ROLE BARGAINING: A MEANS OF ADAPTATION TO STRAIN WITHIN DUAL WORK FAMILIES

by

Elizabeth W. Humphreys

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Department of Anthropology and Sociology

The University of British Columbia
Vancouver 8, Canada

Date July 29, 1974

ABSTRACT

It is generally recognized that considerable strain exists in women's dual role of housewife and wage earner. The concern of this thesis is to provide a description and analysis of this strain and determine the extent to which husbands and wives redistribute their family roles in response to such strain. A major focus is the relative contributions of dual work spouses to the performance of household tasks, under varying degrees of strain.

Two sources of data were utilized: time-budget data for 389 couples and interview data for 10 couples. The analysis of the time-budget data indicates that the husbands' participation in household tasks is to a large extent independent of the demands placed upon their wives. The qualitative analysis suggests that wives with paying jobs adapt to the demands of the job and the family by altering the priorities of their role of wife, mother, and employee, rather than bargaining with their husband over obligations and responsibilities.

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INTRODUCTION

During the past decade there has been a rapid increase in both the number and percentage of women simultaneously assuming the roles of wife and wage earner. This phenomenon has raised a number of theoretical and practical questions concerning the relation between this structural change and other areas of behavior.

The fact that among women in the labour force in Canada, the proportion married has increased from thirteen per cent in 1961 to nineteen per cent in 1971 (Department of Labour: 1971) has led to some speculation as to the consequences. For example, some researchers have suggested that the increasing employment of women, after marriage, is a development of such significance that it requires the rethinking of our educational and family systems (Komarovsky,1973; Ostry,1968). Others dismiss the employment of women as of little consequence, primarily because the type of occupation taken is not seen as being in competition with the men as principal income earner and head of the family (Zeldich, 1968).

These and other attempts to identify the consequences of the employment of women at paying jobs remain speculative, however, in the absence of systematic studies of the actual consequences. The impact of the employment of married women on the family can best be determined by an empirical analysis of

specific problems. This thesis has selected the division of household tasks, as a means of discovering some of the consequences of the dual role of housewife and wage earner.

At a general level this thesis seeks to contribute to the development of stratification theory by clarifying some aspects of the relationship between the occupational structure and the family structure in an urban-industrial society. Although it is generally recognized that considerable strain exists in women's roles in the urban setting, the description and analysis of this phenomenon remains to be developed (Komarovsky, 1959:508). The specific concern of this study, therefore, rests with the division of household tasks as a means of resolving conflict or strain created by the occupational and family systems. Empirically, the focus of this research is the relative contributions of dual work spouses[1] to the performance and allocation of household tasks, under varying conditions of role strain.

The overall purpose of this research, then, is to analyze role change, within the family setting, which has resulted from the increasing occupational activity of women. This problem

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[1] A dual work household is defined as those households in which husband and wife are engaged in both domestic and occupational activities (Turner,1971). This term is not meant to imply, however, that the wife who is a "housewife" does not work.

will be dealt with in terms of the extent to which dual work spouses increasingly redefine and redistribute their family roles. As a general premise this thesis accepts that:

> "Our culture is full of contradictions and inconsistencies with regard to women's roles, that new social goals have emerged without the parallel development of social machinery for their attainment, that norms exist which are no longer functionally appropriate to the social situations to which they apply, that the same social situations are subject to the jurisdiction of conflicting social codes, that behavior patterns useful at some stage become dysfunctional at another...." (Komarovsky,1959:291).

CHAPTER I THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In many non-industrial societies there appears to be little differentiation of occupational and domestic organizations. The workplace and the homestead are often in the same location and have the same inhabitants. This lack of differentiation between homestead and workplace has important consequences for social stratification. "It means that what is being stratified is not a series of autonomous occupational categories and organizations, but rather a series of domestic and other kinship units whose economic functions are but one among a number of characteristics on the basis of which (an individual's) relative social standing is determined" (Fallers, 1966:143).

Industrialization, however, brought about the transfer of specialized occupations from the context of kin groups to factories based on bureaucratic principles. It heralded the separation of role occupant and occupational role in that "the preponderant criteria for determining occupations would be 'performance qualities'; and that economic rewards and social mobility would constitute the principle standards of worth or status of any given role" (Gould, 1971:14). For members of such a society, then, this constitutes the "setting" into which they are born and to which they must adapt.

The economic functions of the family were affected by industrialization as a consequence of three forces

(Klein,1963:24-34). First, the centre of production was shifted from the household to the factory. Second, individual workers were employed rather than entire families. Finally, industry began to supply an increasing number of services as well as goods, formerly provided by the family.

Engels, in discussing the consequences of this transition for the role of women, stated that it was concomitant to industrialization that:

> "Household management lost its public character. It no longer concerned society. It became a private service; the wife became head servant, excluded from participation in social production.... The modern individual family is founded on the open or concealed domestic slavery of the wife....in the great majority of cases today...the husband is obliged to earn a living and support his family, and that in itself gives him a position of supremacy, without any need for special legal titles and privileges" (Engels,1973:73).

In Problems of Life, Trotsky also discussed the consequence of the separation of work from the family, for the status of women.

> "Unless there is actual equality of husband and wife in the family ...we cannot speak seriously of their equality in social work or even in politics. As long as woman is chained to her housework ...all her chances of participation in social and political life are cut down to the extreme" (Trotsky,1924:48).

Both Engels and Trotsky recognized that, with the separation of work and the family, women's place was seen to be in the home. Since economic rewards constituted the principle standard of worth of many positions, women were categorically located in a status inferior to men.

A basic assumption of many theorists concerned with social

stratification, however, is that the family is a unit of evaluation within the stratification system. For example, Parsons has noted that:

> "The family is essentially a unit of diffuse solidary. Its members must, therefore, to a fundamental degree share a common status in the larger system; which means that they must, in spite of their differentiation by sex and age, be evaluated in certain respects as equals" (1966:116-117).

Watson and Barth have, in fact, documented the agreement among theorists of "the fundamental necessity for the family to be a unit of equivalent evaluation in order to fulfill its functions of status evaluation, socialization, and self-maintenance" (Watson and Barth,1964:11). Further, they note that although this postulate appears to be useful in stratification theory, its empirical validity is questionable.

During the past decade there has been a substantial increase in both the number and percentage of women in the labour force[1] in Canada. One consequence of this phenomenon appears to be the extensive role differentiation of spouses within both the occupational and family structures (Watson and Barth, 1964:13). For the purposes of stratification analysis the nuclear family can, therefore, no longer be assumed to be a

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[1] During the decade 1961 to 1971, the female labour force in Canada increased by 62.8%, representing an addition of 1,092,000 women into the paid labour force (Department of Labour,1971).

solidary unit of equivalent rank in the system of social stratification. It is neither adequate nor useful to assume that women have no relevant role in stratification processes independent of their family role.

It will be argued here that one of the consequences of role differentiation of spouses within dual work families is that the wife often experiences considerable role strain. Role strain in this context is defined as a condition in which sets of expectations for the role partners, that is spouses, conflict with one another. The spouses are involved in essentially three role systems-- the work system of each spouse and the family system which they share-- with each system making different demands according to the position of the role in the system (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1969:5). Consideration will now be given to sources of role strain within these three systems.

In this context, role strain is introduced into the dual work family for two related reasons. One reason is the fact that the wife operates in two different activity systems, those of occupations and of families, whose claims on time allocation are incompatible without a restructuring of the demands of one or other system.

A second, and related, reason for strain is the fact that the values underlying the demands of these two systems are contradictory: women who work away from home are expected to be committed to their jobs "just like men," while they are required

to give priority to their family (Coser and Rokoff, 1971:535). Incompatible expectations are therefore often assigned to women's status in the dual work family. Men, on the other hand, are not seen to experience role strain. Although they operate in both activity systems, they give priority to their work.

Both sources of strain, however, point to a fundamental conflict between family and occupational roles. As Fuch notes, "this is the situation where the real claims of different roles are in contradiction to each other and there appear to be 'disturbances of the expectation system' (Parsons, 1951) not only of the role carrier but also of the role partners" (1971:497-498).

As an illustration for the preceding discussion, role strain may occur when there is an incompatibility between the amount of time husbands and wives must spend in the occupational and household spheres. The wife may be employed in an occupation demanding more time than her husband's and yet the cultural mandate dictates that she also assume the time consuming position of the housewife while her husband assumes the less time consuming position of "breadwinner". This condition results in sets of expectations which conflict with one another. Women are unable to give priority to both their family and their work away from home. These women must therefore redefine their priorities and schedule their time accordingly.

For the moment consider the reduction of role strain as allocative or economic in form. Role relations between spouses can therefore be seen as, in Goode's terms, "a sequence of 'role bargains', and as a continuing process of selection among alternative role behaviors, in which each (spouse) seeks to reduce his (or her) role strain" (1960:483). The relationship between the husband and wife can be viewed, then, as a bargaining process, a consequence of each spouse having limited resources to allocate among alternative ends. The performances which the individual can exact from the spouse are what he or she gets in exchange.

> "Bargaining may seem like a cruel word to apply to the deliberations of members of the intimate family relationship. But bargaining is simply a general term for any interaction in which concessions that one member makes to another are expected to be reciprocated in some manner, so that over the long run the sacrifices of each will balance out" (Turner, 1970:106).

In the context of role bargaining the wife's paid employment can be considered as a resource which gives her leverage in increasing her own status in the family and in decreasing the traditional inequality and specialization of sex roles within the family structure. Each dual work couple strikes a series of role bargains to reduce or otherwise deal with the strains and dilemmas they experience (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1969:7). Taken together, these role bargains may form new relationships which are more collaborative or cooperative in nature.

Before proceeding with this discussion, it is important to consider the relationship between role concepts and the study of behavior. Empirically, this thesis is limited to the study of activities which occur within the family setting. More specifically, the focus is upon individuals' regular participation in that setting as a regular sequence of daily activities. Some of these activities bring the individual into face-to-face interaction with others for the performance of a single joint activity--what might be called, in Goffman's (1961) terms, a "situated activity system". When the activities within this situated system are repeated with any frequency, fairly well-developed situated roles emerge. "Action comes to be divided into manageable bundles, each a set of acts that can be compatibly performed by a single participant (or spouse)" (Goffman,1961:96).

In addition to this role formation "there is a tendency for role differentiation to occur, so that the package of activity that the members of one class of participants perform (for example, wives) is different from, though dependent on, the set performed by members of another category. A situated role, then, is a bundle of activities visibly performed before a set of others and visibly meshed into the activity these others perform" (Goffman,1961:96).

When considering the division of household tasks as a mechanism by which role strain is reduced in dual work families,

there are essentially three techniques through which this is accomplished: specialization, delegation, and extension of tasks (Goode,1960: 486). There are two dimensions of specialization which are of concern to this study. One dimension concerns the necessity of performing the task, according to its contribution to the subsistence of the family. Tasks may be defined, therefore, as necessary or discretionary. Secondly, tasks may be specialized according to a sex-role dimension.

A second technique for reducing role strain is accomplished through the delegation of a greater number of tasks to other members of the family. This delegation of tasks serves to reduce the strain experienced by women operating in two activity systems, occupational and family, whose claims on time allocation are often incompatible.

Finally, role strain may be reduced by extending the amount of time allocated to either the occupational or family system to such a degree that the demands of the two activity systems are no longer contradictory. That is, the wife may reject the values associated with one or other system either by being committed to her work "just like men" or to her family "just like women".

It is essential to note, however, that these techniques for reducing role strain are both determined and limited by the larger structural context within which such decisions are made. It is this context which determines whether "the husband and

wife may or must bargain freely, to either's disadvantage, or to what extent either can or must remain in an advantageous or costly bargaining position" (Goode,1960:490). The social structure therefore constrains the degree to which the spouses may manipulate their respective role systems.

To be more specific:

> "There are fundamental differences between the dynamics of power in a collective situation and the power of one individual over another. The weakness of the isolated subordinate limits the significance of his (or her) disapproval of the superior. Yet if a number of subordinates protest the unfair exercise of power, this has far-reaching implications for development in the social structure" (Blau,1964:23-24).

To the extent that large numbers of women might come to define their current situation as an unjust one, fundamental and far-reaching changes in marriage would come about.

In summary, women's increasing participation in the labour force signifies a basic change in the female sex-role ideology[1]. That is, the addition of the wage earner role to the role of the housewife requires a major change in her family role. It is

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[1] It is important to note that it is well recognized that "no role exists without a paired reciprocal role which is part of a different position" (Bates,1956:317). Therefore, a change in the female sex-role definition will inevitably be paralleled by a related change in the male sex-role definition.

assumed that the occupational role is rigid and therefore will modify her family role more than the reverse. This thesis will examine the proposition that the incompatibility of being both worker and housewife is crucial for the relationship between the employment status of spouses and the division of household tasks, in dual work families.

The specific question to be addressed in this thesis is: What are the consequences for the allocation of household tasks if spouses occupy occupational positions which require varying amounts of time commitment? In this context, the division of household tasks will be considered as a mechanism of adaptation to the role strain experienced by the wife in a dual work family. Household tasks, then, are what bargaining between spouses is about.

When a wife takes a paying job she necessarily spends more time working than the full-time housewife. As suggested earlier, the wives who operate in these two activity systems, occupational and household, would find the claims of each on time allocation to be incompatible. The degree of incompatibility would of course depend on such contextual variables as the age and number of children, and the day of the week. For example, the wife with no children would have relatively little housework and consequently is not likely to experience much strain with the additional demands of a paying jobs. In contrast, the wife with a young child in addition to a

job, would experience considerable strain as a result of the incompatible claims on her time.

The general question to be addressed is how does the wife with a paying job manage to meet the competing demands of both the job and the family, and to what extent does the husband facilitate this process? One means of reducing the wife's demands is to redistribute responsibility for household tasks. It seems reasonable, then, that the wife with a paying job would decrease her contribution to housework and the husband would increase his contribution.

Chapter IV considers both the extent to which husbands increase their participation in housework and the degree to which wives are able to adjust their participaton, in response to increasing demands placed on the wives. Chapters V and VI are concerned with the spouses' perceptions of the strain which arises when they both have paying jobs, and how the wife or couple manage this strain. In particular, how is the division of labour realized between spouses in order to minimize strain?

CHAPTER II REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

During the past twenty years several research studies have investigated the effect of women's employment on the division of household tasks between spouses. The concern of this chapter is to place the theoretical framework delineated in Chapter I into both the theoretical and empirical context from which it arose. Therefore, no attempt will be made to provide an extensive review of the literature. Rather, the focus is to consider research studies which were directly related to the formulation of the theoretical and empirical concerns discussed in the previous chapter.

From a theoretical perspective the research studies to date have basically assumed one of three theoretical approaches: exchange, availability, and family developmental theory. Heer (1958) was perhaps the primary exponent of exchange theory. According to this position, the balance of power between spouses is related to the comparative value of the resources obtained in an exchange outside the marital relationship. In other words, the more resources a person is contributing to the marriage, the more that person stands to gain from an alternative relationship. Therefore, the more power that person will be able to exercise within the marital relationship. Since women with paying jobs contribute more resources to the marriage than women without such jobs, the division of household tasks in

these families would be more equalitarian.

Availability theory is a theoretical approach which is perhaps best represented by Blood and Hamblin (1958). This position suggests that families differ in their division of labour according to the relative availability of either spouse to accomplish any given household task. Blood and Wolfe (1960) clearly state this this theoretical position, for example, when they argue that "the more available a spouse is to perform family tasks, the more tasks the spouse is likely to perform" (57-58). The division of labour is therefore determined by the comparitive resourcefulness of the two spouses in accomplishing the necessary household tasks.

Finally, there exists an approach known as the family developmental theory. Essentially this theory is identical to availability theory except that it puts this theory in a time perspective over the couples life cycle. That is, as Silverman and Hill have previously noted:

> "Family developmental theory suggests that the changes which occur in family size, in age-composition of members, and in husband-father involvement in the occupational structure over the life span of the family will be reflected in the role content of the wife-mother and husband-father positions" (1967:357).

It is the position of this thesis that these three theoretical approaches are inadequate in their ability to explain and predict the division of household tasks. The major reason for this inadequacy is that they begin with the

individual spouses and their individual resources, and expectations. On the basis of this premise they then suggest that the final behavior patterns adopted will result from the interaction between the interests of the spouses. These theoretical positions have assumed then that the control of competence and resources occurs in individual couples by chance rather than being structurally predetermined in favour of the male.

The approach this thesis assumes, then, is that "the distribution of tasks is not an interpersonal affair but a class affair.... Women are structurally deprived of equal opportunities to develop their capacities, resources, and competition with males" (Gillespie, 1972:127-128).

To date there have been several empirical research studies directly related to the topic of this thesis. The first such study was that conducted by Kligler. Kligler attempted to "explore the effects of gainful employment of married women ... on family behavior and conceptions of husband and wife roles" (1954:9). Consequently Kligler developed two hypotheses:

1. "As role-performance amoung members within an institution becomes more similar, their roles tend to be redefined accordingly" (1954:15).
2. "Changes in ... role performance, and changes in ... role definition in response to changing conditions tend to occur at different rates. This discrepancy ... tends to

cause role conflict" (1954:15).

In order to test these two hypotheses Kligler interviewed the husband and wife in 100 non-randomly selected New York City families with one or more children thirteen years of age or less. On the basis of this sample Kligler concluded that "working wife" families are more equalitarian than "non-working wife" families and that they are less different in the area of authority or decision making than in other areas of household activity.

One of the main weaknesses of this study stems from the gross categories into which role performances are classified. That is, the respondent is asked whether a given task is performed by one of the following: the wife only; the wife mainly/husband helps; the husband and wife equally; the husband mainly/wife helps; the husband only. It would seem that there would need to be much more refinement in the measurement of task performance before beginning to conclude that there is more equality in the division of labour in dual work families than in other families.

Elizabeth Bott, as the result of an intensive interview with 20 urban families in London, advanced the hypothesis that:

> "The degree of segregation in the role-relationship of the husband and wife varies directly with the connectedness of the family's social network" (1957:60).

The degree of segregation of conjugal roles is defined as "the

relative balance between complementary and independent activities on the one hand, and joint activities on the other" (1957:55). The connectedness of networks is defined as "the extent to which the people known by a family know and meet one another independently of the family" (1957: 59).

The hypothesis stated above was advanced by Bott on the basis of two research findings. The first finding was that if spouses are in close interaction with a network of friends and relatives, that network provides an effective reference group which exerts pressure on it's members to follow traditional role definitions. Secondly, frequent intimate interaction with kin and friends outside the conjugal group provides some of the services and emotional needs of spouses so that they are less dependent on each other and interact less intensively with each other. To summarize, Bott's (1957) research findings suggest that "the more connected the network, the more segregation between the roles of the husband and wife and conversely, the more dispersed the network, the less segregation between the roles of husband and wife" (pp.67).

Turner has suggested that there are considerable difficulties in rigorously defining and operationalizing Bott's concepts (1967:121-122). Consequently, although studies have provided some support for Bott's hypothesis it is evident that a different and perhaps somewhat more complex approach is needed.

Blood and Hamblin attempted to test some hypotheses

regarding "the effects of the wife's employment on the power relationships between the husband and wife as shown in marital attitudes and behavior" (1958:347). The hypothesis which they tested which is of primary concern here is that "the husband dominated family becomes more equalitarian as a result of the wife's employment outside the home" (1958:348).

In an attempt to test this hypothesis a quota sample of 160 Michigan families was selected. On the basis of their study, Blood and Hamblin found that "husbands of working wives , on the average, do a greater proportion of housework than husbands of housewives" (1958:351). Finally, they concluded that the working wife family "appears typically ... to arrange the division of labour in the home on the ... availability of the two partners to perform the tasks" (1958:352).

There are two problems of research method in this study. The data consist of spouse's estimates of how many hours a week they spend in each of twelve household tasks. Blood and Hamblin give no indication, however, as to the reliability of the women respondent's 'estimates' of the husband's task performance or the validity of their own selection of twelve tasks as representative of the overall division of labour in the household.

A second, and perhaps more crucial point, stems from the fact that Blood and Hamblin establish that the husbands of wives with jobs, as compared to the husbands of wives without jobs, do

a greater proportion of the housework but they do not provide evidence that these husbands also do a greater amount of housework.

Hoffman, in 1960, conducted a study which in it's entirety was of a much broader scope than that of Blood and Hamblin's (1958). In relation to the division of household tasks, however, it's focus was very similar. Treating the wife's employment as the independent variable , this study attempted to analyze it's effects on the spouses' relative participation in household tasks. The hypothesis was advanced that the employment of the wife outside the home would function to decrease her participation in household tasks and to increase that of her husband's (1960:27). To test this hypothesis, Hoffman utilized a non-random sample of 324 families in Detroit, Michigan. The data were collected by asking elementary school children and their mothers "who does" certain household tasks.

On the basis of these data, Hoffman found that employed women participated less and their husbands participated more in all areas of family activity. As with Blood and Hamblin (1958), however, Hoffman did not establish this finding in terms of the total amount of time spent in housework by either spouse. Clearly the husbands of working wives may proportionately perform more of the household tasks simply as a function of the working wife reducing the amount of time she spends performing household tasks, thereby reducing the total amount of housework

performed.

In 1960 Blood and Wolfe designed a study to ascertain the determinants of the division of labour between spouses, within the family setting. For this purpose a multi-stage probability sample of 731 Detroit families was utilized.

An index of the spouses' overall division of labour consisted of the following eight tasks: household repairs, lawn mowing, snow shovelling, household accounts, grocery shopping, preparing husband's breakfast, straightening up the living room for company, and evening dishes.

On the basis of interviewing the wife in each of the sample families, Blood and Wolfe found that the husbands in dual work families do "help" perform more household tasks. The authors conclude that "the extra pressure on husbands of working wives causes them to help their wives out more with feminine tasks at the same time that they do more of their own tasks" (1960:63).

Unfortunately, it is very difficult to accept the validity of these results as the index through which they arrived at these findings has two major faults: (1) within the index all tasks are given equal weight even though it is obvious that not all of the tasks have the same degree of importance for family life; (2) some of the tasks in the index require daily enactment while others require monthly, or yearly enactment. The eight tasks in the index do not have the same importance and frequency

Although Blood and Wolfe claim that these tasks are "representative" of all household tasks, it is evident that they are not. Generally the tasks listed in the index have a very discretionary nature and overall constitute a small proportion of the total amount of time spent in performing household tasks (Meis and Scheu,1973). These eight tasks are not , as Blood and Wolfe lead us to believe, equivalent units of evaluation nor representative of household tasks in general.

In 1971 Michel designed a research study to determine the relationship between the wife's employment and the role performance and goal attainment of the couple. For this purpose a stratified random sample of 450 Parisian women was selected.

One of the specific concerns of this study was to determine the effect of women working at a paying job on the division of household tasks. To this end a household task performance score was calculated on the basis of time spent in each of nine tasks: small repairs, cleaning and straightening the household, buying clothes, washing dishes, washing floors, income tax returns, grocery shopping, and writing family letters. The wives were asked, with regard to each of these tasks, whether they perform them more often, as often, or less often than their husband.

On the basis of this task performance score Michel found two significant results:

1. "More husbands help their wives to perform the

housework in working wives' families than in housewives', and in the former families there are more husbands performing domestic tasks traditionally attributed to women and more women doing tasks traditionally attributed to men" (1971:62).

2. "More working wives' families than housewives' families are characterized by an absence of sex-role specialization in performing household tasks: fewer women in the working wives' families perform specific household tasks and there are fewer specific tasks assigned to the husbands" (1971:63).

Michel, therefore, concluded that the wife's employment is correlated with more equalitarian behavior patterns between spouses'.

There are major weaknesses in Michel's study. The first is the researcher's assumption that the nine household tasks selected to measure role performance are in some sense "representative" of all household tasks. On the basis of the information provided by Meis and Scheu,1973), these tasks would appear <u>not</u> to represent, either in time or in nature, the overall spectrum of household tasks. The second weakness arises from the measure of task performance, that is, does the wife perform the task more often, as often, or less often than her husband? This measure allows for only gross generalizations on the part of the respondent (wife) with no opportunity to qualify her response.

From a methodological perspective, then, before accepting Michel's hypothesis that "the structure of couples with wives employed is more equalitarian than the structure of couples where the wife is not employed" (1971:55), much further research is required.

These six empirical studies exhibit, then, essentially three important methodological problems. First of all, as was previously mentioned, no attempt has been made to determine the "representativeness" of the tasks chosen to measure overall task performance. In terms of the data provided by Meis and Scheu(1973), the tasks selected in these studies would not appear to represent household tasks in general.

Secondly, the ordinal measurement of task performance only allows one to make inferences with regard to the relative proportion of tasks performed by either spouse. Clearly this information is required but it is also necessary to determine task performance in terms of the actual amount of time spent in these tasks. Otherwise, the researcher is unable to explain a shift in the relative proportion of tasks performed by the husband, for example. This shift might result from an increase in the husband's task performance, a decrease in the wife's performance, or a combination of both.

Finally, it is an interesting fact that fathers are rarely interviewed when couples are studied. For example, in several

research reports surveyed by LeMasters (1972), 2295 mothers were questioned about their parental role -- but not one father was interviewed! As LeMasters notes:

> "One can only conclude that students of parent roles either do not consider fathers worth studying or else they assume that mothers can report accurately what fathers think and do. Either assumption is open to debate" (1972:117).

As a consequence of these three weaknesses, it is necessary to question the validity of the research finding of these studies. Chapter III represents an attempt to design a research study that overcomes these difficulties.

CHAPTER III METHODOLOGY

It is assumed here that historical forces have generated basic inconsistencies between the norms which apply to women's role within the family and the norms of achievement within the larger society. These inconsistencies and their consequences, persistence and meaning can be pursued in two analyses: a quantitative analysis of time-budget data and a qualitative analysis of interview data. The methods of these two types of analysis are discussed in Sections I. and II. of this chapter.

I. Quantitative Analysis:

The general problem to be considered in this analysis is to what extent do husbands increase the amount of time spent in housework and to what degree are wives able to adjust their contribution, in response to increasing demands placed on wives? For the purposes of analysis the wife's employment will be defined as the independent variable. Two dimensions of this variable will be considered: hours of paid employment (full-time or part-time), and type of employment (professional or non-professional).

The division of household tasks, the dependent variable,

has two major dimensions: hours of work and work specialization. Work specialization is measured in hours spent in obligatory as compared to discretionary tasks.

In the study of time allocation to household tasks it is important to differentiate between obligatory and discretionary tasks. Obligatory tasks are regularly performed, and necessary to the family's subsistence. Discretionary tasks are irregularly performed, and not as essential to the family's subsistence.

It is expected that the more time the wife spends in a paying job, the less time she will be able to spend in household tasks. This decrease presumably would be greater in the discretionary tasks as they are less necessary to the maintenance of the household. In response to the wife decreasing her contribution to housework it is anticipated that the husband will increase his participation in these tasks.

In previous studies, four variables had a significant effect on the division of labour between spouses: the day of the week, the education of the spouses, the stage in the family life cycle, and the income of the spouses. The effect of these variables will therefore be statistically controlled throughout the analysis.

The first control variable to be considered is the period of the week in which the household task is performed. For the

purpose of analysis the distinction is made only between a Workday (Monday to Friday) and a Weekend day (Saturday or Sunday). This variable is likely to affect the division of household tasks in that, unlike a Workday, a Weekend day provides the spouses with potentially equivalent time periods to allocate to tasks, regardless of the spouses' occupational positions. It is therefore predicted that the relationship between the wife's relative time commitment to work and the division of household tasks would be stronger during a Workday than a Weekend day.

The second control variable is the husband's level of education. Others have argued that the university-educated husband would have a more favorable attitude towards his wife's dual role than less educated husbands (Poloma and Garland, 1971; Holmstrom, 1970). This attitude then, would presumably direct these husbands to assume responsibility for a larger proportion of the household tasks and thereby reduce the wife's relative participation in this activity.

The third variable, the stage in the family life cycle, is likely to affect the relationship stated in the hypotheses in that: (1) young children increase the amount of housework, but having one's oldest child near adulthood provides potential assistance with the housework (Bossard and Bell, 1956) and (2) the greater the number of children, the greater the amount of time necessary to devote to household tasks. However, this is

not a linear relationship. Presumably there is a threshold at which an increase in the number of children produces no significant impact on the amount of time necessary to devote to household tasks. The stage in the family life cycle can be seen, then, to modify the mother's relative participation in household tasks and thereby alter the division of labour between between the spouses.

The final control variable, the relative income of the spouses, is hypothesized to affect the relationship between the wife's time commitment to paid work and her relative participation in household tasks. Studies of power relations between husbands and wives have demonstrated, the wife's earning power is a definite factor in shifting the balance of power away from the husband (Blood and Wolfe, 1960; Heer, 1957). For example, it has been noted that "when the wife's income is greater than her husband's, the husband's role in the family is clearly threatened" (Poloma and Garland, 1971:756). On the basis of such research studies it is expected that (1) when the wife's income is less than or equal to her husband's, the husband will increase his participation in household tasks, and (2) when the wife's income is greater than her husband's, the husband will decrease his participation in household tasks in an attempt to reassert his masculine identity (Coser, 1971: 182; Bakke, 1940: 109-293).

A. Description of the Sample

The sample for the quantitative, or time budget analysis consists of 128 dual work couples and 269 couples in which only the husband is employed. The data were gathered in interviews of married couples in Greater Vancouver , conducted by the Urban Studies Project (Gray, Scheu, Meis and Storrie, 1972).

Couples to be interviewed were selected on the basis of a "multi-stage, purposive, stratified, unequal cluster, random sampling frame" (Scheu and Meis, 1973). To this end, eight areas of Greater Vancouver were selected according to socio-economic status and stage in family life cycle. A total of 822 interviews were conducted in these eight areas , for an average of about 100 per area. Both spouses were interviewed.

B. A Demographic Profile of the Survey Sample

The purpose of this section is to provide a simple description of some of the important demographic characteristics of the time budget survey sample. In providing such a profile the following four characteristics are seen to be of primary concern: age, sex, educational attainment, and labour force participation.

Table I provides a description of the sample in terms of

the age of the husbands and wives. Although the age distributions are similar for males and females, as is expected, the mean age for the men (45 years) is greater than that of the women (42 years).

Table I Percentage distribution of the age of spouses by sex.

Age	Males	Females
<25 years	5.2	8.3
25-34 years	16.8	20.6
35-44 years	29.5	28.3
45-54 years	27.4	30.5
55-64 years	19.8	10.6
65+ years	1.4	1.2
	(N=389)	(N=389)

As Table II suggests, distinct differences in educational attainment between the women and the men. Thirty-two per cent of the men had some university training while only 18% of the women had this level of education. Further, 26% of the men had only completed high school as compared to 45% of the women.

It is important to note that relative to the Canadian population, the survey sample over-represents those individuals with at least some university education. In the Census of 1961 only 6.1% of the Canadian population had this level of education.

Table II Percentage distribution of educational attainment by sex.

Highest Level of Schooling Attained	Males	Females
Grade 8 or Less	12.1	9.5
Grade 9 to 11	30.6	27.0
High School Completed	25.7	45.5
Some University	13.4	11.3
University Degree	18.3	6.7
	(N=389)	(N=389)

With regard to labour force participation rates, the difference between male and female participation is more than just a difference in degree, as revealed in Table III. Men and women, in addition, have their own age distribution. Labour Canada (1971) reports that the age group of maximum participation is younger for females than for males. In addition, female rates drop off very sharply while those for males continue at a fairly high level until the 45-55 year age group, after which the decline becomes increasingly greater. Relative to the equivalent set of figures for the Canadian population, the sample over-represents women with jobs who are 45 to 54 years of age and under-represents women of less than 34 years (see Table IV).

Table III

Labour force participation, by sex.

Employment Status	Males	Females
Not Employed	2.1	67.6
Employed	97.9	32.4
	(N=389)	(N=389)

Table IV

Labour force participation rates, by age and sex.

Age	Males	Females
<25 years	2.7	13.3
25-34 years	16.2	17.1
35-44 years	29.7	26.7
45-54 years	26.2	32.7
55-64 years	23.8	10.9
65+ years	1.1	0.0
	(N=366)	(N=128)

Two significant factors when considering the employment status of married women are the income of her husband and the age of her children. Table V indicates that there is a strong, positive relationship between whether the wife has paid employment and her husband's income. Further, as Table VI illustrates, those women with children less than six years of age were unlikely to be employed, with the probability increasing as their children aged.

Table V Women's labour force participation rates, by the wife's hours in paid employment and her husband's income.

Wife's Hours In Paid Employment	Husband's Income (in thousands) ≤6	6-10	10-14	14-18	18+
No Paying Job	71	58	68	85	96
<35 hours	21	13	10	12	4
35-42.5 hours	7	20	14	0	0
42.5+ hours	0	9	7	2	0
	(N=28)	(N=170)	(N=190)	(N=80)	(N=88)

Table VI Women's labour force participation rates, by the wife's hours in paid employment and the age of her children.

Wife's Hours In Paid Employment	Age of Children ≤6 years	6-18 years	18+ years
No Paying Job	88	75	54
<35 hours	5	10	17
35-42.5 hours	5	10	17
42.5+ hours	2	5	12
	(N=122)	(N=294)	(N=164)

II. Qualitative Analysis:

The necessity for a qualitative form of analysis was prompted by the realization that distinctions can be made between role strain that is perceived as opposed to unperceived, and legitimate as opposed to illegitimate (Gross et al., 1960b). It is of interest in this analysis to determine the spouses' perceptions of the dilemmas which arise when they are both employed, to what extent these dilemmas result in role strain for the wife, or interpersonal role strain for the couple, and how the wife and couple manage this strain.

If work in the domestic sphere and work in the occupational sphere are both seen as necessary to the family's existence, the question arises as to how the division of labour is realized between the spouses' in order to minimize perceived role strain.

Further, what are the criteria upon which this division of labour is based and why does the couple use these particular criteria.

Due to the nature of these questions it was felt that the type of information required from the couple could best be gleened in an interview. The choice between alternative techniques of interviewing involves such important issues of methodology as decisions about the type of information required, and the kind of analysis to which that information will be subjected. Recognizing the deficiencies of either the extremely structured interview or the informal interview in which the shape and form is determined by the respondent, this study will rely on the 'focused interview'(Merton,1946).

The focused interview has a fixed framework of questions, yet allows the interviewer flexibility within it. The main value of this type of interview, as Merton (1946) suggests, is that it gives the respondent the opportunity to express himself or herself on matters of significance to him (or her) rather than those presumed important to the interviewer. Since the aim of this particular research was principally to discover the respondents' own perceptions of their situation, the choice of interviewing technique was made in favour of a relatively unstructured interview involving the flexible use of the schedule.

A. The Construction of the Interview Guide

The aim of the interview was two-fold. One aim was to analyse the spouses' perception of the dilemmas which arise when they are both employed, the strains imposed by these dilemmas, and how the couple manages them. The second aim was to determine the elements in the family situation which make it possible for a woman to work and at the same time to reconcile it with her family life.

In order to translate these aims into a series of questions an interview guide was constructed which broke the subject down into three general areas, namely:

A. General Background of Spouses

B. Work Activity of Spouses

C. Family Activity of Spouses

For each of these general topics there was a list of information required from each respondent. Rather than asking the same question of each respondent and hoping it would have the same meaning, the interviewer formulated the classes of information of interest and hoped that they were formulated in such a way that they had the same meaning for each respondent.

There are two important assumptions, however, underlying this type of interview (Holmstrom, 1972:187). First, if the meaning of the questions is to be standardized, then the researcher must be free to adapt the wording. Second, there is

no fixed sequence of questions which will be satisfactory to all respondents; the most effective sequence is one determined by the respondent's readiness and willingness to discuss topics. As Holmstrom(1972) has previously noted:

> "These assumptions are contrary...to those underlying schedule standardized interviews where it is believed that the stimulus for each respondent must be identical; that to be an identical stimulus, the question must be worded identically each time it is presented; and that since all previous parts of the interview are part of the stimulus context, the sequence of questions must be identical"(1972:187).

B. Criteria for Selection of the Sample

In selecting the couples to be interviewed, there were three criteria of concern:

1. marital status
2. stage in the family life cycle
3. type of occupation

For the purposes of analysis, only those couples who were married, occupying the same domicile, and who had at least one child residing at home were considered in this study. Of these couples, only those who fell into one of the following six occupational categories were included in the sample:

	Husband	
	Professional	Non-Professional
Wife Professional		
Wife Non-Professional		
No Paying Job		

Due to resource limitations only two couples per category were interviewed. As Glaser and Strauss (1967) have previously noted, it is important to minimize differences between comparison groups in that "this helps to establish a definite set of conditions under which a (conceptual) category exists, either to a particular degree or as a type-- which in turn establishes a probability for theoretical prediction" (1967:56). Therefore, one of the couples selected, within each category, had at least one child less than six years of age. The second couple's children were all older than six years.

The profession/non-professional distinction was of concern in that the professional occupation has at least two important , and to some extent unique, characteristics. First of all, the professional occupation requires a considerable time commitment, in terms of the length of training required to fulfil the requirements of such a position. These positions therefore possess considerable salience for the occupant, relative to that

experienced by the occupant of a non-professional position (Rapoport and Rapoport,1965).

Secondly, as compared to the non-professional, for the professional work commitments have priority over family commitments. For example, a doctor , dentist, lawyer, or professor is, to some extent, always "on call". Working hours are never as clearly delineated as 9:00 to 5:00. In the case of the business executive he or she is expected to attend business meetings, business dinners and so forth regardless of the day of the week or the time of the day. Since the priority of work schedules exercises the most tangible influence over family life (Turner,1970:263) it was expected that the professional/non-professional distinction would be of importance in determining these priorities.

C. Identification of the Interview Sample

Since the sample lists for the time budget study (Urban Studies Project, 1971) were available to the researcher, this provided for the possibility of interviewing couples for whom there already existed considerable demographic data and, of course, time budget information. The combination of such quantitative and qualitative data is unique in the substantive area of study and it was therefore anticipated that a comparison of these data would be informative from both a theoretical and

empirical perspective.

The actual sample of couples to be interviewed in this study was chosen according to the following procedure. The time budget sample list was broken down, according to the criteria outlined in Section B, into ten subsamples. Every fifth name in the subsample was then selected and all couples who no longer resided in Greater Vancouver were eliminated. From the final "selection lists" couples were chosen in an attempt to provide variation in the socio-economic status within the sample. Potential respondents were then contacted by telephone. The purpose of the study was explained and an interview arranged. The interviews were scheduled over a one month period.

D. Collection of the Interview Data

The couples were interviewed in their own homes at a time which was most convenient to them. All of the interviews were eventually scheduled in the evening. The husband and wife were interviewed separately, in most cases in both time and space, with most interviews taking between one and one quarter to one and a half hours to complete. All of the interviews were taped with the researcher's assurance that the data would be presented in an anonymous fashion. For this reason, all names referred to in discussions of the interviews are pseudonyms.

Since an interview is a social situation, it is appropriate

to consider the interview as a social event. The respondent's perception of this event was clearly illustrated by the fact that both the house and the couple appeared as though they were expecting "company". The house inevitably looked as though it had just been tidied up and the husband and wife generally appeared "dressed up". Further, refreshments were always served in fine china, crystal or such, regardless of the social status of the respondents.

Given this social setting, consideration will now be directed towards a discussion of those status characteristics of the interviewer which appeared to have some influence on the respondents. The interviewer could be described as a young, female graduate student with a middle class background.

Since the interviewer was in most cases ten to fifteen years younger than the respondents, they frequently suggested that they were in a different generation. That is, although they claimed that their attitudes might appear "old fashioned" to young people they were quite legitimate among their peers.

The fact that the interviewer was female also seemed to have some influence during the interview. First of all, the wives assumed that since the the interviewer was a woman, in some sense she "knew" how a household operates. This was very evident in that often the wife would complete a discussion of her household routine, for example, with the phrase "you know". Further, the wives generally responded to questions concerning

their husband's contribution to household tasks with gestures which indicated that it was "obvious" and the question was unnecessary.

The husbands, on the other hand, in many instances assumed that the interviewer had little or no knowledge of the "working world". Consequently, the men often described their work in very simple terms. Further, the husbands frequently related to the interviewer their latest success at their work. Clearly this was satisfying to the men as the interviewer was, in their eyes, not in a position to evaluate their "success". Consequently, the interviewer was in Bernard's (1973) terms, forced to perform a "stroking function"[1]. The husband's clearly found this to be a satisfying arrangement as they spent approximately ten or fifteen minutes discussing this aspect of their work.

It is interesting to note that although the husbands felt that questions regarding their work were quite legitimate, questions concerning their household work were often seen as both inappropriate and in some sense illegitimate. When asked whether they had any household chores the initial response was

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[1] A stroking function is defined as a "supportive... emotional-expressive act. Whatever it is called, the behavior is archetypically 'feminine'" (Bernard,1971:89)

often "what?" or some variation thereof. The husbands were frequently asked to elaborate on their description of their household chores as their answer was often a vague reference to "outdoor work". The interviewer was given the impression that such an elaboration was an unnecessary request since it was assumed that the interviewer knew what the term meant.

From the interviewer's perspective the fact that she had a middle class background and had had little interaction with working class couples was an important consideration in the interviewing of such couples. The major difficulties rested with the fact that these couples appeared to conceptualize and analyze phenomena in a manner unfamiliar to the interviewer.

With regard to conceptualization, for example, these couples appeared to be very "present minded". This meant that they were unable to respond to questions regarding hypothetical situations other than to say "unless you're faced with a situation you can't answer the question". This response forced the interviewer to rephrase the question such that it presented a "real" situation to the respondent. Of course this "present minded" attitude tended to restrict any serious discussion of a possible change in the roles of men and women. As one husband succinctly stated: "If my wife wanted change I'd have to think about it, but there's no point thinking about something that may or may not happen".

A second difficulty arose when the working class couples

were asked to explain a given phenomenon such as why they consider themselves to be a "breadwinner" or a "homemaker". Initially the explanation was that "that is just the way society works". On being pressed to elaborate on this explanation the response quickly became "there are too many circumstances to look at there" or "that's too hard to think about". It was often difficult for the interviewer to accept the fact that they didn't want to or were unable to provide a more "reasonable" answer; that they themselves considered that to be a "reasonable" answer. This resulted in the same questions being asked several different ways and the end result always being the same--they had given a "reasonable" answer to the question the first time it was asked.

CHAPTER IV AN ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF THE WIFE AND THE DIVISION OF HOUSEHOLD TASKS.

The purpose of this chapter is to consider the consequences of women working at a paying job on the husband's and wive's contributions to housework.

It is expected that the more time the wife spends in a paying job, the less time she will be able to spend in household tasks. This decrease would presumably be greater in discretionary, as compared to obligatory tasks, as they are less necessary to household maintenance. In response to the wife decreasing her contribution to housework it is anticipated that the husband will increase his participation in housework. It is expected that the relationship between the wife's employment and the spouses' contributions to housework is modified by the day of the week, the husband's education, the relative income of the spouses, and the stage in the family life cycle. The effect of these variables is discussed in Sections V. to IX.

I. A general discussion of the distribution of household tasks between husband's and wive's.

Before considering the consequences of women's paid employment on the husbands' and wives' contributions to household tasks, let us first attend to a general description of the division of tasks between the spouses. Tables VIIA and VIIB

describe the percent of husbands and wives participating in household tasks and the mean hours spent engaged in such activities during a workday and a weekend day. These data clearly indicate differences between husbands and wives.

During the workday only 40% of the husbands participate in any household activities and only 53% do so on the weekend. In comparison, 97% of the wives participate in household activities on any given day of the week. Those husbands who do participate in household activities generally spend most of their time in discretionary, as opposed to obligatory household tasks: repair and maintenance activities dominate their schedules. The wives, on the other hand, spend most of their time doing obligatory housework: cooking and house cleaning are the major such tasks.

During the weekend, as compared to the workday, the husbands tend to increase their participation in household tasks. They spend, on the average, 28 more minutes in obligatory housework and 50 more minutes in discretionary housework. The wives, on the other hand, generally spend less time doing housework on the weekend than they do during the workdays. They decrease the amount of time spent in obligatory time by 1 hour and 20 minutes.

On the basis of a week, however, the husbands spend approximately 4 hours in obligatory housework while their wives spend 27 hours. With regard to discretionary housework, the husbands spend approximately 5 hours in these tasks. Their

TABLE VIIA: Percent of husbands and wives participating in household tasks and the amount of time spent in these tasks during a workday.

		WORKDAY PERCENT		WORKDAY HOURS	
		Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives
OBLIGATORY HOUSEWORK	Cooking	13	86	0.07	1.19
	House Cleaning	9	75	0.09	1.19
	Kitchen Clean-Up	5	46	0.07	0.24
	Regular Shopping	16	54	0.16	0.75
	Laundry	1	35	0.00	0.48
	Child Care	8	36	0.06	0.50
	Total	40	97	0.45	4.35
DISCRETIONARY HOUSEWORK	Irregular Shopping	0	25	0.00	0.48
	Irregular Purchases	5	10	0.02	0.08
	Sundry Services	23	30	0.12	0.24
	Repair & Maintenance	13	6	0.24	0.06
	Building	3	1	0.10	0.01
	Total	38	55	0.48	0.87

TABLE VIIB: Percent of husbands and wives participating in household tasks and the amount of time spent in these tasks during a weekend day.

		WEEKEND			
		PERCENT		HOURS	
		Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives
OBLIGATORY HOUSEWORK	Cooking	17	76	0.14	1.00
	House Cleaning	21	61	0.35	0.94
	Kitchen Clean-Up	9	40	0.07	0.26
	Regular Shopping	12	14	0.13	0.18
	Laundry	1	20	0.02	0.23
	Child Care	18	33	0.21	0.40
	Total	52	95	0.92	3.01
DISCRETIONARY HOUSEWORK	Irregular Shopping	1	22	0.04	0.34
	Irregular Purchases	8	6	0.06	0.06
	Sundry Services	29	22	0.32	0.27
	Repair & Maintenance	23	6	0.66	0.09
	Building	6	2	0.24	0.04
	Total	53	46	1.32	0.80

wives spend about 6 hours in discretionary household tasks. These data clearly indicate, then, that women are primarily responsible for the household maintenance and, on the average, spend about 34 hours per week engaged in housework activities.

When all work time is combined, i. e., time for paid employment and housework, the sample certainly reflects an image of a work oriented society. The average work week for the men was 57 hours and for the women it was 51 hours. In families with no children it was a somewhat shorter work week, but even then it was 59 hours for women with paying jobs, 42 hours for full time housewives, and 56 hours for men. As the following discussion demonstrates, it is clearly the women, however, who pay the most in time when they are employed outside the home.

II. The consequences of women working at a paying job on the division of household tasks between husbands and wives.

Having considered the general pattern of the division of household tasks between spouses, let us now consider the consequences of the wives taking a paying job. Table VIII presents activity data for households in which both spouses have paid employment and those in which only the husband had paid employment.

This table clearly illustrates that the wife's paying job has very little consequence on her husband's contribution to

TABLE VIII: Husbands' and wives' contributions to housework, by wives' employment, during a seven day week (in mean hours).

		Wife Employed	Wife Not Employed	Difference
OBLIGATORY HOUSEWORK	HUSBAND	4.11	3.92	+ 0.19
	WIFE	17.85	32.54	-14.69
	DIFFERENCE	-13.74	-28.62	
DISCRETIONARY HOUSEWORK	HUSBAND	4.76	3.91	+0.85
	WIFE	3.08	6.93	-3.85
	DIFFERENCE	+1.68	-3.02	
TOTAL WORK LOAD	HUSBAND	58.20	57.83	+0.37
	WIFE	62.59	46.27	+16.32
	DIFFERENCE	-4.39	+11.56	

housework. In fact, when the wife has a paying job her husband increases his participation in obligatory housework by only 11 minutes and in discretionary housework by only 51 minutes. The wives with paying jobs, however, spend 14 hours and 41 minutes less in obligatory housework as well as 3 hours and 51 minutes less in discretionary housework than the wives who work full time as housewives. Nevertheless, the wives with paying jobs spend approximately 13 hours and 44 minutes more in obligatory housework than do husbands with paying jobs.

It appears that there is very little difference in the time that husband's contribute to housework whether or not their wives have a paying job. This picture is incomplete, however, as women tend to take paid employment at those times when the workload at home is relatively light. Whether or not the wives in the sample were employed at a paying job, and the number of hours they worked at the job, are closely related to the presence of children and the age of the youngest child (see Chapter III, Section I). While 32% of the women in the sample were in the labour force, this figure was much higher in households with no children or teenage children. The influence of these factors on the distribution of household tasks is considered in Sections VII to IX. of this chapter.

In summary, Table VIII indicates that:

1. Whether or not the wife has a paying job has little consequence for the husband's contribution to

housework;

2. The wife with a paying job drastically reduces the amount of time she spends doing housework, relative to that of the full-time housewife;

3. The wife with a paying job spends 16 hours and 19 minutes more time working than the full time housewife and 4 hours and 18 minutes more than the husband with a paying job: her total work load is 62 hours and 35 minutes.

III. The consequences of women working full time and part time at paying jobs, on the division of household tasks between spouses.

It was earlier suggested that the average total work loads[1] for husbands and wives was heavy. Now let us determine whether the amount of time the wife spends at a paying job has any effect on the division of household tasks between spouses. Table IX presents activity data for households in which the wife works at a paying job on a part time basis (less than 35 hours a week) or on a full time basis (more than 35 hours a week).

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[1] The total work load includes job time, necessary travel, obligatory housework, and discretionary housework.

The data in Table IX indicate that when the wife works at her job full time as opposed to part time, she decreases the amount of time she spends doing obligatory housework by about 8 hours while her husband decreases his participation in obligatory tasks by 30 minutes and increases his participation in discretionary housework by 2 hours. As a consequence, when the wife works at a paying job on a full time, as opposed to part time basis, the husband's total work load decreases by 1 hour and the wife's increases by 3 hours.

The data presented in Table IX indicate, then, that as the wife increases the amount of time she spends in a paying job her husband slightly increases his participation in discretionary household tasks and she drastically reduces the amount of time she spends in obligatory housework. When the wife has a full-time paying job, her total workload is 7 hours greater than her husband's. In comparison, when the wife has a part time paying job, her total workload is only 2 hours greater than her husbands. Nevertheless, these differences are primarily a consequence of the fact that the total workload of the wife with a full time job is 4 hours greater than that of the wife with a part time job, not because of any substantial shifts in the husband's total workload. In summary, the husband's total work load varied little whether or not the wife worked at her job part time or full time. The wife's total work load, however, was consistently heavier when she was employed full time rather

TABLE IX: Husbands' and wives' contributions to housework when wives are employed at a paying job, part time and full time, during a seven day week (in mean hours).

		Wife Employed Full Time	Wife Employed Part Time	Difference
OBLIGATORY HOUSEWORK	HUSBAND	3.82	4.33	- 0.51
	WIFE	14.16	22.85	- 8.69
	DIFFERENCE	-10.34	-18.52	
DISCRETIONARY HOUSEWORK	HUSBAND	5.73	3.60	+2.13
	WIFE	3.60	3.44	+0.16
	DIFFERENCE	+2.13	+0.16	
TOTAL WORK LOAD	HUSBAND	58.22	59.48	-1.26
	WIFE	65.12	61.36	+ 3.76
	DIFFERENCE	-6.90	- 1.88	

than part time at a paying job.

IV. The consequences of the occupational status of the spouses on the division of household tasks between the spouses.

Professional occupations demand more of a time commitment of the occupant than the non-professional occupation. Consequently it was expected that when the wife is employed in a professional occupation, as compared to a non-professional occupation, her husband will increase his participation in housework and she will decrease her participation. Tables X and XI summarize the relationship between the spouses' occupational status and their contributions to household tasks.

Table X describes the distribution of household tasks when the husbands have a professional occupation and the wives had either a professional or a non-professional occupation. When the wife is in a professional occupation her husband increases participation in obligatory housework (+3 hours 52 minutes), decreases participation in discretionary housework (-7 hours 2 minutes), and his total workload decreases (-10 hours 46 minutes). In comparision the professionally employed wife spends less time in obligatory housework (- 38 minutes), more time in discretionary housework (+3 hours 59 minutes) and her total workload increases (+3 hours 38 minutes) relative to the wife in a non-professional occupation.

Table XI describes the division of household tasks when the husband is employed in a non-professional occupation and the wife is employed in either a professional or a non-professional occupation. These data indicate that when the wife has a professional occupation, the husbands spend more time in obligatory housework (+4 hours 16 minutes), discretionary housework (+2 hours 10 minutes), and in their total workload (+10 hours 17 minutes). In contrast, the wives spend less time in obligatory housework (-5 hours 5 minutes), more time in discretionary housework (+6 hours 25 minutes), and their total workload increases (+10 hours 50 minutes) relative to the wives with non-professional jobs.

In summary, Tables X and XI indicate that when the wife is employed in a professional, as compared to a non-professional occupation, she decreases her participation in obligatory tasks, increases participation in discretionary tasks and consequently her total workload increases. This pattern is stronger when her husband is employed in a non- professional rather than a professional occupation. To some extent this may reflect the fact that the wife of a husband in a non-professional occupation generally spends more time doing housework than the wife of a husband in a professional occupation.

The husband's response to his wife being employed in a professional, as opposed to a non-professional occupation, differs according to the husband's occupational status. If the

TABLE X: Husbands' and wives' contributions to housework by the spouses' occupational position, during a seven day week (in mean hours).

		HUSBAND: PROFESSIONAL		
		Wife Professional	Wife Non-Professional	Difference
OBLIGATORY HOUSEWORK	HUSBAND	5.11	1.25	+ 3.86
	WIFE	11.66	12.29	- 0.63
	DIFFERENCE	- 6.55	-11.04	
DISCRETIONARY HOUSEWORK	HUSBAND	0.58	7.62	-7.04
	WIFE	6.57	2.58	+3.99
	DIFFERENCE	-5.99	+5.04	
TOTAL WORK LOAD	HUSBAND	48.78	59.54	-10.76
	WIFE	67.17	63.53	+ 3.64
	DIFFERENCE	-18.39	- 3.99	

TABLE XI: Husbands' and wives' contributions to housework by the spouses' occupational position, during a seven day week (in mean hours).

		HUSBAND: NON-PROFESSIONAL		
		Wife Professional	Wife Non-Professional	Difference
OBLIGATORY HOUSEWORK	HUSBAND	8.06	3.79	+ 4.27
	WIFE	12.13	17.22	- 5.09
	DIFFERENCE	- 4.07	-13.43	
DISCRETIONARY HOUSEWORK	HUSBAND	7.31	5.14	+2.17
	WIFE	8.11	1.69	+6.42
	DIFFERENCE	- .80	+3.45	
TOTAL WORK LOAD	HUSBAND	66.84	56.53	+10.28
	WIFE	73.33	62.50	+10.83
	DIFFERENCE	- 6.49	- 5.97	

wife is employed in a professional occupation, the husbands increase their participation in obligatory housework, regardless of their own occupational status. Further, professionally employed husbands decrease the amount of time spent in discretionary tasks while the non-professionally employed husbands increase the amount of time they spend in such tasks. Finally, the husbands in professional occupations decrease their total workload while the husband in non-professional occupations increase their total workload, when their wife works in a professional occupation.

V. The effect of the day of the week on the distribution of household tasks between husbands and wives.

It was predicted that the day of the week in which the household task is performed will affect the division of household tasks between spouses. That is, unlike a workday, a weekend day provides the spouses with potentially equivalent time periods to allocate to tasks, regardless of their employment status. It was therefore predicted that the relationship between the employment status of the wife and the division of household tasks would be stronger during a workday than a weekend day.

As is visible in Table XII, the workday/weekend distinction has a significant impact on the relationship between the husband's contributions to housework and the wife's employment

TABLE XII: Husbands' and wives' contributions to housework by wives' employment, by the day of the week (in mean hours).

			DAY OF THE WEEK		
			Weekend	Workday	Difference
OBLIGATORY HOUSEWORK	HUSBAND	wife employed	0.95	0.41	+0.54
		wife not employed	0.92	0.47	+0.45
	WIFE	wife employed	3.23	2.56	+0.67
		wife not employed	2.90	5.23	-2.33
	DIFFERENCE	wife employed	-2.28	-2.15	
		wife not employed	-1.98	-4.76	
			- .30	+2.61	
DISCRETIONARY HOUSEWORK	HUSBAND	wife employed	1.41	0.60	+0.81
		wife not employed	1.27	0.43	+0.84
	WIFE	wife employed	0.68	0.43	+0.25
		wife not employed	0.86	1.08	-0.22
	DIFFERENCE	wife employed	+0.73	+0.17	
		wife not employed	+0.41	-0.65	
			+0.32	+0.83	
TOTAL WORK LOAD	HUSBAND	wife employed	3.82	9.83	-6.01
		wife not employed	3.53	9.99	-6.46
	WIFE	wife employed	5.34	10.11	-4.77
		wife not employed	4.48	7.39	-2.91
	DIFFERENCE	wife employed	-1.52	-0.28	
		wife not employed	-0.95	+2.60	
			-0.57	-2.88	

status. During the weekend husbands spend about 2 hours less doing obligatory housework than their wives, regardless of whether the wives have a paying job. During the week, however, the husbands of wives with paying jobs spend 2 hours less in these tasks, and the husbands of full-time housewives spend 5 hours less.

On the weekend, as compared to the workday, the husbands increase their participation in obligatory tasks by approximately 30 minutes and increase their participation in discretionary tasks by approximately 50 minutes. In comparision, the relationship between the wife's contribution to housework and her employment status varies according to the day of the week. Regardless of their employment status, women do approximately the same amount of housework on the weekend. During the workday, however, the wife with a paying job spends 2 hours 40 minutes less time doing obligatory housework than does the full time housewife.

VI. The effect of the spouses' relative income on husbands' and wives' contributions to household tasks.

It was intitially expected that (1) when the wife's income is less than or equal to her husband's, the husband will spend more time doing housework than when his wife's income is greater than his. Table XIII clearly indicates that this is, in fact, the case. The wife's income has little consequence on the

husband's participation in obligatory tasks. Nevertheless, the husbands whose wives have a greater income than themselves spend much less time in discretionary tasks (- 4 hours) than the husbands whose wives have the same or less income than themselves. However, when the wife's income is greater than her husband's the wife with a paying job decreases the amount of time spent in obligatory tasks (- 2 hours) and in discretionary tasks (- 1 hour)

VII. The effect of the husband's education on the husband's and wive's contributions to household tasks.

It was expected that the husband's educational attainment would have a positive effect on the relationship between the wife's employment status and the spouses' contributions to household tasks. Table XIV demonstrates that the husband's education in fact has a negative influence on the spouses' contributions.

The husband's education has little effect on the husband's contributions to household tasks. The trend, however, is that the husbands with some university education spend less time in household tasks than husbands with less education, regardless of the wife's employment status. The husband's education has more of an effect on the amount of time the wife spends on household tasks. The wives of university educated husbands spend about 1 hour less in obligatory and in discretionary tasks than wives

TABLE XIII: Husbands' and wives' contributions to housework by wives' employment and by the wife's income relative to her husband's, during a seven day week (in mean hours).

			WIFE'S INCOME		
			More Than Husband's	Less than Husband's	Difference
OBLIGATORY HOUSEWORK	HUSBAND	wife employed	3.69	3.88	-0.19
		wife not employed		4.08	
	WIFE	wife employed	17.09	19.25	-2.16
		wife not employed		32.42	
	DIFFERENCE	wife employed	-13.40	-15.37	
		wife not employed		-28.34	
				+12.97	
DISCRETIONARY HOUSEWORK	HUSBAND	wife employed	0.94	5.23	-4.29
		wife not employed		3.91	
	WIFE	wife employed	2.38	3.37	-0.99
		wife not employed		7.32	
	DIFFERENCE	wife employed	-1.44	+1.86	
		wife not employed		-3.41	
				+5.27	
TOTAL WORK LOAD	HUSBAND	wife employed	56.83	58.32	-1.49
		wife not employed		57.92	
	WIFE	wife employed	60.91	62.03	-1.12
		wife not employed		46.44	
	DIFFERENCE	wife employed	-4.08	-3.71	
		wife not employed		+11.48	
				-15.19	

TABLE XIV: Husbands' and wives' contributions to housework by wives' employment and by the husband's education, during a seven day week (in mean hours).

			HUSBAND'S EDUCATION		
			Some University	No University	Difference
OBLIGATORY HOUSEWORK	HUSBAND	wife employed	3.43	3.94	-0.51
		wife not employed	3.55	4.22	-0.67
	WIFE	wife employed	17.40	19.28	-1.88
		wife not employed	31.70	32.71	-1.01
	DIFFERENCE	wife employed	-13.97	-15.34	
		wife not employed	-28.15	-28.49	
			+14.18	+13.15	
DISCRETIONARY HOUSEWORK	HUSBAND	wife employed	4.78	4.67	+0.11
		wife not employed	3.89	3.96	-0.07
	WIFE	wife employed	2.33	3.42	-1.09
		wife not employed	6.18	7.55	-1.37
	DIFFERENCE	wife employed	+2.45	+1.25	
		wife not employed	-2.29	-3.59	
			+4.74	+4.84	
TOTAL WORK LOAD	HUSBAND	wife employed	56.50	58.45	-1.95
		wife not employed	56.86	58.53	-1.67
	WIFE	wife employed	59.62	62.31	-2.69
		wife not employed	44.81	47.06	-2.25
	DIFFERENCE	wife employed	-3.12	-3.86	
		wife not employed	+12.05	+11.47	
			-15.17	-15.33	

without such educated husbands. The influence of the husband's education, however, is independent of the wife's employment status.

VIII. The effect of the number of children in the household on the husband's and wive's contributions to housework.

The question of concern in this section is to what extent does the number of children in the household influence the relationship between the wife's employment status and the division of household tasks between the spouses'. It was expected that, as the number of children increase, the total amount of time spent in housework activities would increase. The husbands of wives with paying jobs would consequently increase the amount of time spent in these tasks.

The data presented in Table XV indicate that the amount of time the wife spends in housework is greater when there are children regardless of whether or not she has paid employment. However, those wives with paying jobs consistently spent 10 to 12 hours less in obligatory housework than did the full time housewife, independent of the presence of children. In households in which there were children, employed wives had about a 63 hour work week as compare to a slightly shorter work week (59 hours) if there were no children (see Table XVI).

As is visible in Tables XV and XVI, the presence of

children in the household increases the husband's participation in obligatory housework by about 2 hours and decreases his participation in discretionary tasks by about 1 hour. When there are children, the husband's total workload is approximately 5 hours longer than when there are no children in the household. His total workload is, however, the same regardless of whether or not his wife has a paying job. Nevertheless, although the presence of children effects the spouses' contributions, the number of children has little impact on the husband's contribution to household tasks (see Table XV).

To summarize:

1. The presence of children increases the amount of time both husbands and wives spend in household tasks.

2. The presence of children has relatively little influence on the husband's contributions to household tasks, independent of whether the wives have paying jobs.

3. The presence of children has a strong, positive effect on the wife's contributions to obligatory housework. This effect is stronger for the full-time housewife than the wife with a paying job.

IX. The effect of the age of the youngest child in the household on the husband's and wive's contributions to household tasks.

TABLE XV: Husbands' and wives' contributions to housework by wives' employment and by the presence of children, during a seven day week (in mean hours).

			PRESENCE OF CHILDREN		
			Presence	Absence	Difference
OBLIGATORY HOUSEWORK	HUSBAND	wife employed	4.66	2.60	+ 2.06
		wife not employed	6.16	3.70	+ 2.46
	WIFE	wife employed	26.56	13.63	+12.93
		wife not employed	40.78	23.94	+16.84
	DIFFERENCE	wife employed	-21.90	-11.03	
		wife not employed	-34.62	-20.20	
			+12.72	+ 9.17	
DISCRETIONARY HOUSEWORK	HUSBAND	wife employed	4.92	3.97	+0.95
		wife not employed	3.37	5.02	-1.65
	WIFE	wife employed	4.99	2.64	+2.35
		wife not employed	5.46	9.01	-3.55
	DIFFERENCE	wife employed	-0.07	+1.33	
		wife not employed	-2.09	-3.99	
			+2.02	+5.32	
TOTAL WORK LOAD	HUSBAND	wife employed	60.30	55.54	+4.76
		wife not employed	60.79	55.79	+5.00
	WIFE	wife employed	63.42	59.30	+4.12
		wife not employed	52.83	41.67	+11.16
	DIFFERENCE	wife employed	-3.12	-3.76	
		wife not employed	+ 7.96	+14.12	
			-11.09	-17.88	

TABLE XVI: Husbands' and wives' contributions to housework by wives' employment and by the number of children during a seven day week (in mean hours).

			NUMBER OF CHILDREN			
			no children	1 child	2 children	>3 children
OBLIGATORY HOUSEWORK	HUSBAND	wife employed	2.68	4.63	5.19	5.30
		wife not employed	3.66	3.10	4.06	4.26
	WIFE	wife employed	13.49	19.14	20.65	22.68
		wife not employed	23.84	32.79	34.97	35.01
	DIFFERENCE	wife employed	-10.81	-14.51	-15.46	-17.38
		wife not employed	-20.18	-29.69	-30.91	-30.75
			+9.37	+15.18	+15.45	+13.37
DISCRETIONARY HOUSEWORK	HUSBAND	wife employed	4.31	5.53	6.40	2.38
		wife not employed	4.61	3.87	3.25	4.22
	WIFE	wife employed	2.44	5.04	1.92	4.22
		wife not employed	9.01	9.32	4.76	7.03
	DIFFERENCE	wife employed	+1.87	+0.49	+4.48	-1.84
		wife not employed	-4.40	-5.45	-1.51	-2.81
			+6.27	+5.94	+5.99	+0.97
TOTAL WORK LOAD	HUSBAND	wife employed	56.34	59.31	60.78	57.36
		wife not employed	55.08	54.85	58.35	60.14
	WIFE	wife employed	59.03	67.00	64.74	62.76
		wife not employed	42.11	47.46	45.13	49.48
	DIFFERENCE	wife employed	-2.69	-7.69	-3.96	-5.40
		wife not employed	+12.97	+7.39	+13.22	+10.66
			-15.66	-15.08	-17.18	-16.06

The concern of this section is to determine if the age of the youngest child has any effect on the relationship between the wife's employment status and the spouses' contributions to household tasks. Since time spent in housework is likely to be greater when the children are young, it was expected that the husbands of wives with a paying job would increase the amount of time they spend in these tasks.

Table XVII indicates that when the youngest child is less than six years old both spouses devote more time to housework than when the child is older. The husbands increase their participation in obligatory tasks by about 2 hours and the wives by about 8 hours.

With regard to the spouses' total workload, in households in which the youngest child was less than six years of age, wives with a paying job had a 63 hour work week as compared to a somewhat shorter work week (62 hours) if the youngest child was older than six years of age. Their husbands' total workload was about 3 hours greater when there was a pre-school child in the household and the wife had a paying job. When the wife did not have a paying job they increased their total workload by about 4 hours. Therefore, although there were relatively few mothers with a pre-school child, those who were employed at a paying job did receive more help from their husbands than the wives with no paying job.

TABLE XVII: Husbands' and wives' contributions to housework by wives' employment and by the age of the youngest child, during a seven day week (in mean hours).

			AGE OF YOUNGEST CHILD		
			< 6 Years	≥ 6 Years	Difference
OBLIGATORY HOUSEWORK	HUSBAND	wife employed	6.27	3.92	+ 2.35
		wife not employed	6.49	3.38	+ 3.11
	WIFE	wife employed	25.87	17.84	+ 8.03
		wife not employed	39.56	29.09	+10.47
	DIFFERENCE	wife employed	-19.60	-13.92	
		wife not employed	-33.07	-25.71	
			+13.47	+11.79	
DISCRETIONARY HOUSEWORK	HUSBAND	wife employed	9.45	5.07	+4.38
		wife not employed	4.81	4.71	+0.10
	WIFE	wife employed	4.57	3.06	+1.51
		wife not employed	6.14	7.64	-1.50
	DIFFERENCE	wife employed	+4.88	+2.07	
		wife not employed	-1.33	-2.93	
			+6.21	+5.00	
TOTAL WORK LOAD	HUSBAND	wife employed	57.55	54.76	+2.79
		wife not employed	60.74	56.31	+4.43
	WIFE	wife employed	62.80	61.86	+0.94
		wife not employed	52.51	43.76	+ 8.75
	DIFFERENCE	wife employed	-5.25	-7.10	
		wife not employed	+ 8.23	+12.55	
			-13.48	-19.65	

In summary, the data in Table XVII indicates that:

1. The presence of a pre-school child increases the amount of time both husbands and wives spend in household tasks.

2. The presence of a pre-school child has a positive effect on the husband's contributions to obligatory tasks. This effect, however, is independent of the wife's employment status.

3. The presence of a pre-school child has a positive effect on the husband's contributions to discretionary tasks. This effect is stronger when their wives are employed at a paying job.

4. The presence of a pre-school child has a strong postive effect on the wife's contributions to obligatory housework, particularily that of the wife with a paying job.

X. Conclusion

The time budget data clearly indicate that the primary responsibility for providing services for the family rests with the wife and mother. In spite of considerable discussion in the media of changes in the

roles of men and women, there is evidence of much inequality in the distribution of housework responsibility between the spouses. The data show quite unequivocably that variations in the husband's contribution to housework are not related to the employment status of the wife. More specifically, despite the increased burden placed on women who, for example, are employed at a paying job and have pre-school children, the husbands fail to alter significantly their participation in housework. When the wife with a paying job was a mother of a pre-school child, her total work week averaged about 63 hours, compared to 57 hours for her husband.

The time budget data indicate, then, a gross inequality in the division of household tasks between husbands and wives. The next two chapters of this thesis will consider the spouses' evaluation of the dilemmas which arise when both husband and wife are employed at a paying job, to what extent these dilemmas result in strain for the wife and/or the couple, and how the couple manages this strain.

CHAPTER V HUSBANDS' AND WIVES' PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS OF THE DIVISION OF LABOUR BETWEEN THE SPOUSES

The findings reported in the preceding chapter indicate that men generally spend little time doing housework and that this contribution is not significantly altered by whether or not their wife is employed in the labour force. In other words, the time-budget data indicate that the women's employment status has little impact on the division of household tasks between the husband and wife.

In order to obtain some understanding of spouses' perceptions and evaluations of this phenomena, ten married couples were interviewed, each separately. For the purpose of presentation, the data from these interviews will be included in this thesis in the form of summaries. Since the presentation of summaries necessitates selection, criteria will be discussed according to which data were included in the summaries.

The summaries provide information related to four areas in the couple's life: their background, their occupational and domestic activities, and their ideology of sex roles. The background information includes the age and sex of family members, length of marriage, occupations of the couple's parents, and the occupations of the husband and wife. In

addition to this basic information any further background information which either spouse deemed as relevant to explanations of his or her behavior or attitudes were also included in the summary.

With regard to the occupational sphere, the information presented for husbands is to some extent different from that of their wives. Included are the reasons why the wife does or does not work in a paid job, whether the presence or absence of children is a condition, the spouses' description and evaluation of their own occupation and, in the case of the husband, his description and evaluation of his wife's occupation.

The information concerning the domestic sphere deals with the question of how responsibilities for household tasks are allocated, and why they are allocated in this manner.

The summaries also include a more general statement of how the husband and wife perceive their role in the family and in society at large.

Three interviews are presented in this chapter as illustrations and the remaining seven interviews are included in Appendix I. The summaries presented in the following pages are illustrative of couples of which the husband is employed full-time and the wife is not employed (Case 1), the wife is employed on a part-time basis (Case 2), and the wife is employed full time (Case 3).

I. Case 1: The Housewife and The Telephone Repair Man

Mr. and Mrs. Linton have been married for twelve years. This was the second marriage for both of them. Mr. Linton is forty-three years old and Mrs. Linton is thirty-four. They have four children, three sons and one daughter. The sons are sixteen, eleven, and five years old and the daughter is fourteen years old. The family resides in a very small, dilapitated home located in Burnaby Central.

Both Mr. And Mrs. Linton were born and raised in Vancouver. Mr. Linton's father worked as a farmer and his mother as a housewife. Mrs. Linton's parents both were employed; her father as a butcher and her mother as a cleaning lady.

For the past twenty years Mr. Linton has been employed as an installer- repairman for B.C. Telephone. Mrs. Linton has worked as a housewife for the past ten years.

The Housewife: Mrs. Linton

Mrs. Linton was married when she was seventeen years old. She worked for the following four years as a shorthand stenographer in an attempt to support her husband and their two children. At the age of twenty-three Mrs. Linton was divorced

and within the year married to Mr. Linton. Since that time she has worked as a housewife.

The reason why Mrs. Linton has not taken a job in the labour force is that she doesn't think that women should work unless that have to for financial reasons. To quote Mrs. Linton:

> "I don't believe in mothers working when they have young children. As a matter of fact I don't believe in mothers working when they've got older children at home, if it's going to conflict with the hours the kids are at home and create problems. No matter how old the kids are they need the mother in the home."

Mrs. Linton feels that being a housewife is a "thankless job". Housework is a drudgery, something one does over and over again only to have the family undo it. She describes her position as "just like being in prison". She was quite confident that if she weren't the type of person who had a social life, she'd go mad.

When they grow up, it seems to Mrs. Linton, men are always thinking about their future in the "working world". Women, on the other hand, see marriage as an end-all. However, "when you get married you realize it isn't the end-all. The kids grow up and there you are". Mr. Linton, she feels, leads an independent life, so it is up to her to lead her own life. This necessitates "having the resources to make a life for (herself)". For this reason, Mrs. Linton has been working for the past five years at completing her grade twelve education.

Mrs. Linton has experienced considerable stress as a consequence of trying to upgrade her education. In her view, Mr. Linton's attitude has been one of the major contributors to her stress.

> "He resents the time which I don't spend in the house. Actually, to be quite honest, I think he would like me to be a full-time housekeeper and forget any other thoughts I might have in my head except devoting myself entirely to the house and to him....He's sort of like the warden around here. He checks things out to see what has been done and what hasn't been done, rather that showing an interest in the family as people. I get in a panic about getting the housework done by the time he gets home."

A second major contributor to the stress experienced by Mrs. Linton was the fact that she found she has "little time else for doing housework, doing homework, running off to night school, and selling Avon products". As a result, she says, " I just run through the house as fast as I can". This was acceptable to her as, from her point of view, "the house will always be here so, as long as things are sanitary I don't make a big deal about it". Her husband, however, seems to hold a different definition as to what constitutes "necessary" housework. This is a point of considerable antagonism between Mr. and Mrs. Linton. She doesn't feel that she has the time to do anything other than what she considers to be the most necessary housework and Mr. Linton finds this to be totally unacceptable.

Since Mrs. Linton has just completed grade twelve, she now

plans to take a two year nursing program. Nevertheless, in Mrs. Linton's mind "that's going to be a really big undertaking and I've still got a lot to think about. I really don't know if I can handle it". She anticipates at least two major difficulties.

First of all, she doesn't feel that she can ask her husband for the tuition fee. (This is why she is selling Avon products--to save money for her tuition.) She senses that her husband "isn't happy about her going going to school", and she doesn't know if he even has the money. Secondly, Mrs. Linton is very unsure how she will be able to take the nursing course and run the home. Her husband will not do housework and the children are too busy to help. Besides, in her opinion, "I can't expect the children to fill my shoes, and their schooling is more important at this stage in the game. As far as the kids go, I wouldn't sacrifice their rearing for my education or for my future. I would care for their needs first."

Mrs. Linton clearly feels the housework to be her responsibility. This is because "my husband's working and I'm not, therefore, while he's bringing in the income certainly it's my place to keep our dwelling up to par". Mrs. Linton stated that although her husband "absolutely refused to help with the housework" the children do help her on occasion. They do not help very much, but she sees this as reasonable since, as she says, "I didn't want my kids to have to go to school all day and

then come home and work for me". Nevertheless, she mentioned that she wished her daughter would just help her without being asked. When she does ask the children to help, they complain and she is too tired to argue. "I find the line of least resistance is just to do it myself."

Mrs. Linton has given consideration to taking a job in the labour force but has rejected that notion. The following statement is perhaps most illustrative of her attitude towards this matter:

> "If I had a choice, which I do right now, of going out to work for luxuries or staying at home and being a good mother to my kids, I would much rather be a good mother to my kids! Material things aren't as important as raising children properly."

When asked to consider the relationship between the amount of time the wife spends working at her job and the distribution of household tasks between husbands and wives, Mrs. Linton responded:

> "I think if a wife is working full-time then definitely they should both share the housework if they're both enjoying the money and if this is what the husband wants too. If the husband has said 'Look I don't want you to work' and she just goes out and works anyway, she's doing that on her own. If he's bringing in sufficient income then she should have to make sure she gets her work done!"

If she were working, Mrs. Linton feels, she would fall into the latter category. That is, her husband would not approve of her working, she would not need to work for financial reasons, and consequently she would "have to make sure she gets her work done". Mrs. Linton appeared to have given consideration to

these "facts" and concluded that, at the moment at least, she does not feel that she could cope with the added responsibilities of a job in the labour force.

The Telephone Repairman: Mr. Linton

As a long-time employee of the telephone company Mr. Linton has become dissatisfied with his work. Although he considers himself to be a "craftsman" he feels that the "young kids today have lost their pride and sense of accomplishment in the job". Mr. Linton would like to quit his job but he is too old and he does not have another trade.

Mr. Linton is happy that his wife is a housewife as he "doesn't think that women should work unless they have to". After all, he says, "there's nothing worse than coming home at night and having to cook your own supper!" Besides this, in his opinion it is important for the mother to be at home if there is a young child in the family as "their personality is formed when they're small" and the children get lonely.

Mr. Linton was asked how he would feel if his wife took a job when the children were all in school. He was rather adamant in his reply:

> "I'd want her home when the kids come home from school or at least when I get home from work. I'm sure as hell not cooking my own supper! I didn't get married

for that!!"

Since Mrs. Linton is considering training as a nurse Mr. Linton was asked how he felt about this. Although he noted that "if she wants to work, that's her perogative" he had a rather negative attitude towards it. Basically this was in response to the hours she would be working rather that the fact of her working. As he says, "Hell, she'd start working night shift or a six o'clock shift. I'd come home and nobody would be here. No, I don't agree with it myself!"

Mr. Linton considers his housework responsibility to be the "outside work". This includes gardening, painting, building, and general maintenance. When asked whether he did any "inside housework" he responded that "There's no way I'm going to do it! I've got four kids and a wife!" In Mr. Linton's opinion housework is his wife's responsibility. He works all day and he does not want to come home at night and vacuum or wash dishes. If his wife were working, Mr. Linton suggested that he still wouldn't help her because she wouldn't "need" to work and she would have four children to help her anyway.

More generally, Mr. Linton feels that "womens place is in the home".

> "In a sense, that was what they were put on earth for, bearing children and caring for them. The majority of women, that's what they're adapted to. They have the patience and the know how."

In the "working world" Mr. Linton distinguishes between men's jobs and women's jobs and is very much opposed to women "taking over" men's jobs. For example, he doesn't feel that it is "proper" for a woman to climb a telephone pole. Mr. Linton noted, however, that there are a number of jobs in the telephone repair shop which women can do. He describes these jobs in the following terms:

> "There are a lot of jobs in the repair shop that are so damn monotonous that the men don't want them so the girls do it....women are better at these sorts of jobs. They have more patience and are more conscientious."

II. Case 2: The Nurse and The Lawyer

Mr. and Mrs. Ervine have been married for twenty years. Mr. Ervine is forty-nine years old and his wife is forty-three. There are three children in the family, two daughters and one son. The children are aged nineteen, seventeen, and fifteen respectively. The family resides in a luxurious home in a secluded area of West Vancouver.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Ervine were raised on the Prairies. Mr. Ervine's father worked as a realtor and his mother as a housewife. Mrs. Ervine's mother also worked as a housewife and her father as manager of a clothing store.

Mr. Ervine has been employed as a lawyer for the past twenty-one years. Although Mrs. Ervine has just quit her job, she has worked for the past four years as a nurse-receptionist in a doctor's office. This was a part-time job in which she worked an average of about three days per week.

The Nurse: Mrs. Ervine

Mrs. Ervine was married, worked full-time as a nurse for two years and then with the birth of her first child, quit her job and worked as a full-time housewife for the next sixteen years. Four years ago Mrs. Ervine decided to work as a nurse

again, this time on a part-time basis. She has worked as a nurse-receptionist in a doctor's office, three days a week, for the past four years. She had just quit this job two months before the interview.

Mrs. Ervine explained why she went back to nursing after being out of the labour force for sixteen years.

> "I felt unsure and was lacking confidence. I had to prove it to myself that I could do something other than be around the house, take courses, or things like this... to prove that I was marketable. I'm not sure now that I should worry about that (laughter). I'm inclined to think that to be a fully developed person you can really be a going concern as a housewife and as a female person not in the marketplace...."

She also felt that she had been doing much volunteer work, and that she might as well be paid for her time.

Although Mrs. Ervine described her job as "stimulating", she was not satisfied with her working conditions. One reason was that her work was not flexible--"you can't arrange it around your own needs and interests". Whenever the family was free to do something, she was the one who was busy. Her work therefore became "a dividing thing in the family".

The second reason why she quit her job was that she just didn't have "the energy to carry two jobs". That is, "when I was working I just hated coming home to cooking, to dishes, to cleaning, and all the rest". In general she felt "trapped" in her work, to the extent that she "couldn't concentrate on the house or anything in it...."

Mrs. Ervine provided the following description of the circumstances in her family at the time at which she actually did quit her job.

> "I think my husband came to resent my working. I think it was when I was working, going to college, and my sister-in-law came to visit. I got upset and couldn't cope with all three at once. He just suddenly withdrew his support (laughter), emotional or otherwise. I was left to understand that if I wanted to get myself into this situation I'd have to cope with it or get myself out of it (laughter). That was the point at which I decided to get myself out of it (laughter). Up until then he had been kind of neutral. That was quite a traumatic experience."

When asked if she had considered working when the children were younger, Mrs. Ervine said that she certainly had not. In her view, mothers and children have a great deal to learn from one another--"it's part of a growing experience. If you missed out on it you've missed out on something that's very important!"

Although Mrs. Ervine hated the "drudgery housework" she was not unhappy being a housewife. The advantages, as she sees them, are that "you're not doing the same thing all the time. To me this makes life more interesting than having to do certain routine things all the time". As a housewife, however, Mrs. Ervine feels that she experiences "all of the pressures that women have on them to be everything--to work, to go to college, to be a craftsman, to be a clubswoman and so on". Her ambivalence is illustrated in the following quotation:

> "I was always able to see all the great things that people did, but I never saw the corners they cut in order to be able to do these things....It's an

> inadequate feeling, you know. Everyone else is doing it much better and they're just such real stars. You know the kind of feeling (laughter). Everyone gets those feelings, don't they?"

As a housewife Mrs. Ervine describes herself as a "perfectionist". However, she doesn't feel that she has a household routine. She says that she is totally unorganized--"a hit and miss sort of person". Mrs. Ervine gets up at eight, has breakfast and does the dishes. She then has a bath and "gets dressed for the day". After that point there is no routine apart from the fact that she does try to complete her housework by the weekend.

Mrs. Ervine feels that her family does help her out with the housework, particularly her daughters. They do the laundry, help with the cooking, clean their own rooms and tidy up around the house. Her son helps his Dad in the yard, takes the garbage out and is expected to help with the dishes every night. He often does not do the dishes, however, as he has to play hockey, soccer, or the like.

Mr. Ervine "pitches in" with the dishes, pays the bills, and works around the yard. Nevertheless, "he never does as much as I want him to do" (laughter). She complained that Mr. Ervine "doesn't help me with the yard enough and things that are heavy that I really can't do . I'm really irate about it!" Mrs. Ervine expected him to do these things because her father had done them--"it was part of being man of the house". Mr.

Ervine's father, however, "never lifted a finger at home". She does not think that her husband realizes that, if you do not do it yourself, you have to hire somebody to do it.

Mrs. Ervine does not expect her husband to do very much of the housework because she is not employed. If she were working and she "had to work" she would expect her husband to share the housework. Mrs. Ervine did not feel, if she were working for self-fulfilment, that she could ask him to help her with the housework. As she says, "I spend a fair amount of my day seeking fulfilment even if I'm not working, so working isn't a different situation in that case".

To the question of the roles of men and women in this society, Mrs. Ervine's opinion was that the man should be the "breadwinner" and the woman the "homemaker". This, she feels, is a consequence of the biological differences between the sexes.

> "Women have the potential to be a relaxed, nurturing individual. A man has the potential of being a driving, manipulating person. The mixing up of these roles would blunt this potential."

In her own case Mrs. Ervine feels more "comfortable" as a homemaker. It is her position that she could not cope with working at a job and raising a family. As she says, "I'd be doing a shoddy job one way or other and I feel, for myself, more comfortable in the house". Besides this, "with the interruption of having babies and raising them, you haven't got the long-term

application to a job that would really make for a competent professional person".

Although Mrs. Ervine feels that "the wife's role is as important as the man's," she said that she used to feel rather inferior. When asked why she felt inferior she responded:

> "Women feel inadequate...because so much is geared to money. She's got to find other satisfactions if she's going to be a housewife. She's probably better off to find them and to explore her possibilities than she is to work for a dollar...."

The Lawyer: Mr. Ervine

As a lawyer working in civil litigation, Mr. Ervine finds his job to be extremely interesting. He works under considerable pressure but he enjoys this aspect of the job and in fact has sought it out. Although he generally works from nine to five, at least one night a week he works "until all hours", generally before a trial.

When asked how he felt about his wife working away from home, Mr. Ervine responded, "if women want to work, it's up to them, as long as they can handle what's on at home". He further qualified this statement with the remark that "unless the woman is miserable at home and if there's enough money coming into the house, it's probably better for the woman to stay at home and

look after the kids". Mr. Ervine's view of his wife holding a job is illustrated by the following quote:

> "When the wife was bored I was all for her going to work. Everytime she gets bored, I tell her to go to work (laughter). The alternative is always there. I have no objections to it if she feels happier there."

Mr. Ervine has what he calls a "pet theory" as to what would give housewives the fulfilment they lack. Each husband would hire his neighbour's wife as a housekeeper. The husbands would pay the wives a good wage and the women would feel as though they were working. Mr. Ervine believes this to be a "utopian" suggestion but feels that "it's worth a thought".

With regard to women's priorities, Mr. Ervine's attitude is that their first priority should be the family. The reason for this is that "women are brought up to be good mothers while men have been educated so that they can earn more than a woman. It is therefore economically smarter for men to work than for a woman to do so". If for some reason the man cannot work then of course the woman should "take over".

Mr. Ervine views household chores to some extent as a family responsibility. Everyone is responsible for looking after their own rooms, cleaning their own mess, making their bed and putting dirty laundry in the laundry bag. "Everyone" does not seem to include Mr. Ervine however, as he has none of these responsibilities. In addition to these general tasks, his daughters help with the dishes, the vacuum cleaning and the

cooking. His son presses his pants, empties out waste baskets, takes out the garbage, and does such "outside chores" as mowing the lawn, cleaning gutters, gardening and such.

Mr. Ervine's opinion is that boys should learn how to do "traditionally male jobs" -- those things which require "bull strength". He also believes that his son should learn the basic chores inside the house so that he could survive while "batching". Nevertheless he also noted that "a boy shouldn't be confined to the house". Following this statement, Mr. Ervine's seventeen year old daughter interrupted the interview with the comment:

> "I don't think a woman should be confined to the house either. I hate it! I'd much rather work out in the yard for the weekend than be inside, because it gives me a headache!"

Mr. Ervine replied:

> "Then you should get your work finished inside and then come outside (laughter)."

Mr. Ervine mentioned that while Mrs. Ervine was working as a nurse he made the children do more housework. However, he did not do any more housework himself. When asked about the responsibility for housework when both husband and wife have full-time jobs, Mr. Ervine felt that it depended on the pressures on them. More specifically:

> "If the guy comes home completely beat because he's got a job of much more pressure and his wife has a job because she's bored with the housework, this gives her a lift and she's more up to do the housework."

III. Case 3: The Keypunch Operator and The Machine Operator

Mr. and Mrs. Kelly are in their mid-thirties and have been "happily married" for the past nine years. This is Mrs. Kelly's second marriage. The Kelly's have three children, one son and two daughters, aged eleven, eight, and three years respectively. The family presently resides in a very small, run-down home in the east end of Vancouver.

Mr. Kelly was born and raised in Vancouver. Mrs. Kelly was born in Austria and at the age of nine years immigrated to Vancouver with her parents. Both Mr. and Mrs. Kelly have working class backgrounds. Mr. Kelly's father is a laborer and his mother a housewife. Mrs. Kelly's parents both work as furniture finishers. It is important to note that neither Mr. or Mrs. Kelly have had much formal education. Mr. Kelly spent seven years in elementary school and Mrs. Kelly spent one year in high school. Mr. Kelly feels that for all intents and purposes he is illiterate.

Mr. Kelly presently is employed as a machine operator for a canning company. He has worked at this company for two months. Mrs. Kelly works as a keypunch operator, six hours a day, five days a week. She works the night shift and has been doing so for the past fourteen months.

The Keypunch Operator: Mrs. Kelly

Mrs. Kelly has had to go to work, for the past fourteen months, in an attempt to help support the family. She works as a keypunch operator from six to twelve in the evening, five days a week. Mrs. Kelly "detests" working in general and her job in particular.

She dislikes her job as a keypunch operator because there is always work to be done. The work is never completed so that there is no time to socialize with her fellow workers. Further, the work is "so boring!" She feels that "to go down there (to work) is my prison".

It is working in general which Mrs. Kelly dislikes. One of the reasons is that she does not think that mothers should work if it is not necessary. She observed, however, that she is "starting to be a dying breed as far as wanting to stay home with the kids". Mrs. Kelly feels very guilty about leaving her children in order to go to work, and this is only lessened by the fact that she has to go to work--"it's not a question of wanting to". She describes her guilt in the following terms: "My guilt is working at me in that I could be at work but I'm so glad to be here. You're working against yourself. I'm torn two ways--for having gone to work and I feel I've missed a year in the kids' life."

A second source of guilt arises from the fact that her husband is working at a "steady job" now and she could possibly quit her job. However, if she works a little longer they would be able to save enough money for a "rainy day". Although she senses that it bothers her husband that she continues to work she is anxious about quitting. Mrs. Kelly is reluctant to indicate this to her husband as "this is sort of telling him that I don't think you're going to make enough".

Mrs. Kelly has found that apart from feeling guilty about working at her job, she is unable to complete her housework. In fact, she noted "my house has never been this bad before. I find I just can't get anything done. Most of the time I'm tired and just can't get going in the morning".

When asked how she manages the housework, the children and her job, she responded that she just did "whatever needs to be done the worst around the house". As a consequence "something has to give and in my case it's my sleep. That builds up and I find that after fourteen months you get worn out. I'm just tired. I get a maximum of six hours of sleep a night".

Although she had considered working at a job during the day, she had rejected the idea as it would have meant she'd have had to send her youngest daughter to a day-care centre. Since she works in the evening her husband acts as the babysitter. Besides, "(my daughter) is awfully sensitive and it wouldn't be good for her to be put out".

Mrs. Kelly's day is usually spent in the following fashion. At 7:45 she gets up and gets the family up. She then makes breakfast, packs her husband's lunch, sends the children to school and her husband to work. By 8:30 she "grabs a cup of coffee and then I'm on the run". Dishes are washed, beds are made and the laundry is started. She "just gets started" and it's noon and time to make lunch. As soon as the children are back at school she puts her youngest daughter to bed. Mrs. Kelly then tries to spend the next forty-five minutes getting ready to go to work. By 3:00 her husband is home and that's the end of her "working day". She then talks to Mr. Kelly while preparing dinner. Mrs. Kelly leaves for work at 4:30 and doesn't return until about 12:30 that evening. Before going to bed she spends about an hour "tidying up". Having described her household routine, Mrs. Kelly remarked:

> "You'll find there isn't much leisure time but I suppose I'm a slow worker. I'm always being pushed for time from the time I get up!"

Although Mrs. Kelly "detests" her job as a keypunch operator, she does enjoy being a housewife. When commenting on her household responsibilities she said that:

> "This is my job. It's sort of the thing that I'm running. I sort of enjoy the thought that I'm home with the kids and doing my thing and that I'm finished doing it when my husband gets home...then we can enjoy each other as a family."

Because she's working her husband "helps her out" by doing the dishes and taking care of the children. As well as this he

looks after the "outside work".

Generally, Mrs. Kelly likes her husband to be the "breadwinner" and herself to be the "homemaker". When asked why she preferred this role she responded in the following fashion:

> "It suits me a lot better. He's appreciated my helping him but he prefers me here at home. For instance he likes me doing the dishes while he reads the paper...then he doesn't have to think about them. I prefer to be at home doing the dishes than going down to the prison...."

The Machine Operator: Mr. Kelly

Because of Mr. Kelly's poor educational background he has worked at a multitude of laboring jobs over the past fifteen years. He presently is working as a machine operator in a canning company. He describes this work in the following terms:

> "Where I'm working now an idiot could do the job. You work behind the machine and the machine tells you what to do. You can get lazy real quick. Right now I'm too old to start fooling around with anything else so I'll stay where I am."

Mr. Kelly feels that although his wife has had to work to help him along he doesn't like his wife to work. His general attitude is that once a woman wants to get married and have children "that's their job!" They've committed themselves to bring the child up "right". The daycare centre or their

neighbor isn't committed but the wife is. "As long as the husband is making enough money to keep them going then the wife ought to do her job!"

In the case of his wife working "it's just to help me out. Now she's going to quit because she doesn't feel well and I think I can make enough money just to get by with. If she wants to continue, she continues without my help. I would be very unhappy!"

Even though Mr. Kelly feels that "women are more capable of looking after children than men are" he doesn't mind looking after the children while his wife goes to work. However, he noted that it was starting to bother him somewhat. What disturbs him is that: "I come home and I may be tired and just want to lay down and catch a little (sleep) but you can't do it with three kids around".

In Mr. Kelly's opinion he does "quite a bit of housework". Generally he does the "heavy" work and she does the "light" work. The "heavy" work consists of scrubbing the walls and floors, painting, mowing the lawn, and gardening. Sometimes he resents the fact that he has to do this work. He describes this feeling in the following terms:

> "I think--why the hell do I have to scrub these bloody walls any she couldn't get up on a step ladder and do the same bloody thing! My Dad never did it. Why the hell do I have to do them?"

He concluded that he did them because his wife didn't have the

time and he wanted to help her out. Mr. Kelly pointed out, however, that he chose to help her but that she couldn't make him do it. When asked why this was the case he replied, "There isn't any weapon a woman can use. A woman can't hurt me".

Mr. Kelly suggested that he would be willing to do more housework but that his wife usually had it done by the time he got home from work. Also, his wife seems to want to do some household tasks herself. For instance, Mr. Kelly stated that he didn't know how to work the washing machine. His wife does all the washing, on a daily basis, and "won't let (him) get near the machine. She says 'It's my machine and you leave it alone".

As a general view of the role of husband and wife Mr. Kelly felt that it was his job to be the breadwinner and his wife's job to be the homemaker. He was of the opinion that these were their "proper" jobs as "man is the strongest of the sexes". Mr. Kelly then observed, "it would make me feel less of a man if my wife were the breadwinner".

CHAPTER VI A QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE DIVISION OF LABOUR BETWEEN HUSBANDS AND WIVES

I. Theoretical Orientation: An Approach To Conflict

Marital stability is not incompatible with the presence of conflict and disorder. Lewis (1967) and LeMasters (1959) have demonstrated that equilibrium or harmony is not necessary for the continuation or stability of families. The interviews presented in this thesis suggest that couples experience considerable conflict, both personal and interpersonal, with regard to the division of labour between the spouses. Consideration will be given to why conflict between the spouses' occurs and when and under what conditions.

For the purpose of analysis it is useful to view the husband-wife relationship as "a system of conflict management" (Sprey, 1969:700). This relationship is seen as placing the spouses in a continual confrontation, a confrontation between individuals with conflicting interests in their common situation. The marital relationship can therefore be described as meeting "the contradictory yet interrelated needs and designs of men (and women)" (Horowitz, 1967:268).

If we consider, as does Bernard (1973), that the positions of husbands and wives are analogous to that of players in a

game, then the nature of their conflict of interest can be seen to change in accordance with the societal definition of the game (Sprey,1969). In a marriage, conflicting interests and alliances of common purpose contend. "The family process is perceived as an ongoing peace-making effort which may result in a negotiated order, a state of affairs which remains...open to continuous re-negotiation" (Sprey,1969:702). Any manifestation of family harmony is seen as an instance of successful conflict management, not conflict resolution. Consideration should be given, therefore, to the question of how couples manage to live with conflict.

One implication of viewing the marital relationship within a conflict framework is that marital harmony is considered as problematic rather than a normal state of affairs. Attention is given to the question-- How is the orderly cooperation between husbands and wives possible? The key concept in the explanation of their behavior is cooperation rather than adjustment, accomodation, or consensus.

Cooperation is defined as "the settlement of problems in terms which make possible the continuation of differences and even fundamental disagreements" (Horowitz,1967:278). Accordingly, cooperation does not require attitudinal similarity or value consensus between husbands and wives. What is required, however, is a set of shared, mutually understood procedural rules. All possible areas of difference or agreement

are thus conceived as properties of a situation to be confronted and are theoretically relevant only to the extent that they influence the process of cooperation.

II Analytical Dimensions

The analysis of the process of conflict management within households, in conjunction with the division of labour between husbands and wives, is the concern of this chapter. In considering this process the following analytical dimensions will be considered: motivational syndromes, role expectations, personal and interpersonal strain, and role bargaining.

Motivational syndromes are the wives' motives for taking a paying job and the husbands motives' for making it possible, or in some cases allowing her, to take an additional job.

Role expectations are examined with regard to husband's and wife's expectations of their own behavior and that of their spouse's, within the household sphere. Consideration will also be given to the values underlying these expectations.

The third dimension, personal and interpersonal strain, addresses three questions. Firstly, what are the dilemmas faced by either the wife or the couple as a consequence of her employment status? Secondly, what are the strains imposed by these dilemmas? Finally, how does the wife or the couple manage

this strain?

The fourth and final dimension is that of role bargaining. This process is examined in terms of how cooperation is attained by both the husband and wife, in attempting to order or allocate the claims of the different role expectations to which the wife with a paying job is subject; those of wife, mother, and employee.

III Motivational Syndromes

This section will concern itself with two questions: what are the women's motives for taking a paying job and what are the men's motives for making it possible for their wives to take an additional job? In considering such motives it is important to understand that the following discussion deals only with motives as they were stated by the respondents. Clearly, then, these motives are manifest rather than latent in the minds of the respondents.

The wives were asked why they had decided to take a paying job. They typically responded with two such reasons: financial necessity and self-fulfilment. Two of the wives indicated that their primary reason for taking a paying job was the family's financial needs. Five of the wives suggested that they had taken a job for their self-fulfilment.

The two wives reportedly working at a job because of the family's financial needs had two different definitions of "necessity". In one instance necessity meant that the wife is working at a job in an attempt to maintain the family's standard of living. In the second, the wife is working at a job in order for the family to survive without receiving welfare.

Since five of the wives described their reason for taking a paying job as self-fulfilment, it is important to consider their circumstances. The following quotations are descriptive of their situation previous to taking a paying job:

> "I felt unsure and was lacking confidence. I had to prove it to myself that I could do something other than be around the house, take courses, or things like this... to prove that I was marketable" (Mrs. Ervine)
>
> "I was a little bored with housework and as the children get older and go their separate ways you find you need something extra to do... a little diversion" (Mrs. Innis)
>
> "After fourteen years of being a housewife I was bored and depressed. I went back to work to get back in the swing of things" (Mrs. Mills)
>
> "I wanted to get out of the house, feel independent, and of course the extra money is nice too" (Mrs. Gable)

The circumstances in which these women felt they required a sense of self-fulfilment could be summarized as follows:

1. All of their children were attending school,
2. The women were bored with the routine of housework and wished for some diversion,
3. The women disliked the social isolation of being a housewife,

4. The women expressed a desire to become somewhat independent of both the home and their family.

Given these circumstances the five wives decided to enter the paid labour force and, with the exception of one wife, to work at a job on a part-time basis. The reason these women gave for accepting a part-time position was that they "needed" to be at home by the time the children returned from school. The wife who had a full-time job explained that her son had a paper route and did not arrive home until she finished working at the bank.

Consideration will now be given to the three wives who worked full-time as housewives. Why did they not take a paying job? Two of the wives suggested that they did not wish to take an additional job as their youngest child was either not yet in school or was in school for only part of the day. They felt that it was important to be home with their children; that their children "needed" them. Both of these mothers suggested that they would consider working at a paying job, on a part-time basis, once all of their children were in school.

The third full-time housewife was Mrs. Brown. She had no young children at home and expressed no desire to work at a paying job. Since her husband's income was fairly substantial, she had become involved in many "social" activities and spent much of her time painting. She felt no need to take a paying job either for financial reasons or for reasons of self-fulfilment.

Before proceeding with this discussion, it is important to recognize that the reasons of financial necessity and self-fulfilment are not mutually exclusive. For example, although Mrs. Gable primarily wanted to get out of the house and feel independent, "the extra money is nice too". Mrs. Ryan, on the other hand, has a job primarily because the family needs her income to maintain it's standard of living. Nevertheless, she was happy to take a job as she was bored as a housewife and "happy to escape to work".

The question which this classification raises is why do so few wives describe their primary reason for taking a paying job as being financial in nature? Let us first consider the husband's evaluation of their wife's income.

> "I suppose my wife's income helps out but I don't know how much she makes or what she does with it... and I don't want to know!" (Mr. Gable)
>
> "(My wife's income) doesn't mean anything because it's so little. I told her to put it away into a little account, do whatever you want with it" (Mr. Innis)
>
> "I can provide a reasonably good income while my wife can provide the frills" (Mr. Mills)

The husbands clearly regard their wives' income as relatively insignificant in comparison to their own, and only of value in so far as it contributes to expenditures which are described either as "extras" or "frills". If the wives state that the reason why they took a paying job was primarily the income, then the husband's negative evaluation of her income belittles her status. If, on the other hand, the wife asserts that her

primary reason for taking a job was a need for self-fulfilment, then the husband's negative evaluation of her income is of relatively little consequence.

Having described the reasons given by the wives for wanting or for avoiding taking a job in addition to housework, consideration will now be given to their husbands' attitudes toward this decision. Apart from Mr. Kelly, who suggested that he would not allow his wife to work at a job other than because the family needed the money, all of the other husbands agreed to their wives working at a job for reasons of their self-fulfilment, as long as the wife met the following requirements:

1. She does not work until the children are past five years of age,

2. She is home from work by the time the children have returned from school,

3. The family does not "suffer" as a consequence of her working at a job (i. e., she does not take her frustrations out on the family and she is able to manage her household chores).

All of the wives who were working at a paying job accepted their husband's requirements as legitimate and scheduled their job hours accordingly. The wives who were unable to meet these requirements did not have an additional job.

IV. Role Expectations

The questions of how, why, and to whom work is allocated in

the household is the concern of this section. Since a couple must necessarily accomplish a minimum amount of work within both the occupational and household spheres, an important allocative function operates in these areas: the allocation of human capabilities and resources. One of the ways in which this allocation is accomplished is through regulating individuals' occupancy of roles by defining sex as the criterion of eligibility. The operation of such an allocative function is well demonstrated in the labour force. The Department of Labour (1971) reports that forty-seven percent of all women in the labour force are concentrated in the service industry, in comparison to five percent in public administration.

The question to be considered is how, and to what extent, does the allocation of roles according to sex operate in the household in determining what work is to be performed and by whom. Further, for the purpose of analysis, a distinction should be drawn between legitimate and illegitimate role expectations in conjunction with the allocation of roles in the division of labour within the household.

Consideration will now be given to the relationship between the employment status of the wife and the expectations of both spouses' with regard to the division of labour within the household. When wives did not have a paying job, it was clear from the interviews that the spouses considered the women to be responsible for caring for the children and for most of the

housework. The husbands were responsible for providing income for the family and for such "outside chores" as lawn mowing, gardening, and building.

Although both husbands and wives hold these expectations of one anothers behavior, generally the men allocate the responsibilities and the women merely accept them. For example, the husbands stated that:

> "Housework's my wife's responsibility. I work all day and I don't want to come home at night and vacuum or wash dishes" (Mr. Linton)
>
> "It's a woman's responsibility to show their children the way of life" (Mr. Brown)
>
> "Once a woman wants to get married and have children then that's her job! As long as the husband is making enough money to keep them going then the wife ought to do her job!" (Mr. Kelly)

The wives, on the other hand, seemed not to define their household responsibilities but to accept their husbands expectations as legitimate.

> "I'm home and there's no reason why I shouldn't be able to handle (the housework)" (Mrs. Slade)
>
> "There's no reason for him to be doing housework... he doesn't have to help" (Mrs. Brown)

Those women who had a part-time job were considered by themselves and their husbands to be responsible for tending to the children (i. e., they were to be home when the children returned from school), and for most of the housework. Responsibility for the household chores, then, remained much the same as in the families where the wife did not have a paying

job.

> "The housework is my responsibility unless someone came in and took over" (Mrs. Gable)
>
> "If a woman has to work, then the husband and wife should share the housework but if it isn't necessary... then she should consider looking after the house first! The man has to work to keep the house going" (Mr. Gable)

Although both husbands and wives express general agreement in their expectations as to the division of labour between them, the wives suggest that their husbands <u>should</u> do more housework.

> "My husband and sons should do more housework....It shouldn't be all my job... it should be shared a little more" (Mrs. Gable)
>
> "He never does as much as I want him to do. He doesn't help me with the yard enough and things that are heavy that I really can't do" (Mrs. Ervine)

Finally, the expectations of women with full-time jobs differed according to their motive for taking the job. Those women who were working at a paying job because of the family's financial need were expected by their husbands and themselves to ensure that the children were being properly cared for and, in the case of other housework, the responsibility was shared between the spouses.

> "Because I have to work, my husband helps me a lot with the housework" (Mrs. Ryan)
>
> "My husband helps me out by taking care of the children while I'm at work" (Mrs. Kelly)
>
> "I do quite a bit of housework because my wife doesn't have the time and I want to help her out" (Mr. Kelly)

The women who worked at a paying job for reasons of their self-

fulfilment, however, retained essentially the same household responsibilities as the housewives or the women who were employed at a job on a part-time basis.

It is now important to attend to the reasoning or the logic underlying these role expectations of husbands and wives. Essentially all the respondents articulated this reasoning in the following fashion:

> "I think if a wife is working full-time that definitely they should both share the housework...if they're both enjoying the benefits and if this is what the husband wants too. If the husband has said to the woman--'now look, I don't want you to work' and she just up and goes out and works anyway, then she's just doing this on her own. If he's bringing in sufficient income then she should have to make sure she gets her work done."

Both spouses' agreed that the wife is responsible for the housework unless the wife is employed at a paying job because of the family's financial needs. In this case housework is expected to be a shared responsibility. The following discussion will attempt to explain the means by which these role expectations gain legitimacy and therefore effectiveness in the control of the couple's behavior within the household setting.

The consensus was that the male role was that of "breadwinner" and the female role that of "homemaker". The explanation the men offered for this division of labour was that women are more "capable" of raising children and maintaining a home. This, many observed to be a "biological fact".

> "Women have more emotion than men and therefore are better able to look after the children" (Mr. Brown)

> "If you go right back to biology, that's (the women's) role in life, to look after their children" (Mr. Innis)

The second explanation for the belief that men and women are more "capable" in these different spheres, rests with tradition. Mr. Cave noted for example that:

> "It probably goes back to the days when the man was the hunter. He went out and killed the beast and then came back and tole his wife to skin it. The man has always been the provider and the woman has been protected because she's the creator and the mother of the tribe. She produces and nurtures the young."

The third explanation which was offered for the different capabilities of men and women was based on the assumption that men are more capable than women of earning money in the labour force.

> "(A man's) more capable of demanding a higher wage and getting it than a woman would be" (Mr. Brown)

> "Women are brought up to be good mothers while men have been educated so that they can earn more than a woman. It is therefore economically smarter for men to work than for a woman to do so" (Mr. Ervine)

The women agreed with the men that the male role was that of "breadwinner" and the female role that of "homemaker". The women's explanations for this division of labour were all based on the underlying assumption that they were more capable than the men of raising children and that this was their primary responsibility in life. The following statements are illustrative of the women's attitude towards this division of labour.

> "With the interruption of having babies and raising

> them, you haven't got the long term application to a job that would really make for a competent, professional person" (Mrs. Ervine)
>
> "To me, maintaining a home isn't as important as working, but working isn't as important as the family" (Mrs. Gable)
>
> "A woman couldn't go out and take a man's role in life because she doesn't get the salary to begin with. Besides, a woman's first aim in life is to look after her children properly and bring them up to the best of her ability" (Mrs. Mills)

When considering the allocation of human capabilites within either the occupational or household sphere, it is clear from the preceding discussion that the criterion for allocating to men the role of "breadwinner" and to women the role of "homemaker" is ascription rather than achievement. Husbands and wives do not consider which of the two are more capable of providing for or caring for the family. Rather, women as a class are assumed to be more capable mothers and homemakers and men to be more capable breadwinners. Within the household setting both husbands and wives accord priority to perceived male-female attributes rather than their actual or potential performances.

With regard to the occupational sphere, men are assumed to be more capable breadwinners. That is, men are assumed to be able to earn more money than a woman. Given this assumption, consider the following statement:

> "I don't think women (on the end of a jackhammer) are capable of producing the same as a man is. They can do it but they can't produce as much as a man could so they should get paid accordingly" (Mr. Mills)

It is essentially this sexist attitude which, when held by those in positions of power in the occupational sphere, has the consequence of relegating women to lower-income occupational positions than men.

A second basis of the spouses' role expectations concerns the husbands' and wives' perspectives as to whose interests should be given first priority in the division of labour. Should the spouse give priority to his or her private interests or the collective interest of the household of which he or she is a member?

These two perspectives are clearly evident in the husband's and wife's views of their family roles. The wife, for example, is obligated to give first priority to the family, rather than herself as an individual.

> "My wife's first priority should be the family and the house as long as I'm able to provide for the family" (Mr. Slade)
>
> "If women want to work it's up to them as long as they can handle what's on at home" (Mr. Ervine)
>
> "If you are working and you have a family, it's alright as long as no one is suffering as a consequence" (Mrs. Brown)

In other words, the wife is to give first priority to the family but if she can work at a paying job and the family does not suffer as a consequence, then her job can become a second priority. The wife's job is considered by the respondents to be in her individual interests rather than those of the family.

Consequently, although Mrs. Mills was "just a plain old housewife for fourteen years" and was "bored to death at home" both she and her husband felt that her "place" was in the home caring for their son. The interviews suggest, then, that the woman's paid job tends to be regarded as a "private interest" unless she is working at the job because the family is in financial need. In the case of the men, however, his paying job is always regarded as of collective interest. He is "providing for the family". It is in this regard that Mr. Gable stated:

> "It isn't necessary for (my wife) to work in the first place. She's doing this for herself and to satisfy herself, where the man has to work to keep the house going."

The fact that the wife's paying job is generally considered to represent her "private interests" and the husband's job, the interests of the collectivity or household, has had serious repercussions for women employed in the labour force. For example, many of the women found that "work is not flexible, you can't arrange it around your needs and interests or those of the family". Because work at a paying job is not flexible the women who had jobs were forced to structure their household obligations around those of their job. This situation resulted in the wives experiencing considerable strain as is described in Section V.

With regard to household responsibilities, the man's "outside chores" and leisure time activities are generally seen as complementary to his job and an earned right. The husbands

argue that they work all day at their job and they are not prepared to come home tired and have to wash the dishes, vacuum clean, and so forth. They do accept responsibility for such discretionary activities, however, as "outside chores". Their wives are not attributed such rights. One husband described his rationale for this division of labour in the following terms:

> "If the guy comes home completely beat because he's got a job of much more pressure and his wife has a job because she's bored with housework, this gives her a lift and she's more up to do the housework" (Mr. Ervine)

On the basis of such reasoning, wives are allocated the responsibility for the "inside chores" regardless of whether they have a paying job. These chores are not, as in the husband's case, complementary to their jobs and has the consequence of producing considerable strain for the wife (cf. Section V).

Norms, which allocate labour on the basis of sex, enable the spouses to distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate role expectations. A legitimate expectation is such that the spouse feels that others have a right to hold this expectation. An illegitimate expectation is, of course, that which the spouse feels others do not have a right to hold. A legitimate expectation may be regarded then as a perceived obligation and an illegitimate expectation as a perceived pressure.

This distinction is clearly a very important consideration

with regard to the respondents' perceptions of the relationship between the employment status of the wife and the division of household tasks between the spouses. If the wife is employed at a paying job on a full time basis and she is working at this job because of the family's financial needs, then both spouses consider that it is legitimate that the housework be shared. If, on the other hand, the wife is employed at a paying job and she is working at this job for reasons of her self-fulfilment, neither she nor her husband feel that it is legitimate to expect him to increase his participation in household tasks.

If marriage is considered as a contract, it is clear from the interviews that the husbands are obligated to provide income for the family and the wives are to provide services for the husband. One husband articulated this contract in the following terms:

> "A woman looks after the home and the children and the man provides her with nice clothes, food, and a place to sleep" (Mr. Cave)

Or more generally:

> "My wife's first priority should be the family and the home as long as I'm able to provide for the family" (Mr. Innis)

Further, it is important to recognize that the wife's services are to be provided by her and not a reasonable fascimile. Mr. Kelly illustrates the nature of his wife's contract when he stated that:

> "Once you say you want to get married and have kids, remember, that's your job! You've committed yourself to bring that child up right. The day-care centre or

your neighbor aren't committed but you are!"

Given the nature of this contract, what are the consequences if one or other spouse is unable to fulfil his or her obligations? If the husband is unable to provide sufficient income for the family and the wife needs to work at a paying job out of financial necessity, then "the husband and wife should share the housework". If, however, the wife chooses to become employed at a job and is unable to provide the necessary services, then "it doesn't seem reasonable that her husband should help her... he might just feel that if that's what she wants to do, then she'll just have to cope with it herself". These expectations are clearly illustrated by the following statement:

> "When I was working...I got upset and couldn't cope. (My husband) just suddenly withdrew his support, emotional or otherwise. I was left to understand that if I wanted to get myself into this situation I'd have to cope with it or get myself out of it" (Mrs. Ervine)

It appears, then, that if either spouse is unable to fulfil the requirements of the marriage contract because of health reasons or factors external to themselves, it is considered a legitimate expectation that the spouses' help one another out. If, however, the husband chooses to become unemployed or the wife chooses to become employed at a paying job and therefore are unable to meet their contractual obligations, it is not considered a legitimate expectation that the husband and wife will assist each other in their family responsibilities. This

situation gives rise, then to the phenomenon of role strain.

V. Role Strain: The Experience of the Wife with a Paying Job

A. Sources of Strain

A wife experiences strain when she is confronted with incompatible expectations. In the interviews, the wives with paying jobs identified three causes of role strain: work overload; conflict within themselves as to whether they are good mothers; and conflicts between obligations to their husbands and their employers.

Work overload was clearly articulated as a major cause of strain. This strain was a consequence of the husbands and wives expectation that the housework is the wife's responsibility, while the wife with a paying job did not have enough time to fulfil this expectation. Consequently, when the wives are working at a paying job and in the home, they are often unable to maintain the home the way they like it.

> "My house has never been this bad before. I find I just can't get anything done. Most of the time I'm tired and just can't get going in the morning" (Mrs. Kelly)

Wives who are able to manage their household chores describe their experience in the following terms:

> "I come home from work feeling tired and hating the thought of cooking, cleaning, washing dishes and so forth" (Mrs. Ervine)

> "I feel like a workhorse. I just work from dawn to dusk" (Mrs. Cave)

A second cause of strain is the incompatibility of wanting to be both a a good empoyee at a job and a good mother at home. Mrs. Ryan, for example, felt guilty about the children coming home from school and her being unable to be home to greet them. Mrs. Mills also felt very guilty about leaving her son during the day and taking a paying job. In fact, she stayed home for several years when she would have preferred to have a job, to ensure that she was not depriving her son of anything. This source of strain was perhaps best articulated by Mrs. Linton:

> "If I had a choice, which I do right now, of going out to work for luxuries or staying at home and being a good mother to my kids, I would much rather be a good mother to my kids"

All of the women felt that when the children are of pre-school age, it is not possible to be both a good mother to their children and work at a paying job.

> "If you're going to get married and raise a family then that's your first aim in life--to look after them properly and bring them up to the best of your ability I don't think you can do that if you're working" (Mrs Mills)

Mrs. Kelly, for example, felt the incompatibility of these two roles. As the mother of a three-year old daughter she was required to work at a job because of the family's financial needs. She experienced much guilt at "depriving (her daughter) of the love and affection she needs".

Finally, some of the wives experienced strain as a consequence of the conflicting expectations of their husband and their employer. In the case of Mrs. Ervine, for example, her employer considered her to be, in a sense, "on call". That is, she was expected to work at her job extra days in the event of illness in the office, staff holidays or the like. Her husband and family, however, expected her to be free during the Easter holidays, for example, and her employer expected her to be available for work at the office. Mrs. Ervine therefore experienced considerable strain. Mrs. Innis also experienced such strain, when, because of her employer's illness, she was expected to work at her job full time rather that part time for a two week period. Because of this obligation she felt considerable stress as she was unable to fulfil her husband's expectations or her obligations as a wife, in assuming responsibility for the housework.

B. Pressures to Fulfil Role Obligations

Having considered the major sources of strain experienced by wives working at a paying job, let us now attend to a description of the pressures to fulfil the conflicting role obigations described above. A major source of pressure is the fact that both the husbands and wives are socialized to have emotional commitments to their "appropriate" roles. For example, Mr. Kelly noted that: "It would make me feel less of a

man if my wife became the breadwinner".

As Beauvoir (1953) suggests: "Women endeavor... to give some individuality to their work and to make it seem essential...."(pg.428). Mrs. Cave, for example, suggested that if she were working at her job full time she would not wish her husband to provide any further assistance with the housework. The reason for this was that "a man probably couldn't do anything that would suit me anyhow. I'd probably just go around and do things over which would certainly discourage anyone from doing very much housework". Mrs. Kelly does not wish her husband to help with either the laundry or the ironing. As Mr. Kelly observes, "she won't let me even get near the washing machine. She says 'it's my machine and you leave it alone'" Mrs. Mills suggested that although her son made his bed occasionally, she actually prefered that he didn't, as "he doesn't make it properly...". It seems that if the spouses' define the relationship by a division of labour based on sex, a taking over by the husband or wife of the other's activities threatens their relationship.

It is important to recognize that both the husbands and wives have become emotionally committed to their "appropriate" roles and that these commitments are transmitted to their children. For example, Mrs. Slade expects that her three-year old daughter will be more interested in "helping out in the kitchen as she gets older" than in mowing the lawn. Mr. Slade

remarked that:

> "The boys certainly aren't volunteering to do much housework around here. They'd much rather be playing sports. (My daughter) would be more inclined to be in the kitchen trying to bake a cake"

It is no accident that the Brown's daughter is "house conscious" and their son is "just the opposite". Housework is communicated as a craft, and parents condition young girls into its mysteries.

A second means by which the women are pressured to fulfil their husbands' expectations is by their husbands, in some sense, demanding norm conformity. That is, when an element of the wife's strain is on the level of role expectations which are conflicting (wife-mother and wage earner) and one set of expectations is institutionalized (wife-mother), it means that the husband can claim that his expectations of his wife are legitimate and therefore perceived by his wife as obligations to be fulfiled. For example, both Mrs. Ervine and Mrs. Innis reached a point in their paying jobs where they could not fulfil their obligations as both wife-mother and wage earner. It was under these circumstances that both of their husbands simply withdrew their support for their wives as wage earners. It was not necessary for the husbands to tell their wives to quit their job. The wives were fully aware of the legitimacy of their husband's claim that if they were unable to cope with the conflicting responsibilities of their work then they were to

give up their job.

VI. Role Bargaining

Role bargaining is defined as "a process of selection of role behaviors in which each individual seeks to reduce (his or her... strain" (Goode,1960:483). The wife with a paying job may reduce her strain by adjusting the demands made on her. Primarily this is accomplished through ordering or allocating the claims of the different role expectations to which she is subject. Ordering may occur on the basis of priority scales, in time and space, by rationalization, or by a distribution of tasks among household members.

The role bargain may be compared to that of an economic decision (Goode,1960), that is, the allocation of scarce resources among alternative ends. In attempting to reduce her strain it is in the wife's interest to demand as much as she can and perform as little. Since this is also true for others, there are limits on the gains she can make. Further, as Turner(1970) reports, "in several studies (of role bargaining) the subjects have been unwilling to exploit advantageous bargaining positions to the full. Bargaining is normally tempered by a concern with equity" (pg.107).

One means of reducing the strain of incompatible demands in the occupational and household spheres is by the wife lessening

the intensity of her involvement in the occupational sphere. Several of the wives with part-time jobs gave as one of the reasons why they worked part time rather than full time that they were able to be home when the children returned from school. These women maintained that since they were working at their paying job only on a part time basis that their family was their first priority. Consequently by working at a part time job the wives were able to meet both their husbands and employers expectations.

A second means by which wives with jobs attempted to reduce their strain was to insulate their activities from their family such that they did not disrupt the routine of their husbands in particular and other household members in general. Many of these wives suggested that they attempted to arrange their working hours so that they would leave for their job after their children left for school, and their husband for his job, and would return home before the children returned from school. They were able to work in the paid labour force, complete their housework before their husband returned from his job, and be present when the children needed them. As one wife observed: "This way the family doesn't suffer as a consequence of my working".

The fact that the wife's paying job does not disrupt the household routine was in some cases a condition which had to be met before the wife could take a job. For example, Mr. Innis

remarked to his wife: "Once the job starts to develop the stresses and strains, it's not worth it anymore". In the same vein, Mr. Linton's view was that he would want his wife home when the children came home from school or at least by the time he got home as he "sure as hell wasn't cooking (his) own supper!"

A third technique for reducing strain is for the wife to make clear to her husband that the demands of the job and family are incompatible. It then becomes the task of the couple rather than just the wife to manage the conflicting demands. This technique is clearly illustrated in the case of Mrs. Ervine. Mrs. Ervine was unable to cope with the strain of working at a paying job and working at home. She made the problem clear to her husband, and her husband consequently withdrew his support of her working at a paying job, and she quit the job. Mrs. Innis experienced the same type of stress when she was required to work at her job full time for a two week period. She expressed to her husband an inability to cope with this situation. Since the situation was temporary, the couple managed to reduce her strain by Mr. Innis spending more time helping her with the housework.

However, all of the husbands suggested that if their wives were unable to cope with the demands of their job and their family they should quit their job. This position is well illustrated by the following statement by Mr. Innis regarding

his wife's job:

> "Once the job starts to develop the stresses and strains it's not worth it anymore. You've lost your sense of direction!"

The fourth technique for reducing strain is rationalization. It is primarily employed where there is some recognition by one or other spouse of the conflicting norms for women in the occupational and household spheres. It might be argued that it is a prevailing value in Canada that an individual's position and rewards in the occupational sphere are to be determined according to competence and achievement, rather than such ascribed characteristics as race, age, or sex. Although this doctrine is to some extent an actuality within the occupational or public sphere, it is clearly not an actuality in the household or private sphere where rewards are allocated according to sex. As Haavio-Manila (1967) suggests, "official norms demanding equality of the sexes are better followed in public than in private life, where neither formal nor informal sanctions, except those of the family can be applied" (pg.578)

The rationale underlying the regulation of activities within the private sphere is best illustrated by the husbands' explanations for why men are "breadwinners" and wives "homemakers". Most husbands suggested that this difference is necessary and due to biological differences between men and women. Following are examples of such explanations:

> "I think a woman is biologically different. For one thing the majority of women have greater sympathy and

empathy with children" (Mr. Cave)

> "If you go right back to biology, that's (women's) role in life... to look after children. This is true in all areas of animal life....the wife is more capable of handling children" (Mr. Innis)

> "In a sense that's what women were put on earth for, bearing children and caring for them. The majority of women, that're what they're adapted to. They have the patience and know-how" (Mr. Linton)

It is in the context of such "biological explanations" for the division of labour between husbands and wives that Rowbotham(1973) suggests:

> "At any given time, the more powerful side will create an ideology suitable to help maintain its position and to make this position acceptable to the weaker one. In this ideology the differentness of the weaker one will be interpreted as inferiority, and it will be proven that these differences are unchangeable, basic, or God's will. It is the function of such an ideology to deny or conceal the existence of a struggle" (pg.116).

The men construct an "everyday ethic" or rationale by which the actuality of sex differentiation within the household sphere is legitimated. This everyday ethic serves, then, to reduce strain resulting from the incompatibility of an official doctrine of the equality between the sexes and the actuality of inequality in the roles of husbands and wives in the household.

The final means of reducing strain is the delegation of household tasks. When the wife experiences work overload, she could, under some conditions, attempt to delegate household tasks. However, the interviews suggest that one such condition in delegating tasks to children, for example, is that the

children are willing to participate. If they are unwilling to help with the chores, the mothers observe, "the line of least resistence is just to do it myself" (Mrs. Linton). As Mrs. Gable noted, "it's easier just to do it (yourself) instead of putting the pressure on". The mothers who were employed at a paying job for reasons of their self-fulfilment did not feel that they were in a position to pressure their children into helping them with the housework. It was only when the wife had a job because of the family's financial need that these demands were conceived as legitimate and therefore enforcable.

The same condition is in effect when the wives consider delegating household tasks to their husbands. That is, "if a woman has to work then the husband and wife should share the housework but if it isn't necessary for her to work she should consider looking after the house first!" The rationale of such an attitude is perhaps best illustrated by the following remark of Mr. Cave:

> "If you have a ... job to do, it should be the male that goes out and does it. When he comes home from doing that... job there's a clean bed, a nice meal and a nice chair to sit in. What the hell--you can't have that if your wife's out doing the same thing as you!"

VII. Determination of the Price of the Role Bargain

It is clear from the preceding discussion that the process of role bargaining between husbands and wives is, in most

instances, highlighted by asymmetry. Bernard (1973) has described such relations in the following terms:

> "Game theory has taught us that both parties can lose; or that one can win and others can lose....In our own society the loser is most likely to be a woman. Losing, in fact, is written into her role script; she has a stroke deficit: 'Women... are enjoined to give out more strokes than they receive by the dictates of their role as women. The instruction to give more strokes than they receive and to be willing to settle for this disparity are essentially aspects of women's life scripts' (Wyckoff, 1971). In this 'stroke economy' women may win an occasional battle... but they lose the wars" (pg.18).

As illustrated in Section VI, wives consistently make disadvantageous bargains with their husbands. This is a consequence of the fact that "women are structurally deprived of equal opportunities to develop their capacities, resources, and competition with males" (Gillespie, 1972:127-128).

The strains inherent in the role of married women working at paid jobs may be eased or intensified by individual idiosyncracies, and altered in emphasis by individual economic resources, but this strain exists as a social fact. More specifically, although women were oppressed before captialism, "the organization of production within capitalism creates a separate and segmented vision of life which continually restricts consciousness of alternatives" (Rowbotham, 1973:57).

> However, as Rowntree and Rowntree (1970) point out:
>
> "Women do not play a peripheral role in the labour force, and the numbers of women working outside the home are growing very significantly. The sense in which women's role in the labour force is peripheral is that women's position in the family is used to

> facilitate the use of women as a reserve army of labour, to pay women half what men are paid, but (the work of women) is peripheral neither to the women's lives not to the capitalist class" (Morton,1972:52).

The concept of "women's work" is only spuriously rational and is in reality a justification for the existing inequality of social power. Consequently, "natural" female attributes are not "valued" monetarily, although other factors such as physical weakness are subtracted from the "value" of female workers in the occupational sphere (Rowbotham,1973:85). Therefore, Mr. Mills suggests that a woman on the end of a jackhammer can't produce as much as a man and should be paid accordingly. On the other hand, as Mr. Linton notes, "there are many (low paying) jobs in the (telephone) repair shop that are so damn monotonous that the men don't want them so the girls do it....women are better at these sorts of jobs. They have more patience and are more conscientious".

In most contexts of social inequality:

> "Equity strains are evident... and involve questions of "proper" rewards to the right people....Such strains are likely to produce changes, and in some situations a possible change may be towards equality. In most situations the more likely change is toward a restructuring of access, attributes and rewards" (Moore,1970:400).

The interviews presented in this thesis provide little evidence of change in the asymmetrical relationship between husbands and wives, as a consequence of womens paid employment. The potential for change, however, does exist. Rowbotham (1973) describes such potential in the following terms:

"The oppressed without hope are mysteriously quiet. When the conception of change is beyond the limits of the possible, there are no words to articulate discontent so it is sometimes held not to exist. This mistaken belief arises because we can only grasp silence in the moment in which it is breaking. The sound of silence breaking makes us understand what we could not hear before" (pg.29).

CONCLUSION

I. Discussion of the Research Findings

The analysis of the time budget data generally indicated that the husband's participation in household tasks was to a large extent independent of the demands placed upon his wife. This was most clearly illustrated by the fact that on the average the husbands of wives with a paying job spent only 11 minutes more per week doing obligatory housework than the husbands of full time housewives. Further, the average total work load of the wives with a paying job is 4 hours and 22 minutes longer than their husbands'. These wives, then, appear to alter their behavior to adapt to job and family obligations, but their husbands appear to do little to factilitate this adaptation.

The results of the qualitative analysis provide some clarification of these findings. The wives with paying jobs adapt to the demands of their job and their family in most instances by altering their priorities in their roles as wife, mother, and employee, rather than bargaining with their husband over obligations or responsibilities. The only condition under which the claims made by the spouse's are seen as legitimate is when the husband is unable to provide for the family and the

wife is forced to become employed at a job for reasons of the family's financial needs.

A review of the research studies dealing with the relationship between the wife's employment status and the division of household tasks generally indicated findings quite to the contrary of those presented here. Studies conducted by Blood and Wolfe(1960), Heer(1958), Hoffman(1960), DeBie et al.(1968) and Lamouse(1969) all conclude that if the wife has a paying job, the division of household tasks between the spouses is significantly more egalitarian than if the wife is a full-time housewife.

The question to consider, then, is why are the findings of these studies contradictory to those of this research study? Basically, these differences seem to be primarily a function of the methods employed. None of the previous studies utilized time budget data to test their hypotheses and lacked the precision afforded by this type of data. As indicated in Chapter II the techniques which were employed are in many instances unsound.

There has been to date only one time-budget study designed to examine the relationship between the wife's employment status and the division of household tasks. This study, conducted by K.Walker, provides support for the findings reported here. Although Walker(1970B.) only distinguishes between wives with and without a paying job, she found that:

> "The men's workweek... was amazingly similar whether or not the wife was employed. It was consistently lower than the wife's in employed wife households and consistently slightly higher than the wife's time in non-employed households" (pg.7).

This thesis has clarified Walker's(1970B.) findings by introducing the effect of the wife's motive for her employment status, and by distinguishing between wives who are employed at a job full-time and part-time, and in professional and non-professional occupations.

Although qualitative research has previously been conducted in this area, it was primarily concerned with married professional women and their husbands. A consistent finding in these studies has been that these women view their career as secondary to their husband and their children and subordinate to their husband's career (Poloma and Garland,1970; Arreger,1966; Hubback, 1957; Lopata,1968). The interview data presented in Chapter IV and Appendix I indicate that this attitude is not restricted to professional women but is typical of all the women interviewed, regardless of whether or not they had a professional occupation.

In view of the previous research, then, the findings reported in this thesis are informative both from a theoretical and methodological perspective. Theoretically, the findings indicate that the division of labour between the spouses will be most egalitarian when the wife's motive for working at a job is defined as "financial need". More generally, the findings

suggest the need for a broader theoretical framework than has been presented in either previous research studies or in this thesis.

A model which attempts to predict the division of household tasks between spouses simply on the basis of the wife's employment status is inadequate. As this research demonstrated, the delegation of household tasks is but one technique for reducing the wife's role strain; several techniques exist. This research determined at least one major condition under which task delegation occurs, i. e.,the wife's employment motive, but the interview data indicate the need to describe the conditions under which other forms of role bargaining occur.

In its methods, this research illustrates the advantages of employing both quantitative and qualitative data in considering the research problem at hand. The use of quantitative data permitted the testing of the hypotheses stated in Chapter I and the generalization of the findings. The qualitative data, provide a holistic assessment of the process by which the wife manages to work at a job and at home. Consequently the quantitative data were employed for hypothesis testing and the qualitative data were primarily employed for the purposes of hypothesis generating. Before proceeding with suggestions as to the direction of further research it is important to clarify the limitations, both theoretical and empirical, of this research inquiry.

II. Limitations of the Research Inquiry

One of the limitations of this research was that the theoretical framework has proven itself to be too narrowly defined. More specifically, the qualitative data suggest that the delegation of household tasks is but one technique by which wives with paid employment might attempt to reduce their role strain. The theoretical framework, delineated in Chapter I, does not take these other techniques into account. The framework should therefore be broadened to include consideration of the conditions under which role strain is reduced by the techniques discussed in Chapter VI (pp.123-129).

Due to the rather narrow scope of the theoretical framework the time budget analysis and, to a lesser extent the qualitative analysis, reflect this constraint. For example, considerable time during the interviews was appropriated to a discussion of the spouse's attitude and behavior with regard to the performance of household tasks as a means of adaptation to strain. Although this information is both necessary and fruitful, it would be informative to gather further information on other means of adapting to this strain. Some of these were dicussed during the interviews but clearly much more information is required.

From a methodological perspective, it was unfortunate that the survey did not include questions regarding the wife's motive

for being employed, the spouses' perception of their family obigations, household tasks, and so forth. This is, of course, a consequence of the fact that these data were not originally collected for the purpose of this study.

A second limitation exists in that conceptually it was sometimes difficult to categorize household activities as, say work or leisure activities. That is, gardening, building, sewing and baking and the like require some assessment of the respondents' perception of the nature of the activity before it can be accurately classified.

One further limitation of the quantitative analysis, however, is that it considers only the wife's employment status as an independent variable. Since many married women contribute a substantial amount of time working for volunteer organizations it would be of considerable interest to consider this activity as unpaid work.

An important constraint in the analysis of the qualitative data was the fact that there were not enough couples in the three categories: full-time housewives, part-time employee, full-time employee. For example, the three couples in the interview sample where both the husband and wife were employed at a job on a full-time basis, did not provide sufficient variation on such important contextual variables as stage in family life cycle, stage in occupational career and so forth. Although it is difficult to estimate the exact number of couples

required to obtain such variation it is clear that three is insufficient.

III Suggestions for Further Research

On the basis of this research it would seem that any further research in this substantive area would be improved if the family was conceptualized as an open rather than a closed system. The theoretical framework described in Chapter I could be described as a closed system. That is, at a general level the focus is on the relationship of the wife's employment status and the division of labour between the spouses', within the household. Exogenous variables such as stage in the family life cycle are introduced not as explanatory but as control variables for testing for spurious associations. Therefore the empirical analysis consisted of (1) the observation of the relationship between the wife's employment status and the spouses' division of household tasks and (2) elaboration according to categories of the control variables. This procedure of elaboration allows the researcher to observe, for example, class differences but not to explain them. Thus such an approach provides positive evidence of certain relationships but does not contribute to causal explanations regarding how and why the variables are related.

As an alternative to the closed system approach the

findings of this research indicate that it might be more fruitful to utilize an open system approach. That is, propositions would be derived from loose conceptual frameworks that consider the family in relation to some broader frameworks of society. For example, an examination of the relationship between economic development, ideologies of the position of women, employment status of wives and egalitarian marriage is illustrative of such an approach. As compared to the closed system approach, the open system approach allows for more possibilities for inference and causal explanations.

A major advantage of the open system approach is that it takes into account circular or feedback affects within the system. The family can therefore be considered as both a dependent and independent variable. There is no lack of discussion of the consequences of social change on the family. However, there is little investigation of the influences of the family itself on the process of change. An open system approach would allow consideration of both these processes of change.

More specifically, in terms of the theoretical framework delineated in Chapter I, it would allow the researcher to consider the division of labour between the sexes within the occupational sphere and it's impact on their division of labour within the household sphere and vice versa. At a more general level, the open system approach permits the consideration of such variables as level of economic development and political

ideology regarding the organization of production, insofar as they influence the division of labour between men and women. It seems that much further research needs to be done in this substantive area and an open system approach will prove to be the most informative means of approaching it.

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Appendix I Interview Summaries

I. Wives Not Employed: Husbands Employed Full-time

> "She can never find salvation in her work itself; it keeps her busy but it does not justify her existence, for her justification rests with free personalities other than her own. Shut up in the home, woman cannot establish her existence, she lacks the means requisite for self-affirmation as an individual; and in consequence her individuality is not given recognition." (Beauvoir,1953:496)

Case 4: The Housewife and The Transportation Manager

Mr. and Mrs. Slade have been "happily married" for fifteen years. They have three children: two sons aged fourteen and eleven years and one daughter aged seven years. Both Mr. and Mrs. Slade are thirty-five years old. They presently reside in a pleasant suburban home located in Richmond.

Mr. and Mrs. Slade were brought up on the Canadian praries. Mr. Slade's father was a farmer and his mother a housewife. In Mrs. Slade's family both parents were employed. Her father was a piano tuner and her mother was a secretary.

Mr. Slade has worked for eighteen years with the transport division of a railway. He has been manager of the division for six years. Mrs. Slade has worked as a housewife for fifteen years with the exception of a brief period after she was first married when she was employed as a medical stenographer, on a

part-time basis.

The Housewife: Mrs. Slade

When Mrs. Slade was first married she worked as a medical stenographer on Friday and Saturday. She enjoyed this job and felt that "going to work was like an outing". She worked hard at this job, but it was a change from housework. "It was a treat for me". Mrs. Slade had taken this position because she and her husband had needed the money. As soon as she became pregnant, however, she quit her job and has not been employed since.

Mrs. Slade doesn't work outside the home because "it's important to be home with the children when they need me and there aren't that many free hours left". Even though her children are in school she feels that "they need you more when they come home...they need to know you're there". Mrs. Slade observed that she seems to be getting busier as her children get older as "the children's activities involve you too".

Mrs. Slade was opposed to women taking a paying job when they have children unless the women need the money. In her opinion, "if you see children on the street you can almost tell the ones who don't have their mothers at home ...their behavior isn't the same and they have more problems at school".

Although Mrs. Slade liked being a housewife she remarked that "you need another outlet besides... otherwise it can get a

bit dull after awhile". She didn't feel that it was good to be in the house all the time but at the same time didn't feel that she was able to get out very much. This was in part a consequence of the fact that "financially (she felt) there're too many other expenses for (her) to join a bowling league".

Mrs. Slade stated that although she always had something to occupy her time that "it's nice to get out once in a while, something you kind of miss if you're a housewife". She has very few friends because she doesn't get too much of a chance to meet other people. Her children, however, are good "companions".

Describing herself as a "fussy housekeeper" Mrs. Slade says, "I can't stand the house if it isn't just right!" As a consequence of this attitude she has her days "mapped out". Generally, at 6:30 am. she gets up, makes breakfast for her husband and packs his lunch. At 7:15 the children are up and she prepares their breakfast. By 8:45 she's ready to "start in". She does the dishes, starts the laundry, makes the beds and either vacuums or dusts. In no time it's noon and she begins to prepare the children's lunch. By the time the children leave and she's tidied up from lunch her daughter is home from school. Mrs. Slade spends some time talking to her daughter and then tries to finish her cleaning. No sooner does she get started than it's 4:00 and time to put dinner on. By 7:00 the family has finished dinner and she has a chance to read the newspaper. Finally she does the dinner dishes, puts her daughter to bed and then her

work day is finished .

Mrs. Slade feels that the housework is her responsibility as, in her words, "I'm home and there's no reason why I shouldn't be able to handle it". Her husband has no regular chores although he does some "outside chores" such as mowing the lawn, gardening and such. In Mrs. Slade's opinion her husband does his "fair share" of the housework because "if a woman isn't in a real career it's a bit much for him to do as much as his wife... besides, a lot of men might not like that".

Mrs. Slade's sons are responsible for helping their Dad with the yard, making their beds, and looking after their rooms. Although Mrs. Slade's daughter is "too young to have chores", Mrs. Slade expects that "she'd probably be more interested in helping out in the kitchen as she gets older. I don't suppose she'd do the lawns (laughter)".

Mrs. Slade believes her first priority in life should be her family because she loves them. She emphatically stated that: "I want and should be a mother first!"

The Manager: Mr. Slade

Mr. Slade has worked with the railway for eighteen years. He is manager of a transportation division and finds that most of his time is spent in administrative duties. He describes his

work as "hectic, challenging and frustrating". He feels that the reward of his work is not money but rather "getting satisfaction out of the work".

Mr. Slade prefers his wife not to have a job for two main reasons. First of all, the children need someone at home; "they get into enough trouble with us at home". Besides, "I've thought at times when the kids were hurt, it would be pretty frightening for the kids not to have their mother to turn to".

Secondly, "(my wife) would be doing housework on evenings and weekends.... I wouldn't like that". Mr. Slade's attitude toward his wife working away from home was perhaps best illustrated when he said:

> "I wouldn't stand in her way if that's what she wanted to do but fortunately for me she doesn't want to do that....My wife's first priority should be the family and the home as long as I'm able to provide for the family."

When asked how he felt about his wife being a housewife, Mr. Slade responded that "my wife takes a lot of pride in being a housewife. I get after her sometimes that she's overdoing it". He is pleased however that she does take pride in "looking after us as a family and maintaining a home". Mr. Slade noted that there are times when she gets tired of it and has a "shut-in" feeling but "that's pretty natural".

Mr. Slade considers that his household responsibilities include "painting, fixing things, building, and outdoor work".

He suggested that he didn't have a lot of household chores but that "the wife does housework during the week and it's not left to the weekend".

Mr. Slade was asked why he felt that he was responsible for providing for the home and his wife for maintaining it. He responded as follows:

> "In ninety-nine percent of all cases men wouldn't be as good cooks, sewers (sic), or (be able) to take care of children day after day the way a woman can....Women are able to show more love, affection and understanding of children than men can."

He was unsure of why this was the case but felt that perhaps it starts in childhood. He offered the example of his own family where "the boys certainally aren't volunteering to do much housework around here. They'd much rather be playing sports. (My daughter) would be more inclined to be in the kitchen trying to help mix a cake.... This is just the way it is".

It should be noted in closing that Mr. Slade sees himself as a "family man". He considers that: "I might devote more time to my job but I've made an agreement with myself that I have other responsibilities. That job isn't everything!" In fact, Mr. Slade spends much of his leisure time coaching his sons in sports activities or other family-oriented activities.

Case 5: The Housewife and The Insurance Broker

Mr. and Mrs. Brown have been married for twenty-one years. They are both in their mid-forties and have two children, a daughter and a son aged twenty and sixteen years respectively. Both husband and wife describe their family as a happy family. The Brown's reside in a spacious, expensively decorated home in West Vancouver.

Mr. and Mrs. Brown come from very similar family backgrounds. They were both born and raised in Vancouver, their mothers both were employed as stenographers and their fathers as salesmen. Mr. Brown's father sold real estate and Mrs. Brown's father sold men's clothing.

Mr. Brown has worked in the insurance business for the last twenty-five years. Presently he is an insurance broker and part-owner of an insurance agency. This has been a very lucrative enterprise for Mr. Brown. Mrs. Brown has been employed only once since she has been married. Five years ago she worked part-time, for a three year period, as a teachers aid in a high school. She quit this job and has been working as a full-time housewife ever since.

The Housewife: Mrs. Brown

Mrs. Brown was married for sixteen years before she re-entered the labour force as a teachers aid. She took this job, on a part-time basis, because her husband had just taken a new job, they had moved into a new house and she wanted to buy some new furniture and other "luxuries" for the house.

The children were in school when she accepted the job and it was for this reason that she arranged to work from 10:00 to 3:00: she wished to be home when the children arrived home from school. Although Mrs. Brown enjoyed her job, she quit after three years when they no longer needed the money for "extras".

Mrs. Brown's attitude towards women working is that "if you are working and you have a family, it's alright as long as no one is suffering as a consequence". It is for this reason that she felt obliged to arrange her working hours around her family.

Mrs. Brown is of the firm opinion that women who have preschool-age children "shouldn't work unless they have to for financial reasons!" If these women want to work because they are not happy or contented "it's their own fault... because being a mother is what you make it".

Mrs. Brown says that she rarely gets bored or frustrated except on the weekends when everyone troops back and forth over the kitchen floor. Generally, however, she summarizes her feelings as, "I'm really happy. It's not a difficult life at all."

When Mrs. Brown was working at her job she found that her husband did not provide any extra help with the housework. She explains that "there was no reason for him to help because I was always home when he was home. If I had come home at the same time as him I think it would have been a nuisance for him. Supper would be just beginning...."

Now that she no longer is employed she feels that "there's no reason for him to be doing housework although sometimes he helps dry the dishes for no reason. He doesn't have to". Mrs. Brown's attitude is that her husband should not have to do housework when she is not working. She is of the opinion that housework is "womens work", but also has the following general rule about to the housework:

> "I never say he has to help me with the chores. If I can help him I do. If I can't do something, he helps me. I think we get along fairly well."

Mrs. Brown mentioned that her husband does a considerable amount of gardening and "outdoor work" but little "indoor work". Generally, however, she found that the more she did around the house the less he did. For example, she says, "I started painting the inside of the house and then I couldn't get him to do it because I had done it before". Having discovered that this was the case she started doing less and less outdoor work. As she predicted, her husband started to increase his activity outside.

Mrs. Brown suggested that she was a "perfectionist" when it comes to housekeeping and consequently is very grateful that her daughter has been so helpful around the house. Since she described her daughter as always "fussing about" it would seem however, that she would just as soon the daughter did a little less in the way of housework. As a matter of fact, she never asks either her son or daughter to help her as she feels the housework to be her responsibility.

Mrs. Brown now spends a considerable amount of time in sports activities and in sketching. Since these activities provide her with "self-fulfilment" and her husband is earning a "reasonable" income she does not anticipate that in the future she will seek employment.

The Insurance Broker: Mr. Brown

Mr. Brown has worked very hard in the past five years to make his insurance agency financially sound. This has been very time consuming but the business is now financially successful.

Just before Mr. Brown became part-owner of the insurance agency, his wife began to work as "she wanted some money for furnishing the house. It wasn't a case of her wanting something to do". Two years later Mrs. Brown quit her job as a teacher's aid. Mr. Brown has found that since his wife stopped working, she is more relaxed and the atmosphere around the home is more

relaxed.

Mr. Brown expressed his views on his wife taking a paying job, as follows:

> "Being old fashioned, I think a woman's place is in the home... particularily if there are young children. I think mother should be at home because I think the role of father or husband is breadwinner. Generally speaking, he's more capable of demanding a higher wage and getting it than a woman would be."

He feels that his wife's place is in the home because "women have more emotion than men and therefore are better able to look after the children". As evidence of this he suggested that in his own home "if we had any big problems we always went to Dad and if you had a smashed finger you went to Mother".

Mr. Brown expressed the belief that women should only work if they have to work for financial reasons. Apart from the fact that "it is a woman's responsibility to show their children the way of life", "if women work because they want to work they may be depriving someone who needs a job of a job". Mr. Brown feels that the housewife and the breadwinner make an equal contribution to society but the housewife makes her contribution through raising responsible children. For this reason, he is very much opposed to the use of daycare centres unless the women "have" to work.

Mr. Brown was asked whether he was responsible for any household chores. His response was that when he was first married he peeled the vegetables and helped to wash the floors.

After the birth of their first child his wife did most of the housework because she was home all day. When she started working at a job again he felt they all pitched in. Now that his wife does not work she does most of the housework as "it's her job if she's home". Mr. Brown observed that "this was a gradual change as we upgraded houses and the children did more....It wasn't a conscious change, just that the circumstances changed".

Mr. Brown feels that he doesn't really do too much housework as "it's quite an easy house to keep clean". He does do such outdoor work as cutting the lawns, outside painting, repair work, and a considerable amount of gardening.

Mr. Brown noted that his children are very helpful to his wife. He describes his daughter as being very "house conscious" and fastidious about house cleaning. His son is "just the opposite (laughter)!" Nevertheless his son helps in the garden, takes the garbage out, and brings in wood for the fireplace.

II. Wives Employed Part-time: Husbands Employed Full-time

> "What makes the lot of the wife-servant ungrateful is the division of labour which dooms her completely to the general and the inessential. Dwelling- place and food are useful for life but give it no significance: the immediate goals of the housekeeper are only means, not true ends." (DeBeauvoir, 1953:428)

Case 6: The Switchboard Operator and The Forklift Driver

Mr. and Mrs. Gable have been married for almost twenty-five years. Mr. Gable is fifty-four years old and Mrs. Gable is forty-seven. They have three children, all sons, aged twenty-two, nineteen, and thirteen. The youngest child is a foster child. The family resides in a small, rather neglected house located in the east end of Vancouver.

Mr. Gable was born in England and immigrated to Canada as a young child. Mrs. Gable was born and raised in Saskatchewan. Both have come from families in which the mothers occupation was housewife. Mr. Gable's father was employed as a bartender and Mrs. Gable's father as a police officer. Mr. Gable has worked for the past nine years as a forklift driver in a warehouse. Mrs. Gable has worked two days a week, for the past eight years, as a switchboard operator in a department store.

The Switchboard Operator: Mrs. Gable

Mrs. Gable stopped working at her job shortly after she was married and did not resume employment until seventeen years later. She took a part-time position as a switchboard operator in a large department store. The reason why she wanted to take a job was that she wanted to "get out of the house, feel independent, and of course the extra money is nice too". This money is used, however, only for the purposes of holidays and "extras".

Mrs. Gable enjoys her job very much. The aspects of her job which she particularily enjoys are the interesting people working with her, the presence of young students, and the fact that she has an opportunity to train people. Although she is happy with her job she does not wish to work more than sixteen hours a week until her youngest son is "a little older". This son is a foster son and she feels that she should not keep him unless she is prepared to spend some time with him. Besides this, Mrs. Gable would not want to work on a full-time basis becuse of health reasons and the fact that she does not feel she could manage the house and a job.

Mrs. Gable feels that housework is her responsibility "unless someone came in and took over". She noted however, that sometimes she gets a "helping hand" from her family. Nevertheless, she is of the opinion that:

> "My husband and sons should do more housework although if it isn't done right away it's easier to do it myself. It's always been that I've just taken over and gone and done it myself instead of putting the

pressure on. It's not worth getting too frustrated about."

Mrs. Gable felt that she had started out her marriage thinking the housework was her responsibility but the more she thinks about it the more she thinks "it shouldn't be all my job... it should be shared a little more". In fact, it is Mrs. Gable's view that "a lot of my generation were brainwashed into thinking that's your role and you did it and put up with it". In her own home, for example, her mother did all the housework. Her father did "the odd pancake bake" but had no household chores other than maintenance activities.

Mrs. Gable does not believe that there will be any change in the distribution of household tasks in her family as her sons and her husband are not willing to do any more chores. "They're set in a pattern and I'm not the type to pressure". Presently her husband does housework "if he knows I'm pressed for time". Otherwise he does not have any household chores, although on occasion he vacuum cleans, paints, wallpapers, and cooks the odd meal (primarily Sunday breakfast). He and the children share the task of looking after such "outside work" as gardening, mowing the lawn, cleaning the roof and the like.

Mrs. Gable does not feel that she presently has much difficulty in managing her job and her home. On the two days when she works at her job she does not do any housework and has prepared supper, so that the children just have to put it in the

oven. In Mrs. Gable's view, "maintaining a home isn't as important as working, but working isn't as important as the family".

The Forklift Driver: Mr. Gable

Mr. Gable has driven a forklift in a warehouse for the past nine years. He describes this as "menial work" and does not enjoy it. Although he dislikes his job he does not feel that he can quit in that he is fifty-four years old and "nobody's going to hire me!"

He described his wife's job as a "pastime" and noted that she really enjoys her work. He observed that "if she didn't work she'd have to do something to keep her busy". Although he supposed that his wife's income "helped out" he does not know how much she makes or what she does with it. He made clear that he did not want to know anything about her income.

Mr. Gable was very satisfied with his wife working two days a week and would not wish her to work any more than three days a week, in the future. If she worked more than that, he explained, she would get too tired and this would make him unhappy. More generally, Mr. Gable's view was that women should not work full-time "until the children are at least sixteen years old". The reason for this is that "the woman is needed more at home as

everything is based around the mother. Fathers can't tend to children the way mothers can".

Mr. Gable has no "household duties" as he is not too "fussy" about housework. Apart from this, his wife can prepare a better meal than he can and he cannot understand the laundry machine. Besides, "she does the housework when I'm not home... she has everything done". He did mention, that "if I have to do it, I'll do it!" When asked when he felt he had to do it he replied that he "only does it when the wife is pressed for time".

Mr. Gable is of the firm opinion that:

> "If a woman has to work, then the husband and wife should share the housework, but if it isn't necessary for her to work then she should consider looking after the house first!"

In the case of his wife, he feels that "it isn't necessary for her to work in the first place. She's doing this for herself and to satisfy herself, where the man has to work to keep the house going".

More generally his attitude is that a woman's first priority should be the family and her second priority her job. "That's the way things stand today and that's the way I was brought up!" His mother never had a job; his father brought in the money. "We just do it a little different."

When Mr. Gable was asked whether he felt that there was any possibility of change in the allocation of responsibilities in

the family he responded in the following fashion:

> "We've been doing it this way for twenty-five years and there's not much chance of change....If my wife wanted change I'd have to think about it but there's no point in thinking about something that may or may not happen."

Case 7: The Saleslady and The Policeman

Mr. and Mrs. Innis have been married for twenty years and describe their marriage as a happy one. They have two children, both daughters, aged thirteen and nine. Both Mr. and Mrs. Innis are in their early forties. The family resides in a small, well maintained home located in central Burnaby.

Mr. and Mrs. Innis were both born and raised in Vancouver. Mr. Innis' father was employed as a miner and Mrs. Innis' father as a carpenter. Neither of their mothers were employed in the labour force. Mr. Innis' parents were both very ill when he was a young boy and since he was an only child he was required to both work at home and at a job at the age of fourteen.

Mr. Innis is presently employed as a police sergeant. He has been with the police force for twenty-two years. Mrs. Innis has been employed for three years as a saleslady in a cardshop. She works at this job four hours a day, two days a week.

The Saleslady: Mrs. Innis

Mrs. Innis was married, worked for a few years, and then quit her job with the intention of raising a family. She soon had two daughters and when the eldest was about three years old she

began to get involved with volunteer work. She felt that it was a good outlet for her. It was something she was doing outside the home. Mrs. Innis found that since she was an outgoing sort of person she quickly became overloaded with responsibilities and they took too much of her time. As a result she found the only way she could free herself was to say no to all of the organizations. Mrs. Innis then found that she had a few hours a week which she'd like to spend outside the home. At this point she decided to go to work because she was "a little bored with housework" and, "as the children get older and go their separate ways you find you need something extra to do".

Just by chance a friend offered her a job in a card shop where she could work 11:30 to 3:30 twice a week. Mrs. Innis felt that this was a perfect situation because it wouldn't interfere with the children. She didn't want to work more than two days a week for three reasons: you get tired, things get too neglected around the house, and the children don't like it. Mrs. Innis describes her "little job" as fun. She enjoys the people she's with and the people she meets.

Mrs. Innis keeps her income in her own bank account. This money is put towards the family vacation. As she says, "it's not that you make a lot of money but as you see your money grow and (realize) that it can do something for the family, well I think it's rather nice".

The following statement is perhaps most illustrative of her

attitude towards her job:

> "Right now the way I feel is that I don't have to go to work so I think-- I wanted to raise children so why not do it. That's the best thing to do, but get a little diversion in it and it's rather nice....I don't really want to spend my time in the outside world, my time is really best spent here."

Mrs. Innis feels that in some respects she has changed over the years in terms of where her values are placed. She feels that "I look more now, not unto self but outside of self". For example, she says that twenty years ago when they bought a new stove she was very excited. Now when they bought a new stove she thought she'd rather have done something else with the money, such as having a trip.

When asked if her job had any effect on her housework, Mrs. Innis observed that she did the same cleaning but that she didn't ask for the same perfection as she used to. For example, "if there isn't wax on my kitchen floor, as long as it's clean I don't mind. I don't need to have a high gloss on my kitchen floor anymore".

On the days when she works at her job her household routine assumes the following pattern. The family gets up, she prepares breakfast and gets the children off to school and her husband off to work. After making the beds and tidying up she then goes to work. Having returned from work she talks to her daughters while preparing dinner. Her husband comes home and then they sit down and have dinner. After dinner she washes the dishes and

then irons or sews while watching television.

Mrs. Innis feels that her husband's chores are the lawns and painting. He used to help with the dishes but he got tired of doing dishes and so he bought a dishwasher. Although he will help her when asked she doesn't feel that she can ask him to help her with the laundry or the ironing as they're "fussy chores and (she) doesn't think men have the patience". When her husband does help her with her chores "most things he would do would be under my supervision. I'm the boss in my kitchen and he's the helper". Generally, however, Mrs. Innis feels that the housework balances out. Perhaps the balance does not rest in the actual amount of time spent doing various chores however, as she noted that "my husband makes breakfast on Saturday and Sunday mornings.... that balances out for a lot!"

At a more general level, Mrs. Innis' attitude is that the husband's role in the family is that of the "provider". When asked why she felt this way Mrs. Innis replied:

> "I think it's a throwback from when I was a child. Mother was a housewife. It's just the type of person I am. If just don't think I'm the strong one. (My husband) has the ability to make the most money....I wouldn't want the responsibilities outside the home. They'd always take you away from the children."

The Policeman: Mr. Innis

Mr. Innis became a policeman because his primary concern in

getting a job was the fact that it offered security. Although he feels policework does offer this benefit he finds his work to be very frustrating. This is primarily a consequence of the fact that: "I was and am ahead of my times in terms of my thinking". He is convinced that he saved the police department considerable funds in their last budget through his research efforts but that he hasn't received compensation for this either in terms of rank or money. This, of course, he finds to be rather disconcerting.

Mr. Innis was asked how he felt about his wife working. His attitude was that this would teach his daughters self reliance and that as long as his wife was back at home when the children returned from school it wasn't a problem. He told his wife, however, that "whenever it gets to the point that you're tired and taking it out on the family that's the end, you're quitting!" In fact Mr. Innis feels this situation did occur when his wife was engaged in volunteer work and this is why she had to quit these activities.

In terms of his wife's income, Mr. Innis has taken the view that "it doesn't mean anything because it's so little (laughter). I told her to put it away into a little account, do whatever you want with it". When asked how he would feel about housewives receiving a salary he responded that he didn't feel that this was necessary as "the housewife gets nice food, clothing, and a place to sleep. They've got all the comforts".

Mr. Innis is of the opinion that it is the mother's job to

be with her children when they're young. He thinks women are "coping out" if they put their children in daycare centres and continue working. He feels this way for the following reason:

> "If you go right back to biology, that's their role in life, to look after their children. This is true in all areas of animal life....I think a man could adjust if he had to. I think, though, that you need the woman's touch somewhere along the line in raising children. You can't deny that!"

More generally, Mr. Innis' attitude is that if the family does not suffer from the woman working then the woman should have an outside interest. A man develops and grows in his job and if a man doesn't allow his wife to grow as well, then the breakups start.

For a two week period just previous to the interview, Mrs. Innis had worked full-time. This was a consequence of the store owner being ill. This was a very upsetting experience for Mr. Innis. He felt his wife to be under a considerable amount of strain, to be tired, and taking it out on the family. The following quote is most illustrative of his attitude toward this situation:

> "You stand back and say there's no way she's going to work steady if this is what it's going to do....when you (his wife) look at your position, what you have and what you can plan for... why did you go out the door in the first place? It wasn't the money. It was just getting a break from housework to cut the boredom down a little bit and having a little fun at it and no stress or strain or nothing. Once the job starts to develop the stresses and strains it's not worth it any more. You've lost your sense of direction!"

As to the roles of husband and wife, Mr. Innis stated that

"there's no question that I have to provide for my family....it's my duty." When asked why he thought this way he responded that it was just the way he had been brought up. His mother had never worked. His father had it "just built into him" that he was the wage earner and that's it!

Although Mr. Innis feels he is the breadwinner in the family he is quite prepared to help his wife with the housework. "As a man" what bothers him however, is a steady dose of it. When asked what in particular bothered him he replied that one thing was that he had to get the meals ready when his wife worked full-time.

Case 8: The Secretary-Treasurer and The President

Mr. and Mrs. Cave have been married for twenty-nine years. They have four children, two of whom presently live at home. The two children at home include a daughter aged seventeen years and a mentally retarded son aged fourteen years. Mr. and Mrs. Cave are in their mid-fifties. The family resides in a rather small, yet well cared for home, located in central Burnaby.

Mr. Cave lived the first twenty-eight years of his life in England and then immigrated to Vancouver. Mrs. Cave has lived in Vancouver all her life with the exception of a brief stay in England. Mr. Cave came from what he describes as a "working class" background. His father worked in a body shop and his mother was a housewife. Both of Mrs. Cave's parents were employed , her father ran a clothing store and her mother was a high school teacher.

Mr. and Mrs. Cave are "partners" in an electrical contracting firm. The firm has been established for twenty years. Mr. Cave is President of the firm and Mrs. Cave is Secretary-Treasurer. Mrs. Cave works from 10:00 to 4:00, five days a week.

The Secretary-Treasurer: Mrs. Cave

Mrs. Cave has been employed in the family business for twenty years. She is primarily responsible for all the accounting business in the firm. She enjoys her work very much as she "likes to be out with people and feel (she's) in the stream of things".

When the business was first established, Mrs. Cave did not receive any salary. However, several years later an accountant suggested that it might be to their advantage to divide up her husband's salary between them. This would then enable her to receive Canada Pension. Mrs. Cave uses her half of this salary for "housekeeping and extras" while "clothing and house payments and that sort of thing comes out of (my husband's salary)".

With regard to women working, Mrs. Cave feels that "the mother should be home when the youngster comes home from school...They come home and they're just bursting with things to tell you... an hour or two later and it's all worn off....I think mother likes to be needed (laughter)".

When asked whether she had considered being a full-time housewife, Mrs. Cave responded: "I'm the only one in this area in my age group, so for one thing it would be lonely...it's just that I'm out of the habit. I can't even picture it". Aside from this, she felt that her housework expands to fill the time avialable and it is not worth spending a great deal of time on housework. After all, "you clean the house one day and the next day you clean the house all over again. Housework is just

something that has to be done!"

Mrs. Cave was asked how she manages to work at a job, do the housework and look after the family. Her response was as follows:

> "I just muddle through. I'm not organized....I try to get the housework done by the weekend but I don't usually succeed. There's always a lot left but it doesn't really worry me. When I die somebody else will do it, so why worry about it. It's always there."

Mrs. Cave felt that she could give only a very general description of the household routine as she did not really have a "routine". At 7:00 the family gets up, she makes breakfast, packs lunches and tries to get her son ready for school. By 8:10 her children are off to school and she has time to prepare her own breakfast. After breakfast she cleans up the kitchen, makes the beds and prepares to go to work. Mrs. Cave then works from 10:00 to 4:00. After work she is "on the run constantly". Dinner is begun and then she does "whatever seems most urgent". This usually includes the laundry or the ironing. After dinner she does the dishes and then "that's it for the day!"

Mrs. Cave has some help from her children in doing the housework. Her daughter "now and then does the vacuum cleaning, mows the lawns, and cleans her room. Her mentally retarded son helps set the table and stacks the dishwasher. Mrs. Cave only asks her children to help her if she's "stuck" because she doesn't think "it's natural for kids to hop up and do something around the house".

When asked why she felt the housework was her responsibility Mrs. Cave stated that this was the case because "my husband wouldn't do it....It was just the way he was brought up". Besides, she noted, "my husband works longer hours and I don't think he should do too much. However, if I were working full-time and I didn't get any help with the housework, I wouldn't be working full-time".

Having given this matter some further thought Mrs. Cave observed that "a man couldn't do anything that would suit me anyway. I'd probably just go around and do things over....this would certainally discourage anyone from doing fifty percent of the housework". For example, "I don't like my husband butting in when I'm cooking. I'd rather do it myself". Mr. Cave, who had just entered the room, quickly replied, "Well don't complain when I won't go in the kitchen then!"

The President: Mr. Cave

When Mr. Cave was first beginning the electrical contracting firm it was operated from the Cave's home. He was working very long days and consequently his wife started to help him out. "The wife was bored with housework all the time". The business quickly expanded and they were soon in a position to locate the office elsewhere. At this point Mr. Cave assumed responsibility for the administrative aspects of the business.

Mrs. Cave was assigned the responsibility for accounting. Mr. Cave does not assist her with this task as, he says, "I was told to get my nose out of it".

Mr. Cave was of the opinion that this arrangement was convenient, "apart from the fact that if she were a stranger I could fire her. It does lead to some conflict. I don't need back-chat and people getting humorous when I'm busy....It works out to the degree that she cares about the business and that makes a difference!"

When asked how he would feel about his wife working full-time, Mr. Cave's attitude was that he would not want her to. He was concerned that she be home when their son returned from school as "children need their mothers at home".

More generally, Mr. Cave expressed the following view on the role of women:

> "I think a woman is biologically different. For one thing the majority of women have greater sympathy and empathy with children. I think that's what they were really put on earth for was the reproduction of the human race so this should be their major function. I think that women can teach men how to live better. They can calm men down when they get upset....nevertheless, I don't say a woman's place is in the home. I just don't see why a woman should blacktop roads, for instance... not when there are able-bodied men that can do it!"

Mr. Clarke's attitude is that "women shouldn't have to do what men have to do for a living. "There are other things she can do a hell of a lot better!" For example, women are more

capable of doing housework and caring for children. It is Mr. Cave's view that:

> "Women should complement rather than compete with men. If I'm capable of doing it and it falls into the male sphere then why the hell should she have to do it? She should acknowledge the fact that he does it better and let him do it and vice-versa."

In accordance with this attitude, Mr. Cave does not feel that housework is his responsibility. His job is to fix things, build, and look after the gardens and the lawns.

Generally, Mr. Cave suggests the following rationale for this division of labour:

> "If you have a dirty job to do, it should be the male that goes out and does it. When he comes home from doing that dirty job there's a clean bed, a nice meal and a nice chair to sit in. What the hell--you can't have that if your wife's out doing the same thing as you!"

To an extent he feels that men are somewhat more fortunate than women. "The man can sort of shed the family in the morning when he gets up and goes out to work and then put the family on again when he gets home. A woman can't do that and this makes a difference".

III. Wives Employed Full-time: Husbands Employed Full-time

Case 9: The Bank Teller and The Insurance Sales Representative

Mr. and Mrs. Ryan have been married for twenty-four years. They are both in their mid-forties and have four children, three daughters and one son. The daughters range in age from sixteen to twenty-one years and the son is fourteen years of age. The family resides in an upper middle class subdivision located on the North Shore. The Ryan's home looks somewhat run-down compared to those surrounding it.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Ryan were raised in Manitoba. Mr. Ryan's father worked as a real estate agent and his mother as a nurse. Mrs. Ryan's father worked as a banker and her mother as a housewife.

Mr. Ryan has been employed as an insurance district sales representative for the past eight years. On a full-time basis, Mrs. Ryan has worked as a counter clerk in a bank for three years.

The Bank Teller: Mrs. Ryan

Mrs. Ryan was married, worked in a bank for three years,

worked as a housewife for eighteen years and then returned to the labour force as a bank teller. At the time she was hired at the bank she wasn't really looking for a job but she ran into a friend who was "desperate" for help. Mrs. Ryan's attitude was that this was the only way she would have been hired after being a housewife for such a long time. She was happy to go to work as the children were getting older and the money was an important factor. Presently the family is in need of her income and in fact economically, Mrs. Ryan said, she just didn't know how they would survive if she wasn't working.

Although Mrs. Ryan works in the bank full-time, she finds it tiring and would prefer to work part-time. Nevertheless she is happy where she's working--"they're a congenial bunch and that makes up for a lot!" One aspect of her job which she particularily enjoys is the feeling of independence which it has given her. As she noted, "you're the lady in the bank instead of John's wife. All of a sudden you're sort of a human being. In some ways it's given me a little more self confidence".

The one aspect of being employed at a job which disturbed Mrs. Ryan was the fact the nobody is home when the children return from school. "Ideally", she says, "I think it would be best for the mother to be at home. Maybe I'm just being selfish but I much prefer being out in the world. It's made me much happier". The following is perhaps most illustrative of Mrs. Ryan's attitude in this regard:

> "When you first start out you think you're going to be such a good mother and somewhere along the line it just doesn't work out. Your wonderful theories just don't work out so well....I found that coping with all these different personalities is quite exhausting. They're at the age now where they all want to assert themselves. I'm quite happy to escape to work!"

Before Mrs. Ryan started to work in the bank she spent a considerable amount of time "coffee klatching" or participating in other social activities. Mrs. Ryan described herself as "never what you might call a good housekeeper. I just let things pile up". She didn't feel that it was important to be "fastidiously clean". As a housewife she just "sort of dragged around not accomplishing anything at all". One of the beneficial aspects of working was that "at least you've got to get yourself going in the morning".

When asked how she manages her job at the bank, the children, and the housework, Mrs. Ryan replied that she just ignores a lot of the housework she should be doing and, her husband helps her with the housework. She noted that the children also help on occasion but that they aren't consistent . Her view is that they should help more but that "they'll do enough housework when they are married".

Her husband, on the other hand, is a considerable help as he vacuum cleans, tidies up, and often prepares meals. This was purely a voluntary effort on his part for which she was very grateful. She would never consider asking him to help with the housework unless she were "desperate".

Mrs. Ryan felt that she and her husband "shared" the housework. When asked why this was the case she responded in the following fashion:

> "If she's (the wife) is working because she wants to, well I guess she really couldn't expect her husband to help out too much. But if they're depending on her salary for their standard of living and her husband wants her to work then I think he should help. If he specifically doesn't want her to work and she insists on it, it doesn't seem reasonable that he should help her. He might just feel that if that's what she wants to do then she'll just have to cope with it herself."

Mrs. Ryan felt that in her own case, for financial reasons she needed to work and, her husband was very much in favour of her working. "This is probably why he helps me so much. I don't recall ever asking him to do it. He just does it".

The Insurance Sales Representative: Mr. Ryan

Before summarizing this interview it is important to note that Mr. Ryan was quite hostile to being interviewed. He first suggested that he didn't believe in surveys. As the interview continued it seemed that what he was hostile to was in fact, what he deemed to be the "personal nature " of some of the questions being asked. That is, Mr. Ryan had little difficulty in answering questions which did not refer to his family in particular. For example, when asked what he felt to be the advantages or disadvantages of his wife working away from home, he responded that the question was "a bit personal". When the

question was rephrased in terms of women working, he responded with little hesitation. Since Mrs. Ryan is working in order to "maintain the family's standard of living" it is quite conceivable that Mr. Ryan felt threatened by the fact that he was being asked to articulate and evaluate the consequences of this situation on the family.

Although Mr. Ryan did not wish his wife to work when the children were young (less than twelve years of age), he felt that "once they're older they can accept the responsibility and that's good for them". When asked how he felt about his wife working he said that he thought that this was fine and, his wife enjoyed her work.

Mr. Ryan's view as to why his wife had not chosen to go back to work in the bank earlier was that "she hadn't especially wanted to and I don't think she realized that she could get a job (laughter)". At the time when she did decide to go back to work "the kids were branching out and developing their own interests and her need was for something to fill the emptiness". The benefit of this situation, as he saw it, was that "she has more money, sees more people, and does things she might have hesitated to do before because of a lack of confidence".

The following illustrates Mr. Ryan's general attitude toward working women:

> "It's alright for a woman to work as long as the family doesn't suffer but the family should be her first priority. If her (his wife) working was

> adversely affecting the family I don't think she should work."

Although Mrs. Ryan works at the bank full time, Mr. Ryan felt that she has had no more problem managing the housework than she had before she took the job. "The job hasn't had an appreciable affect, at any rate".

In terms of the responsibility for housework, Mr. Ryan expressed the following opinion:

> "I don't think she should be obliged to do everything in the house, especially where there is a family. If there were just the two of us then I'd think I could have the outside work and she could have the inside work which she is more adapted to than I am."

Since his wife has a job he finds that he cooks much more often that he used to. He also does the vacuum cleaning and the grocery shopping regularly, as well as the "outside chores" (lawn mowing, gardening, and such). Mr. Ryan never does the laundry or the ironing however. He stated rather firmly, "I just don't do it that's all! The girls can do it if it has to be done!"

Mr. Ryan provided the following explanation for why he helped his wife with the housework:

> "I travel and when I get home I feel that I'd better start helping around here. When the kids were young and I'd be away for two to three weeks at a time, you feel guilty. When four of them would be at her it was very demanding for her."

Case 10: The Teller and The Accountant

Mr. and Mrs. Mills have been married for twenty-four years. They are both in their early fifties and have one son aged seventeen years. The Mills reside in an expensively furnished home located in Shaugnessy.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Mills were born in Canada and have lived in Vancouver for over thirty years. Mr. Mills father was employed as a policeman and Mrs. Mills father as a farmer. Both of their mothers worked as full- time housewives.

Mr. Mills is an accountant. He has been an accounting manager and branch manager of an electronics firm for the past eight years. Mrs. Mills has been employed for the last seven years as a bank teller. It is a full-time job.

The Teller: Mrs. Mills

Mrs. Mills was married, worked for three years as a bank teller, quit her job when her son was born and "was just a plain old housewife for fourteen years" before she went back to work in the bank again. Although she was "bored to death at home" both she and her husband felt that her "place " was in the home when their son was still in elementary school.

After fourteen years of being a housewife Mrs. Mills was

bored and depressed. As a result she went back to work "to get back in the swing of things". She now feels better mentally and physically. Mrs. Mills was quick to add, however, that, "I wouldn't be working if I felt I was depriving (my son) of anything but so far everything has been going fine".

Mrs. Mills was not interested in working part time. Her attitude was that "it breaks up your day and I'm the kind of person that once they go out to work they don't feel like starting in and doing anything at home". She either wanted to work full-time or not to work at all.

Mrs. Mills was asked how she managed to do the housework and to have a job at the same time. She replied, "as far as my housework goes, it doesn't get that dusty or messy although I don't look after it as well as I used to. I keep it presentable but I'm not as fussy as I used to be". She found that she was able to get the housework done if she followed a routine. That is, she gets up, has breakfast, and then leaves for work. The breakfast dishes are left until supper time. Mrs. Mills then works at the bank from 9:00 to 5:00. As soon as she comes home from work she starts to cook dinner. After dinner she does the dishes and tidies up. Monday night she does the laundry, Tuesday night the ironing, Wednesday night she relaxes, Thursday night the grocery shopping, Friday night she works at the bank, Saturday and Sunday she spends house cleaning.

Although Mrs. Mills does almost all the housework herself,

her son and her husband do help out. Her son cuts the grass, does the dishes occasionally and makes his own bed if she does not have time. Mrs. Mills added that she does not expect him to make it and in fact would rather make it herself because then it is made "properly". Mr. Mills helps with the lawns and the gardening and occasionally dries the dishes. He is not expected to help too much, however, as he spends a great deal of time renovating the house. For instance, he spent three years completely remodelling the kitchen. Mrs. Mills does not feel that either her son or husband have helped her more since she has started working away from home but she says, "I've had the help when I needed it".

Mrs. Mills is of the firm opinion that the man has to be the provider and the woman the homemaker. The reasoning behind this opinion is perhaps best illustrated by the following quote:

> "A woman couldn't go out and take a man's role in life because she doesn't get the salary to begin with....also, I know I can quit my job anytime and I'm working with that attitude in mind. I couldn't have that attitude if I had to support a family. I think a woman's place is in the home with the children until the children are old enough and responsible enough that you can consider going to work."

She recognizes that it is often very difficult for women to stay home with her child as she herself would have much rather gone out to work, but "if you're going to get married and raise a family, then that's your first aim in life--to look after them properly and bring them up to the best of your ability". In her opinion, a woman can't do that if she's working.

The Accountant: Mr. Mills

Mr. Mills is very pleased that his wife has gone back to work. He felt that the fact that his wife was around the home all the time was "getting her down". Since she has gone back to work "it's kept her occupied" and he feels their married life has been happier as a result. Besides, this enables him to provide a reasonably good income while his wife can provide the "frills".

One of the consequences of her working however, has been that his wife has been unable to keep the house the way she would like to. Mr. Mills says that he does not like this but "it's not going to make me unhappy if she doesn't do a few things".

Mr. Mills does not believe that women should work when they have young children. In his opinion, the mother should be home when the children return from school. If nobody is home "who's going to make the home mean something to them?"

When asked how his wife manages her job and the housework, Mr. Mills suggested that it was not a problem as his wife is an efficient person. He helps his wife, however, in so far as he "looks after the outside chores". Although he observed that he doesn't have any regular chores he attributes this to the fact that his "hobby" is puttering around the house". Mr. Mills feels

that that is where he spends most of his leisure time and so he does not have any regular chores.

More generally, Mr. Mills' view is that it is his wife's responsibility to see that the housework gets done "whether she brings someone in to do it or asks my son or I to do it". The following illustrates his view of the division of household tasks between he and his wife:

> "It's her responsibility because it's just accepted that she looks after that area (inside housework)....it's just the same as finances. I don't want to be bothered with it and I think it's good for her to do it....It has to be someone's responsibility and I guess it just used to be hers when we got married. I suppose it's the accepted thing."

When asked whether he felt this is the way housework should be divided he responded, "I wouldn't want it! I'll say yes because it doesn't interest me and women are more capable of doing it."

In the "working world" Mr. Mills felt that perhaps the reverse situation existed. That is, women are less capable of performing some jobs. He gave the following instance as an example:

> "I'm against seeing women on the end of a jackhammer. I don't think they are capable of producing the same as what a man is. They can do it but they can't produce as much as a man could so they should get paid accordingly."