3. Were you given easier jobs or special considerations during pregnancy?

(a) Yes

(b) No

4. How often does the professional role conflict with the mothering role?

- (a) Very often
- (b) Seldom
- (c) Never

5. When you are at home, how often do you think about things going on at work?

- (a) Very often
- (b) Seldom
- (c) Never

6. (i) Career compromises you have faced so far:

- (a) Reduced work hours
- (b) Turned down a promotion
- (c) Turned down a responsible portfolio in preferred location
- (d) Taken a significant time off
- (e) Quit job

(ii) Can you state reason for your answer?

---

---

---

7. Do you think that profession and family can be in concordance?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

State reason for your answer

---

---

---

8. Have you ever experienced conflict between work and family obligations?

- (a) No
- (b) Yes

If yes, how do you deal with it?

---

---

---

9. (i) What according to you is the top source of role conflict?

Please rank the following factors in order from 1 to 9, 1 being the most important and 9 is least important to you:

(For example: if (d) is the main source of role conflict for you, rank it as 1, if (b) is the second source of role conflict for you, rank it as 2, if (h) is the third source of role conflict for you, rank it as 3 and so on till rank 9)

- (a) Work-related stress
- (b) Incompatible role expectations
- (c) Ambiguity and uncertainty of the two roles
- (d) Husband's negative attitude towards wife's work
- (e) Negative attitude of family members
- (f) Inadequate and inappropriate role sharing in family
- (g) Primacy of family role
- (h) Primacy of professional role
- (i) Time budgeting

(ii) Any other reasons please specify:

---

---

10. Do you think gender discrimination exists in the workplace?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

11. How satisfied are you with your job?

- (a) Highly satisfied
- (b) Somewhat satisfied
- (c) Dissatisfied

12. Do you think your professional role is affecting your mental and physical health?

(a) Yes

(b) No

13. Do you honestly feel you are doing justice to the demands of your profession?

(a) Yes

(b) No

If so, how and if no, please explain:

---

---

**II. Childcare issues:**

1. Do you have children under 6?

(a) Yes

(b) No

2. Age of youngest Child:

(a) Under 5 years

(b) Between 5 to 10 years

(c) Between 10 to 15 years

(d) 15 years and above

3. How long was your youngest baby given exclusive breastfeeding?

(a) Less than 6 months

(b) More than 6 months

4. How are your children doing in their studies?

(a) Excellent

(b) Satisfactory

(c) Average

(d) Unsatisfactory

(e) Not relevant now

5. Do your children know the nature of your work?

(a) Yes

(b) No

6. Attitude of your children towards your work outside the home?

(a) Approve

(b) Disapprove

(c) Cannot say

7. Who takes care of your child when you go to work?

(a) Domestic help/Baby sitter

(b) Relatives

(c) Neighbour

(d) Carry to workplace

(e) Any other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

8. (i). Are you satisfied with this arrangement?

(a) Yes

(b) No

(ii). If no, why?

(a) Others don't understand the child's needs properly

(b) Others are not interested in the child

(c) Any other reason please specify

\_\_\_\_\_

9. When you return from work, are you in a position to attend to your child?

(a) Yes

(b) No

(c) Sometimes

If no, why?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

10. Do you think you spend enough time with your children?

(a) Yes

(b) No

11. What is your attitude towards Montessorios/nurseries and other child care agencies in the society?

(a) Strongly approve

(b) Approve

(c) Disapprove. If so, please specify your answer:

---

12. (i). Do you think that your absence during the day has created any problems in your child?

(a) Yes

(b) No

(ii). If yes, what type of problems?

(a) Health

(b) Nutritional

(c) Behavioural

(d) Others (specify)

---

---

13. Do you honestly feel that you are doing justice to the demands of motherhood?

(a) Yes

(b) No

If no, kindly share what you think you can do better

---

---

14. Any regrets being a working mother?

(a) No

(b) Yes

If yes, please share reasons for it.

---

---

#### **IV. Role Conflict and Role Adjustment:**

1. What do you think is society's attitude towards working mothers?

(a) Positive

(b) Negative

2. What is your husband's attitude in a situation of conflict (if any) between the members of his family and wife?

(a) Judicious

(b) Non-Interference

(c) Favour of wife

(d) Not relevant

3. Who manages the budget in the family?

(a) Self

(b) Husband

(c) Jointly

4. Who takes major decisions in the family?

(a) Self

(b) Husband

(c) Jointly

5. How frequently do you conflict with your partner about division of housework?

(a) Often

(b) Sometimes

(c) Never



6. Does your husband appreciate your dual role and encourage you as a working mother?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No
- (c) Can't say

7. Relative's attitude towards your work:

- (a) Approve
- (b) Disapprove. If so, please specify the reason \_\_\_\_\_
- (c) Can't say

8. Do you get opportunities to attend social functions?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

9. What social activities/organizations are you actively involved in?

- (a) Church
- (b) NGOs
- (c) Student Activities
- (d) Others (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_
- (e) None

10. What is your perception of stress faced from your work-family conflict?

- (a) No stress
- (b) Mild stress
- (c) Moderate stress
- (d) Severe stress

\*\*\* If there are any points you wish to elaborate on with regard to the subject at hand, your suggestion(s) and opinion is welcomed. Please make use of the space provided below.

***Annexure II***

Interview Schedule  
on  
Working Mothers and Role Conflict in Naga Society

**Child respondents (children of working mothers)**

- 1.Name:
2. Age:
3. Which school do you go to?
4. Who Serves meals to you before you go to school?
5. Who helps you with your homework?
6. Do your parents attend your school functions? (e.g., parents day, children's day and other functions)
7. Can you tell me how you spend your vacations?
8. How do you spend time with your mother during your holidays?
9. Are you satisfied with the amount of time you spend with your mother? If no, how do you feel?
10. Who does majority of the household chores at home?
11. Do you also help with the chores at home?
12. Are you happy that your mother works outside the home?
13. Do you know the nature of your mother's work?
14. Are you proud of her work? If no, can you tell me why?
15. Do you envy your friends whose mothers stay at home?
16. Would you feel happy if your mother gives up her job?

**\*\*Anything else you would like to add?**

*Annexure III*

**Percentage distribution of Nagaland government employees according to gender from 31.03-2014- 31-03-2021**

Status/year	31-03-2014			31-03-2015			31-03-2016			31-03-2017		
	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male
<b>Class I</b>	3988	26.22	73.77	4048	28	72	4096	26.97	73.03	4988	37	63
<b>Class II</b>	2746	21.99	78	2804	24	76	2865	23.7	76.3	3363	31.8	68.2
<b>Class III</b>	64019	22.72	77.27	64287	23	77	64686	22.64	77.36	75320	26.4	73.6
<b>Class IV</b>	25156	21.27	78.72	26381	22	78	26599	21.9	78.1	41628	36.55	63.45
<b>Total</b>	95909	22.46	77.53	97520	23	77	98246	22.65	77.35	125299	30.35	69.65
Status/Year	31-03-2018			31-03-2019			31-03-2020			31-03-2021		
	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male
<b>Class I</b>	4988	29.19	70.81	4791	31.33	68.67	4802	31.38	68.62	4826	31.33	68.67
<b>Class II</b>	3363	27.53	72.47	3153	28.48	71.52	3156	28.55	71.45	3177	28.42	71.58
<b>Class III</b>	75320	27.99	72.01	72231	28.53	71.47	72780	28.52	71.48	72793	28.53	71.47
<b>Class IV</b>	39639	34.5	65.5	38996	36.60	63.40	39193	36.55	63.45	39205	36.55	63.45
<b>Total</b>	123310	30.12	69.88	119171	31.28	68.72	119931	31.26	68.74	120001	31.26	68.74

*Source: PIMS cell, P&AR department, Government of Nagaland (Gender statistics, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, 2022)*