

Increasing Awareness for Change

A Survey of Gender and the Civil Services

SAROJINI GANJU THAKUR

Lal Bahadur Shastri

National Academy of Administration, Mussoorie

For

**Department of Administrative Reforms
and Public Grievances
Government of India**

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The views of the author are personal and do not reflect those of the organisation to which she belongs or of the sponsoring department.

Preface

This study forms part of a major capacity-building project for the civil services being implemented by The Department of Personnel and Training (DoPT), Government of India in collaboration with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The project has four main objectives:

- i) To build capacity for administrative reforms at the Centre and in three selected States.
- ii) To enhance policy formulation capabilities and administrative competencies, skills and attitudes through management development training of top executives, senior administrators, middle level officers within the country, in neighbouring countries and in selected overseas institutions of repute.
- iii) To strengthen three Administrative Training Institutes (ATIs) by building capacity for training needs analysis and certification methodology.
- iv) To examine women's issues in the civil service with a view to their redressal through an ongoing institutional mechanism.

Several activities have been envisaged under item (iv). In addition to the formation of a Core Group on the subject by the Department of Personnel and Training (DoPT), Government of India it includes the conduct of a survey on gender and the civil services.

The Core Group for achieving this objective was set up by DoPT in August 1996 and comprised the following:

1. Dr. P.S.A. Sundaram, AS (AR&T)
Chairperson
2. Smt. Adarsh Misra, Joint Secretary, Department of Family Welfare
Member
3. Shri R.S. Pandey, Joint Secretary, Department of Education
Member
4. Smt. Sunila Basant, Joint Secretary, Department of Health
Member
5. Shri A.K. Arora, Joint Secretary (Trg.), Department of Personnel & Training
Member

6. Smt. Vailasini Ramachandran, Director (II), Department of Personnel & Training
Member
7. Smt. Vrinda Sarup, Director, Department of Education
Member
8. Smt. Sarojini Ganju Thakur, Deputy Director (Sr.), LBSNAA, Mussoorie
Member
9. Shri Ashok Malhotra, Project Officer, UNDP
Member
10. Smt. Devika Kumar, Director (PG), Department of Administrative Reforms & PG
Member—Secretary

At its first meeting on August 28, 1996 certain decisions were made regarding the conduct of the survey. One significant decision, which deviated from the original terms of the project was to extend the scope of the survey to cover not only women but also men so that a gender differentiated view emerged. The Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration (LBSNAA), Mussoorie was identified as the institutional consultant for the survey since it had already undertaken some preliminary work on gender issues in the IAS. A survey had been conducted by the Gender Studies Unit, LBSNAA which had also developed and canvassed a questionnaire for the purpose. The terms of reference for the LBSNAA included framing the draft questionnaire, carrying out a survey of a cross-section of men and women officers, conducting workshops with cadre controlling authorities, developing software to process the data and writing up the report.

The author is grateful to Shri Ashish Patel, personal assistant for the long hours spent on patiently typing and secretarial support at every stage of the production of this report; to Mr. Santulan Chaubey, Senior Programmer, LBSNAA without whom this report would not have been possible for the development of the software, processing the data and assistance in organising data-entry and production of tables; to Smt. Anjali Chauhan, Research Assistant, LBSNAA for helping to compile figures and data and to Shri S.S. Rawat for data entry. I would also like to place on record my deep appreciation of the constant encouragement and

guidance received from both the Directors of LBSNAA while undertaking this work - Dr. N.C. Saxena, presently Secretary, Rural Areas and Employment, Government of India and Mr. B.S. Baswan, the current Director; the Joint Director, Dr. V.K. Agnihotri, who helped to chart the scope of the survey; and my husband, Ashok Thakur who not only had to put up with my many evenings at

the computer but also helped me with defining the design of the software. In the end, special thanks to Dr. P.S.A. Sundaram, Additional Secretary, DoPT, and Smt. Devika Kumar Director, DoPT for the tremendous cooperation and support received throughout the conduct of the survey, workshops and the production of the report.

Sarojini Ganju Thakur

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List of Abbreviations

IAS	Indian Administrative Service	ATI's	Administrative Training Institutes
IPS	Indian Police Service	AS	Additional Secretary
IfoS	Indian Forest Service	AR&T	Administrative Reforms and Training
IFS	Indian Foreign Service	DoPT	Department of Personnel and Training
IRS	Indian Revenue Service	LBSNAA	Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration
IA&AS	Indian Audit and Accounts Service	IRAS	Indian Railway Accounts Service
POSTAL	Indian Postal Service	UPSC	Union Public Service Commission
P&T	Posts and Telegraph	PSU	Public Sector Unit
IDES	Indian Defence Estate Service	HQ	Headquarters
IDAS	Indian Defence Accounts Service	DFO	District Forest Officer
C&E	Custom and Excise	DM	District Magistrate
IRPS	Indian Railway Personnel Service	SP	Superintendent of Police
IES	Indian Economic Service	AIS	All India Service
IIS	Indian Information Service	DGP	Director General of Police
ISS	Indian Statistical Service	AD	Assistant Director
CSS	Central Secretarial Service	DRDA	District Rural Development Agency
UP	Uttar Pradesh	SDO	Sub Divisional Officer
MP	Madhya Pradesh	DC	Deputy Commissioner
AP	Andhra Pradesh	CEO	Chief Executive Officer
Ar.P	Arunachal Pradesh	ACR	Annual Confidential Report
HP	Himachal Pradesh	HPSFC	Himachal Pradesh State Financial Corporation
JK	Jammu & Kashmir	DWCD	Department of Women and Child Development
Mah	Maharashtra	NCW	National Commission for Women
Raj	Rajasthan	FIRs	First Information Report
TN	Tamil Nadu		
WB	West Bengal		
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme		

Introduction

1.1 Objective of the Study

1.1.1 Bureaucracies, generally in the past, have been seen to be dominated by the “Weberian model of rational, merit based bureaucracy” and “differential outcomes for men and women within an organisation were attributed to the workings of an objective body of rules, norms and practices”.¹ Whereas there can be little doubt that organisational processes determine the manner in which the bureaucracy is constituted and perpetuated, the purpose of this survey “is to understand the nature of gender relations in the bureaucracy and the extent to which the bureaucracy is gender neutral, and to examine the manner and extent to which the bureaucracy contributes and reflects the biases of a larger societal context and is responsible for creating, maintaining and reproducing such biases.”²

1.1.2 This survey seeks to examine the ways in which the men and women within the civil services perceive gender issues in their own lives and careers, the manner in which such issues impact on the organisation in which they are working and the extent to which the bureaucracy itself is ‘engendered’. This study does not look at the wider issue of the consistently low rates of female recruitment in some areas, and comparatively higher rates in others as these issues emanate from a broader societal context and require a separate study. However, it is hoped that many of the recommendations that emerge as a result of the vast body of empirical data collected in this survey will enable administrators to make the decisions that move from concept to action.

1.1.3 It needs to be stated, at the outset, that mainstreaming gender forms only one element of a larger framework of civil service reform which is being dealt with in many different ways.

1.2 Background

1.2.1 The democratic provisions in the Constitution of India that guarantee “equality before the law” and

“equality of employment opportunities” represented a watershed in the history of the higher civil services. With one stroke they provided the framework for entry of women into the civil services, which at the higher levels, had been singularly staffed by men.

1.2.2 While the framework was set in place, two problems have persisted - the lower representation of women at all levels in government, and gender inequalities within the service. In overall terms the figures show that in 1989³ the percentage of women in the Central Government both at gazetted levels and non-gazetted levels was only 6.6 per cent. In the All India Services as of 1995, there were less than 10 per cent women; in the IFS and IPS in 1992 there were 1.8 per cent. Figure 1 represents the share of women officers serving in the Government of India (Central Government) as on April 1, 1997. Figure 2 depicts the distribution of male and female officers serving in the Government of India.

1.2.3 In terms of the Gender Empowerment Measure depicted in the *Human Development Report, 1995*⁴ India’s position was 101 out of 128 countries. One of the variables taken into account to calculate this was the proportion of men and women at senior levels of government. It is important to point out in this context that the representation of women in the governments of even the more developed countries, especially at senior levels, has been quite low. Specific and concrete measures are being taken in various countries to encourage and improve the participation of women in government.

1.2.4 In India, various government reports such as the *Towards Equality Report*⁵ and the *National Perspective Plan for Women (1988 - 2000)*⁶ have over

³Central Statistical Office, 1995.

⁴United Nations Development Programme (1996).

⁵Committee on the Status of Women in India, 1975. This was the first government report prior to the first World Conference of Women in 1975 to examine thoroughly the multiple roles and needs of women and the varied nature of their contribution to the economy.

⁶This Plan examined the long term needs of women and the nature of policy intervention and programmes that were required to ensure a more equitable distribution of resources.

¹Thakur and Nadkarni (1996).

²Ibid.

time highlighted the importance of greater representation and participation of women at all levels of decision-making. More recently the National Policy for the Empowerment of Women 1996 (final draft)⁷ has stated that "all measures will be taken to guarantee women equal access to and full participation in all decision making bodies at every level in the private and public sectors including the legislative, executive. . . Affirmative action, including reservation, will be effected whenever necessary." The recommendations of the Fifth Pay Commission have devoted a full chapter to the issues related to "Womens Welfare in the Civil Services."⁸ The 81st Constitutional Amendment is also on the anvil.

1.2.5 Internationally, too, India is a signatory to the Convention for Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women which was ratified in 1993 and the Platform for Action which emanated from the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. Both these documents reinforce India's commitment to equality between men and women in all spheres as also its agenda for empowerment of all women.

1.3 Earlier Studies

1.3.1 A literature review indicates that although there are numerous studies and articles on problems and issues related to various individual services, one of the main sources of a comprehensive review of gender in the civil services has been a report entitled, *Women and the Civil Services*.⁹ Daphne de Rebello (1995) also makes some interesting cross-cultural comparisons between India and England. The reports of the Pay Commissions, including the latest one, also focus on service conditions for women employees in the Central Government. This survey draws heavily from an earlier article by the author.¹⁰

1.3.2 While all these studies have used questionnaires, this survey breaks new ground in that it is the first study that draws on such a wide response in terms of coverage of the services, and levels of both men and women, as well as the range of related issues. Many issues such as stress and motivation and sexual harassment that persist across the services have been touched upon for the first time.

1.4 Methodology

1.4.1 As a first step a "design" workshop was held

on 23 November 1996 to finalise the questionnaire and the scope of the survey. Representatives from the All India Services and Central Civil Services and Cadre Controlling Authorities of various services were invited. A draft questionnaire was formulated by the Gender Studies Unit, LBSNAA based on an earlier questionnaire that had been used for a separate study. This was subsequently revised and used as a basis for discussion. The questionnaire was circulated to all concerned, and modifications incorporated where found necessary. The final questionnaire, incorporating some of the changes suggested at the workshop is at Annex I.

1.4.2 The scope of the survey was defined as follows:

- i) All India Services, Central Services, and the Central Secretariat Services from the level of Under Secretary upwards.
- ii) State level Service Officers from the Secretariat/ Directorates and up to district level in the field
- iii) Education and health cadres from the states would separately be included.

1.4.3 In view of the scope of the survey it was decided that a mailed questionnaire should be used. However, in view of the anticipated response to a mailed questionnaire, it was decided that one-fifth of the various cadres should be covered and also that the cadre controlling authorities would be responsible for the actual mailing to individual respondents. As a questionnaire had just been canvassed to the IAS, albeit for a separate study, it was decided not to repeat this, and to draw quite heavily on the paper based on the findings of the questionnaire which had already been published. This, of course, meant that for certain issues which were added to the new questionnaire, data were not available for the IAS. In selecting a sample one of the concerns was that the sample should be representative of the distribution of officers over cadres and batches. As far as male/female representation is concerned it was felt that the sample need not necessarily represent a profile of the overall service, as the objective of the questionnaire was to examine gender in the civil services. Table 1 indicates the cadre strength of the actual number of questionnaires distributed to various cadre controlling authorities, the number actually mailed to men and women of individual services, and the total number that were received and processed. If one includes the questionnaires that were canvassed in the earlier study for the IAS the total sample consisted of 779 responses, 516 male and 263 female responses. Although the information of the number of questionnaires that were actually canvassed is incomplete, what is interesting is that over 50 per cent of the responses were from women. This can perhaps

⁷This draft policy was formulated after the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1996. It has yet to be approved by Cabinet.

⁸Fifth Pay Commission Report 1997, pp. 1712-1717.

⁹Department of Administrative Reforms and Public Grievances (1989).

¹⁰Thakur and Nadkarni (1996).

Table 1 Break-up of Responses

S. No.	Service	Cadre Strength (Actual)		No. of Mailed Questionnaires		No. of Responses	
		M	F	M	F	M	F
1.	IAS (1995)*	4555	492	450	250	83	41
2.	IPS	2060	86	408	52	61	13
3.	Forest**			337	77	49	10
4.	IFS**	632		17	69	4	10
5.	IRS (Income Tax)	1980	276			63	54
6.	IRS (Custom)**	1706				83	19
7.	IA&AS	449	109	80	20	28	4
8.	Postal	296	80			16	46
9.	P&T**	735		103	51	18	14
10.	IDES	158				3	5
11.	IDAS	327	44			34	19
12.	IRPS**	696				1	8
13.	IES**	527				7	5
14.	IIS	336	60	84	9	21	1
15.	ISS*	651				17	10
16.	CSS	388	33			28	4
17.	IRAS (Traffic)**	1553					
18.	IRAS (Personnel)**	696					
19.	IRAS (Accounts)**	1044					
TOTAL SAMPLE SIZE						(779)	
TOTAL						516	263

* Based on Thakur (1996).

** Figure based on sanctioned strength.

be attributed to their greater interest and involvement in the subject. Figures 3, 4 and 5 represent graphically the share of male/ female responses and percentage distribution of male/ female responses. For the health and education cadres, it was decided that the questionnaire would be canvassed by Central Ministries and for the state level officers of various departments through ATIs.

1.4.4 The original time frame for receipt of questionnaires was March 31 but on account of delays in sending out the questionnaires this period was extended. Individual questionnaires that were received till May 7, 1997 have been included in this survey and if received in a bunch from the cadre controlling authority till May 31, 1997. A software programme for processing of the data was designed and a data entry operator recruited after March to feed in the data.

1.4.5 The sample that emerged was quite varied, although there was limited response from some of the services. Details regarding home state of the respondents and a break-up of seniority of the sample are given in Appendix Tables A.1 and A.2. The initial objective of the survey was to be able to compare and contrast a northern state with a southern one, which is the reason for the choice of Haryana and

Kerala. In the case of educational administrators ample data was received but in the case of health administrators this was extremely limited. No response was received from the ATI, Haryana.

1.4.6 Since it was also decided to supplement the information received from the questionnaire with a desk review, a separate questionnaire was formulated for the cadre controlling authorities (see Annex II). They were also asked to submit copies of relevant orders and landmark judgements pertaining to the individual services. While the following cadre controlling authorities did respond, there was very little information supplied by way of service specific additional information.

- Indian Telecom Service Group A
- India Information Service
- Indian Police Service
- Indian Audit & Accounts Service
- Indian Postal Service
- Indian Defence Accounts Service
- Central Secretariat Service
- Indian Revenue Service (Income Tax)

1.4.7 In view of the nature and number of responses received, the focus of the survey was primarily on gender and the higher civil services, which covered only one part of the initial scope of the study.

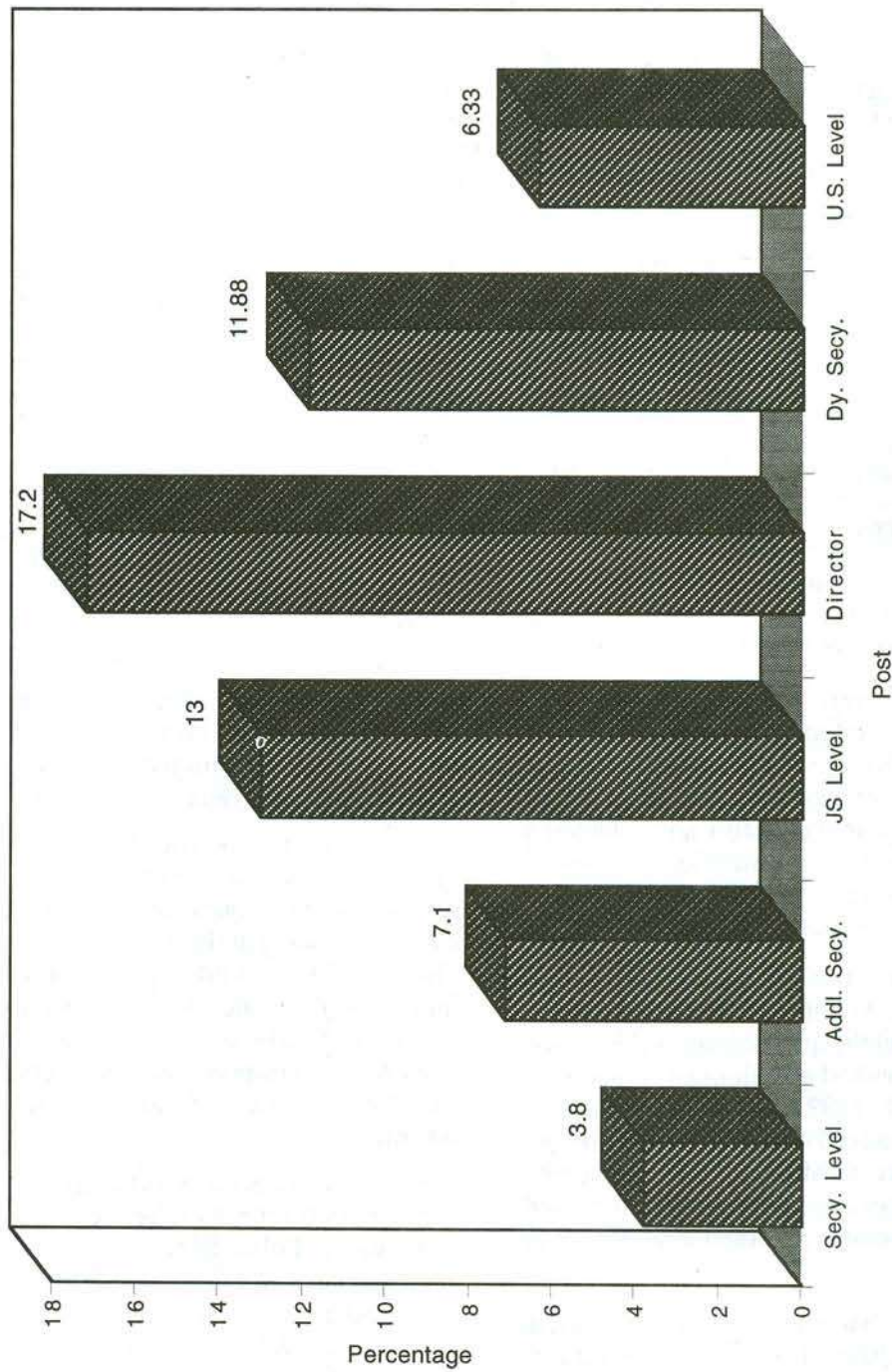


Figure 1 Percentage of Women Officers Serving in GOI
As on 1st April 1997

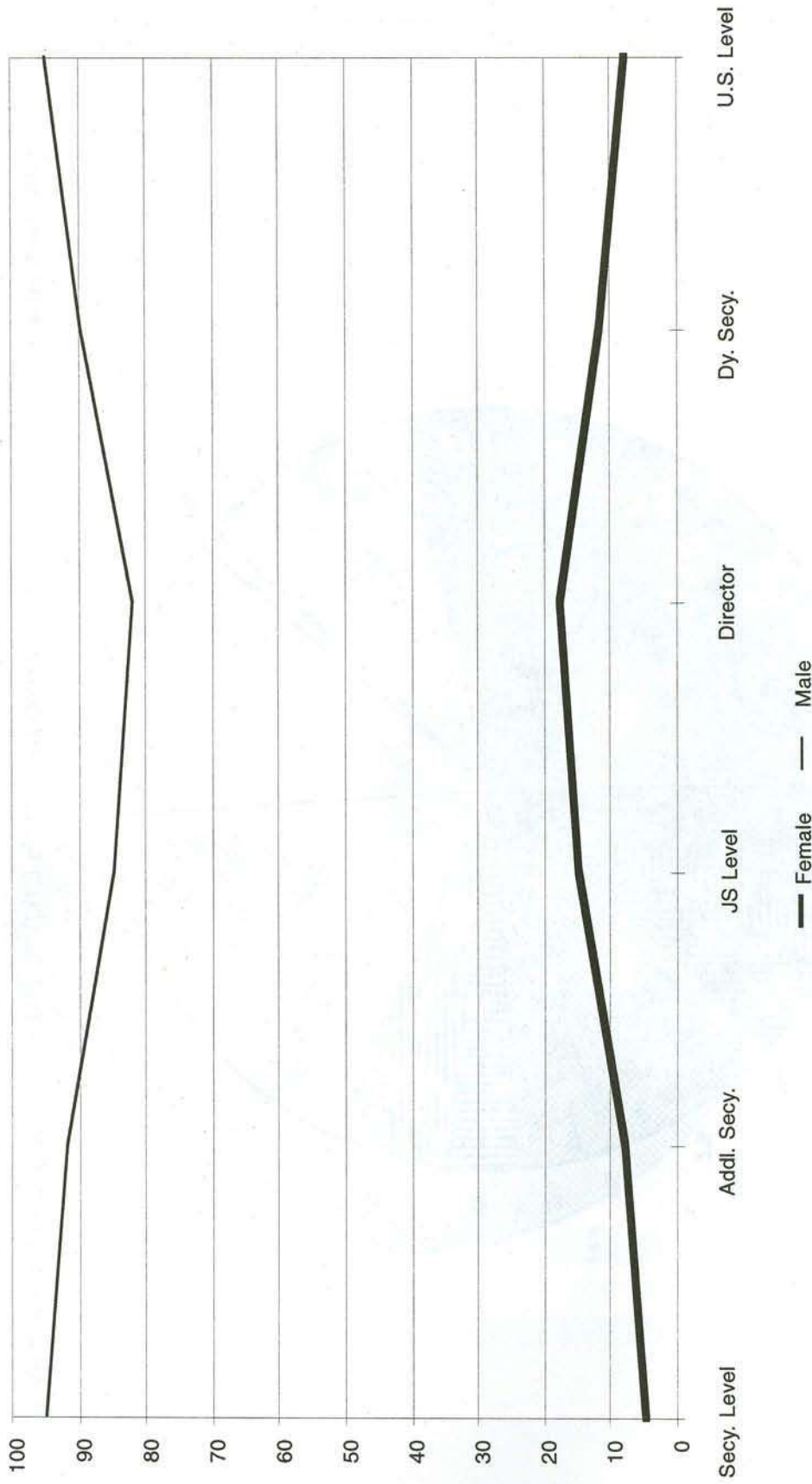


Figure 2 Distribution of Male and Female Officers Serving in GOI

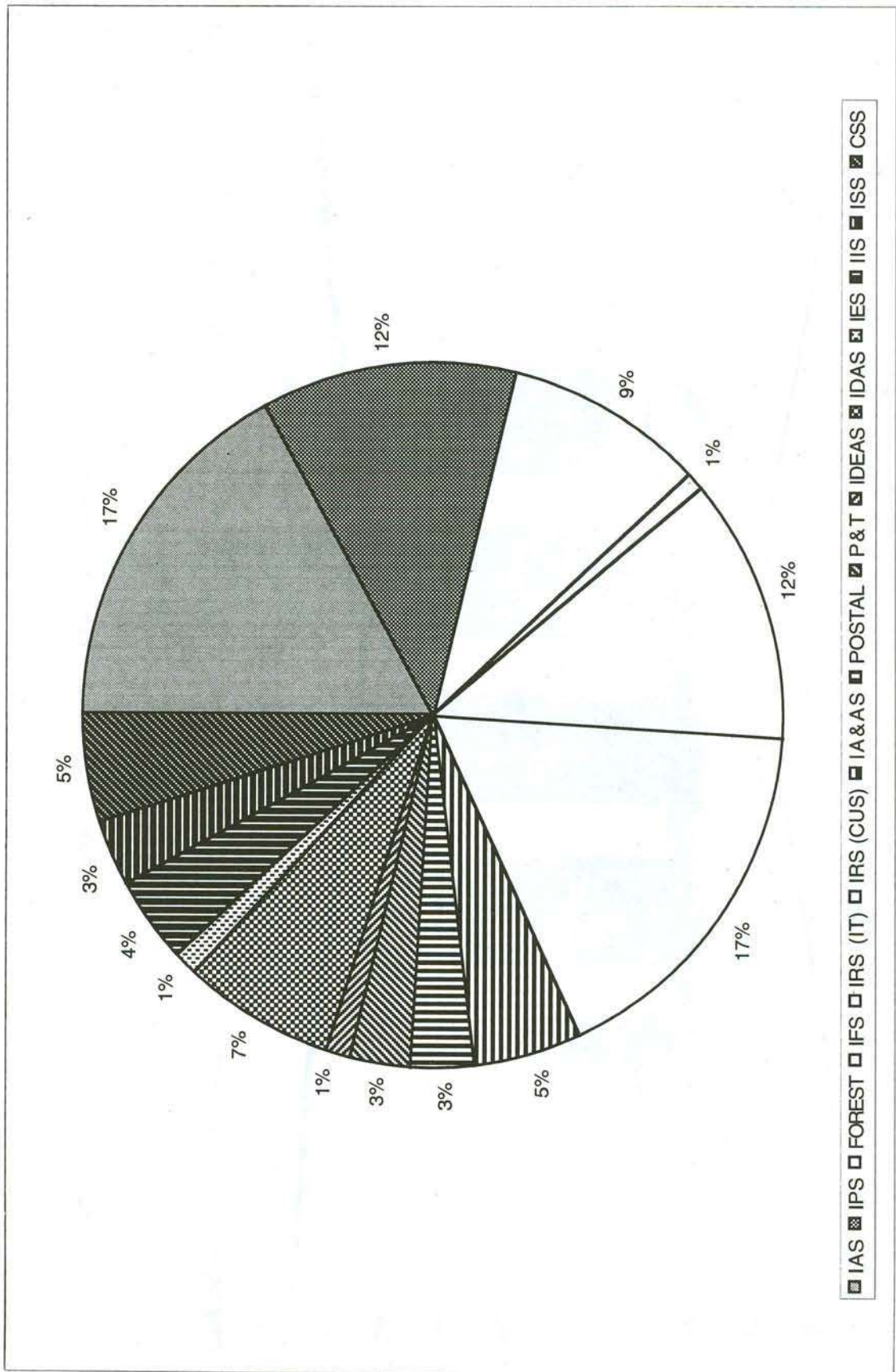


Figure 3 Service-wise Distribution of Male Responses

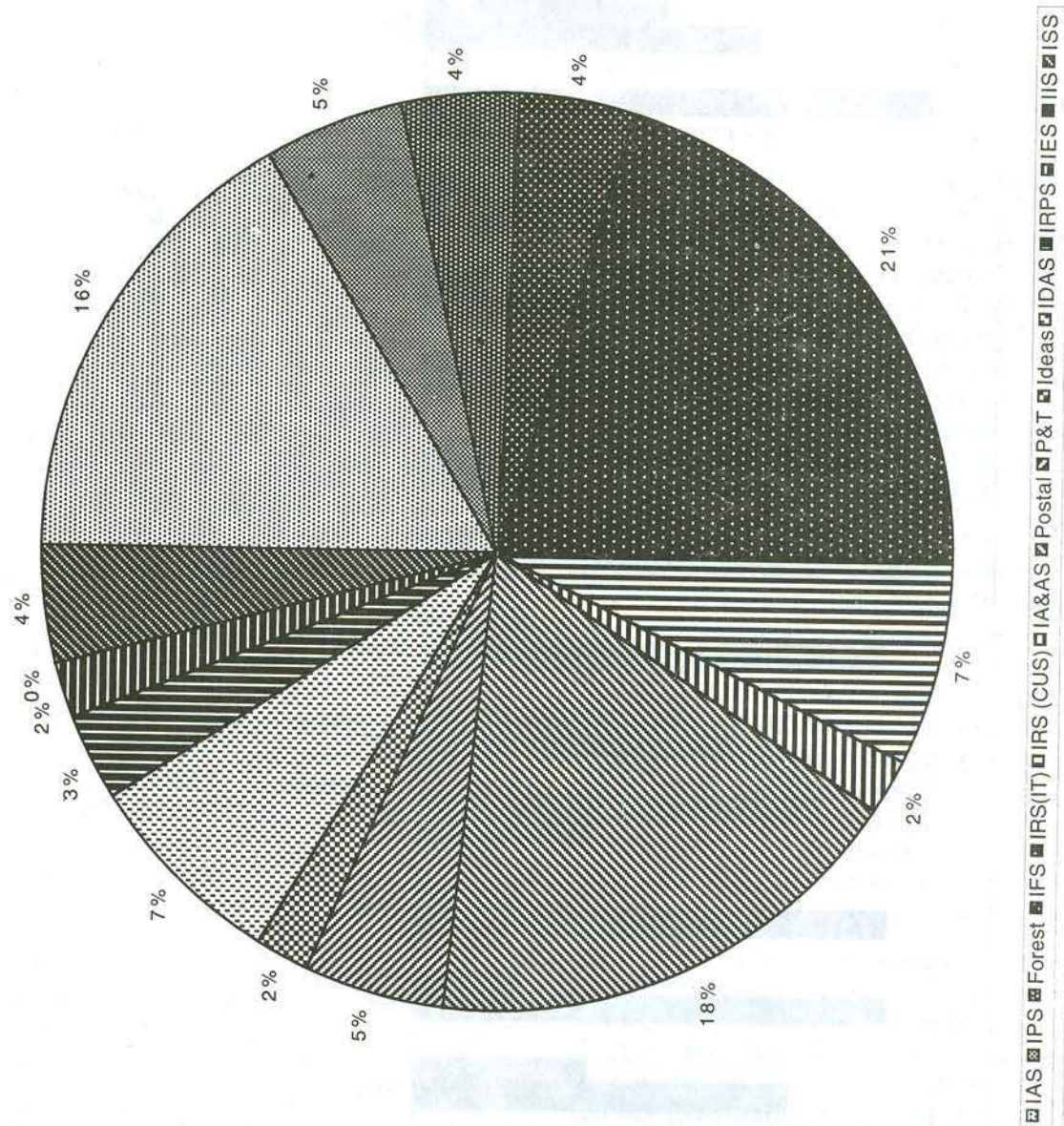


Figure 4 Service-wise Distribution of Female Responses

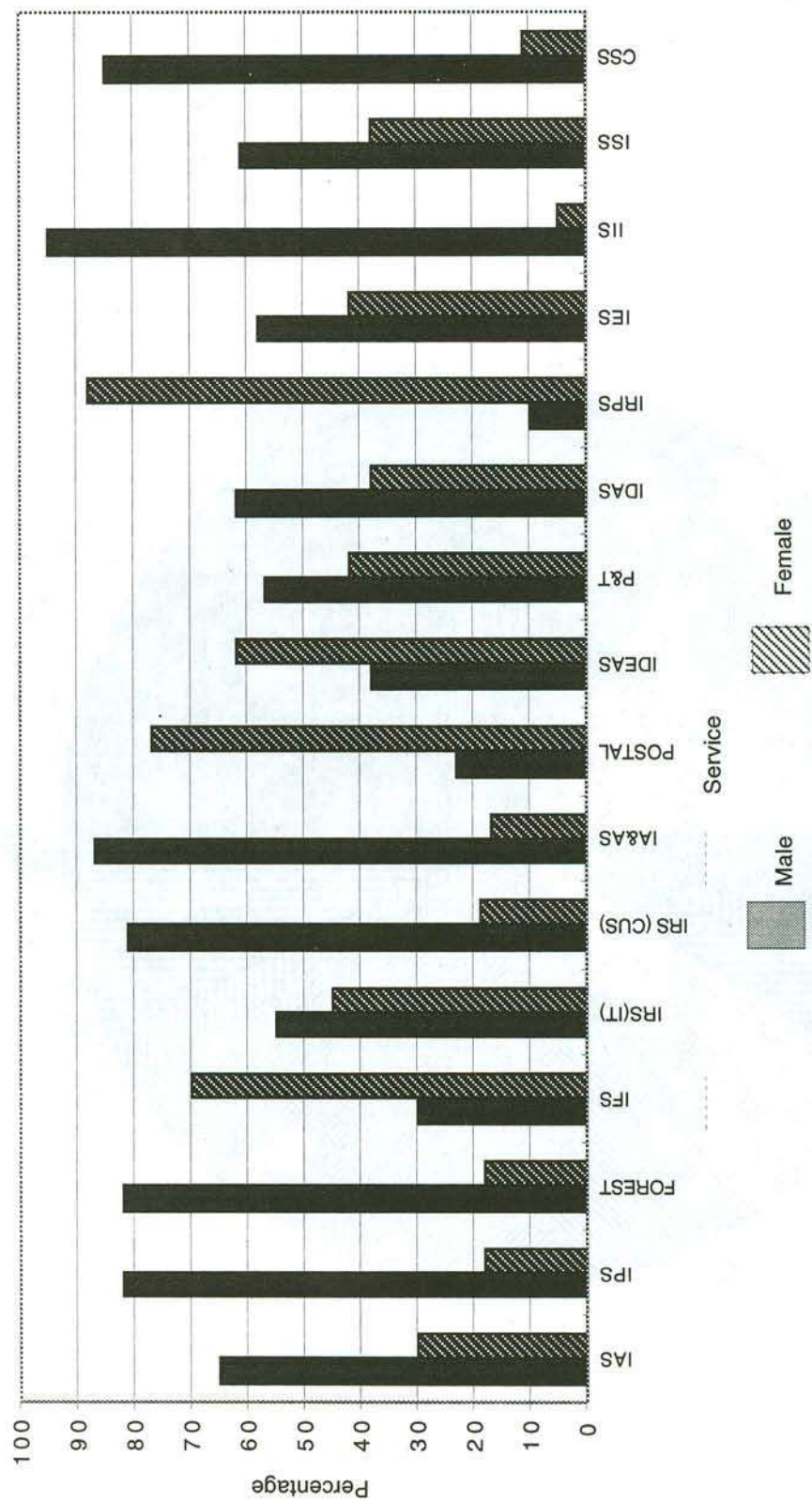


Figure 5 Percentage Distribution of Respondents

Who are the Men and Women in the Higher Civil Services?

2.1 Profile of Respondents

2.1.1 The questionnaire sought to establish the social distribution pattern of men and women in the civil service both in terms of family and educational backgrounds. Being a sample covering the overall bureaucracy it was expected to throw light on the manner in which the bureaucracy perpetuates ideas and attitudes about gender. Appendix Table A.3 gives the overall picture of the social distribution of respondents.

2.1.2 What is significant in terms of religious distribution of respondents is that in a sample of this size there were only 8 males and 3 females who were Muslim as against 16 male and 14 female Christians. This, to a large extent, is also a reflection of the distribution within the services, which is not necessarily proportional to representation in the population, and also of educational opportunity in our society. However, with reservations for Other Backward Castes (OBCs) this may be changing. In the 1995 IAS batch, almost 10 per cent of the intake comprised Muslims, several of whom could benefit from the policy of reservation for OBCs. In this case too women have yet to benefit equally with men from the reservation.

2.2 Family Background

2.2.1 In terms of family background, the typical or average profile of the female civil servant is that she comes from an urban background, her father being usually a graduate and working as a government servant, professional or less often as a lecturer/teacher. In the whole sample there were two women who had fathers from an agricultural background. Even in the case of the women from scheduled caste (SC) backgrounds a consistent pattern emerges across the services. In the case of the two officers in the IAS, the father of one was from the IAS and the other was a teacher. Similarly in the IRS out of 10 officers, 9 had fathers who were government servants (teachers or IAS officers and only

1 in the postal service). All 4 of the SC women officers in the Postal Service had fathers who had been in government Grade-I services.

2.2.2 Men tend to be a less homogeneous group in some ways as the proportion who had agricultural/rural backgrounds was higher. However, the trend of children of government servants predominating in the bureaucracy is true for men as well, and is an indicator of the way that this choice of career reproduces itself. More than 50 per cent of the mothers of both male and female respondents were housewives, but if a comparison of the educational qualifications of mothers of male and female respondents is made, the tendency is for mothers of female respondents to have higher educational qualifications.

2.2.3 What may also be considered to be significant is that in overall terms the proportion of men who left these columns blank in the questionnaire was very high compared to women. What is also interesting in the profile of parents is that in the Indian Postal Service, P&T, ISS, IES, IDAS and IA&AS more than 50 per cent of fathers of male respondents were educated to a level below graduate. Women from these kinds of families did not make it into the services as seen in the sample. This has overall implications for the expectations of gender roles, and the vision of the ideal roles for women and men.

2.2.4 In the earlier study on the IAS, 1980 was chosen as a convenient dividing point to examine how (and if) the profile of male IAS officers from the non-reserved category had changed over time. This also took into account the fact that in 1979, the nature of the Civil Service examination had changed so that there was a common examination for entry to all the services, apart from IFoS, IES, etc.¹¹ It also changed the nature of distribution of marks between the written portion and

¹¹Prior to this the Indian Administrative Service candidates had to appear for additional papers.

interview, reducing the marks for the interview, which made it possible for people appearing in the examination to do so in any regional language. "Of the pre-1979 batches, out of the 35 male respondents who did not come from an agricultural background only 7 had fathers who worked outside of government (as politicians, lawyers, etc.). In the post-1980 batches, out of the 23 respondents who were not from agricultural backgrounds there were 6 from non-government backgrounds. This indicates that the children of government servants at some level aspire to be in government service themselves. The proportion of entrants with parents who are professionals, for example, in the private sector, business, or politics is small."¹²

2.2.5 Taking the figures for male and female respondents together, it would seem that efforts to enable persons from diverse educational backgrounds to enter the service (by changing the nature of the examination) has primarily benefited men. In view of the unequal access to education of men and women - particularly in rural areas - it will take quite some time for quotas to reach women from rural backgrounds to enter the IAS. And even in the case of men in the IAS, most are from backgrounds where parents were in government service in one capacity or the other.

2.3 Education Background

2.3.1 A survey of educational backgrounds at the level of class 10 reveals that most respondents had studied in urban, single sex schools, but this trend is much stronger for women (92 per cent) than men (65 per cent). The medium of instruction is equally distributed between English, Hindi or a regional language for men. However, as far as the women in the sample are concerned it appears that overall 76 per cent had been to English medium schools. At a higher level of education, the proportion of respondents who were postgraduates is comparable. A break-up in terms of the overall sample

is presented in Table 2, while individual services are covered in Appendix Table A.4.

2.3.2 While a certain amount of broadbasing has been enforced through reservations, it appears from the sample studied that there are significant differences in the family and educational backgrounds of the men and women who are entering the services even in these categories. It is still too early to assess the impact of reservations for the OBCs and the gender differential.

2.3.3 At a higher level of education, a detailed service-wise analysis is given in Appendix Table A.5 of the break-up into graduates, postgraduates and those with professional degrees. It reflects some variations in the services depending on job requirements. For example, the IFoS is made up entirely of science graduates, and IES of economics graduates. Overall, however, in our sample there is a preponderance of arts graduates and the number of women from professional backgrounds is limited.

2.4 Marriage Profile

2.4.1 While family and education backgrounds determine to some extent the nature of marriages of men and women in the civil services, several distinct and consistent patterns emerge.

2.4.2 Broadly speaking, there are a few points that need to be made in this context. The proportion of single men/women to married men/women is shown in Table 3. From the table it is abundantly clear that the number of single women is considerably higher than that of single men.

2.4.3 Table 4 correlates the nature of marriage, whether arranged or not arranged, with the occupation of the spouse. 89 per cent of men were seen to have arranged marriages compared to 71 per cent of women, which perhaps can be explained by the difference in background. As far as occupation of spouses is concerned

Table 2 Education Background up to Class 10

	CE	SS	Total	RU	UR	Total	GO	PR	Total	EG	HD	RG	Total
Male	183	203	386	132	252	384	198	185	383	134	148	102	384
%	47.41	52.59		34.38	65.63		51.70	48.30		34.90	38.54	26.56	
Female	79	106	185	14	169	183	53	132	185	140	26	18	184
%	42.70	57.30		7.65	92.35		28.65	71.35		76.09	14.13	9.78	
Total	262	309	571	146	421	567	251	317	568	274	174	120	568
%	45.88	54.12		25.75	74.25		44.19	55.81		48.24	30.63	21.13	

CE - Co-education; SS - Single Sex; RU - Rural; UR - Urban; GO - Government; PR - Private; EG - English; HD - Hindi; RG - Regional Language.

¹²Thakur and Nadkarni (1996).

Table 3 Married and Single Respondents

Service	Male		Female	
	Single	Married	Single	Married
IPS	0	61	2	11
IfoS	2	47	3	7
IFS	1	3	4	6
IRS (Income Tax)	0	63	6	48
IRS (Customs)	8	75	3	16
IA&AS	1	27	2	2
POSTAL	0	16	8	38
P&T	0	18	1	13
IDAS	1	33	6	13
IDES	0	3	0	5
IRPS	0	1	0	8
IES	2	5	1	4
IIS	0	21	0	1
ISS	0	17	1	9
CSS	0	28	0	4
TOTAL	15	418	37	185
	3.46%	96.54%	16.67%	83.33%

Table 4 Nature of Marriage Correlated with Occupation of Spouse

Kind of Marriage	Male Officers Occupation of Spouse					Female Officers Occupation of Spouse				
	Home	Govt.	Self	Pvt.	Total	Home	Govt.	Self.	Pvt.	Total
Arranged	301	65	22	47	435	2	55	22	41	120
%	69.20	14.94	5.06	10.80	88.78	1.67	45.83	18.33	34.17	71.43
Not-Arranged	16	25	5	9	55	0	34	5	9	48
%	29.09	45.45	9.09	16.36	11.22	0.00	70.83	10.42	18.75	28.57
Total	317	90	27	56	490	2	89	27	50	168
%	64.69	18.37	5.51	11.43		1.19	52.98	16.07	29.76	

most men tend to marry women who are not engaged in paid labour, that is "housewives", whereas the majority of women marry government servants. Service-wise details are given in Appendix Table A.6.

2.4.4 The fact that women have fewer arranged marriages than men and are also more likely to marry another government officer has several implications. In the first place for women there is an underlying pressure to get married within government, as otherwise it would be difficult for them to cope socially and manage their careers. In the All India Services present rules strongly favour and accommodate spouses who are both in government service. It is possible for either a husband or wife, who are both from the All India Services and in separate cadres, to get a cadre change (provided it is not to a home cadre), or for both of them to opt for a third cadre. The phenomenon of cadre-based marriages (CBM), for the IAS, IFoS and IPS is now commonly accepted amongst young recruits. These are marriages between officers of the All India Services, within the

same batch or across batches, arranged or not-arranged, where the cadre to which officers are allocated is an important determinant in the marriage. In other services, it is possibly easier to facilitate the posting of couples together (even if one is not in government), and to post couples in government together. The Fifth Pay Commission has recently stressed the importance of posting couples in the same place. Whereas this is already happening in practice, and many guidelines indicate that this is desirable, an explicit statement by government would have the advantage of converting such practice from a favour into a policy.

2.4.5 For those with a spouse in the private sector, however, the possibility of a cadre change does not apply. In practice, then, this rule discriminates against those who get married outside government. For women, it can also mean that a choice has to be made between marriage and a career, especially if a woman is allotted a cadre where prospective spouses do not have professional prospects. The phenomenon of a husband

resenting his wife's status and career is also common and represents the other side of the picture. M. K. Kaw, an IAS officer of the 1964 batch, mentions this tendency in the context of an essay entitled "Ladies, Gentlemen, Spinsters." He comments that in the civil service "a major complication is marriage. Though we have pretensions of being modern, yet the *pratiloma* marriage where the wife is superior in status to the husband still carries an aura of transgression" (Kaw, 1993). Though this essay is written in a humorous vein, it is an illustration of the many marriage-related difficulties that women face within the service. In some instances, and particularly before the mid-1970s women quite often remained single or were forced to terminate their marriage. At least one officer has written about this: "I had to sacrifice my marriage as my husband could not take my success" (quoted in Thakur and Nadkarni, 1996). It appears that male respondents are far more likely to conform to traditional practices in the matter of marriage than women. In this context an informal assessment in the case of IAS, and a more formal answer from the All India Services on this issue (see Table 5) indicates that there is a fair amount of recognition of the need for cadre changes for women who enter the service and marry outside government. In a country which is largely patrilocal, this could be thought of, in the first instance for women only as the practice normally is for women to move to wherever their husbands are located.

Table 5 Should there be Cadre Change for AIS Women Marrying Outside Government?

		Yes	No
IFoS :	Male	42	14
	Female	8	3
IPS :	Male	38	23
	Female	10	3
TOTAL		98	43

2.4.6 As far as family size is concerned it is interesting to note that whereas the majority of married men and women fell into the 'two-child norm' in our sample 20 per cent of men had 3 or more children as against only 4 per cent of working women. Simultaneously, 40 per cent of women had only one child as against 21 per cent of men. This squarely reaffirms the fact that parenting is viewed as a woman's domain and as the majority of wives are "housewives" men in the services feel they need not bother themselves on this score and can have larger families. Although there are incentives for small families, there should perhaps be a disincentive for those who have larger families.

2.5 Motivation

2.5.1 The questionnaire defined six principal motivating factors and based on the priority that was assigned to these by the respondents, tried to establish the main motivating factor for men and women to enter the service, which in a sense also determined their attitude to the service. The relative importance of the six factors for individual services has been worked out on the basis of statistical frequency by attributing a weighted score for each variable as 3, 2 and 1 for first, second and third priority. There are some interesting intra-service variations, but on the whole for men in many services, viz. IPS, IT, C&CE status is the overriding motivation. In many cases status and security of job were given almost equal weightage, for example, in IDAS, IIS, IFoS. Financial reasons predominated among men in the Indian Postal Service, IA&AS and ISS while in the IES, status and security of job took second and third place. In the IPS, IRS, and P&T 'social service' figured as one of the three main reasons for entering the service.

2.5.2 For women, in overall terms the single motivating factor that seemed to cut across services was status, though in many cases it was rated to have practically the same weightage as security of job. Financial reasons were not cited, apart from in the IIS, as the primary reason for joining the service. In the case of women in the IPS "social service" figured as the most important source of motivation, while in the case of the IRS, IDAS IA&AS, it was amongst the top three reasons.

2.5.3 An attempt was made to correlate this picture of motivation with the three top choices in terms of services, but the responses received were extremely limited. Apart from the IES and IFoS which required separate examinations, the general pattern was that the IAS/IFS was the first choice for both men and women. 5 out of 24 men who responded from the IPS had actually indicated IAS /IFS as their first choice, but in the sample no woman had done so. 3 out of 15 men in Customs had also put it as their first choice. 5 of the 13 women in the IRS actually prioritised it as their first choice but no man had done so. Perhaps this can be explained by the fact that some women consciously like to choose IAS/IFS because it is urban-based, does not entail the same degree of field responsibilities, and also because it may be relatively easy to combine a career with marriage, irrespective of the profession of the partner. This can be further correlated with the nature of marriage (see Appendix Table A.6).

2.5.4 The fact that the majority of those entering certain services do so by default rather than design apart from

the three services also has implications for the levels and nature of motivation of respondents. As people appear for the same examination and usually opt for IFS/IAS/IPS there is in many cases a negative rather than a positive start to a career (Pre 1979 - extra papers

were counted for the IAS). In fact one wonders whether there could not be an alternative system where people consciously apply for certain services, rather than be allocated a service on the basis of their position in the results of the civil service examination.

Gender Bias in the Civil Services

3.1 Bureaucratic Rules and Gender Bias¹³

3.1.1 Insights into the overall gender ethos of the bureaucracy can be gained both by examining the formal rules and procedures which structure it as well as the practices and conventions which determine its day-to-day functioning. These throw light on the underlying constructs and the prevailing perceptions regarding the roles and responsibilities of the men and women in government. In this section we focus on two broad categories of rules - those related to conditions of service including recruitment and promotions, and those that impact on the personal lives of individuals, which are related to facilities, perks, marriage, etc.

Recruitment

3.1.2 At Independence, while the bureaucracy inherited to a large extent the "traditions" of the civil service, it differed significantly in terms of social composition. In addition, the democratic provisions of the Constitution, Articles 14 and 16 guaranteeing "equality for all" irrespective of sex, and "equality of employment opportunities" respectively, created the conditions for women to enter into the higher echelons of the civil services. They could now aspire to jobs that had hitherto been restricted to men. While the normative basis was laid, in practice the levels of acceptance have varied from service to service. Even after 50 years the total proportion of women in the higher civil services has remained abysmally low - a situation which could be labelled more as "tokenism" than "representation".

3.1.3 At the initial stages women who entered the civil services were exceptions, and certain preconceptions regarding the suitability of women for certain services continued to dominate. For instance, the first woman who joined the IAS in 1951, Anna Malhotra reported "that the selection committee tried to persuade her to join the Foreign Service (there were already several women in that service), as it was believed that women would not be able to shoulder the law and order

responsibilities in the districts."¹⁴ The situation today, as can be gleaned from the UPSC reports (which in the last few years present a modicum of their data in gender disaggregated terms) is that the success rate of women taking the Civil Service Main examination tends to be higher than that for men. But the problem really is the low number of women sitting for the examination. The annual intake, in overall terms, fluctuates, but there has not been any quantum jump in the number of women officers. If in 1974 women constituted 8.8 per cent of the IAS, in 1995 they represented only a little over 10 per cent. According to the *Human Development Report, 1995*¹⁵ which focused on new gender-related development indicators, India stood at 101 out of 128 countries in terms of gender empowerment measures. One of the variables taken into account was the number of women in higher managerial positions, which was calculated as being 2.3 per cent.

3.1.4 In this context, the two All India services - the Indian Police Service and the Indian Forest Service have remained male bastions and resisted female recruitment for a long time. It was only in 1972, 25 years after Independence that the first female officer, the legendary Kiran Bedi, was accepted in the IPS. At this point Kiran Bedi was already married, was conscious of her pioneering role and the need to prove herself. At the interview, she was able to convince the board of the nature of the options that she had exercised. This opened the service to women and set the trend for later batches. Twenty-five years later, recruitment of women officers in the IPS has risen substantially, and in one recent batch reached almost 10 per cent of the total batch of IPS officers.

3.1.5 Similarly, in the Indian Forest Service it was not until 1980 that women joined the service. Women had been appearing for the written examination, but the physical standards were set only with "male" recruits in mind. Relaxations in the physical standards in terms of the stipulated minimum requirements for height, chest expansion and ability to walk distances with a minimum weight of 25 kg immediately created the conditions for

¹³This section draws heavily from Thakur and Nadkarni (1996) and Thakur (forthcoming).

¹⁴*Women and Administration.*

¹⁵UNDP (1996).

women to enter. The general assumption was that women would not be capable of discharging the duties expected of the service or be willing to enter it. This preconception also existed in the case of Defence Accounts. In the last few years women have formed a sizeable proportion of the intake in these two services and are showing an increase with each passing year.

3.2 Conditions of Service

3.2.1 While the rules and practices of the civil service are supposedly "gender neutral" they are often premised on a particular notion of the "ideal worker" - a worker who is inevitably male. As Acker states:

The closest the disembodied worker doing the abstract job comes to a real worker is the male worker whose life centres on his full-time, life-long job, while his wife or another woman takes care of his personal needs and his children. . . The woman worker, assumed to have legitimate obligations other than those required by the job, did not fit with the abstract job.¹⁶

3.2.2 If the ideal worker is the male worker, then what are the consequences for women? The fact that rules are made with a male headed family and a single breadwinner model in mind can be illustrated by looking at various rules.

3.2.3 In the first instance, it is worth looking at the rules regarding marriage. While Article 16 of the Constitution opened the doors of civil service jobs to all women by ensuring "equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State," there was at the same time an underlying assumption that if a woman got married it would be difficult for her to cope with the dual roles of wife and officer. Therefore, the promise of Article 16 is betrayed by Rule 5(3) of the 1954 IAS Recruitment Rules which reads as follows:

No married woman shall be entitled as of right to be appointed to the Service and where a woman appointed to the Service subsequently marries, the Central Government may, if the maintenance of the efficiency of the service so requires, call upon her to resign.¹⁷

3.2.4 This rule was only deleted in 1972. While at present information on whether this rule was ever actualised is not available, what is apparent is the governmental attitude that defines the roles of "officer" and "wife" as mutually incompatible.

3.2.5 The Indian Foreign Service rules while embodying the same kind of gender stereotyping, were even more stringent. They state:

A woman member of the service shall obtain the permission of the Government in writing before her marriage is solemnised. At any time after the marriage, a woman member of the Service may be required to resign from service, if the Government is satisfied that her family and domestic commitments are likely to come in the way of the due and efficient discharge of her duties as a member of the service.

3.2.6 Because of this rule women did resign from the IFS or remain single, and it was only in 1979 that the rule was challenged in a case (AIR 1979 SC 1868) by C.B. Muthumma. In the decision, the judges cited the "naked bias" of the rule and the "traumatic transparency" of such "discrimination against women." Another Foreign Service rule (Rule 8) denied appointment to married women until 1973.

3.2.7 The implicit assumption behind both the IAS and IFS rules is that "family and domestic commitments" are solely a woman's responsibility and that a woman's place is in the home. The career is viewed as an adjunct or supplementary activity to the responsibility of family commitments. As far as posting of husband and wife in the same station is concerned the government has issued guidelines for cadre controlling authorities to consider requests of husband and wife only when both are government servants and / or employees of PSUs. This has been reiterated by the Fifth Pay Commission. However, in practice adjustments are easier in those cases where the husband and wife work with the same cadre controlling authority.

Maternity Leave

3.2.8 In government, maternity leave has normally been limited to three months¹⁸, and though in certain circumstances this could be extended, the assumption was that maternal responsibilities at this stage should be disassociated from career demands. In fact, maternity leave was treated on par with illness or sickness, requiring a "fitness" certificate before work could be resumed. Recently, the Fifth Pay Commission in its recommendations has given mixed signals regarding the nature of roles and responsibilities of mothers and fathers. On the one hand it has broken new ground by recommending and allowing paternity leave for male government servants for 15 days during confinement, and focussing on the importance of adequate child day care centres. On the other, it establishes women in a

¹⁶Quoted in N. Kabeer, *Reversed Realities: Gender Hierarchies in Development Thought*, Kali for Women, Delhi, 1995.

¹⁷IAS Recruitment Rules, 1954.

¹⁸There have been recent government orders extending this to 135 days, based on the recommendations of the Fifth Pay Commission.

'parenting' role, by suggesting that career breaks are only for women and pooling of leave by husband and wife by creating an earned leave bank could be used only if a woman had exhausted her leave!

3.2.9 The fact that the thinking underlying rules in government apply to the ideal male worker is demonstrated in the manner in which couples in government service are treated when it comes to extending privileges. While for most purposes government treats officers individually, the family becomes the unit for perks! The areas which are the subject of maximum controversy have to do with house building advance (HRA) and leave travel concession (LTC).

3.2.10 In practice there are many states that have allowed both husbands and wives house building advances - for either separate or the same house. After all, it does seem reasonable that if two members are contributing to the government system then they should be entitled to a better quality of life than cases where only one member of the family is working in government. In this context, the House Building Advances C.C.S. Rules No. 1 (reproduced below) appear to be conspicuously unfair:

When both the husband and wife are Central Government servants - If both the husband and wife are Central Government servants and are eligible for grant of advance, the advance will be admissible to only one of them.

3.2.11 Similarly, when it comes to LTC, the government may have recognised that the husband and wife can have separate hometowns; but only if both husband and wife are Central Government servants

- a) can the children claim the concession as members of the family of any one of the parents in a particular block.
- b) Also, the husband or wife who avails LTC as a member of the family of the spouse cannot claim LTC independently for self.

3.2.12 The fact is that usually the wife has to give up her allowance and this is acutely felt as women officers have repeatedly cited this disadvantage. At least 5 women officers married to other IAS officers referred to the limited benefits due to the fact that only one officer could claim benefits like Leave Travel Concession (LTC), Home Travel Concession (HTC), House Rent Allowance (HRA), House Building Advance (HBA). In short, it would seem that when two officers marry "the government extracts double the work but gives half the perks."¹⁹ This can only "encourage couples to

live together or get technically divorced" in order to avail benefits. If an officer performs all of the duties expected of an individual officer, then he or she should also be afforded all of the privileges granted to an individual officer. As one officer put it, "The rules weigh heavily against couples in government service and these benefits are not seen as a benefit at all"; in fact, they are framed from the vantage point of a male married officer married to a housewife.

3.2.13 While economy has often been cited as the rationale for limiting benefits, it seems equally reasonable that if two members are contributing to the government system then they should be equally benefitted. There is a need to rationalise allowances, rather than impose rules that benefit only one officer in the case of both husband and wife serving in the government. For example, if husband and wife are both officers of the same seniority and are individually entitled to a house of a certain category, there is a case for their being allowed a house one category higher. In practice there are states like Uttar Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh which have allowed both husbands and wives house building advances - for either separate or the same house. The question that arises is why should couples not be allowed two LTCs, two HBAs, etc. if they are entitled to it? However, an indication of the findings of the Fifth Pay Commission is that the provision for these benefits has been "adequate" so far.

3.2.14 Rules also do not take into account sufficiently the situation of single, divorced/widowed women or men. For instance, the issue has been raised that General Provident Fund (GPF) rules do not provide enough enabling clauses for single women to withdraw funds, and that in many states there are no priorities for allotting accommodation for single women.²⁰ There are also problems related to bringing up children which are quite prominent.

3.2.15 In government, there is still not enough acceptance of the 'woman worker' - and although many of the rules have changed, much of the thinking unconsciously places her in the mould of a supplementary earner principally responsible for parenting. In this respect even the Fifth Pay Commission's stand has not been very consistent. By providing for paternity leave it has broken new ground but its vision has been perceived to be basically "welfarist" when it could have been a leader in the quest for gender equality.

¹⁹The source of all quotations in this survey that are responses from the questionnaires which were canvassed are not given as the report would like to maintain strict anonymity and confidence.

²⁰In fact, in the Government of India there is a "Ladies Pool" in house allotment which allows women some priority. One suggestion would be to provide for similar rules in those states where this provision does not already exist to prioritise single women. For this purpose the definition of single women should be extended to married women who are having to set up an establishment on their own.

3.3 Gender Stereotyping of Posts

3.3.1 Equal opportunities would imply that men and women have equal access to all the positions within a service, but in practice the bureaucracy tends to reproduce some of the biases of the society at large. While many explicit biases in rules have been removed over a period of time, many aspects of bureaucratic culture betray implicit biases based on certain assumptions not only of what women and men are perceived as capable of doing but also of what is appropriate for them to do. The nature of biases that creep in are of two kinds - those that emerge from the specificities of a particular cultural context in which government functions, especially evident in the variations across states in the case of the All India Services as the controlling authorities vary from state to state; and the attitudes and perceptions of the men and women within the bureaucracy who are responsible for the legal and regulatory framework of the services regarding appropriate roles and responsibilities for government servants.

Perceptions Of Gender Stereotyping

3.3.2 Appendix Table A.7 depicts the overall general perception amongst men and women regarding the gender stereotyping of posts within their respective services, and the extent to which officers feel they are personally affected by this stereotyping in their careers. The picture that emerges is that if one aggregates figures there is a marginal difference in the number of women and men who think there is gender stereotyping in posts, and most women and men do not feel that gender stereotyping takes place in their individual services. In terms of actual impact on their careers, in overall terms the number who think that it affects them personally is equal. However, what is very significant is the difference in perception and degree of gender stereotyping within the various services.

3.3.3 Of all the services in the study, the All India Services stand out as being perceived uniformly by both men and women as responsible for a high degree of gender stereotyping in posts. Within the IAS, IPS and IFoS the proportion of men who agreed that there was gender stereotyping was 54 per cent, 50 per cent and 61 per cent respectively as compared to 84 per cent, 61 per cent and 100 per cent women. However, in terms of impact on personal careers it seemed to be felt more by women than men in the IAS and IPS.²¹

²¹For purposes of this analysis the Indian Forest Service was not included as 6 out of the 10 women who responded were still under training, and therefore impact on personal careers at this stage was not perceptible.

3.3.4 Next in their perceptions regarding stereotyping are the two Revenue Services - Customs and Excise and Income Tax. In the former case what is interesting is the substantial gap between male and female perceptions (20 per cent and 53 per cent respectively), whereas there is relatively less difference in the case of the latter. Again, as is evident from Appendix Table A.8 there is a vast gap between the general perception and the manner in which individuals feel they have been personally affected. The Indian Foreign Service also comes into this category because the women feel more than the men that there is gender stereotyping.

3.3.5 At the end of the spectrum are the services where gender stereotyping is not perceived or felt, such as the IA&AS, IDAS and ISS, P&T and the Indian Postal Service.²² In the latter two services there is a significant proportion of women in service. One of the women from P & T very aptly recorded: "The number of women in the service and the nature of duties do make it necessary to identify certain jobs for females only. In both field as well as headquarters postings there is no distinction between posts typically given to men or women." In fact in the Postal Service there is even a sense of reverse discrimination and some men stated that women get preference for comfortable posts at the state and centre, and that men get posts without special pay in rural areas with a great deal of field work. Gender stereotyping is highest in the services which have the least women in percentage terms, where there are a greater number of field posts and is practically non-existent in services where there is a higher proportion of women to men.

3.3.6 If there is a perception of gender stereotyping, then the next question that arises is the differentiation in the nature of posts which are perceived as being given more typically to men and women. For this purpose, in view of the intrinsic differences in the nature of the services, the All India Services and the Central Services are considered separately.

All India Services

3.3.7 Certain basic characteristics cut across the three services, viz. IAS, IPS and IFoS in regard to the allotment of cadres, the expectation that the first few years should be spent in the field, the arduous nature of field duties, and in the case of the IPS/IFoS a very "male" culture. However there are common elements in the nature of stereotyping:

- (i) "Soft" posts for women: A distinction is made

²²Some services like the IRPS, IIS, IDES have not been included in this analysis as numerically the responses received in the case of either men or women did not lend themselves to such an analysis.

between "soft" areas for postings and areas which can only be handled by men. The variety of jobs that is available in the IAS sharpens the divide between what are perceived to be women's posts and men's posts. In the case of the IAS this section draws heavily from the author's earlier study.²³

In terms of people's perceptions regarding what posts are typically given to women and men, respondents felt that posts in the Women and Child Directorate and posts related to Social Welfare were most often given to women. Social sector posts which have traditionally been labelled "soft" (especially Health, Rural Development and Education) were also listed as generally being given to women followed by, to a lesser extent, Secretariat postings such as Personnel. One senior officer observed that "even within social sectors, posts concerned with 'economic and financial' principles are viewed as male preserves, as if women cannot master such subjects unless they are financial advisers with accounts backgrounds. If at all women get an opportunity to work in male preserves they are given personnel, housekeeping, and coordination jobs and invariably asked whether they have science and maths qualifications. This is a question rarely put to a male."²⁴

In the IFoS whereas men are concentrated in the field women are given "less challenging" postings at headquarters, posts to monitor management, posts concerned with planning, publicity, social forestry and extension. Posts given to men include Divisional Forest Officer (DFO) Wild Life, Saw Mills, Forests. Similarly in the IPS women are given posts in the specialised wings of Intelligence like Crimes Branch, Criminal Investigation Department (CID), Superintendent of Police (SP) Dowry Cell²⁵ or Women's Protection cells. In Karnataka there appears to be no problem or distinction as reported.

- (ii) Field postings and regulatory administration: One of the areas in which women face and have faced discrimination is that of field postings, irrespective of service. In the Forest Service men and women share perceptions regarding the fact that men are given more territorial and field jobs, "challenging" posts like staffing problematic divisions which may involve encounters with "anti-social elements".

²³Thakur and Nadkarni (1996).

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵It is interesting that as a team the DM and SP are trying to mainstream gender training at the level of district officials!

In most states it is now accepted practice to post IAS women in charge of districts. In the sixties, however, there were many women who were never posted in the districts while in states like Haryana and Punjab women have only been posted as Deputy Commissioners in the districts in the last 3-4 years. There are tremendous variations across states. In some states there are districts which have begun to be associated with women, for example Tonk in Rajasthan, Dewas in MP and a view that women are given less hectic districts. In complete contrast we have a state like Himachal Pradesh where the first officer to hold both the largest and 'prize' districts - Shimla and Kangra - was a woman.

In the IPS, the main distinction seems to be with reference to the post of District Superintendent of Police (SP). If women are given charge of districts it is invariably less hectic districts, and the combination of a female District Magistrate (DM) and SP in the same district is rare; currently there is one such team in Satara, Maharashtra.

In all three services it is felt that women are given less hectic districts and it is often the case that they have to struggle to get posted. Women are more often posted as DM, SP or DFO at a later stage than their male counterparts who have comparable seniority. There are numerous cases in all the services to illustrate this.

- (iii) Variation in degree of stereotyping between states: The nature of gender stereotyping was seen to vary from state to state as revealed by the questionnaire. Men from J & K and officers of both sexes from Haryana, Punjab and in some instances U.P., consistently stated that field posts were typically given to men, and "secretariat and non-risky jobs" of the "desk" type were given to women. The AGMUT²⁶ respondents reported that they were given postings where greater physical effort was required in terms of arduous touring, and also that women were more likely to get posted in areas where basic comforts were assured. In some states - Himachal Pradesh, Gujarat and Maharashtra - it was noted that this kind of stereotyping did not take place. Of the women who replied that they did not feel there was gender stereotyping in the nature of posts held, several specifically added that this view only applied to their state governments - Tamil Nadu, West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh - and that stereotyping was possibly more likely in the

²⁶This is a combined cadre for Arunachal Pradesh, Goa, Mizoram and the Union Territories.

case of the Central Government. Others felt that there "may be some stereotyping as one moves up." From this data, it emerges that the nature of gender stereotyping of posts tends to correspond with the overall situation of gender disparities within a particular state. This correspondence underscores the fact that the IAS and the way it functions is part of a wider societal context, and thus cannot be viewed in isolation.

This is true also of the IFoS. One woman from this service observed that all three women officers were working in the field, or had reasonable stints there, while in the case of another state it was reported that "field posts like territorial divisions, tendu leaf divisions had not been given to any lady in our state".²⁷

- (iv) Subordinate staff: In both the IFoS and the IPS one point that was consistently made was that there was less gender stereotyping in the IAS than among subordinate staff. Women at the constabulary level were usually seen to be given "soft" postings in airports and in all women police stations, anti-violence cells and 'bandobast' duties. In fact it is only when the thinking of officers in charge changes that they can start thinking in terms of mainstreaming women at all levels of the police as suggested in the case of the Maharashtra Policy for Women²⁸. In the case of the forest subordinate staff, the absence of women also persists. The situation is that there are women forest officers, but not forest rangers or forest guards. If the issue of mainstreaming is to be addressed, rules would need to be changed at the lower level as well as has already been done in some states.
- (v) Assumptions of cadre controlling authorities: To some extent stereotyping takes places as a result of the assumptions made by men and women about what they think men and women should be posted as. An incident recounted by Kiran Bedi states that it was assumed that she would not want to lead the Republic Day Parade because of the arduous nature of the parade. She was forced to clarify that not only could she do it, but also that she would like to do it.²⁹

3.3.8 In the case of the IFS, observations from officers under training confirm that women do not feel that they cannot meet the expectations of the jobs and that

stereotyping may arise from assumptions of senior bureaucrats about what they can do. One officer remarked that she had chosen this job and responded, "I would like to work as much as the men do, and I can". Another stated, "in my frank opinion women should be given equal opportunity as the men in the field experience - they have to be promoted and unless they have experience of different fields of implementation we cannot expect much." On the same count women are sometimes not transferred to a certain post because it is assumed that they would not like it.

Central Services

3.3.9 On the whole, the nature of gender stereotyping was less in the case of IAS but there were specific areas in which differences were cited. For the Income Tax, what was definitely categorised as a "male" domain, both by men and women was the field of investigation. Women specially mentioned the post of Assistant Director (Investigation) as out of bounds though as 3 out of 9 women commented, "most women in the relevant age group are raising families and voluntarily opt out".

3.3.10 As one male Customs Officer put it, "posts involving preventive investigation, anti-smuggling work and field duties of arduous nature are given to men". Other posts which are typically given to men include posts in the Directorate of Revenue Intelligence, Directorate of Anti Evasion Customs or Central Excise Preventive Formations in Commissionerates. One officer said this included posts with longer hours of work involving exposure to danger while one female officer stated this included "foreign posts". As far as postings for women are concerned it was stated that "desk jobs, file work and fixed time work are preferred". One male respondent saw such jobs as involving "less strain" or jobs involving personnel and humane relations with staff, while others included air cargo, airports, appraising.

3.3.11 In the case of IA&AS the general feeling was that there was no discrimination. It is one of the premier services that never distinguishes between men and women. Men and women are treated as officers of equal status. In fact, assignments are given based on individual attitude and career profile. Even rough assignments are given to both male and female officers. As one woman in the P & T very aptly put it, "The number of women in the service and the nature of duties do not make it necessary to identify certain jobs for females only. In both field as well as headquarters postings there is no distinction between posts typically given to men or women". In fact in the Postal Service there was a feeling that men were discriminated against. As one male respondent clearly stated, "all posts in rural areas, which involved field visits and were without special pay and

²⁷Quoted from questionnaire canvassed for survey.

²⁸Maharashtra was one of the first states to formulate a policy exclusively for women as early as 1994.

²⁹Dangwal (1996).

had less allowances or less perks were more likely to be with men than those at state and central levels”.

3.3.12 The perception of women was that so far a “glass ceiling operated” as women were not allowed to reach the level of Director General in the Department, or Secretaries and Members of the Board.

3.3.13 As far as subordinates were concerned there was a stereotyping in the department with all field and supervisory jobs concentrated in male hands such as postmen, mail overseers, inspectors, mail guards, whereas women were concentrated in the soft sectors such as savings bank, counter clerks, telephone operators, etc.

3.4 Level of Satisfaction with Posts

3.4.1 While the above section looked at perceptions of the nature of postings, this section explores posts which are actually held by women and men in one service - the IAS. An analysis of the nature and distribution of posts held by the officers in our sample is given in Table 6 where only posts held for periods longer than one year are analysed.

Table 6 Nature of Posts Held³⁰

Type of Post	Male	Female
Social Sector	38 (6.57%)	54 (20.3%)
Regulatory	122 (21.1%)	53 (19.7%)
Finance and Industry	62 (10.7%)	21 (7.92%)
International Organisations	0 (0%)	2 (.75%)
Field	254 (43.9%)	85 (32%)
Public Sector	40 (6.92%)	11 (4.15%)
Development	62 (10.7%)	39 (14.7%)
TOTAL	578	265

Source: Thakur & Nadkarni (1996).

³⁰The category “Social Sector” encompasses posts related to health, education, women and child, welfare, tribal welfare, etc. “Field” postings are SDM (Sub Divisional Magistrate), ADC (Additional Deputy Commissioner), Chief Development Officer DRDA (District Rural Development Area), SDO (Sub Divisional Officer), DC (Deputy Commissioner), divisional Commissioner etc., as well as CEO (Chief Executive Officer). “Regulatory” indicates postings related to defence, personnel and training, civil supplies, excise, board of revenue, labour and planning. “Public Sector” indicates postings in corporations. “Development” encompasses agriculture, forestry, rural and urban development as well as culture and tourism. “Finance and Industry” postings are those related to heavy industry, finance, etc. “International organisations” means posting abroad.

3.4.2 It is clear that the most significant difference in the nature of posts held by men and women who responded was that women predominate in social sector postings (20.3 per cent of all the postings held by women); men predominate in field postings (43.9 per cent of all postings held by men); which also confirms the perceived gender stereotypes. In development it would appear that women have a slight edge, whereas men seem to occupy a higher percentage of posts in the regulatory and public sectors. What is most interesting about these figures, however, is that only 1.3 per cent of men felt that they had personally been affected by stereotyped postings as compared to 21.6 per cent of women. In practice, therefore, the range of posts open to women are narrower than those available to men.

3.4.3 As far as the level of satisfaction that men and women derive from their posts (see Tables 7 and 8) is concerned, it emerges that in terms of overall career men seem to derive greater levels of satisfaction from their postings as a whole. 44 per cent of the men rated their postings as 4 or 5 (which indicates the greatest level of satisfaction), as compared to 31.3 per cent of women. On the other end of the scale, 40 per cent of women rated their postings in the lower 1-3 category, whereas only 25 per cent of the men rated their level of satisfaction in the lower scale. A comparative view, however, reveals that in certain areas there are some significant differences between men and women’s levels of satisfaction. Two such areas are regulatory administration and field post where the levels of satisfaction derived by men is significantly higher than that derived by women. It is interesting to note that although fewer women had a chance in public sector administration and finance that given a chance they could derive as much satisfaction from the above as with postings in the social sector.

3.4.4 It would be a mistake, however, to accept this issue uncritically. Level of satisfaction is a complex of factors and includes many variables - nature of working environment, relationships with colleagues, etc. and in this sense may not be an accurate reflection of the actual substance of a post. For instance, the fact that women received a lower level of satisfaction from field postings than men does not necessarily imply that women simply “don’t like the job.” As the female respondent’s comments would suggest, a more likely reason for dissatisfaction with field postings is that conditions in the districts make it even more difficult for women to handle the strains of balancing career and family. Until recently the impact of this kind of stereotyping was that positions in finance, industry were the most coveted. However, as with most positions or jobs as soon as a job becomes well paid or otherwise attractive, it becomes “male”. (For instance, everyday cooking for the

Table 7 Level of Satisfaction with Postings - Male Officers

Type of Post	Level of Satisfaction					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
Social Sector	5 (13.15%)	2 (5.3%)	6 (15.7%)	14 (36.8%)	11 (28.9%)	38
Regulatory	13 (10.65%)	9 (7.4%)	21 (17.2%)	39 (31.96%)	40 (32.8%)	122
Finance and Industry	4 (6.45%)	2 (3.22%)	16 (25.8%)	18 (29%)	22 (35.5%)	62
Field	8 (3.14%)	10 (3.9%)	31 (12.2%)	77 (30.13%)	128 (50.4%)	254
Public Sector	2 (5%)	0 (0%)	5 (10%)	12 (30%)	21 (52.5%)	40
Development	1 (1.61%)	1 (1.61%)	18 (29%)	10 (16.1%)	32 (51.6%)	62

Note: 1=lowest level of satisfaction, 5=highest level of satisfaction.

Table 8 Level of Satisfaction with Postings - Female Officers

Type of Post	Level of Satisfaction					Total
	1	2	3	4	5	
Social Sector	8 (14.8%)	7 (12.9%)	7 (12.9%)	13 (24%)	19 (35.1%)	54
Regulatory	5 (1.88%)	8 (15%)	14 (26.4%)	18 (33.9%)	8 (15.1%)	53
Finance and Industry	4 (19%)	3 (14.2%)	3 (14.2%)	4 (19%)	7 (33.3%)	21
Field	3 (3.5%)	8 (9.4%)	19 (22.3%)	25 (29.4%)	30 (35.2%)	85
Public Sector	1 (9%)	2 (18%)	0	2 (18%)	6 (54%)	11
Development	1 (2.6%)	3 (7.6%)	10 (25.6%)	13 (33.3%)	12 (30.7%)	39

Note: 1=lowest level of satisfaction; 5=highest level of satisfaction.

household is considered "woman's work", but when it comes to the lucrative job of being a chef in a restaurant, it is men who predominate.) Similarly, male interest in the Women and Child Department, Health and Education have increased visibly in recent years.

3.4.5 With increasing interest and investment in the social sectors, today posts in these areas are likely to attract men because they represent areas which have better perks. At this stage, the reason for exclusion of women may take the guise of breaking gender stereotypes. Perhaps a better indicator of change would be the increase in the number of women in areas which have traditionally been male preserves and also an increase in the overall proportion of women. Bureaucratic practice can result in hidden biases of the roles and positions that men and women should/do hold.

3.5 Sexual Harassment

3.5.1 Whereas the earlier study (Thakur and Nadkarni,

1996) was the first study that directly addressed the issue of sexual harassment in one of the civil services, viz. IAS, and entered this area "a little diffidently", the questionnaire framed for this survey addresses the issue more explicitly. Two issues were sought to be addressed - the extent to which men and women accepted the existence of sexual harassment as a problem within the service/ department; and the nature of harassment as derived from the respondents' experiences. Needless to say harassment does not take violent forms in the higher civil services but may consist of verbal or physical behaviour which threatens an officer or belittles women and is unwelcome or unreciprocated.

3.5.2 In general terms, the overwhelming majority of men and women do not think of it as a problem (Table 9) and predictably, the number of men who perceive it as a problem is significantly lower than women. It is important to stress this point. If only 4 per cent of men (as in the case of the sample) perceive sexual harassment to be a problem it does not constitute for them an issue

Table 9 Is Sexual Harassment a Problem?

	Yes	No
Male	29 6.70%	404 93.30%
Female	48 21.62%	174 78.38%
Total	77 11.76%	578 88.24%

which requires redressal. However, in the case of women, although the figure varies considerably with the service the overall percentage of women who feel there is sexual harassment is 20.53 per cent. There are interesting variations in perceptions within the services with the highest number accepting the problem being in IPS, IFoS, IDES (40 per cent and above), followed by IRPS, IA&AS, Postal (20 per cent - 40 per cent), and the lowest in the IRS, P & T, and IDAS (see Appendix Table A.9).

3.5.3 Several common elements emerge. As far as physical sexual harassment is concerned single women (including divorced) seem to be most vulnerable. In the case of the IAS there is a case cited by one single women officer: "I first faced sexual harassment in office from a very senior male colleague, who made it a habit to ask me to come to his office on petty pretexts after 7 in the evening, who suggested in an odd fashion that I accompany him on tours, and dropped in uninvited into my flat one evening". When the female officer snubbed the male officer and informed the bosses she was "shifted out of a good desk to a bad one". In another case a woman officer attributed an adverse remark in her Annual Confidential Report to the fact that she had reported a certain incident of physical sexual harassment to the Chief Secretary.

3.5.4 Three women from the Postal Service referred to an unsavoury episode in the service when a senior officer molested a probationer, after which she had a nervous breakdown and resigned from service. None of the comments referred to whether any action was taken against the senior officer. As a young unmarried officer stated, "there was one embarrassing incident of an over-attentive boss. The unfortunate part was this was used by the boss's boss to malign and spread slanderous gossip within the organisation. This senior officer was known to dislike women officers in general and me in particular for being what he termed as a 'bold woman'. The issue rose to such a level that finally it reached the highest authority, where fortunately protection and justice were given and I was removed from the situation by a transfer of choice."

3.5.5 A woman Income Tax Officer recorded an experience early in her career when an officer would call her for trifling matters and when she resisted was

given an adverse CR (confidential report) which she had problem in expunging. In another case when an officer was reported for molestation he was transferred but no disciplinary action was taken against him. Another woman from Customs and Excise observed that when cases of sexual harassment came to light it was always the woman who was to blame.

3.5.6 However, in addition to physical harassment, women have also written about mental harassment. At least two female respondents from the Indian Postal Service have drawn attention to the nature of language used in conversations, meetings or in a "prejudiced mindset which could affect working relationships, e.g. nasty comments about sitting late, meeting people, being popular with the staff. Sometimes one has to beat down unsavoury propositions which can be offered without the slightest provocation. Men, it is surprising are given to gossip as much if not more than women and have shockingly insensitive consciences about discussing female colleagues." This feeling has been echoed by other individual female responses. Harassment also takes the form of "snide personal remarks, denigration of work performed and imputation of return for services rendered whenever a choice assignment or posting is given." It also includes refusing to understand issues regarding family demands even if work is not found wanting.

3.5.7 Another male (IFoS) noted the kind of mental harassment that his wife was facing as head of an establishment: "My wife (my batchmate in the service) does face mental harassment. She is not treated as an equal vis-a-vis other officers holding the same rank, or by her immediate and higher superiors and her case is singled out for different treatment from amongst same/similar cases. For example, in her present posting overall theft and losses have shown a sharply declining trend in her division. However even if one instance of theft takes place she is asked to explain why she should not be charge-sheeted even though she has taken necessary precautions and action to lodge FIRs, etc. In the adjoining division under the same superior if theft of a higher or similar magnitude takes place (and where cases of theft/losses have been showing a rising trend), the officer is virtually left alone. This keeps happening every now and then besides wrong information/misinformation campaigns being launched against her particularly in higher circles, say in government or before the minister in charge. As long as she remains in a field/execution level unit an attempt is always on to dislodge her on one pretext or the other."

3.5.8 Many of the responses reported incidences of sexual harassment by senior male officers with subordinate staff, or within the subordinate staff. For instance the main aspect of sexual harassment that is highlighted in the responses of both males and females

in the Police Department, is physical and mental harassment of subordinate staff. One male response indicated that "senior officers make unreasonable demands on women constables and head constables". Specific reference was made to a case where a Sub Inspector who protested was transferred to a problematic place. Similarly, in the Postal Service there was a suggestion in one of the questionnaires that senior officers harass young subordinate staff officers when it comes to questions regarding promotion, etc. The nature of language used with subordinate female staff has also been noted to be objectionable.

3.5.9 Some male responses from the Police Department were interesting in regard to the insensitivity shown by women in understanding problems faced by men. It was said that women are "normally dominating characters and feel offended if whatever they say and mean is rebutted through argument". Another respondent from the Customs and Excise stated that cases of sexual harassment which are public are well known and those that are not should not be discussed as they violate the privacy of individuals. However, he claimed that "subtle gestures, insinuations, innuendoes, and disguised tactics" were acts that are very much part of sexual harassment by middle aged officers of the service. A certain feudal approach of these officers is evident.

3.5.10 Another male response from the Forest Service was that in dealing with women during forest offences, it would be much easier to deal with them if he had been a woman, as his actions were liable to be misunderstood. One woman from the Postal Service attached to the questionnaire a very strong letter about an unsavoury episode where a male officer, her junior in the service tried to humiliate a senior officer living alone with a daughter, interfering in her personal affairs, and humiliating her in public.

3.5.11 It is difficult on the basis of the above to be able to assess the exact magnitude of the problem, and even if the overall number of cases is not very significant, their mere existence is enough to warrant a special redressal mechanism. This becomes all the more important because, as stated above and has more recently demonstrated by the SC landmark judgement in 1995, the "KPS Gill" syndrome operates. The case involved Mrs Rupan Deol Bajaj, a Punjab cadre IAS officer who reported that KPS Gill, a former Director General of

Police, Punjab, who had played a major role in guiding the state back to normalcy during the terrorist phase in Punjab politics had slapped her 'on the posterior' in the full presence of ladies and guests at a dinner party in 1988. An appeal for redressal to the administration, and even the judiciary in Punjab was futile. It was only the Supreme Court that took cognisance of the case and opined that the matter was not "trivial", and that the procedures adopted by the lower courts was improper. Male networks, the seniority of officers, the unwillingness to judge a case on its merits and implicitly the idea that it is the woman's fault seem to cloud the real issues at hand. The present system is ineffective and there is a tendency to brush these issues under the carpet.

3.5.12 An alternate system needs to be created as both normal disciplinary proceedings and courts take an exceeding long time and tend to attract media attention. An empowered committee or forum needs to be created which has representatives from DWCD or NCW, the DoPT or cadre controlling authority, a representative from NCW, and an eminent non-governmental lawyer/representative dealing with issues of violence against women. For issues of sexual harassment there should only be one level of appeal, and the hearing should be in camera and necessarily time bound. Employers and DoPT could also come out with policies and guidelines for various departments regarding codes of practice to deal with sexual harassment, as has been done in many countries. This would create a suitable environment for women to articulate their grievances, which quite often today remain suppressed as a result of lack of confidence about the nature of responses.

3.5.13 In another significant judgement in 1997, the Supreme Court *Visakha vs State of Rajasthan* has taken cognisance of the issue of sexual harassment in the workplace. As a result government has been directed to set up complaint cells in all departments of government to which men and women can take their cases of sexual harassment. The complaint cells also include representatives from NGOs as members. The Department of Personnel and Training has also made certain amendments in the conduct rules. While the case has had tremendous impact in terms of raising awareness around the issue, and also created a mechanism where these issues can be easily brought into the open, further changes are required in the redressal mechanisms.

Organisational Culture in the Civil Services

4.1 Relationships at Work

4.1.1 The nature of organisational culture in any work environment is a reflection of the norms, values and practices of the men and women who comprise it. Their perceptions of the impact of these factors within the organisation as well as on the nature of relationships between men and women at various hierarchical levels are also central to an understanding of their relative positions at work. Although there are many factors which cut across services, the ethos of an organisation often is related to the proportion of men and women in that organisation. In fact, as Kanter (1977) has pointed out, when there are less than 15 per cent of women in a "total category in an organisation, they can be labelled 'tokens', as they would be viewed as symbols of their group rather than as individuals." (This would also be applicable to men if they were in a token position). As has been very aptly put, "Numerous recent studies have found that professional and managerial women in token positions experience particular strains and pressures not felt by dominant members of the same organisational status. The disadvantages which have been associated with being the token woman include increased performance pressure, visibility, being a test case for future women, isolation and lack of female role models, exclusion from male groups, and distortion of women's behaviour by others in order to fit them into pre-existing sex stereotypes."³¹

4.1.2 This section focuses on the responses to the open ended question in the questionnaire regarding whether men and women experience their gender as an advantage or disadvantage in their career, relationships with superiors and subordinates, and even with public representatives. It deserves to be mentioned that as a proportion of the total number of responses, the responses received to this question were few, but in overall terms a greater proportion of women responded than men. On the whole especially when it came to disadvantages vis-a-vis superiors and subordinates women seemed to have written more extensively. The

nature of responses were considerably varied and to a certain extent overlapped across the sections.

4.1.3 The male perception of professional advantage stemmed from certain common elements, ranging from the perception of one officer from the IAS who said that "being male itself is an advantage" in our society, to factors which cut across services (Income Tax, IFoS and C & E). The latter related to ability to cope with long and demanding time schedules, travelling to difficult areas, longer stints in the field and the comparative ease in dealing and communicating with other men, both superiors and subordinates. In the case of the Income Tax, specific mention was made of the fact that during "searches and surveys" it was advantageous being male, as was coordinating with male counterparts and dealing with officials, and even in public relations, as a large number of income tax assesseees were male.

4.1.4 Perhaps predictably, gauged from the frequency of the nature of certain responses it is in the Indian Police and Indian Forest Services that the strongest feeling regarding the advantage of being male comes across. In the case of IPS each one of the 12 responses highlighted the advantages of being male. They ranged from aspects related to physical advantages, dealing with subordinates, advantages when conducting searches, night patrols, "chasing robbers" and the fact that a male officer could instil more confidence in the public regarding security.

4.1.5 However, while in some cases these factors were cited as advantages, in certain circumstances they placed men in disadvantageous positions. It was noted repeatedly by men, particularly in the Central Services, that women got preference in placements at headquarters postings and therefore were cushioned from tough and rough conditions (in the case of the IDAS they do not get detailed to army units). Quite often women were given "softer" duties which did not necessarily entail equally long hours. The occasional man also voiced the fact that "women in general have started exploiting others by taking advantage of their sex. Odd duties are assigned to men officers and women generally make excuses to fulfil their duties at home and family."

³¹Kanter (1977).

4.1.6 As far as women are concerned, two factors were highlighted by women which found no mention in the male responses, and which throw light on certain aspects of their functioning which distinguish them from men. One factor cited by many of the women officers, and specifically in the IFS, IT and Indian Postal Service as an advantage was the cooperation and respect commanded by them, both from superiors and subordinates, on account of being women, and the fact that in their working relationships people were on the whole courteous and loyal. This factor was uniquely mentioned and never came up in any of the male responses, and is indicative of the significance attached to this statement. Women in the Income Tax cited that superiors and subordinates were more "cordial and cooperative towards a working woman," and that superiors were "considerate" and accommodating. One lady said that "subordinates when confronted with a problem in their family often admit that a lady is more understanding and compassionate towards them". Another said that, "vis-a-vis superiors one is reprimanded less severely, can expect to keep more flexible office timings and less strenuous touring of remote areas in comparison with male colleagues. Subordinates are polite and obedient if you mean business." In the Police, one woman wrote that subordinates "give a lot of respect which probably a male officer does not get that readily."

4.1.7 However, women simultaneously mentioned that where numerically there are a higher proportion of women there are invisible barriers. One view regarding superiors is epitomised in the following statement: "As the superiors are mostly male, they often don't have faith in the efficiency of their female subordinates". In terms of the disadvantage some women feel it was mentioned: "I have a distinct disadvantage professionally for not being able to develop a criminal intelligence of my own. It is difficult to keep contact and develop intelligence with sources directly related to the underworld or anti social activities." The way women are viewed is distinct and different from men. As one woman stated, "When there is any problem in the family, if the male officers take leave on that account, according to certain people, it reflects their sense of responsibility towards the family. However, if a lady officer takes leave for the same reason it is branded as a sign of utter lack of responsibility". Another woman stated, "from superiors, sometimes there is a tendency to expect 'less' from you, and to exaggerate your achievements because you are a woman". Issues such as the ability to cope with long and demanding time schedules, travelling to difficult areas and the comparative ease in dealing and communicating with other men, both superiors and subordinates, are areas in which women often experience disadvantages. Social norms also dictate differences. "In

an orthodox state especially certain areas of Rajasthan the older men folk find it difficult to accept a lady boss."

4.1.8 The second factor that came up repeatedly and uniquely in the female responses was the strong pressure on women to prove themselves. This factor was both mentioned as a disadvantage, as also an important element in their relationships with superiors and subordinates, public representatives, etc. Even in organisations where there were women in senior positions a high proportion of women require to prove themselves. The typical feeling was that "one has to be better than a man to prove that official duties are seriously taken." "It is often presumed that women will not be able to handle excessive work pressure and will not be able to do certain jobs." One woman from the IIS summed up the nature of the dilemma a token woman is faced with as follows: "You have to keep proving yourself at every point. The slightest slip up on your part is immediately attributed to your being a woman. If you are successful it is because you have taken undue advantage of being a lady; if you are bad it was to be expected."

4.1.9 Also, in certain circumstances, assumptions are made about the abilities of women to cope with certain positions and situations without necessarily referring to them. Examples have been cited by officers of situations where it has been assumed on the basis of a domestic situation that a particular posting or duty would be inconvenient. As one woman police officer put it, "The basic presumption is that you might not be able to accomplish or complete a tough task (until you prove yourself to the contrary)."

4.1.10 Women did not specifically cite any advantage, but also clarified that they felt no discrimination. 1 out of 15 women said being a woman probably resulted in better postings while men felt that better postings, jobs which required long hours were given to male officers. Women felt that constraints of "domestic support" made it difficult to opt for jobs which required travel and late hours. And naturally, in some cases, 'gender specific' advantages or disadvantages were cited such as the ability of women officers in the IFoS to approach rural women.

4.1.11 As far as relationships with the general public are concerned, male officers indicated that they had greater access, while the view of many women was that there was no difference. A number felt that the public thought women are more "judicious", they "show more courtesy and less aggression" and "people are often wary of influencing or pressuring ladies and they also find ladies accessible", and have more faith in them. At the same time women indicated that they were "being pressurised or pushed on the assumption that they would

be less strong willed than male colleagues" or at the first meeting people have the attitude that women don't know their work and are not serious. A police officer cited the importance of building an image of a 'tough cop' for combating crime and criminals in a crime infested state like Bihar. Another woman felt strongly that there is less flow of information to women; that men may not like to share party politics or exclusive issues with women. Needless to say there are women who emphasise the divide between being an officer and a woman, and say, "I have been given postings according to my ability not because of being a woman". Other disadvantages are related to the ability to cope with long and demanding time schedules, travelling to difficult areas, especially in view of the overall lack of domestic support.

4.1.12 The male view on the issue whether it was easier to work with subordinates or superiors of the same sex or opposite sex comprised a mixed bag of responses ranging from the view that the issue was not of great importance, to "working with women subordinates is easier. they are comparatively sincere in their work and relatively submissive" to the view that "an inefficient female worker is more difficult to handle than an efficient male worker because you can use shouting tactics with males, but dare not do so with a female." Many men said it was easier to communicate with subordinates of the same sex, as a more informal atmosphere is possible. Men also recognised the need to be flexible with female subordinates, "to give them a comparative leeway because of their personal/ family situation which often results in their absence/lack of punctuality." One man observed that it was "very difficult with subordinates of the opposite sex" but no difficulty if the age difference was 15 to 20 years. Interestingly, for most women this was not an issue and they did not feel there was any significant difference. Men felt that it was possible to joke with superiors and subordinates who were male, but more difficult to do so with female colleagues.

4.1.13 While most women did not think that getting on with male bosses was a problem, at the same time they felt that acceptance to a large extent depended on the numbers within the service. A case was cited of one DFO who was inconsiderate in postings and made remarks like "that's why we don't want women in the service" and "just because you speak English you think you can enter service." These were made when a female officer requested for postings with her husband, or for a light posting when she was pregnant.

4.1.14 The relationship of women with female bosses varied considerably. On the one hand they were considered more understanding by women "because

they had undergone the same problems and there was more emotional proximity; "the relationship was more non-professional, friendly, but at the cost of work/ learning at times". At the same time instances were cited where antagonistic relationships developed. Women often claimed to find it easier to work with subordinates of the opposite sex. Perhaps the phenomenon of competing for attention is indicated, as well as the difficulty of being professional. One woman police officer states, "There is no feeling of jealousy or competition in the minds of the subordinates of the opposite sex and they give more respect and are more loyal, faithful and dutiful than subordinates of the same sex whereas the lady force is not too disciplined and tries to be more personal and less sincere than the male in disciplinary matters. "I have found it easier to work with the opposite sex. I have found it easier to direct and supervise the men. They are obedient and prompt; some women are also quick but many are riddled with family or health problems which reduce their efficiency."

Informal Networks

4.1.15 The workplace is not only characterised by the formal hierarchical relationships that the structure defines, but also by informal relationships or networks which cut across seniority, services and help to create the links which are often necessary for a career, and even personal goals. These networks could be based on ties from school/college days - the 'old boys network', sharing a common hobby and spending time together such as at outdoor and indoor games. Appendix Table A.10 very clearly indicates that almost 45 - 55 per cent of men and women share a common perception that these networks have different impacts on men and women's lives and careers.

4.1.16 However, what is significant is that irrespective of service, on a personal basis women officers repeatedly highlighted the impact of conflicting claims of household/ domestic and office responsibilities. As one woman from the P & T put it, "There is scarcely time to network as leisure activities are too few and far between shuttling as one does from home to office." There is only a kind of gender "empathy" which binds lady officers of similar backgrounds. A similar feeling was echoed by one Income Tax officer, "Male officers take out time to become members of cultural /social organisations as they have enough time for that, and as the home front is looked after by their spouses. For women such activities become a taboo due to family reasons as they have a guilt feeling that sufficient time is not available for self and children and therefore, they are compelled to avoid such activities."

4.1.17 The fact that this is an area where numbers can and do make a difference is evident from the statements of the female officers. One IPS officer, posted as SP states, "At present, Deputy Commissioner of the District is also a lady officer, hence our informal networks help us to create better links." The fact that the overall environment does make a difference is also evident from the statement, "The experiment of bringing lady officers in different services/levels together may be done more frequently and consciously". A male police officer notes that "Police being still a male dominated career, the relations between men and women colleagues are not as informal as between men and men and between women and women; therefore, women feel isolated. A male noted that "I get certain information about the activities of my subordinates and also certain such information informally for carrying anti-corruption more effectively through some of my old college mates. As male officers in the IFS pointed out, college ties are important, but in the case of women it was observed that "civil services in general and foreign service in particular attract women from very diverse backgrounds, hence there is no network of the kind men enjoy, e.g. Doon School, Delhi University, St Stephen's College". Such networks not only break the ice initially but also open doors more rapidly. Women also usually do not have either the time or opportunity to undertake sports/leisure activities.

4.1.18 Another interesting difference that seems to have been brought out by the study is that whereas spouses of male officers are almost automatically considered to be extensions of their husbands, for female officers if their spouses do not share the same career there is often a sharp division between activities on the home front and in office. This impacts on the nature of informal networks. One woman from the Income Tax stated "I have seen that women officers whose spouses are in other fields of work, tend to meet colleagues at a social level less frequently. Also most women have less time to spare for leisure activities - and thus, to create links - with male colleagues." One woman from the CSS remarked "I am a typical product of my class of society. I have never been able to join in informal dinners or outings alone. (My husband has never agreed to join in one of my official engagements as he terms it.) This sometimes has led to denial of opportunities like going for foreign training or some other good job (on deputation). However, I can say I have never regretted it. This factor has been brought out by other women also who feel that as a result of the lack of fraternising in informal 'dos' there is a hindrance in building close rapport with officials."

4.1.19 Other factors which do make a difference is

whether the officer is working in his/her home state or cadre, whether he/she is living in a metropolitan town and so on. Batch fraternity cuts across men and women but there too links are probably stronger between women and between men. The plight of a single woman officer (IDAS) is reflected in the statement of the woman officer who claimed she was "always at a loss", firstly because women are fewer, and married women always have their families.

4.2 Stress

4.2.1 An area into which the survey has ventured, which is perhaps the first effort in this direction is of exploring the factors, the differences and the similarities, which cause stress to men and women in the All India Services and Central Services both by looking at factors within the work environment as well as in the home. To a large extent the multidisciplinary model of stresses has been drawn from Davidson and Cooper (1992), which isolates various factors both in the home and work environment and suggests that these stress-inducing factors or "stressors" combine to impact on the men and women in both mental and physical ways, and are manifest in various outcomes which can affect the individual's health, relationships and performance at work.

4.2.2 The questionnaire detailed several areas at work and in the home and social arena, and sought to prioritise on the basis of statistical frequency the factors that seemed to dominate. Certain very broad patterns emerged. However as already stated the median age of the sample varied from service to service and the varying nature of responses could emanate from that since this element was added to the questionnaire after the initial study on the IAS.

Stress in the Work Arena

4.2.3 Appendix Table A.11 indicates in terms of frequency the number who have cited particular factors as 'stressors'. In the case of male perceptions within Forest, Income Tax, IRS and IPS the three factors cited as being most responsible for causing stress are in order of priority - insecurity related to frequent travel (transfers and postings), performance pressure, and insufficient time for one's personal needs. Certain service specific factors emerge. For instance, the two services in which the 'rate of pay' caused the most stress are the Income Tax and Customs and Central Excise, and a stressor that came up repeatedly in the case of the IRS and Forest was the attitude of the boss towards stress and the lack of encouragement from superiors.

Stress in the Home Arena

4.2.4 In overall terms certain patterns emerge in terms of the factors responsible for stress in the home arena. It is not very clear how the factor "earning more/ less than spouse" has been understood because almost uniformly this has been indicated as the area of the greatest stress. After that there are slight variations in the manner in which men and women perceive their problems. For men it is interesting that for the revenue services, Income Tax, Customs and Excise and Accounts Services, IIS, ISS and Postal Service financial stress seemed to constitute the second largest stress inducing factor, whereas in the Forest Service and in the Police Service this was at third place. It did not constitute an area of concern for the Indian Foreign Service Officer at all. In contrast the "double burden" on women is well reflected in the fact that for women the second area of stress was the conflicting responsibilities associated with running home and career. The perception of the extent to which the office facilities meet needs (evident from Appendix Table A.13) of men and women varied considerably and men raised issues regarding women's needs.

4.2.5 In overall terms, when the respondents were asked to rate the level of stress, the result for men and women was roughly the same (Appendix Table A.11). This is interesting, especially in the light of the fact that many western studies show "the female executive" to be more stressed than the male counterpart. This may be due to the fact that in India there is more help in the domestic arena. In some services the factors pointed out by men have not been similar - issues such as having insufficient time for one's personal needs, or the problem of disciplining subordinates have only been ticked by women.

4.2.6 The services which seem to have the most stress from a variety of factors are the revenue services, the IPS, the IFS and IDAS.

Departmental Proceedings

4.2.7 Unanimously, the cadre controlling authorities who responded indicated that the proportion of departmental proceedings against men were higher than against women.

4.3 Government Intervention

4.3.1 Perceptions of the nature of governmental interventions that are required to improve personal life, work situations also provide insights into the areas which are considered problematic. Significantly, the issues which emerge most strongly and are central to men's

concerns are related to the need for enhancement in overall perquisites, whether in the form of transport, accommodation, increase in incentives, and the issue of transfer and postings. One of the issues that seemed to excite the men from the IFoS considerably was whether cadre change should be permitted to women or not. 14 men supported this while 8 did not feel it was justified. Some of the issues that arose in the case of men were "regular monitoring" of personal and professional needs of the subordinates by the superiors (IIS), promotions, cadre review (CSS). They ranged from better pay, restructuring the civil services, compulsorily taking leave, stability of tenure, grievance cell for employees, flexibility of office timings, lack of facilities. One person suggested construction of service boards: "Government requires to appoint a Commission every five years to revise the police manual and civil service rules which remain static forever." A male view that surfaced was indicative of stereotyped gender roles, "In the domestic front, the officers vested with the powers of policy making decisions, should be relieved from petty domestic works of going to market, assisting housewife etc. by providing orderlies, maid servants in their houses." The ultimate appeal to government intervention was the comment made by one male bureaucrat regarding pay. Quoting the former Prime Minister of Singapore, "If you get peanuts, you get monkeys but not bureaucrats."

4.3.2 Women's concerns centred more on basic facilities for women including toilets, creches, restrooms for ladies during lunch hour, perks such as phones, accommodation etc. and in at least the Postal, Income Tax and IDAS this issue was as significant as in the case of men. In the Postal Service and CSS, several women stressed the importance of flexible timings, compulsory computer training, better facilities for education, support systems for child-bearing years and medical facilities.

Gender Sensitisation

4.3.3 One of the problems raised by women concerned the general attitude displayed towards women officers within government. This varied from remarks "about having your cake and eating it too" to other aspects that could lead to demoralisation. The strong need for gender sensitisation has been acknowledged by men, women and cadre controlling authorities. Its likely impact will be not only on gender relations within the organisation but also on mainstreaming gender in the development process. However, need for mainstreaming gender training becomes all the more necessary when it is seen that only 11-12 per cent of men/women have had any kind of gender training. Appendix Table A. 12 gives a service-based response.

Office Facilities

4.3.4 As a proportion of the total sample the number of men and women who replied were very few. In terms of office facilities the main distinction between the needs identified by men and women had to do with provision of toilets, lack of crèches, etc. Men specifically mentioned the need for providing recreation facilities. Interestingly enough only one cadre controlling authority observed that facilities may perhaps not cater equally to men and women. Indeed, the service-wise break-up regarding the perception of fulfilment of needs is in Appendix Table A.13.

4.4 Rules and Practices

4.4.1 An examination of the limited responses to the question regarding the impact of government rules and practices on the personal life of men and women focuses on the issue of transfers, postings and frequent travelling as an area of foremost concern, as well as long working hours. In addition to this men cited the need to revise the conduct rules so that they be more realistic (especially in the Income Tax), as well as improvement in the administrative procedures, the system of performance appraisal and rules for promotion. In the case of the CSS an aspect which was stressed was the differential treatment that was meted out to them, and the way they were treated by other services as if they were clerks or promotee officers. In the case of the IPS, rules framed during the British regime have no relevance after 50 years of independence where tremendous social, economic and political changes have made these rules obsolete and impracticable. A point made by a woman officer was that "there is hardly any rule which encourages initiative. If you come with a new idea the rule book will give ten reasons to throttle initiative."

4.4.2 One woman wrote, "Nobody has ever thought it necessary to consider that a separate policy for married officers or/ even lady officers who are married may work better. No concession has ever been considered necessary for lady officers in this respect. Men, in their wisdom, have assumed that they can decide for ladies also."

4.4.3 The fact that the fluctuations in government policy can affect personal lives is exemplified in the case of a woman from the Income Tax who had to choose between the IFoS and IRS. Being first in the cadre she would have got IFoS, and the rule in the IRS was that they could remain for 20 years at a time within a state. She got married to a doctor who was in the state government thinking that she would be able to combine marriage with the practice of her spouse, but when the government changed the rule that one cannot stay in a

state for more than 8 years it adversely affected her life. The reverse case was also cited where IAS officers are married to officers of the Central Service.

4.4.4 Transfers cause stress, disturb family life, and women have written about children feeling neglected, periods of living away from family as being traumatic, and a guilt feeling towards children for being away for long hours in the evening. "As my husband is a member of the Provincial Service my transfer to Bihar had adversely affected my family life I had to leave my 3 year old child." In fact the lack of paternity leave (now recommended in the Fifth Pay Commission), the nature of maternity leave, the difficulty in attending to a breast fed baby (and the contradiction between public policy and the existing rule) were some of the problems cited.

4.5 Organisational Culture

4.5.1 Appendix Table A.2 gives a good indication of the total men / women in the various cadres, and a further breakdown would show that the annual proportion of overall intake, especially in certain services like IFoS and IPS is increasing. In fact in our sample, Table A.14 would indicate that 45 per cent of men and 56 per cent of women had worked with women as bosses. The numerical difference between men and women in the All India Services (IAS, IPS and IFoS) makes them predominantly "male" in orientation and culture. As can be expected less than 15 per cent of the men in the IPS and Forest Services had worked with a female boss. Where women are greater in number such as in the Postal Services, IRS and IA&AS, 40 - 60 per cent of the men had worked with a female boss and the same was true for the women. Fifty years after equality of opportunity was provided women remain a token presence in the civil service in general, and therefore, in some states there is a provision for quotas for women in employment.

4.6 Impact of Personal Life on Careers

4.6.1 The nature of personal considerations that seem to affect career goals that have been cited appear to be focussed in the case of men on issues of family obligation and the expectations of the natal family of the officer to undertake some roles (Appendix Table A.15). In some cases men indicated that they would have liked to pursue alternative career paths. There are examples in the IDAS and IIS, where they had to fight civil suits regarding family property or had insufficient money to take leave without pay to pursue the course or career that they would actually have liked to. In the CSS there were several men who indicated that due to financial constraints, illness or death of the breadwinner they

were forced into deciding early about the job. Some men indicated that as only children, or as the eldest in the family they could not seek postings far from their homes. One man suggested that there should be a zonal system for postings and transfers as without this there are lots of problems in children's education, having to make posting choices depending on where wives are posted.

4.6.2 Women refer much more to how they have geared their postings, to fit in with the lives of their husbands. Keeping the family together has meant "availing leave for long periods" due to lack of domestic help (Appendix Table A.16). One cannot be very ambitious if one puts family, spouses, profession as limiting factors. Parents have occasionally also suggested a government career as an acceptable and secure professional alternative.

Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1 The study has shown that to a large extent in most services explicit biases in the form of discriminatory rules that existed against the recruitment or the continuing presence of women in the bureaucracy have been eliminated. However, the division between domestic commitments and work requirements (Chapter 3), the underlying constructs and assumptions in the work arena of the roles and responsibilities of men and women remain, to a large extent, unchanged. This is apparent from the recent recommendations of the Fifth Pay Commission. Thinking to a large extent has been dominated by formal models of equality that stress that there is equal opportunity, rather than substantive models that take into account the differences that exist between men and women.

5.2 Although the purpose of this study was to look at gender relations within the services, this exercise cannot be divorced from the critical issue of increasing the representation of women in the Civil Services. While it is heartening that at the level of senior executives in the bureaucracy in India the proportion of women compares very favourably with some of the more developed countries, in overall terms the representation of women at the senior executive levels is far from reaching a critical mass. By Kanter's measure, as long as the proportion of women remains less than 30 per cent, it is not representation but "tokenism". To transform this and ensure representation there needs to be a conscious commitment to such a goal. This is imperative in view of the general perception, held by several of the cadre controlling authorities that bureaucrats being at the helm of affairs, there is no rationale for the increase in future of women officers, per se, since as stated in one case, the job is "gender neutral"; or, from another point of view, such a step may "hamper smooth functioning."

5.3 In India the idea of "representative bureaucracy" has generally been accepted through the establishment of quotas of various kinds; and, at present the issue of establishment of quotas for women is being keenly debated. Many states like Andhra Pradesh and Orissa have already made a provision for 33 per cent reservation for women in employment in the state civil services.

As far as women are concerned, in the services covered by this study, there has been a slow increase of women into what were previously defined as male bastions. In fact what is significant is that with an initial advantage, in overall terms representation has remained below 10 per cent. The speed of change has been very slow if this is the level that has been reached after 50 years. To expect that women will find adequate representation without state intervention is unlikely. Even in more developed countries in order to attain the goal of increased representation of certain categories, governments have formally committed themselves to the articulation of an equal opportunities policy, and issuing guidelines for the same.

5.4 As a first step a definition of this goal needs to take place. The guidelines could be broad ranging, encompassing both the private and public sectors. Within government, in the Indian context, this could mean provision of quotas, but also beyond that to the creation of conditions where in practice, too, there is less discrimination. The guidelines would cover issues such as careful monitoring of the number of applicants applying for posts, their selection, issues of promotion, training, placement, leave arrangements, etc. as well as ensuring that the composition of recruiting bodies is gender balanced.

5.5 Awareness of this has been the basis for enactment of Sex Discrimination Acts in countries like the U.K. and Australia, the enunciation of a policy of equal opportunities, and the adoption of various programmes and strategies to realise this. Equal opportunity means the conscious adoption and elimination of practices which in relation to employment matters lead to an inequality of opportunity, or are discriminatory. It also recognises that there are different forms of discrimination, both direct and indirect; the former whereby a person is treated less favourably on the grounds of status, and the latter where a rule appears to be neutral and fair but has a different impact on some groups of people. The purpose of the Sex Discrimination Acts is not only to promote equality between men and women and to eliminate discrimination on the basis of sex, marital status or pregnancy but also to eliminate

sexual harassment at work and in educational institutions. There have been significant increases in the levels of women at senior levels of government in the Australian and British Civil Service with the adoption of these programmes and strategies aimed at equal access. In Australian Public Service careers, from December 1984 to February 1997 representation at the senior executive level has increased from 4.35 per cent to 18.9 per cent and similarly in the U.K. the proportion of women in senior positions and middle management has doubled between 1984 and 1993.

5.6 The focus of this study has been to demonstrate that while bureaucracies may be differentiated from other organisations by the existence of a formal set of rules, they function within a wider societal context, and the rules and practices reflect and reproduce gender inequalities. They too represent, like other institutions a site where the changing nature of gender relations shape the organisation, and where in turn the organisation/state can structure gender relations. This chapter focuses on certain steps that need to be taken in order to ensure gender equity in the workplace. Some of these are detailed below:

- There is need to mainstream gender and to annually produce department /service/ministry-wise gender disaggregated data of women and men at various positions and levels. At the time of writing this report data of this nature was not easily available and is practically non-existent. As a result analysis of the overall position of women in various cadres or services is difficult to review. DoPT should review annually the departments which are lagging behind in their intake of women. In recent years the Union Public Service Commission has compared the percentage of successful male / female candidates as a proportion of the total who appeared in the interview for the Civil Service Examination, but the issue of gender is by no means "mainstreamed" in the report.
- As far as recruitment is concerned apart from examining the process of recruitment, detailed guidelines need to be evolved to define a list of discriminatory questions for recruiting bodies. Issues such as how women would cope in certain positions need to be banned. In addition women need to be represented in all recruitment bodies, and be present not merely as a token woman.
- In the All India Services, cadre change should be allowed for women who marry outside government to the state where the spouse is located and working if this does not represent the home cadre. This would be an enabling "special provision" for women as in the Indian situation marriage tends to be patrilocal (i.e. women shift to where the husband is residing). In fact the present provision of allowing cadre change if you get married within government, to another All India Service officer, discriminates in favour of marrying only within government. The survey has shown that there is no resistance from men to this idea and that it has the support of both men and women. Although this has not been a subject of this survey an examination of the reasons for some women resigning from government could perhaps be attributed to the inability to combine the demands of career and family responsibilities. The Fifth Pay Commission has already advocated that husband and wife should be posted where the husband is employed and in practice many states do so. This only strengthens the view that women should seek this as a policy measure rather than as a favour. This should cut across services, levels and as stated above, cadres. It could perhaps later also be extended to men, but the rationale is based on the fact that in India most marriages are patrilocal.
- While the issue of policy for cadre allotment may be part of a broader administrative reform agenda, in view of the vacillating nature of policy for women in disturbed areas a rational, consistent and uniform policy needs to be articulated. Women from the North- East cadres who opt for their home states should automatically be allowed to do so as the outflow from these states has created a situation where women, who are presently serving are extremely few in number and quite isolated. In addition to the pressures of functioning as the token woman, the burden of being a role model also adds to performance pressure. In the same way as outsiders' were withdrawn, insiders should perhaps have a choice to serve in their areas.
- The government needs to recognise at all levels the problem of sexual harassment and encourage the issuance of guidelines for its elimination, and the creation of a harassment-free work environment. While complaint cells have been created in all government departments to look into issues of sexual harassment and discrimination by any officer, the normal procedures by which these issues are dealt with need to be revised. This is of importance because, as this survey has shown, there are many episodes in these services for which there is no effective redressal mechanism. Disciplinary proceedings

are conducted within the department or organisation. They are the normal channel of redressal and this can often trivialise incidents and attach insufficient importance to such issues. At present the role of the complaint cell has not been defined, nor the extent to which its findings would be binding. While it should be given some disciplinary powers, for appellate purposes a more broad-based and experienced forum should be constituted which could comprise four senior persons of which at least two should be women, and which should not represent only one Ministry/Department. The forum could be nominated by three different Ministries, viz. Department of Personnel and Training, Ministry of the Concerned Officer, and Department of Women and Child or National Commission for Women, and an eminent lawyer known for the fighting cases of violence against women or a representative from a woman's organisation. As in other countries the onus of providing a harassment-free workplace should be on the employer.

- The survey has shown how in services where there are greater numbers of women there has been less stereotyping. While an increase in numbers would help there should be a conscious policy to break gender stereotypes in postings. Cadre controlling authorities need to question their own assumptions at the time of placements and ensure that these are not based on any preconceived notions of capacity. However, as discussed earlier, there is a danger today that in some cases in the IAS with the increasing interest and investment in the social sectors, posts in these areas are likely to attract men because they represent areas which have better perks. The reason for exclusion of women at this stage may take the guise of breaking gender stereotypes. Perhaps a better indicator would be to see the manner in which reverse flows take place.
- The study has shown how men and women view the impact of informal networks. "Male homosociability" or in other words, 'old boys networks' represent one mode of the exercise of power within organisations, especially where women are numerically fewer. Informal networks of women need to be encouraged especially in offices/departments where women form a small minority. Within government there should be a conscious effort to build up networks as support systems for women to articulate their needs and interests. This could be within departments and offices, and laterally across services. This would build solidarity and break isolation.

- Changes in existing practices imply changes in prevailing perceptions and attitudes. Government needs to launch on a massive scale gender sensitisation programmes for government employees, both men and women, at all levels from induction training onwards. A beginning has already been made in various training institutions and through the Gender Planning Training Project in five states by NIPCCD (National Institute for Public Co-operation and Child Development), but more emphasis is required at the level of policy makers. Increased awareness is required about gender inequalities that exist both in society and the workplace, as well as the difference between formal and substantive models of equality. This would also impact on mainstreaming gender in development policy and practice.
- While the period of maternity leave has recently been enhanced to 135 days it has been the constant demand of women's organisations and the National Commission for Women that this needs to be extended to at least six months. The Fifth Pay Commission has broken new ground and also gender stereotypes by providing for 15 days paternity leave during the period of confinement as it accepts in the work arena the male worker as a parent. The orders regarding this have already been issued and mark a significant departure regarding the states' view of parental responsibility. A provision that could be adopted from the experience of the U.S. is that medical leave should include care of the elderly and other family members.
- Child care facilities need to be provided, and have been recommended by the Fifth Pay Commission as well. The state should begin to recognise that in order to employ women child care is required, and if facilities are not available a child care allowance should be allowed to women employees for the first five years. In the case of the IAS/IPS/IFS, it is often the case that women have small children when they are in district/field postings, and also at the stage where they may be facing frequent transfers. Whereas creches in government buildings provide one solution, this can hardly take into account the exigencies of duties in terms of unpredictable hours that a woman officer is subject to. It is at this stage that domestic help is critical, and in this context women officers should be given a child-minder (woman peon) for at least the first five years of the life of the child. This child minder should be transferred with the woman officer

for as long as her services are required. Alternately there should be a liberal allowance at the level of a peon for a woman to be able to get good help at home.

- The survey has indicated that many couples feel a strong sense of discrimination when it comes to provisions for couples for LTC, HBA. It was felt that benefits should recognise officers as individual entities rather than as couples and curtail their provisions. The Fifth Pay Commission however has found the existing provisions for married couples "adequate". While there is no explicit gender bias in this rule, implicitly it assigns the normative basis of the household to be the male officer thus propagating the stereotypical mould of the male breadwinner, and perceiving the woman's earnings as a supplementary income. It is interesting and also revealing how consistently government has been aware of this demand, and has turned it down. Economy has often been cited as the logic for limiting benefits, but no problem was felt in increasing the LTC to 3 per individual within the same 4 years!
- For single women, General Provident Fund withdrawal rules need to incorporate some enabling clauses which would make it easier for them to withdraw money. In certain states, house allotment rules should include a priority category to include women, who are living alone, whether married or single.
- Facilities in government offices need to take into account some of the basic needs and interests of women such as availability of toilets and banning of smoking in at least the common work areas.
- Flexible work arrangements need to be introduced, with a view not only to help women cope with the responsibilities they have towards their children but also so that there are built in

arrangements to take care of the long working hours that most men have also cited as disruptive to their family life. This could include concepts of flexi hours but can also be thought of in terms of reducing the length of the working day with concomitant cuts in pay for women with children of a certain age. This would not affect seniority in service. In view of divided accountability the concept of job sharing may not prove conducive. The Fifth Pay Commission has in its report provided for a voluntary system that women employees can opt for to work half time for six years when their children are young. It also provides for leave sharing, where both husband and wife are in government through an earned leave bank and for flexitime and flexiplace, albeit on an experimental basis.

- Issues of pay, perks and stability of tenure are also critical to a better balance between service and family responsibilities.
- Another suggestion that can be made is that the annual performance appraisal of each employee should have a column to highlight the behaviour and attitude of the officer to female women employees.
- In addition where posts are filled in by deputation, foreign assignments, promotions there should be increasing efforts to ensure that women not only get their proportional share but increased levels of representation to ensure that women are present at all decision making levels of governance.

The state should go beyond the view of looking at women in the civil service as recipients of welfare. It needs to go beyond issues that arise at the level of "practical gender needs", viz. those that arise out of the socially accepted roles and responsibilities of women, to building in a transformatory potential that challenges the given gender division of roles and responsibilities. In doing so, the state could be viewed as a leader in the quest for greater gender equity in the workplace.

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Statistical Appendix

TABLE A.1 HOME STATE

State	IAS		IPS		FOREST		IRS		IES		IAAS		IIS		IDAS		IRS (IT)		IFS		POST		P&T		ISS		IRPS		CSS	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
AP	5	4	4	2	8	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	3	1	4	7	-	1	-	2	2	2	1	1	-	-	-	-
Ar. P					1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Assam	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
Bihar	7	4	3	3	4	1	8	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	2	2	8	2	-	1	-	1	3	2	1	1	-	-	-	-
Gujarat	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
HP	5	1	4	1	2	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Haryana	2	2	4	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	1	-	1	4	-	-	1	1	-	-	4	4
JK	3	0	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Karnataka	2	2	3	-	4	-	4	3	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	1	2	-	2	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kerala			5	1	1	-	6	4	2	-	-	-	2	-	1	2	1	1	-	-	2	7	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1
Mah	6	4	2	1	1	-	5	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	3	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
MP	3	1	2	-	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Manipur	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Megh	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mizoram	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nagaland			-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Orissa	4	2	4	-	-	-	4	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	3	2	-	-	1	1	1	-	3	3	-	-	-	-
Punjab	3	2	1	-	1	-	4	2	-	-	-	-	3	-	4	1	2	4	-	-	-	2	2	1	-	-	-	1	1	-
Raj	8	1	8	3	-	-	7	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	9	3	-	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	2	2
TN	3	5	3	-	1	-	6	1	1	2	-	-	3	-	2	-	8	3	-	2	2	4	5	-	1	1	-	-	2	2
UP	11	9	11	1	17	3	16	2	-	1	-	-	7	-	14	2	17	12	1	-	1	6	1	3	3	3	-	-	4	4
UT	6	2	5	1	2	3	6	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	3	3	6	8	1	3	3	6	1	1	1	1	-	-	1	1
WB	6	-	-	-	2	1	2	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	1	4	1	1	-	1	3	3	-	1	5	5	-	-	-	3
TOTAL	83	41	61	13	49	10	73	19	7	5	0	0	21	1	34	19	63	54	4	10	16	46	18	14	17	17	1	1	15	18

TABLE A.2 BREAK-UP OF SENIORITY OF SAMPLE

Year	IPS		FOREST		IRS (Custom)		IES		IAAS		IIS		IDAS		IRS (IT)		IFS		POST		P&T		ISS		IRPS		CSS	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1961	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1962	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1963	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
1964	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
1965	4	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1966	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4
1967	3	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	1
1968	2	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1969	5	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
1970	3	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	3	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	1
1971	4	-	-	-	5	-	1	2	-	-	3	-	-	1	1	2	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1972	2	-	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	1
1973	2	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	4	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	1
1974	2	-	-	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	3	-	-	1	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
1975	1	-	5	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	4	1	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	2
1976	2	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	-	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	1	1
1977	3	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
1978	-	-	4	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	1	4	-	1	-	-	-	-	3	3
1979	2	1	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	4	2	-	-	1	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
1980	-	1	4	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
1981	1	-	1	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	2	-	-	1	1
1982	1	-	4	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	2	-	-	1	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1
1983	3	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	3	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	1	1
1984	2	-	8	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1985	-	1	1	-	3	-	1	-	-	-	3	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	3	3	-	-	-	-
1986	4	-	4	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	4	-	3	3	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	2	-	-	-	-
1987	2	3	3	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	1	1	1	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1988	1	-	3	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1989	1	1	-	1	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	5	9	-	-	-	6	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1990	1	2	1	1	5	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	3	-	-	1	3	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
1991	2	-	-	-	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3	1	4	-	-	-	-	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
1992	2	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	4	3	5	-	-	-	-	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
1993	1	1	1	-	9	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	3	-	-	-	2	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
1994	-	1	1	3	4	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	1	1	-	1	-	2	1	1	-	-	-	-
1995	-	-	-	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1996	-	-	-	-	1	3	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1999	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	59	12	48	10	83	17	7	5	0	0	20	1	34	19	62	52	4	9	16	46	16	14	17	17	1	1	27	27

TABLE A.3 SOCIAL DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS

Service	SC		ST		OBC		General		Others		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
CSS	9	0	2	0	1	1	16	3	0	0	28	4
	18.37	0.00	11.76	0.00	4.17	33.33	4.66	1.53			6.47	1.80
FOREST	2	0	3	1	3	0	41	9	0	0	49	10
	4.08	0.00	17.65	10.00	12.50	0.00	11.95	4.59			11.32	4.50
IA&AS	12	0	2	0	0	0	14	4	0	0	28	4
	24.49	0.00	11.76	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.08	2.04			6.47	1.80
IDAS	6	2	0	0	2	0	26	17	0	0	34	19
	12.24	15.38	0.00	0.00	8.33	0.00	7.58	8.67			7.85	8.56
IDEAS	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	5	0	0	3	5
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.87	2.55			1.69	2.25
IES	1	0	0	0	2	0	4	5	0	0	7	5
	2.04	0.00	0.00	0	8.33	0.00	1.17	2.55			1.62	2.25
IFS	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	10	0	0	4	10
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.17	5.10			0.92	4.50
IIS	2	0	2	0	2	0	15	1	0	0	21	1
	4.08	0.00	11.76	0.00	8.33	0.00	4.37	0.51			4.85	0.45
INCOMETAX	2	5	0	4	4	1	57	44	0	0	63	54
	4.08	38.46	0.00	40.00	16.67	33.33	16.62	22.45			14.55	24.32
IPS	3	0	2	1	2	0	54	12	0	0	61	13
	6.12	0.00	11.76	10.00	8.33	0.00	15.74	6.12			14.09	5.86
IRPS	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8	0	0	1	8
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.29	4.08			0.23	3.60
IRS	7	2	4	1	2	0	70	16	0	0	83	19
	14.29	15.38	23.53	10.00	8.33	0.00	20.41	8.16			19.17	8.56
ISS	3	1	0	1	2	0	12	8	0	0	17	10
	6.12	7.69	0.00	10.00	8.33	0.00	3.50	4.08			3.93	4.50
P&T	2	0	2	1	2	0	12	13	0	0	18	14
	4.08	0.00	11.76	10.00	8.33	0.00	3.50	6.63			4.16	6.31
POSTAL	0	3	0	1	2	1	14	41	0	0	16	46
	0.00	23.08	0.00	10.00	8.33	33.33	4.08	20.92			3.70	20.72
TOTAL	49	13	17	10	24	3	343	196	0	0	433	222

TABLE A.4 EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND TILL CLASS 10

CSS

	CE	SS	Total	RU	UR	Total	GO	PR	Total	EG	HD	RG	Total
MALE	8.00	18.00	26.00	12.00	14.00	26.00	19.00	8.00	27.00	7.00	11.00	9.00	27.00
%	30.77	69.23	100.00	46.15	53.85	100.00	70.37	29.63	100.00	25.93	40.74	33.33	100.00
FEMALE	0.00	3.00	3.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	3.00
%	0.00	100.00	100.00	33.33	66.67	100.00	33.33	66.67	100.00	33.33	33.33	33.33	100.00
TOTAL	8.00	21.00	29.00	13.00	16.00	29.00	20.00	10.00	30.00	8.00	12.00	10.00	30.00
%	27.59	72.41	100.00	44.83	55.17	100.00	66.67	33.33	100.00	26.67	40.00	33.33	100.00

FOREST

	CE	SS	Total	RU	UR	Total	GO	PR	Total	EG	HD	RG	Total
MALE	23.00	22.00	45.00	10.00	34.00	44.00	21.00	23.00	44.00	15.00	23.00	7.00	45.00
%	51.11	48.89	100.00	22.73	77.27	100.00	47.73	52.27	100.00	33.33	51.11	15.56	100.00
FEMALE	4.00	6.00	10.00	0.00	10.00	10.00	3.00	7.00	10.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	10.00
%	40.00	60.00	100.00	0.00	100.00	100.00	30.00	70.00	100.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
TOTAL	27.00	28.00	55.00	10.00	44.00	54.00	24.00	30.00	54.00	25.00	23.00	7.00	55.00
%	49.09	50.91	100.00	18.52	81.48	100.00	44.44	55.56	100.00	45.45	41.82	12.73	100.00

IA&AS

	CE	SS	Total	RU	UR	Total	GO	PR	Total	EG	HD	RG	Total
MALE	12.00	12.00	24.00	5.00	19.00	24.00	11.00	13.00	24.00	7.00	11.00	5.00	23.00
%	50.00	50.00	100.00	20.83	79.17	100.00	45.83	54.17	100.00	30.43	47.83	21.74	100.00
FEMALE	0.00	4.00	4.00	0.00	4.00	4.00	2.00	2.00	4.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	4.00
%	0.00	100.00	100.00	0.00	100.00	100.00	50.00	50.00	100.00	50.00	25.00	25.00	100.00
TOTAL	12.00	16.00	28.00	5.00	23.00	28.00	13.00	15.00	28.00	9.00	12.00	6.00	27.00
%	42.86	57.14	100.00	17.86	82.14	100.00	46.43	53.57	100.00	33.33	44.44	22.22	100.00

IDES

	CE	SS	Total	RU	UR	Total	GO	PR	Total	EG	HD	RG	Total
MALE	1.00	2.00	3.00	0.00	3.00	3.00	0.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	3.00
%	33.33	66.67	100.00	0.00	100.00	100.00	0.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
FEMALE	1.00	3.00	4.00	1.00	3.00	4.00	1.00	3.00	4.00	3.00	1.00	0.00	4.00
%	25.00	75.00	100.00	25.00	75.00	100.00	25.00	75.00	100.00	75.00	25.00	0.00	100.00
TOTAL	2.00	5.00	7.00	1.00	6.00	7.00	1.00	6.00	7.00	6.00	1.00	0.00	7.00
%	28.57	71.43	100.00	14.29	85.71	100.00	14.29	85.71	100.00	85.71	14.29	0.00	100.00

IES

	CE	SS	Total	RU	UR	Total	GO	PR	Total	EG	HD	RG	Total
MALE	1.00	6.00	7.00	3.00	4.00	7.00	5.00	2.00	7.00	1.00	1.00	4.00	6.00
%	14.29	85.71	100.00	42.86	57.14	100.00	71.43	28.57	100.00	16.67	16.67	66.67	100.00
FEMALE	0.00	4.00	4.00	0.00	4.00	4.00	1.00	3.00	4.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	4.00
%	0.00	100.00	100.00	0.00	100.00	100.00	25.00	75.00	100.00	50.00	25.00	25.00	100.00
TOTAL	1.00	10.00	11.00	3.00	8.00	11.00	6.00	5.00	11.00	3.00	2.00	5.00	10.00
%	9.09	90.91	100.00	27.27	72.73	100.00	54.55	45.45	100.00	30.00	20.00	50.00	100.00

(Contd.)

TABLE A.4 (CONTD.)

IFS

	CE	SS	Total	RU	UR	Total	GO	PR	Total	EG	HD	RG	Total
MALE	1.00	2.00	3.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	1.00	0.00	3.00
%	33.33	66.67	100.00	33.33	66.67	100.00	33.33	66.67	100.00	66.67	33.33	0.00	100.00
FEMALE	4.00	6.00	10.00	0.00	10.00	10.00	0.00	10.00	10.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	10.00
%	40.00	60.00	100.00	0.00	100.00	100.00	0.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
TOTAL	5.00	8.00	13.00	1.00	12.00	13.00	1.00	12.00	13.00	12.00	1.00	0.00	13.00
%	38.46	61.54	100.00	7.69	92.31	100.00	7.69	92.31	100.00	92.31	7.69	0.00	100.00

IRS (INCOME TAX)

	CE	SS	Total	RU	UR	Total	GO	PR	Total	EG	HD	RG	Total
MALE	23.00	35.00	58.00	19.00	39.00	58.00	28.00	30.00	58.00	19.00	27.00	11.00	57.00
%	39.66	60.34	100.00	32.76	67.24	100.00	48.28	51.72	100.00	33.33	47.37	19.30	100.00
FEMALE	20.00	25.00	45.00	3.00	42.00	45.00	13.00	32.00	45.00	31.00	7.00	6.00	44.00
%	44.44	55.56	100.00	6.67	93.33	100.00	28.89	71.11	100.00	70.45	15.91	13.64	100.00
TOTAL	43.00	60.00	103.00	22.00	81.00	103.00	41.00	62.00	103.00	50.00	34.00	17.00	101.00
%	41.75	58.25	100.00	21.36	78.64	100.00	39.81	60.19	100.00	49.50	33.66	16.83	100.00

IPS

	CE	SS	Total	RU	UR	Total	GO	PR	Total	EG	HD	RG	Total
MALE	26.00	24.00	50.00	13.00	37.00	50.00	25.00	25.00	50.00	22.00	20.00	8.00	50.00
%	52.00	48.00	100.00	26.00	74.00	100.00	50.00	50.00	100.00	44.00	40.00	16.00	100.00
FEMALE	6.00	4.00	10.00	1.00	9.00	10.00	4.00	6.00	10.00	6.00	4.00	0.00	10.00
%	60.00	40.00	100.00	10.00	90.00	100.00	40.00	60.00	100.00	60.00	40.00	0.00	100.00
TOTAL	32.00	28.00	60.00	14.00	46.00	60.00	29.00	31.00	60.00	28.00	24.00	8.00	60.00
%	53.33	46.67	100.00	23.33	76.67	100.00	48.33	51.67	100.00	46.67	40.00	13.33	100.00

IRS (CUSTOM)

	CE	SS	Total	RU	UR	Total	GO	PR	Total	EG	HD	RG	Total
MALE	39.00	34.00	73.00	29.00	43.00	72.00	38.00	32.00	70.00	30.00	20.00	22.00	72.00
%	53.42	46.58	100.00	40.28	59.72	100.00	54.29	45.71	100.00	41.67	27.78	30.56	100.00
FEMALE	10.00	8.00	18.00	3.00	14.00	17.00	4.00	14.00	18.00	13.00	2.00	3.00	18.00
%	55.56	44.44	100.00	17.65	82.35	100.00	22.22	77.78	100.00	72.22	11.11	16.67	100.00
TOTAL	49.00	42.00	91.00	32.00	57.00	89.00	42.00	46.00	88.00	43.00	22.00	25.00	90.00
%	53.85	46.15	100.00	35.96	64.04	100.00	47.73	52.27	100.00	47.78	24.44	27.78	100.00

IDAS

	CE	SS	Total	RU	UR	Total	GO	PR	Total	EG	HD	RG	Total
MALE	13.00	15.00	28.00	11.00	17.00	28.00	12.00	16.00	28.00	8.00	14.00	6.00	28.00
%	46.43	53.57	100.00	39.29	60.71	100.00	42.86	57.14	100.00	28.57	50.00	21.43	100.00
FEMALE	6.00	9.00	15.00	0.00	13.00	13.00	5.00	9.00	14.00	11.00	2.00	1.00	14.00
%	40.00	60.00	100.00	0.00	100.00	100.00	35.71	64.29	100.00	78.57	14.29	7.14	100.00
TOTAL	19.00	24.00	43.00	11.00	30.00	41.00	17.00	25.00	42.00	19.00	16.00	7.00	42.00
%	44.19	55.81	100.00	26.83	73.17	100.00	40.48	59.52	100.00	45.24	38.10	16.67	100.00

(Contd.)

TABLE A.4 (CONTD.)

IIS

	CE	SS	Total	RU	UR	Total	GO	PR	Total	EG	HD	RG	Total
MALE	12.00	9.00	21.00	9.00	12.00	21.00	9.00	12.00	21.00	3.00	11.00	7.00	21.00
%	57.14	42.86	100.00	42.86	57.14	100.00	42.86	57.14	100.00	14.29	52.38	33.33	100.00
FEMALE	0.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
%	0.00	100.00	100.00	0.00	100.00	100.00	0.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
TOTAL	12.00	10.00	22.00	9.00	13.00	22.00	9.00	13.00	22.00	4.00	11.00	7.00	22.00
%	54.55	45.45	100.00	40.91	59.09	100.00	40.91	59.09	100.00	18.18	50.00	31.82	100.00

ISS

	CE	SS	Total	RU	UR	Total	GO	PR	Total	EG	HD	RG	Total
MALE	8.00	7.00	15.00	8.00	7.00	15.00	10.00	5.00	15.00	5.00	4.00	7.00	16.00
%	53.33	46.67	100.00	53.33	46.67	100.00	66.67	33.33	100.00	31.25	25.00	43.75	100.00
FEMALE	2.00	7.00	9.00	0.00	10.00	10.00	5.00	5.00	10.00	5.00	3.00	2.00	10.00
%	22.22	77.78	100.00	0.00	100.00	100.00	50.00	50.00	100.00	50.00	30.00	20.00	100.00
TOTAL	10.00	14.00	24.00	8.00	17.00	25.00	15.00	10.00	25.00	10.00	7.00	9.00	26.00
%	41.67	58.33	100.00	32.00	68.00	100.00	60.00	40.00	100.00	38.46	26.92	34.62	100.00

P&T

	CE	SS	Total	RU	UR	Total	GO	PR	Total	EG	HD	RG	Total
MALE	10.00	8.00	18.00	8.00	10.00	18.00	10.00	8.00	18.00	6.00	4.00	8.00	18.00
%	55.56	44.44	100.00	44.44	55.56	100.00	55.56	44.44	100.00	33.33	22.22	44.44	100.00
FEMALE	7.00	7.00	14.00	2.00	12.00	14.00	4.00	10.00	14.00	12.00	2.00	0.00	14.00
%	50.00	50.00	100.00	14.29	85.71	100.00	28.57	71.43	100.00	85.71	14.29	0.00	100.00
TOTAL	17.00	15.00	32.00	10.00	22.00	32.00	14.00	18.00	32.00	18.00	6.00	8.00	32.00
%	53.13	46.88	100.00	31.25	68.75	100.00	43.75	56.25	100.00	56.25	18.75	25.00	100.00

POSTAL

	CE	SS	Total	RU	UR	Total	GO	PR	Total	EG	HD	RG	Total
MALE	6.00	9.00	15.00	4.00	11.00	15.00	9.00	6.00	15.00	6.00	1.00	8.00	15.00
%	40.00	60.00	100.00	26.67	73.33	100.00	60.00	40.00	100.00	40.00	6.67	53.33	100.00
FEMALE	19.00	19.00	38.00	3.00	35.00	38.00	10.00	28.00	38.00	33.00	2.00	3.00	38.00
%	50.00	50.00	100.00	7.89	92.11	100.00	26.32	73.68	100.00	86.84	5.26	7.89	100.00
TOTAL	25.00	28.00	53.00	7.00	46.00	53.00	19.00	34.00	53.00	39.00	3.00	11.00	53.00
%	47.17	52.83	100.00	13.21	86.79	100.00	35.85	64.15	100.00	73.58	5.66	20.75	100.00
	CE	SS	Total	RU	UR	Total	GO	PR	Total	EG	HD	RG	Total
M.Total	183.00	203.00	386.00	132.00	252.00	384.00	198.00	185.00	383.00	134.00	148.00	102.00	384.00
%	47.41	52.59	100.00	34.38	65.63	100.00	51.70	48.30	100.00	34.90	38.54	26.56	100.00
F.Total	79.00	106.00	185.00	14.00	169.00	183.00	53.00	132.00	185.00	140.00	26.00	18.00	184.00
%	42.70	57.30	100.00	7.65	92.35	100.00	28.65	71.35	100.00	76.09	14.13	9.78	100.00
TOTAL	262.00	309.00	571.00	146.00	421.00	567.00	251.00	317.00	568.00	274.00	174.00	120.00	568.00
%	45.88	54.12	100.00	25.75	74.25	100.00	44.19	55.81	100.00	48.24	30.63	21.13	100.00

TABLE A.5 EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND AFTER 10+2

CSS

	Graduate				Post Graduate				Professionals			
	SC	AR	CO	Total	SC	AR	CO	Total	SC	AR	CO	Total
MALE	10.00	15.00	2.00	27.00	5.00	13.00	0.00	18.00	3.00	5.00	0.00	8.00
%	37.04	55.56	7.41	100.00	27.78	72.22	0.00	100.00	37.50	62.50	0.00	100.00
FEMALE	1.00	3.00	0.00	4.00	1.00	3.00	0.00	4.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00
%	25.00	75.00	0.00	100.00	25.00	75.00	0.00	100.00	0.00	100.00	0.00	100.00
Total	11.00	18.00	2.00	31.00	6.00	16.00	0.00	22.00	3.00	6.00	0.00	9.00
%	35.48	58.06	6.45	100.00	27.27	72.73	0.00	100.00	33.33	66.67	0.00	100.00

FOREST

	Graduate				Post Graduate				Professionals			
	SC	AR	CO	Total	SC	AR	CO	Total	SC	AR	CO	Total
MALE	40.00	1.00	0.00	41.00	33.00	1.00	0.00	34.00	17.00	1.00	0.00	18.00
%	97.56	2.44	0.00	100.00	97.06	2.94	0.00	100.00	94.44	5.56	0.00	100.00
FEMALE	10.00	0.00	0.00	10.00	8.00	0.00	0.00	8.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	3.00
%	100.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
Total	50.00	1.00	0.00	51.00	41.00	1.00	0.00	42.00	20.00	1.00	0.00	21.00
%	98.04	1.96	0.00	100.00	97.62	2.38	0.00	100.00	95.24	4.76	0.00	100.00

IA&AS

	Graduate				Post Graduate				Professionals			
	SC	AR	CO	Total	SC	AR	CO	Total	SC	AR	CO	Total
MALE	9.00	12.00	4.00	25.00	5.00	13.00	2.00	20.00	1.00	5.00	0.00	6.00
%	36.00	48.00	16.00	100.00	25.00	65.00	10.00	100.00	16.67	83.33	0.00	100.00
FEMALE	2.00	2.00	0.00	4.00	1.00	3.00	0.00	4.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00
%	50.00	50.00	0.00	100.00	25.00	75.00	0.00	100.00	0.00	100.00	0.00	100.00
Total	11.00	14.00	4.00	29.00	6.00	16.00	2.00	24.00	1.00	6.00	0.00	7.00
%	37.93	48.28	13.79	100.00	25.00	66.67	8.33	100.00	14.29	85.71	0.00	100.00

IDEAS

	Graduate				Post Graduate				Professionals			
	SC	AR	CO	Total	SC	AR	CO	Total	SC	AR	CO	Total
MALE	1.00	2.00	0.00	3.00	1.00	2.00	0.00	3.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
%	33.33	66.67	0.00	100.00	33.33	66.67	0.00	100.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
FEMALE	0.00	5.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	3.00	0.00	3.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00
%	0.00	100.00	0.00	100.00	0.00	100.00	0.00	100.00	0.00	100.00	0.00	100.00
Total	1.00	7.00	0.00	8.00	1.00	5.00	0.00	6.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	2.00
%	12.50	87.50	0.00	100.00	16.67	83.33	0.00	100.00	50.00	50.00	0.00	100.00

IES

	Graduate				Post Graduate				Professionals			
	SC	AR	CO	Total	SC	AR	CO	Total	SC	AR	CO	Total
MALE	0.00	7.00	0.00	7.00	0.00	5.00	1.00	6.00	1.00	3.00	0.00	4.00
%	0.00	100.00	0.00	100.00	0.00	83.33	16.67	100.00	25.00	75.00	0.00	100.00
FEMALE	1.00	4.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	5.00	1.00	3.00	0.00	4.00
%	20.00	80.00	0.00	100.00	0.00	100.00	0.00	100.00	25.00	75.00	0.00	100.00
Total	1.00	11.00	0.00	12.00	0.00	10.00	1.00	11.00	2.00	6.00	0.00	8.00
%	8.33	91.67	0.00	100.00	0.00	90.91	9.09	100.00	25.00	75.00	0.00	100.00

(Contd.)

TABLE A.5 (CONTD.)

IFS

	Graduate				Post Graduate				Professionals			
	SC	AR	CO	Total	SC	AR	CO	Total	SC	AR	CO	Total
MALE	1.00	2.00	0.00	3.00	1.00	2.00	0.00	3.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	2.00
%	33.33	66.67	0.00	100.00	33.33	66.67	0.00	100.00	50.00	50.00	0.00	100.00
FEMALE	3.00	7.00	0.00	10.00	0.00	8.00	0.00	8.00	2.00	2.00	0.00	4.00
%	30.00	70.00	0.00	100.00	0.00	100.00	0.00	100.00	50.00	50.00	0.00	100.00
Total	4.00	9.00	0.00	13.00	1.00	10.00	0.00	11.00	3.00	3.00	0.00	6.00
%	30.77	69.23	0.00	100.00	9.09	90.91	0.00	100.00	50.00	50.00	0.00	100.00

IRS (INCOME TAX)

	Graduate				Post Graduate				Professionals			
	SC	AR	CO	Total	SC	AR	CO	Total	SC	AR	CO	Total
MALE	30.00	26.00	6.00	62.00	18.00	24.00	3.00	45.00	6.00	7.00	1.00	14.00
%	48.39	41.94	9.68	100.00	40.00	53.33	6.67	100.00	42.86	50.00	7.14	100.00
FEMALE	24.00	29.00	1.00	54.00	14.00	24.00	3.00	41.00	2.00	13.00	3.00	18.00
%	44.44	53.70	1.85	100.00	34.15	58.54	7.32	100.00	11.11	72.22	16.67	100.00
Total	54.00	55.00	7.00	116.00	32.00	48.00	6.00	86.00	8.00	20.00	4.00	32.00
%	46.55	47.41	6.03	100.00	37.21	55.81	6.98	100.00	25.00	62.50	12.50	100.00

IPS

	Graduate				Post Graduate				Professionals			
	SC	AR	CO	Total	SC	AR	CO	Total	SC	AR	CO	Total
MALE	31.00	19.00	3.00	53.00	12.00	26.00	2.00	40.00	6.00	3.00	1.00	10.00
%	58.49	35.85	5.66	100.00	30.00	65.00	5.00	100.00	60.00	30.00	10.00	100.00
FEMALE	3.00	7.00	0.00	10.00	3.00	7.00	0.00	10.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	2.00
%	30.00	70.00	0.00	100.00	30.00	70.00	0.00	100.00	0.00	100.00	0.00	100.00
Total	34.00	26.00	3.00	63.00	15.00	33.00	2.00	50.00	6.00	5.00	1.00	12.00
%	53.97	41.27	4.76	100.00	30.00	66.00	4.00	100.00	50.00	41.67	8.33	100.00

IRS (CUSTOM)

	Graduate				Post Graduate				Professionals			
	SC	AR	CO	Total	SC	AR	CO	Total	SC	AR	CO	Total
MALE	40.00	28.00	9.00	77.00	18.00	23.00	4.00	45.00	9.00	5.00	3.00	17.00
%	51.95	36.36	11.69	100.00	40.00	51.11	8.89	100.00	52.94	29.41	17.65	100.00
FEMALE	6.00	7.00	0.00	13.00	3.00	7.00	0.00	10.00	2.00	4.00	0.00	6.00
%	46.15	53.85	0.00	100.00	30.00	70.00	0.00	100.00	33.33	66.67	0.00	100.00
Total	46.00	35.00	9.00	90.00	21.00	30.00	4.00	55.00	11.00	9.00	3.00	23.00
%	51.11	38.89	10.00	100.00	38.18	54.55	7.27	100.00	47.83	39.13	13.04	100.00

IDAS

	Graduate				Post Graduate				Professionals			
	SC	AR	CO	Total	SC	AR	CO	Total	SC	AR	CO	Total
MALE	9.00	16.00	4.00	29.00	6.00	13.00	1.00	20.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	2.00
%	31.03	55.17	13.79	100.00	30.00	65.00	5.00	100.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
FEMALE	5.00	10.00	0.00	15.00	2.00	9.00	0.00	11.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
%	33.33	66.67	0.00	100.00	18.18	81.82	0.00	100.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
Total	14.00	26.00	4.00	44.00	8.00	22.00	1.00	31.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	3.00
%	31.82	59.09	9.09	100.00	25.81	70.97	3.23	100.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	100.00

(Contd)

TABLE A.5 (CONTD.)

ISS

	Graduate				Post Graduate				Professionals			
	SC	AR	CO	Total	SC	AR	CO	Total	SC	AR	CO	Total
MALE	14.00	3.00	0.00	17.00	6.00	4.00	0.00	10.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
%	82.35	17.65	0.00	100.00	60.00	40.00	0.00	100.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
FEMALE	5.00	10.00	0.00	15.00	2.00	9.00	0.00	11.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
%	5.00	4.00	1.00	100.00	7.00	2.00	1.00	100.00				
Total	19.00	13.00	0.00	32.00	8.00	13.00	0.00	21.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
%	59.38	40.63	0.00	100.00	38.10	61.90	0.00	100.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	100.00

IIS

	Graduate				Post Graduate				Professionals			
	SC	AR	CO	Total	SC	AR	CO	Total	SC	AR	CO	Total
MALE	4.00	16.00	1.00	21.00	1.00	11.00	2.00	14.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
%	19.05	76.19	4.76	100.00	7.14	78.57	14.29	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	
FEMALE	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
%	100.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	100.00				
Total	5.00	16.00	1.00	22.00	2.00	11.00	2.00	15.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
%	22.73	72.73	4.55	100.00	13.33	73.33	13.33	100.00				

P&T

	Graduate				Post Graduate				Professionals			
	SC	AR	CO	Total	SC	AR	CO	Total	SC	AR	CO	Total
MALE	4.00	10.00	4.00	18.00	4.00	5.00	2.00	11.00	1.00	4.00	0.00	5.00
%	22.22	55.56	22.22	100.00	36.36	45.45	18.18	100.00	20.00	80.00	0.00	100.00
FEMALE	5.00	7.00	1.00	13.00	4.00	4.00	0.00	8.00	6.00	1.00	0.00	7.00
%	38.46	53.85	7.69	100.00	50.00	50.00	0.00	100.00	85.71	14.29	0.00	100.00
Total	9.00	17.00	5.00	31.00	8.00	9.00	2.00	19.00	7.00	5.00	0.00	12.00
%	29.03	54.84	16.13	100.00	42.11	47.37	10.53	100.00	58.33	41.67	0.00	100.00

POSTAL

	Graduate				Post Graduate				Professionals			
	SC	AR	CO	Total	SC	AR	CO	Total	SC	AR	CO	Total
MALE	9.00	3.00	0.00	12.00	6.00	4.00	0.00	10.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	2.00
%	75.00	25.00	0.00	100.00	60.00	40.00	0.00	100.00	50.00	50.00	0.00	100.00
FEMALE	13.00	32.00	0.00	45.00	9.00	25.00	0.00	34.00	2.00	4.00	0.00	6.00
%	28.89	71.11	0.00	100.00	26.47	73.53	0.00	100.00	33.33	66.67	0.00	100.00
Total	22.00	35.00	0.00	57.00	15.00	29.00	0.00	44.00	3.00	5.00	0.00	8.00
%	38.60	61.40	0.00	100.00	34.09	65.91	0.00	100.00	37.50	62.50	0.00	100.00

	Graduate				Post Graduate				Professionals			
	SC	AR	CO	Total	SC	AR	CO	Total	SC	AR	CO	Total
M.Total	202.00	160.00	33.00	395.00	116.00	146.00	17.00	279.00	50.00	35.00	5.00	90.00
%	51.14	40.51	8.35	41.58	52.33	6.09	55.56	38.89	5.56			
F.Total	79.00	123.00	2.00	204.00	48.00	107.00	3.00	158.00	19.00	32.00	3.00	54.00
%	38.73	60.29	0.98	30.38	67.72	1.90	35.19	59.26	5.56			

TABLE A.6 MARRIAGE PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

Kind of Marriage	Female					Male				
	Home	Govt.	Self	Pvt.	Total	Home	Govt.	Self.	Pvt.	Total
<i>Service: IAS</i>										
Arranged	34.00	14.00		9.00	57.00	0.00	4.00		3.00	7.00
	59.65	24.56		15.79		0.00	57.14		42.86	
Non-Arranged	6.00	9.00		5.00	20.00	0.00	18.00		5.00	23.00
	30.00	45.00		25.00		0.00	78.26		21.74	
<i>Service: IPS</i>										
Arranged	34.00	8.00	4.00	8.00	54.00	0.00	8.00	4.00	8.00	20.00
	62.96	14.81	7.41	14.81		0.00	40.00	20.00	40.00	
Non-Arranged	1.00	1.00	1.00	2.00	5.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	2.00	4.00
	20.00	20.00	20.00	40.00		0.00	25.00	25.00	50.00	
<i>Service: Forest</i>										
Arranged	30.00	6.00	2.00	6.00	44.00	0.00	6.00	2.00	6.00	14.00
	68.18	13.64	4.55	13.64		0.00	42.86	14.29	42.86	
Non-Arranged	0.00	2.00	1.00	0.00	3.00	0.00	2.00	1.00	0.00	3.00
	0.00	66.67	33.33	0.00		0.00	66.67	33.33	0.00	
<i>Service: IFS</i>										
Arranged	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00
	50.00	0.00	50.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	100.00	0.00	
Non-Arranged	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
<i>Service: IRS (Income tax)</i>										
Arranged	39.00	6.00	5.00	7.00	57.00	1.00	6.00	5.00	7.00	19.00
	68.42	10.53	8.77	12.28		5.26	31.58	26.32	36.84	
Non-Arranged	3.00	2.00	1.00	0.00	6.00	0.00	2.00	1.00	0.00	3.00
	50.00	33.33	16.67	0.00		0.00	66.67	33.33	0.00	
<i>Service : IRS (Custom)</i>										
Arranged	54.00	5.00	5.00	3.00	67.00	1.00	5.00	5.00	3.00	14.00
	80.60	7.46	7.46	4.48		7.14	35.71	35.71	21.43	
Non-Arranged	2.00	4.00	1.00	1.00	8.00	0.00	4.00	1.00	1.00	6.00
	25.00	50.00	12.50	12.50		0.00	66.67	16.67	16.67	
<i>Service : IA&AS</i>										
Arranged	17.00	4.00	0.00	2.00	23.00	0.00	4.00	0.00	2.00	6.00
	73.91	17.39	0.00	8.70	0.00	66.67	0.00	33.33		
Non-Arranged	0.00	2.00	0.00	1.00	3.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	1.00	3.00
	0.00	66.67	0.00	33.33	0.00	66.67	0.00	33.33		
<i>Service : Postal</i>										
Arranged	11.00	2.00	0.00	1.00	14.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	1.00	3.00
	78.57	14.29	0.00	7.14		0.00	66.67	0.00	33.33	
Non-Arranged	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00
	50.00	0.00	50.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	100.00	0.00	
<i>Service : P&T</i>										
Arranged	14.00	1.00	2.00	0.00	17.00	0.00	1.00	2.00	0.00	3.00
	82.35	5.88	11.76	0.00		0.00	33.33	66.67	0.00	

(Contd)

TABLE A.6 (CONTD.)

Kind of Marriage	Female					Male				
	Home	Govt.	Self	Pvt.	Total	Home	Govt.	Self.	Pvt.	Total
Non-Arranged	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
	0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	
<i>Service : IDES</i>										
Arranged	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00						
Non-Arranged	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00						
<i>Service: IDAS</i>										
Arranged	21.00	4.00	1.00	5.00	31.00	0.00	4.00	1.00	5.00	10.00
	67.74	12.90	3.23	16.13		0.00	40.00	10.00	50.00	
Non-Arranged	0.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	2.00
	0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	
<i>Service : IRPS</i>										
Arranged	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
	0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	
Non-Arranged	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
<i>Service : IES</i>										
Arranged	3.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	5.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	2.00
	60.00	20.00	0.00	20.00		0.00	50.00	0.00	50.00	
Non-Arranged	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
<i>Service : IIS</i>										
Arranged	16.00	1.00	1.00	2.00	20.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	2.00	4.00
	80.00	5.00	5.00	10.00		0.00	25.00	25.00	50.00	
Non-Arranged	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00						
<i>Service: ISS</i>										
Arranged	12.00	2.00	0.00	1.00	15.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	1.00	3.00
	80.00	13.33	0.00	6.67		0.00	66.67	0.00	33.33	
Non-Arranged	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
	50.00	50.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	
<i>Service: CSS</i>										
Arranged	13.00	10.00	1.00	2.00	26.00	0.00	10.00	1.00	2.00	13.00
	50.00	38.46	3.85	7.69		0.00	76.92	7.69	15.38	
Non-Arranged	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
	0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	
Arranged	301.00	65.00	22.00	47.00	435.00	2.00	55.00	22.00	41.00	120.00
	69.20	14.94	5.06	10.80	88.78	1.67	45.83	18.33	34.17	71.43
Nonranged	16.00	25.00	5.00	9.00	55.00	0.00	34.00	5.00	9.00	48.00
	29.09	45.45	9.09	16.36	11.22	0.00	70.83	10.42	18.75	28.57
Grand Total	317.00	90.00	27.00	56.00	490.00	2.00	89.00	27.00	50.00	168.00
	64.69	18.37	5.51	11.43		1.19	52.98	16.07	29.76	

TABLE A.7 GENDER STEREOTYPING IN GENERAL

Services	Male			Female			Grand Total Male & Female		
	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
IPS	30.00	31.00	61.00	8.00	5.00	13.00	38.00	36.00	74.00
	49.18	50.82		61.54	38.46		51.35	48.65	
FOREST	30.00	19.00	49.00	10.00	0.00	10.00	40.00	19.00	59.00
	61.22	38.78		100.00	0.00		67.80	32.20	
IFS	0.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	6.00	10.00	4.00	10.00	14.00
	0.00	100.00		40.00	60.00		28.57	71.43	
IRS (Income Tax)	12.00	51.00	63.00	18.00	36.00	54.00	30.00	87.00	117.00
	19.05	80.95		33.33	66.67		25.64	74.36	
IRS (Custom)	17.00	66.00	83.00	10.00	9.00	19.00	27.00	75.00	102.00
	20.48	79.52		52.63	47.37		26.47	73.53	
IA&AS	0.00	28.00	28.00	1.00	3.00	4.00	1.00	31.00	32.00
	0.00	100.00		25.00	75.00		3.13	96.88	
POSTAL	1.00	15.00	16.00	6.00	40.00	46.00	7.00	55.00	62.00
	6.25	93.75		13.04	86.96		11.29	88.71	
P&T	4.00	14.00	18.00	1.00	13.00	14.00	5.00	27.00	32.00
	22.22	77.78		7.14	92.86		15.63	84.38	
IDES	0.00	3.00	3.00	1.00	4.00	5.00	1.00	7.00	8.00
	0.00	100.00		20.00	80.00		12.50	87.50	
IDAS	2.00	32.00	34.00	2.00	17.00	19.00	4.00	49.00	53.00
	5.88	94.12		10.53	89.47		7.55	92.45	
IRPS	0.00	1.00	1.00	3.00	5.00	8.00	3.00	6.00	9.00
	0.00	100.00		37.50	62.50		33.33	66.67	
IES	1.00	6.00	7.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	9.00	12.00
	14.29	85.71		40.00	60.00		25.00	75.00	
IIS	4.00	17.00	21.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	4.00	18.00	22.00
	19.05	80.95		0.00	100.00		18.18	81.82	
ISS	1.00	16.00	17.00	1.00	9.00	10.00	2.00	25.00	27.00
	5.88	94.12		10.00	90.00		7.41	92.59	
CSSS	6.00	22.00	28.00	0.00	4.00	4.00	6.00	26.00	32.00
	21.43	78.57		0.00	100.00		18.75	81.25	
Total	108.00	325.00	433.00	67.00	155.00	222.00	175.00	480.00	655.00
	24.94	75.06		30.18	69.82		26.72	73.28	

TABLE A.8 GENDER STEREOTYPING IN PARTICULAR

Services	Male			Female			Grand Total Male & Female		
	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
IPS	6.00	55.00	61.00	3.00	10.00	13.00	9.00	65.00	74.00
	9.84	90.16		23.08	76.92		12.16	87.84	
FOREST	12.00	37.00	49.00	2.00	8.00	10.00	14.00	45.00	59.00
	24.49	75.51		20.00	80.00		23.73	76.27	
IFS	0.00	4.00	4.00	0.00	10.00	10.00	0.00	14.00	14.00
	0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00	
IRS (Income Tax)	3.00	60.00	63.00	5.00	49.00	54.00	8.00	109.00	117.00
	4.76	95.24		9.26	90.74		6.84	93.16	
IRS (Custom)	3.00	80.00	83.00	3.00	16.00	19.00	6.00	96.00	102.00
	3.61	96.39		15.79	84.21		5.88	94.12	
IA&AS	1.00	27.00	28.00	0.00	4.00	4.00	1.00	31.00	32.00
	3.57	96.43		0.00	100.00		3.13	96.88	
POSTAL	1.00	15.00	16.00	2.00	44.00	46.00	3.00	59.00	62.00
	6.25	93.75		4.35	95.65		4.84	95.16	
P&T	0.00	18.00	18.00	0.00	14.00	14.00	0.00	32.00	32.00
	0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00	
IDES	0.00	3.00	3.00	0.00	5.00	5.00	0.00	8.00	8.00
	0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00	
IDAS	1.00	33.00	34.00	1.00	18.00	19.00	2.00	51.00	53.00
	2.94	97.06		5.26	94.74		3.77	96.23	
IRPS	0.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	8.00	8.00	0.00	9.00	9.00
	0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00	
IES	1.00	6.00	7.00	0.00	5.00	5.00	1.00	11.00	12.00
	14.29	85.71		0.00	100.00		8.33	91.67	
IIS	1.00	20.00	21.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	21.00	22.00
	4.76	95.24		0.00	100.00		4.55	95.45	
ISS	0.00	17.00	17.00	0.00	10.00	10.00	0.00	27.00	27.00
	0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00	
CSS	4.00	24.00	28.00	0.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	28.00	32.00
	14.29	85.71		0.00	100.00		12.50	87.50	
Total	33.00	400.00	433.00	16.00	206.00	222.00	49.00	606.00	655.00
	7.62	92.38		7.21	92.79		7.48	92.52	

TABLE A.9 SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Services	Male			Female			Grand Total Male & Female		
	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
IPS	14.00	47.00	61.00	5.00	8.00	13.00	19.00	55.00	74.00
	22.95	77.05		38.46	61.54		25.68	74.32	
FOREST	5.00	44.00	49.00	5.00	5.00	10.00	10.00	49.00	59.00
	10.20	89.80		50.00	50.00		16.95	83.05	
IFS	0.00	4.00	4.00	1.00	9.00	10.00	1.00	13.00	14.00
	0.00	100.00		10.00	90.00		7.14	92.86	
IRS (Income Tax)	1.00	62.00	63.00	8.00	46.00	54.00	9.00	108.00	117.00
	1.59	98.41		14.81	85.19		7.69	92.31	
IRS (Custom)	3.00	80.00	83.00	3.00	16.00	19.00	6.00	96.00	102.00
	3.61	96.39		15.79	84.21		5.88	94.12	
IA&AS	0.00	28.00	28.00	1.00	3.00	4.00	1.00	31.00	32.00
	0.00	100.00		25.00	75.00		3.13	96.88	
POSTAL	1.00	15.00	16.00	11.00	35.00	46.00	12.00	50.00	62.00
	6.25	93.75		23.91	76.09		19.35	80.65	
P&T	2.00	16.00	18.00	2.00	12.00	14.00	4.00	28.00	32.00
	11.11	88.89		14.29	85.71		12.50	87.50	
IDES	0.00	3.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	2.00	6.00	8.00
	0.00	100.00		40.00	60.00		25.00	75.00	
IDAS	0.00	34.00	34.00	2.00	17.00	19.00	2.00	51.00	53.00
	0.00	100.00		10.53	89.47		3.77	96.23	
IRPS	0.00	1.00	1.00	2.00	6.00	8.00	2.00	7.00	9.00
	0.00	100.00		25.00	75.00		22.22	77.78	
IES	0.00	7.00	7.00	0.00	5.00	5.00	0.00	12.00	12.00
	0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00	
IIS	1.00	20.00	21.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	21.00	22.00
	4.76	95.24		0.00	100.00		4.55	95.45	
ISS	0.00	17.00	17.00	4.00	6.00	10.00	4.00	23.00	27.00
	0.00	100.00		40.00	60.00		14.81	85.19	
CSS	2.00	26.00	28.00	2.00	2.00	4.00	4.00	28.00	32.00
	7.14	92.86		50.00	50.00		12.50	87.50	
Total	29.00	404.00	433.00	48.00	174.00	222.00	77.00	578.00	655.00
	6.70	93.30		21.62	78.38		11.76	88.24	

TABLE A.10 INFORMAL NETWORKS

Services	Male			Female			Grand Total Male & Female		
	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
IPS	24.00	37.00	61.00	11.00	2.00	13.00	35.00	39.00	74.00
	39.34	60.66		84.62	15.38		47.30	52.70	
FOREST	18.00	31.00	49.00	5.00	5.00	10.00	23.00	36.00	59.00
	36.73	63.27		50.00	50.00		38.98	61.02	
IFS	1.00	3.00	4.00	5.00	5.00	10.00	6.00	8.00	14.00
	25.00	75.00		50.00	50.00		42.86	57.14	
IRS (Income Tax)	23.00	40.00	63.00	26.00	28.00	54.00	49.00	68.00	117.00
	36.51	63.49		48.15	51.85		41.88	58.12	
IRS (Custom)	43.00	40.00	83.00	12.00	7.00	19.00	55.00	47.00	102.00
	51.81	48.19		63.16	36.84		53.92	46.08	
IA&AS	9.00	19.00	28.00	2.00	2.00	4.00	11.00	21.00	32.00
	32.14	67.86		50.00	50.00		34.38	65.63	
POSTAL	6.00	10.00	16.00	29.00	17.00	46.00	35.00	27.00	62.00
	37.50	62.50		63.04	36.96		56.45	43.55	
P&T	9.00	9.00	18.00	7.00	7.00	14.00	16.00	16.00	32.00
	50.00	50.00		50.00	50.00		50.00	50.00	
IDES	3.00	0.00	3.00	1.00	4.00	5.00	4.00	4.00	8.00
	100.00	0.00		20.00	80.00		50.00	50.00	
IDAS	13.00	21.00	34.00	10.00	9.00	19.00	23.00	30.00	53.00
	38.24	61.76		52.63	47.37		43.40	56.60	
IRPS	1.00	0.00	1.00	4.00	4.00	8.00	5.00	4.00	9.00
	100.00	0.00		50.00	50.00		55.56	44.44	
IES	1.00	6.00	7.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	9.00	12.00
	14.29	85.71		40.00	60.00		25.00	75.00	
IIS	11.00	10.00	21.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	11.00	11.00	22.00
	52.38	47.62		0.00	100.00		50.00	50.00	
ISS	7.00	10.00	17.00	5.00	5.00	10.00	12.00	15.00	27.00
	41.18	58.82		50.00	50.00		44.44	55.56	
CSS	20.00	8.00	28.00	3.00	1.00	4.00	23.00	9.00	32.00
	71.43	28.57		75.00	25.00		71.88	28.13	
Total	189.00	244.00	433.00	122.00	100.00	222.00	311.00	344.00	655.00
	43.65	56.35		54.95	45.05		47.48	52.52	

TABLE A.11 LEVELS OF OVERALL STRESS, STRESS IN THE WORK ARENA AND STRESS IN THE HOME ARENA

OVERALL STRESS	Stress Level						Total	W.Avg.
	0	1	2	3	4	5		
<i>CSS</i>								
Male	11 39.29	0 0	7 25	7 25	1 3.57	2 7.14	28	62.35
Female	0 0	2 50	1 25	1 25	0 0	0 0	4	85
<i>FOREST</i>								
Male	24 48.98	4 8.16	6 12.24	6 12.24	6 12.24	3 6.12	49	61.6
Female	2 20	1 10	0 0	6 60	1 10	0 0	10	62.5
<i>IA&AS</i>								
Male	14 50	0 0	6 21.43	6 21.43	1 3.57	1 3.57	28	64.29
Female	2 50	0 0	1 25	0 0	1 25	0 0	4	60
<i>IDAS</i>								
Male	16 47.06	1 2.94	8 23.53	9 26.47	0 0	0 0	34	71.11
Female	7 36.84	2 10.53	4 21.05	5 26.32	0 0	1 5.26	19	70
<i>IDEAS</i>								
Male	2 66.67	0 0	1 33.33	0 0	0 0	0 0	3	80
Female	1 20	1 20	2 40	0 0	1 20	0 0	5	75
<i>IES</i>								
Male	1 14.29	1 14.29	2 28.57	3 42.88	0 0	0 0	7	73.33
Female	1 20	0 0	0 0	3 60	0 0	1 20	5	50
<i>IFS</i>								
Male	1 25	1 25	2 50	0 0	0 0	0 0	4	86.67
Female	2 20	3 30	3 30	2 20	0 0	0 0	10	82.5
<i>IIS</i>								
Male	104 47.62	2 19.05	3 9.52	2 14.29	0 9.52	21 0	74.55	
Female	0 0	0 0	1 100	0 0	0 0	0 0	1	80
<i>INCOME TAX</i>								
Male	12 19.05	6 9.52	11 17.46	30 47.62	4 6.35	0 0	63	67.45
Female	17 31.48	3 5.56	17 31.48	15 27.78	1 1.85	1 1.85	54	70.81
<i>IPS</i>								
Male	23 37.7	4 6.56	10 16.39	17 27.87	6 9.54	1 1.64	61	65.26
Female	2 15.38	2 15.38	1 7.69	5 38.46	1 7.69	2 15.38	13	60

(Contd)

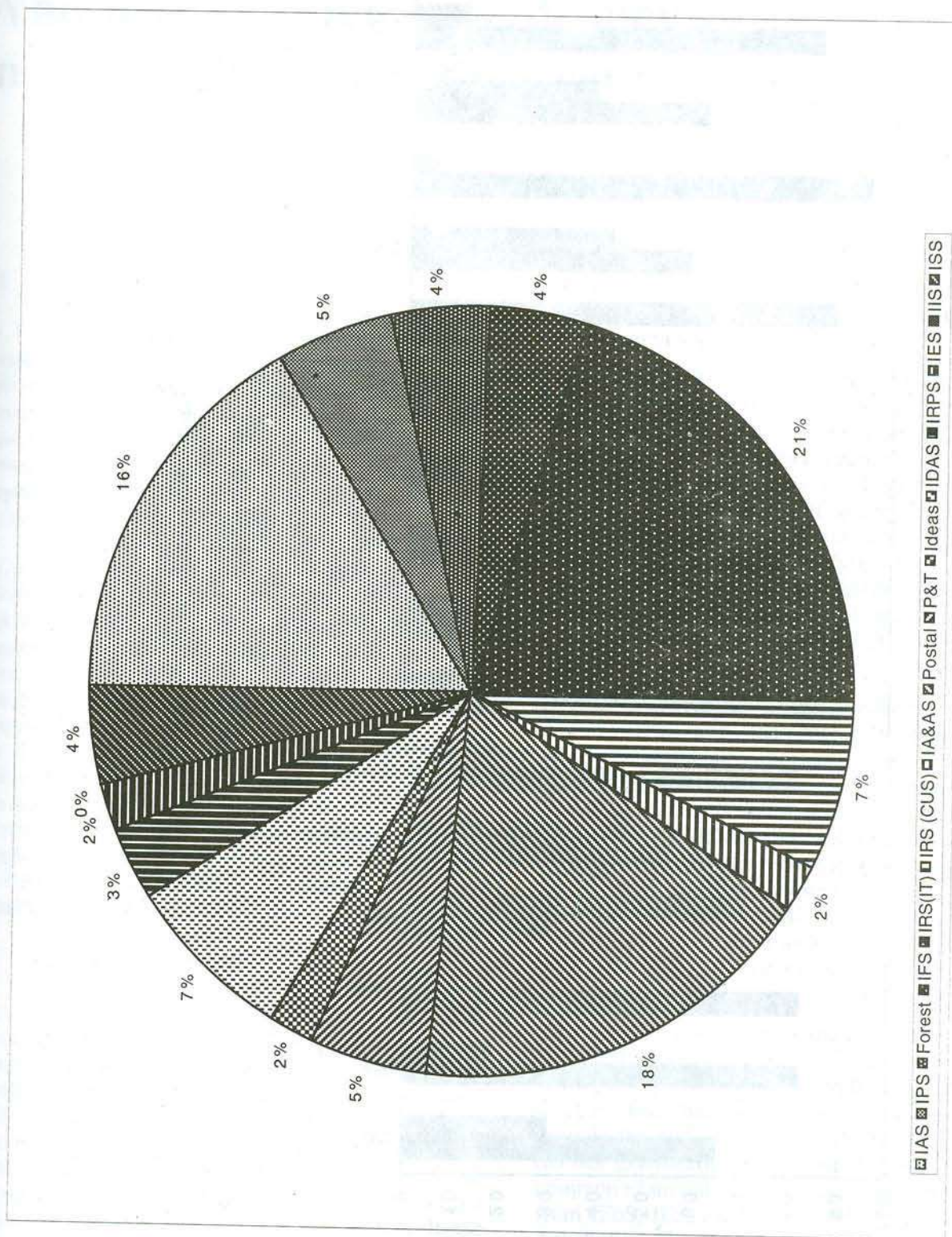


Figure 4 Service-wise Distribution of Female Responses

WORK ARENA

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R
<i>CSS</i>																		
Male	9	0	0	14	1	7	15	8	0	1	0	0	7	3	0	2	15	2
Female	0	0	0	2	1	2	2	3	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	1
<i>FOREST</i>																		
Male	38	0	0	23	9	22	15	4	0	0	0	0	9	1	0	1	16	9
Female	10	0	3	4	0	1	1	1	2	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	2	2
<i>IA&AS</i>																		
Male	20	2	2	12	4	9	9	6	0	0	0	0	2	4	0	2	10	2
Female	4	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	0
<i>IDAS</i>																		
Male	31	0	0	11	6	9	11	9	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	2	11	5
Female	28	0	0	8	1	2	6	2	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	1	6	2
<i>IDEAS</i>																		
Male	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	1
Female	4	0	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	3	1
<i>IES</i>																		
Male	2	0	0	4	2	2	1	3	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	0	2	0
Female	6	2	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	1
<i>IFS</i>																		
Male	8	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female	15	1	1	2	3	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	0
<i>IIS</i>																		
Male	18	0	0	11	3	4	7	3	0	1	1	0	4	2	0	0	8	1
Female	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>INC Tax</i>																		
Male	44	0	0	35	1	16	21	18	1	1	0	0	17	2	2	4	23	4
Female	31	4	5	25	9	11	10	11	2	0	4	0	13	1	0	2	31	7
<i>IPS</i>																		
Male	43	3	3	32	17	11	14	18	0	0	0	0	11	1	2	2	29	7
Female	4	0	2	8	3	3	4	2	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	1	8	0
<i>IRPS</i>																		
Male	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
Female	9	0	0	2	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	4	1
<i>IRS</i>																		
Male	72	2	1	39	10	17	21	19	0	0	0	0	19	6	2	2	28	11
Female	25	1	1	9	2	2	4	7	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	8	0
<i>ISS</i>																		
Male	13	0	0	5	2	4	7	6	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	2	5	1
Female	12	0	0	4	3	1	1	4	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	3	1
<i>P&T</i>																		
Male	5	0	0	10	4	9	8	3	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	1	5	2
Female	14	1	2	6	1	2	4	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	7	1
<i>POSTAL</i>																		
Male	11	0	0	6	5	4	5	2	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	1	9	1
Female	27	2	1	20	8	13	7	4	2	1	1	2	12	1	3	1	28	5
Total																		
Male	315	7	6	204	66	116	134	91	1	3	1	0	97	23	6	19	164	46
Female	192	12	19	95	33	39	48	39	7	1	6	2	44	7	5	0	109	22

Note: For coding of Stress Factors A to R see Annex 1 item 3.12.

HOME AND SOCIAL ARENA

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O
<i>CSS</i>															
Male	21	3	6	7	0	1	1	4	1	17	0	5	2	14	2
Female	5	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
<i>FOREST</i>															
Male	50	4	6	15	0	0	3	4	3	23	2	3	11	19	2
Female	12	0	1	4	0	1	3	1	4	2	0	2	0	1	0
<i>IA&AS</i>															
Male	20	5	2	13	2	1	3	5	3	6	1	1	6	14	2
Female	4	1	1	2	0	0	0	2	0	1	1	0	1	0	0
<i>IDAS</i>															
Male	47	2	5	5	0	0	3	4	4	10	1	2	4	14	1
Female	33	0	3	6	0	0	0	3	3	6	0	2	0	0	0
<i>IDEAS</i>															
Male	5	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0
Female	4	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	1	3	1	0	0	2	0
<i>IES</i>															
Male	3	0	2	1	0	1	0	2	1	0	1	4	2	4	0
Female	6	2	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
<i>IFS</i>															
Male	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Female	16	0	2	5	1	0	1	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	1
<i>IIS</i>															
Male	21	8	3	5	1	0	1	1	4	4	1	6	1	8	1
Female	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>INC Tax</i>															
Male	61	5	9	13	2	0	7	7	4	16	2	10	18	33	2
Female	42	6	19	34	2	1	7	4	3	25	2	2	5	6	4
<i>IPS</i>															
Male	79	5	12	14	0	1	1	7	5	29	0	8	3	18	1
Female	11	1	3	5	0	2	1	3	3	7	1	0	0	2	1
<i>IRPS</i>															
Male	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Female	9	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	3	4	0	1	1	1	0
<i>IRS</i>															
Male	111	3	7	24	2	3	6	5	3	24	3	8	14	29	7
Female	24	1	6	10	0	0	3	1	1	8	0	1	1	1	0
<i>ISS</i>															
Male	13	3	1	5	0	1	0	1	0	6	1	2	6	10	2
Female	9	2	1	5	0	1	0	2	2	5	0	1	0	1	1
<i>P&T</i>															
Male	13	3	4	9	0	0	1	2	1	5	1	2	4	8	1
Female	14	2	3	10	0	0	2	0	1	7	0	1	1	0	1
<i>POSTAL</i>															
Male	17	1	1	4	1	0	0	1	4	8	0	2	2	7	0
Female	30	2	15	30	2	2	4	4	11	20	4	4	4	3	2
Total															
Male	472	41	58	116	8	8	27	43	33	150	13	54	74	179	21
Female	222	18	60	120	5	7	22	23	24	92	10	14	13	18	10

Note: For coding of Stress Factors A to D see Annex 1, item 3.12.

TABLE A.12 HAVE YOU HAD ANY GENDER SENSITISATION?

Services	Male			Female			Grand Total Male & Female		
	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
IPS	10.00	51.00	61.00	6.00	7.00	13.00	16.00	58.00	74.00
	16.39	83.61		46.15	53.85		21.62	78.38	
FOREST	21.00	27.00	48.00	7.00	3.00	10.00	28.00	30.00	58.00
	43.75	56.25		70.00	30.00		48.28	51.72	
IFS	1.00	3.00	4.00	2.00	8.00	10.00	3.00	11.00	14.00
	25.00	75.00		20.00	80.00		21.43	78.57	
IRS (Income Tax)	3.00	60.00	63.00	3.00	51.00	54.00	6.00	111.00	117.00
	4.76	95.24		5.56	94.44		5.13	94.87	
IRS (Custom)	3.00	79.00	82.00	1.00	18.00	19.00	4.00	97.00	101.00
	3.66	96.34		5.26	94.74		3.96	96.04	
IA&AS	2.00	26.00	28.00	0.00	4.00	4.00	2.00	30.00	32.00
	7.14	92.86		0.00	100.00		6.25	93.75	
POSTAL	0.00	16.00	16.00	3.00	42.00	45.00	3.00	58.00	61.00
	0.00	100.00		6.67	93.33		4.92	95.08	
P&T	0.00	18.00	18.00	1.00	13.00	14.00	1.00	31.00	32.00
	0.00	100.00		7.14	92.86		3.13	96.88	
IDES	1.00	2.00	3.00	0.00	5.00	5.00	1.00	7.00	8.00
	33.33	66.67		0.00	100.00		12.50	87.50	
IDAS	2.00	32.00	34.00	0.00	19.00	19.00	2.00	51.00	53.00
	5.88	94.12		0.00	100.00		3.77	96.23	
IRPS	0.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	8.00	8.00	0.00	9.00	9.00
	0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00	
IES	1.00	6.00	7.00	0.00	5.00	5.00	1.00	11.00	12.00
	14.29	85.71		0.00	100.00		8.33	91.67	
IIS	1.00	20.00	21.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	21.00	22.00
	4.76	95.24		0.00	100.00		4.55	95.45	
ISS	2.00	15.00	17.00	1.00	9.00	10.00	3.00	24.00	27.00
	11.76	88.24		10.00	90.00		11.11	88.89	
CSS	4.00	24.00	28.00	1.00	3.00	4.00	5.00	27.00	32.00
	14.29	85.71		25.00	75.00		15.63	84.38	
Total	51.00	380.00	431.00	25.00	196.00	221.00	76.00	576.00	652.00
	11.83	88.17		11.31	88.69		11.66	88.34	

TABLE A.13 DO OFFICE FACILITIES MEET THE NEED?

Services	Male			Female			Grand Total Male & Female		
	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
IPS	42.00	19.00	61.00	5.00	8.00	13.00	47.00	27.00	74.00
	68.85	31.15		38.46	61.54		63.51	36.49	
FOREST	30.00	19.00	49.00	7.00	3.00	10.00	37.00	22.00	59.00
	61.22	38.78		70.00	30.00		62.71	37.29	
IFS	4.00	0.00	4.00	6.00	4.00	10.00	10.00	4.00	14.00
	100.00	0.00		60.00	40.00		71.43	28.57	
IRS (Income Tax)	48.00	15.00	63.00	33.00	21.00	54.00	81.00	36.00	117.00
	76.19	23.81		61.11	38.89		69.23	30.77	
IRS (Custom)	65.00	18.00	83.00	8.00	11.00	19.00	73.00	29.00	102.00
	78.31	21.69		42.11	57.89		71.57	28.43	
IA&AS	24.00	4.00	28.00	3.00	1.00	4.00	27.00	5.00	32.00
	85.71	14.29		75.00	25.00		84.38	15.63	
POSTAL	13.00	3.00	16.00	23.00	23.00	46.00	36.00	26.00	62.00
	81.25	18.75		50.00	50.00		58.06	41.94	
P&T	13.00	5.00	18.00	8.00	6.00	14.00	21.00	11.00	32.00
	72.22	27.78		57.14	42.86		65.63	34.38	
IDES	3.00	0.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	5.00	3.00	8.00
	100.00	0.00		40.00	60.00		62.50	37.50	
IDAS	29.00	5.00	34.00	13.00	6.00	19.00	42.00	11.00	53.00
	85.29	14.71		68.42	31.58		79.25	20.75	
IRPS	0.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	3.00	8.00	5.00	4.00	9.00
	0.00	100.00		62.50	37.50		55.56	44.44	
IES	7.00	0.00	7.00	4.00	1.00	5.00	11.00	1.00	12.00
	100.00	0.00		80.00	20.00		91.67	8.33	
IIS	19.00	2.00	21.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	20.00	2.00	22.00
	90.48	9.52		100.00	0.00		90.91	9.09	
ISS	15.00	2.00	17.00	7.00	3.00	10.00	22.00	5.00	27.00
	88.24	11.76		70.00	30.00		81.48	18.52	
CSS	26.00	2.00	28.00	3.00	1.00	4.00	29.00	3.00	32.00
	92.86	7.14		75.00	25.00		90.63	9.38	
Total	338.00	95.00	433.00	128.00	94.00	222.00	466.00	189.00	655.00
	78.06	21.94		57.66	42.34		71.15	28.85	

TABLE A.14 HAVE YOU WORKED WITH A FEMALE BOSS?

Services	Male			Female			Grand Total Male & Female		
	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
IPS	8.00	53.00	61.00	4.00	9.00	13.00	12.00	62.00	74.00
	13.11	86.89		30.77	69.23		16.22	83.78	
FOREST	5.00	44.00	49.00	5.00	5.00	10.00	10.00	49.00	59.00
	10.20	89.80		50.00	50.00		16.95	83.05	100.00
IFS	0.00	4.00	4.00	9.00	1.00	10.00	9.00	5.00	14.00
	0.00	100.00		90.00	10.00		64.29	35.71	
IRS (Income Tax)	33.00	30.00	63.00	28.00	26.00	54.00	61.00	56.00	117.00
	52.38	47.62		51.85	48.15		52.14	47.86	
IRS(Custom)	36.00	47.00	83.00	9.00	10.00	19.00	45.00	57.00	102.00
	43.37	56.63		47.37	52.63		44.12	55.88	
IA&AS	18.00	10.00	28.00	4.00	0.00	4.00	22.00	10.00	32.00
	64.29	35.71		100.00	0.00		68.75	31.25	
POSTAL	9.00	7.00	16.00	32.00	14.00	46.00	41.00	21.00	62.00
	56.25	43.75		69.57	30.43		66.13	33.87	
P&T	8.00	10.00	18.00	3.00	11.00	14.00	11.00	21.00	32.00
	44.44	55.56		21.43	78.57		34.38	65.63	
IDES	1.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	1.00	5.00	5.00	3.00	8.00
	33.33	66.67		80.00	20.00		62.50	37.50	
IDAS	30.00	4.00	34.00	12.00	7.00	19.00	42.00	11.00	53.00
	88.24	11.76		63.16	36.84		79.25	20.75	
IRPS	0.00	1.00	1.00	8.00	0.00	8.00	8.00	1.00	9.00
	0.00	100.00		100.00	0.00		88.89	11.11	
IES	3.00	4.00	7.00	0.00	5.00	5.00	3.00	9.00	12.00
	42.86	57.14		0.00	100.00		25.00	75.00	
IIS	17.00	4.00	21.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	17.00	5.00	22.00
	80.95	19.05		0.00	100.00		77.27	22.73	
ISS	5.00	12.00	17.00	4.00	6.00	10.00	9.00	18.00	27.00
	29.41	70.59		40.00	60.00		33.33	66.67	
CSS	24.00	4.00	28.00	3.00	1.00	4.00	27.00	5.00	32.00
	85.71	14.29		75.00	25.00		84.38	15.63	
Total	197.00	236.00	433.00	125.00	97.00	222.00	322.00	333.00	655.00
	45.50	54.50		56.31	43.69		49.16	50.84	

TABLE A.15 TYPE OF FAMILY

Services	Male			Female			Grand Total Male & Female		
	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
IPS	0.00	38.00	38.00	0.00	11.00	11.00	0.00	49.00	49.00
	0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00	
FOREST	0.00	25.00	25.00	0.00	7.00	7.00	0.00	32.00	32.00
	0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00	
IFS	0.00	4.00	4.00	0.00	7.00	7.00	0.00	11.00	11.00
	0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00	
IRS (Income Tax)	0.00	41.00	41.00	0.00	40.00	40.00	0.00	81.00	81.00
	0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00	
IRS (Custom)	0.00	56.00	56.00	0.00	15.00	15.00	0.00	71.00	71.00
	0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00	
IA&AS	0.00	16.00	16.00	0.00	3.00	3.00	0.00	19.00	19.00
	0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00	
POSTAL	0.00	14.00	14.00	0.00	24.00	24.00	0.00	38.00	38.00
	0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00	
P&T	0.00	14.00	14.00	0.00	11.00	11.00	0.00	25.00	25.00
	0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00	
IDES	0.00	2.00	2.00	0.00	4.00	4.00	0.00	6.00	6.00
	0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00	
IDAS	0.00	21.00	21.00	0.00	12.00	12.00	0.00	33.00	33.00
	0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00	
IRPS	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.00	4.00	0.00	4.00	4.00
				0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00	
IES	0.00	3.00	3.00	0.00	4.00	4.00	0.00	7.00	7.00
	0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00	
IIS	0.00	13.00	13.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	13.00	13.00
	0.00	100.00					0.00	100.00	
ISS	0.00	11.00	11.00	0.00	3.00	3.00	0.00	14.00	14.00
	0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00	
CSS	0.00	20.00	20.00	0.00	3.00	3.00	0.00	23.00	23.00
	0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00	
Total	0.00	278.00	278.00	0.00	148.00	148.00	0.00	426.00	426.00
	0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00		0.00	100.00	

TABLE A.16 DOMESTIC HELP

Services	Male			Female			Grand Total Male & Female		
	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
IPS	54.00	7.00	61.00	13.00	0.00	13.00	67.00	7.00	74.00
	88.52	11.48		100.00	0.00		90.54	9.46	
FOREST	38.00	11.00	49.00	7.00	3.00	10.00	45.00	14.00	59.00
	77.55	22.45		70.00	30.00		76.27	23.73	
IFS	4.00	0.00	4.00	9.00	1.00	10.00	13.00	1.00	14.00
	100.00	0.00		90.00	10.00		92.86	7.14	
IRS (Income Tax)	54.00	9.00	63.00	50.00	4.00	54.00	104.00	13.00	117.00
	85.71	14.29		92.59	7.41		88.89	11.11	
IRS (Custom)	60.00	23.00	83.00	14.00	5.00	19.00	74.00	28.00	102.00
	72.29	27.71		73.68	26.32		72.55	27.45	
IA&AS	14.00	14.00	28.00	4.00	0.00	4.00	18.00	14.00	32.00
	50.00	50.00		100.00	0.00		56.25	43.75	
POSTAL	14.00	1.00	15.00	41.00	5.00	46.00	55.00	6.00	61.00
	93.33	6.67		89.13	10.87		90.16	9.84	
P&T	8.00	10.00	18.00	12.00	2.00	14.00	20.00	12.00	32.00
	44.44	55.56		85.71	14.29		62.50	37.50	
IDES	3.00	0.00	3.00	5.00	0.00	5.00	8.00	0.00	8.00
	100.00	0.00		100.00	0.00		100.00	0.00	
IDAS	22.00	12.00	34.00	15.00	4.00	19.00	37.00	16.00	53.00
	64.71	35.29		78.95	21.05		69.81	30.19	
IRPS	1.00	0.00	1.00	8.00	0.00	8.00	9.00	0.00	9.00
	100.00	0.00		100.00	0.00		100.00	0.00	
IES	7.00	0.00	7.00	4.00	1.00	5.00	11.00	1.00	12.00
	100.00	0.00		80.00	20.00		91.67	8.33	
IIS	16.00	5.00	21.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	17.00	5.00	22.00
	76.19	23.81		100.00	0.00		77.27	22.73	
ISS	10.00	7.00	17.00	9.00	1.00	10.00	19.00	8.00	27.00
	58.82	41.18		90.00	10.00		70.37	29.63	
CSS	21.00	7.00	28.00	4.00	0.00	4.00	25.00	7.00	32.00
	75.00	25.00		100.00	0.00		78.13	21.88	
Total	326.00	106.00	432.00	196.00	26.00	222.00	522.00	132.00	654.00
	75.46	24.54		88.29	11.71		79.82	20.18	

Annex I

Questionnaire*—General

Serial No.

Please **circle** your answers

1. GENERAL

1.1 Service/Dept./Org:

1.2 Year of entry into service:

DD[]

MM[]

YY[]

1.3 Home State:

1.4 Sex:

[Male]

[Female]

1.5 Date of Birth:

DD[]

MM[]

YY[]

1.6 Kindly indicate if:

[SC] [ST]

[OBC]

[General]

1.6a Religion:

1.7 Marital Status:

[Married]

[Single]

[Widowed]

[Divorced]

[Other]

1.8 If married, did you have an arranged marriage?

[Yes]

[No]

1.9 Occupation of Spouse:

[Government Service]

[Private Sector]

[In the Home]

[Self-Employed]

1.10 Number of children:

Male:

Female:

Age:

1.11 Level of education completed:

(a) By your father

(b) By your mother

*This questionnaire has been developed by the Gender Studies Unit at Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration. An earlier version of this questionnaire was developed and used by the Gender Studies Unit at LBSNAA to examine gender issues in the IAS.

1.12 Occupation:

- (a) Of your father
- (b) Of your mother

1.13 Annual income at the time of your entry into government:

- (a) Of your father
- (b) Of your mother

1.14 Number of siblings:

- (a) Brothers
- (b) Sisters

For AIS only

1.15 Allotted Cadre:

1.16 Was the above cadre the one that was originally allotted to you? If not, then please indicate the reason for the change.

[Marriage] [Health] [Other] (please specify)

1.17 Do you feel that cadre change should be allowed for women whose spouses are not in the civil services, but whose jobs require them to be located in particular place? (provided that the cadre change is not to the home state). Has this in any way been an issue in your own life?

2. EDUCATION

2.1 Please give details of your education, including any additional qualifications in the following table beginning with school leaving.

Year From/To	School/College (Name and Location)	Subjects	Co-Ed(CE)*/ Single Sex (SS)		Rural (R)/ Urban (U)		Type**		Med. of Instr.***		
			CE	SS	R	U	G	P	E	H	R
			CE	SS	R	U	G	P	E	H	R
			CE	SS	R	U	G	P	E	H	R
			CE	SS	R	U	G	P	E	H	R
			CE	SS	R	U	G	P	E	H	R
			CE	SS	R	U	G	P	E	H	R

*Co-educational School (CE)

**Type-G (Government School)
P (Private School)

***Medium of Instruction-

E (English)

H (Hindi)

R (Regional language)

3. SERVICE

A. Posts Held

3.1 Please list the details of your service, using the back of the sheet if necessary. Please note:

- The **Major Posts Held** since entry into the service (only those posts held for one year or longer.)
- The **Dates** that the post was held
- The **Level of Satisfaction** with this post on a scale of 1 - 5

(1 = Least Satisfied, 5 = Most Satisfied)

Post Held	Dates (Approx.)		Level of Satisfaction				
	From	To	1	2	3	4	5
			1	2	3	4	5
			1	2	3	4	5
			1	2	3	4	5
			1	2	3	4	5
			1	2	3	4	5
			1	2	3	4	5
			1	2	3	4	5
			1	2	3	4	5
			1	2	3	4	5
			1	2	3	4	5
			1	2	3	4	5
			1	2	3	4	5
			1	2	3	4	5
			1	2	3	4	5

3.2 Please state the total number of posts you have held since entry into the service:

3.3 What were your 3 main motivations for joining the service? Please indicate 1,2 and 3 in order of priority.

Status
Security of job
Financial reasons

Social service
Pressure from family
Any other (please specify)

34. At the time of entering government what were your top three choices in terms of (1) career (2) services?

Career

Services

3.5 Do you feel there is gender stereotyping in the nature of posts in your department/service/org held by men/women?
(i.e. are certain types of posts only given to men or women)?

(a) In general? [Yes] [No]

(b) For you personally? [Yes] [No]

3.6 What posts/departments/ministries/offices/divisions (please list) are typically given.

to men?

(Centre/State as applicable)

women?

(Centre/State as applicable)

B. Gender Issues in the Workplace

3.7 Have you experienced your gender as an advantage (Adv) or a disadvantage (DisAdv)? Please cite specific examples.
[Attach additional sheets if necessary]

(i) In your career?

Adv:

DisAdv:

(ii) In your relationships with superiors/subordinates?

Adv:

DisAdv:

(iii) In your relationships with members of public/elected representative?

Adv:

DisAdv:

3.8 Do you feel that there is a glass ceiling in job opportunities for men and women? (i.e. is there an invisible, but nonetheless very real barrier beyond which it is impossible to rise to a position of greater power)? If yes, what are the situations in which they operate? [please list]

(a) For men?

(b) For women?

3.9 Do you feel that your professional potential is being fully utilised?

3.10 Do you feel that informal networks (i.e. sports and leisure activities, old college networks, etc. which create links between officers across levels) have different impacts on men and women's careers?

(i) In general? [Yes] [No]

(ii) For you personally? (please cite examples)

3.11 Do you believe, that sexual harassment (in terms of both mental and physical harassment on the basis of gender) is a problem in your service/organisation/department?

Yes

No

3.11a If yes, are you aware of or have you had any such experience personally? Could you kindly describe the situation.

3.12 (i) From the following list of stress factors, please tick (not more than 3 in each category) which are applicable to you. Please also indicate overall level on a scale of 1-5.

e.g.: Earning more/less than spouse (on a scale of 1-5). 3 (this would indicate the level of stress)

STRESS FACTORS

Work Arena

- A Insecurity related to frequent travel
- B Lack of same sex role models
- C Sex stereotyping and role imposition
- D Performance pressure
- E Pressure associated with being the "boss"
- F Strain of managing/supervising people
- G Stress of disciplining subordinates
- H Rate of pay
- I Sex discrimination and prejudice
- J Difficulty working with colleagues of the opposite sex
- K Feeling uncomfortable on training courses when a member of the minority sex
- L Sexual harassment
- M Lack of encouragement from superiors
- N Lack of social support from colleagues
- O Lack of confidence
- P Unable to cope well in conflict situations
- Q Insufficient time for ones personal needs
- R Attitude of boss/colleagues towards your stress

Home and Social Arena

- A Earning more/less than spouse
- B Dependents (other than children) living at home
- C Lack of domestic support
- D Conflicting responsibilities associated with running a home and career
- E Being single and labelled an "odddity"
- F Being single and being excluded from social and business events
- G Pressures surrounding marriage
- H Lack of emotional support at home
- I Separation from spouse/family
- J Guilt about insufficient attention to children
- K Psychological stress (death, divorce/separation)
- L Health/addiction related problems within family
- M Looking after aged parents
- N Financial stress
- O Any other (please specify)

(ii) How would you rate your overall level of stress?
(1=lowest, 5=highest)

[1] [2] [3] [4] [5]

3.13 Have you worked with a female boss?

Yes No

3.13a In general, what have been your experiences in working with male/ female bosses (as applicable).

Male

Female

3.14 As a boss, do you find it easier to work with subordinates of the same sex or the opposite sex? Kindly elaborate.

3.15 Do you feel that your office facilities meet the needs of men and women equally?

(i) [Yes] [No]

(ii) If not, which areas require attention?

3.16a How do the rules and practices of government adversely affect your personal life?

Rule/Practice

Adverse Effect

3.16b How do the rules and practices of government adversely affect your work situation?

Rule/Practice

Adverse Effect

3.17 What kinds of government interventions need to be made to improve personal life/work situations of government employees?

3.18 Have you had any gender sensitisation training during your career?

[Yes]

[No]

3.19 At what stage do you feel it is necessary?

C. Gender Issues In the Family

3.20 Type of family: [Nuclear] [Joint] [Other please specify]

3.21 Presently, in a typical working day, how much time (in minutes/ hours) would you estimate that you and your spouse spend on the following activities:

<i>Activity</i>	<i>Time Spent By You</i>	<i>Time Spent By Your Spouse</i>	<i>Time Spent By Other (Specify)</i>
(a) Household chores			
(b) Time with children			
(c) Time spent for dependents			
(d) Sports/leisure activity			
(e) Personal/Family affairs			
(f) Socialising (for official reasons) and membership of Prof. org			
(g) Socialising (with family and friends) including social clubs etc.			
(h) Office work			

3.22 (i) Do you have domestic help? [Yes] [No]

(ii) If yes, please list number of:

Full time - []

Part time - []

3.23 If any member of your family (e.g. child) falls ill, who normally takes care of the child?

[You] [Your Spouse] [Other (please explain)]

3.24 How often do you have time for extra curricular activities?

[Daily] [Twice/thrice] [Several times a month]

[Not at all/infrequently]

3.25 What kinds of extra curricular activities do you normally engage in?

- ☐ Sports/Physical activities
- ☐ Other hobbies (gardening, painting, music, etc.)
- ☐ Cultural activities
- ☐ Any other

3.26 If a single parent, can you please describe specific problems peculiar to your situation.

3.27 Have personal/family considerations stood in the way of your career goals? If yes, please list the **Personal/Family Consideration** and the **Career Goal** affected.

Personal/Family Consideration

Career Goal

Annex II

Questionnaire—For Cadre Controlling Authorities

1. Name of Service/Department

2. Number of men and women on 31-12-96 in the concerned service/cadre of dept.

Male

Female

3. With respect to "2" above, please indicate year-wise break- up of annual intake of men and women.

Year	Male	Female
1961		
1962		
1963		
1964		
1965		
1966		
1967		
1968		
1969		
1970		
1971		
1972		
1973		
1974		
1975		
1976		
1977		
1978		

Year	Male	Female
1979		
1980		
1981		
1982		
1983		
1984		
1985		
1986		
1987		
1988		
1989		
1990		
1991		
1992		
1993		
1994		
1995		
1996		

4. In which year was the first woman appointed in your service?

5. If after initial constitution, what reason or combination of reasons can explain intake at a later stage [for example, can it be attributed to change of rules; attitudes etc.]

6. Do you feel that recruitment rules/processes are equally favourable for men or women?

[Yes]

[No]

7. If no, please specify the reasons.

8.1 Would the service you control benefit from having more women officers?

[Yes]

[No]

Please elaborate:

8.2 If yes, do you feel there should be reservation for women officers?

For AIS only

9. Please indicate cadre- wise distribution of officers:

Cadre	Male	Female
A-M		
AGMUT		
AP		
BIHAR		
HAR		
HP		
J&K		
KER		
KTK		
MAH		
MANIPUR		
MP		
NAG		
ORI		
PUN		
RAJ		
SIK		
TN		
TRIPURA		
UP		
WB		
GUJ		

10. Do you feel that cadre change should be allowed for women whose spouses are not in the civil services, but whose jobs require them to be located in a particular place (provided that the cadre change is not to the home state)?
11. Do you feel that men and women have equal opportunity for all posts/promotions in your service/department? (i.e. whether certain types of posts are only given to men or women)

12. If not, what posts in your department are typically given:

to men?

to women?

13. While sponsoring men and women for training is there a proportionate representation of men and women for training:

- (a) Within the country: [Yes] [No]
 (b) Foreign: [Yes] [No]

If not, what are the reasons?

14. Are the rules and practices which govern the functioning of the service equally favourable to men and women?

[Yes]

[No]

- (i) If no, could you kindly cite those which adversely affect men or women in their:

Work Situation

Rules/Practices

Adverse Effect

Personal Life

Rules/Practices

Adverse Effect

15. Do you feel that there is a glass ceiling in job opportunities for men and women? (i.e. is there an invisible, but nonetheless very real barrier beyond which it is impossible to rise to a position of greater power)? If yes, what are the situations in which they operate? [please list]

- (a) For men?

- (b) For women?

16. Do you feel that office facilities that are normally provided in your service/department meet the needs of men and women equally?

- (i) [Yes] [No]

- (ii) If not, which areas require attention?

17. As cadre controlling authority of cadre/service, in terms of disciplinary inquiries/proceeding against officers, please indicate if cases instituted/pending against officers are proportionate to the number of men/women in the service: (please mark the box which is applicable to you)

Proportionate
 Greater for women
 Greater for men

Can any pattern be extrapolated regarding the nature of cases:

For men:

For women:

18.1 Do you believe that sexual harassment (in terms of both mental and physical harassment on the basis of gender) is a problem in your department?

[Yes]

[No]

18.2 Are you aware of any instances in your department? Could you kindly elaborate (no names need to be mentioned).

19. Do you feel that informal networks (i.e. sports and leisure activities, old college networks, etc. which create links between officers across levels) have different impacts on men and women's careers?

[Yes]

[No]

20.1 As a service do you feel that working is stressful for officers in general?

[Yes]

[No]

20.2 If yes, than is it more stressful for men or women and why?

21. What kind of government interventions need to be made to improve personal life/work situations of government employees?

Male

Female