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ADULT WOMEN STUDENTS AND THEIR HOMEMAKER PEERS

DIRJANA RISTIC

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
1975

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates problems related to adult students with intact families and children, compared to a group of their homemaker peers.

A review of literature is given in order to identify some problems encountered by women in the present social environment. Since the problem is perceived as one of social change, two theories, Ogburn's theory of Cultural Lag and Merton's theory of Anomie have been used as the theoretical framework. Merton's theory was used largely as a tool in an attempt to categorize the women in terms of their acceptance of or innovation on their social roles. Since the study was done on women in their thirties and forties, an assumption was that the different phases of their socialization will reflect - to a certain degree - the changes which have taken place in society for the last decade, particularly as they pertain to women's roles.

This is an exploratory study and no formal hypotheses have been either posed or tested. Rather, the goal of the study was to identify the sociological variables that seem to influence the decision of a number of women to re-enter school at an unconventional age.

There were no significant differences in the early socialization of the two groups. The differences in

their present life-styles are seen as resulting from their attitudes, which are generally speaking less conservative for students (and this is a matter of degree varying from person to person) than those of the homemakers. The decision to further their education is seen as an accumulation of different events, facilitated by their need and determination to expand on their socially given roles and their ability to do so - both in terms of their personalities and their circumstances.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A project like this is never the result of the efforts of one person alone, and I would, therefore, like to express my sincere and deep felt gratitude to those who helped me in completing it.

To Dr. Ann Diemer, under whose direction this study was undertaken, I am thankful for her generosity in helping me with her knowledge and giving her time and support from the first year of my studies at this university.

To Dr. Robert Whitehurst I am grateful for his guidance, help and reassurance which he gave me freely and frequently.

To Dr. Kathleen McCrone I am indebted for her comments and her time.

To my husband, Mile, I am grateful for his continuous support and encouragement. Without him I would have never become a student again.

To my children, Rasko and Jelena, I am thankful for their understanding and acceptance of me being only what I am, and for not complaining about it.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

> "Our views as social scientists, no less than as novelists and poets, are developed through what we are, where we have come from, and where we have been. Our choice of research problems reflects concerns which often underlie our lives, and even our accidentally chosen problems come to define our later work."
>
> Papanek, 1973

This study deals with middle-class women in their thirties and forties, living with their husbands and children, who perceived themselves as being primarily mothers and wives.

Since our society has established motherhood and matrimony as centrally significant institutions these women can be seen as having achieved the "All American Dream" of having a husband, children and a long - and ever growing - list of material possessions considered important in our consumer oriented society.

And yet it seems that a number of them, having achieved the prescribed goals cannot conceive of their whole biography in terms of careers as mothers and mates. Having reached the mid-years of their lives and having invested a good part of themselves in the pursuit of the myth of the "female place" in our social environment, they

seem to get to a point in their life cycle where they get caught in a gap between their socially constructed selves and their own latent subjective identities which seem to lie dormant during the adolescent and the post adolescent phases of their lives when they regard marriage, home and family as integral parts of their entire lives.

Years of exposure to marriage and motherhood normatively prescribed as "given" over and beyond the former's empirical existence, seem to facilitate their demystification making these institutions comprehensible in everyday human terms.

It is then that they seem to perceive a void in their lives, a vague lack of fulfillment, a subtle feeling of being denied "their own thing", of not being given the opportunity for the full utilization of their inherent talents and/or educationally acquired skills.

For some women that leads to a realization that, contrary to the expectations encouraged and fostered by their socialization, their total dedication to the well-being of the family, to husband's career and children's academic achievements, the never-ending and never-varying exposure to diet and dirt, shopping and chauffeuring, is incongruent with the intellectual growth or the employment of their full potential instilled into them - albeit somewhat ambivalently - by their formal education.

According to the director of the Human Relations

Work-Study Center, an interdisciplinary department of the New School for Social Research in New York,

> "the middle-class woman is suffering, just as the poverty women, for lack of productive work. And frequently she has been made to feel that the work incentive itself is shameful - that it reflects badly on her husband's earning capacity or on her own resourcefulness as a 'homemaker'... Women want identity outside the family." (vanDoren, 1975)

At this point in her life, and it happens according to literature modally when a woman is in her late thirties (Baruch, 1967; Friedan, 1963; Self, 1969), the woman finds herself in a situation where the demands on her time diminish. The children are most probably in school, the husband is - and this holds particularly for the upper and middle-classes - deeply committed to his work, so she finds herself alone and unneeded for the best part of the day.

This leads to feelings of loss owing to a perceived diminished importance of her role reflected in her reduced involvement in and direct influence on her children's lives.

The situation is further compounded by the fact of a perceived loss of love and devotion on her husband's part - which most probably results from his overcommitment to his work and career. In a word, she does not feel so much needed as taken for granted, at a time when there is also a perceived loss of youth and attractiveness which are considered great feminine assets in our youth oriented culture (Self, 1969).

An obvious solution to the problem of underemployment in their home life would be increased involvement in the social milieu. An era characterized by sophisticated specialization has not demonstrated a great need for middle-aged women whose education is considered as either inadequate, too general for any specific type of work, or even if it was technical in any specific terms, is now considered too "rusty" for an age where technical knowledge becomes obsolete in increasingly shorter time spans. Yet another obstacle to her involvement in the "real world" is that her only unrealistic "measuring rod" for achievement is her husband's occupational success.

The privatization of her feelings, her needs and ambitions, which isolates her from help, and the feelings of guilt for being "ungrateful" for all that has been "done for her", further compound the problem.

That there is a problem is born out not only by literature but by statistical findings that mental health problems ranked third for women and seventh for men (Shepherd, Cooper, Brown and Kalton, 1964). A study on psychiatric patients under 18 years of age reveals that males outnumber females by almost two to one (63.6% males to 36.4% females) (Patterns, 1971). This and different statistical manipulations and correlations between the mental health of married women have shown that the poor mental health seems not to be a function of sex as has been proposed (Willoughby, 1962; Martinson, 1955).

> "It is not necessarily the magnitude of the statistical difference between the mental health of married and single women or between married men and married women that is so convincing; it is, rather, the consistency of the differences." (Bernard, 1972b: 40)

Being dependent on her husband, the wife will have to be submissive, to attempt to please and control him indirectly by manipulating him emotionally. The proper attitude of a dependent constitutes a mixture of gratitude, awe, obedience, submissiveness, loyalty and love (Eichler, 1973).

It should come as no surprise then that this docile and dependent human being without much say in serious decision-making is "perceived as significantly less healthy by adult standards" (Broverman et al; 1972: 71). A fact which calls for a re-examination of the existing social patterns and female needs.

The argument here is that there is a need in married educated middle-aged, middle-class women, a need which results primarily from their ambivalent socialization which denies them an independent place in our present social structure and defines them mainly in terms of their significant others. This need has not been dealt with constructively in terms of our present social institutions.

The existing social institutions encourage the evolvement of an asymmetrical situation of an overworked husband and an underemployed wife given the wonderful gift

of time which she cannot use constructively, and the implications of which are only now being considered seriously.

> "It is no longer possible to see the problems of women as isolated and personal; beyond this, it is no longer possible to see the problems as pertaining only to women."
> (Janeway, 1975:25)

The changes knocking at our doors today derive from technological, scientific and economic advances, altering the living styles of the adult population and influencing the upbringing of the coming generations.

One half of the women who have been the object of this study, namely adult students with intact marriages and children, are trying out one way of resolving this need by endeavouring to get back into the mainstream of the "outside world" by furthering their education. Their motivations and goals are worthy of study because of the implications of this type of study in terms of finding a better balance to the problems of wives vis-à-vis their husbands. The most visible one is that our economic structure will have to adjust itself to the growing number of such women if the trend continues (and there is no reason to believe that it will not). Their own families will have to readjust structurally in order to absorb some of the functions of which they will have to be relieved. Furthermore they will provide new role models both for their own children and the youth with whom they come into contact.

These women have their own unique contribution

to make owing to their interdisciplinary knowledge of the "world out there" at which they have been looking from their specific angle. They bring not only a quantitative increase to the pool of human resources, but also a qualitative increase in what is known and what is significant to communicate to the coming generations.

> "By definition, since it has not been publicly recognized before, this knowledge comes out of private experience. But to dismiss it on such grounds is willfully to choose ignorance...Our (feminine) knowledge of the world as it is is really quite formidable, broadly based, aware of detail, and not afraid to make connections between areas which the traditionally minded see as separate." (Janeway, 1975: 20-27)

The problem of women's roles is not a new one, neither is the idea of their education, but it is an idea whose time has come, which makes it both relevant and tenacious. In the presence of such ideas, argues Montagu (1968), the scientific attitude is neither the readiness to believe nor the readiness to disbelieve, but the readiness to investigate.

CHAPTER II

STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Looking at the number of women with intact families who are returning to colleges and universities after years of absence from any kind of educational system, it seems justifiable to state that they are an identifiable group whose motives, attitudes and actions are worthy of study.

This study, which is exploratory in character, consists of in-depth interviews with a sample of adult female students with intact marriages in order to examine their reasons for furthering their education and the potential expectations they hold for their occupational futures. It is suggested that their plans for the future will enable a division of women into two groups: those who are career-oriented, and those who are taking courses for self-gratification in order to "expand their horizons."

It has been envisaged that these women can be placed on a continuum, one pole of which represents those who are taking one or perhaps two courses in order to "get out of the house," and/or "have something of their own," but are still traditionally oriented perceiving themselves primarily as homemakers - wives and mothers. These women are seen as having devoted major portions

of their energies and time to the husband's and children's well-being and advancement. School work is seen as something to be done in their own time, when the children are either in school or in bed and the husbands in their offices or otherwise occupied.

The pole at the other end of the continuum represents those who go to school full-time, are contemplating a career, and are trying to arrange their family life and obligations in a way that will enable them to successfully complete school requirements. The difference between the two groups seems to be that while the former are trying to organize their course work around the perceived domestic obligations without disrupting the existing sex role stereotype division of labour, the latter are giving more prominence to their school work and are trying to organize their housework in a way that will not hinder their academic achievement. They are usually helped by their children and/or husbands, and are, in a sense, breaking the stereotypical sex role division of labour in middle-class homes.

Interviews were also held with a matching number of women who have not returned to school. An endeavour was made to match the adult female student sample with a sample of homemakers that corresponded - as closely as possible - in marital status, age, socio-economic status of the husband, previous educational background and number of children. They were interviewed to test the discriminatory value of

sociological variables that appear to influence the decision made by adult female students to return to school.

Each interview was - in essence - a life cycle case history focusing on:

1. The early socialization at home and the sources of aspirations for adult roles.
2. The school experience and the sense of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with scholastic achievement in youth.
3. The influence and the expectations of the high school peer group.
4. The conceptions of courtship and marriage, specifically if marriage and motherhood are conveived as a full-time, life-long occupation in the traditional sense; if so has it resulted in feelings of satisfaction or frustration which then compelled the woman to look for other sources of gratification? In the case of adult students it seemed pertinent to inquire whether they perceived marriage more as a partnership between two individuals with the wives being given equal options of entertaining plans for furthering their education after the establishment of the family, and when the children no longer needed maternal supervision throughout the day.
5. Current marriage and family relationship, including husband's orientation and attitude - both theoretical and particular - in the case of his wife - to problems of female education and/or work. The husband's attitude

toward re-entry into school was considered a particularly important variable in case of the adult students.

6. The woman's anticipation of the "empty nest phase" and the way in which she planned to minimize or overcome the void this would leave in her life.
7. Family economics.
8. The woman's need to express herself in educational pursuits.
9. Woman's current kin and peer support which was perceived particularly important for the student group, in terms whether the kin and peer group aided or hindered the quest for education in females who are not of the conventional student age.
10. Role of children: children were seen as a major variable in either facilitating or inhibiting the re-entry into school. On one hand young children were seen as needing maternal presence and supervision, and on the other older children were seen as being able to help their mothers run the household. They were usually the major beneficiaries of the "extra" money the mother might be able to provide, and could also benefit by taking the mother as a role model thus viewing education as an ongoing process.
11. Woman's sense of self: is education and commitment to learning a deeply ingrained goal? How does she perceive her adequacy in facing the possibility of further

education at a later age? Is it seen as a positive challenge or a serious threat?

12. What is the woman's attitude toward the present position of women in society and has there been a conscious change?
13. What is her attitude toward the women's movement?
14. What is her attitude toward possible economic independence from her husband?

In summary, the emphasis was on eliciting answers to the question "Who am I and what do I do for the rest of my life?"

Briefly, the research question broached in this thesis is as follows: after having fulfilled the culturally prescribed roles of wife and mother, under what conditions do women experience feelings of satisfaction or frustration which compel them to look for other sources of gratification outside their home such as returning to school.

CHAPTER III

WOMEN'S MULTIPLE ROLES DESCRIBED IN THE LITERATURE

> "When seen as a set of symbolic devices for controlling behavior, extrasomatic sources of information, culture provides the link between what men are intrinsically capable of becoming and what they actually, one by one, in fact become."
>
> Geertz, 1973

> "Tell me something about yourself, what does your husband do?"

Because of the absence of empirical studies pertaining to the problem of re-entry into school of adult women, this study could not be based upon any previous research dealing specifically with that problem. What was done, rather, was to search the existing literature for theoretical implications which could serve as a frame of reference within which this thesis could be developed. Summaries of the ideas of the major writers in the field who were among the first to identify and describe the woman's dilemma follow.

Socialization which encourages and maximizes sex differentiation and which starts in our culture in infancy has far-reaching implications. From a very early age boys and girls absorb male and female stereotypes from their parents, teachers and society at large (Banton, 1965; Polk and Stein, 1972).

During their lives at home, in school and later on in college, girls, although they are expected to compete scholastically with boys, are taught that their life goals differ from those of the boys and that they are not really expected to participate equally in occupational structures, their major goal being "catching" a good husband (Bernard, 1972a).

Such is the pressure of society that in their early twenties when most boys are thinking of careers, making their commitment for the future, girls are mostly motivated by their internalized affiliation needs, meaning quite literally, their needs to both acquire and give love (Rossi, 1965).

Female socialization defines life in terms of becoming the "other half" of her husband, a subordinate and submissive dependent in an unequal position (Rossi, 1965). A female is geared to become a participant and helper in her husband's career (a phenomenon conceptualized as a "two-person single career") (Papanek, 1973). Modally her status in life is derived from father or husband - whose names she carries - instead of achieving independently. Historically only women, slaves and servants have been ranked almost exclusively according to the rank held by their masters (Eichler, 1971).

In other words, according to our societal norms a man's status is determined by what he "does", whereas a

woman's status is determined by the man she marries (Bart, 1971; Coser, 1971; Rossi, 1965).

Even when a married woman works she is typically viewed as primarily supplementing her family income which makes her career involvement "fairly tenuous" (Epstein, 1971; Gove and Tudor, 1973). She is not really expected to find pleasure in the work per se. Even those with a commitment to learning capitulate to the prevailing norms by joining the so called "nurturant professions". This is seen as resulting from the prevailing societal norms according to which, while a woman can be truly fulfilled only as a mother and wife, it is both compatible with feminine nature and perhaps also necessary to society that she seeks to "bring peace and comfort" into the world as social worker, nurse, sympathetic assistant and primary school teacher (Roby, 1971).

For a woman a family is a "greedy institution" (Coser, 1971) in terms of her time and energy.

Although it seems safe to say that the adult feminine role has not ceased to be anchored primarily in the internal affairs of the family as wife, mother and manager of the household (Parsons, 1955), it seems just as safe to say that a change is taking place in the societal attitude towards the two traditional functions of the woman - childbearing and housekeeping.

In view of the fact that modern technology and medicine have salvaged so many babies and old people that

we are about to be smothered in people, the role of motherhood will have to be played down to a considerable extent, particularly in the face of dwindling natural resources necessary for sustaining human life (Bernard, 1972a).

Women will thus be underemployed by motherhood, all the more so since children are leaving home for school (pre-school, kindergarten) at an earlier age than ever before.

On the other hand the technological advances with their "labour saving" devices are considerably reducing household chores. Historically, the housewife's role was both important and respected, and her skills were instrumental not only for the wellbeing, but also for the very survival of family life. In pre-industrial days the family was a production unit. At present the "ready to wear" and the "ready to eat" have taken a great deal of creative work out of the home. In fact it could be said that women today are more "housekeepers" than "homemakers" (Janeway, 1971; Chafe, 1972).

All of the above is further compounded by the fact that women today are - generally speaking - better educated than at any time before, which presumably means that they have a greater need to satisfy their creative abilities (Friedan, 1963; Hansot, 1975; Rothbard-Margolis, 1975; Bullough, 1974). It seems safe to say that their diminished opportunities for self-satisfaction in traditional sex roles, coupled with their increased intellectual skills

have resulted in a tension which can best be viewed in terms of social change, that is, their modes of adaptation to this tension.

Everyday life has been drastically changed over the past century, but the social structure does not - substantially - reflect these changes, leaving us with a "cultural lag".

An assumption can be made that there are women who find fulfillment in their traditional roles. Having devoted a number of years to their families they fully identify with their "helpmate" role. Voluntary organizations have traditionally offered women rewarding work involving them in different aspects of community life, on their own terms and in their own time. Women with artistic abilities have traditionally been able to find gratification pursuing their talents benefitting both themselves and their families.

For those without these interests and talents married to men who become successful in their fields, as times goes by it becomes increasingly difficult to shed the dependency on the husband, because they can never hope to independently achieve a status that can be comparable, let alone higher, to the one they enjoy as their husband's spouse.

Furthermore it seems true that a two-career family hardly fits our present day social structure. Homemaking

and child-rearing, both of which are important and demanding roles even if they are not full-time occupations, are placed squarely on the woman's shoulders.

A growing number of women, however, seem to be questioning the traditional sex stereotype roles. They seem frustrated by their derived status, their truncated intellectual activities, and the double standards existing in contemporary society. At some point in their lives some women are likely to reject their total dependency on their husbands and start the search for an individual feeling of identity, direct participation in the world and the utilization of their whole potential (Angyal, 1953; Bardwick, 1971; Baruch, 1967 and Chafetz, 1974). An interesting question at this point would be: is there a realization that living for husband and children, means living through husband and children, suffocating the husband, potentially crippling the children and thus ultimately failing the task?

Parsons, too, stresses that the nature of socialization is such that the child's dependency must be temporary rather than permanent:

> "...it is very important that the socializing agents should not themselves be <u>too</u> completely immersed in their family ties... More specifically this means that the adult members must have roles other than their familial roles which occupy strategic places in their own personalities. In our society the most important of these, though by no means the only one, is the occupational role of the father."
> (Parsons, 1955: 19)

And what of the mother? Women whose "significant others" are limited to the husband and children, whose identity and sense of self is derived mostly from her roles as wife and mother, can and do in the periods when children leave for school and later on in the "empty nest" phase suffer what Rose (1969) calls a "mutilation of self", and experience a loss in self-esteem and a feeling of worthlessness and uselessness which characterizes the depressives (Bart, 1971).

In summary, it appears plausible that some women will be in positions of strain induced by social structural changes, technology, and a range of other family and community problems. The relationship of these variables to the potential for further education as adult females with families provides the basic focal point for this study.

In the discussion of the data dealing with the issues covered by this study other relevant literature is reviewed to elucidate the specific topic. The following chapter explicates the theories which were used to provide the theoretical basis for this research.

CHAPTER IV

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

CULTURAL LAG

Defining his hypothesis of Cultural Lag, Ogburn writes:

> "The thesis is that various parts of culture are not changing at the same rate, some parts are changing much more rapidly than others; and that since there is a correlation and interdependence of parts, a rapid change in one part of our culture requires readjustment through other changes in the various correlated parts of the culture." (Ogburn, 1966: 200-201)

According to Ogburn's hypothesis when an invention or a discovery changes certain aspects of culture, this will - in turn - affect the dependent parts of culture. A delay is frequently encountered in the development of these dependent parts of culture which results in a lag. The extent and duration of this lag may vary depending on the aspects of culture material in question, but it can exist for a considerable period of time during which there exists what may be termed a period of maladjustment.

Generally speaking Ogburn distinguishes between the material - technological aspects of culture and the non-material - the social organizational aspects of it.*

*Ogburn gave such prominence to the material culture as a factor in contemporary society because of:
1. the great accumulation of material culture;
2. the rapid change of material culture; and
3. his belief that material culture causes so many changes in other features of society.

This study is interested primarily in the concept of lag between the material and the non-material aspects, that is the existing cultural norms and social structures.

Ogburn's first hypothesis is that culture once in existence persists because it has utility. The discovery of new cultural elements of superior utility replace the old ones. The difficulties in the creation and adoption of new ideas are numerous, and in these difficulties lies the slowness of change.

Ogburn accredited the slowness of change to habit caused by ignorance and to socially enforced conformity to group standards, stressing that individuals hesitate to deviate from the accepted code of manners, dictated by distinctly social forces. According to this theory living together and being engaged in various social activities is facilitated by the knowledge and reassurance that comes from the definiteness and repetition of the existing social organization. Still another impediment to social change is the degree of fear found generally in uncertainty and ignorance. According to Ogburn more human risk is to be found in social experimentation than in a scientific laboratory. The uncertainty of the former might be particularly prominent in view of the high degree of interdependence and orderliness necessary in social organization.

Another prominent factor in the slowness of social change was conceptualized by Ogburn as "vested interests"

of individuals, or groups of individuals who derive a differential advantage under given conditions. In case of a perceived possibility of a loss of these interests due to projected changes in the system, those enjoying "vested interests" offer resistance to change.

This is a particularly relevant point for this study in view of the restricted role accorded to women by society. The female has been the subordinate, the "other" and the "second sex" throughout known history (deBeauvoir, 1957). It seems to have been in the "vested interest" of males to keep them in "their place", evoking in the defence of the latter everything from the sanctity of the home and motherhood to biology and anatomy.

Factors seen as facilitating change by Ogburn are - among others - curiosity, perceived as inherent in inventiveness; repression of desires leading to restlessness and thus furnishing a drive for change;* love of adventure and ambition to improve.** The question of whether human nature is predominantly change-resisting or change-loving remains unsolved by Ogburn who considers that an all-embracing answer to it - and that is the only one he sees as possible - would be too general to be meaningful.

---

*A great number of women see boredom and restlessness resulting from their monotonous daily routine as instrumental in their going back to school.

**A desire to improve their education and facilitate achievement, was one of the main reasons given by adult students as their immediate reason to re-enter school

Compounding the difficulty is the great variation of the psychological make-up of different individuals and the variability of given social situations.

Ogburn considers that the rapidity of change in modern times raises the important question of social adjustment, and this is focal to this study.

In certain cases the cultural lag can be of brief duration and is thus insignificant. But as he saw it, in a great many cases the old adaptive culture hangs over into the new material conditions, causing maladjustment that might be of such long duration as to become socially significant.*

Expounding the theory Ogburn gives several examples of instances of adaptive culture - including the family - defining them as being that portion of the non-material culture which is to be adjusted to existing material conditions.

> "The family...under the terminology used here is part of the non-material culture that is only partly adaptive. When the material conditions change, changes are occasioned in the adaptive culture. But these changes in the adaptive culture do not synchronize exactly with the change in the material culture."
> (Ogburn, 1966: 203)

*It is our contention that the culturally prescribed role of women is maladjusted to the overall mode of life and the technological progress enjoyed by contemporary society. It should be pointed out that in our society medical progress has given women - perhaps for the first time in history - control over their biological and procreative destiny. The improved contraceptive methods, the increasing number of live births and reduced child mortality, as well as the baby bottle have enabled family planning and made women potential masters of their own bodies. And that this is an improvement over nature is best seen in the spectacular lengthening of their lives, which in itself requires adaptation in their life-styles.

According to Ogburn there is a delay in the adjustment of the family to modern technology. Historically, the family was, in addition to an affectional and biological, also an economic institution, inclusive of a number of recreational, educational, protective and religious factors.

The economic function of a woman, as well as her other homemaking abilities were both important in themselves, and comparable to her husband's work. In Ogburn's view - modally speaking - there was adjustment between the agricultural family as a social organization and the then existing material culture.

The development of the industrial era meant a growth of large scale production and the removal from the home of a number of its previous functions - particularly those belonging to the woman's domain. Even a cursory comparison between the extended agricultural family in the pre-industrial era and a contemporary nuclear family in an urban high-rise, a suburban split-level or a mobile home, cannot but point to the differences in the services they render and the functions they serve.*

*Today we delight in the homemade artifacts the women of that era left behind, but, and this is an important point, they were not made as artistic endeavours - though making them did mean using one's creative abilities - but because these products were instrumental for the survival of the family. That type of life-style, however, has vanished. Not because of anyone's intentions but because of a long-term profound economic shift in which productive work moved away from the home, and cash economy replaced the old do-it-yourself work at home which ceased to be considered as expedient. Social change was instrumental in making us pay for the things we used to make ourselves.

> "Such profound changes in the economic functions of the family and the creation of new forms of economic activity means that new adjustments would have to be made by the family, since it was hardly possible to stop or change significantly the march of material progress."
> (Ogburn, 1966: 242)

In Ogburn's view it was the woman who had to make the greater adjustment precisely because her work as a producer, an educator, as practical nurse to the young and the old, has been largely taken away from her and institutionalized outside the home.

> "A somewhat wider life for woman outside the home seems desirable, since so many of the home occupations are now found outside the family. The extension of the franchise to women is only a minor step in that direction."
> (Ogburn, 1966: 244)

This was written more than half a century ago (the first publication of his book was in 1922), approximately at

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A fact which obliges the adult in the family to exchange labour for dollars. "The social changes we are trying to cope with do not arise from some fiendish plot of bra-burning females, but from an old, old friend - the Industrial Revolution. It has remade work, remade society and is now remaking the family...coping with its demands is a larger task than can be undertaken by women alone - especially by one woman, desperately trying to keep her head above water, and thinking her family's problems are unique and personal. They are not. They are social and they demand a social response."
(Janeway, 1974: 141)

the time when the American women gained their right to vote.*

In conclusion it can be said that the relevance for this study of Ogburn's Theory of Social Change is reflected in the following factors which are instrumental in defining both the position and problems of contemporary women in our present social system:

1. the defunctionalization of the economic position of women by technological progress;
2. the realization that there have been "vested interests" in keeping women in the subordinate position of the "second sex"; and
3. the presence of a "cultural lag" in terms of the absence of any kind of institutionalized way to resolve the maladjustment between the present role of women - the adaptive culture - and the achieved technological progress - the material culture.

*At that time suffragists and women's right advocates believed that the enactment of the XIX Amendment in the U.S.A. marked a turning point in the struggle for sexual equality. "The whole aim of the woman's movement has been to destroy the idea that obedience is necessary to women; to train women to such self-respect that they would not grant obedience; and to train men to such comprehension of equity that they would not exact it (Carrie Chapman Catt in an undated statement somewhere prior to 1920, Carrie Chapman Catt Papers, Smith College, Sophia Smith Collection, Box 1)." With the benefit of hindsight it seems clear that much of that optimism was premature. In the succeeding fifty years technological progress has been undeniable as has been its impact on everyday human life. But sexual equality, which according to Chafe (1972) is rooted within the social structure itself, through allocation of different spheres of interest and responsibility to men and women - a sort of sexual apartheid - remains, as does the social lag Ogburn describes.

ANOMIE THEORY

In addition to Ogburn's Theory of Social Change, this study also makes use of Merton's (1968) Anomie Theory;* the central hypothesis of which is that deviant behavior may sociologically be regarded as a symptom of incongruity between the culturally prescribed goals and the socially structured means for realizing these goals.

Merton distinguishes two orientations which are of immediate importance, and although separate analytically they merge in concrete situations.

First are culturally defined goals, purposes and interests, "worth striving for" which are more or less integrated, the degree being a matter of empirical question, and roughly ordered in some hierarchy of value. These comprise a frame of "aspirational reference (Merton, 1968: 186)."

The second element of cultural structure, according to Merton "defines, regulates and controls the acceptable modes of reaching out for these goals (Merton, 1968: 187)."**

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*"Anomie is...conceived as a breakdown in the cultural structure, occuring particularly when there is an acute disjunction between the cultural norms and goals and the socially structured capacities of members of the group to act in accord with them. In this conception, cultural values may help produce behavior which is at odds with the mandates of the values themselves."
(Merton, 1968: 216)

**In his opinion these two elements do not bear a constant relation to one another, and at times the cultural and social emphasis on certain goals varies independently of the degree of emphasis on institutional means.

Summarizing his theory Merton emphasizes that the culturally emphasized goals may be very diverse, the implication being that the theory can be used for a variety of phenomena and that his concept of deviation from culturally prescribed, institutionalized means does not propose that deviant behavior should in any way be equated with social dysfunction or violation of any existing ethical code.

Of special interest here is Merton's typology of role behaviors in specific situations, or as he terms it "types of individual adaptations", to prevailing societal values among those individuals occupying different social positions within the social structure.

Merton distinguishes five types of adaptation to cultural goals resulting from either conforming or non-conforming behavior on the part of the individual. He stresses that people may shift from one position to another within the existing categories, and that the categories refer to "role behavior in specific type of situations, not to personality (Merton, 1968: 194)."

Merton's typology consists of the following five categories:

1. conformity
2. innovation
3. ritualism
4. retreatism
5. rebellion

For purposes of this study, women who return to school as older adults will be considered as innovators.

Although the conformity adaptation is the most usual one for women, some discussion will consider women as ritualists, retreatists and even rebellionists.

CONFORMITY: To the extent that a given society is a stable one, conformity to both goals and institutionalized means is the modal behavior of its members, allowing, perhaps for secularly changing cultural patterns.

> "Only because behavior is typically oriented towards the basic values of the society...we may speak of human aggregates as comprising a society. Unless there is a deposit of values shared by interacting individuals, there exist social relations, if the disorderly interactions may be so called, but no society."
> (Merton, 1968: 193).

It seems that it can be safely said that the majority of women, in accepting their prescribed social role as being first of all mothers and wives, belong to this category.

RITUALISM: This type of adaptation refers to the pattern of responses in which the culturally prescribed forms of success orientation are abandoned while an almost compulsive adherence to institutionalized means is followed and implemented.

Whether this behavior is labeled deviant or not, Merton considers it a deviation from the prevailing cul-

tural model of striving actively in trying to achieve success.*

It is proposed here that women who perceive themselves as unwilling dependents but continue to function, and perhaps seemingly well, by going through the motions without hope of attaining the desired goals, belong to this category.**

RETREATISM: This is a type of adaptation where both the once esteemed cultural and societal goals and the institutionalized means for achieving them are abandoned. Retreatism is seen as a response to acute anomie "involv-

*He suggests that the acute status anxiety in a society which "emphasizes the achievement-motif may induce the deviant behavior of 'over-conformity' and 'over-compliance' Merton, (1968: 239)." Merton sees the situation which invites a ritualist type of behavior as involving either repeated frustration in trying to attain strongly held goals or experiencing the fact that rewards are disproportional to conformity. Implicit in this mode of adaptation is the assumption that high ambitions invite frustration and the need for "sticking out one's neck", whereas the scaling down of one's ambition produce stability and security. This type of response has been programmed into women by their socialization for centuries.

**According to Bardwick and Douvan many women try to cope with their anxiety by exaggerating, by conforming to stereotyped role images. "When one is anxious or uncertain about one's femininity, a viable technique for quelling those anxious feelings is an exaggerated conformity, a larger-than-life commitment to Kinder, Kuche, Kirche. In this way a woman creates images, sending out clarified and exaggerated cues to others...Whenever one sees a total investment or role adoption in its stereotyped, unidimensional form, one suspects a flight from uncertainty about masculinity or femininity (Bardwick and Douvan, 1971: 157)."

ing an abrupt break in the familiar and accepted normative framework and in established social relations, particularly when it appears to individuals subjected to it that the conditions will continue indefinitely (Merton, 1968: 242).*

The number of housewife alcoholics drowning their frustrations in urban or suburban slums and dwellings, as well as the borderline cases finding an escape in the instant peace induced by increasing doses of tranquilizers, seem to belong to this category.

REBELLION: This is viewed as a mode of adaptation aiming at changing both the societal goals and the institutionalized means of achieving them. Thus alienation from both the goals and means is implicit in this category.

Advocates of rebellion apparently aim to introduce changes and modifications in the social structure striving for new social and cultural standards of success which would be conducive to a closer correspondence between merit, effort and award.

*Merton considers this the least common response and views such persons as being in the society, but not of it. Speaking sociologically he considers these individuals a truly alienated group of society. They have abandoned both the culturally prescribed goals and means of achieving them. Society condemns this kind of behavior by treating this type of adaptation as a non-productive liability, threatening to its values. Merton views the individuals in this category as engaged in privatized as opposed to a collective mode of behavior, because of which it has, in his opinion, not received sufficient attention from sociologists although it has social antecedents and has been a historical constant.

The more radical feminist groups, and those experimenting with various communal ways of living may be placed in this category because they not only propose new ways of living but question the basic values underlying the present social structure.

INNOVATION: This is seen as the most important to this study, and is therefore considered last. This type of adaptation occurs among individuals who have internalized the overriding social and cultural emphasis on success, without, however, internalizing the socially prescribed means for achieving the success.*

The adult female student with intact families is for the purposes of this study regarded as belonging to the innovative group.

*The sociologically pertinent question is what predisposes the individual to take the risk of finding new ways and means of achieving the success in the course of which great emotional investment must be made. "It is when a system of cultural values extols, virtually above all else, certain common success-goals for the population at large while the societal structure rigorously restricts or completely closes access to approved modes of reaching these goals for a considerable part of the same population, that deviant behavior ensues on a large scale (Merton, 1968: 200)." It seems reasonably accurate to say that in our achievement and success-oriented society, the female sex - roughly half the human population - were rigorously restricted in achieving that success in their own right and on their own merit.

Merton sees innovators as:
1. not always perceiving the reason or sources of their thwarted aspirations, though aware of the discrepancy between individual worth and the social rewards and/or their consequences; and
2. as being imperfectly socialized to the extent that although they do not follow the prescribed means, they have retained the success aspirations.

In conclusion it can be said that Merton's Anomie Theory, especially his typology of adaptation to cultural goals, is a useful tool in categorizing and analyzing the problem at hand.

The general or guiding thesis is the presumption that in our culture a number of strains are more or less inevitable for women. These are handled differently in terms of the potential for further higher education which is seen as a means of either:

1. expanding the female social role to the degree permitted by given circumstances, by adding the role of student to the existing role of homemaker, which for the purposes of this study is perceived as innovation; or,
2. adhering to the socially sanctioned and reinforced female role of homemaker disregarding or denying the social changes, which is for the purposes of this study perceived as conformism or even ritualism.

CONCLUSION

This study utilized Ogburn's Social Change Theory (Ogburn, 1966) with a particular emphasis on his hypothesis of Cultural Lag. The rationale for this is that a number of women today find that being a mother and homemaker, though exacting, has ceased to be a full-time career. This is due - in part - to smaller families and technological advancements not only outside but inside the home resulting in an ever

growing number of household appliances facilitating a reduction in the number of hours spent in child-care and housework.* There has, however, as yet been no viable socially accepted alternative or supplementary role in which these

* Actually the problems connected with contemporary housework are multifold:

1. at best it's value is ambivalent;
2. at worst it accords the woman no status; and
3. it is a necessary occupation though not a full-time career.

It has been pointed out that "time spent in work, rather than the results of the work, serves to express to the homemaker and others that an equal contribution is being made (Vanek, 1974: 120)."

There has been a withdrawal of status respect in terms of the value of housework. Galbraith (1973) sees contemporary wives as menially employed "crypto servants", and Slater (1970) says flatly "a housewife is a nobody." It is a fact that contemporary housework is menial, dull, repetitive, carries no inherent status, pay, security, possibility for advancement, is not registered as part of the Gross National Product and is not found in the socio-economic index for 320 occupations in the 1961 Canada Census. It is further informal, unstructured and diffuse in a sophisticated, specialized and rationalized society and can be done without any formal training (Caplow, 1964). That it carries no direct status is important, because it has been pointed out that the satisfaction derived by an individual from his activity in life depends in part on the status associated with it (Hagen, 1962).

There are numerous examples of the society's negative attitude towards it. One of the more recent ones encountered was a statistic given in an article on health care published in Ontario by the Medical Review in September 1974 where the table listing the occupation of the head of the household, housewives were placed in the eighth and last category together with "Students and Never Worked."

women could make meaningful use of their productive abilities.*

This study also made use of Merton's Anomie Theory (1968). His typology of modes of adaptation to various aspects of social tension was utilized to develop a typology of ways in which women cope with the frustrations engendered by stereotyped sex roles.

*"There is absolutely no validity to the idea that women have only one role to play, that it has always been the same, that it was always played within the family, or that the family has meant the same thing from time immemorial. If liberating women from their traditional role is a revolutionary idea, it is because the revolution has already happened, out there in the changing world. What we have to do is to try to catch up (Janeway, 1974: 28)."

CHAPTER V

METHODOLOGY

The sample population in this study comprises a non-random selection of eleven adult female students in intact marriages with children, and a corresponding group of eleven married women in intact marriages with children who perceived themselves as full-time homemakers regardless of their possible outside commitments (such as structured voluntary work).

The two groups were matched - as closely as possible - for age, number of children, socio-occupational status of the husband, ethnicity and religion.

Focused, in-depth interviews were used (Merton and Kendall, 1957), or to use Ryle's concept, "thick descriptions." The purpose was to discover the discriminatory value of sociological variables that appear to influence women's decisions regarding their life-styles. The aim was to develop profiles of background characteristics that would be predictive of the women's alternative options. These options are:

1. to stay at home and devote themselves fully to homemaking with a possibility of having some outside interest (voluntary work), - the point being that homemaking takes precedence over all possible roles; or

2. to enter school (either beginning or continuing their academic life) with the possible option of embarking on their own careers.

A small number of adult students in different departments of the University of Windsor were approached and asked for interviews. This was followed with a request for the submission of one or more names of other adult students and/or full-time homemakers known to the students initially approached.

The rationale for this request was that this would facilitate the formation of a network which would have a "snow-ball" effect, bringing forth different subjects for the sample who would be sufficiently matched in the above-mentioned variables of age, number of children, socio-economic status of the husband, ethnicity and religion.

In this way the effect of these variables would be to certain extent controlled.

An effort was made to have no women in the sample whose choice of either alternative was determined by their socially or personally defined circumstances (such as lack of funds or poor health, to mention just the most obvious).

One problem of using such a sample is that it is obviously not representative of the present Canadian society as a whole. The sample was a select group of middle-class women whose husbands' positions and earnings made it possible for them to have a choice of life-style, decided - in part -

by either the wife alone, by both husband and wife jointly, or in some cases by the husband's desire to have his wife remain a full-time homemaker at least until some further date.

In this respect there is no evidence that this group of women is in any way exceptional or non-representative of a corresponding social stratum living in other cities or parts of Canada.

Contacts were made with every subject initially by telephone, at which time a brief explanation was given pertaining to the aim of the interview, and an appointment specifying the time and place of the interview was determined.

Four interviews took place at the University of Windsor campus, two in the researcher's home (at the request of the subjects), and sixteen took place in the subjects' homes.

An interview form was used (see Apendices A and B)* in order to insure comparable answers. The researcher attempted to be supportive, endeavouring to create an atmosphere of trust and reciprocity and avoid feelings of threat or mistrust.

The researcher was motivated by the idea of reciprocity of self-disclosure which she perceived to be an important aspect of person-to-person interaction. The concept of reciprocity was taken from Gouldner who argued that it was a

*Two questionnaires were used - one for the students and one for the homemakers - because all questions were not relevant to both groups.

"mutually contingent exchange of benefits between two or more units (Gouldner, 1960: 164)."

In his early work Jourard (1959), too, proposed the idea of reciprocity, or as he termed it, "dyadic effect", as being an intrinsic factor in interpersonal exchange. Jourard conceptualized self-disclosure as the act of revealing personal information to others. He further posited that self-disclosure was shaped by the nature of a given interaction, namely that it was accelerated by perceived rewards and dampened by perceived costs. The reward given to subjects was reinforcement, warmth and support.

It would appear that interviewing per se is usually an asymmetrical focused interaction (Goffman, 1961) in the course of which the subjects are asked to reveal certain multi-level aspects of themselves while faced by an impersonal and non-revealing interviewer. It seemed that more depth could be reached and better and more reliable data collected, if the relationship between the interviewer and the subjects could become more symmetrical in the sense that subjects would be rewarded and supported by the interviewer's attitude. The aim of the interviewer was to encourage subjects to "think out loud" in order to facilitate greater reliability of the data.*

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*The researcher was also encouraged by Rosenthal's (1967) thesis that the researcher himself was one of the most powerful 'determinators' of a subject's performance (Rosenthal, 1967).

Every interview was preceded by five to fifteen minutes of "small talk" (not dealing with the questions to be asked during the interview) in which an attempt was made to establish a favourable atmosphere. This notion was taken from a series of experiments carried out by Jourard and his associates, specifically the Jourard-Drag (1968) study in which interviews were preceded by a brief period of mutually revealing dialogue between the subject and the experimenter.

In these interviews every precaution was taken not to reveal any views on the pertinent topics included in the interview, problems pertaining to everyday occurrences of family life and school were touched upon. The economic situation provided a very convenient topic. Questions from the subjects were answered only if they were not in any way connected with the ones dealt with in the interview, and if this happened the subjects were informed that the interviewer would be glad to answer any question after the termination of the interview.

After the questions included in the interview were answered, the subjects were asked to comment on, add to or discuss any relevant topic.

It was felt that in cases where there were feelings of threat or anxiety perceived on the part of the subjects at the beginning, these were markedly lower or almost non-existent by the time the interview and post-interview discussion were over. The average duration of interviews was between one and one half to two hours.

The interviews were taped on a portable tape recorder and later transcribed verbatim.

Demographic profiles of the groups are presented in Appendix C. There were no statistically significant differences in any of the variables except that of ethnic origin.

The preponderance in the student sample of women of non-Canadian origin gives some validation to the observation that immigrants tend to stress education for their children, seeing in it the best means for upward mobility and success in the host country. This was pointed out by the subjects themselves in the interviews. This point will be elaborated later in this thesis. A larger sample would presumably show this trend more clearly.

CHAPTER VI

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS

The detailed responses to questionnaire items have been placed in the appendix. (The questionnaires used for students and homemakers, respectively are in Appendices A and B.)

Appendix C contains the demographic profiles of the respondents which were taken from the first several questions which were identical in both questionnaires.

In Appendices D and E are the tabulated responses to the balance of the questions pertaining to social variables for the students and homemakers respectively.

In the interest of clarity the analysis of the data has been subdivided into 20 sections. Wherever there was relevant literature available to the researcher a short review of it is given at the end of each section.

EARLY SOCIALIZATION AND ROLE MODELS

ADULT STUDENTS

The majority of students said they came from close-knit families, and did family oriented things, like going to picnics and beaches in the summer; skating and tobogganing in winter. They rented cottages and traveled together, went to zoos, movies, theatres, played cards and staged plays at their homes.

One said: "We took music lessons, my dad played the violin, we used to play together and my sister and I took singing, went to concerts and participated in choir singing."

Only one had no family life having grown up as the ward of the Detroit Children's Aid Society.

There was no clear-cut pattern of who was the most influential person in the family, though most reported that they thought their fathers were. The others reported it was either both parents, or that their mothers were more influential although their fathers were better educated.

Of her parents one said: "They had complementary roles, father was the head of the household, mother was very strong in her quiet way."

Another responded: "My father was always the more vocal person, I remember as a child thinking my mother should stand up for her rights. But I honestly don't know who decided what things should be done."

One said that her parents had different spheres of interests. "They both went to college. My father was more achievement oriented, he went to school to learn to do something, and he did it. My mother was more what you would call 'cultural.' She was interested in art and things like that."

As for the role models, five reported that they knew no professional female when they were young schoolgirls; three said that they had female teachers, but they did not

appear to know much about their private lives; one said she knew a social worker who had five sons but was abandoned by her husband; one knew a woman dentist, but nothing of her private life; and one reported that she knew and was impressed by a professional actress who "wasn't at all like the people in the town (where she grew up). She had been married about five times."

One of the students told how she was impressed by her grade school teachers. "I still today remember how I looked up to them...two out of three that I knew and remember most were not married."

The others who were impressed by their teachers both in grade and high school knew little or nothing about their private lives except that one of them was a nun.

Another, who became a teacher herself, said, "I was working part-time in a store, and one of the women I met there was a teacher and she invited me to one of her classes and I fell in love with it." She did not remember whether the teacher had a family.

One said that although she did not know any professional females when she was young, it was her mother who kept stressing the importance of education motivating her to further her education even after she graduated with a Bachelor's Degree. Contrary to her mother's wishes she did not continue then.

One knew a woman dentist, but said, "I cannot honestly say that I was influenced by her. My father always

wanted me to become a doctor, but I cannot say that I ever knew a woman doctor."

The one who was looked after by a social worker said of her, "I would not be where I am today without her. She took care of me and I saw her every day for 18 years... I thought she was a fantastic person...She urged me to finish high school (many of the other wards of the Children's Aid Society became school dropouts) and take commercial courses so that at the age of 18 when I would be released from the C.A.S. I could find employment...She did not want to over-encourage me because she did not know what would happen to me going from one boarding house to the other. She wanted me to be realistic and use all the possibilities and in a small and nice way she always encouraged me to go on."

HOMEMAKERS

Most of the homemakers reported doing the usual family oriented things; three reported that most of their family life evolved around the church; and one reported that her family life was centered around musical activities.

For most of them it was the usual family-type things: parties and family gatherings, and the usual out-of-door activities in summer and winter. Only one said that her father was away a lot, so there was not too much to do.

One homemaker said, "We lived in the country so we went to dances together with our parents. My mother was busy

with the church, she used to organize things there, put on plays and we would take part in them."

Another said that the family did not do very much really. "My mother took care of the house and my father worked. Sometimes we would go to concerts or on out-of-town trips."

One said her family was engaged in a lot of Sunday School activities and were closely connected with the church, "We were there just all the time."

Another one said, "We did a lot of singing, my mother was an accomplished musician, had a beautiful voice and played the church organ."

Half reported that they thought their father was the most influential person in the family; one said both of her parents died almost simultaneously when she was ten years old and she went to live with her married sister; and the other half reported their mothers as being the more influential, one of them saying that her mother was a greater influence when she and her sisters were small, but later on as they grew up and entered college her father's influence on them became more pronounced.

One said, "It had to be my dad. At the time of my parents the fathers ruled the roost, and our mothers had nothing to say."

Another said that it was her mother, "My father was totally subservient to her in authority."

Half of them said they knew no professional females when they were young; half said that they had teachers, some of whom were married and some were not; and one said she was impressed by her grandmother who was a midwife.

One homemaker said, "There were only teachers that you came across in school and we always wanted to be teachers, of course. I wanted to be a nurse, I do not know why, because I did not know a nurse personally. All the professional people I knew were males."

Another one said she was influenced by her mother. "My mother was a teacher and acted as principal (she worked only while her father was away in the army)." Later on in the interview she returned to the topic and said, "I can still remember when my mother taught school and she was not at home when we (the children) came from school. We had a hired girl, but I always wished that she was there when I came home, and I still remember that and I definitely feel that I do not want my children to feel the same way."

Another one said that her teachers influenced her to become a teacher herself. "But most of my elementary school teachers had one foot in the grave and one out. Most of them were spinsters."

The one who was impressed with her grandmother who was a midwife said, "(She) was of old Russian-Jewish background and being a midwife that long ago was almost like having a Ph.D now. I thought that was great."

One said that she was influenced by her high school teacher in German. "I looked up to her. She was married twice, she had a daughter from her first marriage and she was working as a high school teacher and she was a lady." Later on, the respondent herself entered university, her major being German, but she dropped out and married.

Another said, "I knew some professional women and I was particularly influenced by my two aunts who were school teachers. None of them were married."

Another one said that she was influenced by the Dean of Women at McMaster University. "She was charming and intelligent and had a wonderful way with girls. She was married and widowed at a very early age and she had to support her two girls and this was the reason she went back to work. She never remarried and she was Dean of Women until she retired. There was also one high school teacher that I admired very much, but she was single. Later she married the science teacher while I was still in school and then she resigned."

CONCLUSION

There is no discernible difference in the early socialization of the two groups, although it was previously seen that the fathers of the homemaker group had a somewhat higher socio-economic status, which did not seem to affect their life-styles to any appreciable degree.

The rationale for the question about female professional role models was that there is a realization that

young girls of ten and even more than twenty years ago had none or at the very best few adult professional models they could emulate. And the majority of those that existed were in the so-called "nurturant" typically female professions of grade school teachers and nurses. Even those were rarely married and had children.

The dearth of the professional female models with families probably was instrumental for the achievement orientation of these young girls in their formative years.

The only linkages that could logically be made by these young women were those between women and marriage and women and motherhood because these were the role models and concepts with which they were thoroughly acquainted and comfortable. These were the facts of everyday life.

Apart from several teachers and one Dean of Women (who had to work because she had two daughters to support), one dentist, one actress and one old midwife, all twenty-two respondents knew no other professional female with which they could identify. The young girls did not have a diversity of role models, a fact which had to influence their future lifestyles. Contrariwise by being socialized in the traditional way, they anticipated a conflict between their possible individual aspirations and the facts of social reality. Perhaps the most important reason why there are not more career women is the anticipated conflict between career and family life. As compared to a job, a career requires a commitment of

energy and spirit which is inconsistent with our social organization of family life; a fact of which a young girl becomes aware at a very early age without many role models proving the contrary.

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

According to Mead a woman has two choices - to either become a woman and "therefore less of an achieving individual, or an achieving individual, and therefore less of a woman (Mead, 1935: 301)."

Berger (1967) writes that one becomes what one plays at, that identity is socially bestowed, socially sustained and socially transformed. The enacted role forms, shapes and patterns both actions and actors.

Women's lives are moulded as much by expectations of their role behavior as by characteristics of sex or psychology. Personality development is a response to cultural norms and social circumstances.

In a society with few models of "independent" women to emulate, only a small percentage of school girls are willing to risk failure in the traditional world of marriage and motherhood in order to prove their worth in the unknown male world of business and professions (Chafe, 1972).

Furthermore young women are not encouraged to do so. Saltzman and Chafetz (1974) argue that young people are told that it would be "pathological" to disrupt the existing social patterns. Thus instead of being encouraged

to be problem-solution oriented, the individual is instead burdened with adjusting to the social environment, or in other words, the status quo.

In a recent paper on role models and achievement socialization, Mardsen (1974) posits Kemper's (1968) theory of achievement motivation which is based on socialization and reference group theory. Kemper contends that "achievement...is powerfully related to the types of reference groups available to an individual and that lacking these groups, his (in this case 'hers') achievement striving will be seriously hampered (Kemper, 1968: 31)."

Kemper's model posits the necessity for three separate reference groups: normative, audience and comparison.* While analytically separate these groups may be, and often are one and the same group, or the same person.

These reference groups are instrumental in the socialization function and according to Kemper, lower levels

*Normative groups: those who provide "the actor with a guide to action by explicitly setting norms and espousing values (Kemper, 1968: 32). "These groups may be an actual group, a collectivity or aggregate, a person, or a personification of an abstraction but not a norm (Marsden, 1974: 4)."
Audience groups: demand neither normative nor value-validating behavior of the actors who themselves contribute certain values to the former and attempt to behave congruently with those values.
Comparison groups: "provide the actor with a frame of reference which serves to facilitate judgments about any of several problematic issues, vis: (a) the equity of one's fate; (b) the legitimacy of one's actions and attitudes; (c) the adequacy of one's performance; or (d) the accomodation of one's acts to the acts of others (Kemper, 1968: 32-33)." For the purpose at hand this is the most interesting of the reference groups.

of achievement are accounted for through the absence of one or more of the required reference groups, and/or through the splitting of the latter into more than a single group or person.

Marsden's argument turns on the need for a "technical role model",

> "someone who shows the neophyte not what is ideal or proper, not whether it is right or wrong, but how, in a technical day-to-day sense, it can be done." (Marsden, 1974: 3)

The aspiring professional women, according to Marsden, have technical role models for their work, but in numerous instances they lack a technical role model to show them how they can retain their marriage, bring up their children (Rossi, 1970) and fulfill their professional roles. Following Kemper's theory the absence or presence of technical role models at "crucial points in time" will be instrumental for the maintenance of a high achievement orientation.

> "The norms to be internalized are laid out by normative reference groups, applauded or ignored by audience groups, and taught by means of comparison groups...She (the female student) has a split reference group - one tells how to perform academically, another how to perform familialy. Whether these circumstances lead women to believe that it is easy or it is difficult to combine work and family is not as important as the fact that she has no technical model to show <u>how</u> to do it and this, Kemper contends, depresses achievement striving generally... The distinction between normative and ipsative achievement is important, because Kemper argues, ipsative achievement requires normative groups, role models and <u>audience</u>

> groups...When the three reference groups do not coincide, situations arise which interfere with optimum socialization for achievement."
> (Marsden, 1974: 7-11)

It has been clearly seen from the sample that the women interviewed did not generally speaking have - in their formative years - successful diversified role models who combined academic achievement with family life and children. The realization that it can be done cannot be equated with having a model of how it is to be done. Contrariwise the norm is that a conflict exists between career and family life, because our social structure is not geared to a two-career family.

FAMILY EXPECTATIONS

ADULT STUDENTS

The majority of students said that they were encouraged to both acquire an education and have a family, and one of them - a recent Canadian immigrant said that the norm for her generation in her native country was to get an education and then have a career and a family and the children would have been taken care of by the extended family. Three students said that their parents never encouraged education, but expected them to marry and have a family; one reported that her father wanted her to get an education and work, though he never let her mother work and use her education, and one said her father wanted her to become a doctor, but her mother was glad she finally "bagged" her husband.

One, whose parents were immigrants to Canada and wanted her to have both an education leading to a career, and a family said, "...it was seen as a way of getting out of the factories, and a lot of people there (the part of Windsor they lived in) worked in factories. They wanted something better for their children...They were all first generation immigrants."

Another one said, "I was very interested in acting and from about thirteen I did sort of semi-professional theatre work, and my father thought that was terrible. He did not like people that were in acting and stuff like that. My mother was the sort that would back you up in whatever you enjoyed. But I think they were worried about the type of life I would lead in acting. My father said that he would pay for two years' college in the Actors' Studio in New York. I think he thought I would get away from it. I think my mother hoped so too, and she thought that it was a little strange. Where I grew up none of the mothers worked. There was one mother who worked when her husband died, and all thought that it was strange...My father did not think so much in terms of male and female, but he wanted his kids to have a lot of education."

One said, "My family expected me to have a family and become a homemaker. But nursing or teaching were acceptable things to go into. The attitude was that I would always have something to fall back on, and if I had a family I could always use my nursing."

One student reported, "They expected me to have a job that would be 'clean', not manual, but more semi-professional...that would provide me until such time when I marry. A career was for my brother. My father said he wanted to educate me so that I would find an educated husband."

One of the students said, "None of them (my parents) wanted me to go to college, they thought it was just a waste of time for a girl to go to college, that I would just be getting married anyhow as soon as I finished, and that I should go out and become a secretary. As a result I did go out and worked one year as a secretary and saved money to go back to college, and when they realized that I was sincere about it they helped me. And I was the oldest girl in the family and my two younger sisters did not receive the objections I did, so maybe I paved the way. The youngest one was a boy and there was no objection to him going to school, in fact he <u>was</u> to go to school."

Another one whose father had no education and no money when he was young stated, "For my brother and me it was a foregone conclusion that we were going to be educated."

HOMEMAKERS

The minority of the sample said that their parents expected their daughters to both work and have a family; some expected their daughters to work so that they would be able to support themselves, but they also expected them to marry and then make their own decisions; one said that her parents

stressed education and work and left marriage up to their daughter; one said her parents were against her working after she got married, but wanted her to have an education; one said her parents never expected her to do anything she herself was not interested in; and one said her father thought that education was wasted on females.

She elaborated on that statement. "My father was a male chauvinist, he sent my sister to college...and told her to get her education and do something with it, not just marry and have children. Well, she did not graduate...and as a result I do not think I would have been allowed to further my education. He thought it was a waste of time and money on a female."

One said her parents wanted her to go on with her education. "I think they were disappointed that I married a year after I graduated (with a B.A. in science)."

One who quit school in Grade 12 (she was the least educated one in the whole sample) said, "No, they did not expect me to go to school because when I quit school in Grade 12 at Christmas they never said 'why didn't I go back and finish the year?' As long as I found a job and was independent, it was OK."

Another one said, "They never expected us to do anything...But it was always understood that we would do something. My sister wanted to be a teacher and I wanted to be a nurse."

CONCLUSION

It cannot be said that there is any significant difference in the parental attitude of the students and the homemakers, towards education, work and marriage. The students' parents who were mostly immigrants or immigrants' children, saw education as the best way for upward mobility. In the case of the homemakers it was more a question of personal fulfillment, which could be a reflection of their parents slightly higher occupational status. It is evident - however - that there was no significant encouragement for a serious commitment to a career, particularly not outside the traditional female occupational fields of nursing and teaching.

The answers were, of course, all given post factum and it cannot be determined how accurate they were, but the impression was that in most cases work did not really mean career as a life-long commitment, but more of a "stop-gap" between graduation, from whatever level, and marriage.

EXPECTATIONS OF HIGH SCHOOL PEER GROUP

ADULT STUDENTS

The majority of the students reported that the prevailing expectations of their peers were to marry and become homemakers, with some of them planning to get a job before they married, and some of them - even if they went to university - dropping out to get married; only two reported that there were expectations for both careers and family.

One student reported that she had only one female friend. "My other friends were all male and they all wanted to have an education and go on to university."

Another one said that even when girls went to college it was more to get a husband than to get an education. "Most of the girls did not seem to have any specific goals in their minds." One said, "Most of them wanted just a job until they married. I think that was the whole outlook in those days."

One who graduated with a B.A. in science before she married said, "I think they wanted to marry. When I look back at them I see that they all married very young, younger than I did. Very few went to university, and yet this was a high school in Toronto that had a very high intellectual level, and was in a prosperous economic area, too. They should have been the people going to university, but they just weren't."

One respondent said much to the same point. "Most of my friends did not have great aspirations toward university. Some of the wealthier girls were expected to go. Most of them, though, did not have career orientations, they just wanted some general education and fun."

One of the two who expected both marriage and career got her high school education outside Canada in her native country whose norms she seemed to have internalized to quite a high degree.

HOMEMAKERS

Roughly half reported their peers as desiring to marry and become homemakers, and the other half reported their peers as being a "mixed group"; and one said that she only chose those friends who did not want anything "domestic" (she is at present involved in extensive voluntary work).

Some saw the issue in terms of finances. "Most of my friends wanted to marry and be homemakers, because you know, in those days, you had to be rich to go to college." For those who lived in the country "there was nothing much to do...so when you graduated from high school you married." And some said, "Most of my friends went to colleges and universities mostly to meet men and marry."

Those whose friends wanted to have both a career and marriage were mostly immigrants to Canada from East European countries, with only two Canadian born women expressing the same idea. One of those said, "A good number of kids I went to school with did go to university and later worked."

The prevalent attitude was expressed by one who said, "I think mainly just become homemakers. They all did something after high school but they did not go after degrees."

CONCLUSION

It is evident that the girls were socialized into believing that the most important and desirable roles in life for females were those of wife and mother. Even those with a

commitment to learning, as expressed in their feelings of satisfaction with the process of learning, rarely anticipated having both a career and a family, probably because of the expected conflict between their individual aspirations and the internalized cultural definition of femininity.

Social pressure is so strong in their late adolescence that very few girls evolve a value system of their own, or a sense of direction towards their individual goals, as witnessed by this sample. At the time when they are deciding on their future life-style - during their high school years - their potential seems to be diminished by an ambivalence of an early value conflict.

SCHOOL ENJOYMENT

ADULT STUDENTS

Ten students reported they enjoyed school and wanted to further their education, and only one said that she was not too interested in it though it presented no hardship. One said, "I always liked school and wanted to go on. I wanted to become a doctor, but I was very young when I finished Grade 13, only seventeen years old, and then I decided that I wanted to make some money." She went to Teachers College.

Another felt very incomplete when she finished high school. "I just had to go on, I couldn't see myself working or doing anything. Even when I finished my B.A. I didn't feel I had anything much, but by that time I guess I wanted to be on my own and be away from home."

One of them said, "I liked learning for the sake of learning. I went to sciences because I was influenced by a Grade 13 teacher in biology. I really wanted to be a science teacher."

More than half had various interests in school ranging from arts to sciences, and only two had the support from their teacher, and none from their families. The rest said they had no special interests.

One who said that she had no special interest attributed it to the fact that she was a ward of the Detroit Children's Aid Society and was not allowed to stay in school after hours. Another who had no special interest said, "I think I had a good balance, and I had a good social life. My mother used to say that school wasn't everything and that I should take it easy. They (parents and teachers) did not push us in anything. Sometimes I wished they had pushed more, but I guess I had a good time."

HOMEMAKERS

A slight majority said that they liked school, but only one said she was "enthusiastic" about it. The rest did not like school; some because they felt they were "no good at it" and some said that although it was no hardship they were glad to get out of it. One said, "It was just something I had to do, and I went and got passing grades." Another reported, "I guess, like everybody else in my generation, we did not like it, but we had to go."

Among those who were glad to get out of it, one said, "School was never any hardship and I did not work very hard at it. When it was finished I was glad to have it over and done with." Another one said, "It was a natural thing to do and it beat working. My studies came quite easy, but the extracurricular activities like sororities and football games were what interested me most." One who was good in mathematics said, "...(school) just wasn't interesting enough at the time."

Roughly half said that they had no special interest and the others were interested in art and were supported by their teachers and family; two were interested in sciences and were supported by their teachers.

One who liked school and was interested in sciences said that she would have gladly gone on, but she was an orphan living with her married sister's family. She graduated when she was sixteen years old and was thus not eligible either for entry into university or a grant for it.

The one who was interested in mathematics said she was strongly supported by her teachers who felt she had potential "and could do a great deal with it...But I did nothing with it. I got out of school and got married."

One who was particularly interested in art and even had private art lessons said, "I loved school, and there was never anything that dampened my enthusiasm for it."

CONCLUSION

It can be said that the present adult students had a greater enjoyment of school in their youth than did the present homemakers.

It is also evident that neither group was encouraged - to any significant extent - by either their families or their teachers to develop interest in different subjects with the idea of furthering their studies in order to make a career out of it.

The impression gained was that the social aspect of school was just as important as the academic aspect, at least for some of them.

A number of them, and they are mostly in the homemaker group, viewed school as something to be "got through", because "everybody else did it."

WORK EXPERIENCE

ADULT STUDENTS

The median time in work prior to marriage was two years (R=4), and the median for work after marriage was also in the two years category (R=7).

Nine students worked prior to marriage; whereas, only two students did not work prior to marriage.

The pattern of work after marriage was not so clear-cut as that before marriage, because a number of them had an on-again-off-again pattern and some of it was part-time. Only the full-time work was calculated in the median.

because the subjects did not recall clearly for how long they worked part-time and what did part-time consist of in all cases. Less than half reported working sporadically on a part-time basis after having worked full-time for a definite period of time calculated in the median.

Of the eleven students nine reported having had satisfactory work experience and only two said they either disliked their particular job at the time, or considered themselves overburdened with work.

The majority of them reported having helped their husbands financially while they were getting established; and the rest reported not having helped them.

The predominant majority said that they had planned to further their education or "do something" after the family was established; and only four reported that they had not made any plans for return to work or school, one of them saying that the feeling "evolved."

The latter elaborated on that statement by saying, "No, I did not look forward to any crises in my life, I just thought I would float. For one thing I never remembered my mother undergoing any crises, but then she always worked in the store, she was always part of my father's business."

One of them said, "I originally wanted to go back to school when my youngest was in grade one. But it just didn't work out." Another said, "I always planned to go back to school. To study just for the sake of learning, not because I had any definite career in mind."

One said that she always knew she would be doing something after the children were in school. "I just wasn't sure what it would be."

One who worked eight years after marriage said, "All the time I was working I was thinking that I would like to further my education, but I did not get a crack at it before because of the kids and my husband."

HOMEMAKERS

The median for working prior to marriage was in the one and a half year category (R=2), and the median for working after marriage was in the two and a half year category (R=5). One had an on-again-off-again work pattern and this was not calculated in the median since it was part-time work. Only one did not work prior to marriage, and two did not work after marriage.

A great majority of them reported having satisfactory working experience and only two perceived work as either a "drag" or as too demanding.

The majority of them reported not having helped their husbands financially while he was getting established; and only three reported having extended financial help.

Asked about their plans to either return to work or engage in some outside activity after the family was established, four were either negative or ambivalent and the rest had at various times either contemplated or planned to involve themselves in education or work.

One said she was not contemplating on expanding her present role. "No way, I'm too lazy."

Another said that although it would help financially if she would find some type of work, "My husband says that I should stay at home and give a few more years to our youngest son (age 13) just as much as I did to the others."

One said that she had planned to engage in out-of-house activities many times. "In fact, I think I should have gone out and done something professionally during the raising of the children. Now I definitely feel that once the children are all in school (her youngest child is in kindergarten) and become older that I will do something on my own."

Many of the subjects mentioned that they were interested in other subjects than those they had previously studied. In connection with that one said, "Previously I thought I would go back for money, but now I think I would only go back for the enjoyment. I always thought that I could use my diploma if ever I needed it, but now I find that I enjoy different type of things and I do not use my previous education (as a hospital technician)."

Another said, "Well, I'm not to that point yet. I haven't any definite plans at this point, but I hope to do something, yes...Being a doctor's wife is difficult because of his hours. So if I went into something with standard hours, I would not be available when he is available. It would have to be something with a little leeway."

CONCLUSION

The prevailing majority of subjects have had working experience which was satisfactory to a high degree.

Typical also is the on-again-off-again work pattern which is really not conducive to a serious type of career, but is indicative of the desire and need for work.

Another conclusion would be that there is a definite need among women with families for part-time work which would enable them to both manage their homes and families and satisfy their need for outside work.

It is further interesting that the women seem aware that there is a "point" in life at which they are caught in the gap between their socially determined attitudes and their individual aspirations, a point when it is necessary to make a change to re-join the outside world and work, which were - generally speaking - abandoned furing the family raising phase. This was not always anticipated (in fact, speaking intuitively, an impression was formed from the conversations following the structured part of the interviews, that during the intense child-rearing period following the marriage the majority of the subjects did not really entertain serious thoughts about any changes in life-styles) as was verbalized by the subject who said that she did not anticipate any "crises" in her life.

CURRENT MARRIAGE RELATIONSHIPS

ADULT STUDENTS

None of the students' husbands was perceived as traditionally oriented in terms of thinking that a wife and mother should stay at home and be a full-time homemaker, and an overwhelming majority of them (82%) were reported in favour of female education and work. Of the remaining ones one was in favour of female education but not full-time work because of the children; and one was in favour of the idea "in general."

One of the students said, "I don't think he has thought that (she should be a full-time homemaker) for twenty years. I don't really know how he felt about it then, because I'm the type of person who goes along and does her own thing and doesn't ask any questions."

Asked whether they received help from their husbands in household chores, less than half of the students said that their husbands helped them; five said that they received no help from their husbands because the latter were too busy (all of them were highly trained professionals who could afford to pay for once-a-week outside help). One said that her husband's early socialization was in a culture where men just did not do any housework. The student said, "He is traditionally oriented in some respects, and in some respects he is not. He thinks I am a person who would feel too constricted at home...Staying at home with the kids

I would probably become bored. But help in the house, oh my God, no, not him, it's the culture he comes from."

In families where the children were old enough to help they did their share.

HOMEMAKERS

The prevalent attitude of the husbands of the homemakers towards the issue of the mother staying at home and being a full-time homemaker was that that should be the norm, although some flexibility was possible after the children were grown up and did not need the mother any more.

One homemaker said, "As long as the family is cared for properly, and I don't mean just physically, you can work outside, more power to you." In this instance it was not altogether clear that this was the husband's or her own attitude.

Three husbands were perceived as thinking that there was no need for the mother to stay at home all the time. One of their wives said, "Absolutely he thinks I should stay at home most of the time but he also thinks I should have outside interests and pursuits because that would make me a happier homemaker."

Another said, "Well, in a way, yes, sometimes he wouldn't mind if I had some other interests, but not until the children are completely out of the house."

The majority of husbands were thought to be in favour of female education and work; the rest were ambivalent.

One homemaker said, "Only if it doesn't concern his wife. He loves it and respects it in other women, as long as it is not me who is getting the education and getting professionally ahead of him. I think he feels differently about the children (they have two daughters). There has never been any question about furthering their education ...But as far as I am concerned it's an ego type of thing, I'm not a threat to him as long as I stay at home."

Another one said that her husband is not "particularly in favour of the idea."

As for the help in the house was concerned, six did not extend any help and five did. One said, "Just when he has to, when we have company and I am rushed, or when there is a deadline to meet or something like that...But apart from that he pretty well comes home and does his own thing." Another said, "All he does is go to work in the morning and come home at night, that is all!"

Husbands helped mostly with the children and occasional chores.

CONCLUSION

There is a discernible difference in the attitudes of the students' husbands and the homemakers' husbands. Since these, too, were only perceived attitudes, there is no way of validating them. Still, the impression gained was that the students' husbands were less traditionally oriented and that there was a congruence between their attitudes and their

behavior, which made it possible for their wives to both reenter and stay in school.

The homemakers' husbands had a more traditional attitude. Even among those who were in favour of education and work it was always a qualified agreement; the norm being that the role of mother and wife is hierarchically the most important one, and that any other role was possible mostly when the demands of the former diminished it thus became an additional one of ambiguous value.

ATTITUDES OF SIGNIFICANT OTHERS

ADULT STUDENTS

Before dealing with specific questions pertaining to the perceived attitudes of significant others, a survey of the number of courses the adult students were taking is included because it gives a rough estimate of the time spent in going to school and the time spent in studying at home.

Three of the students are taking one course, three are taking two courses and five are full time students.

Husbands' attitudes "Is your husband supportive of your re-entry into school?"

Nine of the students reported that their husbands were in favour of their return to school, and two reported that they had some initial difficulties.

One of them said, "He is not against it, though I cannot say that I received a lot of support from him when I decided to go back to school. He did not think it was a great idea. It was 'give it a try and see if you like it!'"

The other one was more explicit. "My husband is agressive and his time is always filled and he thinks everybody's life should be filled all the time. He thinks you should have an outside interest besides the house and everything else. But when I went back to school it was a threat at first and I didn't realize that. He thought it was a great idea, until I started to read a lot and the housework was secondary. I didn't like housework and that is one of the reasons I went back. He is very meticulous and I am not, and this way I can get away with it. He also thought that I may be going out with some students, and I did go out with some girls for a drink and he used to find that threatening because I was never independent or anything, I was always at home with the kids and family. He was the one who used to go out and I would stay at home and watch the kids. His interests always came first. But then my needs had to be fulfilled too, and I couldn't cut classes just because he had to go out and do something, so we used to get baby-sitters and I went out. Or he would stay at home. We went through a period, but it wasn't so hard and then the balance came again."

Others reported that it was the husband who encouraged it and that they could not have done it without his support.

Children's attitudes "How do your children feel about your re-entry into school?"

Two students reported positive reactions, four

reported no definite reaction, one reported an ambivalent reaction, three reported that their children complained when they were tired or had to go out, and one reported that the children were not happy "all the time."

The mother's perception of their children's attitudes towards their re-entry into school could be placed on a continuum ranging from those who seemed proud of their mothers, to those who did not seem to mind one way or another (and this pertained usually to small children, or those who were small at the time when either their father or mother went back to school and who took this for a normal life-pattern), to those who complained about not getting enough attention. The latter were in a minority because it was reported in only four cases. Generally speaking there is no difference in the children's attitude toward full-time or part-time studying. It seems to depend more on their age.

Most of the mothers declared themselves to be as involved with the children as possible so that the latter would not feel deprived of love and attention. Most planned their classes so that they could be with the children as much as possible, and only two took night classes once a week. One said that most of her studying was done at night when the children were in bed so that her evenings and holidays would be left free for the family. She was afraid that they might develop feelings of resentment towards education <u>per se</u> which could influence their attitude toward their own higher education.

Some considered it a positive process. One of the students said, "I hasseled them a lot when I was at home all the time. They think I am not so crabby now." Another argued that, "From seeing me and my husband (study) they have a tendency to read a book and do things. It has become a sort of a learning process for them too."

The mothers evidently tried to share as much of their school experiences as the children could understand. Two said that their children compared teachers and school assignments with their mothers and one little girl wished she and her mother could be in the same class.

Summer school seems to be more difficult for children, and one of the students said her older boy become irritable complaining that she spent all her time reading while she was taking summer courses. She said she would never do it again, although it would shorten her studies if she were to do it.

Kin and peer attitudes "How do your friends and relatives look at your new role of a student?"

Only three of the adult students had their kin and peer total support for their new student roles. The other eight reported attitudes which could be placed on a continuum ranging from "amazed" to those who gradually extended their support and/or respect to the students.

One reported that a "lot of women think I'm crazy. And I think some of the men cannot understand it, and I don't

even try. I really think it's complex anyway. But my real, true friends are thrilled for me."

Another said, and she was not the only one who encountered such reactions, "I am amazed that they are amazed that anyone would really want to go back to school, that's really thrown me in a way...I cannot believe the reactions, people act as though this is something out of the ordinary, and it shouldn't be."

Some were bothered by their kin's negative reaction towards their studies. One commented, "It does not bother me now, but it did, now I have come to terms with it."

Some of the kin attitudes reflected anxiety that time was being taken away from the children. "My mother thinks it's great but she feels that I should have done it long ago, and not now with the children. She feels I am taking away from the children, and she is very family oriented."

Others reported that they are respected by their kin and peers for their decision, although in two instances there was some initial hostility. Some felt that female friends tend to be envious.

One said, "I found it very surprising that I just got total support from both families. Especially my mother-in-law. My sister-in-law who is a real homebody and very happy in that role thinks that it is just great that I'm going to school and being happy about it."

Another one said that her mother-in-law was an immigrant and never had opportunities to either make friends or do something of her own. "As a result she is a very lonely person, with no interests of her own. So she feels that it is most important that there is something you can do."

Social activities "Did you have to curtail your social activities? If yes, do you miss them?"

The answers to the former were "yes" in four cases, "no" in three cases and "somewhat" in four cases. The answers to the latter were "no" in nine cases and "in a way" in two cases.

One who felt that she had to curtail her social activities "somewhat" said, "I do not look upon it as curtailment, because it's the book that I have to read and the assignment I have to do that interests me. So I look upon it as something which I want to do instead of feeling obligated to do something I would have done a few years ago because I felt I should have done it."

Another one, who is a full-time student, and who felt that she definitely had to curtail her other interests and misses it somewhat said, "I miss being able to just go over and drop in on somebody or just go off and do something silly. My life is so scheduled that I miss...the unscheduled parts."

HOMEMAKERS

In the homemaker group one woman was engaged in a regular outside activity - in addition to shopping and other

related errands - this was tennis. The others were all engaged in a variety of activities some of which were rather time consuming.

Three were taking different non-credit non-university courses (in addition to certain other activities such as helping in different schools and nurseries, or helping out at the Art Gallery). Two were helping with children in gross motor programmes in schools, one of them once a week and the other four times a week.

One worked occasionally part-time and belonged to a woman's club; one worked actively for a social club; one worked regularly in collecting funds for the United Jewish Appeal, was on the Board of Directors of the Temple she belonged to and was starting a caligraphy business of her own.

One was the past president of the Home and School Association and therefore still active on the executive, was a member of an I.C.D.E. Chapter, belonged to the church choir, and headed the Pastoral Relations Committee in her church.

One homemaker taught English to immigrants twice a week, helped in a public school library twice a week, held a Bible study group once a week and occasionally played an organ at funerals.

Husbands' attitudes "How does your husband feel about your activities outside the home?"

Six of the subjects said that their husbands were supportive and five said they were ambivalent.

One reported, "It doesn't bother him at all as long as I have my work done." Similarly, another said, "Anything I like is fine with him, as long as I am at home at four o'clock and dinner is on time."

One husband thought that his wife should budget her time better, and she felt this was important because a "dissatisfied husband creates problems in the household."

One felt that her husband is very negative about her involvement in anything of her own. She sounded rather bitter when she elaborated on it without being asked any specific question. "I have not regretted giving ten years of my life to help my husband in his career. I think that was meant to be or otherwise I would not have done it. But my only regret is that in all these years I have never found out what I am capable of doing myself...I do not know where my talents lie, I would not even know where to start in school and how to go back...I would like to have an area all to myself, so I could say I did something on my own and that I created something on my own...Today I feel I have not accomplished much by staying home with the children all the time. The majority of the time, yes, I have to give them that feeling of security and love of family. But...I am also a human being, I have found out that I have rights, and a mind, and all these needs to be fulfilled. And I

think that children can be taught to understand that mother is a human being...and she can love you even if she is not at home 24 hours a day."

Another one said that her husband is "sometimes for it, and sometimes he is against it (outside interests)."

Evidently the husband's activities come first and the rest of the time could be allocated as the wife saw fit if it did not have a detrimental effect on the family life.

Childrens' attitudes "What are your children's feelings about that (activities engaged in outside of home)?"

Only one mother said she felt guilty about leaving her children with a baby-sitter to go and play tennis (which was strongly supported by her husband), although she added that her children did not really miss her.

Another said that her children neither minded her absence nor were interested in whatever she was doing.

The remaining nine women reported that their children thought their activities to be "great", "fun" and "interesting", and that the children were "proud", "supportive", "encouraging" and "self-sufficient", because they thought the children perceived their activities as contributing to a worthwhile cause.

Kin and peer attitudes "How do your relatives and friends look at your roles?"

Three were ambivalent about the perceived support and eight reported that they received total support, although in two cases the feelings were that they had undertaken too much.

All those who belonged to various Voluntary Organizations or did voluntary work in schools and nurseries got positive feedback from their kin and peers or were considered as doing too much. It should be pointed out, though, that this was not perceived as criticism in terms of neglecting their homes or children, but only as a fact that they had undertaken too many obligations in their free time and that they were giving too much of themselves.

Those who did not know what their kin and peers thought about their activities, or were ambivalent, did not do any structured voluntary work but belonged to various clubs.

The homemakers were not asked about having to curtail their social activities, the rationale being that they were in a position to allocate their own time more freely than the students.

CONCLUSION

Evidently the students in the sample are a well-motivated group of women ready to sacrifice both time and effort in order to succeed in what they believe is a partial solution to their problem. On the whole, although they seemed both innovative and courageous in the sense that they have not been deterred by initial obstacles and adverse reactions of their significant others, they remain traditional in terms of seeing their studies (and this pertains to the majority, if not to all of them), as something to be done in their own free time, and not as something which should result in changes in role-sets within the family.

The role-strain they are under is obvious, but they are perceiving it as a built-in problem to be solved by their own efforts without challenging the existing social norms. There is little realization that the problem is not a private one to be solved individually, but that it is a problem pertaining to the social environment, the structural changes in which are the only ones that can legitimize and solve the issue per se.

The poignancy of the problem is particularly noticeable in their perception of their children's attitude towards school. Although it was clear that on the whole the children's attitude was modally positive, it was equally clear that almost all of the women felt guilty (though that was a matter of degree) about not devoting sufficient time to their children, despite the fact that it was obvious that their domestic obligations were uppermost in their minds when planning their schedules in most cases.

None of the women showed a great deal of guilt and concern about the possibility of neglecting their husbands. One of the possible explanations for this is that they re-entered school with their husband's support.

It is evident that some of the homemakers were engaged in extensive and time-consuming activities equal to those of taking one or two, or even more, courses at the university. Their activities obviously do not entail studying at home, but - according to some of them - they do

entail paper work, telephoning, visiting and attending conferences - sometimes even out-of-town. But the fact that they were actively devoting all of themselves to their nurturing role both in and out of the house - without being paid for it, or at least paid adequately - legitimized their activities.

It could be concluded that the mothers took their activities to be legitimated by our social structure, and projected their attitudes to their children.

A further point of interest is, that in certain cases, and these did not include women who were actively engaged in structurred voluntary work, the mothers themselves were not always satisfied with what they were doing, and yet they saw their children as being favourably impressed.

There were some hints of challenging the traditional stereotype as when one homemaker said that she is the sum total of everything that is being done around the house. She said that she has a need to be at home when the kids are at home and all the baking and cleaning was important to her, not because she enjoyed housework but she felt she was a very responsible person and doing everything from scratch was the only way she felt she was fulfilling her role satisfactorily. She said she was not sure that was the right way, but that was the way she was.

And yet not one of the women questioned the validity of the modal pattern of their being the person largely,

if not solely, responsible for the upbringing of the children and the sustenance of the family.

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

According to Janeway (1974) women historically and cross-culturally have never had less help with their children than women in the North American culture where social change has resulted in an almost general disappearance of extended family. She even questions the validity of the concept of nuclear family, arguing that owing to the phenomenon of the mostly absent father - and this seems particularly valid for the middle and upper classes - the family today consists of children and one adult - the mother.

> "It is an interesting fact that while men will take every opportunity of emphasizing that it is a mother's task to look after children, they will neglect to observe that a father is a parent too and that his responsibility to his children is no less great than his wife's. Father usually relieves himself of the responsibility for the upbringing of children on the plea that practically all his time is consumed in the process of making a living; and having satisfied himself - if no one else - on this point, he complacently feels that everyone understands."
> (Montagu, 1968: 223)

There have been no studies done so far which conclusively prove that mother's work outside the house is detrimental to the children. Montagu and others argue that the stimuli the mother receives from working outside the house and from being with mature people adds to the quality of care and attention she gives her children when she comes home.

According to Rossi (1964) a busy and occupied mother might provide her children with a "healthy dose of inattention" and thus make it possible for their adolescent period to become one of fruitful immaturity and growth.

Chafe (1972) argues that in the eyes of many experts the family is becoming less child-centered and more person-centered largely as a result of the growing interests of mothers in activities outside the house.

Regarding the female nurturant talents, Roby (1972) writes that the normative values are that while women can be truly fulfilled as mothers and wives, it is compatible with their feminine nature and perhaps even necessary that they seek to bring "peace and comfort" into the world.

"Peace and comfort" have long been closely associated with voluntary organizations, the appeal of which according to Gold (1971) is directly bound with one of the oldest, most subtle, most complicated ways in which women have been disengaged from economy with their own eager cooperation.

> "Powerful social disapproval, coupled with their own psychological conditioning of self-negation and ambivalent self-realization, compels women to regard themselves as marginal job holders except in times of family crisis and poverty. In addition, our free enterprise system is unable to guarantee full employment. Women, along with youth, early retirees and military personnel, are expendable. As a result, to fill this gap, women have created an impressive network of service systems, many over 100 years old." (Gold, 1971: 385)

As they turn from their monotonous domestic chores they endeavour to perform the same task of nurturing and mothering into the wider social system, and they become part of the paternalistic institutional life - hospitals, schools, churches, synagogues, and other places where men's presence and influence has shaped a sense of family. In fact, continues Gold, many women form structures in terms of "causes" and "needs" (and this is in no way meant as belittling the real contribution of countless voluntary organizations to our social system) in order to fulfil their powerful social needs for adult contacts.

Writing about family status Parsons (1942) stated that since the husband's and father's occupational status was instrumental for the family status this was the principal source of strain in the sex role structure of our society, since it deprived the wife of her role as a partner in a common enterprise. He suggested that a way out was through the cultivation by women of cultural interests, educated tastes, services, interests and humanitarian obligations in community welfare.

REASONS FOR RE-ENTRY INTO SCHOOL

ADULT STUDENTS

In the whole student sample there was only one who reported that it was her husband's heart attack which prompted her to seriously re-examine her position and do something about ensuring her family's future in case he was perman-

ently incapacitated. She added, however, that she always liked school and had thought about going back even before the incident occured.

Most of the women enjoyed looking after their children when they were small and said that they would not have "gone out" during those years.

All of the women in the sample said that they looked forward to the time their children would enter school in order to have "some time to themselves", once this happened they found that they had too much time on their hands and were extremely bored.

None of them was able to satisfactorily fill their time with housework (which they did not consider a full-time occupation, and which most of them disliked), voluntary work - which all but one student found insufficiently structured and challenging ("we were sitting at meetings all the time accomplishing nothing"), shopping, bridge or just ordinary "chit-chatting" in different places. One of them remarked that when she started watching TV "soap-operas" during the day, she knew the time had come for a change.

All shared a commitment to learning which they compensated for by "reading most of the time" while the children were small.

One of the respondents said she did not like herself very much in the years spent at home as a housewife. "When I was at home with the kids, and I have two close in age, and we didn't have enough money, I remember saying to

myself one day 'My God, my whole life is shit!' I was cleaning up my baby's diapers just after I cleaned up after the cat which was preceded by cleaning the toilet, and like, I don't like housework, I mean, I just do not like it and I really got to be a bitchy kind of person. It was all accumulating, I realized I had to do something...If somebody told me I had to stay in the house and be a housewife (my whole life), I would probably start drinking."

Most of them felt that housework as a role was too confining, and were unhappy in it. One put it in the following way, "I think that women should have more confidence in themselves, that they can do more than one thing at a time. You can have more than one role in your life. You do not only have to be a super-mom or super-housewife, which is kind of bunched together. You can expand it, and even if it is not school, even if it is something else, try it, and if you are not successful in one thing, then try another...I think that enough women are confident enough in themselves to try and do something else than be a mother and homemaker, which is a very hard job anyhow if you do it properly. But it is absolutely not a full time job if you are efficient."

One of the students taking one course said, "I think I just looked at myself as just being a homemaker, my main concern being my husband and my four children, and I looked at other women who had only that for their interest and I thought 'I just do not want only that for the rest of

my life!'...I was really getting bored with the women I was coming into contact with all the time. I found it was only children, children, children! What really spurred me on was that a couple of years ago...when two of my children got involved in hockey and I was going to hockey games - and I don't like hockey - I was looking at all these mothers who were so interested in it and so concerned about their kids, thinking they are not playing as often as they should and arguing with the coaches; I sat back and watched all this competitivness thinking that all these women were living vicariously through their children. I go to these games because my children play and I think it's good for them, but I thought I've got to do something that's mine; not just for the nexttten years be dragging them to piano lessons and driving them to skating and hockey. They are going to be gone some day. I liked school and thought I am going back." She thought of doing it before, but became pregnant with her fourth child and gave up the idea. "Now I think it would have been good had I done it then because it is not that time consuming, but it is just enough of something that is different, that's...your own, and I think it's worthwhile."

Another one felt that, "it is not such a long time until the children leave. At times I think that my son will leave probably when I am around 40, and my husband will still be very busy, so I cannot count on him to take me away every other week-end or keep me busy. That sort of frightened me because I thought I will look back when I am 60 and all I

would be able to say would be "well, I bowled 20 years without missing a day. But what happened to all the rest of the time?'"

Some felt that they were competitive and did not like the feeling of having been left behind their husbands and friends who had degrees. For some, better education meant better communication with husbands and children and they saw it as setting a pattern for their children.

A few needed the stimulus, a structured atmosphere of learning. After several years spent at home raising children, one remarked, "some women act as if half their mind was gone."

Another one in her mid-forties said, "maybe I'm finally doing now what my parents raised me to do. If I had to do it over again, I suppose I would have gotten my degree a little bit younger."

One said, "I was very bored. The children were both in school. I went one whole year when they were in school full time. At first I though it was great, but it wasn't. I had all this time on my hands...I had a list of things I wanted to do, but it wasn't structured enough...I was taking classes with the Canadian Federation of University Women, it was great, but it was only three months, and that didn't take up enough of my time...And this, now, is something of my own, and I feel I am reaching a goal, a definite goal, and this is really structured and I am working toward it, I have more fulfillment this way."

There were those who were told by friends that a woman with school children needs to fill her time and get out of the house, and that playing bridge was a nice and acceptable way of doing it, "but that absolutely threw me, you know, I cannot see myself playing bridge for the rest of my life."

There were those who felt a need for greater financial security and a need to contribute to the material well-being of the family. "I feel guilty," said one, "you know, here I am sitting, a healthy person, and he is working as hard as anything and worrying...Now he knows that I am working towards a goal. He knows that if something happened to him I would not be lost. In many ways this is such a positive thing."

CONCLUSION

It can be said that most of the adult students exhibited the following common characteristics:

Although they enjoyed raising their children while they were small, once the children were at school they found that they were bored with too much time on their hands.

None of them thought housework was a full-time, fulfilling job if done efficiently and in an organized way.

They had little interest in the traditional middle-class "time-killing" activities which they considered insufficiently rewarding.

They had respect for time, perceiving it as a finite resource not to be wasted but to be used in a meaning-

ful and gratifying way, for the enrichment of their own and their families' lives.

All had a commitment to learning in a structured way leading toward a definite goal which could be beneficially utilized at some later date.

Their perception of contributing to the family well-being differed from the traditional societal notion of keeping the "home fires burning", bring peace and providing comfort to husbands and children.

All had a feeling of selfhood and a need to express themselves as individuals, finding the female stereotype too confining and unsatisfactory, refusing to live their lives vicariously through their husbands and children.

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

On the whole the attitudes of the women interviewed support the literature on the subject. The "problem without a name" (Friedan, 1963) was commonly recognized and shared by all.

There was also a realization among them that society rewards persons who succeed as individuals in their own right. Within the prevailing value system, married women with families are preordained to suffer from severe "structural strain." On the one hand during their youth they are educated and trained for more or less similar autonomous roles as those assumed and enjoyed by men. On the other hand, after the termination of their formal education they are expected to revert to the lonely, unstimulating role of homemaker - one

which carries little prestige and is depicted by advertisers as a bore from which the lucky housewife can escape with the right kind of household appliance. Confusion is thus a built-in factor in a woman's life in modern industrial society (Kluckhohn, 1951).

Speaking about the facts of industrial society Oakley (1972) posits that the life span of a woman is now about 75 years, of which less than two or three years are spent in pregnancy or lactation. Thus the average woman spends about six percent of her fertile years, or about three percent of her total life span bound by reproductive ties which leaves her with 97 percent of her life remaining.

Confined and restricted to the roles of homemaker, these women felt segregated and denied the opportunity to develop into mature, well-rounded individuals - a point argued by Cyrus (1947). They seemed to be aware that the role of homemaker and female in the traditional sense does not have room for a whole human being (Janeway, 1974).

> "The asymmetrical structure of the family, father at work, mother at home - allows for a connection to be made between such diverse activities as the feeding of the tiny babies, the cleaning of the house, and the washing of dirty socks. In reality, while child-bearing is a biological function, and therefore female, domestic work is a social and economic one and therefore neuter; but where both were in practice feminine, the biological role of motherhood takes on a whole aura of domesticity and cultural femininity. The lines are tied between the act of giving birth and the act of cleaning the house, and the status of women is

> coloured by secondary cultural consequences of the primary biological specialization. From that point on, it is not biology that determines the women, but domesticity."
> (Oakley, 1972: 198)

Not one of the adult students said she liked housework, and that -according to Saltzman-Chafetz (1974) is not surprising - because TV commercials notwithstanding, the persons we hire to do it (housework) are the lowest paid of all workers which tells us something about society's attitude towards housework. No matter what income bracket the husband belongs to (and here we are obviously not talking about the internationally wealthy), no matter whether he is generous or stingy, a housewife does basically the same type of work regardless of her own educational background and/or personal preferences. Whatever amount of money she receives or spends is not "pegged to her toil." Differences in the husbands' incomes may mean more or less help, but almost all housewives are engaged in substantial manual work.

We are here dealing with middle-class women, and considering the problem from a historical frame of reference Bullough (1973) argues that as they became progressively unhappy with their confined role in society it was middle-class females who demanded more education. This is of course understandable in view of the fact that the lower classes have modally been engaged in the battle of sheer survival.

> For these women "the biological burdens of the past have been more or less overcome, the economic burdens are in the process of being overcome,

> political power is real, but the psychological, sociological and historical barriers are still there. These might well be the most difficult to overcome."
> (Bullough, Bonnie, 1974: 354)

And it is a fact that even in moving forward and enlarging their roles, women essentially visualize themselves as continuing and in this case, enriching, what they perceive as a female role (this is particularly born out in their attitudes toward financial independence and Women's Liberation Movement).

MOTIVATION FOR FURTHER EDUCATION

ADULT STUDENTS

"I would like to ask what are your reasons for returning to school?"

The students were given a list of five answers to this question (see Appendix A) which were adapted for the purposes of this research from a survey of adult students in the U.S.A. (Durchholz and O'Connor, 1975). They were asked to chose either one or more in the order of importance to them. They were also asked to either add any reasons they might have personally, or to substitute their own reasons instead of the ones given. No one either added or substituted any reasons.

The most important reasons given were: one to promote independence; two to prepare for employment; two for intellectual stimulation; six to fulfill a need and/or desire for education or achievement.

One of the students said that her primary aim was to fill a need and/or desire for education, "though I would not use the word achievement, because it was not so much for achievement (that I went back to school). I would consider it an achievement to raise these three children to be happy and sensible people. If they grew up to be neurotics or depressives in their adult age, I would really feel that I did not do what I should have done with them. If they were beautiful people I would call that an achievement."

One of them said that although the most important reason for going back to school was the need and desire for an education and achievement, she also considered the promotion of independence an important point. "That was one thing that bothered me when I was married (and at home), that if anything happened to my husband then what would I do with the kids. That would be important, I would not like the idea that I would be unable to care for them financially."

Another student also said that although she put intellectual stimulation first, preparation for employment was important because in case she had to work "why not work at the top level? It is really like life insurance."

Commenting on the whole problem of re-entry into school a part-time adult student in the sample said, "I don't look upon going to school as anything particularly great. A lot of women are going to school doing courses in practical

things for home, and they are doing well. I just took University rather than those things. I guess it's good for the children if I can provide a bit of stimulation, because I would like them all to go to University and get an education. I would like to bring them up with the idea that learning doesn't stop. When you stop being interested in things and you stop reading, and knowing what is going on you really have died. And women find this more than their husbands, because husbands, no matter what they do, can at least come home with the latest joke."

Another one said in talking about extension versus regular courses at the University, "I do not think that adults should go to school with adults. I have taken only one night course and I cannot generalize, but I think it is better to get back into the mainstream. I think you can gain other experiences than the courses you are taking, just being back with the people of another generation."

A mother of a young baby who has gone back to school said she had to go back for intellectual stimulation because "I could really not sit in the house the whole day with the baby without feeling that I was losing ground. I just had to get out and see things and do things. I just do not believe in housework. I like accomplishments, maybe even something like spring cleaning...I do not think that a house is really demanding, I really don't. I don't have a feeling that I should stay at home and look after this house...If one

is organized there can be very much done in an hour. Housework is often making busy work...It's good for the baby to be playing on his own, it will make him independent. Sometimes I feel a little bit guilty when he plays all alone half the day, but then I think it's good for him."

She was not the only one with such an attitude. All of the students believed in organization and disapproved of what they called "busy work", believing that there are a lot of opportunities for women. Of all the possible alternatives they chose school.

CONCLUSION

A commitment to learning and a desire to grow and expand was evident in all of the adult students.

Some women seem to reach the goal of esteem and identity later in life, after their anxieties about their femininity and affiliation decline, their affiliation needs being gratified and the demands on their time being diminished. Though it was also evident from the sample of adult students that some women seem to be determined to "make time" by better organization and utilization of both technological advances and of their own talents.

However, even when opening a whole new phase in their lives (not an easy task by any means) they still continue in their old traditional roles of mother and wife. It does not seem to be the question of changing their roles so much as adding to the existing ones.

POSSIBLE FURTHER EDUCATION

HOMEMAKERS

Asked whether they had even thought about furthering their education the majority of the homemakers said they had.

One of them said, "Yes, this was just when we had the last baby and he (the husband) thought that it would be utterly ridiculous, that the child would be motherless, and that I do not need an education to raise children. I only need common sense, which I apparently have, so therefore the idea was dropped. Now again I have started thinking that in order to do something for the rest of my capable 30 years, I should have some sort of education."

Another homemaker said, "I certainly have, and I have absolutely repudiated the idea."

"Yes, I have on occasion," said another, "but there are so many things I would like to take...I myself do not know what I would like. But I think as long as it was not too much I do not think he (the husband) would object."

One woman said, "Not really, I do not know that I would need it, and there is really nothing that interests me, unless I would go after a degree and I really do not see any reason why I should do that."

Only two homemakers said they had never thought about it.

Asked about their husband's attitude toward the issue, the answers gave no clear pattern in terms of defin-

ite approval or disapproval in the majority of cases.

One commented, "He would let me do it. Right now I am going to a night course in bridge, just for the lack of something else to do, and he doesn't mind. But anything else he figures I don't need. He'd let me do it if I wanted to, but he wouldn't care for the idea too much, - just because it is me, I never even finished high school...but with somebody else he might feel differently."

Another said, "He would probably ask me 'are you sure you've got enough time?', and he would want to know the reason. I really do not think he is too keen on a lot of people taking a lot of courses, just as an escape. And that is what he feels a lot of women are doing."

One said her husband would be "very negative."

"If it is not interfering with the children, I can do whatever I like," said another, adding "but I have nobody to fill my role as a mother. Nobody can relieve me of my duties, even temporarily. With a grandmother or a relative you can leave them and you do not have that guilt feeling at all. You do not have that feeling as with a baby-sitter that you are neglecting them, or that you should be staying at home. I do not think that children even mind (their mother's absence) until they are older and they turn back and say 'gee, mother, why weren't you there?' I must be here when my children are at home and I know I am unusual for the times. We never yet had trouble with our children. I could never live with myself if something went wrong with them and

I was out working or something. Now, I know that I did the best I could. But then again, you have to do something for yourself."

The rest were divided between "I don't know" (what his attitude would be) and "he probably wouldn't mind."

Only three said they would have their husband's support.

One said, "I've already done that in a way. I took a creative writing course by correspondence. And this was with his encouragement. At that time we had only one car in the family and I was pregnant with my third child, and he knew, and I knew, that I needed something to keep my brain active. I always wanted to take that but we never had the money up to that point. It was a three-year course, but for me it turned out to be a four-year course because I had my third and fourth child in this period." Perhaps it is indicative of our family-related value system to mention that she worked and was the only bread-winner for four years after their marriage helping her husband who was first a student and then a low-paid medical resident.

CONCLUSION

Although the overwhelming majority said they had thought about furthering their education, the motivation was clearly not strong enough to result in positive action, at least for the time being. The feeling is that "education" is taken in a generalized sense as opposed to a definite means of achieving a goal or defining a direction to be

followed. The women themselves seemed ambivalent and reluctant, "playing possum", feeling a need for something more, but not knowing what the "more" consisted of or required from them.

The husbands' overall attitudes were traditional and ambivalent, if not downright negative and/or derogatory as in the case where one thought his wife was not the kind who needed more education. Once again it was apparent that the husband's role was normatively the dominant one and included the right to decision making regarding the wife's future. Further, there was no question of "making time" as was the case with the adult students. Time was perceived as a finite resource the best part of which should be devoted to homemaking - not allowing opportunities for fulfilling the possible individual needs or gratifications of the wives.

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

According to Bullough, part of the difficulty in trying to change women's role in society is the fact that no role is exclusive. Roles tend to be defined by a series of expectations and they tend to be reciprocal. The wife's role is related to the husband's and if she changes hers he will be forced to change his. And according to the homemakers' statements their husbands were not prepared to give up any rights inherent in the main breadwinner's role.

> "Although much of what we identify as sexually assigned roles has nothing to do with biological sex but with tradition and culture, it will be a long struggle to change them, and to do

this most women will have to want to change."
(Bullough, Bonnie, 1974: 341)

But women do not seem to be aware of the "snow ball" effect of the changes taking place in the social environment, continuing to conceive of themselves as feminine only to the extent that they are loved by their husbands and dedicated to devoting most of their lives to their mates and children (Saltzman-Chafetz, 1974).

What we seem to be dealing with here are not inherent strains in trying to combine two roles - which, as has been seen, need not be mutually exclusive - but the treatment of the problem from the frame of reference of patriarchy. Saltzman-Chafetz posit that patriarchy is a caste implying the superiority of one group of individuals - males - over another - females. She considers patriarchy as probably the oldest form of exploitation and subjugation of one part of the population by another. It has - in her opinion - probably served as a model for all other forms of relegation, be it on the basis of race, ethnicity or class. Once such a system becomes established, those in high-caste positions, in this case males, develop a vested interest in the maintenance of the basic structure and their own advantaged status.

Janeway (1974) considers that any examination how society works must come down to Lenin's question "Kto kovo?" Who does what to whom? In this case what does society do to women?

Women are socialized into thinking that they alone,

by devoting all their time to their children can make them into "beautiful people, non-neurotic and non-psychotic."

This is an over-simplification of the problem, because in addition to love and care the mother's job is mainly to offer her children:

> "real alternatives, real pleasures, real rewards, and help and information on how to get them. Do that, and then trust them to be able to make their own choices and lead their own lives. But that takes some knowledge and connection with the real world on the mother's part, and it takes self-esteem and confidence in one's approach to dealing with children, and the very confinement of women to the house and to the roles of wife and mother denies them self-confidence in dealing with the world and its problems."
> (Janeway, 1974: 41)

THE ANTICIPATION OF THE "EMPTY NEST" PHASE

ADULT STUDENTS

Most of the adult students expect to be busy when the children depart and they perceive their present efforts as a beginning of a new phase in their lives.

One of them said, "I think that a lot of problems with women are caused by the fact that they live their life vicariously through their children and that's all they have and then you hit the menopause age and your children are all grown up and you look around and there is nothing for you to do."

Another one argued that the difficulties with women during the menopause - which was so dreaded among women - was

partly due to the fact that women feel that having children is the only creative ability they have, and when that is taken away from them they feel quite impotent.

One student said, "Having my own career will help me in my life when she (my daughter) is not around...I look at my mother who has suffered a couple of nervous breakdowns and who has been in and out with several psychiatrists for the last ten years. I really think it is because she did not use herself to her fullest extent. She is a very bright woman, and she had raised three children but when her children did not need her any more, what was there for her to do? Nothing!"

One, summing up the feelings of several students said that she, too, thought that those women with most time on their hands suffered most during the "empty nest"phase and the menopause. "The ones that were busy did not seem to realize that they were going through it, so I said to myself that if I feel that way now (insufficiently occupied), what would I feel then, and thought that I would start preparing for it now rather than wait."

Some said, too, that preparing for a career, or "leading their own life" was preferable to having more and more children just because women were bored and had nothing to do.

HOMEMAKERS

The homemakers, too, said that they expect to be busy when that time comes, but did not specify what with and they seemed rather vague about it.

One who said that she would like to get a part-time job when her children leave said, "I am really looking forward to my grandchildren. I might be interfering a little bit too much. I will do a lot of baby-sitting."

Those doing voluntary work expected to go on being busy with the same type of work, not anticipating any change, just expecting to have "more time" and a "cleaner house."

"I am very involved with the children," said another, "so it cannot but leave a void when they are gone...And at 45 I will really not be needed any longer except for my husband who is very busy. So you have to think about it."

"If I continue in the way I am going now, with no education and no steady job, I will probably end up in a mental institution, and if I do get some education I hope to establish myself somehow in some occupation in which I can then work for the rest of my years", said another.

One said that she had thought about the void and that she was confused. "Yes, I do think that I should keep busy and have some interest in my life."

"I think our society today has so many problems," said another, "because women who have been only homemakers turn around, and you know, they are not young any more, the children have gone, and they are left with absolutely nothing. Women today have small families, the children are off to school very soon, and then what? I felt that when my older son went to school full time, and all my house chores would

be done by two o'clock, and I had nothing to do but read, and wait for him to come home...and what would I do when he graduated and was gone? This is the problem with us women. It's terribly wrong to think that women can only be mothers."

CONCLUSION

The prevailing attitude in both groups was that once the children leave home the demands on time would diminish to such an extent that home life would not be adequate to fill the time available.

That, the students felt, would only aggravate the problems in the menopausal years which they expected to coincide with the children's departure, for the majority of them. Whereas all of the students but one (and she is only 31) said that they had given thought to the problem which they said was "at the back of their minds", the homemakers seemed to adopt a much more leisurely attitude of "I-plan-to-do-something-when-the-time-comes." The impression gained was that the students - as a group - had a more well-defined attitude recognizing the existence of a problem which had to be apprehended before it happened; whereas, the homemakers were more vague and ambivalent as to what they planned to do.

There is a possibility that either the students were more aware of the problems in a woman's life-cycle and therefore decided to further their education as a possible means to a solution or that they - through their studies and

thinking - had a more precise grasp on the problems facing them in the present social environment.

The fact that the adult students discussed the problem of menopause both frequently and freely as opposed to the homemakers who not once mentioned the word "menopause", could also be a function of their being more self-confident in dealing with their problems. They did not perceive the subject as being taboo or perhaps too threatening to talk about.

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

Bart, who has done extensive studies on depression in middleage women and is responsible for the "empty nest" concept as currently used, says, "This is not a good society in which to grow old or to be a woman, and the combination of the two makes for a poignant situation (Bart, 1971: 102)." She considers depression in middle aged women as due to the loss of a positive self-concept resulting from the loss of "significant others", that is the loss of the children once they grow up and leave, rather than the hormonal changes of the menopause.

This hypothesis is borne out by cross-cultural studies which indicate that female status frequently rises at this stage of their life-cycle.

The problem is particularly pertinent for housewives who invest themselves completely in their children, and who suffer from an extremely high rate of depression during the "empty nest" phase. If one's satisfaction and sense of worth

comes from other people, rather than from individual accomplishments, one is left with an empty shell in place of a self when such people depart.

In contemporary families with fewer children than ever before, they do depart earlier than ever before and consequently "some day while she is still...young...she will have to face a breakfast table with only one face across it, her husband's, and she will be quite alone, in a home of her own. She is out of a job...(Mead, 1949: 332-338)."

Left with only a house to care for, a type of work that leaves her little prestige, and a busy husband, the mother whose offspring no longer needs her constant care is left "partly functionless" Rose, (1950) facing the "vacant years."

Tsurumi (1970) makes an insightful analysis of retirement of older women in traditional extended agrarian families in Japan, perceiving it as a process of disengagement from previously held major duties - which could be used as a model for the mothers with grown children in the "empty nest" phase in our social environment.

She considers retirement a situation which creates a role-void-creating tension in those who have lost their legitimate roles. Role-voids can thus be interpreted as a form of relative deprivation and the same concept can be applied to mothers of adult children who feel themselves deprived of the attention and care of their significant others, in whom they had invested the better part of their lives. Tsurumi considers it a type of role-strain that

occurs when the system to which one belongs undergoes drastic changes in its relationship structures.

INTEREST IN CHILDREN'S FRIENDS

ADULT STUDENTS

All but one mother and (her baby was only 13 months old) said that they knew all or most of their children's friends.

Most of them responded by saying that not only do they know their children's friends but their house was a sort of "meeting place" or a "recreation centre" for the various children from school and neighbourhood.

Only one said that her children did not have too many friends.

One of the students said, "Yes, I listen to them and pay close attention to what they are talking about when they come home, and from their conversations I know their friends. I think this is important because that is a form of socialization."

HOMEMAKERS

A majority knew either all or most of the children's friends, and two said "generally speaking" and "not many" in the remaining two cases.

In the majority of the cases the attitude was that they knew the children's friends "because they (the children) are always welcome to bring their friends home."

CONCLUSION

The majority of mothers in both groups gave a very emphatic "yes" to the question whether they knew their children's friends. Both groups felt that this was important and that was why they encouraged their children to bring their friends home.

As can be seen there was no difference between the groups' attitudes which again reflects the fact that both the students and the homemakers perceived themselves as being first of all mothers and wives responsible for the sustenance of their families.

INTEREST IN HUSBAND'S CAREER

ADULT STUDENTS

The unequivocal majority said that they were well acquainted with their husband's work and that they discussed it at home, if not in minute detail, then at least in general terms. Only one said that she was "sort of" acquainted with her husband's work, but it was rather a superficial kind of knowledge.

The majority said they know either all or most of their husband's co-workers, and three said that they knew some of them.

Most of them said they always knew what their husbands were working on, especially if they were doing new things or if they had problems. If they were unfamiliar with the subject they stated that they asked their husbands

for an explanation because they were interested in the work he did.

One declared herself to be more interested in the political and community problems which she discussed with her husband every evening.

Another one said that she knew more about her husband's work and problems since she became a student than before, because she said that she was becoming more aware of things happening around her.

One responded, "As much as I can understand chemistry. He usually tells me, - I just don't grasp it all."

Another one said that although she usually knows most of it, her husband feels that "it is sometimes better if the family is not too involved and if they do not know too much."

HOMEMAKERS

A considerable majority said that they both knew what their husbands were working on and they discussed the problems at home. One said she was not acquainted with her husband's work because he never discussed it at home. Another said that she only knew the general features but not the details because of the confidential nature of her husband's job. They made it a point never to discuss personalities.

One of them said that she would really like to know more about her husband's work because "I really like people and I am very curious about people, more so than my husband, actually. It bores my husband, I think, to come home and

discuss everything that has happened in the office, but I enjoy listening, I would like to know everything."

CONCLUSION

It can be argued that there is no appreciable difference in the two groups' attitudes towards their husband's work and career. Both groups evidently attach great importance to their husband's status as the breadwinner of the family, and consider it their duty to understand, to be informed and discuss the relevant problems at home.

We do not know how much the husbands of the students are acquainted with, or participate in their wives' problems, but the sample did not include husbands. It would also be of sociological interest to know what part the husbands are going to play in their wives future work after graduation, and see how much reciprocity there is going to be.

It seems safe to say, though, that for this sample the husband's primary importance as breadwinner and occupational status holder will probably not be challenged by their wives in case of no great or unplanned change taking place within the family.

PRESENT HELP EXTENDED TO HUSBAND IN HIS CAREER

ADULT STUDENTS

Nine students reported that they helped their husbands and two reported they did not.

Most of the help was in terms of moral support and discussion of his work, correcting of their papers, keeping

books and/or accounts, going to the store or office when secretarial work was needed, and buying stock in one case.

One student said, "When he needs a sounding board for new ideas and projects that he has in mind, I am a willing listener. I think that I am an objective listener and when I think that he is off on a tangent I can tell him and he can take it from me."

Another said, "I am very supportive. I don't resent the time he spends in work. A couple of summers he went to seminars and was away for six weeks at a time, but that was fine with me, I didn't resent it."

The majority of the students said they were not expected to entertain their husband's business associates and friends but they did it because they enjoy it or they did very little on a completely casual basis, and only three said that they did not do any entertaining.

One said, "Since I have been in school he hasn't expected very much, if I were at home he would expect much more."

Another said, "It's just something I like to do, and since we moved very much it seems that those were always people he worked with. So I would automatically entertain the people, and what have you."

One who really doesn't like entertaining, but likes parties; "to a certain point, though I'm not the one to run around to all the 'dos'", she said, "At first he thought

that I wasn't doing enough. You entertain at first, at least we did, because you are establishing yourself in your business, and you enjoy it, you are young; but now I get very tired of that type of life. And I think we are really very private people, we do a lot with the family together, I would do just that totally."

HOMEMAKERS

Five said that they helped their husbands in their careers, and the rest were either ambivalent and undecided or said that they did not.

The help extended was again mostly moral support and secretarial and bookkeeping work.

One said that she did not help directly, working in his office or the like, but "in the sense that I feel that it is very important that home must be a comfortable place to come home to. I feel that it should be the place where one can put his feet up and rejuvenate after the pressures of the day. Then I feel that I'm doing something for him."

Another one said that she, too, was a sounding board, and added, "I try to agree with him. I try not to disagree with him very often, because that sort of bugs him, I think."

One said, "I did a lot, only he doesn't recognize it."

The majority said they were not expected to entertain but some of them did it anyway by mutual consent, be-

cause they enjoyed it, and four said they were expected to entertain - half of them did not mind and the other half had mixed feelings.

One who has mixed feelings about entertaining said, "I have his staff (her husband is a high school principal) here once a year, and I am very friendly with them, which I think, helps him...I do not entertain a lot, but I do entertain them and their families...sometimes I find it a bit too much. I have quite enough problems of my own, but if they want me to sit down and listen, I do, because I know that helps my husband."

Asked the same question one responded, "I am expected to do everything except his teeth (her husband owns a dental laboratory), that's the only thing I am not expected to do. I enjoy helping him with books and accounts. I enjoy entertaining, that doesn't bother me, and I enjoy helping him be on top because then he is happy, and if he is happy, my marriage is happy."

CONCLUSION

It can be said that women in both groups extended as much help to their husbands as possible, although in the case of the students it had to be an added burden.

Generally speaking, it could be said, however, that the support the students gave their husbands was qualitatively somewhat different from that extended by the homemakers to their husbands. The students had an attitude that could be described as friendly and cooperative, although sometimes

critical. They perceived the latter as being positive, necessary and constructive. They perceived themselves as actively taking part in the problem-solving tasks bringing the pressures of the outside world into their daily home life.

On the other hand the attitude of the homemakers was modally speaking more traditional and more manipulative. They were not so much oriented (and this of course is a matter of degree) towards solving the problem at hand as towards boosting or soothing their husbands' egos consciously striving to make the house a haven from the outside "rat race."

FAMILY ECONOMICS

ADULT STUDENTS

Five said there was no need for another income in the family, five were ambivalent, and one said there was a need for additional finances.

One student said her husband's business fluctuated and she would like to be able to contribute when business was slack.

Another said that they had discussed the possibility of her husband leaving his job in Detroit in which case both would do what they wanted to and then she would have to contribute to the family financially.

One of them said that although there was no immediate need, she liked the idea of having her own money "so when I buy somebody a present I know I've earned it."

Another student responded, and it seemed that her attitude was generally typical of the group as a whole, "I think that I should say there is always a need, but neither my husband nor I consider money as anything crucial... I am making a sacrifice being in school, but one day, I hope, we shall have more, though it is not very important."

Two of the students were earning some money by being Teachers' Assistants at the University.

HOMEMAKERS

A majority said there was no need for another income in the family, and four said there was no immediate need. None expressed the need or desire for another income.

One said, "Not really, the two older children have part-time jobs and they pretty well take care of themselves; and we have saved some money for the third child, so it's just the other two we take care of now."

Another one responded, too, that her two older boys have part-time jobs.

One said, "Not as far as the necessities go, but to afford some of the luxuries."

One, who did a lot of voluntary work, said, "Only to the extent that you can always use a little more money. Whatever you have is never quite enough, so we try to maintain ourselves on what we have."

CONCLUSION

In general it can be said that the answers did not reveal a very great concern over money matters, which was

probably due to two factors: one, that all of the husbands were able to comfortably support their families; and two, that almost all of the women were socially upwardly mobile in terms that their parents were not - modally speaking - in the same financial category as their husbands.

There was some concern, however, over the unstable and unpredictable economic situation both on the American continent and in the world in general, which was reflected in the answers that there was no immediate need for another income, and in the conversations held both before and after the interviews.

FEELINGS OF MARGINALITY AND FULFILLMENT

ADULT STUDENTS

Whereas a preponderant majority of students did not admit to any feelings of marginality saying that they perceived themselves first of all as mothers and homemakers and felt reasonably fulfilled in their roles, there were some interesting answers.*

*An impression was formed that this question was not adequately understood by all respondents in the sample. One of the reasons may have been that they were not familiar with the concept of "marginality" which was explained to them as being in a state of dilemma by reasons of participating in two different, distinct cultural sub-groups. The question was thought to be particularly pertinent for adult students by virtue of their oscillation between the homemaker and student role. The explanation given was that by being marginal a person is not fully committed to the values and standards of either group, nor is either of the groups with which she identified fully acceptable to her (Theodorson and Theodorson, Modern Dictionary of Sociology, 1969), which in other words meant, that she felt somewhat like a stranger in one or both worlds. The rationale for asking the homemakers

One said, "I feel that there are a lot of pulls being made on my personality. Some days I feel it is too much. I don't feel I am any less a mother for it, I don't think I was cut out just to be a mother. I just never felt completely satisfied. I also do not feel that I fit with all the students in the school, but that never bothered me. I am ten years older so I couldn't be one of the crowd. As the time goes by and the children are older and make more demands on my time, and something's got to give, and that will be my social ties, and I won't miss it...I probably belong to the house and family as much as I was ever cut out to be, and I feel fulfilled."

One felt that the more she knew the better a wife and mother she was. She felt there were many demands on her time, but she was doing basically what she wanted to do and felt satisfied.

Another felt marginal only in terms of her one surviving parent who disagreed with her re-entry into school. "But not at all in other respects. I do not feel that I belong to or am interested in the social life of the students. But I don't necessarily feel the age difference. I don't

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the same question was to elicit an answer which would indicate, to a certain degree, how fully they identified with their social role of mother and wife. The question was preceded by a statement that it was primarily intended for the student group, but was asked for the sake of getting comparable information, in addition to which there was interest in their feelings of being either at one with, or somewhat "estranged" from their socially bestowed roles and socially constructed milieu.

feel I belong any place in particular." She did not feel particularly fulfilled, but she felt that she was doing what she wanted.

One said that she would perhaps feel marginal if she was taking more than one course, "but like this the load is not heavy and there are not many readjustments to make. Actually, if I need time I take the baby to the baby-sitter for the whole day and get myself together."

Another said that she worked her schedule very carefully around her family and did not feel any marginality in terms of them. At school she felt "there is a real gap even between us and the younger students who have children." As for her being fulfilled she replied, "I am a lot happier and a lot more contented. I am never bored. My husband thinks there is a real change in me since I went back."

One admitted that it was better now than before. "I feel much happier now than I did before. I felt like a stranger before, because I thought that they (the family) didn't need me any more. My husband was off on his own most of the time...and that was one of the reasons I went back." She felt no marginality in terms of her home and family but felt that she didn't belong among the students at all.

One said she felt "reasonable comfortable with things as they were, as fulfilled as most of the other people."

HOMEMAKERS

Most of the homemakers did not admit to feelings of marginality saying that they felt they belonged to their families, though some did admit they felt somewhat like strangers sometimes.

One said, "I feel like a stranger sometimes because I am a person in my own right. Like sometimes I wish I weren't here, I was someplace else, doing something else. I am at home in my home, but sometimes I wish I was someplace else," saying that she felt "sort of" fulfilled. She continued on the topic after the structured part of the interview was over saying, "I resent living through my husband. I resent being a doctor's wife. Because you don't really have an identity of your own...you are not really your own person."

Another one, though she argued that she "fits in well with the family," said that she felt "a little bit pushed, a little bit trapped. And I would like to get out of that feeling, I just don't know how." She considered herself fulfilled, in the way she was living.

One said, "I think I am completely part of the family, though some days I think I'm the only person in the world that thinks a certain way." In spite of that she said she felt fulfilled. She felt that being a non-working mother is much more meaningful that working. "You see, if you type eight hours a day on a job, when you're gone there is nothing you left behind, and when you raise up children, then you do

leave that behind you when you go. If you brought your children to have a good solid foundation, that could be your future too."

Another thought that the family made too many demands on her, that they needed to "break away a little." "There are many things I feel I could do, but there again, for me my family comes first." She too said that she felt fulfilled.

One admitted to feelings of marginality at times, "but I can easily pull myself into the group itself. I can bring myself down into the circle rather than being on the circumference. They do not shut me out and I do not shut them out. Right now I feel that because I have undertaken too much I have lost my grasp and I must come in touch again." Asked about her feelings of fulfillment she said, "I am getting there, I did not until now."

Another one said that she felt "sometimes like a stranger and a little bit on the margins of the world and of my family." Asked whether she felt fulfilled she continued, "If I don't think about it too much then I am."

One said that although she felt no marginality, she felt fulfilled only to a point. "I am a homemaker now, and while I am doing that I do, shall I say, my best...But I do not feel completely fulfilled because I feel that I could also do something else to fulfill myself."

Answering the question one stated that she did not feel entirely at one with either the family or the social

environment, "because I find that I come out with ideas which I think are important, and they do not always agree with what society says. This has been brewing for several years now, I sometimes feel a little bit like a stranger in society. I have to come out with my own answers. I can make adjustments. I can go ahead and think my own thoughts, but I can make adjustments to my friends and relatives. As long as it was not going against something that would really be crucial as far as I am concerned." Asked about fulfillment she replied, "I don't feel that one can say 'yes' to that. Life is always changing and one is always growing. I have moments when I feel tremendously fulfilled, and then moments when I do not know whether I have done everything I wanted to do."

CONCLUSION

Whereas all of the students felt marginal in terms of the student sub-culture to a degree that excluded any possibility of change which they did not even perceive as either possible or desirable, the great majority of them did not feel that way in terms of their families (with the exception of one student and that was the case of her extended, not nuclear family). They perceived themselves first of all as mothers and wives, their immediate families being more important to them than anything else with which they might get involved.

Contrariwise some saw the additional role of the student as enriching the one of the homemaker in terms of seeing it as a beneficial learning process and a choice of taking an active part in shaping their lives.

A number of them saw their present position as an improvement on the one in which they were involved (with the house and family). It could be said that their improved self-image positively influenced their Weltanschauung, adding to their over-all satisfaction with life in general.

Although a number of homemakers admitted to feeling marginal, it seems that was the function of the way the question was phrased. The impression gained was what they were really admitting to was a feeling of alienation in the Bergerian sense.*

They felt like "strangers," "trapped" in their own world which they felt unable to change. They seemed unaware of the choice of taking an active part in changing (and that would obviously be a matter of degree) what they disagreed with, seemingly socialized into perceiving themselves as mothers and wives to a degree that precluded everything else, even the realization of their own potential. The problem was interpreted as being one of adjustment to the "given

*"...alienation is the process whereby the dialectic relationship between the individual and his world is lost to consciousness. The individual 'forgets' that this world was and continues to be co-produced by him. Alienated consciousness is undialectic consciousness...Put differently again, alienation is an overextension of the process of objectivation, whereby the human ('living') objectivity of the social world is transformed in consciousness into the non-human ('dead') objectivity of nature. Typically the representations of human, meaningful activity that constitute the reality of the social world are transformed in consciousness into non-human, meaningless, inert 'things'." (Berger, 1967: 85-86)

nature of things" rather than taking an active hand in adjusting their social environment, which according to Berger's definition is being constantly co-produced by - among others - the women themselves, to their personal needs.

FEELINGS OF BEING OVEREXTENDED

ADULT STUDENTS

In view of the fact that all of the adult students retained their traditional roles of mother and wife - at least to a certain degree - adding to it the role of student, it was felt that it would be worthwhile knowing how they coped with the demands on their time.

The majority felt overextended, some coped satisfactorily if nothing unplanned occurred, and only three said they did not feel that way at all.

Three said that the limited time available was their reason for taking only one course. One of them said, "In a situation where there are too many demands, something has got to give and it is usually the family. I am conservative enough to think that I should be here (at home) most of the time and that I have to try my best. And then if something happens later on, well, I will know that I did try. It could be partly because my husband is away so much of the time... If they (the children) go astray at least I can say 'I was there.' There will be no guilty conscience thinking that I should have stayed at home more than I did."

Another one said, "I sort of work around my family. I study afterwards when the children are in bed until two in the morning."

"I started eight or nine years ago," said another, "I took only one course at a time. I have never taken time away from my family, I have never taken that hard a course load." Still she feels overextended but attributes it to not being "very well organized or disciplined."

One, who also felt overextended felt it was her fault because she took on too much that particular semester.

Some felt overextended at times, but by making an effort they said they could usually pull themselves "out of it."

One said it was the "matter of nerves before tests," that she really had sufficient time to cope.

Another felt that taking three courses as she did the year before was too much. "At times I feel overextended. Last year I missed Christmas, I couldn't participate in all the activities. The time I should have spent relaxing and enjoying myself, I spent working. So this year I took fewer (courses) to solve the problem. I also think that each year you are back you are better adjusted and things become a bit easier."

One said that she found herself more interested in things since she re-entered school (although she, too, felt overextended the first year, that being perceived also as a matter of adjustment). "I am also more involved with the children, with their readings. Before, nothing seemed to interest me, now I am interested in so many things."

Most of them accepted the additional load as their own responsibility because their husbands were away most of the time. To that point one said - and the impression is that this was a more or less generalized attitude, "When the children are small, they have to accept an occasional baby-sitter...but I think that I owe it to them to be here at lunch and supper-time and supervise them, and be here in the evenings...Generally speaking, I run this ship, and that might not be right, but that is how it is. Everything is up to me. It's my house, my lawn. I might be partly to blame because I have left things ride and have taken care of things myself."

CONCLUSION

The traditional sex-division of labour seems to be perpetuating itself though perhaps that is becoming a matter of degree. The house and children are the responsibility of the mother and wife, and for anything else she might want to do - be it gratification of her intellectual needs, desire to grow or mature, or just plain relaxation or participation in family activities - it is up to her to find the available time. There seems to be no recognition that the change in the mother's role requires a reciprocal change in the family role-set and life-pattern. The obstacles to changing the sex-role stereotype, which in this case at least, is both binding and outdated, are formidable if ultimately surmountable.

FEELINGS OF ADEQUACY IN SCHOOL

ADULT STUDENTS

Though about half of the students interviewed experienced some initial difficulties in adjusting to re-entry into school (the median for being out of school was ten years), they all felt adequate at facing the work at their age when interviewed.

One reported, "I find studying easier now than before when I was young, and this has been a great surprise. I am amazed at the human brain, how much you can recall and how great it is to have had the experiences from then till now. I do much better now than before."

Most of them reported working very hard, especially at the beginning, and getting good grades for it. One found that her memory was not as good as before, and that she did not do so well in courses where a lot of memorizing had to be done.

Only two thought that the younger students were occasionally intimidating. One of them, a law student, said she felt the young male students resented the fact that a married woman her age was occupying a place in law school which could have been taken by a young male student. She reported being told several times that she should not have been there.

Less than half reported that they neither felt accepted by the students nor did they seek any acceptance.

One said, "I don't think that you can over-identify. You have to be yourself. You have to dress the way you usually do and not put on raggedy jeans and no bra and all that. You find a lot more resentment if you try to be a 33-year-old-19-year-old."

Another felt that there was not much communication or getting to know each other with younger students. There were some who were not very impressed by the younger students, "they do not press their brains very hard." Others thought they were more informed than their own generation used to be.

All of them found school to be a challenge and not a threat. All found it a worthwhile experience, though one said it was not really the "school per se," (which she often found quite boring), "but the idea that it was a process and that was what I liked."

The interviewed students displayed some further common characteristics which set them apart from the regular student body. More than half were part-time students and none socialized with the younger students outside classroom situations.

They all saw their endeavour as being worthwhile, as a possibility of getting a better, more stimulating job, and some thought that people re-entering school after a period of years spent outside the formal educational system had more to contribute to their education. Several said it was a worthwhile endeavour because they preferred it to the other alternatives opened to them. The predominant attitude

was summed up by a student who said, "It does (seem worthwhile) because it makes me happier...And it made me view myself and the world around me and everybody else much differently."

To the question whether they think they can "make up" for the years spent out of school the answers were all positive. The prevailing feeling was that there had been no desire to further their education when the children were small since there would have been too much guilt with which to cope. They felt that the years spent out of school were not lost due to the experience they had gained in the world. Only two out of eleven said they should have entered school at an earlier time than they did.

One who was career oriented said, "Even if I had gotten my job twenty years ago instead of now (she is graduating in the spring), I would probably not have wanted a full-time job in teaching nursing until my kids were reasonably grown...If I ever felt that I have to make up for twenty years (career-wise), that would be too much, I mean, you cannot ever make up for twenty years."

Another said that she never thought of returning to school when she was in her mid-twenties. But "when I finish school and if I want to enter the job market then I might find that they are only hiring young girls. Then I might feel 'why didn't I go back sooner?' But I haven't reached that yet and I really do not know. I enjoyed those years of staying at home."

Another one almost summed up the attitude of the whole group by saying, "When I was first married with small children, I didn't seem to need this then." She feels that she could never repeat her life-pattern -being at home with three children under the age of three, without adequate means of transportation, "but at that time I didn't seem to question it."

CONCLUSION

All of the students felt adequate to their new role, even those carrying a full-time course load and being responsible for -at least - the managerial and organizational aspects of their home and family lives. At most they had only once-a-week or family help in the house.

Most of them felt they neither belonged nor wished to belong to the student sub-culture; they were conscious of the factors of age and differing life-styles which divided them from the main student body.

All of them were strongly motivated and were not in school just to "pass the time" but to expand their horizons by learning. A fact which was instrumental in spending a lot of time studying, "reading every book and article" they could find on the given subject. They all reported getting good grades of which they were very proud.

Most of them went through a difficult re-adjustment period without much help, and regarded school as a challenge and not a threat (though some of them admitted to perceiving it somewhat as a threat at the beginning). They all thought it was a worthwhile experience.

Somewhat surprising was their attitude that the experience they gained in life would offset the loss of many years spent outside the educational and intellectual mainstream.

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

It seems that the words of an adult student found in literature sum up adequately the problem at hand:

> "The shift in our life's direction that marks our return is not a flexibility - it is a last chance. Fearful of losing another minute or of making another mistake we study compulsively. We treat each grade as the ultimate measure of our worth. For we are back in college because housewife-mother was a status so unsatisfactory we are willing to be treated like children again in order some day to have a job that lets us do honorable work."
> (Rothbard-Margolis, 1975: 254)

None of the students were fully engaged in different forms of anticipatory or informal socialization that are important facets of student life-styles. According to Feldman (1973) this can be seen as resulting from the conflict between the role of wife and the role of a full-time student. He felt that marriage increased the school-home conflict for women and that studying part-time reduces the conflict.

For the students the mother-housewife role did not end with their re-entry into school.

> "For us role change or liberation is a slow process and old tasks do not end when studying begins. We have not returned to school to find friends. We have returned to do what was unthinkable in the fifties - to launch a career...College is a lonely place for those who have no peers."
> (Rothbard-Margolis, 1975: 254)

This feeling - obviously shared by all interviewed students - is probably grounded in the fact that ultimately their primary role is perceived as being immutably anchored in their homes.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN'S POSITION IN OUR SOCIAL SYSTEM AND THE WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT

The answers to the two questions about the position of women in our social system and the attitude towards the WLM, though they were intended as two discrete entities - (in the given order) cannot be treated as such, because many of the subjects answered the former question by giving their opinion of the WLM, treating the women's social position within that framework.

ADULT STUDENTS

Within the student group the predominant feeling regarding the position of women within our social system was that there was inequality, and that women were still being "trodden on," that they were paid less for the same work done by males, but that a change was taking place. The majority felt that better education will help women and make them more acceptable to men in terms of work.

One opinion was that it was the men who needed educating, "I think a lot of it may depend on the education of men. If they are better educated they are not as threatened by women going to work, or being more prominent. But if they are not educated themselves I think they are

threatened by a woman who is educated and speaking up and they automatically tag her as being one of those WL characters. I have heard people say that."

One subject said, "I consider that women on the whole are still considered inferior. I guess it's not the inferior stuff that bothers me; it's the traditional roles that get me. I find that even with my very young friends... (even if they both work, or she works and he studies) she still has to live with the traditional role that she is the cook, she is the cleaner, clotheswasher...it's the roles, no matter how liberated the woman is and what things she does - that we call liberated - she still comes home and has very traditional things to look after. And no end in sight."

There was some apprehension about tokenism. "I think a lot of opportunities are opening up, but I'm wondering if they are going to be token. Put a few in, and that's going to be it. But in terms of attitudes, I don't think it has changed that much. You can hear people making jokes, and if they were making the same kind of jokes about the blacks, they would be considered racist."

There were some who thought it is the individual who counts most. "I don't think there is inequality for bright people...some people say that a woman has to be brighter than a man to get the same job, but I don't think that is true in all fields. I don't think there ever have been problems for bright women...Lots of career women I know have housekeepers, so in a way you could say that it required a certain social status."

Some thought that things will change for the better due to the fact that women will not be socially pressured into having many, or even any children. Some of them who were brought up in Catholic families never practiced family planning when first married. They felt that in the future, and even to some degree in the present, a woman could have a career because if she has a child or two she can take two years off in almost any occupation. "I don't think that you have to stay with the children at home all the time like I did when I was first married...And every one of us who graduated in our class had a child within a year and a half after we were married and if you didn't you had better go and see what's wrong with you."

Regarding the WLM, roughly speaking, there were as many with negative attitudes as those with positive. These included two or three who characterized themselves as being "pro-lib in a non-radical sense." None completely identified with or belonged to the movement, though all agreed with the basic premise that there should be equal pay for equal work.

Most of them thought that the movement was not going to accomplish much. There was some fear that those belonging to the movement were not "feminine" enough. "By being noisy and unfeminine, they are not going to accomplish much. Some of the women libbers, and I saw quite a number

of them...seemed almost bitter about being women...They don't like being themselves, they don't like being women."*

Another one who was generally pro-movement considered that it was too extremist. "I think that a woman should retain her femininity no matter what, she can have her intellectual stimulation, she can be just as educated as her male counterpart, but she should still keep that feminine aspect about her."

HOMEMAKERS

The majority of homemakers also perceived women as being discriminated against, but all argued that a change was taking place. There was a feeling that opportunities were being offered to women, but the majority felt that children and husband should take priority in women's lives.

Some said that women should "get out more" otherwise both they and their children were becoming too self-centered.

There was only one who considered women socially inferior to men. "I think that they have fooled themselves into thinking that they can equate themselves with men in our society, but it looks like a very lost cause from where I am sitting. Mainly because it's a man's world. It very, genuinely, is." Even she, however, thought that things were changing.

*Note: This conveys what some feminists would consider an extremely narrow conception of female personhood.

One said that she detected change but felt strongly that "family and children should come first, at least until the children are old enough that they are away the whole day. I think people shouldn't leave their children in day-care centres and such unless they have strong economic reasons." She then went on to talk about her deceased mother who liked to paint and said, "I think that she was very liberated for her time. And she had no education, but used to tell us that when we were grown up she would go back to her art. But she became very ill...I always feel that her life was a complete waste, and yet I shouldn't feel that way because the three of us (daughters) all ended up all right. I really think she wanted other things."

Some were very aware of enjoying what they termed as "special treatment" they got as women. "I like to be different (from men), and if they (the WL members) want to be treated like men, they should treat them like that, but I like being treated like a lady, and I like men to treat me like something special. And if you want to get on the same level as men, then you are not going to be treated like something special."*

Another spoke in much the same way. "I am as liberated as I want to be. I still want my husband to open the car door for me, and pull out my chair for me, and I still

*Again, some feminists would suggest that women need to examine the tradeoffs implied; the price to be treated "special" is high for some women.

love that tender loving care that you get. You take that away and you haven't much left."

There was one who was ambivalent and perceived what she thought to be inherent differences between males and females, but conceded that being radical is one way of getting "somewhere in life." She considered the WLM as having tuned people a little bit more to reality.

One of them considered herself as a "mild libber." She considered that there are a lot of people who should "at least speak up. They are definitely asleep. And society has kind of kept them that way a long time. They are not strong themselves individually to get out on their own. Anybody strong enough can get out on their own today, and this is where I disagree with the movement. If you really want to go out and make the effort, you can do it."

Many saw liberation as coming from within, individually. "I have no use for the movement at all. Because independence comes from within, they do not need to form a group at all," said another one.

Some thought they were too radical. "I would not like to be included among them. They are too radical and I do not think they are saying the truth all the time, they are exaggerating things."

Even those who were pro-movement voiced apprehension about it being too radical. "A lot of it I agree with. I was thinking a lot of it myself, as I am sure other women did,

but now it has finally come together. To me that's great. As for the radicals, I think that you are going to have radicals in any new group that comes around and I think you have to accept it it's just part of it. I wouldn't care to be part of a radical group...I believe in the golden mean. I think it's a tremendous thing that has happened. I think that there is a general change towards better. Just so long as we don't have a backlash...As long as we don't get too radical we will succeed."

Another one who was pro-movement was the only one who disagreed with the privatization of the women's problems, but considered bringing it all out in the open, together, as the best feature of the movement. "The WLM is also helping out in the way women are thinking today. I was bored to sit at home when my children were young. I thought that I wasn't doing anything with my life, that I wasn't accomplishing anything, just sitting at home and washing floors. And when I said these things...I was made to feel like a heel. It was just unheard of that I should be getting more satisfaction from the outside world than from home. No women ever told me that she felt the same way and I was going hairy sitting at home listening to the children arguing and fighting...with nobody to talk to...always picking up things... And when I said I was enjoying myself in the outside world... my husband said that I should go see a psychiatrist, that I was not a normal mother. I did go to a psychiatrist and

sat and talked to him, but he didn't say anything. He did not say 'you are perfectly normal, you are a young woman, you have a mind, and this mind needs fulfillment.'...I felt perfectly horrible, I felt I was letting my children down. And after all these years my husband still says that had I stayed at home (all the time) my boy would maybe not be hyperkinetic...But today attitudes are changing a little."

The rest were openly negative. "Well, I think that the WL is for the birds. They carry it too far."

CONCLUSION

It is evident that the image of the WLM, especially among the homemakers is negative. They saw it almost as a personal attack on their value system.

The majority of students were in favour of equal pay for equal work, realizing and stating that women were being "trodden on," but saying there was a change for the better.

One of the possible explanations for the attitudes is the fact that these women - one the whole - have led a "sheltered life," not having to cope with the realities of life on their own. Even those who had had the experience of inequal status and pay on the job market stopped grappling with the problems years ago.

Living in the isolation of their home and children oriented lives, comfortably off in terms of money, some tend to see the issue of liberation in individualistic terms, as

something coming "from within." None of them was fully, or even adequately, acquainted with the movement and its aims, and some were clearly misinformed. Most of their knowledge was based on the image of the movement given by the media, an image which, is not a wholly objective and balanced view.

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

On the whole the attitude of the student group over the issue of "femininity" was rather unexpected. This concept has become ambiguous because it has changed historically to a great degree. There is increasingly less need for women to act like "pure" females, because there is increasingly 'less space' inside that role for a whole, adult, human being. Confining the feminine role to that of a wife, mother and housewife means "that we see women, typically, in terms of other people, tied to one man and the children born to that man (Janeway, 1974: 29)."

It is a fact, though, that the majority of women have accepted the traditional role stereotype and are committed to it. "A role can become a simplified definition of self that does not do justice to the whole human being Gould, 1975: 74)."

Roles cannot be viewed as simple definitions of identity. They can be seen as programmes for behaviour related to social situations which inevitably involve other people as well.

> "Women who submitted to the stereotypes of the past were rewarded for their inferior position. Sometimes the reward was a direct one. Lack of power protected one from the risk of decision making and the anxiety over punishment for wrong decisions...Upper-class women were also often rewarded directly for their obedience and passivity by gifts and a life of luxury...One of the assets of being in a subordinate role is that status can be ascribed and so achievement is not necessary." (Bullough, Bonnie, 1974: 339-340)

The traditional female role lets the women set their priorities and find accomodation in life within a socially constructed and socially sanctioned framework. It has become clear over time that it is not - on the whole - a fully satisfactory role. Many women who have found self-esteem - or some measure of it - in performing the traditional role well, perceive the WLM as threatening. They perceive the movement as telling them they have made the wrong choice, that their commitment in life is to unimportant things. This perceived negation of the traditional role - and that is the only one many of them know how to fill - seems an almost personal attack on their judgment and self-esteem (Janeway, 1974).

Whereas non-conformity is never easy, - demanding a great deal of personal involvement, of investment of energy and sentiment as well as a possibility of making the wrong decision and thus risking failure, - the problems of conformity are less obvious. Women conforming to the stereotype need never explore the limits of their abilities and so risk failure. In the final analysis, they never take the full responsibility for their own personal biography (Saltzman-Chafetz, 1974).

Another possible explanation for the negative attitude towards the WLM according to Eichler (1973) is that depending on how well the woman has internalized her status of a personal dependent, it may be increasingly difficult to shed it, especially if the derived status is higher than any independent status would be. This is particularly pertinent for many middle-class middle-aged women who have neither the prerequisites nor the time to acquire the status their husbands have on their own.

ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE OF MARRIED WOMEN

The focus of the question was merely on the women's opinion on the desirability of having an independent income regardless of how it compared to that of their husbands. What is meant by this is that when the question was asked it was always made clear to the subjects that no financial competition was being considered.

ADULT STUDENTS

In the whole sample of eleven there was only one student who thought that economic independence was definietly desirable. She said, "That is very important to me, because I feel very guilty, being dependent on somebody financially, and I also feel uneasy about it."

The rest seemed to share the attitude that this was not an important issue. Since most of the bank accounts were shared, they did not feel a need or desire to have an independent income though some felt that it would be a "nice feeling."

In the words of one of the students, "I am sure there are a lot of women who think that a woman should be, but I, myself, would not feel any more independent if I were economically independent. I don't think it would really matter much to me...Today even if they are (economically) independent their salaries do not match those of the men."

Later on she went to the subject of divorce by consent, which had been discussed in school and said, "The professor was pushing it. It's great, except that if the woman is forty and hasn't been out of the house for twenty years, she is finished. She is getting a little fat, she is not as good looking as she used to be, and is not very stimulating, and if her husband does not want her anymore she has to start all over again. And that is almost asking for the impossible. On the other hand he at forty is at the height of his career. He has a little gray hair, he looks pretty good, he might have a little paunch, but there are a lot of chicks who do not care if you have a little paunch, and he has got the whole world in front of him. He can do whatever he wants, but she is really a 'has been'. When we (women) are in our forties, there is not much that other people will find attractive in us."

An interesting answer was given by another student who was ambivalent as far as her future career was concerned, but said of her daughters, "I would encourage them to be that way simply because I think that traditional roles in marriage are not holding up anymore."

Another interesting answer, in terms of traditional socialization and value-systems was given by another student who was also undecided about her possible career. She felt that a woman could become financially independent "if she fulfilled all her other obligations, and the husband does not object. I think that when you get married that's an obligation and you give up some of your economic freedom. It would, perhaps be nice if we were (financially independent), but I do not feel badly that I am not."

Some time later in the interview she started talking about a friend who, though comfortably off, got a job and was able to buy a car with her own money. The student I was talking to considered that as an achievement, commenting that "it must be a great feeling to be able to do so."

One who was career oriented saw her desire for economic independence in terms of her being an "insecure person," but added she saw no imbalance in case the husband is a good provider. She viewed the whole issue in terms of personalities.

Another one said, "My husband does not make me feel that way (economically dependent)...and he keeps an account for me in which he deposits money."

HOMEMAKERS

Among the homemakers there were only two positive answers.

One of them said, "I could not exist if my husband had to support me. I could not take this pressure of having

to ask him for every penny I spend." The subject in question has an on-again-off-again pattern of work in her family owned business of which her husband is not a part, and she seems frustrated for not being "allowed" to work full time.

The other sees monetary reward as the most important reason she would want to go to work or establish a career.

Of those who are against female financial independence one said, "In cases that I know where the women are economically independent of their husbands, I do not think the marriage is as happy as..." The husband was seen as needing his wife to be dependent on him "and that kind of stuff. But the woman who earns her own money does not need her husband that badly. She can go away."

In the words of another homemaker, "I do not like to see anybody totally economically independent because that means they do not have to do, they do not have to care, and they do not have to put up with all the rest of it." Traditionally it is obviously the woman who should "put up with all the rest of it" and the stereotype is not challenged.

The interviewed women seemed very much aware that the role of breadwinner is very important to men. "I think that men are very easily threatened," said one.

The subjects seemed to think that men need to feel perhaps - "one step above their wives. I have seen many marriages fall apart when the woman economically surpasses her husband, or asserts herself too independently whereby the husband does not feel needed anymore."

Some felt that realizing their full potential as women endangers their marriages. Consequently a woman "should evaluate in her mind what she wants out of marriage in the first place."

CONCLUSION

With the exception of those who gave positive answers to the question the rest of the interviewees seemed rather surprised by the question. The impression was that the problem was not really considered beforehand. The interviewed women did not seem to think that economic independence was part of the overall independence in life.

The old sex-role stereotype has been internalized, as for instance in the case of the divorce issue. It was clear that the subject did not perceive it possible that a woman at age forty, or later, who was at the height of her own career, or simply in an interesting and stimulating occupation, might be both attractive and interesting. The young sex symbol seems still very much with us.

Although the students showed at least some traces of the desirability of having an independent income, if not a definite need for it in terms of overall independence, generally speaking the large majority of answers were traditional in the sense of the sex-stereotype division of labour. Those who were well provided for by their husbands and "allowed" (a term used by subjects) to spend money as they saw fit, saw no reason to strive for financial independence

which they even perceived as being threatening to good marriage relations.

A point worth mentioning, though, and this was verbalized by both groups, was that they would encourage their daughters to - at least - have some training which would enable them to "stand on their own feet."

From the answers elicited from those that could be placed on the extreme traditional pole of the continuum - and these were among the homemakers - one can almost get the feeling that the fact that women are unable to look after themselves financially is one of the reasons why they stay married, and that financial independence of women could endanger marriage.

The manipulative model of the woman was prominent among those who felt that husbands should not be threatened, at least not overtly, because dissatisfied husbands created problems in the households.

Conspicuous also was the fact that the women interviewed were not all willing to take the full responsibility for their lives, despite the fact that half of them were working on changing their life-styles and were otherwise aware of the problems facing women in contemporary society.

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

The aforementioned attitudes run contrary to contemporary literature on women which considers that although work should not be regarded as a general panacea, the fact is that women still hold "second-eschelon jobs, and are paid lower

wages and offered fewer possibilities for advancement, and are assigned, almost universally, the drudge work at the bottom, at the rattiest part of the rat-race (de Beauvoir, 1972; Chafe, 1972; Janeway, 1974).

> "It is remarkable how much easier it is to think of them (spiritual values) once one has got a paycheck in the pocket, and the spiritual value of freedom becomes conceivable."
> (Janeway, 1974: 173)

As early as 1910 Gilman argued that women could achieve freedom only when they achieve economic equality with men. She believed that work was the essential process of human life. In her opinion it was the task of society to evolve mechanisms which would allow every individual to cultivate his potential. She considered that all female roles derived from their sexual functions. While "men worked to live...women mated to live." There can be no equality without economic equality, and the greatest obstacle to that is the existing distribution of sex roles.

> "No matter what other equality might be obtained, as long as one sex (is) dependent on the other for food, clothing and shelter, it (is) not free."
> (Gilman, 1910: 731-737)

In this research though, Bernard's (1971) point that woman's work has traditionally been defined as unpaid work done out of love and/or duty, seemingly still holds its validity. The domestic work carried out by housewives is seen as their major contribution to the well-being of husbands and children. Legally it can be perceived as a duty

and informally as an expression of love in which women are supposed to find their self-fulfillment (Roby, 1971; Rossi, 1972; Coser, 1971; Parsons, 1955).

It could be argued, though, that historically and cross-culturally, women's social inferiority and subservience has been partly due to their economic dependence on men. Among other things, men have modally held the purse strings and thus claimed power and authority over women in their jurisdiction (Safilios-Rothschild, 1974).

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

In view of the fact that the whole fabric of society is woven with the conventional and traditional patterns retaining the modal form, it is not possible for more than a small number of women to become innovators. Although the adult student is, at present, clearly in the minority, there is no reason to think that this phenomenon is a passing fad.

One of the goals of this study was to examine the reasons why the adult students decided to further their education, or in other words, to try to identify sociological variables that appear to influence their decision.

It can be argued that there is no significant difference in the social backgrounds of the two groups. The fact that the student group was only first or second generation Canadian and was - according to them - well motivated on the part of their parents to achieve individual success through educational means, is not statistically meaningful in such a small and non-random sample.

Despite the fact that the students were innovating in their life-styles, both groups could be considered relatively conventional. The differences between them can be described as being one of degree, the students and their husbands being less traditionally oriented, and more flexible in their ideas

and attitudes, and thus more willing to take a hand in shaping a life-style more suited to them.

Perhaps it could be said that the students were less willing to look upon women as "Adam's rib" - that is to define them not in terms of their own selves, but in terms of their relations to men: Adam's rib, Adam's helpmate, Adam's wife and mother of his children (McClelland, 1967).

The concept of "part-time" made a lot of practical sense to them because the students regarded themselves a sum of different and diverse roles, each of which was "part-time." There was no one single-track all-consuming interest or goal in their lives.

The majority of the students did not plan their life-pattern deliberately, although a number of them admitted to a long felt desire to further their education. Generally, my data suggests that their present life-style was a product of accumulated accidents rather than a deliberately chosen road guided by a formally constructed model.

Although the nature of this sample precludes generalizations it was felt that it was best suited to the type of exploratory study aimed at trying to understand a relatively new issue arising in a rapidly changing society.

The technological and scientific advances which make for new, hitherto unknown ecological conditions, require new structural forms which have to be dealt with. Since higher education today is a means to a career and the latter

is increasingly becoming both a way of life and a source of personal satisfaction for women as well as men, it is reasonable to expect that women will want to further their education to reach these goals.

Relations in human fields differ sharply from those in technological fields.

> "In science and technology it would be a recognized nonsense to say that because something has hitherto existed it cannot change...Yet, in human sciences the argument that a given pattern is the statistical mode...is used daily to support assertions about limitations of human nature...Because the nuclear family has been in recent times the basic form of social organization, it is assumed that it is the best form adapted to modern society. Because more men are ambitious and committed to work in contemporary society than are women, it is argued that this is the way men and women basically are."
> (Rapoport, 1971: 15)

The following characteristics were found to be held in common by all students, and although this does not mean ipso facto that they are the most crucial sociological variables responsible for their decision, their importance could be further investigated and validated in a possible future study employing a larger sample.*

Integrated relationship with husband: all students re-entered school with the agreement and encouragement (except in one case where it was not a matter of disagreement, but merely the absence of encouragement) of their husbands, so

*These are not given in any definite order of priorities, which may differ from case to case.

that their decisions had no detrimental effect on their marital relationships. Husband's agreement is therefore seen as a crucial variable, not only in the sense that his acquiescence makes studying viable in psychological terms, but also in financial terms. Unless a married woman is economically independent she has no means of support if she were to re-enter school without her husband's consent. This poses the question of how many more adult students would there be if more husbands were agreeable to the idea.

Satisfactory mother-child relationships: the students carried out their mothering roles to the same extent as before re-entry. Therefore the number and age of children are seen to be of considerable importance. In the absence of any formal social sanctions or assistance, and unsure of the effects of their actions, the students displayed a high degree of both guilt and anxiety about the possible effects of their re-entry on their children's socialization, even when the children were old enough to be capable of looking after themselves for the better part of the day.

In many schools children are discouraged from eating their lunch there. This meant either letting children come home and prepare the meal themselves, which was perceived as undesirable and as reflecting badly on the mother, or scheduling the day in a way which permitted the mother to come home at noon. This is inconvenient and requires having adequate transportation facilities. Those with small children had to rely on expensive baby-sitters or a complicated network of

neighbourhood assistance. The absence of adequate day care for children has further implications for the number of mothers re-entering school because the onus of their studies was theirs alone to carry.

Age and educational background: these are seen as important variables because the older the woman and the lower her educational level, the more difficult it will be for her to re-enter school.

Feelings of personal identity and self-esteem: all students expressed their enjoyment of not living vicariously through their husbands and children, finding gratification in the learning process and in feelings of adequacy pertaining to school work. Most of them admitted to some degree of difficulty in the readjustment phase following their re-entry into school. This problem, too, was solved on an individual basis with no formal counselling or guidance offered by the university.

All students felt that their educational involvement was important to their feelings of self-esteem, and that the removal of it would mean a significant personal loss. They were actively involved in justifying and promoting the kind of life they wanted to lead, and were quite ready to make considerable personal sacrifices in order to attain it.

Feelings of strain: all students operated under differing degrees of strain (and that usually depended - in part - on the degree of their involvement with school). In addition to a number of them saying that they felt overextended they all realized that strain was inherent in their innovation.

Flexibility: they all displayed a considerable degree of flexibility and good organization in harmonizing the two opposing roles thus minimizing the role conflict - a fact which was of considerable importance for their new life-styles.

Physical overload: they all solved somehow - at least partially - the problem of physical overload, which is also seen as important. Some were helped by their husbands, some by their children, and some had outside help. Generally speaking there was some degree of re-structuring of family life, as well as a deliberate lowering of standards in house maintenance since a hierarchy of priorities had to be established. This again was done on an individual basis. There, again, considerable help could be extended to them by structuring the societal response to their needs. It is questionable how much a woman can add to her existing roles before she reaches the saturation point.

Environmental sanctions: the majority of students faced and solved at least some type of kin or environmental sanctions. Their greatest problem was coping with numerous information and misinformation bits on child-rearing coming from the lay public, folk wisdom and professionals, propagated by mass-media and applied indiscriminately to particular cases. Because of feelings of anxiety and guilt, these seemed hard to bear. For some that meant disassociating themselves from over-critical or "over-concerned" friends.

Social networks participation: social networks that were maintained were predominantly kin and husband's occupa-

tional friends because none of the women had any close relationships with their co-students owing to differences in age as well as in social and family circumstances. They were thus missing the informal part of educational socialization which is a considerable loss. Generally speaking there was a lessening of involvement with social networks since re-entry into school, that being a factor of less free time available.

Feelings of marginality: although there were feelings of marginality in terms of fellow students there were - as yet - no obvious feelings of marginality or alienation in terms of family specifically, or society generally. This was considered a factor of their leading a rather "sheltered" life oscillating between home and school and being satisfied with their new life-style. Whether this will change once they are faced with a career which demands a greater commitment, is open to speculation.

Importance of role models: most of them expressed the awareness that their children of both sexes (and they did not seem to emphasize the sex of the child in terms of encouraging conventional stereotyped sex roles) would have a greater range of role-models than had been the case with them.

The innovators of today are, in a sense, precursors of tomorrow. They have few role models for their life patterns. Contrariwise they had to find new ways and means for satisfying their achievement orientation, which required both creativity and innovation.

By being aware of the discrepancy between their personal needs and worth and the rewards given them, and by maintaining their success aspirations, trying to achieve these in an unconventional way, these wives can be seen as innovators in the Mertonian sense.

For purposes of this study the homemaker group was seen as being conformist (Merton, 1968). By accepting their prescribed social roles of being first and foremost mothers and wives, they are prevented from seeking outside gratifications except in terms of non-serious commitment. Although this did not, in a number of cases already described, preclude some degree of pursuit of different personal interests and involvement in communal affairs, the impression gained was that this was perceived by them more as a matter of maintaining and deepening their connections with the "outside world" by "doing something" than as a matter of consciously facilitating personal growth or working towards a definite goal. Their behavior can be described as "typically oriented towards the basic values of society (Merton, 1968: 193)," which sanctions the idea of female nurturance and assistance extended outside their immediate families.

Although there can be no question (at least that was the impression they gave) of their sincerity in giving their best to the well-being of their families, as a group the homemakers did not exude the same degree of flexibility determination, singularity satisfaction.

Analogous to the degree of students' involvement in their studies, the homemakers varied in their involvement in their home and family. At one pole were those who, though they saw themselves as being the persons mainly responsible for the sustenance of their families, did not feel that this precluded their having some sort of a life of "their own." At the other end of the pole were those who seemed to over-identify with their roles of mother and wife. Not only did they feel that their presence and supervision was compulsory at all times, but their roles of mothers and wives confronted them as "a divinely given facticity, ultimately untouchable (Berger, 1969: 38)." This almost compulsive adherence to and overconformity with institutionalized means, concomitant with the scaling down and/or abandoning their individual goals - at least for the time being - could be categorized as ritualism.

In conclusion it should be repeated that women have historically and modally taken the roles assigned to them by society, apprehending their own identity in terms of these roles. There have, of course, been exceptions, but these were mostly a matter of "either-or" cases; that is, choosing between family or career. Seldom did women succeed in achieving both and then it was at the cost of great personal sacrifices.

The changes wrought by scientific advances, however, have resulted in an altered social ecology in which the taken-for-granted character of social institutions have begun to be questioned.

If we utilize Berger's model (Berger, 1969) of the dialectic character of world construction, inherent in which is the duplication of consciousness, then those women in the sample who were students and were actively working on what they perceived as improving their status were not wholly taking the existing social world as the inevitable universal "nature of things." Following both Merton's and Berger's analysis, these students can be considered as imperfectly socialized. They realize - consciously or unconsciously, (it is of no immediate concern to this thesis) that a part of the self becomes objectified (to use Berger's term), not just to others but to themselves, - thus becoming the "social self" which can then be adjusted to some degree to the non-social self-consciousness upon which it has been thrust.

One's own work and deeds "escape" one by becoming part of the social world. This means that one "escapes" oneself because one is in part formed by socialization. This estrangement is, according to the model, anthropologically necessary.

Since some of the homemakers gave the impression, - as well as voiced their belief that they had no choice but to stay in their roles by virtue of their having a family, - it could be said that they acted in "bad faith" in the Bergerian sense. This is interpreted as a phenomenon where the woman who in fact has the choice of roles - in those cases where she feels a need for them - posits one of those roles as given and inescapable. In other words, faced with either

enacting or not enacting a specific role-program, the woman denies the existence of choice on the basis of her identification with one role, that is the mother/mate one. Under conditions of 'successful' socialization there may, indeed, be no choice. Some women see the role of mother and wife as the only alternative open to them.

These women see themselves as nothing but mothers and wives, which means that the social type and subjective identities have merged in their consciousness.

"Choices become destiny," argues Berger (1969: 95), and these women then live in the world they themselves helped make as if they were fated to do so by forces independent of their own world-constructing enterprises.*

There are thus two ways of dealing with this dilemma: One, - where the strangenesses of the world and self are "re appropriated" (zurueckgeholt) by realizing the dialectic relationship between the self and the world and taking an active part in "world construction," realizing that the world is both built by people and is dependent on them and their acquiescence. It is not a "manifestation of something that has been existent from the beginning of time, or at least from the beginning of this group (Berger, 1969: 33)." The other way is the situation where the world and the socialized self face women as immutable and inescapable facticities correspond-

*This, according to Berger, in no way constitutes anomie, but on the contrary, can be a most effective barrier against it.

ing to the facticities of nature. This, then, according to Berger, constitutes alienation.

This does not imply that all homemakers are alienated. This merely pertains to those women who are not comfortable in their given social roles, that is, where there is asymmetry between the social and personal selves. They may do nothing about it because they believe there is no choice and no alternative to their present life-style.

A woman who is comfortable and feels fulfilled as a homemaker has already achieved the synchronization of her two selves and is thus not confronted with the dilemma of given versus chosen with which this thesis is concerned in an effort to understand the adult students' re-entry into school.

Using Berger's model the following hypotheses for further study are suggested:

There will be innovation on the part of adult women to the extent of the realized asymmetry between the objectified 'social self' and the non-social self-consciousness.

There will be innovation on the part of adult women to the extent of their needs for and awareness of their own participation and choice in the construction of their own world.

In other words the quality of the "fit" between the two selves is important in view of its functionality for the categorization of adult women. For example:

If women perceive the "fit" to be satisfactory, this enables them to fully identify with their roles of mother and

wife - not needing any additional source of gratification which could disturb their existing family structure.

For some, though they perceive a lack of "fit" - they refrain from making any decision to chose an alternative, - for whatever reason personal or circumstantial, - in order to find a higher degree of gratification.

For others, they perceive a lack of "fit" and therefore reach a decision to innovate on their roles, in which case there will be a need for structural changes first in the family and ultimately in other societal institutions. If the changes taking place in society are supportive of the future trends, then this last group will cease to be in a minority.

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ADULT STUDENTS

1. What is your age?
2. What is your husband's present occupation?
   a. How many years has he spent in his present occupation?
3. How many children do you have?
   a. How old are they?
4. How do your children feel about your re-entry into school?
5. What is your ethnic origin and religion?
6. What was your level of education prior to re-entry?
   a. How many courses are you taking?
   b. What programme are you enrolled in?
   c. What are your educational goals?
   d. Do you plan to enter a career after graduation?
7. What were the occupations of your father and mother when you were a girl?
8. What types of things did you used to do as a family?
   a. Who was the more influential person in your family - your father or your mother?
   b. Did you know any professional females when you were a young girl, and were you influenced by them?
   c. Do you know whether they were married and had children?
9. What did your family expect of you when you grew up:
   a. Go on to college and university, graduate and have a career?

b. Marry and have children and become a homemaker?

c. Both?

10. What did your friends in high school expect to do:

a. Go on to college and university, graduate and have a career?

b. Marry and have children and become homemakers?

c. Both?

11. How did you feel about school then:

a. Did you enjoy it, was it fun?

b. Was it hardship?

c. Did you have any special interest in school and did somebody encourage and support you in it?

d. Who?

12. Did you work prior to marriage?

a. How long?

b. Did you work after you were married?

c. How long?

d. What were your feelings about work?

e. Did you help your husband financially while he was getting established?

f. Did you plan to return to work or school after the family was established and the children did not need you the whole day?

13. I would now like to ask you a few questions about your marriage: How old were you when you were married?

a. Is this your first marriage?

b. How did the other marriage(s) end?

c. Does your husband think that a wife and mother should stay at home and be a full-time homemaker?

d. Is your husband in favour of female education and work?

e. Does he help you with the household chores?

14. Is your husband supportive of your re-entry into school?

15. Does he extend his financial support for your education willingly or does he consider it burdensome?

a. If not, how is school financed?

16. Has something happened to prompt your re-entry into school?

a. How did you reach that decision?

17. Have you given any thought to the time when your children will be grown up and will not need you to the same extent any more, and the type of life you will then lead?

a. Have you ever felt that this may leave a void in your life?

18. Do you help your husband in his career?

a. How?

b. Are you expected to entertain his friends and business associates?

c. What are your feelings about that?

19. Is there a present or an anticipated need for another income in your household?

20. How do your friends and relatives look at your new role of a student?

a. Did you have to curtail your social activities?

b. If yes, do you miss them?

21. Do you have feelings of marginality in terms of your family or your fellow students?
    a. Do you feel fulfilled?
22. Do you feel overextended?
23. Do you follow your husband's career closely?
    a. Do you know what he is presently working on?
    b. Do you discuss his work at home?
    c. Do you know the people he works with?
24. Do you know your children's friends?
25. I would like to ask you what motivated you to return to school?

    Which of the five given reasons would you say was the most important one, or do you have another reason? If so, would you please tell it to me?
    a. To prepare for employment.
    b. To fulfill a need and/or desire for educational achievement.
    c. To facilitate personal growth.
    d. To promote independence.
    e. Intellectual stimulation.
26. How many years have you spent out of school?
27. Do you feel adequate in facing school work at this later age?
    a. Do you feel intimidated by younger students?
    b. Do you feel accepted by them?
    c. Is school a challenge?
    d. Is it a threat?

e. Does it all seem worthwhile?

f. Do you think you can "make up" for the years spent out of school because the experience you gained in life?

28. What do you think of the present position of women in our society?

29. What do you think - in general - about the Women's Liberation Movement?

30. Do you think it desirable for a woman to be economically independent of her husband and able to stand on her "own feet"?

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR HOMEMAKERS

1. What is your age?
2. What is your husband's present occupation?
   a. How many years has he spent in his present occupation?
3. How many children do you have?
   a. How old are they?
4. What is your ethnic origin and religion?
5. What is your level of education?
6. What were the occupations of your father and mother when you were a girl?
7. What types of things did you used to do as a family?
   a. Who was the more influential person in your family - your father or your mother?
   b. Did you know any professional females when you were a young girl, and were you influenced by them?
   c. Do you know whether they were married and had children?
8. What did your family expect of you when you grew up:
   a. Go on to college and university, graduate and have a career?
   b. Marry and have children and become a homemaker?
   c. Both?
9. What did your friends in high school expect to do:
   a. Go on to college and university, graduate and have a career?

b. Marry and have children and become homemakers?

c. Both?

10. How did you feel about school then:

a. Did you enjoy it, was it fun?

b. Was it hardship?

c. Did you have any special interest in school and did somebody encourage and support you in it?

d. Who?

11. Did you work prior to marriage?

a. How long?

b. Did you work after you were married?

c. How long?

d. What were your feelings about work?

e. Did you help your husband financially while he was getting established?

f. Did you plan to return to work or engage in some outside interest after the family was established and the children did not need you the whole day?

12. I would now like to ask you a few questions about your marriage: How old were you when you were first married?

a. Is this your first marriage?

b. How did the other marriage(s) end?

c. Does your husband think that a wife and mother should stay at home and be a full-time homemaker?

d. Is your husband in favour of female education and work?

e. Does he help you with household chores?

13. What would his feelings be if you decided to further your education?
    a. Have you ever thought about going back to school and furthering your education?
14. Have you given any thought to the time when your children will be grown up and will not need you to the same extent any more, and the type of life you will then lead?
    a. Have you ever felt that this may leave a void in your life?
15. Do you help your husband in his career?
    a. How?
    b. Are you expected to entertain his friends and business associates?
    c. What are your feelings about it?
16. Is there a present or anticipated need for another income in your household?
17. What kind of activities do you engage in outside your home?
    a. Does it take a lot of your time?
18. What are your husband's feelings about that?
19. What are your children's feelings about that?
20. How do your friends and relatives look at your activities?
21. Do you have feelings of marginality?
    a. Do you feel fulfilled in your life?

22. Do you follow your husband's career closely?
    a. Do you know what he is presently working on?
    b. Do you discuss his work at home?
    c. Do you know the people he works with?
23. Do you know your children's friends?
24. What do you think of the present position of women in our society?
25. What do you think - in general - about the Women's Liberation Movement?
26. Do you think it desirable for a women to be economically independent of her husband and able to stand on her "own feet"?

APPENDIX C

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

AGE

Students

The median age was in the 35 years category, the range being 11.

Homemakers

The median age was in the 35 years category, the range being 13.

HUSBAND'S OCCUPATION

Students

Professional: 8 (73%)

Business: 2 (18%)

Other: 1 (9%)

Homemakers

Professional: 7 (64%)

Business: 2 (18%)

Other: 2 (18%)

HUSBANDS' YEARS SPENT IN PRESENT OCCUPATION

Students

The median was in the 11 years category, the range being 15.

Homemakers

The median was also in the 11 years category, the range being 21.

NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Students

The group had a total of 26 children (2.4 children per woman.)

Homemakers

The group had a total of 40 children (3.6 children per woman.)

CHILDREN'S AGE

Students

The median was 10 years

Homemakers

The median was 9.5 years

LEVEL OF WOMEN'S EDUCATION

Students

The level of education for the students was defined as the level of education prior to re-entry into school for the sake of comparison.

Grade 13 only: 1 (9%)

Incomplete college: 1 (9%)

Teacher's College: 2 (18%)

Completed nursing training (R.N.) 3 (27%)

Bachelor's Degree: 3 (27%)

Honours B.A.: 1 (9%)

Homemakers

Incomplete high school: 1 (9%)

Grade 13 only: 2 (18%)

Incomplete college: 2 (18%)

Teacher's College: 1 (9%)

Complete nursing training (R.N.): 2 (18%)

Bachelor's Degree: 2 (18%)

Honours B.A.: 1 (9%)

PARENTS OCCUPATION

Students

Father:	Mother:
no occupation: 1 (9%)	homemaker: 7 (64%)
factory worker: 4 (36%)	nurses aide: 1 (9%)
businessman: 3 (27%)	businesswoman: 1 (9%)
teacher: 1 (9%)	helped father in his business: 2 (18%)
accountant: 1 (9%)	
policeman: 1 (9%)	

Homemakers

Father:	Mother:
professional: 3 (27%)	homemaker: 9 (82%)
businessman: 2 (18%)	teacher: 2 (18%)
craftsman: 4 (36%)	
factory worker: 2 (18%)	

AGE MARRIED*

Students

Modal age 25

Homemakers

Modal age 21

None of the Chi squares calculated for the above-mentioned data were statistically significant.

*All of the sample subjects were married only once, their present husband being their first.

ETHNIC ORIGIN AND RELIGION

Students

English Canadian, Protestant: 1 (9%)

English Canadian, Anglican: 1 (9%)

French Canadian, Catholic: 1 (9%)

American, Anglican: 1 (9%)

Canadian Roumanian, Orthodox: 1 (9%)

Irish American, Catholic: 1 (9%)

East Indian mixed, Catholic: 1 (9%)

Canadian Russian, Hebrew: 1 (9%)

Canadian Ukrainian, Catholic: 1 (9%)

Canadian Hungarian, Protestant: 1 (9%)

Canadian Polish, Catholic: 1 (9%)

Homemakers

Canadian, Protestant: 3 (27%)

Canadian, Catholic: 2 (18%)

French Canadian, Catholic: 1 (9%)

English Canadian, Presbyterian: 1 (9%)

Canadian American, Hebrew: 1 (9%)

Canadian Yugoslav, Orthodox: 2 (18%)

Canadian Roumanian, Orthodox: 1 (9%)

ETHNIC ORIGIN

	Canadian	American	Other	TOTAL
Students	2	2	7	11
Homemakers	6	1	4	11
Total	8	3	11	22

df=2 Chi square is statistically significant at the .05 level This was the only statistically significant Chi square calculated for all of the demographic characteristics of the sample.

The rationale for not including Americans either with the Canadians or with the other immigrants for the purpose of this study is as follows:

1. a number came to Canada because they married Canadians, and were thus not brought up in an immigrant milieu. In addition that two are from Detroit, which makes them geographically close to home;
2. because of the similarity between the Canadian and American social structures they do not have the typical immigrant mentality, and generally speaking, are not perceived and treated by Canadians as other immigrants, particularly those immigrants who did not master the language and still retain a foreign accent, be it either the children or their parents;

3. by sharing the same language and a similar school system (meaning, among other things, that most of their degrees and diplomas are recognized in Canada), the Americans do not have the same occupational status as the other immigrants, most of whom had to repeat part of their education or training, or if this was not feasible, had to work in lower status positions.

In fact only one subject in the whole sample (she is an adult student) said that although her parents were immigrants themselves they never stressed education. Elaborating on the fact she said that nobody in her family had a higher education, as opposed to her husband's family (also immigrant) where all the children were encouraged to further their education and complete university training.

APPENDIX D

RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS*

ADULT STUDENTS

4. How do your children feel about your re-entry into school?

- In 8 cases (73%) the mothers reported an overall positive attitude on the part of the children, though in 3 cases the children complained when the mother was tired or too busy;
- in 1 case (9%) the daughter seemed proud, but the son was ambivalent owing to the fact that the mother got better grades;
- one student (9%) had a baby, so there was no attitude;
- in one case (9%) the mother entered school when the children were small so they took it as a normal life-pattern.

6. a. How many courses are you taking?

- 3 (27%) take 1 course;
- 3 (27%) take 2 courses; and
- 5 (46%) are full-time students.

b. What programme are you enrolled in?

- 6 (54%) are enrolled in an M.A. programme;
- 4 (36%) are enrolled in a B.A. programme;
- 1 (9%) is enrolled in a three year Faculty of Law programme.

*This appendix includes only information not given in the demographic profile of the sample.

c. What are your educational goals?

- 6 (54%) plan to get their M.A. Degrees, and 1 plans to get her Ph.D.;
- 4 (36%) plan to get their B.A. Degrees, 2 of them planning to go on and complete their M.A. programmes;
- 1 (9%) plans to take her Bar Examination in Toronto after graduation from Law School in Windsor.

d. Do you plan to enter a career after graduation?

- 6 (54%) answered positively;
- 3 (27%) were ambivalent; and
- 2 (18%) were not career oriented.

8. What types of things did you used to do as a family?

- 10 (91%) said they did family oriented things;
- 1 (9%) grew up as a ward of the Detroit Children's Aid Society.

a. Who was the more influential person in your family - your father or your mother?

- 6 (54%) said it was their father;
- 2 (18%) reported it was both their parents;
- 2 (18%) reported it was their mother; and
- 1 (9%) was a ward of the C.A.S.

b. Did you know any professional females when you were a young girl, and were you influenced by them?

- 5 (46%) knew no professional females;
- 6 (54%) knew some, and only 4 of those said they were influenced to some degree by them.

c. Do you know whether they were married and had children?
- only 2 replied that they thought their teachers were married and had children.

9. What did your family expect of you when you grew up?
- 8 (73%) said they were encouraged to get an education;
- 3 (27%) said their parents expected them to marry and have a family.

10. What did your friends in high school expect to do?
- 6 (54%) said their peers expected to marry and be homemakers;
- 2 (18%) said their peers wanted both marriage and a career;
- 1 (9%) said that their peers expected to find a job before they married;
- 1 (9%) said that she had only one friend who became a nurse; and
- 1 (9%) said that many of her friends went to college but most dropped out when they married.

11. How did you feel about school then:
- 10 (91%) said they enjoyed school; and
- 1 (9%) said she was not very interested but it was no hardship.

c. Did you have any special interest in school and did somebody encourage and support you in it?
- 6 (54%) said they had various interests; and
- 5 (46%) said they had no special interests.

d. Who?
- 2 of the 6 who had special interests were supported by teachers.

12. Did you work prior to your marriage?

- the mean for working prior to marriage was two years
- only 2 did not work prior to marriage whereas 9 did;
- the mean for working after marriage was also two years. (only full-time work was calculated in the mean).

d. What were your feelings about work?

- 9 (82%) reported having satisfactory experience; and
- 2 (18%) were ambivalent.

e. Did you help your husband financially while he was getting established?

- 7 (64%) replied that they did; and
- 4 (36%) replied in the negative.

f. Did you plan to return to work or school after the family was established and the children did not need you the whole day?

- 7 (64%) said that they planned to either further their education or "do something"; and
- 4 (36%) said they had no definite plans of any kind.

13. I would like to ask you a few questions about your marriage: (part of this question is given in the profile of the sample)

c. Does your husband think that a wife and mother should stay at home and be a full-time homemaker?

- All students (100%) said that their husbands did not think that.

d. Is your husband in favour of female education and work?

- 10 (91%) reported their husband being in favour of it; and

- 1 (9%) reported that her husband is in favour of education but not of full-time work when there are children.

e. Does he help you with household chores?

- 5 (46%) said their husbands helped (in one case the children did a considerable amount too);
- 5 (46%) said their husbands did not help; and
- 1 (9%) said the children helped, but not the husband.

14. Is your husband supportive of your re-entry into school?

- All students said their husbands were supportive, though in two cases there were some difficulties in the initial period.

15. Does he extend his financial support for your education willingly or does he consider it burdensome?

- All of the students responded in the positive, so that the next question was not asked.

16. Has something happened to prompt your re-entry into school?

- 10 (91%) of the students said nothing specific happened; and
- 1 (9%) said her husband had a heart attack which prompted her to re-examine their situation.

a. How did you reach that decision?

- All of the students said it was a matter of accumulation of different things and a matter of circumstances.

17. Have you given any thought to the time when your children will be grown up and will not need you to the same extent any more, and the type of life you will then lead?

- 10 (91%) said they did; and
- 1 (9%) said she did not.

a. Have you ever felt that this may leave a void in your life?

- All students expect to be busy with some sort of work for which they perceive themselves as preparing at the present.

18. Do you help your husband in his career?

- 9 (82%) reported helping their husbands; and
- 2 (18%) reported not helping their husbands.

a. How?

- All 9 of them said they discussed problems with their husbands and gave them moral support, and 6 of them also helped in secretarial capacities when needed.

b. Are you expected to entertain his friends and business associates?

- 8 (73%) said they were not expected to do it but they did it anyhow but not to any extensive degree; and
- 3 (27%) said they did not do any entertaining.

c. What are your feelings about that?

- 8 who did it felt that they did so because they enjoyed it.

19. Is there a present or anticipated need for another income in your household?

- 5 (46%) said there was no need;
- 5 (46%) were ambivalent; and
- 1 (9%) said there was a need.

20. How do your friends and relatives look at your new role of a student?

- 3 (27%) had total support;
- 2 (18%) spoke mostly about negative reactions; and
- 6 (54%) encountered mixed reactions.

a. Did you have to curtail your social activities?

- 4 (36%) replied that they did;
- 3 (27%) replied that they did not; and
- 4 (36%) replied that they had to curtail them "somewhat".

21. Do you have feelings of marginality in terms of your family or your fellow students?

- 1 (9%) said she felt marginal in terms of her one living parent;
- none felt marginal in terms of their immediate families; and
- all felt marginal in terms of their fellow students.

a. Do you feel fulfilled?

- 9 (82%) said they felt fulfilled; and
- 2 (18%) said they did not.

22. Do you feel overextended?

- 6 (54%) felt overextended, at least at certain times;
- 2 (18%) felt overextended only occasionally; and
- 3 (27%) did not feel overextended.

23. Do you follow your husband's career closely?

- 10 (91%) said they did and that they discussed it at home; and
- 1 (9%) said she only had a superficial knowledge of her husband's work.

Their answers thus precluded posing the next two questions.

c. Do you know the people he works with?

- 8 (73%) said that they knew either all or most of their husband's co-workers; and
- 3 (27%) said that they knew some of them.

24. Do you know your children's friends:

- 10 (91%) said they did, and 1 (9%) has a 13 month old baby.

25. I would like to ask you what motivated you to return to school?

- 6 (54%) said to fulfill a need and/or desire for educational achievement;
- 2 (18%) said it was to prepare for employment;
- 2 (18%) said it was for intellectual stimulation; and
- 1 (9%) said it was to promote independence.

26. How many years have you spent out of school?

- The mean was ten years.

27. Do you feel adequate in facing school work at this later age?

- All of them answered in the affirmative.

a. Do you feel intimidated by younger students?

- 9 (82%) replied in the negative; and
- 2 (18%) replied that they felt it only ocasionally.

b. Do you feel accepted by them?

- 7 (64%) felt accepted;
- 2 (18%) did not feel accepted; and
- 3 (27%) were unsure.

c. Is school a challenge:

- All 11 (100%) answered in the affirmative, so the next question was not asked.

e. Does it all seem worthwhile?

- All 11 (100%) answered in the affirmative.

28. What do you think of the present position of women in our society?

- 9 (82%) considered that there was still inequality for women in our society, but that there were changes facilitating improvement; and
- 2 (18%) considered that there was no inequality for women.

29. What do you think - in general - about the Women's Liberation Movement?

- 5 (46%) had a positive image of the WLM;
- 4 (36%) were ambivalent in their attitude towards the WLM; and
- 2 (18%) had a negative image of the movement.

30. Do you think it desirable for a woman to be economically independent of her husband and able to stand on her "own feet"?

- 3 (27%) replied in the affirmative;
- 6 (54%) were ambivalent; and
- 2 (18%) replied that they are in favour of it only "if necessary".

APPENDIX E

RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS*

HOMEMAKERS

7. Whay types of things did you used to do as a family?
   - 9 (82%) replied they did family oriented things; and
   - 2 (18%) replied that they did church oriented things.

   a. Who was the more influential person in your family - your father or your mother?
      - 5 (46%) reported it was their father;
      - 4 (36%) reported it was their mother;
      - 1 (9%) became an orphan when very young; and
      - 1 (9%) said that it was her mother when she was young but later her father's influence became more pronounced.

   b. Did you know any professional females when you were a young girl, and were you influenced by them?
      - 5 (46%) said they knew no professional women;
      - 4 (36%) said they knew teachers who influenced them;
      - 1 (9%) said her mother was a teacher; and
      - 1 (9%) said she was influenced by her grandmother who was a midwife.

   c. Do you know whether they were married and had children?
      - 2 said their teachers were married; as were the mother and grandmother.

*This appendix includes only information not given in the demographic profile of the sample.

8. What did your family expect of you when you grew up?
   - 4 (36%) said their parents expected them to both work and have a family;
   - 1 (9%) said her parents stressed education and left marriage up to her;
   - 3 (27%) said their parents expected them to work before marriage and then make their own decisions;
   - 1 (9%) said her parents were against work after marriage;
   - 1 (9%) said her parents never expected her to do anything she was not interested in; and
   - 1 (9%) said her father thought that education was wasted on females.

9. What did your friends in high school expect to do?
   - 5 (46%) reported their peers wanted to marry and become homemakers;
   - 5 (46%) reported that their friends were a mixed group; and
   - 1 (9%) said she chose only friends who did not want anything "domestic".

10. How did you feel about school then?
   - 6 (54%) said they liked school;
   - 5 (46%) said they did not like it, though it was no hardship.

c. Did you have any special interest in school and did somebody encourage and support you in it?
   - 5 (46%) said they had no special interest; and
   - 6 (54%) said they were interested in a variety of subjects from art to sciences.

d. Who?

- the 6 who reported having various interests were supported by their teachers and in one case her family.

11. Did you work prior to marriage?

- the mean for working prior to marriage was in the one and a half years category, and the mean for working after marriage was two and a half years. Only one did not work prior to marriage, and two did not work after marriage.

(One worked part-time and this was not calculated in the mean.)

d. What were your feelings about work?

- 9 (82%) reported having satisfactory working experiences; and
- 2 (18%) reported having negative experience.

e. Did you help your husband financially while he was getting established?

- 7 (64%) said they did not help their husbands financially; and
- 4 (36%) said they helped their husbands.

f. Did you plan to return to work or engage in some outside interest after the family was established and the children did not need you the whole day?

- 6 (54%) said they planned to become engaged in something;
- 2 (18%) said they had no plans;

- 1 (9%) said she would like to further her education;
- 1 (9%) said her husband disapproved; and
- 1 (9%) said she was not yet at that point.

12. I would now like to ask you a few questions about your marriage: (Part of this question is given in the profile of the sample.)

c. Does your husband think that a wife and mother should stay at home and be a full-time homemaker?

- 5 (46%) said their husbands thought that mothers should stay at home;
- 3 (27%) said their husbands did not think that;
- 2 (18%) said their husbands thought they should stay at home while the children are small; and
- 1 (9%) said her husband thought that a mother need not stay at home the whole time, provided the children are well cared for.

d. Is your husband in favour of female education and work?

- 8 (73%) reported them as being in favour of it; and
- 3 (27%) reported their husbands as being ambivalent.

e. Does he help you with the household chores:

- 6 (54%) did not help; and
- 5 (46%) helped and in one case the children helped too.

13. What would his feelings be if you decided to further your education?

- 3 (27%) said they would have their husband's support;
- 2 (18%) said they did not know;

- 1 (9%) said he would be very negative;
- 1 (9%) said she took a correspondence course with her husband's support;
- 2 (18%) said their husbands would not mind it;
- 1 (9%) said her husband would let her do it but he considered it unnecessary; and
- 1 (9%) said she could do whatever she liked as long as it did not interfere with the children.

a. Have you ever thought about going back to school and furthering your education?

- 8 (73%) said they did;
- 2 (18%) said they did not; and
- 1 (9%) said she did and rejected the idea.

14. Have you given any thought to the time when your children will be grown up and will not need you to the same extent any more, and the type of life you will then lead?

- 10 (91%) said that they plan to keep busy at that time; and
- 1 (9%) said that she does not plan to change her life style which is very busy at present.

a. Have you ever felt this may leave a void in your life?

- 7 (64%) felt this would leave a void in their life;
- 2 (18%) felt there will be no void; and
- 2 (18%) felt ambiguous about the void.

15. Do you help your husband in his career?

- 5 (46%) said they helped their husbands in his career;

- 3 (27%) said they did not; and
- 3 (27%) were ambivalent about it.

a. How?

- all 5 of them discussed his problems at home, and 3 did secretarial work when needed.

b. Are you expected to entertain his friends and business associates?

- 4 (36%) said they were expected to entertain;
- 5 (46%) said they were not expected to entertain; and
- 2 (18%) said they were not expected to but they did it because they enjoyed it.

c. What are your feelings about it?

- of the 4 who were expected to entertain, 2 did not mind and 2 had mixed feelings.

16. Is there a present or anticipated need for another income in your household?

- 7 (64%) said there was no need; and
- 4 (36%) said there was no immediate need.

17. What kind of activities do you engage in outside your home?

- 6 (54%) said they were engaged in various types of voluntary work; and
- 5 (46%) said they engaged in sports, played cards, or belonged to clubs, 1 of them worked sporadically in a family business.

a. Does it take a lot of your time?

- 5 (46%) said that it does; and

- 6 (54%) said that it varies depending on how much they undertake at specific times.

18. What are your husband's feelings about that?
- 6 (54%) husbands were positive about their wives' activities; and
- 5 (46%) were ambivalent.

19. What are your children's feelings about that?
- 9 (82%) perceived their children as having a positive attitude; and
- 2 (18%) perceived their children as not having a definite attitude, that being mostly a factor of their age.

20. How do your friends and relatives look at your activities?
- 6 (54%) said they received total support;
- 2 (18%) said they were respected for what they did but the feelings were they had undertaken too much;
- 2 (18%) said they did not know; and
- 1 (9%) said that kin and peers were sometimes critical but supportive in general.

21. Do you have feelings of marginality?
- 6 (54%) felt no feelings of marginality, though 1 said there were too many demands on her personality;
- 3 (27%) said they sometimes felt somewhat of a stranger both in the family and the world in general; and
- 2 (18%) said they sometimes felt marginal.

a. Do you feel fulfilled in your life?
- 5 (46%) said yes;

- 3 (27%) said they felt somewhat fulfilled;
- 1 (9%) said she was "getting there";
- 1 (9%) said no; and
- 1 (9%) said she could not say yes to that because life was always changing.

22. Do you follow your husband's career closely?
- 9 (91%) said they both knew what their husbands were working on and that they discussed their problems at home; and
- 2 (18%) said that they were not well acquainted with their husbands' activities because they did not discuss their work at home.

(These replies answered the two following questions which were therefore omitted.)

c. Do you know the people he works with?
- 10 (91%) said they knew all or most of their husbands' co-workers; and
- 1 (9%) said she knew some of them.

23. Do you know your children's friends?
- 8 (73%) said yes;
- 2 (18%) said they knew a lot of them; and
- 1 (9%) said she did not know many.

24. What do you think of the present position of women in our society?
- 7 (64%) thought that there was change for the better although there was still discrimination toward women;
- 3 (27%) were ambivalent; and

- 1 (9%) thought that the business world is still a man's world because he was better at it.

25. What do you think - in general - about the Women's Liberation Movement?
    - 6 (54%) were negative towards the WLM;
    - 4 (36%) were generally pro-movement; and
    - 1 (9%) was ambivalent.

26. Do you think it desirable for a woman to be economically independent of her husband and able to stand on her "own feet"?
    - 6 (54%) had an ambivalent attitude;
    - 3 (27%) had a negative attitude, considering that it might have a negative effect on marriage; and
    - 2 (18%) thought that a woman should be economically independent.

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