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Indian Businesswomen: Measuring Success

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PACE UNIVERSITY

Indian Businesswomen:

Measuring Success

Andrea Carlson

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Indian Businesswomen: Measuring Success

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Pace University

Lubin School of Business

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ABSTRACT

The status of women in India has improved in recent years, but compared to the decreasing levels of gender disparity in employment throughout parts of the world, limited numbers of women in India find themselves able to access professional business positions. The following research paper explores the status of women in India's business world and explains how factors of their history, upbringing, and culture influence the success of Indian women. An analysis of Indian history, specific case studies, and a comparison of the inequality in business in the United States and India provide the background for the concluding recommendations regarding ways in which we can encourage increased success of India's businesswomen.

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INTRODUCTION

The oppression and plight of Indian women are relatively well-known and discussed topics, but people do not often consider how this oppression translates into India's business world. On one hand, there has been a relatively recent increase in the number of women holding key positions in India's business industry. Today some of India's businesswomen are among the richest and most successful in the world. On the other hand, the number of successful Indian businesswomen is still painfully low. India's glaringly low numbers make much of the world look advanced. Worldwide, women hold around ten percent of senior management positions in Fortune 500 companies compared to women holding only 3-5.8 percent of all administrative positions in India (Bhatnagar, Budhwar, & Saini, p. 179-180).

First, a brief history on the status of women in India will provide the reader with some background, followed by a brief discussion of business inequalities in the United States and India. Next, there will be case studies of successful Indian businesswomen and entrepreneurs, including Kiran Mazumdar-Shaw, Indra Nooyi, and Chanda Kochhar. Then, I will investigate the factors which contribute to the successes of some Indian women and seek to explain why many of these same factors may prove detrimental to others. It is beyond the scope of this paper to provide an exhaustive study on such factors, but I will attempt to determine what has caused such a looming gap between India's thriving and India's ravished by analyzing cultural, historical, regional, economic, academic, religious, and familial factors. I will explain how some Indian women have become very successful while other Indian women remain among the poorest in the world. Lastly, I will explore what else may be done to increase the number of women who hold positions of power in India's business world. I will look into what has caused the trend so far and will investigate how we may work to ensure the continuation of that trend until we have an equal representation of men and women in the international business world.

HISTORY OF WOMEN IN INDIA

Though women in India have come far in the world of business, it would be impossible to illustrate their success without providing background on their changing status throughout history. The history of Indian women is not simple. As Jayapalan states,

the Gandhian era and the decades after independence have seen tremendous changes in the status and the position of the women in Indian Society. The Constitution has laid down as a fundamental right the equality of the sexes. But the change from a position of utter degradation of women in the nineteenth century to a position of equality in the middle of the twentieth century is not a simple case of the progress of men in the modern era. The position of women in the Indian Society has been a very complicated one. (Jayapalan, p. 80)

VEDIC PERIOD

Women in India have gone through alternating stages of oppression and liberation throughout history. Surprising to the western mind, in ancient India, women likely enjoyed equal status with men.

Chattopadhyaya notes that:

...scholarly studies by researchers tell us that the women in the ancient times, from the Vedic period, that is, 2500 B.C. to 1500 B.C., enjoyed equal status with men in every field such as political, social, economic and religious. They were treated with dignity and respect. The prejudices and discrimination against the birth of a female child were unknown. A girl was equally welcome. Women's education was then a routine part of their daily life. (Chattopadhyaya, p. 9)

There was no reason for women to be seen as unequal, and thus women received education alongside men. Like today, in ancient India there was a correlation between education and professional success. Some women are remembered to this day as being successful rulers and queens, seers and sages during the Vedic period. Apala, Ghosh, and Visvavara were female scholars, philosophers, and sages of the era, held in high esteem (Kant, p. 29). Approximately ten hymns from the *Rig Veda* have been accredited to female seer and philosopher Maitreyi (Perumalil, p. 10), and Gargi was "one of the few ancient Indian female philosophers whose names are mentioned in the ancient Vedic texts" (p. 7).

ARYAN PERIOD

At some point there was a switch from women being respected to degraded. Chattopadhyaya says that “the later Aryan period after 300 B.C., marked by the curtailment of freedom for women, also saw the rise of rigid social divisions such as castes” (Chattopadhyaya, p. 17). The inception of the caste system made it so that your birthright determined who you would become, and with this came the degradation of women along with the removal of the freedom and equality they had once enjoyed. Women were no longer allowed the education which is often required for success. What is particularly disturbing about this is that none of the ancient writings supported this movement restricting women’s power. Writings which had great historical importance to the people were misinterpreted and revised in order to support the new movement. Suddenly, entirely new sections in the writings appeared which looked as though they had been written by the original scholars. Due to their authentic appearance, they were obeyed. In reality, society was constructing an entirely new way of living. As Chattopadhyaya writes:

The freedom enjoyed by women began to contract and ancient texts came to be tortured out of their original context to support the new social pattern now forced into use. Many perverse new customs were thus introduced into society by interpolating whole new passages into the original shastric texts and epics, posed as emanating from learned, respected leaders...the injunctions quoted now as ancient are obviously foreign to the customs of the time they are related to. For they refer to women in the most disparaging terms. The several reprehensible measures were surreptitiously mixed with the old texts, to get religious sanction for degrading women’s status. (Chattopadhyaya, p. 18)

The entire purpose of the woman’s life became marriage and procreation. From this came the horrors of polygamy, child marriage, and being burned alive on the pyre next to her deceased husband.

GANDHI’S INFLUENCE

Mohandas Gandhi has had massive influence on India’s culture, and therefore his perspectives on the roles of women must be considered for their impact. While most would like to credit Gandhi with

breaking the barriers to female participation in the struggle for independence from Britain, his views were in fact quite treacherous to women's struggle for equality. He simultaneously encouraged their active participation in the freedom struggle and "campaigned vigorously for women's legal and political rights" (Cortright, p. 170) while remaining patronizing and domineering in his insistence that women belonged in the home and not in the professional workplace. It has been insightfully stated by American peace activist Gene Sharp that "we can enrich Gandhianism by incorporating the insights of feminism" (p. 180).

Gandhi fought "against the rigid and often-cruel patriarchal customs of traditional Hinduism...[He] accepted women as political equals", as equal to men, and as "possessing an independent free will...He rejected the traditional view of women as sex objects and subordinates to their husbands" (p. 168) and worked to free "women from the bondage of traditionally prescribed roles" (p. 169). Gandhi actively performed customarily feminine tasks and sought to heighten the value of traditionally feminine traits by teaching men to "cultivate the gentleness and the discrimination of women" (p. 170). For these reasons he must be revered.

Reverence, however, must not exist without thorough understanding of an issue. Although "Gandhi espoused greater political independence for women...he saw a more limited social role for women" (Cortright, p. 170). He believed that "training women for the professions and employment outside the home was anathema" (p. 171) and sought to confine them to serving their families. He believed that "if women go out to work, our social life will be ruined and moral standards will decline" (p. 171). In the 1920's, when he said these things, he had a vast following of people who lived by the words he spoke. Although he has since been criticized for his limited understanding of the roles and capabilities of women, at the time his influence likely increased animosity toward women in the household and enforced their gender roles.

PRESENT TIME

The greatest changes to the fight for women's equality came post-independence. The Indian constitution now contains a number of articles which ensure equality for women. Although equality has still not been achieved, legislation has attempted to give women equal rights. Sivakumar discusses such legislature which includes Articles 14, 15, 16, 34, and 39, and the 73rd and 74th Amendments. These ensure equality and equal protection under the law, no discrimination on the basis of sex, equal opportunity in employment by the state, maternity relief, equal rights to adequate means of livelihood, equal pay, and at least one third of political seats guaranteed for women (Sivakumar).

It is important for us to try to learn from this history. If women's rights have been given and rescinded with such ease throughout history, there is no guarantee that it could not happen again. There is still discrimination and hostility toward women which means there is still the possibility for women's rights to be taken away instead of increased. Let us learn from history so that we may continue to work in the right direction.

INEQUALITY IN BUSINESS IN THE UNITED STATES

Although women are working towards equality in many aspects of life, drastic levels of inequality still exist in business across the world, including in the United States. In Fortune magazine's rating of the 25 highest-paid women and the 25 highest-paid men there is an alarming difference. Number one on the women's list is Ms. Safra Catz, President and CFO of Oracle Corporation, who received compensation of \$42.1 million in 2010. This looks impressive until you compare her compensation to the highest-paid male, Mr. Philippe Dauman, President and CEO of Viacom, Inc., who received compensation of \$84.5 million in 2010 (CNNMoney.com, 2010). Gender is not the only explanation for this gap, but one cannot help but notice its prevalence. It is possible that the faults lie partially with the corporation itself. If a woman had the opportunity to head up Viacom, Inc., perhaps

her salary would exceed that of the highest-paid man. Possibly she would still make less because of her gender, as we see often.

Harvard Business Review reporters Nancy Carter and Christine Silva stated that “women reported lower first salaries than men, and that cannot be neatly blamed on the fact that they started at lower levels. Controlling for job levels and industry, we still found that women made, on average, \$4,600 less in their initial positions” (Carter & Silva). In addition, Carter and Silva note that:

...women represent just 3% of Fortune 500 CEOs and less than 15% of corporate executives at top companies worldwide...New research by our firm, Catalyst, shows that among graduates of elite MBA programs around the world...women continue to lag men at every single career stage, right from their first professional jobs. Reports of progress in advancement, compensation, and career satisfaction are at best overstated, at worst just plain wrong. (Carter & Silva)

Time Magazine confirms this report by saying that “U.S. women still earned only 77 cents on the male dollar in 2008, according to the latest census statistics. (That number drops to 68% for African-American women and 58% for Latinas)” (Fitzpatrick). Elaborating, Fitzpatrick says that this difference:

...does not account for individual differences between workers. Once you control for factors like education and experience...women's earnings rise to 81% of men's. Factor in occupation, industry and whether they belong to a union, and they jump to 91%. That is partly because women tend to cluster in lower-paying fields. The most-educated swath of women, for example, gravitate toward the teaching and nursing fields. Men with comparable education become business executives, scientists, doctors and lawyers — jobs that pay significantly more. (Fitzpatrick)

Factoring in these differences indicates that the women most qualified for business careers are less educated, have less experience, or work in different occupations and industries than men, often in jobs and industries that pay less. This in and of itself is cause for investigation into why women are falling victim to these inequalities.

The Board of Director positions at the “Big Four” banks in the United States show limited representation of women, ranging from 15-32 percent (Table 1). The United States’ largest bank, Bank of America, has two out of thirteen female Board Members. JPMorgan Chase & Co. has two females out of twelve. Citi Group has three women out of twelve Board Members, and Wells Fargo has five out of

sixteen female Board Members. The eight largest corporations in the United States (CNNMoney.com, 2011) have better female representation on their Board of Directors than the largest eight in India, but the numbers are still strikingly low, ranging from 7-34 percent (Table 2). Walmart, the largest corporation in the world, has three female Board Members out of fifteen. Exxon Mobile has two out of twelve female Board Members, while Chevron has only one out of thirteen. Conoco Phillips has three women out of fourteen Board Members, while fifth ranked Fannie Mae has two females out of ten. Four out of sixteen of General Electric's Board Members are female, as are two out of the twelve at Berkshire Hathaway. Finally, General Motors boasts the highest percentage among the top eight with four out of twelve female Board Members. This is an important analysis because Board Members are generally selected for their status as successful businesspeople and stakeholders. If women are not holding their share of Board Member positions, this is likely due to their limited representation and success in business overall.

INEQUALITY IN BUSINESS IN INDIA

In his paper investigating *Gender Discrimination and Women's Development in India*, Sivakumar states that "females are nearly 50 percent of the population but their representation in public life is very low." Although this statement is true internationally, India is an extremely compelling example:

At present, women in India comprise approximately 31 percent of the official workforce...However, their representation in management is low. Globally, women comprise around 10 percent of senior management positions...In India, their presence is known to range between a high of 5.8 percent to a low of roughly 3 percent of all administrative positions. They can be seen mainly in HR, IT and servicing activities. (Bhatnagar, Budhwar, & Saini, p. 179-180)

Ten percent is a painfully low number of women in senior management internationally, and Jyotsna Bhatnagar, Pawan Budhwar, and Debi Saini elaborate that this number is high for India. Some countries are far more accepting to women in business. As frustrating as it may be, and although equality may seem an impossible goal, this evaluation does give us a starting point. Inequality is being opposed

internationally. If you choose to join the opposition, why not start with India, where the gender equality percentage is even lower than the horrendously low international average?

An in-depth analysis of some of India's major corporations demonstrates that there is a massive underrepresentation of women in the upper echelons of business. Although women in the United States hold limited Board Member positions, their numbers are noticeably larger than in India, where half of the researched companies have no female representation. The "Big Four" banks in India each have women representing 0-17 percent of their Board of Directors (Table 3). The State Bank of India has no female representation on the Board, ICICI Bank has two female Board Members out of twelve, Punjab National Bank has one out of twelve, and HDFC Bank has one out of eleven. Despite the small numbers, women are still better represented at the top of India's banking industry than throughout big business in India overall.

Out of India's top eight largest companies from Fortune Magazine's 2011 list of the world's largest corporations (CNNMoney.com, 2011), women represent between only 0-16 percent of their Board Members (Table 4). Top-ranked Indian Oil has three female Board Members out of nineteen. Reliance Industries Limited has zero out of thirteen. Bharat Petroleum has zero out of eleven. State Bank of India, ranked fourth, again has no female representation. Hindustan Petroleum Corporation Limited has one out of ten. Out of eleven Board Members, Tata Motors has no female representation. Oil and Natural Gas Corporation Limited has two out of fourteen female representatives, and number eight Tata Steel has no female representative out of ten Board Members. These numbers show starkly that the largest and most important of Indian companies undervalue women in their upper management.

When analyzing a World Economic Forum survey, Vikas Vij found that:

...the recent survey findings by the World Economic Forum (WEF) put the spotlight on India, ranking it among the bottom 10 countries in the world in terms of women's participation in the economy. The WEF report reveals a shocking disparity between the wage structure of men and women in corporate India. The average annual income of a woman in India is US\$ 1,185, compared to US\$ 3,698 for the men employed in India's corporate sector. This translates to an average woman's pay of less than one-third of

the average man's pay in India. The WEF survey finds that India has fared worse than last year in terms of "economic participation and opportunity" for women, pushing the country among the bottom 10 countries on the WEF list. Overall, India achieves a score of 59.4% in terms of gender equality in the survey, but in terms of economic participation and opportunity, it scores a dismal 39.8%. India's general participation of women in the workforce stands at 36%, whereas for professional and technical workers, the figure is 21%. (Vij)

Regarding the gender gap, the WEF survey ranked India 24th out of the 58 included countries in "political empowerment". India placed 34th in "health and well-being", and 35th in "economic opportunity". India ranked very poorly (54th) in "economic participation" and 57th in "educational attainment", giving them an overall rank of 53rd out of 58 (Lopez-Carlos & Zahidi, p.9). The analysis that Vij provides clearly demonstrates the gender gap that has developed in India and shows how interconnected all the factors are. By placing second to last in educational attainment, better education for girls is presented as a possible way to decrease the gender gap in India. If India could improve its ranking in the area of educational achievement, its overall rank would improve. However, increasing gender equality in education alone will not cause a drastic increase in their overall rank; all of the areas must improve.

CASE STUDIES

Despite underwhelming numbers of successful businesswomen in India throughout the years, there have always been women who have managed to break free from the oppression that so often holds them back. I have chosen to investigate three of these women in depth: Kiran Mazumdar-Shaw, Indra Nooyi, and Chanda Kochhar. I will also discuss a number of other women who have successfully overcome the odds to succeed in India's business world.

KIRAN MAZUMDAR-SHAW

Kiran Mazumdar-Shaw learned early on just what would be required from her if she was to excel in India's business world. She learned from the past and in turn ensured a successful future for herself. Her post-graduate studies were in Brewing and Fermentation Sciences in Australia, where she was at the

top of her class. However, “on returning to India, a peeved Kiran found that her gender did not permit her to make a dent in the brewing industry in spite of her high qualifications” (Pota, 2010, p.58). In a preview of his book, Vikas Pota tells us that Mazumdar-Shaw “returned home from her overseas education to pursue a career in brewing, but only to find that her gender discriminated against that. Literally on the rebound she formed a company in her garage. Today BIOCON is India’s largest biotech company” (Pota, 2009). Pota admits that “while gender must not be the criteria for judging any kind of success, the fact that Kiran Mazumdar-Shaw stands out as one of India’s few female entrepreneurs who started out from scratch to create a global force made her worth examining as a role model” (Pota, 2010, p. 9).

Mazumdar-Shaw is one woman who refused to give in, despite being told that her knowledge and education was not enough for her to succeed in the brewing industry. Mazumdar-Shaw “is a classic example of an ambitious young woman who began pursuing an entrepreneurial career in a society and era when women merely took up jobs or stayed at home” (Pota, 2010, p. 56). Although it would have been much simpler, and much more accepted by society, to have stayed home raising a family like most women of her time, Mazumdar-Shaw knew that such was not her fate. When she was told that her place was definitely not in a brewery, she fought back by going into biotechnology, another male-dominated industry. Pota describes Mazumdar-Shaw’s background, saying that she was lucky to have had the benefit of a family who supported her entrepreneurial ambitions. Her father was a head brewer at United Breweries and encouraged her to have a career. Although children often learn from their parents, there was a role-reversal in the end, when Mazumdar-Shaw inspired her mother to invest in two businesses.

Even after her initial idea for BIOCON, which was a revolutionary idea at the time, Mazumdar-Shaw found that her age and gender prevented her from being taken seriously, from finding employees, and from getting banks to invest in her company. Throughout BIOCON’s rise, she battled with unhappy

workers and limited funds. Now, more than thirty years later, and “with a view to launch anti-cancer drugs” (Pota, 2010, p. 61) BIOCON has grown into one of the largest and best companies in the Asia-Pacific region, and one of the largest employers in the biotechnology industry. In addition, Mazumdar-Shaw is the richest self-made woman in India. All told, Mazumdar-Shaw is arguably the most successful entrepreneur in India to date. She is humble of her achievements and is quick to remember where she came from and how she ensured her success.

INDRA NOOYI

Although Indra Nooyi is a successful businesswoman in America, she was born in India, and her immense success makes her a powerful example for others. Nooyi completed masters degrees both from the Indian Institute of Management and from the Yale School of Management. In her book *Silver Linings*, Nikila Srinivasan says that Nooyi “should be considered a role model most specifically for this aspect: her ability to adapt and equip herself and change herself along with the changing cultures and ambiances, making these transitions without losing her own identity” (Srinivasan, p. 51). This is a very important trait for anyone to hold, but when you are a successful Indian businesswoman in America it is even more important to remember who you are and where you are from. The ability to adapt without losing oneself helps ensure success, even when far from home and immersed in an unfamiliar culture.

Nooyi is known to regularly wear saris to business meetings and events. Instead of hindering her in any way, this seems only to boost her confidence and success; such is her ability to adapt without forgetting. Instead of seeing her femininity and ethnic differences from her mostly male, American employees as burdens, she feels empowered through her unique position as a successful Indian-American businesswoman. Not only has she excelled professionally, but she has also shown women throughout the world that they too can be empowered by accepting who they are rather than attempting to adapt to better fit in.

A biography of Nooyi tells us that as a young girl in India she would not conform to the conservative world where she grew up. She played on a woman's cricket team and in a rock band, which was relatively unheard of for a woman of her time in India. She studied at Madras Christian College, Indian Institute in Management at Calcutta, and later at Yale University's Graduate School of Management. She was surprised that her parents let her move to the United States to study at Yale because in 1978 "it was unheard of for a good, conservative, south Indian Brahmin girl to do this," and doing so would make her "an absolutely unmarriageable commodity" (Nooyi). After she graduated, Nooyi worked for Tootal, Johnson & Johnson in Bombay, Boston Consulting Group, Motorola, and Asea Brown Boveri Inc. before ending up at PepsiCo in 1994. At PepsiCo, Nooyi:

...put together the \$3.3 billion-dollar-deal for the purchase of the Tropicana orange-juice brand in 1998, and two years later was part of the team that secured Quaker Oats for \$14 billion. That became one of the biggest food deals in corporate history, and added a huge range of cereals and snack-food products to the PepsiCo empire. She also helped acquire the edgy beverage maker SoBe for \$337 million, and her deal beat the one submitted by Coca-Cola. (Nooyi)

As result of her "impressive deal-making talents, Nooyi was promoted to the job of chief financial officer at PepsiCo in February of 2000. It made her the highest-ranking Indian-born woman among the ranks of corporate America. A year later, she was given the title of president" and in 2007 she was promoted to CEO (Nooyi). Since she became CFO in 2001 she has managed to balance her leadership style and has remained extremely successful without losing herself. Since 2001 "the company's annual revenues have risen 72%, while net profit more than doubled, to \$5.6 billion in [2006]", but Nooyi still sings in the halls and works barefoot, exuding confidence (Bloomberg Businessweek).

Like Mazumdar-Shaw, Nooyi's story is that of someone who did not care what society said she could or couldn't do. When she wanted to play cricket or guitar in a rock band, she played, despite the shock of others. When she wanted to move to the United States and study at Yale, she moved and studied, despite how unusual it was at the time. When she decided she wanted to marry an Indian, she married, despite the fact that her move to the United States to study had supposedly made her

unmarriageable. Since she was hired by PepsiCo, she has proven her worth many times over, despite the reservations those around her initially had because of her gender.

From 2006-2010 Nooyi ranked number one on Fortune's list of the fifty most powerful American businesswomen and she dropped only one place in 2011 (CNNMoney.com, 2010, 2011). She moved up from number six to number four on Forbes' list of the world's one hundred most powerful women from 2010 to 2011 (Forbes.com, 2010, 2011). In addition, Nooyi ranks ninth on Fortune's list of the twenty-five highest paid women and tenth out of thirty on Forbes' list of the world's most inspiring female role models. These are impressive statistics for a woman born in 1955 into Madras, India's conservative, middle-class world.

CHANDA KOCHHAR

Chanda Kochhar was born into a "liberal-minded family of high-caliber professionals" where gender was insignificant; "no one at home believed that hunting for a career was more important to my brother than it was to me and my sister" (Amarnath & Ghosh, p. 28). With her family's support, she graduated from Jai Hind College and later from Jamnalal Bajaj Institute of Management Studies in Mumbai with a master's degree, after which she was recruited by ICICI. She started as a trainee in the bottom ranks and rose through the years to eventually hold the positions of Managing Director and CEO as she does today. She regularly figures into Fortune's list of the most powerful women in business and also made it on Forbes one hundred most powerful women list. She was the first woman managing director and CEO of a private sector bank in India and ICICI bank has seen huge success under her leadership.

Kochhar often speaks of the success women can find in the banking industry. Authors Amarnath and Ghosh quote her as saying that "the art of banking calls for an intense and accurate understanding of money and the minds of people. Inherently versatile in personality, women fit well into the

multifaceted business of banking” (Amarnath & Ghosh, p. 32). In addition, they summarize that “if women are taking on leadership positions today, they are not doing so because special preference is given to them” (p. 32). When women find success in business, it is rarely because they had their success handed to them. They work, not just on their careers, but also to gain the respect necessary from their male colleagues in order to advance in the ranks. It is a constant struggle, not just for Indian women but for women all over the world, to overcome the inequalities and social stigmas surrounding women’s perceived inability to work successfully in business. Kochhar “represents an entire ethos of women who are becoming equal partners in marriage as well as decision-making in both the domestic and corporate sectors” (p. 33). Kochhar’s success has paved the way for women to follow in her footsteps.

ADDITIONAL CASE STUDIES

Four Indians made Fortune’s 2009 list of the 50 Most Powerful Women in Business. Chanda Kochhar was included at number 15, in addition to Neelam Dwahan at number 37, Shobhana Bhartia at number 43, and Preetha Reddy at number 46 (CNNMoney.com, 2009). Neelam Dwahan is the managing director of HP India, having risen through the ranks of India’s IT world. When she entered the IT industry in India more than twenty years ago, very few women existed in the industry, making her one of the leaders in the industry even today. Shobhana Bhartia has a strong family history in India, being a member of the Birla family, one of India’s leading business families. She is the chairperson and editing director of *Hindustan Times* (HT), one of the leading media distributors in India. When she started at HT she was the first woman chief executive of a national newspaper. Preetha Reddy is the managing director of Apollo Hospitals, one of the largest healthcare conglomerates in India. Reddy was one of the first women to enter her industry which has ensured her status as one of the leading women in the healthcare industry even today. She will succeed her father as executive chairman of Apollo. As Amirapu and Udgirkar say, “with two decades of experience, Ms. Reddy will spearhead the group which includes

healthcare, insurance, education and BPOs. The hospital chain currently has 43 hospitals and 1,000 pharmacies in India and hospitals in Oman, Bangladesh, Nigeria and Yemen” (Amirapu & Udgirkar).

Indu Jain is a member of the Sahu Jain family, which has a strong position in the media industry of India. The family owns Bennett, Coleman, & Co. Ltd., of which Indu is the chairperson. Bennett, Coleman, & Co. Ltd. owns the *Times of India*, the most circulated English newspaper. She ranks on Forbes’ list of 400 billionaires in 2010 and is number 25 on Forbes’ most current list of India’s 100 richest (Forbes.com, 2010, 2011). Lalita Gupte and Kalpana Morparia were the joint managing directors of ICICI bank. Kalpana Morparia is now the CEO of JP Morgan India and Lalita Gupte is now on the Board of Directors at both Nokia and Alstrom Group. Savitri Jindal is a major player in India’s steel industry and when she inherited her husband’s fortune she became the wealthiest woman in India, ranking number 80 on Forbes’ billionaires list in 2011 (Forbes.com, 2011).

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE GAP IN SUCCESS

Fifty women in enterprise in India was a study by Anuradha Rajuvan which sought to discover the qualities generally found in a successful, female, Indian entrepreneur. The conclusion was that generally a successful entrepreneur is:

...a woman with a university education, but an education unrelated to running her business; entering business young without a grooming for it, but with a strong motivation to do something significant; in there out of choice; restricts herself to one or two lines of business, preferring not to diversify; married with children; juggling between the enterprises on the one hand and home and children on the other; a supportive or at least a minimum objectives family situation; coping in a much less supportive society which views her as a secondary business, without a serious inheritance motive. (Rajivan)

This study showed the importance of education, motivation, family, and society as factors which influence the success of women in India.

Although these factors may cause some women to become successful entrepreneurs, it is also possible to have the same factors negatively influence other women. For example, while familial support

may help some women in their successful careers, an unsupportive family may ensure that a woman won't succeed in business. Similarly, while a woman able to receive a university education is at an advantage, a woman without the support or finances to attend university is at a disadvantage.

Men have had an advantage throughout most of India's history, and there is a resulting belief even today that they are more valuable. This results in women facing discrimination through every aspect of their life. Discrimination:

...prevails in matters of, among others, female education and nutrition which has been noted by economists and other social scientists. Widespread disparity in the literacy level between males and females exists in favor of the former. In the majority of Indian families, girls grow up in a culture that presumes that their duties and capabilities are different from those of the boys. Girls are socialized to be submissive. There is a marked difference in access to the care and health of male and female children. Women's education and employment continue to be low, though women outnumber men in employment in the primary (agriculture) sector. Thus, traditional patriarchal attitudes towards women still prevail and are strengthened and perpetuated in the home. (Bhatnagar, Budhwar, & Saini, p. 181)

I will now discuss in more depth some of the specific factors that cause this discrimination and the resulting limited number of women in professional business. It must be noted that although I separate these factors into seven sections they are often intrinsically linked and therefore some overlap will exist.

CULTURAL FACTORS

Despite legislation which seeks to ensure equal rights for women, even laws cannot drive away the overarching belief in Indian culture that women are inferior. This belief stems from many factors, but there is no denying the cultural tendency of discrimination towards women. One would hope that Indian women would be inclined to fight for the equal rights they deserve, but Indian women often recognize their lower status as a sacrifice necessary for their families to function properly. They feel no need to change the way that things have always been, and might even believe that they deserve to "carry the burden of a 'double shift' at home cooking, cleaning, caring for the young and the old,

adversely impacting their abilities to contribute effectively in the labor market” (Madhav & Sankaran, p. 2). Through lack of time and an overarching belief that they belong in the home, their opportunity for success outside of the home is limited.

In addition, throughout India men and women alike prefer male children. This preference makes it difficult for women from the beginning, as they are not appreciated as much as their male counterparts. In turn, devaluation leads to women feeling compelled to bear sons for their husbands and a feeling of insignificance if they do not. Although technology is normally seen to cause positive influence, “today, technological advances make it much easier to perform sex-selective abortions” (SIGI), causing increased discrimination against women. Ultimately, this preference for male children often causes a decrease in the care provided to female children such that “when children are ill, Indian fathers are more likely to pay for treatment for sons than for daughters” (SIGI). From birth, female children are discriminated against: receiving less nutrition, less attention, and therefore possessing less likelihood for future health, education and success. If women are not allowed the same caloric intake as men, do not receive the health care that boys and men do, and are additionally expected to perform all of the household chores, then we cannot expect success outside of the home. They cannot be expected to gain college degrees and to become business professionals if they are discriminated against from birth.

Although there has been an influx of legislation which promotes equal rights for women, “in general, application of these laws is weak. An international study by Rhodie goes as far as to state that India ‘is a good example of a country with an abysmal gap between policy and practice’” (SIGI). Until these laws are regularly enforced, their existence is simply disheartening. The culture in India is such that it has been virtually impossible to implement this legislature, despite the fact that it directly influences half of India’s population.

HISTORICAL FACTORS

Indian women have faced discrimination throughout much of India's history. It is often extremely difficult to change the way things are done in a country, and is resultantly simpler to continue the repression of women and not try to implement changes, even if the changes are improvements. In a country like India with strong traditions it is even more difficult to change the way of thinking; a history of discrimination is likely to ensure continued discrimination unless something drastic is done to change the way of thinking. Men have traditionally been the breadwinners and women have been required to remain in the home, and based on an understanding of what is normal, that is how it remains today.

A drastic change is unlikely to occur overnight, since history and tradition has managed to ensure the degradation of women for thousands of years. Although "the Indian constitution grants women equal rights with men...strong patriarchal traditions persist, with women's lives shaped by customs that are centuries old" and "the origin of the Indian idea of appropriate female behavior [which] can be traced to the rules laid down by Manu in 200 B.C. [that] 'by a young girl, by a young woman, or even by an aged one, nothing must be done independently, even in her own house'" (Coonrod). It has been thousands of years since women enjoyed even moderate levels of equality, so most believe the existence of past equality to be a myth. It would be difficult to inform India's masses of uneducated women that the Vedic period was a time of relative equality, and even more difficult to reinvent their ideas of life, freedom, and equality. This drastic change has not yet occurred.

REGIONAL FACTORS

India's various regions have their own unique traditions, beliefs, and languages. Regional distinctions from North to South India are prevalent, and South India is overwhelmingly seen as more modern and developed than the North. Although variations occur all throughout India, generally "in South India, for example, women appear on the streets and at public functions, and Hindu women do

not cover their heads and faces” (Lessinger, p. 586). The *New York Times* reported that “southern India has rocketed far ahead of much of the rest of the country on virtually every score—people here earn more money, are better educated, live longer lives, and have fewer children” (Polgreen). The progression of the South is attributed at least partially to the collapse of the caste system from which the South has benefitted notably from “more stable governments, better infrastructure and a geographic position that gives it closer connections to the global economy” (Polgreen). For this reason, the world’s view of “emerging India” is really their view of South India.

In line with the economic and cultural progression of the South, the women of southern India have seen more progress in their search for equality. Although all Indian women experience limited freedom, the “southern region [provides] women more exposures to the outside world, more voice in family life, and more freedom of movement than do the social systems of the North” (Jejeebhoy & Sathar, p. 687). Due to a combination of geographic and ethnic differences, “there is considerable ethnographic evidence of regional differences in the situation of women, and female powerlessness is much more acute in North India than in South India” (p. 689). Not only must we work to heighten the status of Indian women as a whole, but we must assist those still facing the most extreme repression in North India. Women in the South “have greater decision-making authority, are less secluded and more likely to work outside the home and control resources, and are less likely to perceive sons as their only source of prestige” (p. 690). Due to the expulsion of the caste system, the women of southern India have seen results including greater access to education and greater chance of employment outside of the home.

Regional factors also include drastic differences between urban and rural India. These differences can be advantageous to some Indian women, while for others they may prove detrimental. One pervasive example is the much higher literacy rates found throughout urban India compared to rural India, and the extreme poverty found especially in rural India. Women who come from urban India

are more likely to receive education because there is more direct access to the educational system. Additionally, they are more likely to come from a family that supports their business and entrepreneurial endeavors. Generally, urban households are better off so that women may not be required for as much work inside the home. This gives them more opportunities to receive education and find gainful employment. Rural families may require extra work by women in the field, in addition to their work in the home. There also remain a fair number of migratory families in rural India, and the uncertainty of seasonal work makes it difficult for children to stay in school. Ultimately, “the liberalized Indian economy has created a large number of employment opportunities for women, though mainly for educated women residing in urban areas” (Bhatnagar, Budhwar, & Saini, p. 179). Even when progress is made, it is limited in its scope.

ECONOMIC FACTORS

Economically, it would be advantageous for Indians to accept women into the economic mainstream. Many educated women are looking for work in India, but they are often not given a chance when set against their equally-qualified male counterpart. Despite a labor shortage and skills gap, many companies refuse to give women a chance. This being said, recent studies and conferences have said that “workplace diversity and gender inclusion is a business imperative today” (Sahu). A *SundayET* study supported the value of women in the workplace with its findings that “nine listed companies managed by prominent women promoters fared better than the top 30 firms listed in the Bombay Stock Exchange in year-on-year growth rates for the last five years” (Rawani).

Studies show that India would be helping itself advance economically if they would welcome women’s talent, but although legislation is in place that should ensure their equal treatment, women are still pushed out. This is due, at least partially, to the fact that there are too few jobs available to the huge Indian population, and therefore there is a tendency to give available jobs to men, even if women

are more qualified. Kiran Mazumdar-Shaw and her failed attempt to find a job in the brewing industry is a prime example of this unfortunate situation.

Additionally, women have become increasingly important in agricultural jobs, and when there is work for them in the fields it will be harder to convince them of the value of a different task. The main challenge here is of deferred gratification; the women must use valuable time, money, and energy now to educate themselves in order to receive the reward of a higher-paying job in the future. With “53 percent of the total human hours per household [spent on agricultural work]...contributed by women as compared to 31 percent by men (Coonrod), women have become an integral part of the agricultural sector. Their value in agriculture is simply another reason for men to discourage women from achieving more.

ACADEMIC FACTORS

Academically, women are at a major disadvantage in India:

Parents’ reluctance to educate daughters has its roots in the situation of women. Parents have several incentives for not educating their daughters. Foremost is the view that education of girls brings no returns to parents and that their future roles, being mainly reproductive and perhaps including agricultural labor, require no formal education. (Sivakumar)

Adding to the seeming lack of necessity to educate daughters is the financial burden of education.

UNESCO has found that “whenever a family, due to lack of funds, has to decide which of its children to send to school, the choice almost invariably falls on the sons rather than the daughters. When it comes to putting a son or daughter through university, the same criteria are used.” Ancestral prejudices prevail. (UNESCO, p. 156).

Not only are women unlikely to be educated, even if they do they are often in classes with mostly men and with professors who do not appreciate their presence. Combined with the factors explained in depth above, many are still unable or unwilling to attain an education, which in turn often

results in an inability to excel outside of the household. Those who manage to receive an education are accomplishing a vital step in the process of becoming successful businesswomen and entrepreneurs.

In the 1970's, the *Committee on Status of Women in India* (CSWI) "found that the instruments of political rights, legal equality and education had remained outside the reach of the overwhelming majority of women who were being marginalized" (Madhav & Sankaran, p. 2), indicating that education was still a major factor in inequality. Although this is still the case, a combination of legislation and the efforts of various equal rights groups have worked to lower the levels of illiteracy and increase access to education.

Academic factors which help or hinder the success of Indian women must be taken one step further, outside of the classroom, for complete understanding. All of the factors are interconnected so that academic accomplishment alone does not ensure success if the women face cultural or familial barriers. Even when women achieve academic success, such as the three women who received the highest marks in the Indian Civil Service exams this year, we are forced to wonder whether they will someday head a major corporation or whether a great career will be sidelined so that they can take care of a household (Bhandare). Unfortunately one accomplishment, such as education, is not enough to guarantee career success.

RELIGIOUS FACTORS

Religion is deeply tied into the historical underrepresentation of women in India, as historically most religions have removed women from the economic mainstream. Today, particularly in rural India, people still closely follow their religion and this often means that women have even a harder time getting ahead. Due to the alienation faced by women of various religions in India, it is important to acknowledge the presence of religiously rooted issues of discrimination.

A study on the influence of religion and region on women's autonomy in India and Pakistan found that, in their study sample, "religion plays a modest role in influencing female autonomy in our study sample" (Jejeebhoy & Sathar, p. 706). However, the effect of religion on female's autonomy was more noticeable when combined with regional factors:

In Tamil Nadu, for example, Hindu women do indeed experience more autonomy than Muslim women in such areas as decision-making and mobility. In Uttar Pradesh, by contrast, Hindu and Muslim women are equally constrained in terms of decision-making and mobility, and Muslim women are significantly freer from threat and experience greater access to and control over resources than Hindu women. (p. 706)

The importance of religion, especially when intrinsically tied into other factors such as history, family, and region, plays an important role in the struggles Indian women are facing.

FAMILIAL FACTORS

Aside from growing up with different religions and in different regions, women may also face repression from their families. Carol Coonrod found "women's suppression rooted in the very fabric of Indian society—in traditions, in religious doctrine and practices, within the educational and legal systems, and within families." Households often span generations, making the risk of suppression within the home even greater. Even if a daughter has parental support she may face challenges while trying to please grandparents. Mothers may be unsupportive of their daughter's education because of a lack of protection outside of the home or because they need help inside the home. Responsibilities within the household for mothers, daughters, and wives are time-consuming and exhausting, rarely leaving time for anything outside of the home.

A history of patriarchy makes it so that fathers may be unwilling to see their daughters receive the education they deserve. Indeed, "patriarchy within the home deprives women of equal access to education, training, and skills; and hence contributes to their presence in lower paying jobs as they lack employable skills" (Madhav & Sankaran, p. 9). Even women that do work outside of the home lack any sort of economic independence from their husbands and families.

Tied in with familial factors and patriarchy is the issue of family planning. A 1990 study by Operations Research Group found that “about 24.6 million couples, representing roughly 18 percent of all married women, want no more children but are not using contraception... [and] suggests that women's lack of decision-making power in the family, opportunity costs involved in seeking contraception, fear of child death, and poor quality of contraceptive service all play an important role” (Coonrod). Even with India’s early implementation of a family planning program, legislation, and efforts from various health organizations, India’s population continues to rise, putting stress on the country’s economy, resources, and on individual families.

MOVING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION: ANALYSIS AND SUGGESTIONS

In recent years, there has been a gradual increase in the number of successful businesswomen in India. There are a few explanations as to why changes are coming about now, as well as things which we can do to ensure that change keeps coming.

ANALYSIS OF THE POSITIVE TREND TO DATE

There have been a fair number of laws and initiatives passed on behalf of women in order to encourage education and prevent discrimination, and these have had a very positive impact. The Remuneration Act of 1976 provided “for the payment of equal remuneration to men and women workers for same or similar nature of work. Under this law, no discrimination is permissible in recruitment and service conditions” (Bhasin). India has also worked to encourage the general empowerment of women, through the Government’s “National Policy for the Empowerment of Women in 2001 to bring about gender justice and gender equality. Several State Governments have also formulated similar policies for women’s empowerment. Efforts to set up effective institutional

machinery to address women's issues are prevalent both at the national and state level" (Madhav & Sankaran, p. 3).

India has done a lot to encourage the education of women and girls, including:

...the National Plan of Action for the Girl Child (1992) [which] recognizes the right of the girl child to equal opportunities and seeks to eliminate all forms of violence perpetuated against the girl child. India is a signatory to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989. The female literacy rate increased from 39 percent in 1991 to 54 percent in 2001 and the gender gap in literacy has thus come down from 25 to 21 percent between 1991 and 2001. The 93rd Constitutional Amendment makes free and compulsory education a fundamental right for all children in the 6-14 age group. The *National Program for Education of Girls at Elementary Level* (NPEGEL), a component of the *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan* (SSA), provides region-specific strategies to enable girls to come to school and also provides remedial teaching through bridge courses and residential camps. (Madhav & Sankaran, p. 3)

All of these movements and laws have helped to educate women and girls, a vital step in ensuring their professional success. Moreover, large numbers of organizations throughout India, and in the rest of the world, help discourage gender discrimination and encourage women into the workforce. The *Trade-Related Entrepreneurship Assistance and Development* (TREAD) program is "an example of a specifically women-oriented trade development program" which seeks to lift "women from the levels of lower-paid wage earners to becoming entrepreneurs and managers, and in giving them the skills, institutional support and services structures that would permit them to manage successful business operations" (O'Regan-Tardu, p. 37).

Maitrayee Chaudhuri discusses *Women India Association* which was established in 1917 as an effort to organize women and promote gender equality throughout India. Their objectives focus on equal education opportunities, voting rights, and representation of women in places of power in Indian government and business. They state "that Hindu philosophical and religious literature incorporated the idea of equality between men and women. Social practices and conventions may have changed over the years but the concept itself was neither new nor radical" (Chaudhuri, p. 114). Their religious argument greatly helped their success because religious beliefs are such a critical part of life in India; the argument is harder to oppose when it is backed with religious writings.

The *National Council of Women in India*, formed in 1925, had the central task to “convince people that women were not less valuable than men in the social body” (Chaudhuri, p. 119). They took on endeavors such as the Hindu Women’s Right to Property, a bill to validate marriages between different castes of Hindus, and attempts to make birth control more accessible to Indian women. The *National Planning Committee* (NPC), founded in 1938, eventually established a number of sub-committees, one of which was entitled the *Women’s Role in Planned Economy*. Civil rights are necessary to help women become recognized as useful citizens and productive workers. The civil rights as outlined by the NPC are: the right to education, the right to work (hours of work, adequate wages, security training, etc.), the right to freedom of association, the right to property, the right of equality and shared obligations in marriage, the right to franchise, the right to an identical moral standard, the right to health, and the right to leisure. The inclusion of these rights for India’s female citizens has made the *Women’s Role in Planned Economy* a vital resource for ensuring that women are being treated much more equally than they were in the past.

There are many reasons why women have been discriminated against throughout the years, as well as many reasons why they are currently being treated more fairly. Bhatnagar, Budhwar, and Saini discussed many of these in their analysis of women in management in India:

A mixture of social, organizational, and personal biases have contributed towards keeping the employment of women, including managerial positions, at a lower level. However, in the new economic environment, with rapid global changes taking place in the concepts of work, workplace and workforce, one can foresee positive implications for Indian women’s workforce...On the one hand, the new work dynamics are changing the social values and mores of woman in Indian society; on the other, the increased global focus on women’s issues is significantly affecting the woman’s role and career progression. (Bhatnagar, Budhwar, & Saini, p. 180)

In recent years, more Indian companies have come to recognize the strengths and unique perspectives that women bring. As a result, they have become more willing to accept them into specific industries where they can see that their specific strengths and perspectives may be beneficial. Although this is not a widespread acceptance, women do bring something different from their male counterparts

to the table, and companies are beginning to realize the necessity of this. Some companies have begun to adopt this positive attitude, as we have seen in the case of Indra Nooyi at PepsiCo and Chanda Kochhar at ICICI Bank. The increasing success of women in banking in India is surprising since women have traditionally been massively underrepresented in banking worldwide. However, women tend to have the straightforwardness and understanding of people's minds which is a necessity when working in the banking industry.

LAKSHMI ASHRAM AS A MODEL

One interesting solution to the problem of inequality of women in India was explored through Rebecca Klenk's ethnography on the life and development of a number of women who went through Lakshmi Ashram. Sarala Devi founded the ashram in 1946 as a "Gandhian educational initiative for women and girls in Himalayan India" (Klenk, back cover) which demanded the absence of class discrimination, as per Gandhian ideals (p. 113). The mission was

to create a new kind of postcolonial womanhood in a region where girls had little or no access to formal education, and were married during their early teens or before, and where women and girls were usually responsible for most household and farming work. The ashram became the first institution in the region designed specifically to educate rural women and girls. It was set up to provide schooling along Gandhian lines, with academic courses situated a wider program that emphasized experiential learning, sustainability, and the all-around development not only of students' intellect but of their capacity for compassion as well, especially in service of *sarvodaya*, or work for the public good...Lakshmi Ashram has become something of an icon in the region. In a social context where a young woman does not usually leave her family's home except to join the family of her husband after marriage, many early ashram graduates and some recent graduates have gone on to contest normative gender roles and lead truly remarkable lives. (Klenk, p. 7-8)

Gandhian in principle, the ashram also varied essentially from some of Gandhi's beliefs. Repeatedly criticized for sexist discrimination "Gandhi's middle-class, upper-caste construction of 'women' placed them primarily in the home", differing from Lakshmi Ashram's placement of "ashram sisters in the field, both literally and as *samāj sevikā*" or workers for the public good (p. 116).

In a region with a pronounced gap in literacy rates between males and females (a minimum gap of 84 percent for men versus 60 percent for women, according to the 2001 census, Klenk, p. 51), the creation of an ashram which gave women and girls access to an otherwise often unaffordable education was necessary. Beyond quantifiable education, the women and girls received tactical skills and gained confidence, both mandatory for their success.

The women of the ashram were “encouraged to develop gendered critiques of some rural social practices and see themselves as agents for change” (Klenk, p. 74). They came to understand that, with the education they received, they had become a “developed woman”. This meant various things to them, from being “intellectually developed and completely healthy”, to working “for the development of her sisters”, raising her voice against injustice, having an income, and becoming self-reliant (p. 80-81).

Overall, Lakshmi Ashram created a group of women with confidence, dedication, purpose and agency, which makes it a fantastic success story of women’s empowerment.

SUGGESTIONS TO CONTINUE THE POSITIVE TREND

What can one do to help ensure an increase in the number of women who hold positions of power in India’s business world? There has been an encouraging increase in the percentage of women holding professional business positions in India. However, the number is still very low. Numerous studies have been conducted surrounding this topic. One interesting study actively observed a number of companies run by women in India to try to determine why they did not seem to have the same growth rates as similar companies run by men. They determined a number of significant “barriers to growth, such as the belief that small and stable businesses are less risky and that the initial choice of the business restricts the firm to a line where only small businesses are successful” (Mitra, p. 231). These beliefs were shared by a fair number of the women running businesses in the study. The study also found that the reason why the women entrepreneurs started their business made a significant

difference in the effective means of ensuring that the company grew. For example, businesses started because of “financial need would gain most from support programs which provide...mentoring and business training interventions” whereas businesses started as a hobby would benefit from “an increase in market-based support systems which could reduce the work-home tradeoffs” (Mitra, p. 235). This tells us that there is no single answer to any problem, but that solutions must be specific to the root-cause of the problem and the person who is experiencing it.

Sivakumar recommends the E⁴SD approach for fighting gender discrimination in India. E⁴SD stands for: education, employment, economic independence, empowerment, self-confidence, and decision making. Even taken individually, focusing on any of these factors could help to drastically lessen gender discrimination. Each of the E⁴SD factors are interconnected, as education provides employment opportunities, employment provides economic independence, and economic independence provides a feeling of empowerment and boosts self-confidence. All of these are vital steps to ensuring that women are recognized as important members of the family and society, guaranteeing that they are given decision-making power inside and outside of the home.

The importance of education has been discussed throughout this paper because without education there is virtually no way for women to succeed in India’s competitive world of business. In a developing country such as India, education becomes especially important because of the significant illiteracy that permeates the country. The “widespread disparity in the literacy level between males and females [existing] in favor of the former” (Bhatnagar, Budhwar, & Saini, p. 181) guarantees lower success rates for women. Although education is far too inaccessible for Indian men and women, women are much more likely to be denied an education, even if it is financially available to them, whereas men are almost always encouraged to pursue an education when given the opportunity. This is due to a permeating belief that women belong in the home, and homemaking does not require an education. Education “develops the skills, imparts knowledge, changes the attitude and improves self-confidence. It

provides employment opportunities and increases income. Hence educating women is the prime factor to combat gender [discrimination]" (Sivakumar). Education leads to a greater possibility of employment for women, especially in a country such as India where millions are battling for jobs.

Today, higher levels of education can mean stronger consideration for employment, with gender becoming increasingly irrelevant. While all of the E⁴SD factors are important, I believe that education is the most vital way of ensuring that more women have access to better jobs. As the case study of Kiran Mazumdar-Shaw indicates, despite being more qualified and educated than her male competitors for the brewing position that she desired, she was not allowed into the industry. However, this was nearly forty years ago; today, adequately educated women are much more likely to be considered for a position than they were when Mazumdar-Shaw was denied entrance.

Equally important for a woman's success in Indian business is that they are not denied access because of stereotypes. Beyond the belief that women belong in the home, stereotypes that women are submissive, incapable of learning, and are only capable of working in particular industries prevail.

"Female managers are stereotyped as working predominantly in HR, PR and administration at subordinate or junior levels, and in 'soft' fields like fashion, clothing and beauty products related organization" (Bhatnagar, Budhwar, & Saini, p. 184). Women managers are believed to be incapable of:

...acquiring the required managerial skills...[they are believed to not] possess the required objectivity for evaluating business situations properly and possess the requisite self-confidence...[they] would let their emotions influence their managerial behavior; women are considered less assertive, less competitive and less aggressive in meeting the demands of business situations. (Bhatnagar, Budhwar, & Saini, p. 184)

Unfortunately, women are not allowed to show that they hold any of the above traits. If they do, they must work to dispel the myths that the traits are detrimental to their careers and overcompensate with their strong leadership, as the women in my case studies have shown.

Finally, I propose that the women take a stand and create a nonviolent movement to demand their rights. Through an in-depth understanding of the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, threats,

and opponents of the campaign, and a dedication to nonviolence, this campaign involving half of India's population is sure to bring attention to the issue and work to solve the issues being faced. Through increasingly intense steps of protest and persuasion, suspending participation in social activities, an in-home workers strike, demanding fair pay, and ultimately systematic noncooperation, women will demand that the country notice their inequality. This campaign plan is laid out fully in Appendix 1.

In order to ensure an increased representation of women in professional business in India, much must still be done. Dispelling stereotypes that have persisted for generations, ensuring women have access to the education required for their success, implementing laws, initiatives, and programs that promote gender equality, and identifying barriers that block women from succeeding are just some possible solutions. Kiran Mazumdar-Shaw, Indra Nooyi, and Chanda Kochhar are three Indian women who have managed to succeed despite challenging obstacles that they had to overcome. There is nothing easy about entering India's cutthroat business world as a woman, but with the ever-increasing gender equality and the rising availability of education for women, professional success is becoming more accessible every day.

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TABLES

Table 1: Percentage of female representation in the “Big Four” banks of the United States

The United States’ “Big Four” Banks	Total Number of Board Members	Number of Female Board Members	Percentage of Females on Board
Bank of America	13	2	15.38%
JPMorgan Chase & Co.	12	2	16.67%
Citi Group	12	3	25%
Wells Fargo	16	5	31.25%

<http://phx.corporate-ir.net/phoenix.zhtml?c=71595&p=irol-govboard>, <http://www.jpmorganchase.com/corporate/About-JPMC/board-of-directors.htm#jackson>, http://www.citigroup.com/citi/investor/board_of_directors.html, <https://www.wellsfargo.com/about/corporate/boardofdirectors/>

Table 2: Percentage of female representation in the United States’ eight largest companies, as per Fortune Magazine’s 2011 list of the world’s largest corporations: United States (CNNMoney.com, 2011)

The United States’ 8 Largest Companies	Total Number of Board Members	Number of Female Board Members	Percentage of Females on Board
Walmart	15	3	20%
Exxon Mobile	12	2	16.67%
Chevron	13	1	7.69%
Conoco Phillips	14	3	21.43%
Fannie Mae	10	2	20%
General Electric	16	4	25%
Berkshire Hathaway	12	2	16.67%
General Motors	12	4	33.33%

<http://www.walmartstores.com/sites/annualreport/2011/directors.aspx>, http://www.exxonmobil.com/Corporate/investor_governance_directors.aspx, <http://www.chevron.com/about/leadership/boardofdirectors/>, http://www.conocophillips.com/EN/investor/governance/board_directors/Pages/index.aspx, <http://www.fanniemae.com/portal/about-us/governance/board-directors.html>, <http://www.ge.com/company/leadership/directors.html>, http://www.gm.com/company/aboutGM/board_of_directors0.html

Table 3: Percentage of female representation in the “Big Four” banks of India

India’s “Big Four” Banks	Total Number of Board Members	Number of Female Board Members	Percentage of Females on the Board
State Bank of India	14	0	0%
ICICI Bank	12	2	16.67%
Punjab National Bank	12	1	8.33%
HDFC Bank	11	1	9.1%

<http://www.statebankofindia.com/user.htm>, <http://www.icicibank.com/aboutus/bod-1.html>, <https://www.pnbindia.in/en/ui/Board-of-Directors.aspx>, http://www.hdfcbank.com/aboutus/cg/Profiles_of_Directors.htm#5

Table 4: Percentage of female representation in India’s eight largest companies, as per Fortune Magazine’s 2011 list of the world’s largest corporations: India (CNNMoney.com, 2011)

India’s Eight Largest Companies	Total Number of Board Members	Number of Female Board Members	Percentage of Females on the Board
Indian Oil	19	3	15.79%
Reliance Industries	13	0	0%
Bharat Petroleum	11	0	0%
State Bank of India	14	0	0%
Hindustan Petroleum	10	1	10%
Tata Motors	11	0	0%
Oil and Natural Gas Co.	14	2	14.28%
Tata Steel	10	0	0%

<http://www.iocl.com/Aboutus/Management.aspx>, http://www.ril.com/html/aboutus/board_director.html,
<http://www.bharatpetroleum.com/General/BoardofDirectors.aspx?id=4>, <http://www.statebankofindia.com/user.htm>,
<http://www.hindustanpetroleum.com/En/UI/BoardOfDirectors.aspx>, <http://www.tatamotors.com/know-us/bod.php>,
<http://www.ongcindia.com/board.asp>, <http://www.tatasteel.com/about-us/management/board-of-directors.asp>

APPENDICES

Appendix 1:

These are excerpts from my *Break the Glass* campaign plan for women's workplace equality in India. It was written for Dr. Emily Welty's "Nonviolence: Theory and Practice" course, PJS 203, taken in the spring of 2012. Some facts have already been cited in the thesis. As this appendix is a paper in and of itself, it has its own references and appendix.

It is time for women to stand up for workplace equality in a dramatic and significant way. No more accepting the way things are or taking limited steps; it's time to create a movement. This is a proposition for a nonviolent campaign targeting the continued discrimination against females in India's professional workplace.

SWOT ANALYSIS

STRENGTHS

There are some important strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats which may help or hinder this nonviolence campaign. First, one of the main strengths of the campaign is that women are approximately fifty percent of the population. Unlike other issues which affect minorities and other small interest groups, this discrimination is affecting half of the population of India. There is the possibility of getting 585 million women directly involved in the campaign, plus any men who also support women's rights. Additionally, gender equality is an issue which has been campaigned for throughout the world and throughout history, sometimes with great success. Similarities to previously successful campaigns instill confidence in the participants, especially when there are some support groups and legislature already in place working for the equality of women.

The current supporters are another strength of this campaign. *Break the Glass* has the backing of equal rights supporters and campaigners internationally, particularly those who empathize with the

issue of gender inequality. Additionally, millions of women worldwide support this campaign because they know and understand what it means to be discriminated against because of their gender.

The most important supporters are Indian women, approximately half of the population of India, who are likely to fully support a campaign which will result in their increased status, success, empowerment, and equality. They may be fearful to act against their discriminators, but assuming they can push through this fear they are the most powerful supporters of the campaign because they are the ones directly experiencing the discrimination.

Fortunately, support for workplace equality currently exists in some forms. There is legislation in place which prohibits workplace discrimination and sexual harassment in the workplace in India. Sivakumar discusses such legislation which includes Articles 14, 15, 16, 34, and 39, and the 73rd and 74th Amendments. These ensure equality and equal protection under the law, no discrimination on the basis of sex, equal opportunity in employment by the state, maternity relief, equal rights to adequate means of livelihood, equal pay, and at least one third of political seats guaranteed for women (Sivakumar). The problem is that these laws are rarely enforced. Despite the influx of legislation in support of women, “in general, application of these laws is weak. An international study by Rhodie goes as far as to state that India ‘is a good example of a country with an abysmal gap between policy and practice’” (SIGI). However, their existence means that they held enough support to be made into laws, and therefore that some support exists within the court in India.

There are a number of organizations in India which support women’s rights. *Navsarjan* is a Dalits organization for human rights in India which has a Women’s Rights Campaign listed as one of their programs. Their mission is threefold: “to eliminate discrimination based on untouchability practices, to ensure equality of status and opportunities for all, regardless of caste, class, or gender, and to ensure the rule of law” (navsarjan.org). Their focus on gender and on ensuring the rule of law shows that they are an invaluable resource of current support for gender equality in India.

In an effort to “instill a latent sense of sisterhood in relationships” between women, there is a “Gujarati custom of addressing all women as *ben*, meaning sister” (Bhatt, p. 3). The *Self Employed Women’s Association* (SEWA) “owes much to this common sense of sisterhood in bringing together women of all castes, classes, trades, tribes, and faiths” (p. 3). SEWA works to organize women workers for full employment, but, even more importantly, has been essential in creating a sense of worth for the poorest women in India. Empowerment is necessary in the “fight to forge an identity for self-employed women as workers” (p. 4).

Reservation Express worked to ensure the passage of the Women’s Reservation Bill which requires that 33 percent of seats in legislature are reserved for women (reservationexpress.org). The *National Domestic Workers Movement* is currently working for the dignity and justice of all domestic workers in India. This is important because not only is equal representation in the professional marketplace vital, so is fair treatment for all women in all jobs. There are also various international women’s rights campaigns who are current supporters, including *Defending Women*, *Defending Rights* and *Amnesty International*.

WEAKNESSES

One major weakness is that while women are half of the population, men comprise the other half and there are likely many men who will attempt to stop our campaign. Equality for women means giving up money and power. They are used to being the powerful half, and the thought of women fighting for equality scares them. They are unlikely to willingly give up their jobs, incomes, and positions of power. Another weakness is the unreasonable failure by the court to enforce current legislation encouraging equality for women, and the fact that current support groups often face backlashes from the people.

Lastly, the disconnect between opposing images of Indian women may be difficult to overcome. “Images of abandoned widows, child marriages, and dowry deaths are confusing when women have also

held some of the highest positions in government, including Prime Minister, as well as lead companies as CEOs in media, hospitality, biomedical, and banking industries” (Sahay & Subko, p. 131). This contrast is confusing, and an overgeneralization of the status of women can lead some to believe that Indian women are not as unequal as they actually are.

OPPORTUNITIES

The external environment provides some opportunities for this nonviolent campaign. First, the prevalence of gender discrimination makes it a known issue worldwide, which can make it easier to illuminate. This also ensures automatic allies through gender-equality groups which already exist internationally. Perhaps even more useful is India’s presence as an emerging market, which is putting them in the spotlight internationally. As a massive emerging market it is vitally important to them to have a positive international appearance, making them more cooperative.

THREATS

Finally, there are some environmental threats to this campaign. Although it is useful to have a well-known issue, the sheer quantity of groups seeking equal rights has the potential to dilute any particular cause. There are mass numbers of gender-equality issues already being campaigned for. Attention is spread amongst all the different causes. Additionally, because of India’s culture which has historically disempowered women, this campaign must challenge an entire belief system.

Despite the threats and weaknesses this campaign may face, the strengths and opportunities should be enough of a counterbalance to ensure success, especially when the opponents of this campaign are challenged and realigned.

OPPONENTS

The opponents of this campaign can be arranged into four distinct groups. First, much of the male half of the population has a traditionally skewed perception of the value of women, and a resulting tendency toward discrimination. Their opinions are backed by tradition and by family, sometimes even

by women who have come to believe that they are unimportant. Professional Indian businessmen have the most to lose if women gain equal workplace employment, making them the second group of opponents of the campaign. They risk losing jobs, money, and status, and are backed by companies which regularly hire men over women and pay the men more.

Government officials who do not enforce non-discrimination laws are the third group of opponents because of their refusal to carry out these laws which they deem unimportant. They are backed by those at all levels of the court system, and by companies which benefit from the lack of implementation. Five of the eight largest companies in India, according to Fortune Magazine's 2011 list of the world's largest corporations, have no female representation on the Board of Directors (CNNMoney.com, 2011). The patriarchal business world is allowed to continue their massive underrepresentation of women because of the shortcomings of the legal system. Finally, India has a history which encourages gender discrimination, and their status as an emerging market makes them increasingly powerful. The country is comprised of the abovementioned men, businessmen, and government officials who, for various reasons, continue to support this discrimination.

Although there may be some risk in saying that the main opponent of this campaign is an entire half of the population, it also allows the campaign to make a massively impactful statement. For this reason, the *Break the Glass* campaign maintains that half of the population, (the men), are the direct opponents. One of the best ways to challenge these millions of Indian men is to have the women in their family directly show that they oppose discrimination.

WHY CHOOSE NONVIOLENCE

For this particular situation, where half the population is being subjected to discrimination by the other half, the massive numbers of those who want equality could easily bring success through violence. So why choose nonviolence? Due to a history of nonviolent revolution and a strong religious backing, India is a country with an affinity towards principled nonviolence. Many throughout India will

likely support a nonviolent approach “for religious, moral, or philosophical reasons or, in other words, by conviction rather than by expediency” (Dudouet, p. 6). For many, a nonviolent campaign is the right thing to do.

For those who do not believe that nonviolence is necessary, a nonviolent campaign is still a reasonable approach because, as will become evident below, it is “the most effective and least costly means at hand” (p. 7). This is not to say that it will not be costly or difficult. The women involved are likely to face strong backlashes and severe repercussions from the men in their lives as a result. However, the cost of going to arms would massively exceed the costs of the *Break the Glass* campaign.

This campaign also has the benefit of massive “people power”. Although a withdrawal of consent can work in any situation, “if enough people withdraw that cooperation, they will shrink...legitimacy and raise the costs of enforcing...will” (Ackerman & Duvall, p. 43). *Break the Glass* will be a nonviolent example of millions withdrawing their consent and cooperation.

PROTEST AND PERSUASION

The most basic way in which this campaign will target the continued discrimination against females in the professional workplace in India is through forms of protest and persuasion. In this campaign, the use of protest and persuasion is “primarily to influence the *opponent*—by arousing attention and publicity for the issue...to communicate with the *public*...in order to arouse attention and support for the desired change...[and] to influence the *grievance group*—the persons directly affected by the issue—to induce them to do something” (Sharp, 1973, p. 118). This is necessary in case there are people who truly do not recognize that gendered workplace discrimination is an issue in India. The first step of this campaign is to ensure that the issue is publicly known and that the campaign has active and willing participants.

The title of the campaign, *Break the Glass*, lends itself well to the use of logos, categorized by Sharp under “slogans, caricatures and symbols” (Sharp, 1973, p. 125). The logos will be displayed on all

of the banners, posters, leaflets, and pamphlets, and spread throughout the duration of the campaign (Appendix 1 and 2). Sharp categorizes these printed messages as “banners, posters, and displayed communication”, and states their usefulness during past campaigns for women’s suffrage and the Ruhrkampf movement, among many others (p. 126). The goal of the banners and posters in *Break the Glass* is to show the underrepresentation of women, explain the history of the issue, briefly explain the concept of nonviolence and why it will be used, and introduce the campaign. They will also include details on some of the other methods of nonviolence which will be used throughout.

Aside from being posted and distributed by individuals, these banners and leaflets will be displayed and circulated during public demonstrations. There will be a number of marches which end at the main offices of major corporations known for their underrepresentation of women. Public speeches by members of the campaign upon arrival will ensure that the offices are disrupted, forcing them to pay attention. The destinations of the marches will be “intrinsically significant to the issue involved”, making this portion of protest and persuasion even more impactful (Sharp, 1973, p. 152). In Mumbai, the most populous city of India, I have selected the main offices of five of India’s eight largest companies for their complete lack of female representation on their Board of Directors. These companies are Reliance Industries, Bharat Petroleum, State Bank of India, Tata Motors, and Tata Steel (CNNMoney.com, 2011). Drawing attention to this discrimination by some of the largest companies in India is sure to shock the world.

These marches and demonstrations will occur throughout India, especially in the major cities of Mumbai, Delhi, Bangalore, and Hyderabad. The power of this campaign comes from the fact that it is directly working to improve the situation of half of the population of India, and this means that there is the potential to involve 585.5 million people. India is a densely populated and busy country, so imagine the impact of all of the women of Mumbai, almost 7 million people, marching through the streets demanding equality (World Bank). It will be impossible to ignore, and such a movement will rapidly gain

national and international media attention. These methods of protest and persuasion are “intended to influence the opponents, the public, [and] the grievance group” and have been “selected to facilitate [the]...later application of other methods” (Sharp, 2005, p. 51). All potential supporters need to know what is happening before they will be willing to participate, and these methods will provide a good introduction to the upcoming methods of noncooperation.

It also must be noted that while participation by men dedicated to the cause of gender equality will only strengthen the campaign, the marches and speeches should be led by women. They are the ones being directly influenced and therefore should be the ones at the forefront of the movement.

NONCOOPERATION LEVEL 1- BOYCOTT OF SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

Throughout this campaign four levels of noncooperation will be used, with increasing levels of intensity. The first is a form of social noncooperation and it will be a suspension of female’s participation in various social activities. Sharp says that this form of social noncooperation may “be expressed by a corporate refusal to attend certain social affairs” (Sharp, 1973, p. 196). In *Break the Glass* it will also include a refusal to assist in preparing for the activities. This will bring attention to the level of commitment by the campaigners and to the impact that women have in daily activities. It’s a way of demanding attention, of saying “we are half of this country, we control many aspects of life, and you will listen to us”.

Women play a vital role in daily activities, and it will therefore be impossible to ignore when they refuse to participate as they usually do. There are various religious festivals and social events which rely not only on the attendance of women but also on their active participation, whether it be through food preparation, serving, or as part of the festivities. Vat Purnima, also known as Vat Savitri Puja, is one such religious celebration which requires that women fast for the well-being of their husbands. It is “one of the most important fasts of the year for women...[which] technically lasts for three days...The occasion is celebrated by married women, and its purpose is said to bring about a long married life...and

the birth of many sons” (Babb, p. 142). Ceasing to attend and participate in these activities will, at least, call attention to the campaign and, at most, bring social activities to a standstill.

NONCOOPERATION LEVEL 2- IN-HOME WORKERS STRIKE

The second level of noncooperation is a workers strike, which is a form of economic noncooperation. “The strike involves a refusal to continue economic cooperation through work. It is a collective, deliberate and normally temporary suspension of labor designed to exert pressure on others” (Sharp, 1973, p. 257). While most strikes are a refusal to go in to work, this is a refusal by women to perform the work they do in the home. This “protest strike” is to “make clear the feelings of the workers on a particular issue”, in this case the issue of economic equality (p. 259). Women perform most household tasks including cooking, cleaning, and taking care of the children, whether or not they also hold a job outside of the home.

In addition to their household tasks, many women are also making a living for their household. Their time and energy is split between the tasks required to keep the household running and their outside work to bring in an income. This work is “informal, home-based...[and operating] outside of any labor laws or regulations. They are jobs without definitions” (Bhatt, p. 9). Not only is this work menial and exhausting for women, but working inside and outside of the home leaves no time for anything else, including the opportunity to better oneself through advanced education and employment.

A blatant refusal to perform these tasks will mean one of three things. The first option is that men will have to step up and perform the tasks themselves, which will make them more aware of the time and energy that goes into household tasks. The second option is that men will have to hire someone to do the work, which will provide a job to someone who needs it but will also impact the household’s finances. The third possibility is that the job will not get done, which will result in a disaster that will eventually be impossible to ignore. In the case of the third circumstance, most households will be impacted rather quickly because many men are simply not used to performing these tasks. This form

of noncooperation will draw attention both to the amount of work women do inside the home and to the fact that they, like men, may prefer a career outside of the home.

It must be noted that because these household tasks may include childcare, which must be performed to avoid neglect, the protest strike must be announced before it takes place. The women may decide to perform only childcare tasks, which will be explicitly stated. If they choose not to perform these tasks they will allow their husbands to find an alternative source of childcare in advance for the duration of the campaign.

NONCOOPERATION LEVEL 3- DEMANDING FAIR PAY

The third stage is another form of economic noncooperation which comes in the form of demanding fair hourly pay for the work performed in the home. This goes one step beyond the level two refusal to perform household work and draws attention to the number of hours worked in the home. This is an announcement from women everywhere that they are fed up with being caged in the home, unable to contribute to the household income, and that if they will not be paid an hourly wage for their work they will find more desirable work outside of the home.

This form of noncooperation is what Sharp refers to as a detailed strike. "In the detailed strike...the workers one by one stop work or take up other jobs, until the employer is compelled to inquire about their grievance and is informed of their demands" (Sharp, 1973, p. 268). Women will refuse to perform housework work and, when asked, will inform their husbands that they are demanding pay for the work. This method of noncooperation illustrates that the hours women spend working in the household prevents them from finding the time to perform preferred work outside of the home. Some women have the education or skills necessary to get work outside of the home, but are forced to perform household tasks instead.

NONCOOPERATION LEVEL 4- LYSISTRATIC NONACTION

The fourth and final stage of noncooperation requires the most risky restraint from women, but also demands the attention of men. At this stage in the campaign it is likely that men are feeling the pressures of the campaign, if they have not already given in. Lysistratic noncooperation says “that wives should refuse sexual relations with their bellicose husbands” (Sharp, 1973, p. 191). It may seem extreme, but there is no better way to gain the attention of men than by refusing to have sex and procreate. This form of noncooperation gives women the power in their personal relationships while also highlighting their refusal to bring more children into an unjust society. It has been shown by Sharp to have worked at least twice, first by the women of the Iroquois Indian nation who demanded the “power to decide upon war and peace” and then again by the African women in Southern Rhodesia to demand the ceasing of bombings and explosions (p. 191). The severity of the situations in which lysistratic nonaction has been previously successful illustrates its potential for success in the *Break the Glass* campaign.

POTENTIAL PROBLEMS

As with any campaign, there are potential issues which must be addressed. One of the biggest possible issues with *Break the Glass* is the fact that this campaign was created by an American with limited understanding of all the intricacies of the issue. No matter how much research is performed and how understanding the campaign tries to be, it is impossible to fully understand the issue. Without a complete understanding it is impossible to know whether the campaign created is one that Indian’s will feel inclined to be a part of. Chenoweth and Stephan state that “external aid may or may not advance the cause of the campaign” (Chenoweth & Stephan, p. 12) and go on to say that:

...external support to a nonviolent campaign...can undermine efforts to mobilize local support because of the free-rider problem, wherein campaign activists rely too heavily on foreign support rather than local support and thereby lose their power base. Receiving foreign direct assistance may also contribute to a delegitimization of the local nonviolent movement. (p. 22-23)

There is some risk in using an external campaign for an issue in India, but with local campaign leaders on the ground actively leading the movement, this should not prove to be detrimental.

Because of India's deep underlying sense of tradition, culture, and history it is impossible to know whether a campaign can change something as fundamental to the Indian nature as their feelings about gender equality. This may be such a deeply ingrained issue that changing it will prove to be impossible. The belief of this movement, however, is that with the support of half the population nothing will prove impossible. That being said, another issue the campaign may face is gaining the support of the vast majority of the female population. The possibilities are endless when 585 million women take to the streets and become active participants; the difficulty lies in convincing all of them that this is going to create a positive change and that it is worth the risk. Through thousands of years of inequality some women have become convinced that they truly are worth less than men. This must be dispelled before the campaign has the chance to cause massive change.

Some of the noncooperation methods outlined in this campaign, especially lysistratic noncooperation, are extreme. This is not a passive campaign; it requires that bold and potentially dangerous steps be taken. The women of India must understand that the bolder the steps the greater the possibility of success. The last potential problem is that it must be clear to those involved how each step of the campaign relates to the overarching issue of equality in the professional workplace. The disconnect between the campaign steps and the issue must be limited, and if the link is not understood it could prove detrimental to the campaign.

CONCLUSION

Despite the potential issues this campaign could come up against, *Break the Glass* has the possibility for massive success. Through marches, speeches, and flyer distribution the women of India will bring professional workplace inequality into the spotlight. Then, through four increasingly forceful levels of noncooperation, they will attempt to convince the men of India, their greatest opponents, that

they deserve equality. The immense number of women who will support this cause, combined with the intensity of the campaign, should help prove the campaign to be an overall success. Women are continually forced to face “traditional and cultural inhibitions acquired...from childhood, nurtured by parents, and reinforced by their socialization...[which inhibit] their urge to be in an executive or leadership position. This is further supplemented by a lack of self-direction, independence and self-motivation to enter the male-dominated world” (Bhatnagar, Budhwar, & Saini, p. 183). *Break the Glass* is a way to empower women to fight the internal and external challenges that have held them back and to demand equality in the workplace.

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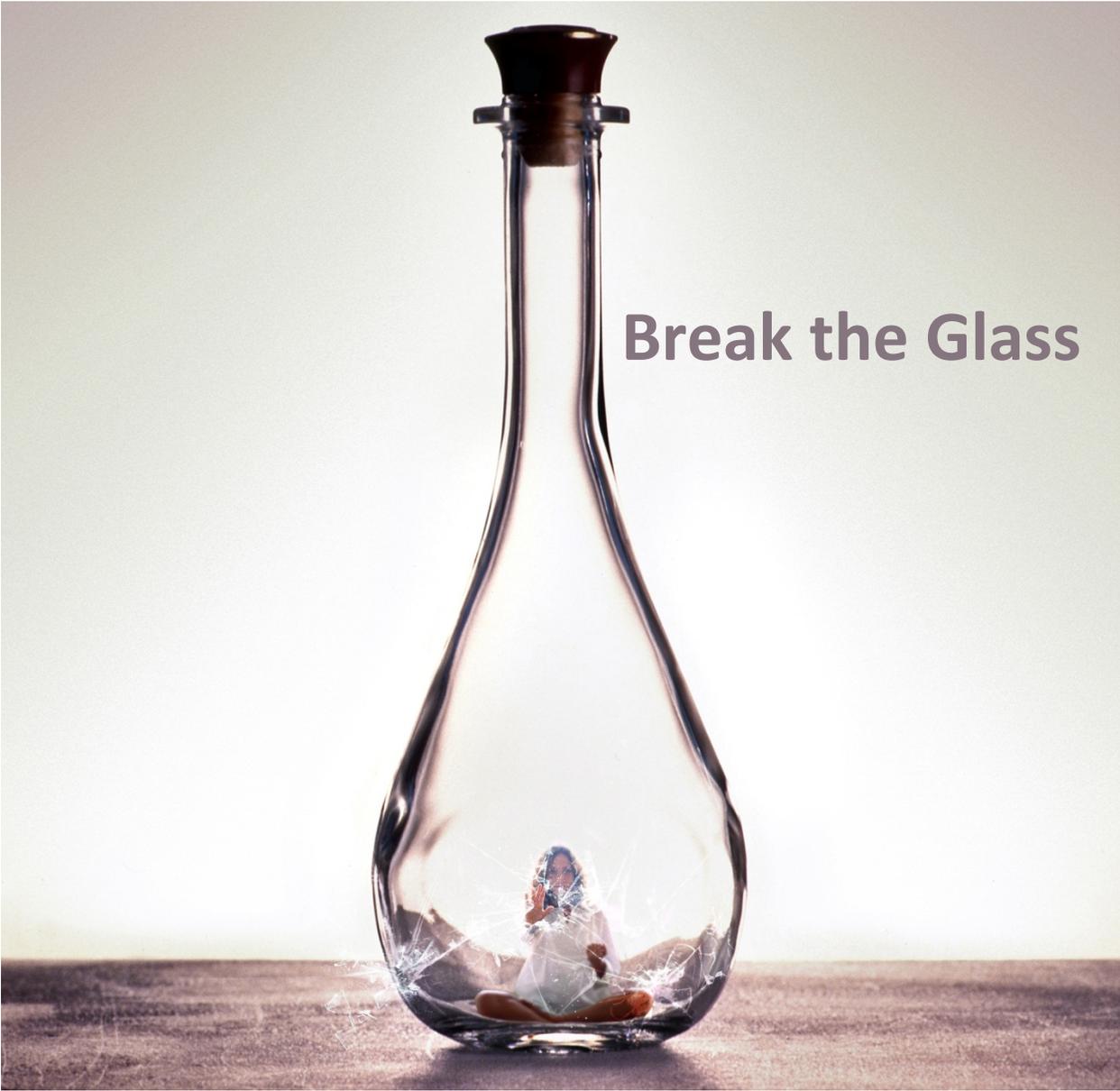
APPENDICES

Appendix 1: The first of the logos to be spread on banners, posters, leaflets, and pamphlets throughout the *Break the Glass* campaign.



Logo creation accredited to Amanda Denson, Bellingham, WA.

Appendix 2: The other logo to be spread on banners, posters, leaflets, and pamphlets throughout the *Break the Glass* campaign.



Logo creation accredited to Jake Warren, Vancouver, BC.