1982

A sociological study of housework as a vocation.

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A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF HOUSEWORK AS A VOCATION

by

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A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
through the Department of
Sociology and Anthropology in Partial
Fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts
at The University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

1982

778812

ABSTRACT

A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF
HOUSEWORK AS A VOCATION

by

LYSTRA ELSPIRT BERKELEY

This study compared the subjective views of the housewife's traditional role, between 23 middle class and 37 working class housewives, whose age and ethnicity were not homogenous. Of the sixty housewives 18 worked outside the home. The main focus of this investigation was the degree of dissatisfaction, under certain conditions, experienced by housewives in regards to housework.

This study was a partial replication of an investigation done in England (1971) by Oakley, published in 1974. Five main hypotheses based on Oakley's findings were examined. The majority of housewives were satisfied with housework, which does not support Oakley's findings.

There was no social class difference in regards to housework satisfaction. The division of labour within the home was not symmetrical, and the housewife

is still spending a considerable amount of time on housework. Husbands are not equally involved in household tasks and child-care activities.

DEDICATION

To my parents

and

my daughter

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to those individuals who were instrumental in helping me complete this research project.

To the chairwoman of my committee Dr. A. Diemer, for her guidance throughout my graduate career and especially with this project.

To Dr. G. Booth for his assistance in analyzing and interpreting the data.

To Dr. W. Mitchinson, who was the outside reader for this project. I thank her for her time and knowledgeable comments.

To my mother, Norma Berkeley, for an efficient typing job.

To Patrick Caines for his invaluable assistance in setting up the computer programme.

A special note of thanks to the housewives who granted me an interview, without whom this project could not have come to fruition.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

> "Since the qualifications for this work are only a person's sex and marital status, there is a great diversity among the women in this occupation. Their ages range from the teens through the years of normal retirement from work. They represent all social strata. They have different skills, training, and interests. And the families they serve differ in size and composition. Yet housewives also share important similarities, although not always the similarities people believe they share" (Vanek 1978:392).

A housewife is a woman who through the rites of marriage assumes a new role in relation to "others". Upon marriage a woman traditionally leaves her family of orientation and joins her family of procreation (Lopata 1971). Housewives are, therefore, married women (at present or at one time) who are in charge of running their own home. All legitimate housewives are married women. However, all women are not legitimate housewives.

Statistically speaking, this is the area where the largest group of women are concentrated. In 1976, there were 8,570,000 women in Canada, 15 years of age and over. Of these 76.3% (6,538,910) were legitimate housewives (Armstrong and Armstrong 1978:54).

The appearance of the traditional role of the housewife together with its characteristics of isolation, economic dependency and compartmentalization came into exis-

tence as a result of the Industrial Revolution; this role and its characteristics are universal within industrialized countries (Mackie and Pattutio, 1977:Oakley, 1974).

The introduction of the Industrial Revolution, which was approximately the middle of the seventeenth century, reinforced the division of labour, taking the man outside of the home and simultaneously placing the housewife in a permanent state of isolation from other adults and especially, from other housewives.

The responsibility of the home and family became the area in which the wife was to excel and obtain self-esteem, vicariously. Prior to the Industrial Revolution, this was not the case. The woman was considered half of the economic unit, the man usually worked at home, thus home and work were linked together. "The home was the productive unit" (Mackie and Pattulio 1977:10).

A woman gains the status of a housewife through marriage. However, when the housewife begins to perform the duties which are associated with this new status, she is then performing the role of a housewife. Lopata (1968:111) in her article, "The Life Cycle of the Social Role of a Housewife," makes reference to Mack's idea of the importance of "others" through different sets of relations. A woman cannot initially be a housewife in isolation. There must be "others" for her to relate to in her role as a housewife.

For instance, there must be a family, children or a husband, if not at present, in the past. Therefore, the role of a housewife is confirmed by the relationship she (the housewife) has with specific "others."

The role of a housewife is one which requires no formal training. The attitude is one which suggests that anyone can be a housewife, implying that education or intelligence is not a determining factor.

> "Some decades ago, certain institutions concerned with the mentally retarded discovered that housework was peculiarly suited to the capacities of feebleminded girls. In many towns, inmates of institutions for the mentally retarded were in great demand as houseworkers, and housework was much more difficult then than it is now "(Friedan 1963:244).

Housewifery should be considered a job, or a vocation in the sense that jobs outside the home are considered occupations. Oakley (1974) in her book, "The Sociology of Housework," states that, housework should be analogous to any other work in modern society" (Oakley 1974:2).

This area is worthy of empirical investigation because this is the one social role (of a housewife) which the majority of females would share. Within industrialized countries every woman's life is affected by the duties of a housewife. If a woman also works outside of the home, she is considered first and foremost a housewife then a worker in the outside world (Laws 1979). Parsons (1949) had placed women and men at polar opposites in

regards to qualitative roles. The dichotomy is comprised of 'instrumental' roles for the man and 'expressive' roles for the woman. In other words, women were to be in charge of the inner world (within the home) performing the nuturant roles while the man was in charge of the outer world (outside of the home) encompassing such spheres as the economic (Laws 1979).

Because of the potential predominance of this social role in every woman's life, I believe it is an area worthy of exploration. Within this area lies the key to some women's feelings of inferiority, and the lack of self-fulfillment some experience. This is the single role women have been given since the Industrial Revolution, which was to be their source of self-satisfaction.

> "Male dominance had stifled the personal growth of women and created significant feminine inferiority. She (Charlotte Perkins Gilman) advocated the emancipation of women as a necessary precondition for the improvement of society. She felt that economic dependency, based on the performance of unpaid housework in exchange for marital services was at the root of women's inferiority. Women should be able to combine motherhood and work as men combine fatherhood and work" (Lerner 1977:144).

A housewife is never able to leave her workplace or those responsiblities because of the location and nature of her job. A housewife is constantly on call, twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week.

The duties of a housewife are so imbedded in almost every woman's life, that it takes up the youthful years

of most women's life span. After the children have grown, some of these women discover a void ---- "(Empty Nest)"---- in their lives which can lead to emotional or psychological instability.

When a housewife has reached the last stage of life which Cumming and Henry (1961) have labelled disengagement it is possible for a housewife to experience a sense of self-devaluation or depreciation by others (Rose 1962) which if the appropriate steps are not taken to fill that void in one's life could lead to depression (Bart 1971). The occupation of a housewife is devalued in our society because there is a definite correlation between these three variables, one's position in the work world, the salary associated with this work role and the status which is indicative of that particular job and salary. Housewifery does not possess various job levels to which one can be promoted neither is it rewarded monetarily hence the devalued characteristic (Proulx 1978).

The objective of this research project, is to investigate housewives' feelings about their traditional role, along with their satisfaction/dissatisfaction patterns with housework, to see if a Canadian sample supports or refutes Oakley's (1974) findings.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

> "Somehow in our eagerness to know and understand women as a group, we have overlooked women as individuals. We have forgotten that a woman is, above all else, a person. We have surrounded women with myriad restrictions and demands, assuming that what is good for some women is good for all. The individual woman, as a person, has been ignored" (Lewis 1968:3).

Historically, one can clearly see definite changes in the roles of women when one compares the pre-industrial and industrial eras. The role of the housewife endured a progressive narrowing in term of duties and activities performed.

The housewife has come from a wide range of activities and working along with other adults to a life of confinement and privatization. Their confinement is now centered around three primary intertwined roles of wife, housewife and mother. These three primary roles are centered around the family.

In order for us to appreciate and understand the different stages the role of women (as housewives) have gone through, it is necessary to look at the two historical periods in succession. By looking at these periods, we will understand where women have been, and what factors brought them to where they are today. That is, what

historical characteristics have brought women to such a limiting role.

During the pre-industrial era in Britain, the division of labour by sex was not as clearly delineated as it is today. Domestic duties were interwoven with other non - domestic duties. "The economic and social structure of traditional societies permits no clear distinction between labour which is publicly productive and labour which is domestic, performed in the home" (Oakley 1974:10-11).

In the pre-industrial era British women played active roles in two prominent occupations, namely, agriculture and textiles. Their contributions were significant.

> "In their role as agriculturalists, women produced the bulk of the country's food supply. The entire management of the dairy, including the milking of cows and the making of butter and cheese, was in the hands of women, and women were also responsible for the growing of flax and hemp, for the milling of corn, for the care of the poultry, pigs, orchards and gardens. On the larger farms, the woman would not undertake all the work herself, but would employ, train and organize both male and female servants. The practice of allotting twice as much land to married men as to single in the early American colonies is an incidence demonstration of women's accepted importance as agriculturalists during this period" (Oakley 1974:14).

Similar to the importance of women to the agricultural industry was the role they played in the cotton industry.

> "The home of the family engaged in cotton production was like a miniature factory the entire process of production, from raw material to finished cloth, was contained within it" (Oakley 1974:16).

During the 17th century in England, marriage was not based on romantic love as it is today. Marriage was not looked upon as an individual gain and there was more of a societal value attached to it.

The expectation after marriage was not of economic dependence in regards to the housewife, but it was customary for the housewife to work along with her husband in some sort of productive work. In this period, therefore, the husband alone was not saddled with the economic burden of a family.

By the end of the 17th century, the expectation which was the norm at the time, that is, for a married woman to contribute to the family disappeared. Among the working classes this expectation continued through the 18th and 19th centuries.

During this historical period of pre-industrialization the division of labour did not exist as rigorously as it does today. Household tasks were more likely to be shared. Another factor which was different in the pre-industrial era was the architecture of ~~the~~ working class home. There were no rooms which were alotted for certain activities. The housewife was not restricted in isolation to the kitchen while cooking. This feature of the home contributed to maintaining housework activities on a familial integrated level and not on a segregated one.

Another aspect of the housewife's role which was quite

different from today is that of childrearing. In the 17th century, the survival rate of the children was much lower; the childhood years were much shorter, even though the marriage age was 24 years for a woman and 27 years for a man. At the age of seven or eight many children left home to become apprentices to other families (Tilly and Scott 1978).

The housewives in the pre-industrialized society, had help with household chores since children were ending the play stage at a much earlier age than today; "girls and boys were given small tasks to do as early as four or five years of age" (Tilly and Scott 1978:32). A housewife could sometimes afford to hire an apprentice from another family who would also help with the housework.

> "With the coming of industrialization, the roles of married women and unmarried women have been reversed. In the 17th century, domestic work proper - cooking, cleaning, mending and childcare would be performed by the unmarried girl (and boy) under the supervision of the married woman who herself worked in the family industry. Under modern conditions, it is the married woman who does the domestic work, while the unmarried female is employed in productive work outside the home" (Oakley 1974:26).

The most significant and perpetual consequence of the industrialized period for women, was the appearance of the modern role of the housewife (Oakley 1974). Industrialization had an effect on the role of men also but in a different direction. It can be said that industrialization had a positive effect on men's roles

while it had a negative effect on women's roles.

Industrialization widened men's career horizons, more opportunities were opened to them and their social contacts were also increased. Industrialization, therefore, had an expanding effect for men. For women, vocations were not expanded, their lives didn't become more adventurous, instead their world contracted and withdrew from the rest of society to the walls within their homes.

Various areas of their role ceased or were curtailed considerably. The dominant role in women's lives became that of the housewife. Women, therefore, became economically dependent upon men the sole economic providers of the family unit.

> "Over the period from 1841 - 1914 the greatest change in women's occupations was the rising incidence of housewifery as the sole occupation for married women. In 1851, one in four married women (with husbands alive) was employed. By 1911, the figure was one in ten. The increase in the proportion of women occupied solely as housewives is associated with the rise of the belief that woman's place is, or should be, exclusively the home. Four main reasons appear in contemporary documents as grounds for restricting or preventing the employment of women outside the home (and encouraging them to busy themselves solely with housewifery).
>
> 1. Female employment was condemned on moral grounds.
> 2. Female employment was condemned on grounds of damage to physical health.
> 3. Female employment was condemned on grounds of neglect of home and family.
> 4. Lastly, simply on the grounds that it contravened the "natural" division of labour between the sexes" (Oakley 1974:44-45).

Industrialization, therefore, promoted restrictions in women's roles, thus increasing the amount of time women spent at home and increased employment opportunities for men.

In this period of post - industrialization housewives altered their attitudes towards children, they were increasingly becoming "child-focussed" because of the significant decrease in the mortality rate.

> "But if industrialization caused the removal of the child from society by the school, then it caused a similar change in the structure of the family. With the separation of the family from the economy came the withdrawal of the family from society, the domesticity of women, and the idea of the home as a private place - a refuge from the public world of work and sociability" (Oakley 1974:54).

Between the years from 1914 - 1950, the consolidation of the women's situation which was brought about by industrialization was evident. One, therefore, sees a very different picture of the role of the housewife during the pre-industrialization era and the post-industrialized period.

The evolution of the traditional role of the housewife followed the same pattern in Canada as it did in Britain and in other industrialized countries. The catalyst for each country was industrialization. "Changes in the Canadian economic structure coincide with the increasing segregation of work, with the creation of the housewife" (Armstrong and Armstrong 1978:58).

The economic survival of the family depended on every member of the family's contribution. The family as the productive unit became unproductive. Its successor was the factory which accommodated segregated work (Tilly and Scott 1978).

> "With the advent of industrial capitalism the general labour process was split into two discreet units: a domestic and an industrial unit. The character of the work performed in each was fundamently different. The domestic unit reproduced labour power for the labour market. The industrial unit produced goods and services for the commodity market. This split in the labour process had produced a split in the labour force roughly along sexual lines - women into the domestic unit, men into industry" (Secombe 1973:6).

One social role most women share in common sometime in their lives, is that of a housewife. I say most women because only women who have been married, are given this title. It is this social role which Helena Znaniecki Lopata investigates at all different levels, not only with the immediate member of the family circle, but with neighbours and the wider community.

"The first stage of becoming a housewife includes for American women a major shift of the whole role-cluster and modifications in all roles (Lopata 1971:33). A married woman is in a sense starting her life over again. She changes her name to that of her husband's and assumes numerous new roles she has not experienced before.

The second stage of becoming a housewife is "The Expanding Circle." Lopata found that many of the women

named this period of their lives as the one which brought the most change. The birth of the first child causes restriction and less freedom of movement, to the mother's life. This new experience results in her whole style of life changing because she is almost totally responsible for the care of the new infant. At this point, in a woman's life, isolation may set in. If the woman had previously worked and now remains at home she may find the difference difficult to cope with. If prior to the birth of her child the woman was financially independent she may now become dependent on her husband if she decides to stay at home.

The third stage, 'The Full House Plateau,' is established when no more children are expected to be born and before the children have completely left home. The longevity and the intensity of this stage has been shortened, because family size is now smaller, children leave home for school at a younger age, and the decrease in time pre-adolescent children spend with their mothers. Within this stage, some women become comfortable with their home-based activities, while others seek outside involvement. Because the women in this stage no longer have pre-school children to care for during the day, there is available time to spend on personal interests.

Many mothers in 'The Shrinking Circle' stage, live in anticipation for when their last child leaves

home. These women, therefore, engage in other roles outside the home, to facilitate the "empty nest" situation. Traditionally, women's value has been as wives and mothers. After their productive years they suffer from a loss of purpose or meaning. To counteract this problem, Lopata found that the more trained and educated women were becoming competent in new venues of life.

'Disengagement' occurs when all the children leave home, "A voluntary, mutual withdrawing of the person and of society from each other" (Lopata 1971:43). This stage can be avoided if the individual remains very active in past or new interests (Cumming and Henry 1961).

To refute the stereotypical belief that housewives are unintelligent, passive, ignorant and boring as individuals, Lopata found evidence. Most of the women interviewed irrespective of educational attainment were involved in many groups and various 'sets of relations.'

"All American Social indicators show that an increasing higher proportion of modern women are expanding their involvement in political, economic, religious, recreational and educational roles and in relations of great variety and influence upon social structure" (Lopata 1971:46).

The population of Lopata's respondents was tricotomized in the following categories on the basis of orientation. They are husband-oriented, child-oriented and home-oriented. Most respondents unconsciously select one of these cate-

gories as a "focus" and may change their "focus" as they progress through the different stages of the life cycle. For instance, most women are husband-oriented at marriage but may become child-oriented or home-oriented as their "Expanding Circle" progresses.

It is also possible that during the 'Shrinking Circle' stage a woman could become husband-oriented again provided that she does not become a widow. The typology of women within the family dimension which Lopata's research suggests will be discussed briefly. "The Husband-oriented" woman considers her primary role to be that of a wife to her husband, with other roles holding secondary positions to it generally, the more a husband is financially successful the more likely the wife is likely to be "husband-oriented."

"The child-oriented woman believes that the basic unit of the family consists of herself and her children (Lopata 1971:65). The women in this group have achieved "a relatively low level of education, but her husband may have average schooling, and their income is average or even slightly above" (Lopata 1971:65).

The "house-oriented" woman's primary concern is the maintenance of her home. She is a low achiever, academically, and her husband is a high school drop-out. The life-cycle woman is conscious of the shifts in focus. For instance, her focus changes from the role a wife at

the birth of her children returning to this focus after they have grown. This type of woman is flexible depending on the needs of her family.

The family-oriented woman is multi-focussed. She combines all aspects of her role in one similar to a "jack of all trades." This woman has a very traditional view of her husband regarding him as the provider and head of the family. This woman also has an outlook on life of fulfilling her husband's needs.

The 'self-directed' woman's primary concern is to herself as a woman. It can be said that her consciousness has been raised and she is aware of the importance of self-identity. The seventh type of woman is the "career-oriented or society-oriented." Of all types of women she is the most conspicuous.

Lopata discovered a discontinuity concerning the acquisition of information for the maintenance of the home across three generations. Most of the interviewees reported using secondary sources such as magazines, books, newspapers and television. The earlier generations learned from their mothers and grandmothers while the generations which were interviewed did not rely on mothers' advice.

One experiences an "identity crisis" when one makes a vast change in one's daily activities or routine. For instance, mothers who have worked before the birth

of her child and have become full-time mothers and housewives might suffer this "identity crisis."

Women who have given up a career to live their lives according to what Friedan (1963) calls the "Feminine Mystique," might experience an 'identity crisis.' The other consequences mothers experienced were, "being tied down, constant attention, consumption of time, additional work, responsibility and the need to change existing social roles in order to fit this new set of relations into the cluster" (Lopata 1971:196).

Bettina Berch in her article "The Development of Housework," makes reference to the fact that women confuse housework activities with leisure activities. The lack of clarity between these two types of activities might lead one to ask if housewives consider housework work, analogous to any other kind of work in modern society (Oakley 1974), or if they consider it leisure.

There was a time in history (19th century) when to have a wife as a lady of leisure was considered desirable.

> "The genteel lady was the pinnacle of success as a woman, living a life of leisure and considered the ultimate in femininity, an ornament of her husband, a testimonial to his wealth. For her to have sought employment would have been an outright admission that her husband was unable to provide for her. Small wonder that, even now, many men feel that an employed wife signifies a husband who is an inadequate provider for his family" (Lewis 1968:8).

Betty Friedan (1963) captures the very heart of the

problem which has plagued the female half of the human race for centuries. She discusses the elements which prevent women from experiencing self-fulfillment as individuals. The "Feminine Mystique" clarifies the factors which contribute to this problem and how this problem is perpetuated.

Women unlike men are expected to be self-sacrificing and self-denying for their husbands and children. Friedan found that if they (women) had a professional goal before marriage, they either relinquish or postpone its attainment upon marriage, or at the birth of their first child. Their activities, therefore, become home-based and family-centered.

The traditional role of women has always been encouraged or ingrained in women's minds as their most important calling, the calling that was sure to provide self-fulfillment for every normal woman. The lack of self-fulfillment which women who have devoted themselves exclusively to their families, have experienced, was not applicable to any particular race, colour or income bracket. Friedan found evidence of this problem in all types of women. Its manifestations were ubiquitous within the American population.

According to tradition a woman is given the area of the home over which she can govern, while the man is given the exterior, that is, the world, in which he can dominate.

Women were told that if they concentrated on their husbands and children they would be fulfilled individuals.

Women who wanted to enter professional careers such as medicine and law were discouraged. Such women were seen as revolutionaries, attempting to upset the basic fabric of society. While men had numerous choices to choose from, women were all fitted into one slot regardless of their individualistic desires, academic or professional ability. All their energies were to be directed towards their families (Laws 1979).

A contributing factor to the vicarious lifestyle woman have been experiencing is the fact that women have not have a clear cut role in society as men do.

> "A man's role centers on his job, which strongly influences his social status and his relations with other people. One of the first things the typical person wants to know when being introduced to a man for the first time is, what does he do? While the typical questions concerning a woman are likely to be: Who is her husband? What does he do? How many children does she have? In other words, one perceives a woman in terms of the significant "others" in her life rather than as an individual. This means that a woman's status and, to some extent, her personality are determined by her husband and family" (Lewis 1968:9).

The 1950's can be termed a regression period for women, that is, a return to what Friedan (1963) calls "The Feminine Mystique." The marriage age was dropping, the percentage of women attending college declined and more entered the

workforce. Women were so deeply involved in carrying out their traditional roles as females that at the end of the 1950's the United States surpassed India in birthrate. Another byproduct of women concentrating on their prescribed role was the blossoming of the sewing machine.

Friedan discovered that most women were suffering from a lack of self-fulfillment as individuals. Their roles as wives and mothers did not satisfy them. Many forces combined to promulgate the traditional view of the housewife.

Some of the great thinkers of our time have contributed to the confinement of women. In regards to women's role, Freud said "Anatomy is Destiny," meaning that women should be wives, mothers and housewives. Other contributors were Spencer, Comte and Durkhiem (Oakley 1972).

Durkhiem believed that women's place was in the home. According to Comte,

> "In his positivist scheme of social reconstruction, every social class was to be ranked on a hierarchial scale of importance and specialization of function. Women were to be in charge of domestic morality, and their moral influence was to be ensured by the rule of indissoluble monogamous marriage"(Oakley 1974:22).

Comte believed that women's maturation was arrested in childhood.

One of the main perpetuators of women's prescribed roles (according to Friedan 1963) was the mass media. Through the power of suggestion women's magazines presented

models which women patterned themselves after. Most of the contents were about women in their traditional role without outside interests. Almost nothing was mentioned about events in the outside world. Editors believed that women were not interested or they did not have the intellectual capacity to comprehend problems of the world.

> "Our readers are housewives, full time. They are not interested in the public issues of the day. They are not interested in national or international affairs. They are only interested in the family and the home. They aren't interested in politics, unless it's related to an immediate need in the home, like the price of coffee - - - - . They've generally all had a high-school education and many, college. They're tremendously interested in education for their children fourth-grade arithmetic. You just can't write about ideas or broad issues of the day for women. That's why we're publishing 90 per cent general interest" (Friedan 1963:31).

Editors did not always present this calibre of magazine. In the pre-1950's, 1939 to be exact, the image of the American woman which appeared in articles made a more positive contribution to women's search for an individual identity not her existence through others. Within decades the image of the American woman turned one hundred and eighty degrees (Friedan 1963). This image went from a positive search for an individual identity to a completely vicarious attitude (Laws 1979).

The aim of the Feminist Movement was to gain rights for women which would guarantee them rights as individual

human beings and not as women. A summary of the proposed changes which would guarantee women the right to pursue a personal identity was presented by Elizabeth C. Stanton at Seneca Falls 1848.

Janeway emphasizes that various social changes made possible the Women's Movement, such as:

> "The decreasing economic function of the family, to schooling outside the home and to the public images that flood the home via radio and television, to the pill and what it means for the planning of childbirth, to medical advances that have ended the commonplace death of children in their first years of life and to higher education for more than the few" (Janeway 1972:10).

These are some of the social changes which served as a catalyst to women for seeking rights as individuals.

By 1920 one major right for which these women fought was won - - - the right to vote. Women who had been interested in gaining rights for women turned their energies to other oppressed groups because the final right that would ensure women freedom as individuals was won. Although women were granted the same rights as men, "they could not erase the hostility, the prejudice and the discrimination that still remained" (Friedan 1963: 93). The old attitude towards women were much harder to erase.

Because these attitudes were so difficult to change the first women who entered occupations and professions which were predominantly male were not greeted with open

arms. "Society seldom gives up its traditions without a struggle, and the modern woman is finding the struggle a difficult one" (Lewis 1968:6).

Freud, like other respected scientists, has made enormous contributions to the perpetuation of the negative image of women, because of his respected professional position and intellectual capacity. Freud's well known theory 'penis envy' which was used to describe a problem women in his time possessed, was used in the 1940's as a basis for American women's problems, which was not appropriate because Freud's culture was very different from the American culture.

It is possible that the problems were caused by 'penis envy' as Freud saw it in his culture but it must also be taken into consideration, that culture is relative. Freud saw problems in the women in his culture and then he generalized to other cultures very different from his own (Friedan 1963).

Freud's view of women was that they were not equal to men in any respect. Their mission was to serve man's several needs, always in submission to man ; ----- "Anatomy is Destiny." It is upon such views that he built his Theory of Femininity. During the 1940's, the theory of 'penis envy' was applied in literal terms to the American woman. Some analysts found no evidence of such a theory in their patients (Friedan 1963).

The Functionalists were also responsible for the perpetuation of The Feminine Mystique. Freud's concepts were used as pillars to lay the foundations for the new courses on Marriage and Family Life Education. Freud's findings which were based on his Victorian culture were used as a framework for observations by Anthropologists, such as, Margaret Mead. Freud's findings were taken as a general theory applicable to any culture. The cultural bias was not taken into consideration.

The Functionalist school clearly suggests to women that it is humanly impossible to combine a career with motherhood. It implies that it takes a very gifted person to combine both interests. The Functionalists believe that if the social structure is to be kept intact, sexual segregation must be maintained (Friedan 1963).

Friedan (1963) found in the 1950's there was a decrease in the number of women who showed any interest in preparing for a serious profession. Their interests were so negative that some women's colleges closed their doors. The most important thought on their minds was getting married to a successful man and having children. They were in school just to pass the time impatiently. This apathetic attitude was ubiquitous in all the colleges.

Educators in this period of time were pro-men and against women when it came to higher education. Girls who wanted to go into professional careers were advised

it was a waste of time since they were going to be wives and mothers. This lack of interest was statistically evident in 1955.

> "Only fifteen per cent of the boys did not continue their education: thirty-six per cent of the girls did not go on . . . . . In the fifties, women also dropped out of college at a faster rate than the men: only thirty-seven per cent of the women graduated, in contrast to fifty-five per cent of the men" (Friedan 1963:154).

In a Vassar study it was clearly demonstrated that the less feminine women were the more educated, and less adjusted, but these women also showed the greatest growth. They were less passive and conventional. The girls who had career plans were interested in marriage for a different reason than those who didn't have any plans. Those who had career plans looked at marriage not as a necessity for personal identity or security, but as a voluntary social act. These students were more independent and self-confident. The career-goaled girls did not permit their romantic interests to interfere with their career goals.

Upon the return of the men from the war, there was a high incidence of marriage. Women wanted the security of a home and family which could be so easily lost at a moment's notice. The war, therefore, served as a catalyst for believing in the Feminine Mystique. Another factor which contributed to the return of women to their homes

was the return of the men themselves, because they wanted their jobs back.

American mothers were under scrutiny, they were being blamed according to Freudian theory, for every problem their children had, whether it was alcoholism, neurosis, homosexuality or frigidity. Somewhere along the line in their lives, their mothers were responsible for their condition. Research showed that the mothers of the soldiers who were maladjusted were dependent and self-denying not career women.

These mothers lived their lives according to the traditionally prescribed roles for women and yet they were being blamed for their children's conditions (Friedan 1963). Mothers were also blamed for causing delinquency in their children because they went out to work. Research has shown that there is a relationship between children under the constant care of their mothers and the development of neurosis. Green (1946) found that lower class children who were physically and emotionally abused did not grow up to have neurosis. The reason he discovered was because these children were not under the constant nurturant care of their mothers all day.

Friedan discovered the power potential the business world possessed in relation to the American housewife. The American housewife made an enormous contribution to the business industry in dollars, to the amount of seventy-

five per cent. "Properly manipulated, American housewives can be given a sense of identity, purpose, creativity, the self-realization, even the sexual joy they lack, by the buying of things" (Friedan 1963:199).

Friedan discovered that on the basis of "depth interviews" which were done by businesses for manipulative reasons, housewives were divided into three types. These were, "The True Housewife Type, The Career Woman and The Balanced Homemaker." Of the three types, "The Balanced Homemaker" was considered the ideal type, from the market's point of view.

The goal of the manufactures was to manipulate women through advertisements into believing that it is possible to have interests outside the home, for example, as "The Balanced Homemaker" without becoming a career woman.

Friedan (1963) found that seventy-five per cent of the advertisements were directed towards housewives. They were the main targets of businessmen because they are home during the day. Through commercials women were shown how beneficial it would be for them to use a certain appliance and use their time and energy towards a more useful project.

> "The role of the experts serves a two-fold emotional function:
>
> (1) It helps the housewife achieve.
>
> (2) She moves beyond the orbit of her home, into the world of modern

> science in her search for new and better ways of doing things" (Friedan 1963:205).

By using different tools and appliances within the home, some housewives can be made to feel that they are engineers in charge of a small factory.

Men have always had, to a certain extent, control over women's existence. They have told women for centuries where their rightful place in society is, that being in the home. Women were not allowed to have interests or activities outside the home. To avoid this unpleasant confrontation some women turned to writing and art. "The appearance of women artists is a strong vital sign of the new presence in the world" (Janeway 1972:6).

Through their art women were able to communicate their inner feelings and experiences to others, depicting important milestones and events of women's lives. Women's history has a quality of discontinuity. One finds progressions and regressions. Friedan pointed out in "The Feminine Mystique" the regressions of women back into the home living the life the Mystique prescribed. "Like their personal lives, women's history is fragmented, interrupted, a shadow of human beings whose existence has been shaped by the demands of others (Janeway 1972:17).

An example of this discontinuity is evident during 1918. Women were allowed to work in the war industry so that the men could go off to war. The 1930's can be

labelled "regression years" in women's history when women were forced to give up their jobs so that men could have them. Within the next decade women were again needed because of another war. In this instance, they were allowed to go one step further, "into the armed forces on a par with men" (Janeway 1972:23).

Some women can be and are housewives, mothers, wives and working women. "Many women come to find that they need more than their role as wife and mother to feel worthwhile as persons" (Lewis 1968:13).

Women who also work outside of the home, sometimes take on all the responsibilities single-handedly aiming for perfection in all spheres. Women in this situation should seek as much as possible the help of others. Janeway (1972:28) feels that, "The rational thing for women to do, therefore, is to change the roles and the goals that they set for themselves." Women must no longer accept all these responsibilities solely as their own but must adjust them to meet their individual situation.

> "Any woman who is tackling the double responsibility of a job and a family must establish a system of domestic priorities at the beginning, and make it a rule to take jobs that only she can do while delegating as much of the remainder as possible to others. This may not be easy at first first as delegating is an art to be learned as one advances to positions of greater responsibility in life" (Musgrave and Wheeler-Bennett 1972:82).

It is a myth to state that women's responsibilities always consisted of taking care of her children and husband. An Anthropological study has shown quite the opposite. Women of the Gusii tribe take care of the farming of crops and the milking of cows (Janeway 1972).

The various tasks women were involved in, during the pre-industrialized era is another example of women's capabilities to successfully perform tasks other than those related to the family. It is,therefore,correct to state that some of women's roles have always included taking care of her husband and children. It would be wrong to state that women's roles have always been the traditional one, that being, housewife, wife and mother.

One of the consequences women have suffered is the inability to realize their full potential not as women, but as human beings. Women have come a long way since 1848, but they still haven't come the full journey. Janeway states, "I am beginning to suspect that one of the problems women have today is an excess of agreement at a superficial level, an excess - if you will of lip service" (Janeway 1972:130).

There are numerous instances in the past where women have been treated as non-persons. In 1873 Susan B. Anthony was told by a judge that the 14th Amendment which gave the right to vote to all citizens was not applicable to women. In the pre-1848 era married women

were told that they should become one with their husbands. A woman would give all the property she owned, she would promise to obey, meaning passivity, submission and subordination. Her major goal was to be self-denying and self-sacrificing in order to make her husband and children happy (Janeway 1972).

"The whole force of society, it would seem, was brought into play to prevent the ordinary process of growing up to adult and responsible maturity from taking place within the female mind and the female breast" (Janeway 1972:134). Under these conditions women were treated as children without needs, goals and dreams of their own.

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The major theory which is applied to this study is Symbolic Interactionism. Other related theories - Role Theory, The Theory of Socialization, The concept of the Social Script, Marxism and The Stratification Theory are also applicable.

A. SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONISM

The Symbolic Interactionist perspective is applicable to this study because it focuses on self, interaction, roles, joint action, attitudinal change, reference groups, and changes within one's social world. This perspective, "holds that human social action can take place because people are constantly engaged in constructing and modifying their social world" (Stephenson 1973:109).

This theory suggests that human life, human interactions and social change are constantly fostered through our daily interaction and communication with other humans. Various definitions are formed and sustained through the patterned or customized expectations we have of each other.

We come to the point of developing a clear and concise picture of who we are and where we fit in, in re-

lation to others. "These patterned expectations of appropriate character, motive and behaviour are what are usually known as roles" (Stephenson 1973:109). Every individual, therefore, has the power to define any situation with which they come in contact. The nature of a particular definition of a situation is based on the individual's perspective.

The rejuvenation of the desire for change in the attitudes, beliefs and roles of women, most of whom were housewives, reappeared in the 1960's. The traditional role of a housewife is one which is centered around "service for others." The self is denied fulfillment or gratification until responsibilities to others are fulfilled. All other members of the family unit are put first in terms of needs and wants.

The typical traditional housewife is supposed to be self-denying. Her love for her family is displayed in terms of how much and for how long she continues to put their interests ahead of her own.

> "The Symbolic Interactionist framework suggests that for the process of change to begin and continue there must be the conscious perception of a need to alter one's self and one's circumstances. This perception and alteration occurs through on-going interactive context" (Stephenson 1973:113).

The Symbolic Interactionist perspective and the Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) are closely connected. Both are of paramount importance to the social position

of women. If we were to place these (Symbolic Interactionist perspective and WLM) into a time sequence, identifying with the WLM ideology and realizing the relevance to one's life situation, should precede the actual process of change which the Symbolic Interactionist framework suggests. That is, "The conscious perception of a need to alter one's self and one's circumstances" (Stephenson 1973:113).

By accepting the WLM ideology and coming to the awareness that there is a need for change in one's life, a housewife could bring about changes in every aspect of her life. For instance, the housewife could attempt to remove herself from the center of the emotional arena and as chief operator of household affairs. Every housewife's situation is different. Changes might not be needed to the same degree.

Each housewife, therefore, has to evaluate her personal situation and then provide the correct conditions under which these desired changes could occur. These changes are not always easy to come by. Various approaches might be necessary. The traditional view of what a housewife should be are rooted in centuries of tradition, therefore, any attempt to alter these expectations may have to be done subtly.

Changes may be desired in every aspect of the housewife's life. For instance, the division of labour

within the home; being able to get away from the house and children on a regular basis; the attitude in regards to the children in terms of boy/girl chores, or sex-specific toys to play with; the belief in day-care and being selective about the stories one reads to young children in terms of sexist literature are prime examples.

The WLM ideology attempts to make housewives aware of the need for change which would lead them to a more fulfilled and complete self-identity. When the need for change is recognized and accepted then the process of social change can begin with an emphasis on alterations in their role expectations and performances.

The perspective one holds is a very important aspect of one's everyday existence. One's perspectives will colour the way one views the world and any situation one comes in contact with. Initial perspectives are not unchangeable or static processes. "A perspective is a point of view, placing observers at various angles in relation to events and influencing them to see events from these angles" (Charon 1979:3).

For most, if not all social roles in society, there is a perspective, (a point of view) that is accepted by the society generally. Incorporated in this perspective is a general outline of the behavioural expectations society has for each particular role. The traditional view of the role of a housewife is not in accord with

the present day expectations of some segments of society. A change in one's perspective is based on the situations one encounters and the interpretations of such encounters.

One's perspective, for the most part, is subjective. Two persons looking at the same situation or involved in the same social role may have two different outlooks. Our outlooks are determined by our perspectives and our perspectives are based on our "life situations." For instance, two full-time housewives with similar size family and socioeconomic background might view their personal situations differently. One might view her situation as an entrapment while the other might view hers as an opportunity for creativity and leisure pursuits (Oakley 1972). Interpretations are, therefore, reflective of one's perspective.

For centuries women have accepted the prescribed traditional perspective of what their role should be in life. The prescribed point of view began to lose support since the characteristics of their role were not satisfying to them. Women in the 1848 era first began to attempt to alter their social position.

Because the old perspective was out of kilter with their (women's) subjective views, the old perspective had to endure a few redefinitions, to those that would be more useful in terms of pursuing autonomous life goals.

> "A perspective, then, by its very nature is a bias, contains assumptions, value judgements, and ideas, orders the world. divides it up in a certain way, and as a result influences our action in the world" (Charon 1979:7).

The definition of a situation depends on how one views one's social world. When one's definition of the situation changes, through continuous interaction, one's perspective changes which may then lead to changes in one's behaviour.

B. ROLE THEORY

Role Theory is also applicable to this study because the housewife can be seen in relationship to the "others" in her network. Similar to any other role, there are certain duties expected of a housewife and these roles are performed in relation to specific "others".

> "A status in the abstract, is a position in a particular pattern ..... A status, as distinct from the individual who may occupy it, is simply a collection of rights and duties. Since these rights and duties can find expression only through the medium of individuals, it is extremely hard for us to maintain a distinction in our thinking between statuses and the people who hold them and exercise the rights and duties which constitute them ... A role represents the dynamic aspect of a status. The individual is socially assigned to a status and occupies it with relation to other statuses. When he (she) puts the rights and duties which constitute the status into effect, he is performing a role ..... Status and role serve to reduce the ideal matter for social life to individual terms" (Linton 1936:113-114).

A woman gains the status of housewife through marriage; however, when the housewife begins to perform the duties which are associated with this new status, she is then performing the role of a housewife. It is also true that women in common-law type marriages are not accorded the status of a housewife.

The status and role of a housewife provide the means by which the housewife and "others" in her network can engage in reciprocal activity. Statuses and roles are the necessary bases of reciprocal relationships.

> "Status is a socially identified position; role is the pattern of behaviour expected of persons who occupy a particular status" (Chinoy 1961:29).

Just as individuals have different personality traits, status and roles have different behaviour patterns and accomplishments which are expected from a person who occupies that particular status and role.

Most humans have various roles to perform in their daily life (interaction). Some roles may be conflicting while others tend to blend smoothly with our personality. All roles are not of equal importance, neither do they all require the same amount of attention (Stephenson 1973).

The length of time required for a particular role is not always indicative of its value to us. All the roles an individual performs are to some extent intertwined, the common base being, the individual. "A change in one will have consequences for the others we

maintain. Changes in role behaviour will, of course, affect the complimentary role behaviour of others who engage in everyday life with us" (Stephenson 1973:110).

Symbolic Interactionism and the Women's Liberation Movement both call for changes within one's social world and their roles within it. To change a housewife's attitude and perception about her role will cause a ripple effect in the rest of her roles, which would further have an effect in the attitude of others with whom she engages (Stephenson 1973).

Individuals do not invent roles as they proceed but the roles are pre-existent in relationship to the existence of the individual. A person is socialized into a specific role to a certain degree. Through interaction with others there is always room for "modification". The social expectations of roles, therefore, go through a dynamic process as opposed to a static process.

Because of this dynamic characteristic, a certain role can be modified over a period of time. That is, the behaviour associated with a particular role can vary over centuries. Therefore, if one were to look at a certain role within a particular time frame, changes in the "social expectations" might be apparent.

In order to understand the dialectical nature of the Theory of the Social Construction of Reality based on sexual identity, one must understand the process

through which social facts are established. "Social facts are created through human agency" (Laws 1977:2). That is, social facts have been institutionalized through man-directed operations.

The negative characteristics (isolation and economic dependency) of the Female Social Construction of Reality came into existence as a result of the Industrial Revolution. During the socialization process one receives a picture of sex-related reality. Through the process of living because one doesn't exist in total isolation from others, one's subjective opinion of the reality of what their Social Construction should be, can be altered drastically.

There can be a constant struggle between one's perception of one's subjective Reality and the Social Construction. A relationship where this discrepancy between personal Realities and Social Constructions exists can be dialectical in nature. The outcome of such a struggle would depend on the strength or determination of the self or the depth ~~of~~ the indoctrination one received during socialization.

A woman can, therefore, alter the definition of her subjective Reality so that it is in agreement with the Social Construction. On the other hand, a woman can attempt to alter the Social Construction to meet her personal definition of Reality or she can reject the

Social Construction all together, thus forming a new definition of the Female Social Construction of Reality.

Because social facts are man-made and are perpetuated through the socialization process, it is possible for alterations to occur within that Social Construction of Reality through confrontation, rejection and the support of other individuals whose personal Realities are not congruent with the societal definition of what their Social Construction of Reality should be.

It is imperative to emphasize that traditional Social Constructions have a definite history; they arose out of a particular era based on the social conditions at the time. The traditional Female Construction of Reality came into existence based on the industrial situation at the time, these conditions were, therefore, indicative of that particular era.

Another concept which is incorporated in the socialization process as is the process of role-learning, is the process of scripting. Scripts and roles are similar but not indentical.

> "A script is an action plan which contains something similar to role proscriptions and expectations, but it is not as definite or as clear as a theatrical script in which one learns lines verbatum in rehearsal" (Whitehurst and Booth 1980:58).

For centuries women's Sexual Script encompassed negative characteristics (exclusion from the productive

sphere, lack of self-fulfillment through work outside the home and vicarious life styles) which were naturally outcomes of that particular epoch.

These characteristics based on the industrial conditions of the particular time had been sustained over centuries and carried over to the present, to some extent, as the natural status of women's lives.

> "Thus in scholarly writing in the U.S. as in the popular media, the assumption is often made that the nuclear family, with father as breadwinner and children and wife as economic dependents, is the normal and best form of family" (Laws 1977:5).

Males and females have different scripts to incorporate into their identity which have been traditionally opposite in characteristics. Those Social Constructions are armed with features which perpetuate their structure as the only viable possibility. In the case of the housewife, there are built-in mechanisms which serve to perpetuate the traditional vicarious life styles women have been subjected to.

These opposing Social Constructions of Reality leave no room for deviations in terms of alternate family life arrangements; there is no room for Androgyny. Women's interests in activities other than those prescribed for them have been blamed for such occurences as, a rise in juvenile crime and a rise in divorce rates (Friedan 1963).

When women have shown an interest in careers out-

side the home they have been thought of as selfish and unfeminine. When a man has shown some interest in domestic activities, for example cooking, housework or even taking their babies for a walk they are looked upon as deviants. For either sex, deviations from the traditional roles were not welcomed but opposed.

"Sexual scripting governs both sexual behaviour and sexual identity" (Laws 1977:6). It,therefore,follows that the social role of a housewife is also scripted. That is, her behaviour, thoughts, limited activities, and her subjective view of herself as a person are also incorporated within this script.

> "A Social Construction which is fully developed includes not only routines and the mechanisms for educating, or socializing newcomers into the system but also means for maintaining the definition of reality on which it is based and the subjective loyalty of individuals" (Laws 1977:6).

C. THE THEORY OF SOCIALIZATION

One social process which every individual is exposed to is the Socialization Process. This process begins at the time of birth.

According to Berger and Luckman (1966), primary socialization is the first socialization an individual undergoes in childhood, through which he becomes a member of society.

The Socialization Process is of paramount importance to this study because it is through this process that an individual is introduced to the scripted characteristics, roles, expectations, and behaviours which are appropriate to one's sexual identity. Through this process one learns how to interact with fellow human beings.

The Socialization Process is not age-dependent, but is a life_long process. Every unfamiliar situation one enters, requires one to learn the appropriate behaviour necessary to be one of the group.

> "Socialization, therefore, is an interaction process that involves the acquisition of shared meanings; which meanings are manifested in the symbol system of a group and in the attitudes that prevail among group members" (Lauer and Handel 1977:54).

Individuals within our society undergo sex-specific socialization. The institution within which this sex-specific socialization process begins is the family, which is usually a reflexion of the wider society's expectations or values. Other extentions of this process are schools, churches, friends, and other relatives (Laws 1979). Adults within each of these institutions guide children's behaviour and expectations in ways which are equated with the traditional expectations of society at large.

Within the educational system children can be

geared towards careers which have been traditionally associated with their sex. Children can also be socialized through games such as monopoly.

> "They are being socialized into attitudes that are necessary for the functioning of a capitalist economy. Or consider the way that preschool picture books present life to young children..... ... females are portrayed in rather dull terms ..... through picture books, girls are taught to have low aspirations because there are so few opportunities portrayed as available to them. Socialization into sex-roles occur in very early childhood" (Lauer and Handel 1977:60).

Laws (1979) states that Hartley (1964) discovered that at an early age, "boys had learned that they had dominance over their future wives, and girls had learned that they would have to take those preferences into account."

Sex-role specific socialization occurs in children at a very early age. Gesell (1940) found that the majority of children he studied were able to identify their gender at three years of age. Iglitizin (1972) found that fifth graders had a traditional view of sex-specific tasks comparable to society's views of these same tasks.

According to the Social Stratification Theory all the members of the same family share the same social class as that of the breadwinner - the man; when the occupation of the man is used to determine the social class

of the woman one finds that there are discrepancies. Based on the housewives occupation, Oakley (1974:10) reports that between 49% - 93% housewives are in a different social class than their husbands.

"The conclusion that women participate unequally in their husband's status is congruent with empirical data on the social, economic, and legal treatment of married women" (Oakley 1974:10).

In general all housewives have a common low social status. Traditionally, according to stratification theory a married woman's individual social status is neglected. This denial of the married woman's individual social status whether lower or higher than her husband's has received a fair amount of criticism lately (Barth and Watson 1967, Acker 1973, Arnott and Bengston 1970).

Laws (1979:116) speaks of marriage as a paradox, "The paradox is that marriage seems to make a woman upwardly mobile, but in reality it makes her downwardly mobile." In today's society marriage is a cherished social act for a woman. Women are bound in to marriage because the cultural script tells them it is the means to social mobility." (Laws 1979:116). Women do not achieve this social mobility on their own but vicariously, through their husbands' occupational achievement.

The vicariousness of such an existence for women,

has been accepted as the norm as a basic characteristic of women's existence. Women have been taught and are expected to exist vicariously. Married women, therefore, experience a "derived status" as opposed to an "achieved status."

Laws (1979) states that a status which is gained vicariously and not through one's own works is capable of destruction. Based on Stratification Theory if a man is placed in a different social class, his wife and family moves right along with him.

Arnott and Bengston (1970:496) states,

> "Role theorists such as Mead, Cooley and James have stressed the idea that self-concept emerges in large part through our perception of how others view us. A feeling of self-worth is enhanced when others set a high value on the roles one plays in society. These roles give the individual his status relative to others."

In today's society occupation is indicative of status. The role of a housewife is given a low status, therefore, women as a group are accorded a low status, monetarily or occupationally. I suspect that if the creation of the traditional role of the housewife was given a high or medium status other occupations which women tend to dominate would have been given an equivalent status.

D. MARXISM

Marxist theory is especially applicable to women's

relative social position because it concentrates on oppression. Therefore, if women have been or are to be liberated it stands to reason that they have been or are oppressed in some way(s). I will, therefore, look at the germane ways in which (according to Marxist theory) women are or have been oppressed and the necessary solutions to obliterate these conditions.

Society might be in a temporary state of chaos without the services which housewives perform within the home. "Domestic labour is basic to society, it involves the reproduction of daily life itself" (Fox 1980:9). The numerous services which are sheltered under the phrase "Domestic Labour" are crucial to the existence of society as a whole. A housewife is not simply taking care of her family but she is also making a significant contribution to society as a whole by doing her part to propagate our species.

Because domestic labour is so central in women's lives, it is necessary, if we are to "understand women's position in the family and in society, to look at the organization of their daily work" (Fox 1980:9). We live in a society which, for the most part, correlates social position to one's occupation, which in turn gives one a particular status. Women's occupation has been for a long time, that of domestic labour within the home.

This work has given women a low social position

because of the low status it is accorded. Therefore, if the housewife's social position is to be improved,

> "The material conditions of women's household work ---- an understanding of them is the key in formulating a strategy for women's liberation. The struggle must begin from an understanding of the structural features of the household that are most oppressive to women, the origins and sustaining foundations of these household features, the way in which the household is changing and the obstacles to significant social change"(Fox 1980: 9-10).

In most, if not in all countries, the sphere of domestic labour is the responsibility of the women. Women through their socialization process naturally assume these duties. In cases where women also have jobs outside the home, the home coupled with most, if not all of the responsiblities are still theirs.

Within the Marxist framework housewives are oppressed in a capitalist society. The contributions they make to the economy are unseen and not understood. Engels suggests that domestic labour is productive in terms of, "The means of existence and ---- the production of human beings themselves, the propagation of the species" (Fox 1980:11). Therefore, the roots of the human species are grounded (based) within the household as a result of domestic labour. "Without an understanding of the organization of the household we will not fully understand the organization of society" (Fox 1980:11).

There are different degrees of oppression based on culture. In a capitalist society housewives are oppressed in certain ways, because of the mode of production. Within this type of system the division of labour is at its peak, the housewife is placed into a life of physical isolation. The isolated housewife's role is a feature of the capitalist society, it is also one of the distinctive differences from jobs outside the home.

One basic difference between domestic labour and work in a capitalist society is that the former is based on a formal contract, while the latter is informal and personal. Secondly, the worker who works for the capitalist is literally removed from his home and familiar surroundings, in order to sell his labour. This occurs for a certain number of hours on a daily basis. On the other hand, the housewife's working hours are not that clearly delineated in terms of location and specific times. Instead, "Household labour is interwoven with 'personal life' and totally enmeshed in the worker's most intimate personal relationships" (Fox 1980:12).

The very nature of household labour, that is, isolation and privatization, makes it difficult to organize its workers for 'collective action.' One characteristic of domestic labour, which is, 'no wages,' may have a negative effect on the housewife's "social status and decision making power within the household" (Fox 1980:12).

Another characteristic of domestic labour is that one's efforts or accomplishments are not seen by the public, that is, they are not tangible.

Domestic labour is, therefore, accorded a low social status because in a capitalistic society, social status is measured in terms of wages which very often is also indicative of a particular type of work.

Marxism views domestic labour as a necessity because, "It not only produces the next generation it also produces and continually reproduces the working capacity of the wage earner(s)" (Fox 1980:13). The housewife is, therefore, performing an invaluable service to the capitalist, that is, by nuturing and rejuvenating the wage worker daily, which could affect his performance. The duties performed by the domestic worker are, therefore, indispensable. It can be further stated that the capitalist society thrives to a certain extent, on the performance and ability of the domestic worker.

It is important to note that the various tasks involved in domestic labour did not come into existence as a result of capitalism. If one were to label a particular historical event as the catalyst, responsible for the eventual change in the social conditions under which household duties are performed, this event would be the Industrial Revolution. The Industrial Revolution, "Revolutionized the material basis of the household form

itself. The Bourgeois Revolution ended a prior set of household relations within which most women had worked, and, after an immense period of protracted transition, a new household form emerged" (Secombe 1980:76). Although this process was gradual, the social conditions under which household duties were performed were altered considerably.

According to Wally Secombe, in his article entitled, 'Domestic Labour and the Working-Class Household', there were five aspects of the household revolution which are apparent. The five aspects are:

> "1) The Sexual Division of Labour
> 2) Changes in the Nature and Status of Domestic Labour
> 3) The transformation of the Household into a Leisure-Time Unit.
> 4) The Double Day of Labour
> 5) The Form of Patriachy" (Secombe 1980:77-81).

Some of these facets will be discussed briefly. 'The Sexual division of Labour' was a necessary outcome of the Industrial Revolution because, "The work teams within which most men and women laboured diverged dramatically as the spread of capitalist mode of production divorced goods production from household production" (Secombe 1980:77).

Within the pre-industrialized household, the division of labour was not as clearly delineated as it is in the post-industrialized household. There are many tasks which were shared, housewives had adult companionship

during the day, they also had an opportunity to be part of the productive and economic forces, (both for use and sale) which were necessary for the family's survival. The outcome of the Industrial Revolution had, therefore, two opposing effects on men and women.

In regards to the men, their group went from small kin-based groups to large community-based groups of strangers. On the other hand, for women the effect was the reverse, that is, they went from a large-sized kin group to a smaller-sized group.

The negative aspects such as social and physical isolation and loneliness were also inherited at the end of the Industrial Revolution which lasted approximately one and a half centuries.

Secondly, "Changes in the Nature and Status of Domestic Labour," implied household tasks were not entwined with the economic and productive forces of society but were set aside, "As a distinct and separate task set in a peripheral position in relation to the mainstream of the economy" (Secombe 1980:77). The more that work outside of the home became increasingly prevalent in the capitalist society 'domestic labour' became regarded less and less as 'real' work because of its non-wage characteristic. "This constituted a profound alteration in the socially recognized status of this work vis à vis other forms of labour" (Secombe 1980:78).

Thirdly, "The Transformation of the Household into a Leisure-Time Unit," means that the wage-worker in a capitalist society has his leisure time vis à vis his work time very clearly delineated. The wage worker's entire existence becomes physically and psychologically rhythmic around these two distinct types of activities. "This pattern and all the psychic structures it reinforces is inimical to men's reciprocal participation in housework in the leisure time" (Secombe 1980:79). This is another major difference between wage labour and domestic labour.

The work/leisure dichotomy is clearly undifferentiated in domestic labour. "This profound difference between the work experience of men and women only comes into sharp counterposition through the protracted process of proletarianization" (Secombe 1980:79). As a result of this process domestic labour is still entwined with women's leisure activities, conversely men's leisure activities have been clearly delineated from their work activities in terms of physical location and social relations. This difference is attributable to the process of the capitalist mode of production.

Fourthly, "The Double Day of Labour," originally evolved as a result of the mode of production. Because productive labour was consistently removed from the home, housewives were no longer able to participate, but were left with child care and household duties. Women who

want to be involved in productive labour have to leave the home and also have the responsibility of the household labour plus child care hence, "The Double Day of Labour."

Women's oppression seems to be grounded in the family, where the socialization of intended social roles are learned. The division of labour within the home is very unequal; this type of labour is for the most part women's responsibility. This is also the type of labour which plays a key role in the maintenance of the capitalist social order.

In conclusion, the sociological perspectives presented, have been in relationship to housewives and the work they do within the home. These perspectives have been applied to women, most of whom are housewives. All housewives are women, but not all women are 'official' housewives.

Marxism sees housewives as oppressed and performing a very valuable service to the capitalist. This theory suggests that there cannot be equality for women under capitalism. I tend to believe that it is not necessary to go to the other extreme - Socialism.

> "There is room, under capitalism, for a reduction in inequality, an evening up between the sexes in the working class - - - - for example, the interplay between the socialization and the [illegible]ation of domestic labour - - - [illegible]e demanding quality child care [illegible]s to ease, the burden of the [illegible]day labour. - - - - Equal pay [illegible]work of equal value and affirmative

action" (Secombe 1980:87-88).

The Symbolic Interactionist perspective calls for change within the housewife herself which is only made possible when there is a "conscious perception of a need to alter one's self and one's circumstances" (Stephenson 1973:113). A housewife must make a subjective assessment of her situation and find it wanting.

The Marxist believe as more women become involved in work outside of the home, there will be a greater opportunity for organization for 'collective action.' The very fact that housework is privatized makes women inaccessible for organization. Although Marxism and Symbolic Interactionism both call for change, it is not of the same calibre. Symbolic Interactionism is more intrinsically individualistic, in the sense that the change has to be realized from within the person. Only then, the process of change can begin effectively.

Of these perspectives I believe the Symbolic Interactionist's is the most logical and applicable to the housewife and the work they do within the home. Based on the research done, there is some evidence that husbands are helping within the home, but not as much as they should. This type of progress is steady instead of the Marxist who would like to have a complete change in the type of government.

Within a non-capitalistic society women are not

necessarily going to be free of traditional roles, such as child-care and household chores. It is imperative for housewives to change their attitudes and work load and their feelings about themselves. Their perceptions of themselves as women (housewives) must be re-evaluated. Although society's attitudes about housewives and the worthwhile work they do within the home has been one of non-recognition as 'real work,' housewives themselves can begin to see their lives through different 'lens,' which is possible through the Symbolic Interactionist perspective.

> "Although these women continued to see themselves as housewives, they no longer see themselves as only housewives since they have new friends and many more activities outside the home. They feel that their husbands better understand the problems and rewards of running a household. They find the housewife role less dissatisfying because it has changed in character and is no longer their only important role - - - . The housewives now have a greater range of criteria by which to evaluate themselves and are therefore able to see themselves in a more positive light" (Stephenson 1973:123).

The following are only some of the areas in which changes may be necessary. For instance; a change in the perception of self, an equalization of labour within the home, an expansion of interest in things outside of the home, independent of their families.

Of the major theories (Marxism and Symbolic Interactionism) mentioned, Symbolic Interactionism is the most appropriate to facilitate change within the housewife

herself. It is one of the tenets of the Symbolic Interactionist perspective that one of the fundamental occurrences for the process of change to be executed is the personal recognition of its relevance to one's "life situation."

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

The sample population was drawn from two geographic areas in the Windsor area. The two areas were Forest Glade and The Villages of Riverside. The rationale for choosing these two areas was primarily the fact that they approximated average Canadian Households.

There was a total of sixty housewives interviewed. Thirty were from each geographic location. The sixty respondents were then divided into two social classes, (the middle and working class), using formal education as the criterion. Social class was assessed on the basis of the housewife's formal education and not on the basis of her husband's occupation, as is the tradition.

Housewives who have had an educational level of a high school graduate or lower, were placed in the working class group. Likewise, housewives who had an educational attainment level higher than high school were placed in the middle class group.

Formal education was considered to be the best measure of the housewives social class, as opposed to their husbands' occupation or geographic location. The housewives' occupations could have been utilized, had they all been working outside of the home. Formal education, therefore, is the most suitable criterion for determining the respon-

dents' social class status in this study.

Throughout most of the presentation and analysis of the data, the findings of the sixty respondents will be presented as a group. Then they will be partialled, using social class as a control variable. This pattern of partialling by social class is important to this study since Oakley (1974) followed this method. Comparisons would, therefore, be more meaningful between these two studies.

Various studies (Komarovsky 1967; Myradal and Klein ,1956 and Rosser and Harris 1965) have stated that the working-class housewife is more satisfied with housework than is her middle-class counterpart. One of the primary objectives of this study is to determine the similarities and the dissimilarities between the two social classes.

The sample was selected randomly, using the door to door method. The criteria for qualifying for this study were; (1) to have an intact marriage and (2) to have at least one preschool age child (under five years of age). Age and ethnicity of the respondents were not controlled.

The questionnaire was adopted from the Interview Schedule by Oakley (1974), with the exception of three questions. One of these three, was taken from an Interview Schedule by Ristic (1975) and the other two were designed by the researcher (APPENDIX B).

The questions were of the pre-coded and open-ended

types. A few pretest interviews were conducted to determine the validity and reliability of the questionnaire. The data were collected during the summer of 1981. The average time required for each interview was approximately sixty minutes.

The researcher was well received for the most part, with approximately a five per cent refusal rate. Each respondent was given a consecutive number in the order they were interviewed. As an expression of confidentiality the interviewer-researcher asked for the respondents' first name only.

Upon completion of the sixty interviews, the editing process was executed followed by the coding. The data were then punched into the computer using the Wylbur entry facility and the SPSS computer programme. The data were then reviewed several times for errors, before running crosstabulations.

The researcher called on the respondents at their homes. A brief explanation was given of the objective of the study. Most of the qualified respondents were interviewed at the same time. In cases where necessary, an appointment was arranged for a convenient time. A few of the respondents did complain about the length of the Interview Schedule.

The predominant reactions of the interviewees were of enthusiasm and interest, with one exception. The inter-

viewer-researcher attempted to play a constructive role during each interview. The advantages and disadvantages of face-to-face interviewing was taken into consideration Attempts were made not to convey any personal thoughts about the subject matter. Where necessary, the researcher attempted to "probe" without being suggestive, lest contaminated data were obtained (Hoinville et al).

The interviewing technique was thought to be the most appropriate for this study, considering the topic of our study and the length of the Interview Schedule. Since this is a partial replication of a study by Oakley (1974), the researcher wanted to stay as close as possible to Oakley's technique.

The significance level was set at .05. Tests of association utilized were Kendall's Tau B, Kendall's Tau C and Chi-square.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. STUDY OF HYPOTHESES

1. Statement Of Hypotheses

This investigation was a partial replication of a study by Oakley (1974) in England. The following hypotheses tested were based on Oakley's findings.

Hypothesis #1 - The majority of housewives are dissatisfied with housework.

Hypothesis #2 - Dissatisfaction patterns are not class-based.

Hypothesis #3 - Most housewives have a high or medium identification with the housewife's role.

Hypothesis #4 - Most housewives have a desire to maintain the status quo in regards to traditional sex roles.

Hypothesis #5 - The higher the job status prior to marriage the more dissatisfaction will be experienced.

2. Data Analysis of Hypotheses

Hypothesis #1 - The majority of housewives are dissatisfied with housework.

In order to test this hypothesis a new dependent variable "Housework Satisfaction" was created utilizing question fourteen. The respondents were given a coded score of (1) Very Satisfied (2) Satisfied (3) Dissatisfied or (4) Very Dissatisfied. These four categories were then collasped into two categories (1) Satisfied and (2) Dissatisfied. These scores were based on their individual cumulative score for these questions.

Our first hypothesis was not supported by our findings. Of the sixty housewives, 62%(37) were assessed as satisfied and 38%(23) were assessed as dissatisfied with housework (Figure 1).

Conclusively, the majority of housewives are not dissatisfied with housework. Although there are proportionately more respondents satisfied than dissatisfied, the difference is not significant (Chi-square applied).

Hypothesis #2 - Dissatisfaction patterns with housework are not class-based.

Before this hypothesis could be tested the respondents were dichotomized into two social classes (middle and working class). The criterion used to assign a respondent to a particular social class was their formal education.

In Table I it is evident that within the working

FIGURE 1

HOUSEWORK SATISFACTION

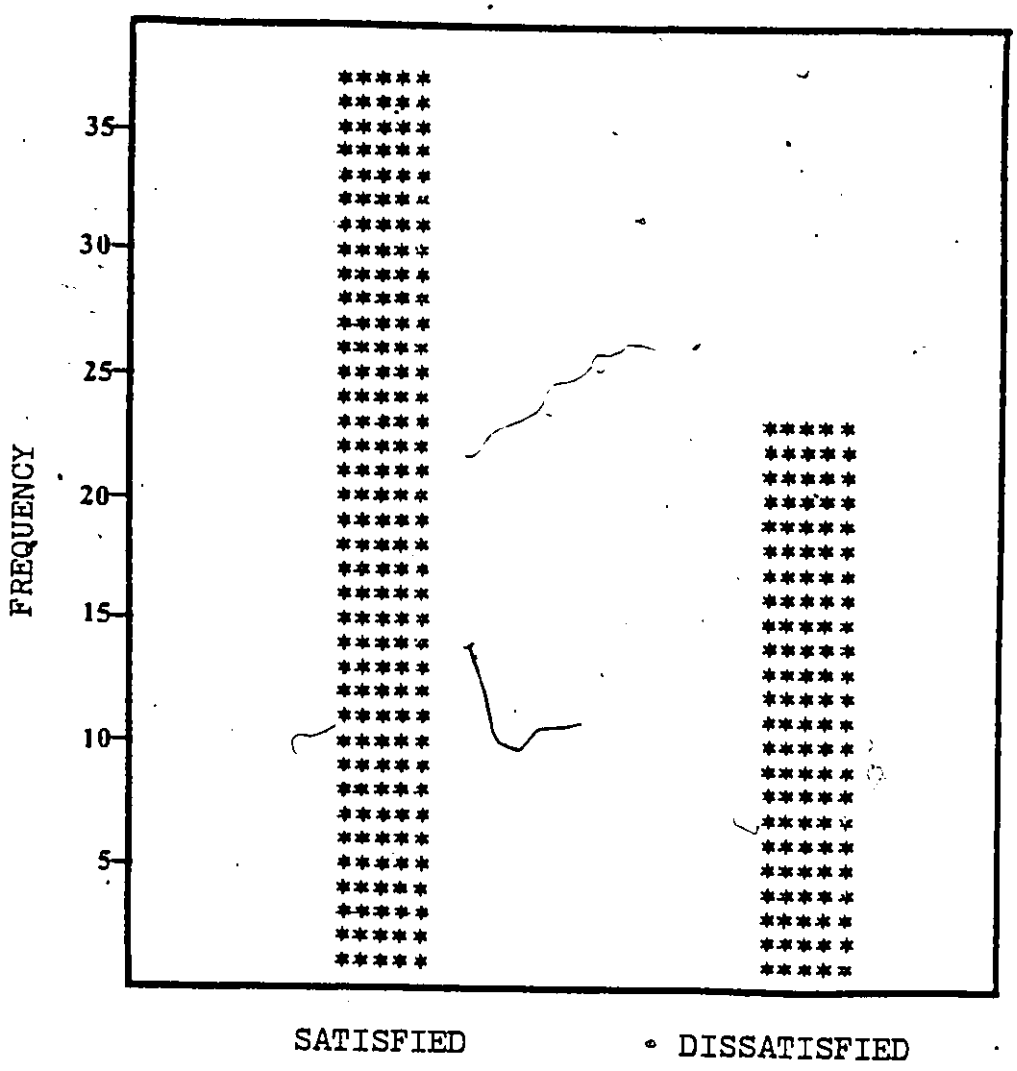


TABLE I

SOCIAL CLASS BY HOUSEWORK SATISFACTION

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Total
Working class	62%(23)	38%(14)	37
Middle class	61%(14)	39%(9)	23
Total	62%(37)	38%(23)	60

Kendall's Tau B = 0.01293 Significance =0.4605

Sample size (n) = 60

class group, 62%(23) of the respondents are satisfied with housework, while 38%(14) are dissatisfied. In the middle class group 61%(14) are satisfied while 39%(9) are dissatisfied with housework.

The distribution between the two social classes is similar for the satisfied and dissatisfied categories. These findings are not significant (Kendall's Tau B=.01293, Significance=.4605). Based on these findings we can state that our hypothesis, dissatisfaction patterns with housework are not class-based, was supported; that is, both variables, dissatisfaction patterns with housework and social class are unrelated.

Although this relationship was not significant at the .05 level, the Tau B value indicates that there is a positive relationship between these two variables. Based on the information above we can state that the working class respondent is no more likely to be dissatisfied with housework than is her middle class counterpart.

Hypothesis #3 - Most housewives have a high or medium identification with the housewife's role.

Before this hypothesis could be tested, a new independent variable, "identification with the housewife's role", was formed utilizing questions 40, 42-44, and 46-48 of the interview schedule.

Of the sixty housewives, 85%(51) had a high identification while 15%(9) had a medium identification with

the housewife's role. There were no respondents with a low identification. Therefore, the respondents within the high and medium categories are equivalent to 100% (Figure 2). The difference between the cumulative score for the high and medium catagories versus the low category is significant, based on Chi-square.

We can, therefore, accept the hypothesis that most housewives have a high or medium identification with the housewife's role.

Hypothesis #4 - Most housewives have a desire to maintain the status quo, in regards to traditional sex roles.

In order to test this hypothesis, a new variable "desire to maintain the status quo" was created utilizing questions 88 and 89 of the Interview Schedule. The questions were worded, "Do you agree with men doing housework and looking after children?" The second question was, "What would you think of a marriage in which the wife went out to work and the husband stayed at home to look after the children?"

Of the sixty housewives 35%(21) did not want to maintain the status quo, 62%(37) had mixed feelings about it and 3%(3) wanted to maintain the status quo, in terms of traditional sex roles (Figure 3).

This hypothesis was not supported by our findings. However, it is important to point out that most of the respondents had mixed feelings about the maintenance of the

FIGURE 2

IDENTIFICATION WITH THE HOUSEWIFE'S ROLE

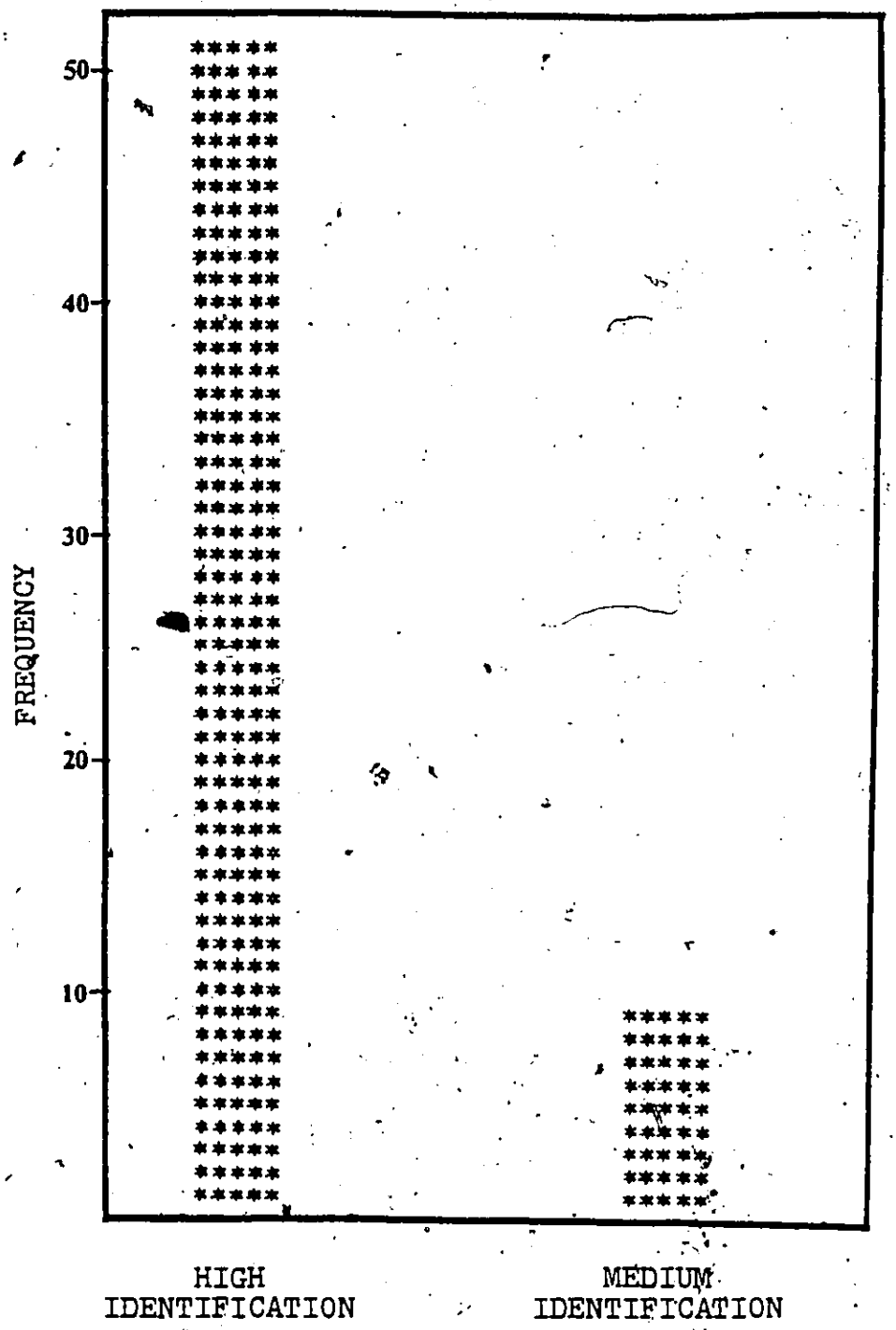
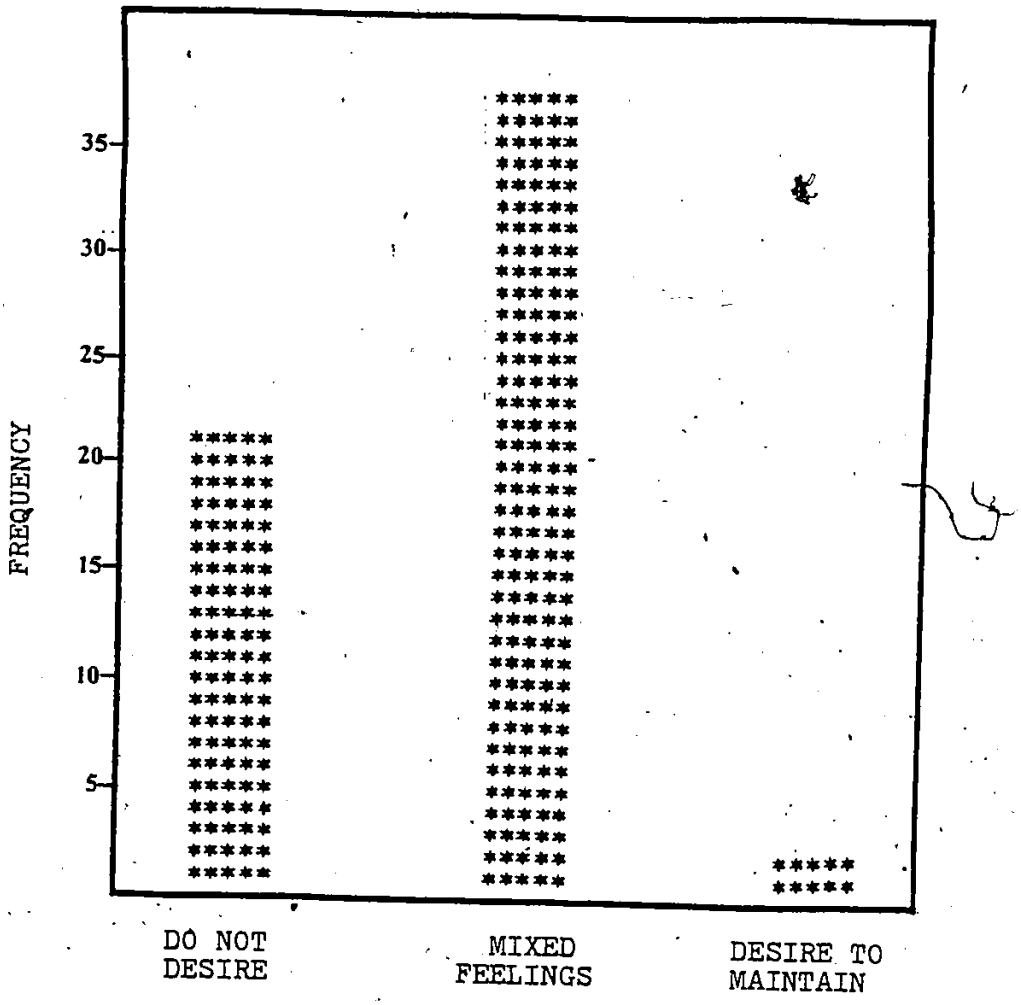


FIGURE 3

DESIRE TO MAINTAIN THE STATUS QUO



status quo, in regards to traditional sex roles. Most housewives believed that husbands should do housework and look after children but most of them did not feel that there should be a total role reversal. The man should be the breadwinner was a common response.

Table II shows the relationship between the desire to maintain the status quo in regards to traditional sex roles and social class. If we look at the two social classes individually, we see that within the working class group 43%(16) did not want to maintain the status quo, 51%(19) had mixed feelings , while 5%(2) wanted to maintain the status quo. In the middle class group only 22%(5) did not want to maintain the status quo, 78%(18) had mixed feelings while no respondents wanted to maintain the status quo.

If we were to compare the mixed feelings categories, we would observe that the middle class respondents have a much greater incidence of mixed feelings. In the "Do not want to maintain the status quo" category, it is the working class which has the higher incidence between the two groups. In both social class groups the predominant feeling is one of ambivalence.

The middle class housewife is more likely to have ambivalent feelings about a redefinition of the traditional sex roles than her working class counterpart, thus making the redefinition of these sex roles more possible. The working class respondent is more likely to have less

TABLE II

DESIRE TO MAINTAIN THE STATUS QUO BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Do not desire to maintain the status quo	Mixed feelings	Desire to maintain the status quo	Total
Working class	43%(16)	51%(19)	5%(2)	37
Middle class	22%(5)	78%(18)	0%(0)	23
Total	35%(21)	62%(37)	3%(2)	60

Kendall's Tau C = 0.16333 Significance =0.0943

n = 60

traditional views of the definition of sex roles in the "Do not desire to maintain the status quo," category. This relationship is not statistically significant (Kendall's Tau C =0.16333, Significance =0.0943). However the Tau C value indicates a positive relationship between these variables.

Hypothesis #5 - The higher the job status prior to marriage, the more dissatisfaction will be experienced.

Prior to testing this hypothesis, types of jobs prior to marriage were classified into Low, Intermediate or High Status, using a classification scheme by Oakley (1974:72). Table III shows that in the Low Status group 73%(8) of the respondents were satisfied, while 27%(3) were dissatisfied. In the intermediate group 57%(13) were assessed as satisfied while 43%(10) were dissatisfied. Of the 16 respondents with prior High Status jobs 63%(10) were satisfied and 37%(6) were assessed as dissatisfied.

This hypothesis was not supported by our finding (Kendall's Tau C =0.05920, Significance =0.3450). The Tau C value indicates that there is a positive relationship between these variables.

Table IV summarizes the data when social class was controlled. In the working class, of the ten respondents with Low Status jobs prior to marriage, 70%(7) were satisfied with housework while 30%(3) were dissatisfied. In the Intermediate group 56%(10) were satisfied and 44%(8) were

TABLE III

JOB STATUS BEFORE MARRIAGE BY HOUSEWORK SATISFACTION

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Total
Low status	73%(8)	27%(3)	11
Intermediate status	56%(13)	44%(10)	23
High status	63%(10)	37%(6)	16
Total	62%(31)	38%(19)	50

Kendall's Tau C = 0.05920 Significance = 0.3450

n = 50

TABLE IV

JOB STATUS BEFORE MARRIAGE BY HOUSEWORK SATISFACTION BY WORKING CLASS

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Total
Low status	70%(7)	30%(3)	10
Intermediate status	56%(10)	44%(8)	18
High status	67%(2)	33%(1)	3
Total	61%(19)	39%(12)	31

Kendall's Tau C = 0.08741 Significance = 0.3138

n = 31

dissatisfied. Among the High Status group, 67%(2) were satisfied while 33%(1) were dissatisfied. This relationship is not statistically significant (Kendall's Tau C =0.08741, Significance =0.3138).

In the middle class group (Table V) there was only one respondent with a Low Status job prior to marriage. Of those respondents with Intermediate Status, 60%(3) were satisfied, while 40%(2) were assessed as dissatisfied with housework. There were 13 respondents with High Status jobs. Sixty-two per cent (8) were assessed as satisfied with housework, while 38%(5) were dissatisfied. This relationship was not statistically significant (Kendall's Tau C =0.06648, Significant =0.3778).

In both social classes the Tau C values indicate a positive relationship between these variables. Based on the information given above we can conclude that respondents with prior High job Status are no more likely to be dissatisfied with housework, than the respondents with prior Low and Intermediate job Status.

Table VI summarizes the data for housewives who are working at present by Housework Satisfaction. The respondents were divided into three groups. (1) Low Status, (2) Intermediate Status and (3) High Status based on a classification scheme by Oakley (1974:72). Of the 60 respondents 30%(18) are working outside the home at present. Of the respondents with Low Status jobs 60%(3) were satisfied, while 40%(2) were dissatisfied. The respondents within the Intermediate Status group were equally divided between the satisfied and dissatisfied

TABLE V

JOB STATUS BEFORE MARRIAGE BY HOUSEWORK SATISFACTION BY MIDDLE CLASS

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Total
Low status	100%(1)	0%(0)	1
Intermediate status	60%(3)	40%(2)	5
High status	62%(8)	38%(5)	13
Total	63%(12)	37%(7)	19

Kendall's Tau C = 0.06648 Significance = 0.3778

n = 19

TABLE VI

RESPONDENT WORKTYPE BY HOUSEWORK SATISFACTION

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Total
Low status	60%(3)	40%(2)	5
Intermediate status	50%(2)	50%(2)	4
High status	44%(4)	56%(5)	9
Total	50%(9)	50%(9)	18

Kendall's Tau C = 0.13580 Significance = 0.2987

n = 18

categories. Forty-four per cent were satisfied while 56%(5) were dissatisfied. Although proportionally more High job Status respondents were dissatisfied with housework, the findings were not statistically significant (Kendall's Tau C = 0.13580, Significance =0.2987).

In the working class group (Table VII) respondents in the Low and Intermediate categories were equally satisfied and dissatisfied with housework. There was only one respondent in the High Status category. This relationship was not statistically significant (Kendall's Tau C =-0.02449).

In the middle class group (Table VIII) there were not enough respondents in the Low Status category to facilitate a comparison. Respondents in the Intermediate category were equally satisfied and dissatisfied with housework. In the High Status group there were 8 respondents. Of these, 37%(3) were satisfied and 63%(5) were dissatisfied. However, this relationship was not statistically significant (Kendall's Tau C =0.26446, Significance =0.1756).

For those respondents working at present outside the home, it was found that of those with High job Status, 56% are dissatisfied with housework. In the middle class, 63% of those with High job Status are dissatisfied. Although proportionally more housewives with High Status jobs are dissatisfied, these relationships are not statistically significant. However, the Tau C values indicate a positive relationship in both cases (Tables VII and VIII).

TABLE VII

RESPONDENT WORKTYPE BY HOUSEWORK SATISFACTION

BY WORKING CLASS

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Total
Low status	50%(2)	50%(2)	4
Intermediate status	50%(1)	50%(1)	2
High status	100%(1)	0%(0)	1
Total	57%(4)	43%(3)	7

Kendall's Tau C = 0.24490

n = 7

TABLE VIII

RESPONDENT WORKTYPE BY HOUSEWORK SATISFACTION

BY MIDDLE CLASS

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Total
Low status	100%(1)	0%(0)	1
Intermediate status	50%(1)	50%(1)	2
High status	37%(3)	63%(5)	8
Total	45%(5)	55%(6)	11

Kendall's Tau C = 0.26446 Significance = 0.1756

n = 11

3. Discussion of Findings of Hypotheses

There is no significant difference in regards to housework dissatisfaction between the two groups. The middle class and working class housewives are satisfied and dissatisfied to similar degrees (Hypothesis #2). Similarly, in Oakley's study, there was no social class difference in regards to the distribution of housewives' degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with housework.

When a housewife possesses an identification with the housewife's role, it is indicative of the degree to which she believes that the performance of such household tasks is hers to execute. Therefore, housewives who have a High Identification with this role, might tend to be more traditional in their performance of related tasks.

This finding was supported by our data. It is not surprising considering the fact that housewives are socialized for this particular role almost from day one. Through their developmental years, most of the adult women around them perform these tasks whether or not they are working outside of the home. By viewing such role models, a child realizes whether consciously or unconsciously, that there is a link between adult women and the performance of household tasks.

In our study we found that all the housewives had a High or Medium Identification with the housewife's role.

This finding is also in agreement with Oakley's. A contradictory finding was Hypothesis #4. Our data showed that most housewives have mixed feelings about maintaining the status quo in regards to traditional sex roles. Oakley's finding was that most housewives have a desire to maintain traditional sex roles behaviour.

In response to the question, "What would you think of a marriage in which the wife went out to work and the husband stayed at home to look after the children," some of the responses given were, "it is better for the mother to be at home; a man can't do a good job; I would feel guilty; men are not patient; he may not do it my way; the home is mine, I would feel pushed out; he would be ostracized; it's abnormal for a man to be home and he would be a sissy."

All these reasons given by the respondents indicate that there is a general consensus about a man's domesticity. These responses suggest that men can't be nuturing individuals by virtue of their sex and if they did possess such a quality, they wouldn't be men. Furthermore, some of these responses suggest that for a man to perform such nuturant roles would be indicative of homosexual tendencies. This line of thought was evident by such a response as, "he would be a sissy."

For most of these housewives not only is it impossible to have a total role reversal, but it is unnatural. The

predominant belief is that, women are naturally nuturant individuals, men are not. There was not any suggestion that men could acquire such a quality through practice.

In regards to Hypothesis #5, Oakley found that the higher the job status prior to marriage, the more dissatisfaction was experienced by the respondents. All of the respondents in the High Status category in Oakley's study, were dissatisfied with housework. In our study, we found that the majority of the respondents with previous High job Status were satisfied with housework.

The sociological theory which states that there is a relationship between job dissatisfaction and the statuses of different occupations is "status congruency," which Oakley has applied to her study. Two of the proponents of this theory are, Pellegrin and Bates (1959). If we were to apply this theory to this study, we should observe a progressively higher degree of housework dissatisfaction as the level of previous job status rises, since housework has a low status. However, when present job status was cross-tabulated with Housework Satisfaction, it was found that the majority of the respondents with present High Status jobs were dissatisfied (this difference was not statistically significant).

Steidl and Bratton (1968:23) cite a study by Kelsey (1965) in which she found that almost one tenth of the fifty respondents were dissatisfied with housework

and almost one half were satisfied.

Some of the findings of our study are contradictory to what Oakley (1974) found. Oakley's study consisted of 40 housewives (20 middle-class and 20 working-class). According to Oakley's findings, "The predominant feeling was one of dissatisfaction. Twenty-eight of the forty housewives came out as dissatisfied" (Oakley 1974:6). In this study, the predominant feeling was one of satisfaction.

There are various factors which may account for our findings. People have a tendency to respond positively, when asked a direct report on their satisfaction (Oakley 1974). This type of natural response could be responsible to some extent, for the overall response received. Another factor could have been the respondents need not to be seen as being different from the expected norm. They could have been responding in the way they believed they should.

A third factor could have been the method of recording the data. Oakley's information was tape recorded. In this study, the information was hand-recorded. It is possible to obtain a lot more information by listening to an interview verbatum. In this study, it was felt that attempting to tape-record the interviews might have served as a hindrance.

The different methods used for sample selections may be another contributing factor. Oakley's was a non - random sample, taken from two Doctors' patients and the variables ethnicity and age were controlled. These variables were not controlled in this random sample. Oakley's sample was, therefore, homogeneous while ours was not (APPENDIX A).

Another factor is that social expectations may have changed during the time span between which the two studies were done. Oakley's study was conducted in 1971, published in 1974 while this study was conducted in 1981. Other factors to be considered are the social and economic conditions and the availability of technological equipment, between 1971 in Britain and 1984 in Canada.

There are certain factors which might contribute to a worker's satisfaction or dissatisfaction. For example, the availability of certain amenities, such as, washer - dryers, vacuum cleaners and refridgerators. However, Steidl and Bratton (1968) cites Herzberg, Mausner and Snyderman's (1959) theory, which states that:

> Factors affecting job satisfaction do not operate on a continuum; that is satisfaction of certain factors, satisfiers, may increase satisfaction with the job but their absence would not make him dissatisfied would pull him to a neutral point. Dissatisfiers would operate in the same manner; their presence would contribute to an unhappy employee, but their absence would not turn him into a happy employee. Herzberg et al further suggests that the satisfiers concern the content of the job, the dissatisfiers the context" (Steidl and Bratton 1968:24).

If we assume that Herzberg et al's theory is correct, we can say that housewives who do not have various amenities available to them would not be anymore satisfied if they did. Likewise, those housewives who have all the available amenities at their disposal would not be anymore dissatisfied if they should become inaccessible to them.

Based on this theory, one can say that one's satisfaction or dissatisfaction with one's work (housework) is based on some intrinsic individualistic quality rather than on the characteristic of the job or on the amenities at their disposal.

B. STUDY OF OTHER VARIABLES

To facilitate readability and understanding, the following variables will be looked at with respect to the Working Class and the Middle Class separately. A brief discussion will follow each section where applicable. The questions which are applicable to each variable will be stated at the beginning of each section.

1. Division of Labour within the Home

Question - Does your husband help occasionally, regularly or never with the housework?

Each respondent was asked which of the three responses best represented her husband's level of involvement within the home. Looking at the group (60 husbands) as a whole, it is evident that 58% helped occasionally with housework, 30% helped regularly and 12% never help.

Working Class

Within the Working Class group 60% help occasionally, 24% help regularly and 16% have been reported as never helping with housework (Table IX).

Middle Class

In this group 57% of the husbands help occasionally, 39% help regularly while 4% never help with housework (Table IX).

TABLE IX

SOCIAL CLASS BY HUSBANDS' HELP WITH HOUSEWORK

	Regularly help	Occasionally help	Never help	Total
Working class	24%(9)	60%(22)	16%(6)	37
Middle class	39%(9)	57%(13)	4%(1)	23
Total	30%(18)	58%(35)	11%(7)	60

Kendall's Tau C = 0.02220 Significance = 0.4314

n = 60

Table X summarizes the extent of the husbands' involvement with housework when their wives are working and not working outside of the home. Within the group of housewives with jobs outside of the home, 67% help regularly with housework, 28% help occasionally and 5% never help. Of the housewives who do not work outside of the home, 71% help occasionally, 14% help regularly and 15% never help.

Working Class

When social class was controlled, a similar distribution was observed (Table XI). Of the housewives who were working, 71% helped regularly, 14% helped occasionally and 15% never help. In the cases when the housewives are not working 70% of the husbands help occasionally, 13% help regularly and 17% never help with housework.

Middle Class

Looking at the middle class group, it is evident that 64% of the husbands help regularly with housework if their wives are working outside the home; 36% help occasionally and 0% never help. Of those housewives who are not working outside of the home, 75% help occasionally, 17% help regularly while 8% never help (Table XII).

Discussion

The one activity which seems to increase to some

TABLE X

JOB OUTSIDE THE HOME BY HUSBANDS' HELP WITH HOUSEWORK

	Regularly help	Occasionally help	Never help	Total
Job outside the home	67%(12)	28%(5)	5%(1)	18
No job outside the home	14%(6)	71%(30)	15%(6)	42
Total	30%(18)	58%(35)	12%(7)	60

Kendall's Tau C = 0.29333 Significance = 0.0077

n = 60

TABLE XI

JOB OUTSIDE THE HOME BY HUSBANDS' HELP WITH HOUSEWORK

BY WORKING CLASS

	Regularly help	Occasionally help	Never help	Total
Job outside the home	71%(5)	14%(3)	15%(1)	7
No job outside the home	13%(4)	70%(21)	17%(5)	30
Total	24%(9)	60%(22)	16%(6)	37

Kendall's Tau C = 0.28050

Significance = 0.0171

n = 37

TABLE XII

JOB OUTSIDE THE HOME BY HUSBANDS' HELP WITH HOUSEWORK

BY MIDDLE CLASS

	Regularly help	Occasionally help	Never help	Total
Job outside the home	64%(7)	36%(4)	0%(0)	11
No job outside the home	17%(2)	75%(9)	8%(1)	12
Total	39%(9)	57%(13)	4%(1)	23

Kendall's Tau C = 0.33270 Significance = 0.0603

n = 23

extent, a husband's involvement in housework is his wife's employment outside of the home. Various studies have looked at the relationship between these two variables. Young and Willmott (1973) reported an increase in husbands involvement in housework due to the wives outside employment. Moore and Sawhill (1978) state that husbands participate slightly more in housework when their wives are working. "Only a minority of husbands give the kind of help that assertions of equality in modern marriage imply" (Oakley 1974:138).

Not only has housework been labelled, "woman's work," but it can also be said that women seem to have an affinity towards this type of work. Some men seem to have an innate dislike towards this type of activity. Husbands' participation in housework can have a positive effect on their sons, through the role modelling process (Moore and Sawhill 1978). The fact that men are becoming slightly more domesticated could increase with every new generation. We can, therefore, be guardedly optimistic about husbands' involvement in the execution of household tasks. Table XIII shows the mean hours husbands and wives spend per week on the six major household tasks.

Based on the information above we can conclude that husbands' involvement in the performance of household tasks is determined by their wives employment outside of the home. Husbands help regularly with housework when their wives

TABLE XIII

TIME SPENT ON HOUSEHOLD TASKS

Household Task	Mean of Hours per week for Housewives	Mean of Hours per week for Husbands	Range of Hours per week for Housewives
Cleaning	14	3	2 - 42
Shopping	2	2	1 - 14
Cooking	13	2	1 - 35
Dishes	7	2	1 - 28
Laundry	8	2	1 - 32
Ironing	3	1	0 - 23

work outside of the home. However, when their wives were not working outside of the home, they helped occasionally with housework. When social class was controlled the same pattern emerged, in both instances.

2. Division of Child-care Activities

Question - Does your husband help occasionally, regularly or never with child-care?

Of the sixty husbands, 75% helped regualrly, 20% helped occasionally while 5% never helped with child-care (Table XIV).

Working Class

In the working class, 22% helped occasionally, 70% helped regularly and 8% never helped with child-care (Table XIV).

Middle Class

In this group, 17% helped occasionally and 83% helped regularly (Table XIV).

Table XV shows the extent of the husbands' involvement in child-care activities when their wives are working outside of the home. When wives worked outside of the home 83% of the husbands helped regularly, 17% helped occasionally. In the instances when the wives did not work outside of the home 71% of the husbands helped with child-care activities.

TABLE XIV

SOCIAL CLASS BY HUSBANDS' HELP WITH CHILD-CARE

	Regularly help	Occasionally help	Never help	Total
Working class	70%(26)	23%(8)	8%(3)	37
Middle class	83%(19)	17%(4)	0%(0)	23
Total	75%(45)	20%(12)	5%(3)	60

Kendall's Tau C = 0.23330 Significance = 0.4163

n = 60

TABLE XV

JOB OUTSIDE THE HOME BY HUSBANDS' HELP WITH CHILD-CARE

	Regularly help	Occasionally help	Never help	Total
Job outside the home	83%(15)	17%(3)	0%(0)	18
No job outside the home	71%(30)	22%(9)	7%(3)	42
Total	75%(45)	20%(12)	5%(3)	60

Kemdall's Tau C = 0.01000 Significance =0.4617

n = 60

Working Class

When social class was controlled, housewives in the working class group reported that 71% of their husbands helped with child-care activities when they worked outside of the home. In cases where wives did not work outside of the home, 70% of the husbands helped regularly (Table XVI).

Middle Class

In the middle class, 91% of the husbands whose wives worked outside of the home helped regularly with child-care activities (Table XVII).

Discussion

This is the area of the housewife's role in which husbands tend to participate the most. Husbands participate regularly in child-care activities as opposed to their occasional participation in housework tasks. Husbands probably participate to a higher degree in child-care, because of one of its basic qualities which is opposite to housework.

> "These two roles are, in principle, more fundamentally opposed. The servicing function is basic to housework; children are people. Child-care is productive; housework is not. Housework has short-term and repetitive goals; the house is cleaned today and again tomorrow, - - - - - . Motherhood has a single long-term goal, which can be described as the mother's own eventual employment" (Oakley 1974:166-7).

Oakley (1974) found that 25% of the husbands in her sample had a high level of involvement in child-care. In our

TABLE XVI

JOB OUTSIDE THE HOME BY HUSBANDS' HELP WITH CHILD-CARE

BY WORKING CLASS

	Regularly help	Occasionally help	Never help	Total
Job outside the home	71%(5)	29%(2)	0%(0)	7
No job outside the home	70%(21)	20%(6)	10%(3)	30
Total	70%(26)	22%(8)	8%(3)	37

Kendall's Tau C = 0.09642

Significance = 0.2124

n = 37

TABLE XVII

JOB OUTSIDE THE HOME BY HUSBANDS' HELP WITH CHILD-CARE

BY MIDDLE CLASS

	Regularly help	Occasionally help	Never help	Total
Job outside the home	91%(10)	9%(1)	0%(0)	11
No job outside the home	75%(9)	25%(3)	0%(0)	12
Total	83%(19)	17%(4)	0%(0)	23

Kendall's Tau B = 0.20966 Significance = 0.1627

n = 23

sample, 75% of the husbands helped regularly with child-care activities.

3. Time Spent on Housework per Day

Question - Can you tell me about the things you did yesterday from the time you got up to the time you went to sleep.

Working Class

Housewives in the working class group spent an average of 8 hours per day on housework. The working class housewife who also has a job outside the home, spends an average of 7 hours while the housewife who does not have a job outside of the home spends 9 hours per day on housework (Table XVIII).

Middle Class

Housewives in the middle class group spend an average of 9 hours on housework per day. The middle class housewife who also works outside of the home spends an average of 7 hours on housework per day. Those who are not working outside of the home spend an average of 11 hours per day on housework (Table XVIII).

Discussion

Our data shows that on the average, housewives spend 9 hours per day or 63 hours per week on housework activities; this finding supports the belief that housework is a full-time job. According to Oakley (1974) respondents in her study spent an average of 77 hours per week on

TABLE XVIII

HOURS SPENT ON HOUSEWORK PER DAY

	Working Class			Middle Class		
	Mean (h)	Median (h)	Mode (h)	Mean (h)	Median (h)	Mode (h)
Job outside the home	7	6	5	7	5	3
No job outside the home	9	9	8	11	11	13

housework.

Various authors (Proulx 1978, Meissner 1975, Myrdal and Klein 1956, Komarovsky 1962, Vanek 1974, Cowles and Dietz 1956 and Robinson 1977) have indicated that the average full-time housewife spends considerably more time on housework, than a person who works outside the home.

Technology has been thought of as having a positive effect on the performance of housework by reducing the time frame. In fact, technological advances have not helped to reduce the time spent on housework as much as they have reduced to some extent, the drudgery and have also raised the standard of living (Strasser 1977). Technology has also made housework more flexible.

One of the positive effects advanced technology had on housework was in the area of cleanliness. With the availability of more water came the increased laundry activity.

> "People without plumbing changed clothes and linens less often than the wealthy. . . . . Dishwater and bathwater were reused. . . . Indoor plumbing and the abandonment of these measures meant cleaner dishes, cleaner clothes, and cleaner and healthier bodies . . . . . More water meant more washing" (Strasser 1980:43).

Technological advances can be seen as a mixed blessing (Robinson 1980). On one hand, one can say technology has freed women from the drudgery and inflexibility of housework. On the other hand, technology has added

hours to the housewife's work, in some areas. There seemed to have been a trade off. Reduced drudgery and inflexibility were given in exchange for increased "new tasks and new standards" (Vanek 1978). This type of homeostatic quality is descriptive of the housewife's long working hours.

Housewives have been accused of praticing Parkinson's Law (Friedan 1963). Several writers (Proulx 1978, Vanek 1978, Oakley 1974 and Luxton 1980) have indicated that new time-consuming dimensions have been added to the housewife's role. The theory of Parkinson's Law, implies that work is stretched out to fill available time. It can be applicable to one certain group of housewives more than others.

The housewife to whom this theory is the least applicable is the mother with preschool aged children.

> "If the young woman in early motherhood is the most burdened worker in our society the non-employed woman in middle and late motherhood is the least. Home-making nowadays in a home without small children is no longer a full-time effort" (Bernard 1974:126).

Although housewives are no more immune to the effects of Parkinson's Law (Vanek 1978) one cannot always make such a generalization. The stage of motherhood may be correlated with the application of Parkinson's Law.

> "Popular myth has it that modern housewives tend to make work for themselves. According to this

> myth, in the old days housevives really had to work hard doing everything at home by hand, while modern women can buy most of the things they need ready made as well as the conveniences to make their work easier. It seems then that running a home is no longer a full-time job and those women who do it full-time are either inefficient, lazy or self-indulgent" (Luxton 1980:19).

Technology has made additions and subtractions in the housewife's work, hence not making a significant difference in the time spent on housework (Table XIX). For instance, the automatic washers made laundry activity a lot easier but at the same time people are changing clothes more often than they use to (Vanek 1974).

In order to fully comprehend the mechanics involved in the execution of household tasks, it is necessary to understand two concepts which Luxton (1980) mentions, which are, "production time and labour time." Production time represents the duration of time required to complete a task. Labour time represents the amount of time the worker actually expends.

For example, the amount of time involved from the time a turkey is taken from the freezer to the time it's put on the table, ready to eat may be approximately 8 hours, but the amount of time the housewife expends actually basting it, may be approximately one hour.

Similarly, child-care and other household tasks have similar kinds of qualities. The labour time

TABLE XIX

A COMPARISON OF DATA ON HOUSEWORK HOURS

Study and country carried out in:	Date	Average weekly hours of housework
I Rural studies		
Wilson: United States	1929	64
US Bureau of Home Economics: United States	1929	62
Cowles and Dietz: United States	1956	61
Girard and Bastide: France	1959	67
II Urban studies		
US Bureau of Home Economics: United States	1929	51
Bryn Mawr: United States		
(I) small city	1945	78
(II) large city	1945	81
Stoetzel: France	1948	82
Moser: Britain	1950	70
Mass observation: Britain	1951	72
Girard: France	1958	67
Oakley: Britain	1971	77
Berkeley: Canada *	1981	63

Source: Oakley 1974. The Sociology of Housework. New York: Random House Inc., P 94.

* added to table

involved in putting a child to sleep may be 45 minutes, but the production time is continuous through the night. Labour time can, therefore, be shortened but the production time which is the most time-consuming activity of the two concepts is not amenable to reduction. These two concepts contribute to the housewife's long working hours.

Berch (1978) discusses "two modes of housework" which can be contributing factors to the housewife's long working hours. These modes are, task-oriented and time-oriented labour. Task-oriented labour refers to the worker who concentrates on getting the job done, irrespective of the time involved. On the other hand, time-oriented labour refers to the worker whose aim is to complete a certain job within a certain amount of time.

Housewives usually work in the task-oriented framework while individuals who work outside of the home operate under the time-oriented framework. A time-oriented housewife will spend less time on housework. Various studies have shown that housewives who work outside of the home spend less time on housework. Housewives who work outside of the home by necessity have to spend less time on housework, they have to learn to be time-oriented because there is little available time.

4. Responses to the question, "Do you like housework?"

Working Class

Forty-six per cent of the working class reported that they like housework, 22% said they disliked it and 32% were ambivalent (Table XX).

Middle Class

In the middle class group, 26% reported that they like housework, 30% said they disliked it and 44% were ambivalent. The only significant difference (Chi-square applied) between the two groups is in the "like" category. Oakley (1974) found that the working class respondents in her sample were more likely to say they "like" housework than their middle class counterparts.

This finding was also evident in our study. We can therefore conclude that the working class housewife is more likely to say she "likes" housework, than is the middle class housewife.

5. Decision Making in Marriage

Question (1) - If you wanted to buy something for the house, for example a washer-dryer, would you?
(a) ask your husband to buy it for you?
(b) you buy it by saving for it yourself?
(c) you buy it by both of you saving for it together?

Question (2) - If you said you needed something for house, would he
(a) argue with you?
(b) would he trust your opinion?

TABLE XX

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION 'DO YOU LIKE HOUSEWORK' BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Like	Dislike	Mixed Feelings	Total
Working class	17	8	12	37
Middle class	6	7	10	23

Question (3) - Do you feel that overall you have enough say in things to do with the house and the children?
(a) yes (b) no

Working Class

Eighty-one per cent of the housewives in this group, said that they would both save for it and buy it together. The remaining 19% said that they would ask their husbands to buy it for them. In regards to question 2, the majority (84%) of the respondents replied that he would trust their opinion and 16% said he would argue. The data shows that for question 3, 97% of the housewives said that they had enough say in things to do with the house and the children.

Middle Class

Twenty-six per cent of the respondents in the middle class group, reported that they would ask their husbands to buy it for them, 13% said they would buy it themselves and the remaining 61% said they would both save for it together and buy it together. In regards to question 2, the data shows that 17% of the respondents reported that he would argue with them and 83% said that he would trust their opinion. All respondents in the middle class group replied in the affirmative. That is, all of them felt that they had enough say in things to do with the house and children.

Discussion

Two concepts which were identified by Bott (1957), will be applied to this segment and the following one.

These concepts are "segregated conjugal role-relationship and joint conjugal role-relationship," The former is most often found in the working class while the latter is prevalent in the middle class. Briefly, the "segregated conjugal role-relationship"indicates that there is not a predominance of couple-sharing in terms of interests, tasks and leisure activities. The "joint conjugal role-relationship"indicates that there is a predominance of these shared factors.

The working class respondents exhibited a greater degree of "jointness" than their middle class counterparts, in regards to buying an amenity for the home. In the working class group 81% compared to 61% in the middle class indicated "jointness" (not a significant difference). In the working class group, 19% would ask their husbands and 26% in the middle class group would ask their husbands (not a significant difference). None of the respondents in the working class said that she would buy it themselves, but 13% of the middle class respondents said they would (a significant difference).

Looking at the housewives themselves, the middle class is more independent. This degree of independence among the middle class could be due to the fact that 48% of the respondents in this group are working outside of the home as opposed to 19% in the working class group.

6. Decision Making about Children

Question (1) - Did you decide to have children, or did they just happen?
(a) decided (b) just happened
(c) both

Question (2) - If decided? Who decided?
(a) husband (b) wife
(c) both (d) not applicable

Working Class

The data shows that 69% of the respondents decided to have children while 31% said it just happened. Of those who said they decided, 96% said both husband and wife decided.

Middle Class

In this group, 91% of the respondents reported that they decided to have children and 9% said it just happened. Of those who said they decided, 95% reported that both husband and wife made the decision.

Discussion

In the working class group 69% of the respondents decided to have children compared to 91% of the middle class (not a significant difference). In the working class group 96% said both husband and wife decided compared to 95% in the middle class.

If we apply Bott's concepts ("joint versus segregated conjugal role-relationships") we will observe that the middle and working class respondents exhibit the same degree of "jointness" in regards to making decisions about having children. There is a significant difference between

the two groups (31% versus 9%) in the just happened category.

7. Monotony, Fragmentation and Speed in Relation to Housework

Question (1) - Do you find housework repetitive on the whole?
(a) yes (b) no (c) mixed feelings
Question (2) - Do you find you can think about other things while you are working?
(a) yes (b) no (c) mixed feelings
Question (3) - Do you find you have too much to get through during the day?
(a) yes (b) no (c) mixed feelings

Working Class

Ninety-five per cent of the working class felt that housework is monotonous while 5% did not. In regards to the experience of fragmentation (question 2), 92% of the respondents reported that they can think about other things while working. The remaining 8% said No. In regards to speed (question 3), or to a too heavy work load, 57% of the respondents who were not working outside of the home said they did not have too much to get through during the day, 37% said yes and 6% had mixed feelings.

Middle Class

In response to question 1, all respondents (100%) indicated that they found housework monotonous. In regards to fragmentation (question 2), 91% responded yes and the remaining 9% said that they could not think about other things while they were working. In regards to speed

(question 3), respondents were equally divided: 50% said yes and 50% said no.

Discussion

The majority of the working class (95%) found housework monotonous, compared to 100% of the middle class (no significant difference). Ninety-two per cent of the working class found that they could think about other things while working (fragmentation) compared to 91% of the middle class (no significant difference). In the working class, 37% of the respondents said they did have too much to get through the day (speed) and 50% of the middle class also felt this way (no significant difference).

Oakley (1974) found that 90% experience fragmentation, 75% monotony and 50% speed.

8. Isolation

Question - Do you ever feel as though you're on your own too much in the day time?
(a) yes (b) no (3) mixed feelings

Working Class

This question is indicative of isolation. This question was applicable to 30 respondents who were at home all day. Of these, 53% said yes, 43% said no and 4% were ambivalent.

Middle Class

In this group, 50% replied that they felt they were on their own too much during the day, 42% said no and 8%

had mixed feelings.

Discussion

Slightly more working class than middle class housewives feel isolated during the day, in the working class group, there were 53% as opposed to 50% in the middle class group (no significant difference).

Isolation is one of the negative characteristics of the housewife's role (Gans 1967, Oakley 1974, Laws 1979 and Janeway 1972). Some of the respondents who felt isolated or alone during the day, felt even more so during the winter months. Because of the proximity of the neighbours the problem of isolation can be reduced during the non-winter seasons.

> "Some degree of isolation is entailed by the housewife role, simply because housework is "home" work, privatized and solitary. The housewife's only faithful companions are her children" (Oakley 1974:91).

In Oakley's study, 55% of the respondents felt as though they were on their own too much during the day, it was also found that 77% of these were dissatisfied with housework (Oakley 1974). In our study, 41% of those who felt isolated during the day were dissatisfied with housework while 59% were satisfied (not a significant difference).

9. Most Disliked Household Task

Respondents were asked if they liked, disliked or had mixed feelings about the six major tasks. The following tasks are listed in the order of the most disliked to the least disliked.

Most Disliked	Ironing
	Dishes
	Shopping
	Cleaning
	Laundry
Least Disliked	Cooking

It is obvious that all the respondents (60) disliked ironing the most and cooking the least. Of the major tasks, ironing is the most repetitive, it consists of movements of short duration with little variation (Oakley 1974). Washing dishes, the next most disliked task, also has little or no variation which one could apply to one's technique.

Cooking, the least disliked is repetitive but there is a great deal of room for variation. Cooking can be creative. It's an art which one can perfect. Oakley's findings were similar. The most disliked task was ironing, the least disliked was cooking with variations in between.

10. Housewives' Views of Their Traditional Role

Question (1) - Do you feel he has the right to be fussy (about things in the home)?
(a) yes (b) no

Question (2) - Do you make a special attempt to do these things for him?
(a) yes (b) no

Question (3) - Do you feel it's your (a wife's) duty?
(a) yes (b) no

Working Class

In response to question 1, 67% of the respondents said they felt that their husbands had a right to be fussy. The remaining 33%said they did not have a right to be fussy. Concerning question 2, the data show that 83% said that they made a special attempt to do these things for them. Eighty-three per cent of the respondents felt it was their duty as a wife, to do these things.

Middle Class

The data show that 56% of the respondents said their husbands had a right to be fussy about things in the home, 33% said they did not have a right to be fussy and the remaining 11% were ambivalent. All (100%) of the respondents said they made a special attempt to do these things for them (question 2). In regards to question 3, 78% said it was there duty to do these things while 22% said it was not their duty to perform these tasks for them (question 3).

Discussion

Both groups reported that their husbands did not have a right to be fussy to similar degrees (33%). In the working class, 67% said they did have a right to be to be fussy compared to 56% of the middle class (not a significant difference). The majority of the respondents (83% versus 100%) in both groups said they made a special to do those things for their husbands, about which they were fussy (not a significant difference). In the working class group 83% and 78% in the middle class felt it was their duty to do those things for their husbands (not a significant difference).

The fact that most housewives felt that their husbands had a right to be fussy, indicates that they have a high identification with the housewife's role (hypothesis #3), which was supported by our findings. That is, these housewives felt it was their biological duty to perform these household tasks.

11. Husbands' Views of Wives' Traditional Role

Question - Are there any things he (your husband) is particularly fussy about in the home?
(a) yes (b) no

Working Class

In this group, 51% of the respondents replied that their husbands were fussy about things in the home, while

49% said their husbands were not fussy.

Middle Class

In response to the question stated above, 41% reported that their husbands were fussy about things in the home and 59% said that they were not.

Discussion

Fifty-one per cent of the working class respondents' husbands compared to 41% in the middle class said their husbands were fussy about things in the home. The working class husband seems to be more traditional in terms of being fussy about things in the home (not a significant difference). The husbands who are fussy about things in the home, may subscribe to the belief that housework is indeed "woman work" and that housewives do nothing all day.

12. Mother as a Female Role Model

Question (1) - Did your mother work outside of the home when you were a child?
(a) yes (b) no
Question (2) - Do you know why she worked?
Question 3) - What would you say were your mother's main interests when you were young?

Working Class

In regards to question 1, 38% of the respondents reported that their mothers worked outside of the home when they were children. Sixty-two per cent said their mothers did not.

Middle Class

Sixty-five per cent of the respondents reported that their mothers did work outside of the home when they children. Thirty-five per cent said that their mothers did not.

Discussion

Based on the information given above, it is evident that a greater number of mothers in the middle class were less traditional in terms of employment outside of the home. In the working class group, there were 38% as opposed to 65% in the middle class group (a significant difference).

The availability of successful role models is crucial to the development of young girls, if they too are going to follow the same route. "Much of one's ability to play a role successfully comes from observing and imitating the behaviour of others already successful in this role" (Lewis 1968:234).

Over the years there has not been a sufficient career role models for young girls to emulate. The dominant cultural role for young girls has been the traditional one. If a woman also works outside of the home, her career tends to occupy a secondary position to her traditional role (Epstein 1970).

Another factor which can positively affect a girl's

occupational goals, is her mother's encouragement of college attendance. Conversely, "Parents valuation of the domestic role for women adversely affects girl's occupational choices" (Ireson 1978:185). Ireson (1978) cites a longtitudinal study by Perrone which show that at the ninth and tenth grade level parents of daughters begin to value the domestication of their daughters. By the senior high school years, these traditional values are reflected in their daughters. At this point, there is an obvious difference in the levels of occupational aspirations between boys and girls.

Respondents in our study were asked question 2, to determine the type of role model (traditional or modern) their mothers provided them with. In response to this question, 86% of the mothers in the working class group, who worked outside of the home, worked for economic reasons. In the middle class group, all (100%) the respondents' mothers worked for economic reasons. In regards to the third question, the predominant response was the family, whether or not they worked outside of the home.

Laws (1979:133) cites a study by Kappel and Lambert (1967) which concludes that mothers who work outside of the home for self-actualizing reasons as opposed to economic reasons, tend to higher self-esteem in their daughters. Birnbaum (1971) cited by Laws (1979), shows

that women who had choosen to be full-time housewives out of a sense of duty rather than positive motivation, scored the lowest scores on adequacy of mothering when compared with professionals.

A daughter can, therefore, be positively or negatively influenced by her mother, whether she has a job outside of the home or is a full-time housewife. Daughters of mothers who are not employed outside of the home tend to be more traditional in their sex stereotypic attitudes (Baruch 1972;Meier 1972).

Mothers who are also working women can therefore have a positive influence not only on their daughters, but also on their sons, provided they are in the work world for self-actualizing reasons, as opposed to economic reasons. Working mothers are more likely to be the focus of their daughters' admiration and emulation (Baruch 1972; Douvan 1963). Sons with self-actualizing mothers are less likely to demand the traditional role expectations on other women to whom they relate (Laws 1979).

13. Mothers' Expectations

Question - What did your mother want you to do at the the end of your full-time education?
(a) get married
(b) get a job
(c) other

Working Class

In response to the question stated above, the data show that 27% of the respondents reported that their mothers wanted them to get married and 73% wanted them to get a job.

Middle Class

Twenty-three per cent of the respondents in the middle class group stated that their mothers wanted them to get married. The remaining 77% wanted them to get a job.

Discussion

There were 73% of the mothers in the working class group who wanted their daughters to get a job after the completion of their full-time education, compared to 77% in the middle class (not a significant difference). Twenty-seven per cent of the mothers in the working class and 23% in the middle class wanted their daughters to marry (not a significant difference).

If we were to apply the traditional/modern dichotomy to these responses we would observe that the majority of the mothers of the respondents can be labelled modern, based on the fact that they wanted their daughters to get a job as opposed to getting married at the end of their full-time education.

However, this does not suggest that these mothers are anti-marriage because they are pro outside employment.

Because mothers are one of the primary socializers of children, their expectations and encouragement of her daughter's education can greatly influence her future choice in terms of a career. Girls may learn sex-role values from their parents, whether traditional or modern (Ireson 1978).

14. Reasons for Not Continuing to Work Outside of the Home After Marriage

Question (1) - Why did you stop working?
(2) - How did you feel about stopping?
(3) - Have you ever felt you would like to go back to work?
(a) yes (b) no
(4) - Do you think you will go back to work eventually?
(a) yes (b) undecided (c) no

Working Class

In response to question 1, 35% of the respondents said they stopped working for emigratory reasons. The predominant reason, family related, 61% replied with this type of reason. Eighty-one per cent of the respondents stated that they wanted to stop working, 14% didn't want to and 5% had mixed feelings (question 2). The majority (88%) of the respondents said they have felt like going back to work. The remaining 12% said they have never felt like going back to work (question 3). The majority of the respondents stated that they think they will go back to work eventually (question 4).

Middle Class

In response to question 1, 64% of the respondents gave family related reasons and 36% gave emigratory reasons for work stoppage. In regards to question 2, 36% of the respondents said they wanted to, 55% indicated that they did not want to and 9% were ambivalent about stopping. Sixty-four per cent of the respondents reported that they have felt like going back to work and 36% reported that they they have never felt like going back to work (question 3). The majority (85%) of the respondents reported that they think they will go back to work eventually.

Discussion

There was no significant difference between the two social class groups in regards to reasons for work stoppage. In the working class 61% and 64% of the middle class stopped for familial reasons. There is a significant difference between the groups regarding feelings about stopping. In the working class group 81% wanted to while only 36% of the middle class wanted to.

In the working class group, 88% of the respondents said they have felt like going back to work, compared to 64% of the middle class (no significant difference). Twelve per cent of the working class and 36% of the middle class, have never felt like going back to work (a significant difference). The majority of respondents in both groups think they will go back eventually (no significant difference).

It is evident that the predominant reason why married women stop working is familial, which most often occurs at the birth of the first child (Lewis 1968). A baby brings physical and social restriction to the housewife's life coupled with a significant increase in the hours spent on housework. The fact that the majority are planning to go back eventually, indicates that they could be anticipating the "empty nest" syndrome, or they could be attempting to end their vicarious lifestyle. Another reason might be that they are in the home not because of choice but because of necessity. The majority of the mothers who said they would go back to work eventually, state that they would when their children are in school. Conclusively, the working class housewife is more likely to have a desire to stop working than is her middle class counterpart.

15. Feelings about Mothers who Work Outside of the Home

Question - What do you feel in general about mothers who work?

Working Class

In response to the question stated above, 49% per cent of the respondents reported that they had negative feelings, 38% had positive feelings and 13% were ambivalent.

Middle Class

In the middle class group, 61% of the respondents

had positive feelings, 30% stated negative feelings and 9% were ambivalent.

Discussion

In the working class group, 49% had negative feelings compared to 30% in the middle class (not a significant difference). In regards to having positive feelings there was a significant difference between the two groups (61% in the middle class versus 38% in the working classs). There was no significant difference in the case of having ambivalent feelings between the two groups.

Some of the negative responses given by respondents against working mothers were along these lines. "They (mothers) are neglecting their purpose in life, they are putting material goods ahead of the kids and the children's rights are ignored." Some of the positive responses were, the mothers will become more patient with the children since they are not with them all the time, its the quality versus quantity (time) which counts and the kids would become more independent.

The percentage of working mothers participating in the labour force is constantly on the rise. The types of arrangement made for child-care might be day care centers, a relative, a baby sitter or the fathers (Moore and Sawhill 1978).

An important question which should be addressed is what are the consequences for the children of working

mothers. That is, are these children emotionally, psychologically or mentally deprived. Do they turn out to be delinquents or do they lack discipline? Is the biological mother the only individual, who can give the nuturant type of attention a young child needs.

The belief that a mother's employment will have a negative effect on children stems from early studies with young children who had been institutionalized and, therefore, separated from their mothers for long periods of time.

> "The severe deprivation of attention and stimulation that these children suffer tends to produce intellectual retardation and social apathy or unresponsiveness. However the separation of mother and child for routine, brief, nontraumatic periods does not seem to be harmful if adequate substitute care is provided. Indeed, a number of studies have suggested that the children of employed women compare favorably in intellectual and social development with the children of mothers at home" (Moore and Sawhill 1978:212).

The alleged correlation between working mother and juvenile delinquency has been the subject of exploration. Related studies have indicated that the contributing factor to juvenile delinquency has not been the fact that mothers are working but the quality of supervision.

Conclusively, there are studies to support the fact that children of working mothers are not necessarily going to become delinquent; nor are they definitely going to be socially and intellectually retarded as long as

adequate measures are taken to provide appropriate supervision and care.

16. Traditional Role Expectations Before Marriage

Question (80) - Did you expect, for instance, to enjoy housework?

Question (81) - Did you expect to enjoy having children?

Question (82) - Did you expect to enjoy looking after children?

Question (83) - Did you expect to enjoy looking after your husband?

Working Class

Sixty-two per cent of the respondents said they expected to enjoy doing housework while 38% said they did not. In response to question 81, 91% reported that they did expect to enjoy having children and 9% said they did not. Eighty-nine per cent of the respondents said they did expect to enjoy looking after children while the remaining 11% did not expect to. In response to the last question, 89% of the respondents stated that they did expect to enjoy looking after their husbands and 11% said they did not expect to.

Middle Class

In regards to question 80, 61% of the middle class group said they did expect to enjoy housework while the remaining 39% replied that they did not. The data show that 91% did expect to enjoy having children and 9% did

not. In regards to question 82, 96% of the respondents reported that they expected to enjoy looking after children while 4% did not expect to. All respondents (100%) reported that they did expect to enjoy looking after their husbands.

Discussion

There was no significant difference between the groups in terms of expectations to enjoy and not to enjoy housework. For the expect to enjoy catergory there were 62% in working class and 61% in the middle class. Both groups were identical in their expectations to enjoy having children (91% in both cases).

Eighty-nine per cent of the working class did expect to enjoy looking after children compared to 96% in the middle class group (no significant difference). There was no significant difference between the groups in regards to expectations to enjoy looking after their husbands. In the working class there were 89% and in the middle class 100%.

It is evident from the information given above that the majority of respondents in both social classes had traditional role expectations before marriage. It is interesting to note that the degree to which the respondents expected to enjoy housework and their level of satisfaction with housework is similar (for expectations enjoy housework; 62% in the working class and 61%

in the middle class; compared to 62% satisfaction with housework). The respondents traditional expectations before marriage is similar to their present satisfaction with this work role. There is no incongruency.

17. Housewives Views Of Their Status

Question (84) - When you fill out a form and you write "occupation housewife," what do you feel about that?

Question (85) - Do you think that housewives work as hard, harder or not so hard as their husbands?

Question (86) - Do you think that women get a better or worse deal in marriage than men?

Question (87) - Do you believe that women are inferior to men?

Question (90) - Do you ever envy your husband?

Question (91) - Do you think there are any ways in which women are treated unfairly in this country at the moment?

Question (92) - What do you think of the Women's Liberation Movement, in general?

Question (93) - Do you think housewives should be paid a salary for doing housework?

Question (95) - Do you think a woman should be economically independent of her husband and stand on her own two feet?

Question (97) - Do you believe it is important for a young woman to get as much education as possible?

Working Class

In response to question 84, 72% of the respondents said it didn't bother them when they wrote "occupation housewife" on an application while 28% said it bothered them. In regards to question 85, 38% of the respondents said that housewives work as hard as their husbands; 49% said housewives work harder and 14% said that housewives did not work as hard as their husbands.

The data shows that 14% of the respondents said that women get a better deal in marriage than men, 58% said they get a worse deal while 25% said they get the same deal in marriage as men do and 3% were ambivalent. In response to question (87), 97% of the respondents said that women were not inferior to men and the remaining 3% said that they were.

Forty per cent of the respondents stated that they did envy their husbands and 60% said they did not (question 90). In regards to question 91, 66% of the respondents said there were ways in which women are treated unfairly and 34% said women were not treated unfairly.

The data shows that, 33% of the respondents had mixed feelings about the Women's Liberation Movement (WLM), 37% had positive feelings while the remaining 30% had negative feelings (question 92). In response to question 93, 60% of the respondents said that women should be paid for doing housework and 40% felt that they should

not be paid. In regards to question 95, 91% stated that women should be independent, 6% felt that women should be dependent and 3% were ambivalent about women's economic independence. In response to question 97, 100% of the respondents felt it was important for young women to get as much education as possible.

Middle Class

Question 84 was applicable to 11 respondents. Of these 64% reported that they were not bothered by writing "occupation housewife" while 36% stated that they were bothered. In response to question 85, 35% of the respondents stated that housewives work as hard as their husbands, 48% said housewives worked harder and 17% felt that housewives did not work as hard as their husbands.

The data indicates that 17% of the respondents felt that women got a better deal in marriage than men, 44% stated that women got a worse deal, 35% said women got the same deal. The remaining 4% were ambivalent (question 86). In regards to question 87, 91% of the respondents felt that women were not inferior to men while 9% stated that women were inferior.

In response to question 90, 61% of the respondents stated they envied their husbands and 39% reported that they did not. Fifty-seven per cent of the respondents felt that women were treated unfairly while 43% did not

think that women were treated unfairly (question 91). Thirty-nine per cent of the respondents expressed positive feelings about the Women's Liberation Movement, 13% had negative feelings while the remaining 48% were ambivalent (question 92).

The data shows that in regards to question 93, 39% of the respondents stated that housewives should be paid a salary for doing housework and 57% said they should not be paid while 4% were ambivalent. In regards to question 95, 80% of the respondents felt that women should be independent of her husband and 20% felt that women should not be. All respondents (100%) felt that a young woman should get as much education as possible.

Discussion

In the middle class group, 36% of the respondents were bothered when writing "occupation housewife" compared to 28% in the working class (no significant difference). The occupation of a housewife has been given a low status in relation to other jobs. Housewives have not been thought of as workers who do real work. The fact that most housewives reported that they were not bothered by writing "occupation housewife" could indicate a sense of self-pride in their work role. The majority of respondents could have begun to view housework as real worthwhile work.

Thirty-eight per cent of the respondents in the

working class said housewives work as hard as their husbands, in the middle class 35%; 49% said housewives work harder in the working class, in the middle class 48%; 14% said not so hard in the working class and 17% in the middle class. There were no significant differences between the two groups in any category of this question.

Some of the responses given by the respondents who said housewives work harder were: I have more than one job, I work all the time, I am on call 24 hours a day. One respondent who said housewives do not work as hard as their husbands said, "my husband has a heavy job, housework is not as tiring."

In the working class 14% of the respondents said that women got a better deal in marriage than men, in the middle class 17%; 58% said they got a worst deal in the working class, in the middle class 44%; 25% said women get the same deal, in the working class and in the middle 35%. There were no significant differences between the groups in any category.

Of the respondents who said that women get a worse deal in marriage than men, some of the reasons given were; "There is no payment for all the time worked, they are at home all the time, they don't get enough rest, husbands communicate with outside world, housewives give up their independence, when a husband changes his job the wife usually has to move along with him and even give up

her job."

Some of the reasons given by those who said women get a better deal in marriage were: the man must provide for the family; a woman has a choice to stay home or not and have some one take care of you."

The majority of the respondents in both groups (97% in the working class and 91% in the middle class) said that women were not inferior to men. In the working class 40% of the respondents reported that they envy their husbands, in the middle class 61% (a significant difference). The most frequent reason given for envying their husbands related to free time. The following were some of the responses, "He has a lot more freedom, outside interests, when the kids are sick I am the one to stay home; he works only eight hours and dinner is ready when he comes home."

Sixty six per cent in the working class and 57% in the middle class believe there are ways in which women are treated unfairly in this country (no significant difference). The distribution was similar for both groups in regards to the respondents thoughts concerning the Women's Liberation Movement (WLM). In the working class, 37% had positive feelings, in the middle class 39%; 30% had negative feelings in the working class, in the middle class, 13%; 33% were ambivalent in the working class, in the middle class, 48%. The only

significant difference between the two groups occur in the negative feelings category.

Some of the negative responses given about the Women's Liberation Movement were; "They are too pushy; their motives are good but their method is wrong; they have no founded reason; they have given housework a low status; it (Women's Liberation Movement) needs moderation. Based on some of these responses it seems that a portion of the respondents believe that the Women's Liberation Movement is somehow degrading the role of a housewife and they feel that this movement is saying that this is not a worthwhile vocation.

In the working class group 60% said that housewives should be paid a salary compared to 39% in the middle class group (a significant difference). Two of the reasons given in support of why housewives should be paid a salary were: "Its a full-time job, like other jobs outside of the home and I am contributing to the well being of my family. Negatively speaking, some of the reasons were: "This is what she (the housewife) wanted to do, she should have thought about it before marriage; they could go out to work if they want money; it's part of marriage, it's hers to do; married women should not receive a salary but single mothers should."

In the working class 91% said that women should be economically independent compared to 80% in the middle

class (no significant difference). All the respondents in both groups agreed that a young woman should get as much education as possible.

The reasons given why a woman should get as much education as possible were along the long term lines. "When she goes back to work it would be easier; its something to fall back on and in case anything should happen to her husband she would be able to take care of the family."

It is important to note that several of the respondents felt that a young woman should have as much education in case of divorce or the death of her husband. This type of response suggests that they (women) should not work within a marital situation as long as her husband can support the family.

Conclusively, the working class housewife is more likely to have negative feelings about the Women's Liberation Movement than is the middle class housewife. Housewives in both social class groups feel that housewives work harder than their husbands to similar degrees. The majority of respondents in both group felt that women got a worse deal in marriage than men.

The majority of respondents in both groups felt that women were not inferior to men. The middle class housewife is more likely to envy her husband than the working class housewife. Both social class groups feel

that women are treated unfairly in this country to similar degrees. The working class housewife is no more likely to be bothered by writing "occupation housewife," than the middle class housewife.

The working class housewife is more likely to feel that housewives should be paid a salary than is her middle class counterpart. Both groups of respondents believed that women should be economically independent of her husband, to similar degrees.

18. Segregated or Joint Marriage in Regards to Children

Question (68) - Who chose the children's names?
(a) husband
(b) wife
(c) both
(d) other

Question (69) - Who decided where the children should go to school and when?
(a) husband
(b) wife
(c) both

Question (70) - Who sees the children's teachers?
(a) husband
(b) wife
(c) both

Working Class

In regards to question 68, 68% of the respondents reported that both (husband and wife) made the decision about the children's names, 24% said the wife did and 8% reported that the husband did. Fifty-seven per cent of the respondents reported they both decided where the

children should go to school and 43% said the wife made this decision (question 69). In response to question 70, 61% stated that both parents saw the children's teachers while the remaining 39% said the wife did.

Middle Class

The data show 9% reported that the husbands chose the children's names, 48% said the wife did and 43% said they both did (question 68). In regards to question 69, 77% of the respondents said the wife decided while 23% said they both decided. Thirteen per cent of the respondents in this group reported that the husbands saw the children's teachers, 56% said the wife did and 31% said they both did.

Discussion

The working class group reported that 68% of them chose their children's names together compared to 43% in the middle class. Twenty four per cent of the wives made the decision in the working class group compared to 48% in the middle class. The differences in both categories are significant. There was no significant difference between the two groups in those cases where the husband made the decision.

Fifty-seven per cent of the working class group made the decision together about where the children should go to school while 23% of the middle class fell

into this category (a significant difference). In the working class group 43% of the wives made the decision compared to 77% in the middle class groups (a significant difference).

Sixty one per cent of both parents in the working class see the children's teacher together while 13% in the middle class do (a significant difference). In the working class 39% of the wives do alone compared to 56% in the middle class (not a significant difference).

Conclusively, the working class couples are more likely to be "jointed" than their middle class counterparts in regards to choosing their children's names, when their children should go to school and meetings with their children's teachers.

19. Time For Personal Attention

Question (24) - Do you feel you have enough time to yourself?
(a) yes
(b) no
(c) mixed feelings

Question (25) - Would you like more time or some time away from the housework and children?
(a) yes
(b) no
(c) mixed feelings

Question (26) - What would you do with it?

Working Class

In regards to question 24, 70% of the respondents said they did not have enough time for themselves,

27% said yes and 3% had ambivalent feelings. Eight per cent of the respondents in this group said they would like some time or more time away from the housework and children while 20% said they would not (question 25).

Middle Class

Forty-two per cent of the respondents reported that they did have enough time to themselves, 50% said they did not and the remaining 8% were ambivalent (question 24). In regards to question 25, 40% said they would like time away, 20% said they would not and 40% were ambivalent.

Discussion

Seventy per cent of the working class and 50% of the middle class reported that they did not have enough time to themselves (not a significant difference). In the working class 27% and 42% of the middle class said they did have enough time to themselves (no significant difference). In regards to liking some time away from the housework and children 80% in the working class and 40% in the middle class said yes (significant difference). Both groups were identical in not wanting some time away (20%). However 40% of the middle class were ambivalent, there were no ambivalent feelings in the working class.

The respondents who said they would like some time

away from the housework and children stated that they would spend the free time engaged in such activities as: part-time work, music (piano), school, swimming, ceramics and shopping alone. Although shopping is one activity in the housewife's work world which is devoid of physical and social isolation, it is also burdened by the accompaniment of young children, whose presence seem to take away some of the pleasure.

20. Time Spent on Major Household Task by Housewives and husbands

Based on Table XVIII it is evident that housewives are spending considerably more time on household tasks compared to the husbands. In regards to all of these tasks except shopping, housewives spend three to four times as much as their husbands. Shopping is the only task where there is an equality of time spent. This is the only task in which physical and social isolation is not present.

Equality in terms of task sharing is far from being symmetrical. Household tasks are still primarly the housewives' responsibility, the husbands only "help."

21. Standards and Routines

Question (27) - Would you say you have particular ways of doing things (standards) you regularly keep to in housework?

Question (28) - Is it important to you to keep to these standards?

Question (29) - Why do you think its important/ not important to have standards?

Question (30) - What sort of things(if any) would make you drop or lower your standards?

Question (31) - Would you say you have a fixed routine you keep to in doing housework?

Question (32) - Have you always had a routine?

Question (33) - Why do you think you have one?

Of the 37 respondents in the working class, 97% said that they have particular standards they regularly keep to in doing their housework, while 3% did not. Ninety two per cent felt it was important to keep to these standards. The remaining 8% didn't consider upkeeping these standards important (question 28).

In regards to routines 78% of the respondents reported that they had a routine they kept to in doing housework, compared to 22% who said that they do not have such a routine. Of those who have a routine 93% reported that they have always had one. The maintenance of a routine was important to 55% of the respondents.

Middle Class

Of the 23 respondents in the middle class 78% said they have particular standards they regularly keep to in doing their housework and 22% said they did not (question 27). Eighty nine per cent said it was important to keep to these standards while 11% said it was not.

Fifty six per cent of the respondents reported they did have a routine and 44% said they didn't. Of those who have a routine 92% reported that they have always had one while 8% didn't always have one.

Discussion

Ninety seven per cent of the working class group and 78% of the middle class group have particular standards they keep to in doing housework (not a significant difference). Consequently 3% of the working class and 22% of the middle class did not have standards (a significant difference). In the working class group 92% felt it was important to keep these standards compared to 89% in the middle class (not a significant difference).

Seventy eight per cent working class respondents have a routine compared to 56% in the middle class (not a significant difference). The difference between the two groups in regards to not having a routine is significant. There are 22% in the working class and 44% in the middle class.

The reason for the maintenance of a routine was predominantly, organization. This reason was given 85% of the time. Other reasons given were their mothers' or grandmothers' influence during their developmental years. One of the reasons most often given for the

upkeeping of particular standards was, "When visitors come by, it reflects on you if the house is messy." The predominant reason given to question 30 was sickness.

According to Oakley (1974), the specification of Standards and Routines serve a few functions. Firstly, it functions as a unifier of all the heterogenous tasks. Secondly, it proves that housework is analogous to other jobs, that is, it has the same characteristics. Thirdly, it serves to stretch out some job to fill the available time.

22. Economic Independence

Question (53) - What do you usually spend your wages on ?

Question (54) - Is it important to you to have some money you know is your own i.e. that you have earned?

Question (55) - Why?

Working Class

These questions were applicable to respondents who work outside of the home. In response to question 54, 86% said it was important to them to have some money of their own and 14% said it was not important to them. In regards to question 53, respondents mentioned the following areas in which they spent their wages, the children, the house and groceries.

Middle Class

The data shows that 70% of the respondents said it was important to them to have some money of their own while 30% said it was not. The middle class housewives who are working stated that they spend their wages on the same areas mentioned above for the working class housewives.

Discussion

It is evident that 86% of the working class housewives who are working outside of the home felt it was important to them to have some money of their own, compared to 70% in the middle class (no significant difference). In response to question 55, the predominant reason given was "independence" followed by "it makes me feel useful."

23. Economic Dependency

Question (56) - What do you do for money when you want to buy your husband a present?

Question (57) - Does it bother you at all to have to ask for money?

Question (58) - Why?

Question (59) - Would you like to have some money of your own i.e. by working?

Working Class

These questions were asked of respondents who are not working outside of the home. In regards to question

fifty seven, 64% of the respondents said yes, they were bothered by having to ask their husbands for money, 32% said no, while 4% were ambivalent. The majority (86%) of the respondents reported that they would like to have some money of their own (question 59).

Middle Class

The data show that 80% of the respondents in this group were bothered by asking for money the remaining 20% were not. In response to question 59, 58% of the respondents would like to have some money of their own.

Discussion

In the working class 64% compared to 80% in the middle class were bothered by having to ask their husbands for money (no significant difference). Eighty-six per cent of the working class compared to 58% in the middle class would like to have some money of their own (a significant difference).

Some of the responses given for question 56 were: "Baby bonus checks, babysitting, charge cards, and I save money from the groceries." Reasons given for being bothered by having to ask for money were: "It's ridiculous to ask, I am not working for it, he makes all the money and he always asks for what." Of those who said they were not bothered the most predominant reason was, "its ours, so I am not bothered by asking."

24. Feelings about being a Housewife

Question (78) - What would you say are the best things about being a housewife?

Question (79) - What would you say are the worst things about being a housewife?

The following were the responses given concerning the best things about being a housewife (question 78):

- having a husband and children
- seeing the children do something for the first time
- autonomy
- no schedule
- time to do special things for your husband to make him happy
- taking care of children's needs
- financial security

of all the above responses the one most often mentioned was autonomy. This is one of the positive characteristic of the housewife's role.

> "In the housewife's case autonomy is more theoretical than real. Being "your own boss" imposes the obligation to see that housework gets done" (Oakley 1974:43).

In Oakley's study the most valued characteristic was autonomy as it was in this study.

The following were the responses given in response to the worst things about being a housewife (question 79):

- housework
- physical restriction
- financial dependence
- you are taken for granted
- you have to pick up after a grown man

- unlimited free time
- monotony
- boredom
- routinization
- to have to do things when you dont feel like it

Of the above responses housework was the most mentioned.

25. Satisfaction with Child-care

Question (15) - Do you like the physical care of children (getting them up dressing them, putting them to bed, diaper change

Question (16) - Do you like the general supervision of children?

Question (17) - Do you like feeding children?

Question (18) - Do you like playing with children?

Question (19) - Do you like taking children out?

Each respondent was given a score based on their cumulative responses for the above questions. The respondents were then placed in one of three categories, High, Medium or Low Satisfaction with Child-care.

The majority of the respondents in both groups (100% for the middle class versus 97% in the working class) had a high satisfaction with child-care. Child-care unlike housework can be progressively rewarding. Children grow, learn to take care of themselves and develop into responsible adults. "Only a minority of married women report disliking child-care" (Rosenthal 1978:241).

26. Future Aspirations

Question (45) - When you were older, do you remember whether you wanted to be like your mother?

Question (46) - For instance, did you want to get married and have children?

Question (47) - Did you expect to work when you were married?

Question (48) - Did you want to train for any career?

Working Class

In regards to question 45, 34% of the respondents stated that they wanted to be like their mothers while 66% did not want to be. Eighty-four per cent of the respondents wanted to get married and have children compared to 16% who did not want to (question 46). Fifty-two per cent of the respondents expected to work when they were married while 48% did not expect to. The data show that 76% of the respondents wanted to train for a career.

Middle Class

In regards to question 45, 44% of the respondents wanted to be like their mothers, 52% did not want to while 4% were ambivalent. Seventy-four per cent wanted to train for a career compared to 26% who did not want to (question 48). Concerning question 47, 87% expected to work when married and 13% did not expect to.

The data show that 91% did want to train for a career and 9% did not (question 48).

Discussion

In the working class group 34% wanted to be like their mothers compared to 44% in the middle class (not a significant difference). Eight-four per cent in the working class compared to 74% in the middle class wanted to get married and have children (not a significant difference). Fifty-two per cent of the working class compared to 87% in the middle class expected to work outside of the home when married (a significant difference). The majority of respondents in both groups (76% in the working class versus 91% in the middle class) wanted to train for a career.

Conclusively, both social class groups did not want to be like their mothers to similar degrees. The majority of respondents in both groups wanted to get married and have children to similar degrees. The middle class housewife is more likely to have expectations of working outside of the home after marriage than is her working class counterpart. Both groups of respondents wanted to train for a career to similar degrees.

27. General Satisfaction

Question (72) - Do you ever feel there is anything else you would rather be doing apart from being a wife and mother?

Question (73) - What?

Question (74) - If you could have the last ten years over again, would you do anything differently.

Question (75) - What?

Question (76) - Would you describe yourself as generally satisfied, unsatisfied or neither with life?

Question (77) - If you compare your life now with what it was before you became a housewife and a mother, would you say you are happier now, less happy or about the same?

Working Class

In response to question 72, 56% of the respondents reported that they would rather be doing something else apart from being a housewife and mother, the remaining 44% said no. The data indicate that 49% of the respondents reported that they would do something differently if they could relive the last ten years while 51% said they wouldn't do anything differently (question 74).

Eighty-seven per cent of the respondents reported that they were satisfied with life, 8% were unsatisfied and 5% were neither satisfied nor unsatisfied with life (question 76). In regards to question 77, 62% said they were happier now, 5% said they were less happy and 32% said about the same.

Middle Class

The data show that 8% of the respondents replied that there is something else they would rather be doing apart from being a housewife and mother, 75% said they wouldn't like to be doing anything else the remaining 17% were ambivalent. In response to question 74, 55% said yes and 45% said they would not do anything differently.

The respondents were then asked to rate themselves as satisfied, unsatisfied or neither with life. Eighty-seven per cent said that they were satisfied, 9% were unsatisfied and 4% were neither satisfied or unsatisfied with life. Concerning question 77, 61% replied that they were happier now, 19% said less happy and 30% said about the same.

Discussion

In the working class group 56% said Yes, they would rather be doing something else other than being a housewife and mother. In the middle class group 8% said Yes. This difference between these frequencies is significant (Chi-square applied). All those who said Yes indicated that they would rather be working outside of the home.

Forty-nine per cent of the working class compared to 55% of the middle class said Yes, they would do something differently if they could relive the last ten years The difference is not significant (Chi-square applied).

The most frequent answers given were,I would wait to have children and I would get more education. Research has shown that it's not getting married which brings considerable changes (economic dependence, physical isolation, restriction on one's personal time and a significant increase in hours devoted to housework) but it is the birth of a baby.

Both social class groups were satisfied, unsatisfied and neither satisfied or unsatisfied with life in equal and similar degrees. In none of these categories was there any significant difference.

Both social class groups are happier now than before they were married to similar degrees, (62% in the working class and 61% in the middle class). In regards to being less happy and about the same there were no significant differences, between the two social class groups.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A. STUDY OF HYPOTHESES

Hypothesis #1 - The majority of housewives are dissatisfied with housework. This hypothesis was not supported by our findings.

Hypothesis #2 - Dissatisfaction patterns with housework are not class-based, was supported. There is no significant difference between the two groups in regards to satisfaction or dissatisfaction with housework.

Hypothesis #3 - Most housewives have a high or medium identification with the housewife's role. This hypothesis was supported by our findings. There were no housewives with low identification with the housewife's role.

Hypothesis #4 - Most housewives have a desire to maintain the status quo in regards to traditional sex roles. This hypothesis was not supported by our findings.

Hypothesis #5 - The higher the job status prior to marriage the more dissatisfaction will be experienced. This hypothesis was not supported by our findings. However, when present job status was cross-tabulated

by Housework Satisfaction, it was found that respondents with high job status were proportionately more dissatisfied, but the difference was not significant. It was also found that the middle class respondents with present high job status are also proportionately more dissatisfied. The difference is not significant either.

B. STUDY OF OTHER VARIABLES

The major findings of this investigation were as follows:

The majority of housewives found housework fragmented and monotonous. Lack of personal time was a predominant experience. The majority of housewives had regular standards and routines they kept to in doing their housework. The division of labour is far from being equal. Housewives spend 3 or 4 times as much as their husbands on major household tasks.

The majority of husbands help occasionally with housework. However when their wives are working outside of the home they help regularly.

The most valued aspect of the housewife's role was autonomy while the least valued was housework. The most disliked task of the housewife's role was ironing; the least disliked was cooking. Family related reasons, which is usually the birth of a baby, was the predominant reason for the housewives' work stoppage. The majority

of housewives had a high level of satisfaction with child-care. Unlike their involvement with housework, husbands help regularly with child-care.

Similarities and differences were evident between the two social class groups. The following are the areas in which similarities were apparent:

- husbands involvement in housework and child-care activities
- "jointness" in decision making about buying an amenity for the home
- "jointness" in decision making about having children
- the experience of fragmentation, monotony and isolation
- Husbands' views of wife's traditional views
- reasons for work stoppage
- plans to return to work eventually
- expectations to enjoy housework
- feelings about writing "occupation housewife"
- the belief that housewives work harder than their husbands
- the experience of not enough time to oneself
- child-care satisfaction
- happier now compared to before marriage

The differences were as follows:

- the working class housewife was more

likely to say she likes housework than was her middle class counterpart.

- the middle class housewife was more likely to be independent about buying an amenity for the home.

- the working class housewife was more likely to have unplanned children.

- the mothers of the middle class housewives were more likely to be less traditional in terms of employment outside of the home.

- the working class housewives were more likely to have positive feelings about work stoppage.

- The working class respondent was more likely to support the "Wages for Housework" platform.

- The working class couples were more likely to exhibit "jointness" in decision making concerning choices of children's names and when children should go to school.

- The middle class housewife was more likely to be more independent in making decisions about where and when the children should go to school.

- the working class respondent was more likely to want more time or some time away from the housework and children.

- the middle class respondent was more likely to have expectation to work after marriage.

C. PROPOSALS FOR ALTERING HOUSEWIVES' STATUS

Over the years there have been various proposals put forth which would alter the characteristics of the housewife's role, to some degree. In some instances these proposals would relieve the housewife from some of her traditional responsibilities. The major proposals presented are applicable to specific levels of society (Table XXI).

André (1981:28-40) presents a synthesis of proposals of five major theorists. The theorists are Oakley, Dalla Costa and James, Bernard, Boulding and Mitchell. These proposals will be briefly discussed. Firstly, Oakley's proposed solution is radical in nature. She proposes that the role of the housewife along with the family and gender roles must be abolished. In Oakley's opinion a radical solution is needed because previous less radical ones have failed.

Dalla Costa and James are advocates of the "Wage for Housework" platform. It is their belief that the primary goal should be wages for housework. The proposed wages must come from the government. When this goal has been accomplished the subsequent step would be the eventual demise of the housewife role. Housework would then be seen as productive work if housewives receive a salary.

Bernard's proposal centers on role-sharing, that

TABLE XXI

SUGGESTED SOLUTIONS BY SYSTEM LEVEL: A SUMMARY OF THE MAJOR STRATEGIES OF FIVE THEORISTS

Level	Oakley	Dalla Costa/James	Bernard	Boulding[a]	Mitchell[a]
International				Use of existing declarations on human rights	
Societal		Government wages for housework	Increased traditional power for women Use of technology Motherhood income maintenance, insurance Actively political mothering		Changes in women's relation to production
Organizational			Flextime in paid work; leaves for both sexes Increased traditional power for women	Influence on early childhood education Continuing education for a variety of skills	Establishment of equal education system for women
Group, including extended family				Creation of extended families Establishment of neighborhood self-help networks	Expansion of socialization functions beyond nuclear family and mother role Establishment of diversified social relationships
Couple and nuclear family	Abolition of the family Abolition of marriage	Demise of the nuclear family	Role-sharing	Redefinition of gender-based social roles	Expanded acceptance of reproduction control Liberalized sexual relationships to revolutionize marriage
Individual	Abolition of the housewife role Abolition of gender roles through consciousness raising	Separate identities from housework		Influence on early childhood training	Work for pay outside the home

[a]Both of these authors note that their strategies are pertinent primarily to highly developed, Western societies. Source: André, Rae. Homemakers. pp 38-39.

is, the cross-sharing of traditional sex roles by men and women. She sees role-sharing within the home as the starting point for further changes in role-specific jobs for men and women. Bernard believes that in order to facilitate this transition to role-sharing, the work hours outside of the home would have to be made flexible.

Boulding's proposal is androgynous in nature. She recommends equal parenting and work sharing and the creation of extended families; change in the early childhood socialization process to avoid gender-specific stereotypes and continuing education for all ages.

Mitchell proposes that women become totally involved in the work industry. To facilitate this transition women must have equal education in order to obtain equal job status with men. The family structure must change to bring about equality between the sexes. Mitchell would like to see a distinct differentiation between marriage and parenthood. The present bond which exists between parents and children needs to be weakened, to be delegated to others than the biological parents.

It is evident that the five proposals briefly presented above are based on different theories. Some are more radical than others. Of all, the one which seems to be the least radical and, therefore, (in my opinion) the most likely to be implemented is Bernard's

proposals of role-sharing and flexibility in work hours outside of the home. If role-sharing begins on an individual level, it will have the potential to permeate to the rest of society. Although these proposals are based on different theoretical frameworks it might be beneficial to attempt to generate an eclectic proposal.

Personally, it seems that the problem of women's inability to seek autonomous life choices is compounded by their traditional role expectations. I propose that the heart of women's problems is in the home. Men should be re-educated or re-socialized to perform household tasks naturally, therefore, housework would not be seen as only women's work.

If this re-educating process could be implemented, the potential for women to be relieved of some of their traditional roles would be possible. If men become more domesticated, a sense of sharing as partners in the home may develop. This attitude may be transferred to aspects outside of the home.

Alterations in attitudes to women's roles must start at an individual level and then proceed to a societal level. If young children observe both parents actively involved in household tasks, the potential for them to view housework as only women's work would be weakened. Only when this task-sharing process within the home becomes the norm will women be able to seek autonomous life choices.

The following are three major contributions this research project has made to the existing literature.

(1) Previous studies have indicated that the working class housewife is more satisfied with housework than is her middle class counterpart. These findings refute this belief.

(2) This study has never been applied to a Canadian population and since some of our findings refute some of Oakley's, the differences might be attributable to the different characteristics of the sample populations.

(3) Research on women's work in the home is not extensive, especially in Canada, therefore, this project is making a significant contribution where research is needed.

APPENDIX A

DEMOGRAPHICS

Race: Fifty-eight of the respondents were white and two were black.

Years Respondent Married: The breakdown of the number of years the respondents were married was as follows:

Years married	Number of respondents
0 - 3	6
4 - 7	20
8 - 10	18
10	16

Age of Respondents: The breakdown of the ages of the respondents was as follows:

Age category	Number of respondents
20 yr	2
20 - 24 yr	6
25 - 29 yr	23
30 - 34 yr	19
35 - 39 yr	9
40 - 44 yr	1

Job Outside the Home: Eighteen of the respondents had a job outside of the home. The remaining 42 respondents did not have a job outside of the home.

Respondent's Worktype: Of the respondents with jobs outside of the home, 9 had high status jobs, 4 had intermediate status jobs, and 5 had low status jobs.

Number of Children of Respondents:

The breakdown of the number of children in the respondents' families was as follows:

Number of children	Respondents
1	10
2	32
3	13
4	4
9	1

Children's Ages:

There were 29 respondents with only 5 years and under, while 31 respondents had children both older and younger than 5 years of age.

Formal Education:

Of the 60 respondents, 13 had a high education, 29 had a medium education, and 18 had a low deucational attainment level.

Religion:

The breakdown of the respondents' religious affiliation was as follows:

Religion	Number of Respondents
Roman Catholic	24
Greek or Russian Orthodox	2
Eastern Rite Catholic	4
Protestant	11
Other	5

Respondent's Birthplace:

The breakdown of the respondents' birthplace was as follows:

Place of Birth	Number of respondents
North America	36
Europe	14
Asia	6
Africa	2
West Indies	1
Middle East	1

Respondents' jobtype before Marriage:

Of the 50 respondents who worked outside of the home before marriage, 16 had a high status job, 23 had an intermediate status job and 11 had a low status job.

Respondent's Mother's jobtype:

Of the 10 respondents whose mothers are working at present, 5 had a high status job, 1 had an intermediate status job and 4 had a low status job.

Respondent's Social Class:

There were 37 respondents in the Working Class and 23 in the Middle Class.

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE USED IN THE STUDY

A. Background Data

1. Race
   (a) white (b) black

2. How many years have you been married?

3. Would you tell me to which age category you belong?
   (a) under 20
   (b) 20 - 24
   (c) 25 - 29
   (d) 30 - 34
   (e) 35 - 39
   (f) 40 - 44
   (g) 45 or older
   (o) no response

4. Do you have a job outside of the home?
   (a) yes (b) no

   [If yes ask 5 and 6]

5. What type of work do you do?

6. Is this a full-time job?
   (a) yes (b) no

7. How many children do you have?

8. What are their ages?
   (a) kids 5 years and under only
   (b) kids both under 5 and over 5 years

9. How far did you go in school?
   (a) 0 - 6 years
   (b) 7 - 8 years
   (c) some high school, but did not graduate
   (d) high school graduate
   (e) some college or vocational training.
   (f) college graduate
   (g) postgraduate study (some)
   (h) postgraduate or professional degree

10. To what religious group do you belong?
    (a) Roman Catholic
    (b) Eastern Rite Catholic
    (c) Greek (or Russian) Orthodox
    (d) Jewish
    (e) Anglican

(f) Protestant (What denomination)
(g) Other (Specify)
(h) None

11. Where were you born?

B. Domestic Work Routine

12. Now, can I ask you about the different tasks you do on an ordinary day? Can you tell me how long you spend on these tasks?

13. I would like to ask you about the things you did yesterday from the time you got up to the time you went to sleep?

14. Now, I would like to ask you about the various tasks you do as a housewife. I will mention these tasks and you tell me if you like, dislike, or have mixed feelings about them.
    (a) housework
    (b) cleaning (tidying, dusting, polishing, vacuuming)
    (c) household shopping
    (d) cooking
    (e) washing dishes
    (f) doing the laundry
    (g) ironing

15. Do you like the physical care of children (getting them up and dressing, putting them to bed, diaper changing)?

16. Do you like the general supervision of children?

17. Do you like feeding children?

18. Do you like playing with children?

19. Do you like taking children out?

20. Do you find housework is repetitive on the whole?

21. Do you find you can think about other things while you are working?

[If no outside job ask, 22, 23, 24, 25]

22. Do you find you have too much to get through during the day?

23. Do you feel as though you're on your own too much with the children during the daytime?

24. Do you feel you have enough time to yourself?

25. Would you like some time or more time away from the housework and children?

[If yes to 25, ask 26]

26. What would you do with it?

C. Standards and Routines

27. Would you say you have particular ways of doing things (standards) you regularly keep to in housework?

[If yes to 27, ask 28, 29,30]

28. Is it important to you to keep to these standards?

29. Why do you think its important/not important to have standards?

30. What sorts of things (if any) would make you drop or lower your standards?

31. Would you say you have a fixed routine you keep to in doing housework?

[If yes to 31, ask 32 and 33]

32. Have you always had a routine?

33. Why do you think you have one?

D. Attitudes to paid Work and Work Roles

34. What sort of job did you do before you got married?

[If not working outside of the home ask, 35-37]

35. Why did you stop working?

36. How did you feel about stopping?

37. Have you ever felt you would like to go back to work?

38. Do you think you would go back to work eventually?

39. What do you feel in general about mothers working?

E. Sources of Role Identity

(i) Female role model

40. Did your mother work outside the home when you were a child?

41. Do you know why she worked?

42. Does your mother work now?

(ii) Identification with female role model

43. Do you remember helping your mother around the house when you were a child?

44. Did she ask you too?

45. When you were older, do you remember whether you wanted to be like your mother?

46. For instance, did you want to get married and have children?

47. Did you expect to work when you were married?

48. Did you want to train for any career?

F. Mother's Expectations

With reference to the end of your full-time education:

49. What did your mother want you to do ?
(a) get married
(b) get a job
(c) other (specify)

G. The Marital Relationship - Organization of Activities

(i) Household Tasks

50. Does your husband help occasionally, regularly or never with the housework?

51. How many times within the last week did he help with
    (a) cleaning the house
    (b) household shopping
    (c) cooking
    (d) doing the dishes
    (e) doing the laundry
    (f) ironing

52. Does he help occasionally, regularly or never with the children?

(ii) If respondent has an outside job, ask 53-54

53. What do you usually spend your wages on?

54. Is it important to you to have some money you know is your own i.e. that you have earned?

[If yes to 54, ask 55]

55. Why?

(iii) If respondent has no outside job, ask 56-59

56. What do you do for money when you want to buy your husband a present?

57. Does it bother you at all to have to ask for money?

[If yes to 57, ask 58]

58. Why?

59. Would you like to have some money of your own i.e. by working?

(iV) The House

60. If you wanted to buy something for the home e.g. a washer and dryer, would you
    (a) ask your husband to buy it and he saves for it for you?
    (b) you buy it by saving for it yourself?
    (c) you buy it by both of you saving for it together?

61. If you said you needed something for the house would he
    (a) argue with you
    (b) would he trust your opinion

62. Are there any things he is particularly fussy about in the home? (e.g. tidiness upon arrival at home, well ironed shirts).

[If yes to 62, ask 63-65]

63. Do you feel he has a right to be fussy?

64. Do you make a special attempt to do things for him?

65. Do you feel it's your (wife's) duty?

(V) Children

66. Did you decide to have children or did they just happen?

[If decided, ask 67]

67. Who decided?
    (a) husband
    (b) wife
    (c) both

68. Who chose the children's names?
    (a) husband
    (b) wife
    (c) both
    (d) other

69. Who decided where the children should go to school, and when? (play group or nursery)
    (a) husband
    (b) wife
    (c) both

70. Who sees the children's teachers?
    (a) husband
    (b) wife
    (c) both

71. Do you feel that overall you have enough say in things to do with the house and the children?

H. General Satisfaction

If respondent has no outside job, ask 72

72. Do you ever feel there is anything else is anything else you would rather be doing apart from being a housewife and mother?

[If yes to 72, ask 73]

73. What?

74. If you could have the last ten years over again, would you do anything differently?

[If yes to 74, ask 75]

75. What?

76. Would you describe yourself as generally satisfied, unsatisfied, or neither with life?

77. If you compare your life now with what it was before you became a housewife and mother, would you say you are happier now, less happy or about the same?

78. What would you say are the best things about being a housewife?

79. What would you say are the worst things about being a housewife?

80. Before you became a housewife, did you expect to enjoy housework?

81. Did you expect to enjoy having children?

82. Did you expect to enjoy looking after children?

83. Did you expect to enjoy looking after your husband?

If respondent has no outside job, ask 84

84. When you fill out a form and you write "occupation housewife," what do you feel about that?

85. Do you think that housewives work as hard, harder, or not so hard as their husbands?

86. Do you think that women get a better or worse deal

in marriage than men?

87. Do you believe that women are generally inferior to men?

88. Do you agree with men doing housework and looking after children?

89. What would you think of a marriage in which the wife went out to work and the husband stayed at home to look after the children?

90. Do you ever envy your husband?

91. Do you think there are any ways in which women are treated unfairly in this country at the moment? (e.g. pay, taxes, national insurance)

92. What do you think of the Women's Liberation Movement, in general?

93. Do you think that housewives should be paid a salary for doing housework?

94. Why or why not?

95. Do you think a woman should be economically independent of her husband and stand on her own two feet?

96. Why or why not?

97. Do you believe it is important for a young woman to get as much education as possible?

[If yes to 97, ask 98]

98. Why?

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