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## ABSTRACT

The steadily increasing numbers in employed married women and the rise of feminist sex-role ideology are factors indicating change in the role and status of women in Western society. There is movement away from the traditional gender-based role allocation towards increased role-sharing. This trend is embodied in the dual-career family, which necessitates adaptive changes in individual men and women and in government and institutional policies.

To better understand the current nature of the dual-career family, this study compared fourteen dual-career husbands and wives with fourteen traditional husbands and wives on four selected variables, namely: (1) family-functioning, primarily to assess whether dual-career and traditional families function equally well; (2) sex-role ideology, which provides a context in which role changes are occurring; (3) psychological androgyny, a concept which finds expression in an age seeking alternatives to masculine and feminine stereotypes; and (4) self-actualisation, as theoretically the dual-career family offers opportunities for increased personal fulfillment. The scales used were: Smilkstein's Family APGAR (1978), Smith et al's FEM-scale (1975), Bem's Sex-Role Inventory (1974) and Shostrom's Personal Orientation Inventory (1963).

Previous research, particularly regarding the role of dual-career husbands, has not consistently confirmed predictions based on theory. Consequently, this study is observational, not predictive.

The results indicated no significant differences on family-functioning; dual-career and traditional husbands and wives all rated their families as well-functioning. Self-actualisation scores, though not

statistically significant, suggested trends inconsistent with theory and previous research, in indicating that traditional husbands, dual-career husbands and dual-career wives are similarly inner-directed and that traditional husbands are more inner-directed than traditional wives. This may have been due to difficulties with the POI.

Statistically significant differences were found in sex-role ideology scores, with dual-career wives scoring more pro-feminist ( $p < 0,05$ ) than traditional wives and dual-career husbands. Although the scores for psychological androgyny could not be statistically assessed, the results suggested a trend for more dual-career wives to be androgynous than traditional wives and dual-career husbands. The median test indicated a significant statistical relationship between sex-role ideology and androgyny and "cross-sex-typedness" ( $p = 0,0007$ ). No other statistically significant relationships were found between the variables, except for a significant positive correlation ( $p < 0,05$ ) between the two sub-scales of the POI.

Discrepancies between dual-career husbands and wives on sex-role ideology and androgyny did not appear to affect family-functioning adversely. Possible explanations for this include their hiring of domestic servants, thus reducing the need for husbands to make adaptive role changes; and several indications that the wives continue to identify with the traditional female role. These features imply that these dual-career families are not fully egalitarian; husbands and wives still tend to allocate responsibility and commitment to roles in accordance with the traditional model.

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CHAPTER 1  
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Current Family Forms

The dual-career family is the focus of this thesis. In an attempt to gain insights into and an understanding of the dual-career lifestyle this study compares dual-career and traditional families on certain psychological variables.

The dual-career family is defined as: a family in which both husband and wife pursue careers. "Career" is defined, as in *The Shorter Oxford Dictionary* (3rd Ed, 1975):

"A profession affording opportunities of advancement";

and "advancement" applies here not only in the economic sphere, but in the social and psychological spheres as well.

The traditional family is defined as: a family in which the husband is gainfully employed and the wife is not.

The essential difference then, between the dual-career and traditional family, is that in the dual-career family the wife works, whereas in the traditional family she is a housewife. For this reason, much attention is paid to the housewife role and the working wife; and not as much attention is paid to the husband's role. This is also a reflection of the bias in the literature and research.

At present (1980's) the dual-career and traditional family forms co-exist in our society. While our society is more geared to the traditional family, in that it runs on the expectation that there is a homemaker who is available, for example, to look after children, do

shopping and be at home for repair services, wives and mothers are going out to work. The dual-career family

"is deviant in the sense that our culture presupposes that only one spouse will be involved, on a more or less exclusive basis, with the care of home and children, and that that spouse will be female." (St John Parsons, 1978, p. 31)

This viewpoint has strong social and institutional support.

However, technological, economic and ideological factors are contributing to more and more women deciding to become gainfully employed.

With regard to the technological aspects, wives are enabled to go out to work by: a) the age of contraception, which allows for effective planning of families, and b) the era of domestic appliances, frozen and ready prepared foods which can be bought, freeing the wife from a considerable home-making load. (Young and Wilmott, 1980; Myrdal and Klein 1968).

Economically-speaking, inflation and the increased cost of living has necessitated that wives work, either in order to help make ends meet, or to attain and maintain the desired standard of living.

Ideological factors hold a position of importance, as they form the background against which changes in thinking are made possible, influencing the kinds of solutions that will be sought (Adams and Winston, 1980). Although ideology will be discussed in Chapter 4, at this point, it is relevant to note that ideologically-speaking it is becoming more acceptable and more desirable for wives to work.

In *Sex, Career and Family*, Fogarty, Rapaport and Rapaport (1971) point out that the ideology of the man as the head of the household is fading and that marriages are being based more and more on the

idea of equality between husband and wife. Several family forms are identified, the main distinguishing characteristic being the prevalent attitude towards the wife working:

"Western-like European countries have turned sharply away from patriarchal conceptions of marriage, based on inequality between husband and wife and on the idea of the father as the master. Remnants of it survive, but few accept it as the ideal for the future. The ideologies which replace it form a continuous series with no sharp boundaries between them, but for present purposes, and with the accent on attitudes to women's work, can be taken as falling into five competing groups." (Fogarty et al, 1971, p. 102)

These five groups not only reflect differences in attitudes to women's work, but also differences in role for husbands and wives.

The five groups (taken from Fogarty et al, 1971) are:

"(a) Role segregation, with a strong preference for the housewife at home."

This is the group which this thesis defines as the traditional family. The wife does not work; her primary and sometimes only role is that of housewife and mother and she is expected to fulfil the nurturant, emotional needs of the family. The husband's role is to provide economically for the family.

"(b) Housekeeping as primary for wives, a job as complementary."

In this group the wife's primary role commitment is to being a housewife and mother, but she may work as well, if it does not interfere with fulfilling her role responsibilities to the family. If she works it is more of a "game" than a serious affair arising out of necessity.

"(c) Alternating home and work roles: the three-phase model."

This is the model Myrdal and Klein (1968) propose so that women avoid outliving their usefulness to society. Once children have grown up the average married woman still has about twenty years before reaching retirement age. According to this model, a woman's life should ideally follow three phases: education, family and then work. Thus, this group includes women who have trained seriously for a profession, commit themselves to their roles as housewife and mother while their children are young, and then return to work once the children have grown up. This model clearly distinguishes between masculine and feminine roles - as in the traditional family it is the wife's role to fulfil the nurturant needs of the family and the husband's role to be the constant economic provider. In this model, also, the wife would necessarily have to choose a form of work which would allow her to break off for a period without outdating or handicapping her in her profession - such as in commerce or medicine. This further entrenches traditional sex roles in generally restricting women to traditionally feminine careers where broken experience is accepted. (Fogarty et al, 1971)

"(d) The continuous career pattern, with minimum interruption for maternity."

In this group the emphasis shifts from role segregation to role sharing. The wife now shares the role of economic-provider with her husband and the husband shares the role of home-maker and parent with the wife. Neither has a primary responsibility to any one role. This group epitomises the dual-career family, as husband and wife are equally committed to working. Fogarty, Rapaport and Rapaport (1971) point out that this model arises from two ideologies each overlapping, but stressing different angles:

"This ideology has been developed in the West both by Marxists on lines similar to the official ideologies of the East European countries, and by 'new feminists' with a civil rights rather than a Marxist approach. The Marxist approach tends to put the heaviest stress on the value of work, both for personal development and for society. The civil rights approach has more to say on the reform of relationships within the family. But these are differences of emphasis within a common frame of reference. On both approaches the three-phase model is rejected on the grounds that it separates women for too long from participation outside the home, that it limits the fields in which they can expect to work and the level of promotion they can hope to achieve, and that it achieves no compensating gain in family life and child care." (Fogarty et al, 1971, p. 106).

Sweden is one Western country which has officially adopted the civil rights approach to this model of family life. While recognising that sometimes there is a need for a parent to stay home, that parent should not necessarily be the mother, and fathers must also have the right to take time to meet family duties. (Fogarty et al, 1971; Adams and Winston, 1980).

"(e) Multiple patterns on a base of equal opportunity."

This is the model that Fogarty, Rapaport and Rapaport (1971) themselves propose as appropriate to present societal conditions. Families should not be asked to force themselves into a particular pattern, but should adopt the model which suits their requirements at the time. So, if a woman has low career commitment and high interest in mothering, and the husband has no objections to and is able to support the family, such a family should feel free to choose a segregated role pattern. However, should a woman prefer to work, there should be no barriers to this choice.

Quite clearly, this view arises out of the conflicting ideologies and models which do co-exist in our society. Families are in essence already choosing what is most appropriate to them, but the way society is presently structured, what is appropriate may not be in accordance with their ideals. For instance, wives may well want to work and their husbands may support them in this, but they may agree that child-care facilities are too inadequate and so the wife at this point prefers to give up the option of working.

### 1.2 Women Who Work Part Time

Many women who want or need to continue working opt for part-time employment. Such women fall into the "traditional" category (van Rooyen, 1980) as this enables them to work, and also meet what they consider to be their family role without requiring changes that the dual-career family lifestyle would demand (Fogarty et al, 1971; Thompson, 1980). Except for a few professional women, such as a doctor/dentist who may find part-time work in a morning clinic, part-time jobs are generally available only in the service sector, for example, part-time secretaries or book-keepers. Thus, part-time work generally falls into the "job" rather than "career" category. It stands to reason that part-time workers are not considered to be committed employees, and can not be considered for promotion or given positions of importance which would require their presence throughout the working day.

While part-time work may be a solution for women who wish to supplement their husbands' income, it is not a way of combining career and family roles.

### 1.3 The Function of the Family

The central issue of all the preceding models is that the family as an institution has certain functions to fulfil and the models differ as to the "who" and "when" of fulfilling them.

Essentially the family, as an institution, has to meet a number of needs of family members. These needs are physical, as in needs for food, clothing, shelter and sex; psychological and emotional, as in needs for support, nurturance, communication and companionship; and administrative in terms of maintenance and management of the family and its base (Blood Jr, 1969).

In order to meet these needs, certain roles have to be fulfilled. For instance, to meet the physical needs of food, clothing and shelter, the role of the economic-provider has to be fulfilled and in order for children's nurturance needs to be met, the role of parent has to be fulfilled (Blood Jr, 1969).

As we have seen in Fogarty et al's models, the practical difference between dual-career and traditional families is in who performs what roles. In the traditional family, allocation of roles is decided on the basis of sex in the manner that has been considered traditional and proper (Blood Jr, 1969). The husband plays the role of economic-provider, meeting the physical needs of the family, and the wife plays the role of parent and home-maker, meeting the nurturant and maintenance needs of the family. Although husband and wife may help each other in these roles, for instance by washing the dishes or working part-time, ultimately the responsibility of meeting the needs is allocated, not shared.

In the dual-career family both husband and wife work full-time, sharing the role of economic provider. Accordingly, the wife's time and energy resources for fulfilling the role of parent and home-maker are considerably reduced and this necessitates increased participation by the husband in these roles. According to Fogarty et al's fourth model and Young and Wilmott (1980), the roles of parent and home-maker are also shared in the dual-career family. Thus, whereas in the traditional family there is segregation of roles on the basis of sex, in the dual-career family there is sharing of roles (Hall and Hall, 1979).

#### 1.4 The Family Life Cycle

Another relevant issue arising from Fogarty et al's five models, and constantly recurring in the literature, is that of the family life cycle. The family goes through a cycle, or series of stages, during which it is called upon to fulfil different roles, in having to meet different needs.

Different writers have named and divided the stages in slightly different ways, but as families do not follow one neat pattern this stands to reason. A model serves here only as a device to understand the general trend. The following model of the family life cycle has been taken from Hall and Hall, *The Two Career Couple*, 1979, pp. 41-44, with alternative explanatory nomenclature from Blood Jr, (1969).

##### 1.4.1 The Couple Stage

This stage begins at marriage and ends with the birth of the first child, and is also known as the "prechildren stage."

With no parenting function yet, husband and wife are free to pursue their careers and enjoy a relatively extensive degree of autonomy.

#### 1.4.2 Expanding Circle Stage

This stage begins with the birth of the first child and ends with the birth of the second. Husband and wife become more interdependent as at least one adult, usually a parent, must be with the child at all times. Advance planning and co-operation is needed.

#### 1.4.3 The Peak Stage

This begins with the birth of the second child, which does not simply double the parenting load, but seems to triple it, as parents must now deal with each child as well as the situation of having two separately demanding children. Blood Jr, (1969) refers to these two stages as the "pre-school children" stage. Clearly, with two or more children of a pre-school age at home most of the day, child-care responsibilities are at their peak.

#### 1.4.4 Full House Stage

This stage begins when the youngest child enters school and ends when the first child leaves home. All the children are at home and require parental involvement. Blood Jr (1969) divides this into two stages:- "primary-school-going children" and "adolescent children." Younger children do of course require more active parenting in the form of having things done for them, but it is also evident that adolescent children need psychological involvement from parents and can be just as demanding, if not more so (Rutter et al, 1976).

#### 1.4.5 Shrinking Circle

This stage begins when the first child leaves home and the family becomes smaller. This is not to say that the parenting function stops for children who leave home, but there is a change in the kind of responsibilities and needs the parents must meet. Leaving home is an

act of independence and a sign that the child can now play the roles necessary to his/her existence independent of the family, thus relieving his/her parents of having to meet these needs.

#### 1.4.6 Empty Nest

This is the last stage in the family cycle and is reached when the last child leaves home. The parents are, once again, a couple.

The dual-career and traditional life-styles are differently suited to handling the different stages of the family life-cycle.

With regard to the parenting and home-making roles, pressures are at their least in the first and final stages when husband and wife are a couple. With the birth of the first child these pressures increase and whereas only a small percentage of women do not work full-time in stage 1 (the couple stage), the number of women who work full-time after stage 1 drops dramatically and the number of full-time housewives increases (Hall, 1975 in Hall and Hall, 1979).

When the children are all going to school (full house stage), many women return to full-time work and still more resume work when the children leave home (the empty nest stage) (Hall, 1975 in Hall and Hall, 1979).

Whereas in the traditional family, the wife giving up work to become a housewife is an accepted course of events, the dual-career family is committed to a minimal interruption in the wife's career. Thus, for the dual-career family the most difficult stages are the second,

"expanding" stage and the third, "peak" stage, during which available time is overloaded with work and family pressures. This can lead to conflict and tension (Hall and Hall, 1979).

For the housewife, however, the difficult stage comes in stage 5, the empty nest stage, when her role as home-maker and parent is completed and she is still faced with 20 - 30 active years (Myrdal and Klein, 1968; Hall and Hall, 1979).

The expanding and peak stages, when women tend to drop out of the work-force, coincide with the time when the woman has been trained, acquired experience and is establishing her value as a worker; for just as there is a family cycle, there is also a career cycle (Hall and Hall, 1979; St John Parsons, 1978).

### 1.5 Career Stages

Briefly, the career cycle consists of:

- |                      |   |   |
|----------------------|---|---|
| exploration          | - | choosing and being trained for a career |
| trial                | - | trying out jobs                         |
| becoming established | - | acquiring experience                    |
| disengagement        | - | retirement                              |

As St. John Parsons (1979) points out, in the traditional family, the family cycle supports the husband's work cycle. Dual-career families, particularly the wives, are faced with a potential clash of interests in career and family life cycles.

According to Staines, Pleck, Shepard, and O'Connor (1972), dual-career wives register significantly lower marital happiness than housewives, among mothers of pre-school children, but not among wives

in any other stage of the cycle. This would seem to be related to the role-overload dual-career wives experience at this stage.

In his investigation *Continuous Dual-Career Families* St John Parsons (1978) found that in those families where children were born before the parents had established themselves professionally, the parents were faced with considerable role dilemmas. It is important, therefore, for dual-career couples to understand the conflicting demands that family and work cycles will make on them and attempt to match stages in a way that will reduce potential conflict between the two.

The following two chapters will look more closely at the traditional and dual-career families.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE TRADITIONAL FAMILY

#### 2.1 Historical Perspective

The traditional family has already been defined as the family in which roles are divided on the basis of gender. The husband works and the wife is primarily a housewife. The term "traditional" implies that this style of family living and division of roles has evolved over a long period and is historically justifiable.

In actuality, what we call the traditional family has only developed since the 19th century (1840's), arising from the era of industrialisation (Oakley, 1976; Myrdal and Klein, 1968; Mackie and Pattullo, 1977). The idea that a woman's place is in the home took root in Victorian Britain and that ideology is still current (Mackie and Pattullo, 1977).

In particular, the housewife is a feature of industrial society (Oakley, 1976). Oakley (1976) describes pre-industrial Britain, showing that although there was strict division of labour by sex, the work done by men and women was equal in status and importance. Furthermore, it was not possible to distinguish clearly between domestic work and economically productive work.

##### 2.1.1 Pre-Industrial Britain

The chief occupations in pre-industrial Britain were agriculture and textiles. For both of these, the family was the unit of production, which is to say, there existed a system of family industry. Men and women worked side-by-side, each indispensable, playing equivalent roles.

In agriculture the women produced the bulk of the country's food supply. They managed the dairy, grew flax and hemp, milled the corn, cared for the poultry, pigs, orchards and gardens. Women were not totally excluded from the male occupations. They could work in skilled trades and in the retail and provision trades. Women could be bakers, brewers, millers, innkeepers, fishwives and even blacksmiths. In the 17th century some women worked as pawnbrokers, money-lenders, shipping agents, contractors to the army and navy, as glassmakers and managers of insurance offices. Some women owned ships and collieries (Oakley, 1976).

At this time marriage and parenthood was considered important in order to advance the interests of the family. Marriage, then, created a new economic unit and the wife was not dependent on her husband, but expected to provide for herself and the children (Oakley, 1976).

The domestic work was done by the sons and daughters while the married women worked in the family industry, and because industry was based in the home, the father had more intimate contact with the children and played an active role in family life (Oakley, 1976).

Women had considerable legal rights in marriage, in business and in widowhood. Married women in business could choose whether they wished to be considered as a "femme sole" (alone), or "femme couverte" (have their husbands accountable for them). A woman threatened or maltreated by her husband could sue him (Oakley, 1976).

The wife was generally appointed executrix of a man's will, and widows remained in occupation of land tenanted by their husbands,

inherited trades from their husbands (as opposed to the son inheriting the trade) and could retain these rights even if they remarried (Oakley, 1976).

The 17th century role of children was also very different. Childhood was short, with children going to work from the age of seven (Oakley, 1976).

The industrial revolution which lasted approximately from 1750 - 1850 drastically changed the roles family members played, the most important factor being that work became separate from family life (Oakley, 1976; Scott and Tilly, 1980).

The two centuries from the beginning of industrialization to the present time can be divided into roughly three periods:

#### 2.1.2 1750's - 1840's

From the 1750's until the early 1840's the family was increasingly displaced by the factory as the place of production, but women followed their work out of the home (Oakley, 1976; Scott and Tilly, 1980).

In the beginning, women and children used to work in the factories, whole families being hired to work in the textile mills. From the 1820's, technological change and protective labour legislation reduced the number of children working in factories (Oakley, 1976; Scott and Tilly, 1980).

This legislation led to the differentiation of adult and child roles, with the child assuming its modern role of dependant. As factories stopped employing whole families the employed parents were faced with

the problem of how to care for children in a society which now spatially divided home and work (Oakley, 1976; Scott and Tilly, 1980).

### 2.1.3 1840's - 1914

From the 1840's until 1914, there was a decline in the employment of married women outside the home. This was associated with a rising popularity of a belief in women's natural domesticity (Oakley 1976; Scott and Tilly, 1980).

The development of new machines created unemployment and this was solved by introducing the phenomenon of the breadwinner in the family. Women and children no longer worked and the men became responsible for the entire support of the family (Oakley, 1976; Scott and Tilly, 1980).

With regard to the professions, whereas in the 18th century women had also worked as surgeons, dentists, oculists and in allied fields, with the increase in scientific knowledge, women became excluded from the medical profession, because they were not afforded the same educational opportunities as men (Oakley, 1976).

In the 1940's, upper and middle class women had been expected not to work for some time. Working class women had not yet been restricted in this way; although opportunities for work were on the decrease (Oakley, 1976; Scott and Tilly, 1980).

Women factory workers had become a threat to the men whose own situation had been so altered by the change in factory production. The men's anxiety and fear in having to fully support their families motivated protective legislation in the factories, which directly

created the modern housewife role. 1841 to 1914 saw the rise of the belief that "a woman's place is in the home." Restrictions placed on women's employment were justified by:

- (i) Condemning female employment on moral grounds.
- (ii) The potential of damage to their physical health.
- (iii) The ensuing neglect of home and family.
- (iv) On grounds that it contravened the 'natural' division of labour between the sexes.

The factory system, though recognised as damaging to men, was seen to be worse for women:

"In the male the moral effects of the (factory) system are very bad; but in the female they are infinitely worse, not alone upon themselves, but upon their families, upon society; and I may add, upon the country itself. It is bad enough if you corrupt the man, but if you corrupt the woman, you poison the waters of life at the very fountain" (Lord Shaftesbury, quoted in Oakley (1976), p. 45).

Thus the industrial revolution and the rise of capitalism created a situation which transformed the roles of family members by:

1. spatially dividing home and work, necessitating a new way of accommodating child-care in the family life-style,
2. the abolition of family labour and the family wage, instituting the man as the sole earner in the family, having to support the family with his one wage,
3. preventing women and children from working, further justifying this by then pointing to the wife's need to be at home with her children and increasing the family's dependence on the man,
4. the rise of an ideology dividing men and women with regard to moral standards, and their functions in society. While the man

could be subjected to the corruptions of factory life, it was imperative that the woman remain pure and uncorrupted to provide a sound force from inside the home.

(Oakley, 1976; Scott and Tilly, 1980)

#### 2.1.4 1914 - 1950's

From 1914 until the 1950's there has been an apparent though inconsistent movement towards the growing employment of women, but housewifery has remained the primary role expected of all women.

The First World War undermined Victorian attitudes towards women. Because of the need for labour, women were recruited into various fields - clerical, agricultural, engineering, industry, munitions, car drivers, tram conductors and bakers. The need for respectability was offset by the need for patriotic action (Williams, 1945; Oakley, 1976).

World War I made it convenient to men that women did work, thus the new acceptability of female labour. After World War I there was a recession in women's employment, though by World War II the employment of unmarried women was accepted practice. With World War II there was once again an increase in the demand for female labour and employers provided special measures to facilitate the employment of married women (Williams, 1945; Oakley, 1976).

Fogarty, Rapaport and Rapaport (1971) give the following outline of women's acceptance back into the world of work:

1921 - 1931	decade of breakthrough for women
1931 - 1951	continued progress
1951 - 1961	falling off of women

## 2.2 Lasting Consequence of Industrialisation

A lasting consequence of industrialisation is that:

"Gender differentiation between the roles of female and male is the axis of the modern family's structure" (Oakley, 1976, p. 61).

In practice this means that men are separated from the daily routines of domestic life, women and children are economically dependent on men and housework and child-care is isolated from other work (Oakley, 1976; Scott and Tilly, 1980).

## 2.3 The Housewife Role

Oakley (1976) defines the housewife:

"A housewife is the person, other than a domestic servant, who is responsible for most of the household duties (or for supervising a domestic servant who carries out these duties)" (Oakley, 1976, p. 1).

In the traditional family, the husband's breadwinner role has been described as "instrumental", and the wife's role as housewife has been described as "expressive", and further to that "nurturant" and "supportive."

In practical terms, a housewife is responsible for housework and child-care. Basically a housewife runs the home, being responsible for the cooking, cleaning, dish-washing, and laundry and looks after the children, minding them when young and fetching and carrying them when of school-age (Oakley, 1976; Mackie and Pattullo, 1977).

## 2.4 Attitudes to the Housewife Role

Currently there seem to be two conflicting attitudes towards the housewife role.

First, is the point of view that there is a creative art of home-making which requires talent and skill, offering scope for individual development, whilst motherhood offers scope for emotional development and personal fulfillment (eg. Flinders, 1979).

This viewpoint seems to be propagated by the media and is criticised because it tends to "glorify" and "glamorize" the housewife role. Friedan, in referring to magazine articles which put forward this view, asks:

"Why does 'occupation - housewife' require such insistent glamorizing year after year?" (Friedan, 1963, p. 58)

Myrdal and Klein (1968) comment that the glorification of home-making and motherhood by the press and propaganda has a suspicious air of persuasion.

The second point of view is that the housewife role is dissatisfying to women as a way of life because of its inferior status and its isolated, uniform, repetitive and unstimulating nature, which gives little scope for women to develop and express their individual identities (eg. Oakley, 1976).

Oakley (1976) is particularly critical of the housewife role and its characteristic features in modern industrialized society:

- "1. its exclusive allocation to women, rather than to adults of both sexes
- "2. its association with economic dependence, ie. with the dependent role of the woman in modern marriage
- "3. its status as non-work - or its opposition to 'real', ie. economically productive work, and,

"4. its primacy to women, that is, its priority over other roles." (Oakley, 1976, p. 1)

Oakley (1976) goes on to say that the view which equates femininity with domesticity is based on two questionable assumptions: that only women can be and ever have been housewives and that only women are suitable, and ever have been, for rearing children.

There seems to be a growing dissatisfaction, among women, with the housewife role (Myrdal and Klein, 1968) and after interviewing many women, Oakley asserts that although some women may think and say that they are satisfied in the housewife role, they actually feel dissatisfied. A survey of women factory workers working on an assembly line, preferred this kind of monotonous work to the isolation and tedium of being housewives at home. (Oakley, 1976)

One of the problems with the housewife role is that it is vital - someone has to do it, it is essential and it is valuable, but the role itself has come to be despised. Women who are housewives tend to think of themselves as "only a housewife", while still feeling that their work is crucial and not wanting to take outside employment, because they are responsible for their children (Mackie and Pattullo, 1977).

Like Oakley, Mackie and Pattullo (1977) point to the economic aspect as a source of dissatisfaction:

"Being a housewife means being economically dependent on someone else and in a society where money is the way in which work is rewarded, and its importance recognised, being an unpaid worker has undermined women's status in the eyes of society. It has also harmed the image the housewife has of herself and brings tensions to her job." (Mackie and Pattullo, 1977, p. 20)

Adams and Winston (1980), however, predict an improvement in the status of the American housewife. Because of the inflationary economy, they say, families are returning to becoming an economic unit, not just a consumption unit. For instance, they perform services themselves, such as laundry, dressmaking, housepainting and purchasing goods they can assemble and finish themselves. They highlight the efficiency of the household economy by showing how much money would be needed to provide adequate replacement services, especially, for example, the high cost of child care. This, together with the view that women entering the labour force accounts for "labour surplus" suggests that national policy makers will move to provide greater security for housewives, in the following ways:

1. Changes in pension and property laws to recognize housework as a labour contribution entitling housewives to retirement benefits and a share in family assets.
2. An increasing support for "displaced homemakers" through death or divorce, left without income or employment.
3. Increasing support for mothers of young children so that they stay home, care for children and provide household services to their families.

Another idea proposed is that housewives be paid a wage, to signify and enhance their status.

"In the policies of the women's liberation movement the demand for paid housework has been coming to the fore recently. At the November 1977 conference it was a main issue. In the Italian movement, the demand receives particularly strong support" (Oakley, 1976, p. 226).

Whilst such improvements may be requested and welcomed by some, Oakley (1976) is of the opinion that a fundamental change in the woman's role is necessary.:

"... if housewives are paid, the status quo will be maintained. A system of state payment for the woman-housewife's labour in the home will recognise and perpetuate the validity of the equation 'woman = housewife'. Women will continue to be trapped in a role that does not offer them the opportunities considered necessary and desirable to their own development and to make a more active and visible contribution to society." (Oakley, 1976, p. 226).

## CHAPTER 3

### DUAL-CAREER FAMILIES

The alternative for women who do not want only to be housewives, or cannot afford to be housewives, is that they work. This study, in looking at dual-career families, is particularly concerned with the working woman as this is the feature which makes the dual-career family different from the traditional family.

"Working women" encompasses an area far greater than the scope of this thesis as it includes not only women in careers, but all women who work, as well as unmarried, divorced and widowed women, all of whom may have families but not husbands. The dual-career wife is, thus, a specific category of working women and this section, while touching on issues pertaining to all working women, is written from the point of view of the dual-career wife.

#### 3.1 Why Married Women Work

In 1934 Cecile Tipton La Follette published "A Study of the Problems of 652 Gainfully Employed Married Women Homemakers" and the women in her sample gave the following reasons for why they work:

The primary reason, given by 67% of her sample, was:

- economic reasons

Other reasons given were:

- social
- to provide extras
- to continue personal development

- to utilize valuable training
- to help ensure economic security
- miscellaneous

In 1968, Myrdal and Klein put forward the following reasons:

- economic and social motives
- woman's economic need
- national necessity for increased productivity
- social isolation of the modern housewife

and this was echoed by Fogarty, Rapaport and Rapaport (1971) who gave the following reasons:

- personal interest and family need
- civil rights
- need of the economy to use its biggest reserve of untapped ability

On this, van Rooyen (1981) says:

"It is still true today that the need for women to work is primarily economic. Divorce, widowhood or single status may force women to accept the breadwinner role, while the desire for a higher standard of living may cause married women to accept dual-role commitments (Oppenheimer, 1973; Belle and Tebbets, 1980). Women who primarily work 'because of interest in the work only, are a privileged minority, and often consist of older, professionally qualified people whose work experience and fewer home demands offer them opportunities to develop personal interests which their younger counterparts find it difficult to do'" (van Rooyen, 1981, p. 4).

Whilst these reasons still apply at the beginning of the 1980's, certain other factors concerning women and work have changed, and these factors concern the number of women who work.

### 3.2 Increase in Numbers of Married Women Workers

The number of married working women is on the increase. Amsden (1980) gives the following figures for the United Kingdom and U.S.A., (proportions of married women).

<u>U.K.</u>	<u>U.S.A.</u>
1921 : 10%	1920 : 9%
1951 : 22%	1950 : 23%
1971 : 42%	1970 : 41%

According to van Rooyen (1981), in 1979, married and unmarried women constituted 36% of the economically active White labour force in South Africa, and a survey indicated

"a further registered shortage of 17% specifically for White female labour (RSA Bureau of Statistics, Survey 12, 1979)" (van Rooyen, 1981, p. 3).

In South Africa there is currently a shortage of manpower at executive level, with the ratio of manager to worker disproportionately high (van Rooyen, 1981).

The number of White women in management positions has already increased from 5 277 in 1969 to 21 606 in 1979 (Prekel, 1980, in van Rooyen, 1981) and van Rooyen suggests that further increases in White womanpower could alleviate this situation.

These figures indicate three things:

- a) The number of women who work is on the increase and women play a substantial role in the work force.
- b) The number of married women who work is on the increase.
- c) The need for women to work is on the increase.

Van Rooyen (1981) notes that there is ambivalence in the area of working women. Women are considered part of the workforce, yet not part of the workforce; they are needed, but not necessarily desired.

To understand this incongruence one must look both at work and at home to see what is happening to give rise to this situation.

### 3.3 Working Women at Work

"Women at work" is an area beset with sensitive and complex issues which all seem to be related and interrelated, resulting in a tangle of connections. In an attempt to make sense of this, the following features will be looked at:

#### 3.3.1 Women and career choices.

#### 3.3.2 Inequalities between men and women -

1. pay
2. tax
3. opportunities.

#### 3.3.3 Attitudes towards working women -

1. in general
2. at work
3. changes implicated
4. women's own attitudes
5. male resistance to change.

#### 3.3.1 Women and Career Choices

The tradition, since Victorian times, has been to regard work as the man's domain and it was not considered proper for women to work

(Stacy and Price, 1981). However, as it becomes more and more expedient to include women in the workforce, opportunities open up to women.

For example, during the World Wars women were exhorted to help their countries and special arrangements were made to secure womanpower, such as providing child-care (Williams, 1945).

Coote and Campbell (1982), point out that ...

"when women have entered the workforce they have not done so freely or at random. They have been drawn in, and then confined to a handful of industries and occupations" (Coote and Campbell, 1982, p. 49).

In addition to this, Coote and Campbell (1982), quote a study done in 1980 which found that 45% of women and 75% of men work in totally segregated fields.

"Women have worked separately from men, apartheid-style, in low paid jobs which hold out little hope of advancement. And they have entered the waged labour force on the strict but unspoken condition that this will not interfere with the work they perform in their homes" (Coote and Campbell, 1982, p. 49).

Furthermore, 75% of women work in the service industries, that is, not in production (Coote and Campbell, 1982).

In America the situation is similar. Adams and Winston (1980) report that women are paid less than men and disproportionately hold low paid jobs. Nearly 2/3 of all working women are found in three sectors: clerical, service and sales. Women have a virtual monopoly (over 90% of people in these jobs are women) as registered nurses, bank tellers, typists, telephone operators and secretaries. Women constitute only 7% of practising physicians, 2% of engineers, 5% of

middle managers, 1% of top management. It is apparent, they say, that equal pay for equal work legislation can have no significant impact if women are not finding equal work.

Aldred (1981) goes into the real and imagined differences between men's work and women's work. Whereas men's work is imagined to be dirty, requiring physical strength (as in, for example, engineering type work) and technical and skilled; women's work is imagined to require such female abilities as women's domestic skills as in nursing; and dexterity, as in typing.

"The actual difference is that women are paid less:- Over the last ten years women have earned just over two thirds of what men earn per hour" (Aldred, 1981, p. 20).

Aldred, (1981) points out that jobs have actually changed sex, in accordance with a change in their status, for example:

- a) When typewriting first came into existence, it was regarded a skill and typing was a well-paid man's job. Now it is a lower status, low-paid woman's job.
- b) Until about 1950, most research posts in computer technology were held by women and then men took over these jobs. Similarly, broadcasting work was considered a woman's job. Both these industries have gone from being regarded as "odd" to being well-paid high status areas.

Van Rooyen (1980) also makes this point, using an example from the U.S.S.R. As more and more women have become doctors, the career has lessened in status and prestige.

The original fields into which women were accepted were nursing, teaching, welfare work and later secretarial.

The initial situation of what was considered suitable work for women seems to still hold good.

"Over 70% of American women are in only four fields - teaching, nursing, secretarial work and social work. Not only do most women go into these fields, but most of the people in these fields - between 70 and 100% are women. Women are particularly underrepresented in those professions in which prestige and financial rewards are greatest" (Tangri, 1972, p. 178).

A possible factor in this, is that career orientation and career choice, in women, is influenced by the individual's personal sex-role orientation.

Research by Baruch (1972), Broverman et al (1972), Tangri (1972) and Vogel et al (1970) looked at what factors contributed to women being innovative in career choices (as opposed to traditional) and being career-orientated, ie. anticipating making a lifetime commitment to working. These researchers found that maternal employment is a major correlate of career innovation. Of innovators, Tangri also says:

"As compared to women going into feminine professions, innovators are more autonomous, individualistic, and motivated by internally imposed demands to perform to capacity" (Tangri, 1972, p. 197).

In a more recent study Haber (1980) re-investigated the critical factors in determining career choice and career commitment and found that encouragement from parents, and sex-role orientation, are important.

She defined innovative occupations as occupations in which there was a preponderance of males, under 30% of people in the occupation being female and traditional occupations as occupations in which over 62% of people in the occupation are female.

In her study she found that innovative, career-oriented women thought that neither of their parents emphasized the traditional life-style of marriage and family for their daughters. Twenty per cent of these women were cross-sex-typed Masculine on the Bem Sex-role Inventory and 80% of them were "Androgynous", indicating for all of them, that their sex-role orientations were not traditional because they were not sex-typed feminine.

Those women in traditional occupations, but career oriented - primarily school teachers and social workers - perceived parents as placing equal emphasis on marriage, career and children.

Those who fell into the category of traditional occupation non-career-oriented perceived their parents as having definite views not supporting the role of careerwoman.

"Not surprisingly, this group had the highest percentage of engaged subjects, was highly feminine on the Bem Androgyny scale and indicated the desire for the greatest number of children" (Haber, 1980, p. 136).

The relationship of sex-role orientation to male- and female-professions was also investigated by Tyer and Erdwins (1979), who found that in their sample men in female dominated professions scored Androgynous on the BSRI, whereas of the women in male-dominated professions 18% scored Androgynous and 41% scored Masculine on the BSRI.

Not all women who work do so from equivalent viewpoints. Working women can be divided into at least three groups.

- a) Career-oriented women who see their occupation as important to their personal fulfilment.

b) Job-oriented women who enjoy working but are not committed to a particular occupation.

c) Home-making oriented women, who would prefer not to work.

(Jordaan, 1977, in van Rooyen, 1981)

It seems that sex-roles and sex-role orientation, play an important part in determining whether women work and what work they choose to do and this area will be more fully explored in the following chapter.

### 3.3.2 Inequalities Between Men and Women at Work

From the preceding it is clear that before men and women even begin, certain inequalities are operating with regard to the differences in possibilities that are open to them. However, other inequalities continue to prevail between men and women working side by side in their occupations.

#### 3.3.2.1 Pay

In general, women earn less than men. But, in addition to this, men and women in the same occupations are differentially paid. This is so fundamental an inequality that women anticipate lesser remuneration.

Aldred (1981) gives this insight into the difference between what men and women expect from well-paid, professional jobs:

"An employer was looking for someone to do quite a high-powered job. The job was advertised at a salary of 10,000 sterling a year, and when the applications came in, only a very few women had applied, although the employer knew there were lots of well-qualified women around who could do the job. The advert was changed, and this time heaps of applications came in from women and very few from men. The change in the advert was simple - nothing had been altered except the salary, which appeared the second time as 5,000 sterling a year" (Aldred, 1980, pp. 30 - 31).

Aldred estimates that in Britain, one half of all married women go out to work. A quarter of women with at least one child under four go out to work; and three quarters of women with children over 10 go out to work. Furthermore:

"A third of all women workers are not married, but they too suffer from the general assumption that all women are really dependent on a male breadwinner's wage" (Aldred, 1980, p. 47).

It seems that there are several interlinked justifications for why women are paid less than men:

1. Women are "worth" less because they are less reliable and more short term employees because of their family role (Myrdal and Klein, 1968).
2. Women do not need to earn as much as men because they are providing a second wage for the family (Aldred, 1980).
3. Women in female professions earn less because their work is accorded lesser status (Aldred, 1980).

In the first instance women are being penalised for merely doing what has to be done, as Aldred (1980) points out, if no-one has babies there will be no economy of the future.

The second instance is firstly founded upon a general assumption which does not always apply as Aldred says; and secondly, is conveniently applied to women yet would not dare be applied to men in a capitalist society. Since when do men get paid according to how much money their families need or the number of dependants they have?

The third instance is a Catch 22 situation because the work is accorded lesser status on the grounds that women do it. Professions such

as nursing and teaching are vital to our society, demanding valued personal qualities and abilities, yet are low-paid, low-prestige (van Rooyen, 1981; Fogarty et al, 1971).

#### 3.3.2.2 Tax

Besides being paid less, women are also affected by discriminatory income tax laws (van Rooyen, 1981), whereby a married woman who works is taxed more heavily than if she were single. In South Africa a woman's earnings are added to her husband's and the couple are taxed jointly. Depending on how much her husband earns, this may mean that the wife pays as much as half her earnings in tax.

#### 3.3.2.3 Opportunities and Achievements at Work

There appears to be a curious phenomenon with regard to women, for even in the professions where women predominate (eg. teaching, social work, librarianship), men hold a disproportionately high number of the top posts (Stacy and Price, 1981, Fogarty et al, 1971).

Furthermore, the performance and productivity of women in occupations where such comparison can be made, does not equal that of men (Heckman et al, 1977; Huser, 1978; Foster et al, 1980; van Rooyen, 1981). On this point, Symonds (1979) says:

Many studies show that as a group, women professionals are not achievers.

"Only a small percentage of them run for office in their professional organization, relatively few present professional papers, their average income and academic status is less than those of male colleagues of equal education" (Symonds, 1979, p. 59).

If women are indeed as capable as men, as the research would indicate, it is necessary to account for this. Research findings in this

area are of particular relevance to the dual-career family, as it seems that the wife's family role constitutes a hindrance to her in her work, together with other factors.

Broadly speaking, factors which affect the opportunities and achievements of women are:

1. Attitudes towards working women.
2. A woman's family role - which intimately affects No. 1 (Myrdal and Klein, 1968; Fogarty et al, 1971; Adams and Winston, 1980; Rowbotham, 1972; Symonds, 1979; Spitze and Waite, 1981; Poloma and Garland, 1971; van Rooyen, 1981; Rossi, 1971; Yogev, 1981).

### 3.3.3 Attitudes Towards Working Women

#### 3.3.3.1 General Attitudes

Although women, in choosing an occupation and committing themselves to work, are indicating a personal sex-role orientation, they still have to contend with the general social attitudes and values that others in their orbit will attach to the fact that they work:

Firstly, society is more willing to accept women's employment in secondary role positions such as nurse, secretary or stewardess than in primary positions such as doctor, lawyer, or pilot (Rossi, 1964 in Kaley, 1971).

Secondly, a most important source of support or hostility for a woman's participation in professional work is her husband and the attitudes of contiguous groups such as neighbours and husband's colleagues who become a reference point for attitudes (Bailyn, 1964, in Kaley, 1971).

Thirdly, many question whether women can cope adequately with both home and work roles. They censure a woman for neglecting her family and do not look at her situation as a whole (Kaley, 1971).

### 3.3.3.2 Attitudes at Work

As employees, women are seen differently from men. Fogarty, Rapaport and Rapaport (1971) list the factors that have come to be seen as differences between men and women at work

- Women are considered to be less focused (having wider interests), less ambitious and less competitive than men in pursuing their careers and in being motivated to reach top levels.
- Women are considered to be more informal and personal in their style of working, as well as more tense and self-conscious. They are considered to be better at routine work than at initiating changes.
- Women are not considered acceptable in some fields as colleagues, superiors or partners.
- Because women are not considered to be as committed as men to work, and because of possible conflict between family and work commitments, women are said to be a bad risk.

(Fogarty et al, 1971)

These "differences" between men and women are difficult to assess as:

- a) They may be possible truths on a statistical basis.
- b) Their meaning is not clear - are these positive or negative attributes? or when are these positive or negative attributes?
- c) Being "marginal and statistical differences" (Fogarty et al, 1971) they cannot be applied in individual cases.

However, the attitudes that women are not acceptable in certain fields and that women are a bad risk, weigh heavily against women, as they reflect on realities deriving from women's traditional and biological sex-role:-

Firstly, because women have been expected to and have deferred to men for so long, it does take an exceptional woman to be accepted as an equal or superior in fields which have been exclusively male territory.

It is a biological fact that only women can have babies and that to do this women will need to take time off. Furthermore, if a family member is ill or in need of care, it is more likely that the mother will have to take time off work to provide this (Myrdal and Klein, 1968).

#### 3.3.3.3 Changes Implicated

Fogarty et al (1971) say:

"It is of central importance for future policy that many of the problems to be solved over highly qualified women's careers and the general re-thinking of sex roles cannot be expected to sort themselves out automatically through individual initiative or the unguided processes of society and the labour market. It is not enough to free the market from restrictions and leave individuals or individual married couples to find their own way. Collective organized action will be needed as well" (Fogarty et al, 1971, p. 493).

What is needed, says Rowbotham (1972) are unequal rights:

"Given our real situation we have to demand UNEQUAL rights, ie. the concept of equality has to leave the realm of moral abstraction and become concretised in the existing social situation. Ford's employers justify discrimination against women on the grounds that women have to have time off to have children. Unequal rights has to take this kind of thing into account" (Rowbotham, 1972, p.23).

In a cross-national comparison, Adams and Winston (1980) point out how government attitude is so vital to changing the situation:

"Women's programmes in Sweden and China proceed from the assumption that marriage, motherhood and employment are potentially compatible activities for women as well as men, given the appropriate social organization. American policy, on the other hand, continues to presume certain fundamental incompatibilities between women's marriage, motherhood, and work roles. Women who attempt to play multiple roles at the same time can overcome these incompatibilities only by incurring certain costs; those costs may involve paying the high price to buy adequate child care, sacrificing leisure time in order to get housework done after five p.m. or on weekends, or limiting job hours and responsibilities to those that can successfully be juggled with home responsibilities. With few exceptions, American policymakers view these necessary trade-offs as private decisions, outside the realm of governmental concern or action. They do not see government as having any particular obligation to reduce or redistribute the costs incurred by working wives and mothers" (Adams and Winston, 1980, p. 8).

Adams and Winston (1980) go on to relate how recognising that women who work do have special needs has provided employers with justification for treating women differently. They suggest that there should be government benefits and services such as maternity and family-planning programs, child-care and house-keeping services. Without such services women are not in a position to compete on an equal basis with men for jobs, promotions and wage increases. They point out that:

"In a future society in which family roles are symmetrical, such programs would be seen as 'family' programs, not 'women's' programs, since they provide support for functions performed within the family" (Adams and Winston, 1980, p. 20).

Under current conditions, the beneficiaries of such a program would seem to be mainly women, but it is actually the whole family which would benefit.

Thus, while a woman's social image constitutes a stumbling block to her being viewed as suitable for employment or promotion and thereby limiting her opportunities, a woman's family role constitutes a potential stumbling block. It would be a mistake though, to think that it is enough to make institutional changes to overcome this problem, for women themselves are not clear with regard to these issues, as will be seen in the following section.

#### 3.3.3.4 Women's Own Attitudes Towards Themselves and Work

A major obstacle to women in their careers is the way they see themselves. To a greater or lesser extent, depending on the individual, women have internalized social values, including traditional stereotyped female role expectations. In accordance with this, the married woman who works generally places her career second to the needs of the family and the needs of her husband and his career (Fogarty et al, 1971; Heckman et al, 1977; Foster et al, 1980; Holmstrom, 1972; Poloma and Garland, 1971; Symonds, 1979).

As Symonds (1979) says, the traditional meaning of being a wife means deferring to the husband, aiding him in his occupational growth and providing him with a support system. The working wife will try to fulfil this traditional role, but finds that she does not get similar assistance in her work role. Holmstrom (1972), says it is still difficult to have two careers in the family and usually it is assumed that the husband is more committed than the wife. The wife's career is considered less important - if the husband's career requires that they move, they move. If the babysitter fails to turn up the wife cancels her appointment, if pressure occurs as a result of both spouses working, the wife resigns (Huser, 1978).

The research of Foster et al (1980) indicated that even couples with a feminist (non-traditional) orientation do not employ egalitarian strategies with regard to the careers of husband and wife when pressurised. On the whole, women in dual-career families subordinate their careers to those of their husbands'.

According to Spitze and Waite (1981), women's perceptions of their husbands supported an egalitarian model of marital relationships. Women saw themselves as equal in capability and intelligence, but saw their husbands as having more potential to succeed in their professions. This can be seen in terms of a reality where men are more likely to succeed, because of discrimination against women.

Poloma and Garland (1971) argue that the family stands in the way of women's career advancement and this may be the major factor in employers discriminating against women:

"The thesis that marriage provides a form of captivity for the woman (be it ever so benevolent) of course is not new. Both Karl Marx and Frederick Engles (sic) denounced the evils of the traditional family, but both felt that the capitalistic system ironically would create the conditions for its deterioration through the employment of women outside the home" (Poloma and Garland, 1971, p. 532).

Even women who are professionally employed have "jobs" rather than "careers" in terms of the demands they meet and commitments they have to make. For instance, married women physicians worked fewer hours than single women, and both single and married women practised fewer hours than their male colleagues, according to the research of Powers et al (1969) (in Poloma and Garland, 1971).

The academic, professional and business worlds expect single-minded devotion, in return for which career advancement is the reward. For

women, it is difficult to be single-minded about their careers, as this entails subordination of other interests, including the family (Hardesty and Betz, 1979).

Despite the clear indications that marriage has an adverse effect on women's careers, women are unwilling to see marriage and the family, as it is in capitalist society, as

"the villain barring the road to feminine equality"  
(Poloma and Garland, 1971).

Women who want to change the family system are seen as extremists, most women of the new feminist movement being more moderate in their outlook, wanting supportive structures such as child-care centres, rather than totally changing family and work lifestyles for men and women (Poloma and Garland, 1971).

Basically, women still feel that the traditional role of wife and mother is a responsibility they must fulfil regardless of whether they work as well. Symonds (1979) describes it as a significant struggle in the woman who is both a professional and wife. She is beset with divided loyalties, a sense of guilt and a shaky sense of identity.

#### 3.3.3.5 Male Resistance to Change

Understanding of change and reaction to change cannot be complete without looking at, firstly, who will benefit in what way by the change itself and, secondly, who will benefit by preventing the change and maintaining the status quo. Women are the impetus behind the change. It has largely come about by women wanting to break out

of their traditional role and extend themselves into what has formerly been the male preserve. This inevitably has a profound effect on men as it demands that they change as well - at work and at home.

Aldred (1980) presents a rather caustic way of looking at the situation, but essentially, if women work on equal footing with men, men do stand to lose their status as breadwinner and head of the family, possibly lose their jobs or promotion to capable women, and will have to participate more in the running of the home.

Just as it is difficult for women who want to change to truly let go of their traditional role (Yogev, 1981), so it must be extremely difficult for men who are not necessarily seeking change to adapt themselves to a new situation. That there may be benefits for men as well, in a new order, is not necessarily clear at this stage.

### 3.4 Working Wives - At Home

This section will look at what effect the working wife and mother has on:

1. Roles of husband and wife.
2. Power balance in the home.
3. Marital adjustment.
4. The children.

#### 3.4.1 Roles of Husband and Wife

When the wife works, who does the housework and child-care? Theoretically, it has been suggested that if husband and wife both work, both husband and wife will participate in housework and child-care, so that there is symmetry in the roles of husband and wife (Young and Wilmott, 1980; Perrucci and Rhoads, 1978). However, while this may be

logical and pragmatic in theory, in practice the situation is different, according to the research. Regardless of her employment status, the wife is primarily responsible for housework and child-care (Bahr, (1974) in Weingarten, 1978; Pleck (1977) in Perrucci and Rhoads, 1978).

Perrucci and Rhoads (1978) review the hypotheses researchers have put forward with regard to role execution in dual-career families, and put forward the following three:

- a) The relative husband/wife resources hypothesis (Bahr, 1974; Blood and Wolfe, 1960; Stafford et al, 1977). According to this hypothesis, the spouse who controls a relatively greater share of power can minimize his/her participation in activities he/she does not find desirable, including housework and child-care. Resources refer to such things as education and occupational prestige.
- b) The subcultural or socialization hypothesis regarding values and ideology (Stafford et al, 1977). This hypothesis posits that household division of labour depends upon the nature of sex-role ideology acquired by men and women as children and/or adults. Traditional ideology implies that household work and child-care is the role of women. An egalitarian sex-role ideology should be predictive of husband and wife sharing housework and child-care, regardless of power and authority considerations. Stafford et al (1977) did a study of married male college students and found that those who adhered to traditional concepts of sex-role ideology, "ideal" partner reasons for marriage and parental household division of labour, spent less time on performance of household tasks. Hesselbart (1976) found that the husband's

education and attitude towards women's equality affected his participation in household tasks. The higher his education and the less he opposed women's equality, the more he shared in doing housework.

- c) The time-available hypothesis (Stafford et al, 1977). Husbands and wives allocate household tasks and child-care on the basis of time available to each spouse for such activities (Perrucci and Rhoads, 1978).

Examination of these three hypotheses reveals that hypotheses (a) and (c) are subject to hypothesis (b). As already discussed, because of traditional sex-roles, men have higher incomes, greater occupational prestige and their careers are considered primary, thus husbands almost invariably have the greater relative resources. Likewise, because women have traditionally done the housework and child-care, women who work have had to take this into account when choosing their jobs and deciding how much time they commit to their work. Thus women, if possible, will tend to structure their work life to accommodate their traditional role as well, whereas men do not, so that, again, almost invariably women will have more time available.

Some researchers have found that the wife's employment has no influence on whether the husband participates in housework or not (Hesselbart, 1976; Stafford et al, 1977, and Bryson et al, 1976), whereas others report that husbands assume a greater share of the housework if the wife is employed (Hoffman, 1960; Layne and Lowe, 1977; Safilios-Rothschild, 1970). Farkas, (1976) and Campbell, (1970), found that husbands helped with household tasks once there was a child and, as the number of children increased, so did his household participation (from Perrucci and Rhoads, 1978).

Perruci and Rhoads (1978) found that the socialisation-ideology hypothesis (b) was the only statistically significant indicator of whether husbands participated in household tasks.

Generally, although husbands may participate more in housework and child-care, wives do the greater share in these roles.

Perruci and Rhoads (1978) and Bryson et al (1978) found that wives in dual-career couples bear a disproportionate share of the burden of child-care. Poloma and Garland (1971) found that in 38% of the dual-career couples the husbands did virtually no housework.

Weingarten (1978) suggests that this can be explained by the guilt women experience about spending time away from their children. Women need to devote compensatory time to child-care and thus couples negotiate a division of labour that allows women to assuage their guilt and allows men to do less housework.

Rice (1979) in his book about marital psychotherapy with dual-career couples noted that women in dual-career families do more housework than their husbands, but they do not complain or consciously feel that this is unfair. Of their study, Yogev (1981) says:

"The important contribution of this study, however, is that this traditional division of labour in dual-career couples exists not only because the husbands might be resistant and reluctant to increase their participation in housework and child-care, but also because the women do not want or expect their husbands to share these responsibilities equally. It is important for them to have this unfair division so it will enable a wife to feel that she is 'the mother in the family.'" (Yogev, 1981, p. 868)

Safilios-Rothschild (1970) adds another explanation for why husbands participate so little. When income is increased because of the wife's employment, this may not lead to an increase in the husband's

housework, because the couple can afford to hire help. In South Africa this is particularly pertinent. Home help is readily available, cheap and a long standing cultural feature in a society where houses are built with special quarters for live-in domestic servants. Indeed, neither a particularly high income nor a working wife are prerequisites to deciding to hire help - domestic servants are an accepted norm and part of family life. Thus, White South African families can and do rely on the services of hired help to fulfil time consuming and less desirable household tasks.

#### 3.4.2 The Power Balance In The Home

Traditionally the husband has been the head of the household, held most of the power in the marital relationship, been older, more highly educated, earned more and had occupational status superior to that of his wife (Yogev, 1981).

According to Blood and Hamblin (1958) marriages are shifting from husband-dominated to egalitarian power for husband and wife. Research by Blood and Hamblin (1958) and Hoffman (1960) did not, however, find the expected difference between women who worked and those who did not, ie. women who were employed did not have more power in the home than women who did not work. But Safilios-Rothschild (1970) reports that women who work do have a more active role in familial decision-making.

More recent research by Moore and Sawhill (1978) reports the following: Wives who are employed exercise a greater degree of power in their marriages, ie. they are not dominated by their husbands and do share, or even lead, in decision-making. Marital power is higher among women employed full-time than those working for pay part-time

or not at all, and it is greatest among women with the most prestigious occupations, women who are most committed to their work and those whose salaries exceed that of their husbands'. Working women have more say, especially in financial decisions.

### 3.4.3 Marital Adjustment

In 1969, Arden and Bradburn reported that both partners are lower in marriage happiness if the wife participates in the labour market out of economic necessity than if she participates by choice. Also, they report that the wife's employment only strains the marriage when there are preschool children in the family. They assert that there is a tendency for employment to increase the conflict a woman encounters in her relationship with her husband.

Staines et al (1972) reviewed the research done on marital adjustment in dual-career couples and found that:

7 Studies found somewhat higher marital adjustment among housewives than working wives, only one of which established a significant difference (Gover, 1963).

4 Studies found trivial differences.

1 Study found no difference.

Staines et al (1978) criticize these studies because, aside from looking at the education factor, the literature on wives' employment status and marital adjustment includes no systematic, cross-sectional evidence on other important control variables such as family life cycle stage.

Staines, Pleck, Shephard and O'Connor (1978) examined the effects of wives' employment status on wives' and husbands' evaluations of their own marital adjustment, from data yielded by two national surveys. They found that dual-career couple wives did not score significantly lower on marital satisfaction or marital happiness, or on four other specific components of marital adjustment, than non-working wives. Also, that wives' employment status does not significantly affect husbands' reports of marital adjustment. Negative effects of wives' employment, on wives' reports of marital adjustment, were found to be restricted specifically to mothers of preschool children, and wives with less than a high-school diploma.

Hardesty and Betz (1980) investigated predictors of levels of marital adjustment in dual-career families as they felt this was needed to both understand and facilitate the process of integrating career and family roles. They investigated: demographic characteristics by number of children, income and educational level, attitudes towards women and the wife's career salience. The significant predictors for the husband's marital adjustment were: wife's career salience, wife's education, family income - which were positively related, and wife's income - which was negatively related. The significant predictors for the wife's marital adjustment were: wife's education, family income - which were positively related; and wife's income which was negatively related. Neither husbands' nor wives' attitudes towards women were significant in either prediction equation, and the wife's career salience was not significant in the wives' marital adjustment equation. However, the women in the sample were significantly more feminist than the men in the sample. The finding that levels of adjustment increased as combined income increased, but decreased as wife's

income increased, suggests that couples reported better marital adjustment when greater family income was contributed primarily by the husband.

Yogev (1981) investigated the marital dynamics of professional women and found that 70,5% of the women in her sample saw their marriages as having improved because of their careers. They thought their husbands would be bored with a wife who was a housewife, and in addition to the economic advantages they found increased closeness, sharing of ideas as well as respect for each other, each having their own skills and independence from each other.

It appears that at this stage, marital adjustment and marital satisfaction in dual-career couples is not clearly a function of the wife's employment status, but dependent on other factors such as wife's educational level, wife's income and on the stage in the family cycle, ie. the presence of preschool children.

#### 3.4.4 Effect On Children

The work of Bowlby (1951) on maternal deprivation set off a ripple of implications about the negative effects of working mothers - that children would be deprived by their mothers being at work and that their development would be affected (Fogarty et al 1971).

However, Bowlby's work did not apply to the children of working mothers as his research was actually done on institutionalised children and no comparison can be made between children in daycare and children brought up in institutions (Myrdal and Klein, 1968).

Subsequent research did not support the assertion that children of working mothers are more deprived than those of non-working mothers

(Moore, 1966; Yudkin and Holme, 1965; Nye and Hoffman, 1963, in Fogarty et al, 1971).

On the other hand, there is some evidence that children benefit from having a mother employed outside the home (Fogarty et al, 1971). Myrdal and Klein (1968) say that children run two risks: "rejection" and "over-protection". Mothers who stay at home run the greater risk of this mistake, particularly if they have come to feel that the children are the 'meaning of their life'.

"In the children's interest it cannot be overstressed that mothers must have other aims in life as well. What they otherwise tend to produce in their offspring is weakness, immaturity and the need for constant reassurance - not to speak of the risk of graver disturbances which often only come to the surface at a later age when the demands of life become more stringent" (Myrdal and Klein, 1968, p. 136).

Once children are of school age they need less adult attention and more peer companionship, so that their needs are not incompatible with a mother's desire to work (Myrdal and Klein, 1968).

Rossi (1971) points out that in 22 empirical studies, maternal employment had no unfavourable effects on children. More important than employment per se are the mother's reasons for working, the quality of care the child receives in her absence, and the attitudes of her husband.

The research of St. John Parsons (1978) supports the foregoing in that he found that children of dual-career couples gained in independence, resourcefulness and self-confidence. The children shared pride in their mothers' careers.

However, despite reassurances that children of working mothers are not deprived in comparison to children of non-working mothers, the issue of child-care constitutes a major dilemma facing the dual-career couple. Women feel guilty about the time they spend away from their children, and feel the need to compensate for this (St. John Parsons, 1978; Weingarten, 1978).

Most working women feel they must stop work altogether or work much shorter hours until their child is going to school (Symonds, 1979; Fogarty et al, 1971). The greatest difficulty dual-career couples (and single mothers) face is finding quality day-care for their children (Fogarty et al, 1971; Adams and Winston, 1980).

### 3.5 Coping Strategies

Dual-career families presently have to find ways of coping with the practical demands their socially new life-style makes on them. Wives, in particular, have to cope with role conflicts and role overload in that, as we have seen, generally they continue to be primarily responsible for the housework and child-care in addition to working.

With regard to children, women are postponing both marriage and childbearing and reducing family size, with quite a dramatic rise in the number of women who are choosing to remain childless (Van Dusen and Sheldon, 1976). Those who have children temporarily lower their career ambitions while children are young and/or seek support from others who hold similar attitudes towards careers, marriage and child-rearing.

Rapaport and Rapaport (1971) list three characteristic ways in which dual-career couples cope within the time constraints of their lifestyle:

- a) They worked consciously to keep leisure time.
- b) They delegated as much as possible.
- c) They modified work involvement to fit in with partners' careers.

Hall (1972) evaluated three methods for coping with role execution and expectation.

1. Type I coping - Structural Role Redefinition - this involves a process of negotiation during which expectations of others are redefined, conflicting demands placed on the individual are reduced and a new set of expectations are agreed upon.
2. Type II coping - Personal Role Redefinition - this involves the individual changing his or her perceptions of role demands, rather than attempting to change the expectations of others.
3. Type III coping - Reactive Role Behaviour - this involves attempting to meet all role demands and please everyone.

In this study, Hall (1972) (in Hall and Hall, 1979) found that Type I and Type II coping strategies were significantly linked to satisfaction, whereas Type III coping negatively related to satisfaction, indicating that Type I and II strategies are viable methods for dealing with the role conflict and overload situation.

Gray (1979) did a survey of 232 married professional women and found strong positive associations between satisfaction and strategies of having female members share household tasks, reducing standards within certain roles, and considering personal interests important.

Having family members help resolve conflicts and organizing and scheduling activities carefully also had positive associations with satisfaction.

Keeping roles totally separate, attempting to meet the expectations of all, eliminating entire roles, and not having any conscious strategies for dealing with role conflicts all related negatively to satisfaction.

Interview data from these women found that factors such as flexibility, avoiding competition with one's husband, gaining the support of significant others and having a strong will to succeed were also factors linked to satisfaction. Also apparent, was the need for each woman to decide how to balance her roles within the context of her own unique situation (Gray, 1980).

Gray (1980) concludes that in combining a career and a family the following are important: advance planning and support, setting up of realistic goals, learning to manage time effectively, negotiating with others, assertiveness and clarity of values.

### 3.6 Neo-traditionalism The Current Trend

Young and Wilmott (1980) say:

"If women go out to work, and if in that way their roles are not different from those of men, so much the more difficult is it to preserve segregation in their roles at home" (Young and Wilmott (1980), p. 121).

This appears, though, to be a somewhat optimistic assessment of the family transforming smoothly to a state of equality and symmetry.

As Yogev (1981) points out, the division of labour in dual-career families suggests that the conventional model cannot be abolished yet. Working women still see housework and child-care as their responsibility and husbands devote more weekly hours to their careers than wives do. This is not congruent with a symmetrical or egalitarian pattern.

Poloma and Garland (1971) studied dual profession families in which the wife was a practising physician, college professor or attorney and found that there was a lack of equality or symmetry in the roles of husband and wife and that the women perceived their work as "jobs" rather than "careers". In view of this they classify dual-career families in three ways:

1. Traditional - in which roles are gender based.
2. Neo-traditional - in which husbands and wives freely assist each other with sex-determined roles.
3. Egalitarian - in which roles are not gender based.

Traditional dual-career families are characterized by four main features:

1. The wife's career is equivalent to a "hobby" or viewed on a par with volunteer work.
2. The husband is clearly the status giving and income earning member of the couple, with the wife's income not being used for family needs.
3. The wife's principal role is that of wife and mother and homemaker.

4. Hired domestic help generally takes care of the bulk of routine household chores, with the wife caring for the remainder of the feminine tasks (eg. entertaining, cooking, shopping).

Neo-traditional couples differ from traditional couples in two inter-related ways:

1. The wife's income is needed and utilized to maintain the family's standard of living.
2. The wife's professional activity assumes a certain importance in any decision the family makes.

In the egalitarian dual-career family, husband and wife would give equal importance to both their careers, and the responsibility of housework and child-care would fall equally on both their shoulders.

"At the present time, the institution of marriage lies somewhere between the totally egalitarian marriages that could emerge in the future and the highly traditional marriages of the past" (Moore and Sawhill, 1978, p. 204).

### 3.7 Review

Increasing numbers of married women are choosing to work, motivated by financial needs, labour needs and personal needs for fulfillment (van Rooyen, 1981). Most women work in traditionally female occupations, which carry inferior status and remuneration to the traditionally male occupations (Coote and Campbell, 1982; Adams and Winston, 1980; Aldred, 1981). Even where women are employed in the same occupations as men, inequalities with regard to pay and promotion prevail (Aldred 1981; Fogarty et al, 1971). As employees, women are regarded differently from men (Fogarty et al, 1971). Such reservations about

women employees do have some basis in reality as, where comparisons can be made, women do not achieve as well as men do (Symonds, 1979; van Rooyen, 1981).

Women are hindered in the pursuit of their careers by their traditional and biological role. Providing equal opportunity for women, must take their biological role into account by giving women unequal rights (Rowbotham, 1972). In addition, women are also hindered by their own attitude to their traditional role, as generally the working wife still feels responsible for meeting the parenting and home-making functions, and considers her own career as second to that of her husband (Fogarty et al, 1971; Poloma and Garland, 1971; Symonds, 1979).

Research indicates that, except during the peak stage, marital adjustment and marital satisfaction are not adversely affected in dual-career families (Staines et al, 1978; Yogev, 1981) and nor are children negatively affected (Rossi, 1971; St John Parsons, 1978). However, dual-career families do have to find ways of coping with their lifestyle (Rapaport and Rapaport (1971); Hall 1972, Gray, 1979). Poloma and Garland (1971) and Yogev (1981) point out that currently the dual-career lifestyle is not entirely non-traditional. Husband and wife do not equally share work and home-making and child-care responsibilities. Usually the husband's career is considered more important than the wife's, and the wife is more responsible for home-making and child-care.

Establishing an egalitarian dual-career family requires fundamental changes in attitudes and ideologies - an actual rejection of the traditional male and female stereotypes, not only on an individual

basis, but also on a socio-political level (Fogarty et al, 1971; Adams and Winston, 1980).

## CHAPTER 4

### PSYCHOLOGICAL ANDROGYNY, SEX-ROLE IDEOLOGY AND SELF-ACTUALISATION

#### 4.1 Psychological Androgyny

Psychological androgyny as a concept is not new. According to Singer (1976) the Androgyne is an archetype -

"a universal and collective image that has existed since the remotest time" (Singer, 1976, p. 20).

What is new, though, is that the concept has now found an age in which it can openly manifest itself (Singer, 1976).

Psychological androgyny is currently gaining attention because of the new perspective it offers on sex roles in our society. In order to comprehend the full implications of this term, it is necessary first to review the literature and research that has been done in the field of sex-roles, which forms the background out of which the recent understanding of psychological androgyny has grown.

#### 4.1.2 Sex-Roles

Van Rooyen defines "roles" as follows:

"Norms are roles of behaviour, and roles are patterns of norms associated with social positions. Roles are associated with positions in that they specify the kinds of behaviour that are expected of people in those positions" (Van Rooyen, 1980, p. 14).

This is quite a complicated definition, which can be clarified by example: The term "school principal" refers not only to the professional description but also to a social position associated with certain rules of behaviour, or norms. It is not enough for a school

principal to fulfil his school duties, his role requires that he also, for instance, be of exemplary character.

Perhaps a lawyer could get away with going to the races on Saturday afternoon, gambling and being seen to get drunk in a restaurant, but a school principal who behaved similarly would undoubtedly be frowned upon, despite the fact that this was being done in his time off and bore no reflection on his abilities and competence in running his school.

The point is that the role expectations are not only associated with the professional expectations, but extend beyond that to specify the kinds of behaviour expected of him in general.

In most societies roles are assigned on the basis of sex, hence the term "sex-role." Spence and Helmreich say:

"Sex role differentiation is universal among human societies: women and men are assigned different tasks, rights and privileges and are likely to be subject to different rules of conduct, particularly in interaction with each other" (Spence and Helmreich, 1978, p. 4).

Parson and Bales (1955) used the terms "instrumental" and "expressive" to describe the traditional distinction between the sex roles. Men, in playing the instrumental role, meet the family's economic needs and act as the family's agent in the outside world. Women, in playing the expressive role, meet the family's nurturance needs in caring for the children and looking after the functioning of the home in both the physical and emotional sense.

Certain characteristics, necessary to the effective execution of these roles, are associated with them. The male role is associated with, for example, physical strength, aggressiveness, independence

and self-reliance; the female role is associated with such characteristics as warmth, sensitivity and tenderness. However, when considering the nature of preliterate societies, where life was more rudimentary and roles to be filled were fewer and more basic, it is understandable that division should be along the basis of sex - because men are physically stronger and women are the ones equipped for bearing children and nursing them (Weisfeld, 1979).

Such association of role with characteristics has grown to such an extent as to include a prescription of the kinds of qualities and characteristics men and women should have, ie. men should be "masculine" and women should be "feminine".

Masculinity and femininity are global terms referring to the kinds of qualities considered appropriate and acceptable to males and females respectively. Masculinity and femininity are traditionally seen as representing opposite ends of a unidimensional scale, so that they are considered to be (1) opposite and (2) mutually exclusive. (Heilbrun, 1975).

Adams and Laurikeitis (1976) list some of the characteristics considered to be masculine and feminine, emphasising their oppositeness:

<u>MALE</u>		<u>FEMALE</u>	
hard	brave	soft	timid
tough	assertive	gentle	quiet
brutal	strong	kind	weak
cold	unemotional	affectionate	emotional

#### 4.1.3 Sex-Role Stereotyping

Returning now to the example of the school principal, we imagine a picture of the typical school principal - perhaps something like a man of upright character and stern ways, who nevertheless cares deeply for the welfare of the school. This is a stereotyped characterization, many school principals may have such traits but each also has his own individual ways. Furthermore, a school principal has had choice in his profession and has probably taken it on because his individual interests, preferences and personality suit the role, ie. he was not given the role and then forced to fit himself into it, he chose it because of his preferred characteristics.

In sex-roles, though, we see a completely different picture. The individual, on the basis of sex, is prescribed a role in life, and a concomitant set of characteristics, interests and abilities, which he/she is then socially trained to fit into. Sex-role stereotyping is the tendency to assume, on the basis of gender, the roles, preferences, interests, characteristics and behavioural traits that an individual has, will have and ought to have. Spence and Helmreich (1978) refer to sex-role stereotyping as a "Procrustean bed" and also as

"the supposition that biological gender, masculine and feminine sex-role behaviour, and the psychological attributes of masculinity and femininity are tightly intercorrelated" (Spence and Helmreich, 1978, p. 10).

One cannot, however, ignore the obvious differences between the sexes - women are biologically equipped for childbearing and early parenting and nurturing, whereas men are biologically equipped for sustained physical exertion and arduous work (Weisfeld, 1979). Weisfeld,

writing from an ethological perspective, points out that culture and biology complement each other:

"However the family evolved in man, sexual division of labour took this form: the man hunted, explored and defended against predators and enemies; the woman provided most of the parental care and plant food. This pattern is consistent not only with morphological sex differences, but also with many of the well established cognitive and affective differences between the sexes." (Weisfeld, 1979, p. 44).

#### 4.1.4 Sex Differences

In the study of sex differences, theorists and researchers have attempted both to i) assess the actual differences between the sexes, and ii) account for how these differences arise.

Though numerous experiments have been done to determine differences between the sexes, the majority of them have been inconclusive.

Traditional assumptions about differences between men and women include:

1. That women are less 'rational' than men.
2. Women are more susceptible to social influence than men.
3. Women are more anxious, compliant and nurturant than men.
4. Men are more dominant, active and competitive than women.

(Weinreich, 1978).

Based on Maccoby and Jacklin's (1974) thorough review of the field, Weinreich points out that this field has been subject to

"exaggerations, misinterpretations and even myths"

and

"that both lay and scientific assumptions about sex differences may be incorrect" (Weinreich, 1978, p. 19).

She goes on to say:

"Sometimes, apparently established sex differences have been based on a single, widely quoted study which has not been replicated. The evidence does not justify the stereotypical beliefs which exist in our society about major sex differences in ability and personality" (Weinreich, 1978, p. 19).

Secondly, we must take into account the point made by Lloyd (1976) about the research that has been done: Because psychological research is structured in such a way that the aim is to reject the null hypothesis by obtaining significant results, a certain strong bias results in the literature:- Researchers who postulate a difference between the sexes and then obtain insignificant results are not allowed to reject the null hypothesis. Those insignificant results, although showing no difference between the sexes, also do not definitely show that there is no difference. Such results are not reported because the experiment has failed to show the researchers postulated difference between the sexes. The net result is, that there is a bias weighting in the published literature, because whereas where a difference between the sexes is not found no report is published, when the research does reveal a significant difference, no matter how slight, the results are published.

In her article, *Social Responsibility and Research on Sex Differences*, Barbara Lloyd (1976) reviews Maccoby and Jacklin's book (1974) which represents "an exhaustive survey of the literature and scholarly integration of its findings" (p. 6) and emphasises that despite the thoroughness of this book, significant sex differences

have only been found in: a) aggression (behaviour) and, b) verbal, mathematical and spatial skills (abilities).

"The differences which do stand up to scrutiny are in measures of aggression, and in verbal, spatial and mathematical test scores. Girls tend to score higher on verbal tests and boys score higher on certain kinds of mathematical and spatial tests. Boys were found to exhibit more aggressive behaviour. Even these differences were small" (Weinreich, 1978, p. 19).

It seems commonly accepted in the field that, although these differences do exist, in themselves they hardly seem sufficient to account for the differences found in adult men and women with regard, for instance, to their achievements.

Maccoby (1976), for example, cites the research done in 1956, on Radcliffe Ph. D's who had taken academic posts, comparing them to their male counterparts. The women had published considerably less than the men. This study would seem to indicate that even when ability and position and opportunity in men and women are equivalent, there is still a source of discrepancy between the sexes. To explain this, the researchers have looked at how sex-role identities develop.

#### 4.1.5 Development of Sex-Role Identities

Very broadly speaking there are two approaches which deal with explaining how sex-role identities develop, viz. biological theories which encompass genetic, hormonal and evolutionary perspectives; and socialisation theories which emphasise the part played by environmental influences.

##### 4.1.5.1 Biological Theories

Hutt (1972) is one of those who subscribes to a biological explanation of sex differences. She states that:

"Social conventions usually have some rational basis, particularly if they prevail in a number of societies, many of them differing radically in other cultural mores" (Hutt, 1972, p. 108)

and like Weisfeld (1979), expresses the view that it is modern man's

"evolutionary heritage"

that has

"probably predisposed the males to be more aggressive, more exploratory, more vigorous and more group-orientated, and the females to be relatively more passive and dependant, more nurturant, more verbal, more concerned with morals and social conventions and less adventurous" (Hutt, 1972, pp. 107-108).

Hutt thereby explains such psychological attributes in men and women.

She cites as further evidence of the biological origins of sex differences the consistency of sex differences through changes in time and space and the sharing of such sex differences by

"other species of some phylogenetic affinity."

She also draws upon hormonal differences between the sexes to explain differences in behaviour. For instance, males are more aggressive than females because males have higher levels of androgens.

In his critique of this view, Archer (1978) gives three reasons why biological explanations of differences in sex-roles are attractive:

"These are first their use in arguments on social policy to imply the existence of simple natural order, second their ease of understanding, and third, that they follow directly from a reductionist philosophy" (Archer, 1978, p. 9).

The first point, that biological explanations "imply the existence of simple natural order", is particularly important in that it means

that what is traditionally the case is justified because according to our biology that is how things ought to be.

With regard to the view that the different psychological attributes of men and women reflect evolutionary adaptations for different sex-roles, which implies that men and women are genetically programmed to pursue their modern roles, Archer points out that evidence from surviving hunter-gatherer groups suggests that the activities of evolving humans were quite different from modern activities. Such arguments go against changing the role of women in the light of evolution, yet accept the change in the role of men as having changed from one of hunter (Archer, 1978).

Archer also criticizes the way in which hormonal theories are used to account for sex differences on the grounds that firstly, most of the evidence is derived from research on rats, whereas hormonal influences are now being shown to be different in rodents and primates, and secondly, more recent data from research on the relationship between hormone levels and measures of aggression in adult men have found mostly negative results. Furthermore, there has been a bias in the focus of research on aggression:

"Research has concentrated on male aggression, of the type that occurs when male strangers encounter one another. Maternal aggression, aggression by females during late pregnancy and lactation, also occurs in many mammals, but has been little studied. Rather less obvious than maternal aggression are forms of female aggression which are not concerned with protection of young. This has been almost completely ignored" (Archer, 1978, p. 14).

Archer's critique is not intended to refute biological explanations of sex differences. Rather, it highlights the need to look critically at arguments which generalize indiscriminately from biological evidence to justify cultural practices and maintain the status quo.

#### 4.1.5.2 Socialisation Theories

Weinreich (1978) defines socialisation as

"transmission of behaviour roles, attitudes and beliefs to the next generation" (Weinreich, 1978, p. 18).

According to socialisation theories boys and girls become socialised differently because of the prevalent beliefs about what is appropriate for the two sexes. In this way sex differences are culturally transmitted from generation to generation.

The principal agents of socialisation are parents, teachers, peer-groups and the media. Weinreich (1978) outlines the four processes involved in socialisation:

##### (a) Social-Learning Process

The view of social-learning theorists is that boys and girls are differently rewarded or punished for the same behaviours, depending on what is considered appropriate for that sex (Mischel, 1966). As a result of this, boys are encouraged and reinforced for masculine behaviours, and girls are encouraged and reinforced for feminine behaviours. Children are also discouraged from or punished for displaying behaviours considered appropriate to the other sex. Lewis and Weinraub (1974) cite as an example of how differential treatment is a function of sex, an observation they made of seventeen pairs of opposite-sex twins who were brought to their laboratory:

"Of these, only one pair was dressed in identical outfits. Nine sets were wearing overalls, but sex could be identified by the colour of the clothing: the girls wore pink, red or yellow; the boys wore blue, green or brown. The other seven pairs had been dressed so that the boys wore pants and the girls wore dresses" (Lewis and Weinraub, 1974, p. 186)

Whilst such an example may be dismissed because different ways of dressing for boys and girls are commonly accepted, and not important, it must be remembered that in the same way different behaviours are commonly accepted as being appropriate for boys and girls. For instance, a boy who cries or manifests dependency will be discouraged from being a cissy, a girl who enjoys a rough and tumble fight may be indulged as a tomboy until puberty at which stage she will be primly reminded that she is a young lady now and must behave as such. Mischel (1966) cites research done by Sears, Maccoby and Levi (1957) which found

"that parents made the greatest distinctions in the rearing of boys and girls in the area of aggression. A significantly larger proportion of boys were permitted to express aggression toward their parents; boys were also allowed to show more aggression to other children, and were more frequently encouraged to fight back if another child started a fight. The finding that girls obtained somewhat more praise for 'good' behaviour, and were somewhat more often subjected to withdrawal of love for 'bad' behaviour, suggests a possible antecedent for the development of greater 'prosocial' aggression" (Sears, Maccoby and Levi (1957) in Mischel, 1966, p. 73).

Coote and Campbell (1982) cite research by Spender which indicates that teachers mete out preferential treatment to boys on an astonishing scale. In this study, teachers spent two thirds of their classroom time interacting with the boys - talking to them and letting them talk. The teachers were more able to differentiate between the boys, most said they preferred teaching boys and there was a distinct tendency to enhance the achievements of boys and underrate

those of girls. The teachers expected the boys to do better than the girls. When the teachers were asked to reallocate their time more equally, they found it difficult to give more than 40% of their time to the girls, and then felt guilty that they had been treating the boys unfairly.

Work was also differentially judged, depending on whether it was thought to be the work of a boy or of a girl:

"I have found that there are occasions when the same feature is cause for commendation when thought to be the work of a boy, or a cause for penalty when thought to be the work of a girl. Elaboration of presentation is one such feature, with teachers commenting on its excellence when they believe it to be the work of a boy, and dismissing it as superficial and time-wasting when they believe it to be the work of a girl" (Coote and Campbell, 1982, p. 176).

(b) Modelling

By this process the child acquires new skills and behaviours by imitating the behaviours of parents and others which he has witnessed to be effective.

(c) Identification

This is a more powerful process than modelling because it implies a psychological bond, whereas imitation does not, and thereby encompasses more than just the imitation of behaviours. The identification process is central to sex-role identity development in Freudian theory which hypothesises, for instance, that the son's desire for his mother causes fear of retaliation from his father. In order to gain the affection of his mother without incurring the wrath of his father, the son then resolves to be like him and from then on identifies with his father and takes on a male identity.

In the process of identification the child perceives a similarity between himself/herself and the one with whom he/she identifies. He/she does not only imitate his/her behaviours, but also internalises the roles and values of the parent or significant adult (Weinreich, 1978; Kohlberg, 1966).

(d) Cognition

Identification and modelling constitute aspects of both social-learning theory and cognitive development theory, but in contrast to a social-learning view, a cognitive-developmental view (Kohlberg, 1966) questions the passivity of the child. According to this view the child plays an active part in his/her development and is not merely moulded or shaped by forces outside his/her control:

"The child's sex-role concepts are the result of the child's active structuring of his own experience; they are not passive products of social training" (Kohlberg, 1966, p. 85).

Basically, the child recognises what gender he/she belongs to and having made this "physical reality judgement", decides to identify with the like-sex-parent, making his/her own judgements about relative values of the masculine and feminine roles.

However, despite this more active, less "shaped" way of dealing with the environment, the influence of the environment is still powerful, as Kohlberg himself admits:

"The categories available to the child for sorting out the environment play an important part in this process. Gender is obviously a primary category, so it is not surprising that children pick up a great deal of information about sex roles and stereotypes very quickly" (Kohlberg, 1966, p. 21)

(e) Interaction of Biology and Social Learning

Biological theories versus socialisation theories, in the development of sex-role identities, constitute a return to the nature/nurture controversy. This debate has resumed despite the current acceptance of an interactionist approach of developmental psychologists and ethologists.

According to Van Rooyen (1980):

"The currently accepted view is that the role-relevant traits are the result of socialisation and that the best evidence concerning sex differences can only come through the examination of social learning processes" (van Rooyen, 1980, p. 19)

Yet the fact remains that men and women do differ indisputably with regard to their biology - their physiology, hormones and metabolism - and such differences surely do influence their behaviour in some ways.

One further misconception, with regard to this nature/nurture controversy, should be considered:

"it is.... implied that an environmentally influenced characteristic is readily modifiable whereas a hereditary character is largely unchangeable... However, the genetic material in the chromosome provides a flexible plan for the sequence of development, but this is by no means a rigid blueprint: it provides the developing organism with ways of acting on the environment, rather than specifying the outcome of these actions" (Richards (1974) in Archer, 1978).

Archer emphasises that the influence of the interaction of genes and environment is not simply an additive relationship, but a complex one, depending on the effects of previous interactions.

#### 4.1.6 Review

From the preceding account certain aspects of particular relevance to this study emerge and are reviewed for clarity's sake.

Significant differences between the sexes have been found in aggression, and in verbal, mathematical and spatial skills.

Where differences have consistently been found they are only general. There is so much overlap between the sexes, as well as variation within the sexes, that it is not possible to predict, on the basis of sex, the ability or performance of the individual.

It would not be valid, therefore, to assume an individual's potential interests and abilities and appropriate life roles on the basis of sex alone (Lloyd, 1976; Spence and Helmreich, 1972).

For instance, the research has shown that females have better verbal and language ability than males. As Hutt (1972) points out, despite this discrepancy, men, and not women, have dominated in the field of literature. This indicates that even a demonstrably gender-based ability is not the determining factor in the individual's performance.

The effects of sex-role stereotyping, the differential treatment of boys and girls by the agents of socialisation can plausibly explain the discrepancies between adult male and female behaviours, abilities and achievements.

In the light of this, it is essential to reassess sex-roles in our society.

And finally, even if and when one sex can be shown to be generally superior to the other in the performance of certain activities, should this necessarily invalidate the "inferior" sex's participation in such activities? For instance, in a sport such as running, physiology determines that most men can run faster and further than most women. Yet this does not invalidate any woman's efforts to become fitter, improve her stamina, health and sense of well-being. Nor is the discipline and training involved any less of an accomplishment just because a champion female runner could have no hope of beating a champion male runner. If the sole validation of an activity is to be the best at it then the majority of people, both men and women, should never attempt anything!

#### 4.1.7 Psychological Androgyny - A New Perspective

Traditionally masculinity and femininity have been seen as opposite ends of a unidimensional continuum (Bem, 1974; Heilbrun, 1975), and psychological adjustment has meant conforming to society's stereotypes of sex appropriate behaviours (van Rooyen, 1981).

In contrast to this, researchers have come up with the concept of psychological androgyny, whereby masculinity and femininity are not seen as opposites, but as independent traits which can co-exist in the same personality, ie. "masculinity" and "femininity" and the clusters of traits they imply do not fall into mutually exclusive categories, but form a common pool from which any individual, male or female, can draw (Bem, 1974; Heilbrun, 1975). The psychologically androgynous person is one who is unrestricted by stereotyped notions of masculinity and femininity and can freely engage in both "masculine" and "feminine" behaviours, according to the demands of the situation (Bem, 1974).

This does not mean, however, that the psychologically androgynous person is either transsexual (preferring to have the gender identity of the opposite sex) or homosexual (preferring to have sexual relations with members of the same sex), or bisexual (having sexual relations with members of both sexes). The psychologically androgynous individual is someone who is comfortable with those behaviours and traits both ascribed generally to his/her own sex and the opposite sex (Spence and Helmreich, 1978).

A theoretical understanding of psychological androgyny can be gained from Jung's Analytical Psychology. According to Jung, one of the archetypes in the unconscious is the anima in men and the animus in women (Jung, 1928).

The anima represents the female aspects in the man and the animus represents the male aspects in the woman. The character of these figures is determined by:

- the latent sexual characteristics they represent
- the conditioning of each person's experience with representatives of the other sex
- the collective image of "woman" carried in the psyche of the individual man / the collective image of "man" carried in the psyche of the individual woman.

(Singer, 1976)

These archetypal figures are compensatory to the outer personality, behaving as inner personalities and exhibiting characteristics which are lacking in the outer, manifest, conscious personality:

"In a man, these are feminine characteristics, in a woman, masculine. Normally both are always present, to a certain degree, but find no place in the person's outwardly directed functioning because they disturb his outer adaptation, his established ideal image of himself" (Jung, E, 1974, p. 195).

Jung maintains that for the personality to develop and the "self" to emerge in mature form, the individual must become conscious of the archetypes, recognising their force and integrating their attributes into the personality. This includes, therefore, integrating the contrasexual aspect - the anima or animus - into the conscious personality (Hall and Lindzey, 1978).

According to Jung, then, we are born with a predisposition to characteristics of the opposite sex and through maturation we incorporate them into the personality so that they can be given conscious expression. Repression of these characteristics implies incomplete development of the self.

Singer (1976) emphasises that psychological androgyny is not a reactive psychological manifestation but an expression of an intrinsic human principle:

"The sexual revolution of today may appear to be a reaction against the injustices of the past century or two, but I have tried to show that this is a mere surface manifestation of a fundamental principle that has existed for so long that it may be said to be inherent in the nature of the human organism. Not reactive, but intrinsic is the principle of androgyny" (Singer, 1976, p. viii).

#### 4.1.8 Psychological Androgyny - A New Standard of Mental Health

According to a study done by Broverman, Broverman, Clarkson, Rosenkrantz, and Vogel (1970) on clinical judgements of mental health, mental health practitioners equated the healthy adult with the stereotyped characteristics of the adult male. That is to say mascu-

line traits were considered to be indicative of mental health. In addition, they found that behaviours and characteristics considered acceptable in one sex, could be indicative of pathology in the opposite sex. For instance, "dependence" could be considered appropriate to women, but inappropriate, even pathological in men, the opposite holding true for "aggressiveness". However, research done ten years later by Kravetz and Jones (1981) found that 59% of the mental health professionals in their sample described the "healthy, mature, socially competent" man or woman as psychologically androgynous, 40% as masculine and 1% as feminine. This indicates a change in the standard of what is viewed as mental health.

Bem, 1975, reports findings in the literature which support the notion that sex-role stereotypes can have negative effects on the personality:

"High femininity in females has consistently been correlated with high anxiety, low self-esteem and low social acceptance (eg. Consentino and Heilbrun, 1964; Gall, 1969; Gray, 1957; Sears, 1970; Webb, 1963); and although high masculinity in males has been correlated during adolescence with better psychological adjustment (Mussen, 1961), it has been correlated during adulthood with high anxiety, high neuroticism, and low self-acceptance (Harford, Willis and Deaber, 1967; Mussen, 1962). In addition, greater intellectual development has been correlated quite consistently with cross sex-typing, that is, with masculinity in girls and with femininity in boys. Boys and girls who are more sex-typed have been found to have lower overall intelligence, lower spatial ability and lower creativity (Maccoby, 1966)" (Bem, 1975, p. 635).

Kravetz and Jones (1981) continue their report of the findings on psychological androgyny in the same vein: Heilbrun (1976), found that androgynous females and males were better adjusted than sex-typed individuals and Nevill (in Kravetz and Jones, 1981) also found a direct relationship between androgyny and psychological health. An-

androgynous subjects scored higher on self-actualisation, spontaneity, self-regard, self-acceptance, feeling reactivity and capacity for intimate contact. Self-esteem scores have been found to be highest for women and men who are androgynous (Kravetz and Jones, 1981). These findings are consistent with the Jungian concept that integration of the personality implies acceptance of the contrasexual aspect into the conscious personality (Jung, 1928).

#### 4.1.9 Possible Disadvantages of Psychological Androgyny

Bearing in mind that cultural norms still advocate "masculinity" for men and "femininity" for women, psychological androgyny may not always be advantageous to the individual.

Kravetz and Jones (1981) found that although 59% of the mental health practitioners in their study described the healthy adult as androgynous, when asked to describe the healthy male, the majority described him as masculine sex-typed.

This ties in with the findings of Jones, Chernavetz and Hansson (1978), reported by Kaplan and Sedney (1980). The data from this study only partially supported the prediction that androgynous persons would demonstrate the highest levels of adjustment. Findings for the male subjects showed that the masculine and not the androgynous males showed the highest levels of adjustment, whereas for the women, androgyny was more clearly associated with higher levels of adjustment. Kaplan and Sedney (1980) point out that these findings must be evaluated in terms of the approach taken by the researchers, but reaffirm that this approach is

"representative of the values that exist in contemporary society" (Kaplan and Sedney, 1980, p. 28).

As Kravetz and Jones (1981) say, there are "potential costs" to individuals who are androgynous in that they will encounter difficulties from those who expect rigid adherence to cultural norms.

Speaking of women, they say:

"... androgyny may not lead to greater social effectiveness. Numerous studies confirm that feminine women are preferred as workers and colleagues and that women continue to be stereotyped even when they are viewed as competent and successful; for example, successful women may be viewed as competent but also as being nurturant as women in general and as having less need than men to become leaders (Gross and Crovitz, 1975; Shaffer and Wegley, 1974; Spence et al, 1975)" (Kravetz and Jones, 1981, p. 507)

#### 4.1.10 Psychological Androgyny And The Dual-Career Family

In general sex-role stereotyping affects women in two ways:

- a) influencing the expectations and discriminative behaviour of people in general
- b) influencing their own expectations and choices (van Rooyen, 1981). We have already seen that sex-typed and psychologically androgynous attitudes affect female career choices and aspirations, in the research of Haber (1980) and Tyler and Erdwins, (1979) (pp. 30-31).

Van Rooyen (1981) makes the point that women today experience incongruence and conflict in attempting to meet the different requirements of the various role demands they face:

"The woman of today expects to function in terms of both ascribed and achieved roles, but in doing so, she can expect to experience conflict. The central theme expected in the ascribed role is to be of assistance to 'significant others' and meeting nurturant role demands. The central theme in meeting achieved role demands (in this case work role) requires development of personal achievement, independence and assertiveness traits" (van Rooyen, 1981, p. 18).

Clearly psychological androgyny is advantageous to the adjustment of the working wife:

"Employed women, in particular, need the psychological freedom to engage in whatever behaviour seems to be most effective at the time, irrespective of stereotyping as typically masculine or feminine, if they want to achieve in the male-dominated working world" (van Rooyen, 1981, p. 14).

With regard to men, the situation is more complex. Theoretically a psychologically androgynous orientation would be of assistance to the husband of the working wife, in that he would be better orientated towards sharing the traditionally female behaviours of child-care, housework and cooking. Research in this area is thin, however, and in actuality, as already discussed, women take on an additional role, rather than husbands and wives sharing their roles (Kaplan and Sedney, 1980).

Adams and Winston (1980) see psychological androgyny as the solution to establishing equality between husbands and wives:

"In the ideal androgynous society the socialisation process would be altered so that it would no longer assign occupational skills and preferences on the basis of gender.

"Theoretically then, this model would allow for households in which women are full-time earners and men are full-time home-makers. Far more frequently, however, its proponents call for households in which women and men share both functions; in effect, both spouses play a dual role" (Adams and Winston, 1980, p. 19).

#### 4.2 Sex-Role Ideology

"Ideology" is defined as:

"A system of ideas concerning phenomena especially those of social life; the manner of thinking characteristic of a class or an individual" (The Shorter Oxford Dictionary, 3rd ed, 1973).

Thus sex-role ideology can be defined as: a system of ideas concerning sex-roles, in this case, characteristic of the manner of thinking of men and women. What is important, is that an ideology does not constitute reality, it arises from a way of thinking and creates a reality.

A nation's sex-role ideology, particularly the ideology of those in power, affects national policy. For instance, during World War II, Nazi Germany regarded a woman's place to be in the home and married women were excluded from the work force (Adams and Winston, 1980). However, in Britain traditional sex-role ideology was waived for pragmatic reasons and married women were encouraged to work (Williams, 1945). In more recent years, due to shortages in manpower, China and Sweden have taken the decision to pull married women into the work force, whereas other European countries prefer to rely on imported foreign labour (Adams and Winston, 1980).

Traditional sex-role ideology distinguishes, divides and opposes male and female, and dictates what is appropriate with regard to:

- (a) psychological characteristics: masculinity versus femininity.
- (b) social roles: instrumental versus expressive.
- (c) social status: superior versus inferior.

Traditional sex-role ideology is also known as "Sexism", by those who challenge it, as it prejudices people on the basis of sex. The term "Sexism" and its implications reveals that traditional sex-role ideology is not merely an innocuous set of ideas which makes sense of the

differences between men and women, but a systematic political ideology which gives men power over women, a power which pervades every corner of life.

By this system women are completely dependant on men:

- for money, which is almost synonymous with existence in our society;
- for respectability, a married woman is more acceptable than a single woman, in fact, the term "spinster" can be perjorative,
- for status, a woman's position in society is determined by her husband's position (Rossi, 1971).

Being male is more highly valued than being female, a woman is by definition inferior (Dudar, 1971; Stacy and Price, 1981). A healthy adult is a healthy male (Broverman et al, 1970).

Sexism is under challenge. Women are recognising that they are oppressed by men and are organizing themselves to fight and change the existing order. This counter movement, known as "Women's Liberation", and the "Woman's Movement" has another ideology - "Feminism."

#### 4.2.1 The Rise of Feminism

According to Mitchell (1976), Feminism first arose in England in the 17th century when middle class women did not want to be excluded from liberation when bourgeois men freed themselves from the tyranny of feudalism. However, the woman's movement of this century started when women focussed on their political exclusion and were intent on getting the vote. The suffragettes succeeded in this aim, but in accepting the status quo of family life, the status and role of women did

not substantially change (Stacy and Price, 1981), except for periods of need during the two World Wars, after which women reverted to their former standing.

The modern Woman's Movement came to life in the 1960's, heralded by Betty Friedan's book "The Feminine Mystique" (Coote and Campbell, 1982). In her book, Friedan exposed the limitations of the image of woman in our society, jolting women into a new consciousness:

"It is my thesis that the core of the problem for women today is not sexual but a problem of identity - a stunting or evasion of growth that is perpetuated by the feminine mystique. It is my thesis that as the Victorian culture did not permit women to accept or gratify their basic sexual needs our culture does not permit women to accept or gratify their basic need to grow and fulfil their potentialities as human beings, a need which is not solely defined by their sexual role" (Friedan, 1963, p. 68).

Women's Liberation came out of the anarcho-libertarian ethos of the 1960's when there was a general rejection of the "establishment", a desire for alternative life-styles, a felt need for changing repressive social structures (Stacy and Price, 1981). The radical politics of the time acted as a breeding ground for feminists (Coote and Campbell, 1982).

Feminism developed along two parallel lines:

1. Those who were reformist in approach, who felt it necessary to fight both in and against male dominated power relations (Coote and Campbell, 1982; Dudar, 1971). This group were stimulated into action by Friedan's book, and Friedan started the National Organization for Women - NOW - in 1966. This organization concerned itself with attacking job inequalities and other injus-

tices against women, through court action and legislative lobbying, and striving to bring more women into public office.

Fogarty et al (1971) describe this as the "civil rights" group.

2. Those who were radical in approach, who felt a need to withdraw from men (Coote and Campbell, 1982; Dudar, 1971). This group arose out of New Left politics when the men refused to recognise that women were an oppressed class. These women were prompted to act separately because they were:

"... struggling against 'hoots, laughter and obscenities', to persuade male revolutionaries that American society and its men oppressed women" (Dudar, 1971, p. 170).

In contrast to the suffragettes who wanted formal political power (Stacy and Price, 1981), feminists today are not focusing on seizing male forms of power (Dudar, 1971).

"Power is what men have. 'You can't overcome power with liberation power' she says, 'because it would be a monster. What we want to do is build groups that isolate power.' No sensible person, she suggests, wants to see women 'liberated into the social role of men.' She is out to destroy both roles" (Dudar, 1971, p. 174, quoting conversation with Roxanne Dunbar).

Feminists today are engaged in fighting male domination and sexism in their everyday lives (Stacy and Price, 1981). They are struggling to ensure that women have the right to determine what is best for them with regard to their sexuality, and their childbearing function, their lives at home and at work.

Concerning sexuality, feminists have not only challenged the old double standard whereby men are encouraged to have pre-marital sexual experience and women are expected to remain pure and virginal until

marriage, but also the freedom to have lesbian relationships and the freedom to choose the sexual stimulation most arousing to them. In 1969 Anne Koedt wrote an article entitled *The Myth of the Vaginal Orgasm*, in which she exposed how men have decided on behalf of women what women should find sexually arousing, because of their own interests being at stake:

"She observed that men failed to see women as total, separate human beings, defining them only in terms of how they benefited themselves; for men, penetration was the most effective way of reaching orgasm; and they feared that they could become sexually expendable if the word got around that the penis was not, after all, the key to female ecstasy" (Coote and Campbell, 1982).

Feminists want specific legislation that takes the realities of women's situation into account - campaigning for rights to abortion and contraception, for nurseries for child-care, and for dealing with explicit male violence to women - wife-battering and rape (Stacy and Price, 1981).

Feminists are challenging the way in which family life is structured in a society so that women are at a disadvantage, enabling men to wield power over women (Coote and Campbell, 1982), exposing the myths of motherhood (Friedan, 1963; Oakley, 1976) and the stultifying effects of the housewife role (Oakley, 1976).

At work, feminists are demanding equality of opportunity, fighting inequalities in pay and other forms of discrimination against women; for when they have children, sometimes unequal rights are needed to protect women from being discriminated against (Coote and Campbell, 1982; Stacy and Price, 1981; Rowbotham, 1972).

Feminists are not only concerned though with fighting men. They also recognise the importance of raising the consciousness of all women.

Consciousness-raising is:

"the process of bringing into awareness deeper levels of female experience - by naming and affirming feelings and experiences and finding out how far they are common to women in general. It is a means of challenging and transforming our constructed sense of femininity" (Coote and Campbell, 1982, p. 237).

To this end, women have formed women's groups and built up a new sense of identity and solidarity between women.

The intention is also to make women more aware of (1) ways in which they are discriminated against, because, as Poloma and Garland (1971) note, women are curiously reluctant to recognise this, and (2) how they perpetuate the system through, for example, handing down traditional socialisation patterns to their children (Stacy and Price, 1981).

Feminists are not against femininity, nor do they necessarily want to be like men (Dudar, 1971). Unfortunately, there are women who have achieved in male dominated fields who are threatened by feminism. Such women are "honorary men" and, like men, do not want to lose their feeling of superiority at having "made it" (Dudar, 1971).

Feminists are concerned with elevating the status and changing the image of women. Amongst other things they want recognition for the value of women and the feminine. They want to bring into a world that has been lopsidedly operating on masculine principles the balancing force of the feminine. Speaking of Marcuse, Stacy and Price (1981), say:

"The hope he saw flowing from the women's liberation movement was that qualities which have hitherto been specifically feminine, like caring and gentleness, should be diffused through society" (Stacy and Price, 1981, p. 182).

Feminists want to change the idea that feminine equals inferior and weak. Women have been a neglected force in history (Rowbotham, 1972), and they want to set the record straight. Feminists are women who reject traditional notions of femininity, they own their strength and are taking responsibility for influencing and moulding society in a direction they see necessary, not only for themselves, but for the good of all.

#### 4.2.2 Men and Feminism

Feminism is not only for women, it is for men as well. Sexism oppresses women in dictating their proper place in society, but equally oppresses men in forcing men to take on prescribed roles and responsibilities (Smith, 1976).

It is inevitably easy for men to feel threatened, rejected and confused by feminism and to feel that they are losing something, but there are men who understand what they will gain and are anti-sexist and committed to feminism. In his article "Men's Groups", John Rowan describes the development of "Men's Liberation" in Britain and the experiences of men in their consciousness-raising groups.

"I suppose one of the main lessons I've learnt from my experience in men's groups over the past seven years or so, is that men can learn what emotional support is, and how to give it to men and women, and how to accept it from men" (Farrell, quoted in Rowan, 1983, p. 15).

"Five men are listening to one man talking about responsibility - how he feels oppressed by the responsibility of his job, his wife, his new baby. As he is encouraged to go into it, it turns out that this revives powerful memories of when he was a child, and his father died, and he felt

that too much responsibility suddenly dropped on him then - it produced feelings of panic in him, which are now being revived. Going back into those old feelings, and doing justice to them, seems to make the present situation easier to sort out" (Rowan, 1983, p. 15).

As Myrdal and Klein (1968) say:

"Something must be wrong in a social organization in which men may die a premature death from coronary thrombosis, as a result of overwork and worry, while their wives and widows organize themselves to protest against their own lack of opportunities to work (Myrdal and Klein, 1968, p. 189).

More and more women are realising that in order to fulfil themselves it is necessary for them to make a more active contribution to their own existence and to society than is afforded them by the roles of mother and housewife. And, as is expressed by the quotations (pp. 86-87), men are realizing that by sharing their responsibilities and relieving the social pressures on them, that by letting go of macho images and learning to give expression to their emotional lives, they too can lead more fulfilling lives. Such men and women are rejecting the flat stereotypes of traditional sex-role ideology and transforming themselves into three-dimensional, "real" people.

Research has shown that men do enjoy the changes in their roles that a wife's employment necessitates. Fein et al (1974) found that several of the husbands in the working couples they studied discovered that they enjoyed the extra time with their children and the sense of active participation in their development. Bernaud (1974) suggests that men whose wives contribute to family income have more options. They can support periods of unemployment or the risks involved in career changes (Kaplan and Sedney, 1980, p. 297).

#### 4.2.3 Feminism And Other Political Beliefs

As already mentioned, feminism grew out of the anarcho-libertarian ethos of the sixties and the breeding grounds of socialist and radical politics. The question remains whether the structural changes necessary for true equality can be incorporated into a capitalist society.

The view is that perhaps middle class women can achieve a kind of equality under capitalism, but more basic structural changes are needed to overcome injustices suffered by all women (Amsden, 1980).

"The woman with a Career is a creation of distinctly middleclass origin, and is symptomatic of the second phase of the social revolution..." (Myrdal and Klein, 1968, p. 8).

Amsden (1980) says:

"Marxists also assume that a capitalist state will not and cannot accomplish what is necessary to end sex inequality, whether in the domain of the market or the family" (Amsden, 1980, p. 3).

However, to be a feminist, at this stage, need not entail full-blown commitment to other political ideologies. Anyone who questions and challenges the validity of traditional sex-role ideology in her/his life and does not allow it to prescribe the form her/his life will take, can be described as a feminist.

#### 4.2.4 Feminism and the Dual-Career Couple

In the section on working women we have already noted that sex-role ideology affects occupational choice and career commitment (Haber, 1980; van Rooyen, 1980) and job-seeking behaviour of husbands and wives in dual-career families (Foster et al 1980).

In dual-career couples there is generally still a discrepancy between the feminist orientation of husbands and that of wives. For instance, in Foster et al's (1980) sample, 66% of the men identified themselves as feminist, as against 75% of the women. However, Spitze and Waite (1981) found that although wives act in accordance with their perceptions of their husbands' wishes, husbands revise their attitudes towards working wives during the early years of marriage to conform to their wives' attitudes and preferences. It appears that in the same way that women are now overtly influencing patterns in the world, individual wives are influencing the patterns in the home.

#### 4.3 Self-Actualisation

Self-actualisation, as a concept, we owe to Maslow, a humanistic psychologist who concerned himself with exploring positive mental health rather than poor or deficient psychological functioning. Maslow looked at people whom he thought were not just adequately coping with life, but actually fulfilling themselves and deriving positive satisfaction and happiness from their existence. The self-actualising person enjoys life in general and in practically all its aspects, whereas "other" people enjoy stray moments of triumph, achievement or of climax or peak experience (Maslow, 1968). "Other" people may be motivated to satisfy a deficit or lack so as to avoid "illness", self-actualising people are motivated by the desire for growth (Maslow, 1968).

Growth is the continuing, progressive development of the individual. The more one grows the more one wants to grow, there is no end point where the growing person feels she/he has attained a goal and is now

satisfied. Self-actualisation is a lifelong process, and as such, a person cannot be "self-actualised", only "self-actualising" (Maslow, 1968).

Maslow found that self-actualising individuals have characteristics which distinguish them from non-self-actualising individuals. Shostrom (1963) defined the self-actualising person as:

"... more fully functioning and lives a more enriched life than does the average person. Such an individual is seen as developing and utilizing all of his unique capabilities, or potentialities, free of the inhibitions and emotional turmoil of the less self-actualised" (Shostrom, 1963, p. 5).

Self-actualisation is not, however, an all or nothing characteristic, but rather a matter of degree and of frequency. Therefore, it is appropriate to speak of people being more or less self-actualising, or of people having degrees or elements of the characteristics of self-actualisation (Maslow, 1968).

#### 4.3.1 Self-Actualisation and Jung's Theory of Individuation

Theories of growth, individuation, autonomy, self-actualisation, self-development, productiveness and self-realisation by Fromm, Horney, Jung, Buhler, Angyal, Rodgers, Alpen and Lynd, are all crudely synonymous (Maslow, 1968). Jung's theory of individuation is particularly relevant, though, to this thesis because it so clearly relates psychological androgyny and self-actualisation.

The implication of Jung's theory is that for a man to develop fully, to self-actualise, it is necessary for him to recognise and integrate the anima, to come to terms with and learn to express the feminine side of his personality. Likewise, the woman who wishes to actualise

herself must integrate the animus into her personality, giving expression also to the masculine aspects of her personality.

#### 4.3.2 Self-Actualisation, Sex-Roles and Psychological Androgyny

Jung's theory of individuation establishes a clear theoretical connection between the concepts of self-actualisation and psychological androgyny. This section will further describe theoretical and empirical relationships between self-actualisation and sex-roles and self-actualisation and psychological androgyny.

##### 4.3.2.1 Sex-Roles and Self-Actualisation

Feminists contend that the conditions inherent in the traditional female sex-role are conditions directly opposed to the conditions conducive to self-actualisation (Friedan, 1963; Oakley, 1976).

"Housework is work directly opposed to the possibility of human self-actualisation. The same job requirements are imposed on all kinds of women with all kinds of skills and abilities, but the basic activities of housework require little aptitude of any kind, save for a dutiful application to the goal of carrying them out" (Oakley, 1976, p. 222).

The collary of this would be that there would be a greater incidence of mental illness among women confined to the traditional female role than amongst other groups.

Pavell and Reznickoff (1976) report that this is the case. The U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare found, in 1970, that housewives have higher symptom rates of mental illness than employed women; and professionally employed women had lower symptom rates than those in other occupational categories. Capka (1979) found that women in non-traditional occupations enjoyed better mental health than women in sex-typed occupations.

Maslow (1968) points out how sex-typed women are prevented from developing:

"First is the fairly common phenomenon encountered in therapy with women. Many brilliant women are caught up in the problem of making an unconscious identification between intelligence and masculinity. To probe, to search, to be curious, affirm, to discover, all these she may feel as defeminizing, especially if her husband in his uncertain masculinity, is threatened thereby. Many cultures and many religions have kept women from knowing and studying, and I feel that one dynamic root of this action is the desire to keep them 'feminine' (in a sado-masochistic sense); for instance, women cannot be priests or rabbi's" (Maslow, 1968, p. 62).

It would appear that to be self-actualising women must reject traditional sex-role stereotypes and take on more masculine attributes.

According to Cristall and Dean (1976) self-actualising individuals of both sexes make no strong differentiations between the roles and personalities appropriate for either sex, and Hjelle and Butterfield (1974) found that women subscribing to liberal, pro-feminist attitudes are more self-actualising than women endorsing traditional sex-role attitudes. Simms (1979) also found that psychologically androgynous wives have higher levels of self-actualisation than traditional wives.

Most of the theoretical thrust and research findings seem to have focused on women. However, Slali (1979) looked at marital success and self-actualisation in husbands of professional women and found that the men best able to relate to successful professional women are highly self-actualising persons who also perceive their wives as highly self-actualising.

Theoretically speaking, self-actualisation and psychological androgyny should relate strongly, firstly, in terms of Jungian theory

and, secondly, because of a similarity in personality characteristics between self-actualising and androgynous individuals. Both self-actualising and androgynous people are more flexible, less bound by convention, more spontaneous and, therefore, capable of responding with behaviour appropriate to the situation rather than sex-typed behaviour.

The dual-career family offers opportunity for both the expression of psychological androgyny and self-actualisation. St John Parsons (1978) found that husbands and wives in continuous dual-career families gained in self-expression:-

They enjoyed the challenge of their lifestyle, and felt a sense of elation at overcoming a series of dilemmas and crises. The women particularly felt they had gained in self expression and self-esteem. The intellectual and psychological benefits they experienced were passed on indirectly to other family members.

The children in these families also gained in independence, resourcefulness and self-confidence.

#### 4.4 The Present Research

The present research compares husbands and wives in dual-career families with husbands and wives in traditional families on selected variables. As the title of the thesis suggests, the variables that have been chosen for comparative measurement are:

- (i) family-functioning,
- (ii) sex-role ideology,
- (iii) psychological androgyny, and
- (iv) self-actualisation.

In accordance with the literature, past research and a commonsense approach, these are considered to be measurable variables which psychologically represent some of the issues that the existence of the dual-career family confronts in its *raison d'être*, its *modus vivandi* and its survival:

(i) Family-Functioning

The first question to be considered in a society which is so geared to the traditional family is whether the dual-career family is a deviant lifestyle which will meet too much resistance and insurmountable obstacles, or whether it is a viable way of living which provides valuable and desirable alternatives which will command accommodating changes in our society. Hence the variable family-functioning - as compared to the traditional family, how well does the dual-career family function?

(ii) Sex-Role Ideology

Feminist sex-role ideology forms a context in which the dual-career family has emerged. To what extent do husbands and wives in dual-career families subscribe to feminist sex-role ideology as compared with husbands and wives in traditional families?

(iii) Psychological Androgyny

Differences between men and women, actual and supposed, male and female sex-roles and sex-role stereotyping are issues which the dual-career family must address. The concept "psychological

androgyny" encapsulates this area within one variable. Are more husbands and wives in dual-career families psychologically androgynous than husbands and wives in traditional families?

(iv) Self-Actualisation

Arguments in favour of the dual-career family include that this family life-style offers greater scope for personal fulfillment - to women in that they can express themselves more if they work and can feel they are participating more in society; but also to men in that in sharing the financial responsibility for the family they are more free to pay attention to interests besides work, including participating more fully in family life. Are husbands and wives in dual-career families more self-actualising than husbands and wives in traditional families?

This study does not aim to predict what differences will be found between dual-career husbands and wives and traditional husbands and wives, but rather to observe whether there are differences and, if so, what these differences are, and in so doing, to gain an understanding of the current nature of the dual-career family.

## CHAPTER 5

### METHODOLOGY AND RESULTS

#### 5.1 Letters and Questionnaires

This section will describe the "apparatus", ie. the letters and questionnaires which were utilized in the execution of this study.

##### 5.1.1 Letter to Students (Appendix I)

This letter requests students of the psychology department, U.C.T., to aid the researcher in obtaining suitable subjects and is self-explanatory.

##### 5.1.2 Letter to Parents and Demographic Questionnaire (Appendix II)

The letter to parents explains that research is being done on families in Cape Town and requests them to volunteer, as couples, to be subjects. Attached to this letter is a demographic questionnaire, on the basis of which suitable subjects were selected. The demographic questionnaire was designed to provide information about variables which might affect the results and to provide a check that there were no large discrepancies in these variables between the dual-career and traditional families in the sample. These variables and what they may affect are:

- |                            |   |   |
|----------------------------|---|---|
| 1. Age                     | ) | self-actualisation  |
| 2. Socio-economic status   | ) | self-actualisation, ideology                              |
| 3. Level of Education      | ) | abilities of women (particularly) &<br>self-actualisation |
| 4. Number of years married | ) | stage of family life-cycle                                |
| and                        | ) |   |
| 5. Number of, and ages of, | ) | children  |
| children                   | ) |   |
| 6. Religious Group         | ) | culture, ideology and behaviour                           |
| 7. Nationality             | ) |   |

- |    |                                |  |
|----|--------------------------------|--|
| 8. | Employment of domestic servant | need to adapt to dual-career lifestyle |
| 9. | Hobbies and interests          | self-actualisation                     |

The letter to parents was written bearing the perceived demand effect, whereby subjects form hypotheses about the aim of the experiment and attempt to provide information which complies with such hypothesised aims, in mind (Orne 1962). Although it was necessary to indicate that research was being done on families, no other information on the nature of the research was given.

The demographic questionnaire thus ascertains the employment status of the wife but avoids indicating that this is of central importance to the study, by including it as one of several questions.

#### 5.1.3 The Family 'APGAR' (Appendix IV)

This questionnaire was developed by Smilkstein (1978) and has since been investigated in a number of studies. It is a brief questionnaire, consisting of five items which assess family-functioning.

"APGAR" is an acronym which stands for: Adaptability, Partnership, Growth, Affection and Resolve (Smilkstein, 1978) and Smilkstein defines these components in the following way:

- "Adaptation : Adaptation is the utilization of intra and extrafamilial resources for problem solving when family equilibrium is stressed during a crisis.
- "Partnership : Partnership is the sharing of decision making and nurturing responsibilities by family members.
- "Growth : Growth is the physical and emotional motivation and self-fulfillment that is achieved by family members through mutual support and guidance.

"Affection : Affection is the caring or loving relationship that exists among family members.

"Resolve : Resolve is the commitment to devote time to other members of the family for physical and emotional nurturing. It also involves a decision to share wealth and space."

(Smilkstein, 1978, p. 1232)

Goode, Smilkstein et al (1979) compared the Family APGAR index scores with index scores on the Family Functioning Index (FFI) which was developed by Pless and Satterwhite (1973) and found a correlation of 0,80. A correlation of 0,64 was found between the Family APGAR index scores and a therapist's evaluation scores. In the test of validity, husbands' and wives' scores were compared, and the interspouse correlation was 0,65 for the FFI and 0,67 for the Family APGAR. (Goode et al 1979).

In other, as yet, unpublished studies examining the validity and reliability of the Family APGAR, it has been found that:

a) all five items in the questionnaire measured the concept of family function, cronbach's alpha = 0,80

b) all five items contribute to the scale, analysis of variation significant to 0,0001; N = 529

In an incomplete longitudinal study N = 550, the test - retest reliability of the Family APGAR is so far supported (Smilkstein, unpublished paper).

The correlations obtained suggest that the Family APGAR is a valid alternative to the FFI of Pless and Satterwhite (1973) and to clinical interviews and was selected for use in this research on that basis.

#### 5.1.4 The Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI)

The BSRI was developed by Bem (1974) and consists of sixty personality characteristics - twenty "masculine", twenty "feminine" and twenty "socially desirable" items, neutral as to sex. It was originally designed to deliver a masculinity score, a femininity score and a psychologically androgynous score.

In early research on the BSRI, in order to estimate the internal consistency of the BSRI, coefficient alpha was computed separately for the Masculinity, Femininity and Social Desirability scores in two separate studies. The results showed all three scores to be highly reliable, in both samples: masculinity = 0,86; femininity = 0,80; social desirability = 0,75 in the first sample; and masculinity = 0,86; femininity = 0,82; social desirability = 0,70 in the second sample. The reliability of the androgyny difference score was 0,85 for the first sample and 0,86 for the second (Bem, 1974).

The study on test - retest reliability yielded a product moment correlation of: masculinity  $r = 0,93$ ; femininity  $r = 0,90$ ; psychological androgyny  $r = 0,93$  and social desirability  $r = 0,89$ , indicating high reliability (Bem, 1974).

The BSRI has since been further researched in answer to critiques by Spence, Helmreich and Stapp (1975) and Strahan (1975) and the results further supported the validity and reliability of the BSRI (Wakefield et al 1976, Bem 1979), but indicated the need for a refinement, as Bem (1981) explains in the manual:

"When the BSRI was first designed, subjects were classified into sex-role groups for purposes of research. The classification was based on student's t-ratio for the difference between the total points assigned to the feminine and masculine attributes. Thus, if a person's Femininity score

was significantly higher than her or his Masculinity score, that person was said to have a feminine sex role; and if a person's Masculinity score was significantly higher than her or his Femininity score, that person was said to have a masculine sex role. In contrast, if a person's Femininity and Masculinity scores were approximately equal, that person was said to have an androgynous sex role. An androgynous sex role thus represented the equal endorsement of feminine and masculine personality characteristics; it showed a balance between femininity and masculinity."

"As Spence, Helmreich, and Stapp (1975) and Strahan (1975) have pointed out, however, this definition of androgyny served to obscure a potentially important distinction between those individuals who score high on both femininity and masculinity, and those individuals who score low on both. Accordingly, Spence, Helmreich and Stapp recommend dividing subjects at the median on both the Femininity and Masculinity scales and then deriving a fourfold classification of subjects: feminine (high feminine - low masculine), masculine (high masculine - low feminine) androgynous (high masculine - high feminine), and undifferentiated (low masculine - low feminine)." (Bem, 1981, p. 9).

This study utilized the BSRI to yield the fourfold classification of subjects, as outlined above.

#### 5.1.5 The FEM Scale (Appendix V)

The FEM Scale was developed by Smith, Ferree and Miller (1975) to measure "attitudes towards feminism" and was further researched and validated by Singleton and Christiansen (1977). The items in this scale

"tap beliefs in traditional sex-role norms and anti-feminine stereotypes" (Singleton and Christiansen, 1977).

Singleton and Christiansen determined the construct validity of the FEM scale in several ways: firstly they did a factor analysis of the FEM Scale, secondly scores on the scale were correlated with measures of anti-black prejudice, dogmatism, and identification with the women's movement, and thirdly, scores obtained from a sample of feminists were compared with the scores of a sample of anti-feminists.

The study on reliability and factor composition yielded a coefficient alpha of 0,91, the same value arrived at by Smith, Ferree and Miller (1975). The principal components factor analysis of the 20-item scale also supported results of the earlier study, confirming the reliability and homogeneity of the FEM Scale.

The convergent-discriminant validation study and the known-groups validation study strongly attested to the validity of the FEM Scale as can be seen from the following tables taken from Singleton and Christiansen (1977):

Fem Scale	Anti-Black Prejudice	Dogmatism	Identification with the Women's movement
20-Item	-.462	-.506	.638

**Table 5.1**  
Correlations between the FEM-Scale and Other Variables

Note: All correlation coefficients are significant at beyond the .001 significance level.

(Singleton and Christiansen, 1977, p. 299)

	Group	N	Mean	S.D.
(Pro-feminist group)	NOW	88	91.30	8.25
	Female Students	149	77.24	13.32
	Male Students	129	66.16	13.11
(Anti-feminist group)	Fascinating Womanhood	59	51.03	7.71

**Table 5.2**  
Mean Scores and Standard Deviations  
of four Groups on the FEM-Scale

Note: The rank ordering of mean scores conformed exactly to expectations. All t-tests for differences in means between adjacent groups are significant at beyond the .0001 significance level.

(Singleton & Christiansen, 1977, p. 301)

#### 5.1.6 The Personal Orientation Inventory (POI)

The POI was developed by Shostrom (1968) to assess self-actualisation, as conceived by Maslow. It is the only existing instrument specifically designed for this purpose.

"The POI consists of 150 two-choice comparative value and behaviour judgements. The items are scored twice, first for two basic scales of personal orientation, inner directed support (127 items) and time competence (23 items) and second for ten subscales each of which measures a conceptually important element of self-actualization." (Shostrom, 1968, p. 5).

Shostrom goes on to explain the meaning of the scales:

"The support scale is designed to measure whether an individual's mode of reaction is characteristically 'self' orientated or 'other' orientated. Inner, or self, directed individuals are guided primarily by internalized principles and motivations while other directed persons are to a great extent influenced by their peer group or other external forces. The time scale measures the degree to which the

individual lives in the present as contrasted with the past or future. The time competent person lives primarily in the present with full awareness, contact and full feeling reactivity while the time incompetent person lives primarily in the past, with guilts, regrets, and resentments, and/or in the future, with idealized goals, plans, expectations, predictions and fears." (Shostrom, 1968, p. 5).

Shostrom (1968) reports a number of studies which investigated the validity, concurrent validity, correlation with other scales and reliability of the POI and found support for the inventory. For example: Shostrom (1964) found that the POI significantly discriminates between clinically judged self-actualized and non-self-actualized groups on 11 of the 12 scales. Shostrom and Knapp (1966) administered the POI to 2 groups of outpatients in therapy - one group entering therapy and the other group in advanced stages of therapy. Analysis of the POI scores showed all 12 POI scales differentiated between the criterion groups at the .01 confidence level or higher. Test-retest reliability was investigated by Klavetter and Mogar (1967) and the reliability coefficients for the Time Competence and Inner-Directedness scales were .71 and .84 respectively. (From Shostrom, 1968).

"According to Knapp's review it (the POI), has been utilized in numerous and diverse studies and successfully distinguishes between more and less self-actualized people. Bloxom (1972) suggests that the POI 'lacks some desirable properties as an inventory because of the rather pervasive item overlap in its subscales. However, its two major scales, time competence and inner-directedness, are free of this problem if used by themselves. A number of studies indicate that the inner support scale measures feelings, values and attitudes appropriate to Maslow's concept of self-actualisation, but that persons scoring high on these attitudes and values are not necessarily utilizing all of their capabilities in a way consistent with complete self-actualization. Researchers and practitioners who keep these features in mind should find it a useful instrument'." (Slali, 1978, p. 15 and Bloxom (1972) quoted in Slali, 1978, p. 15)

In the light of this and in accordance with the recommendation of the manual (Shostrom, 1968) with regard to group studies which will be subjected to statistical analysis, this study utilized only the 2 major scales of the POI, viz., Inner-directedness and Time-Competence. Scores from each of these scales were used, rather than ratio scores. Thus, the POI yielded 2 scores for each subject, viz. self-actualisation/inner-directedness and self-actualisation/time-competence.

## 5.2 Assistants

Three assistants (all female) were recruited from the Psychology II class. The assistants were not informed of the aims of the study, but were taught how to fill in the forms to enable them to answer subjects' queries. The role of the assistants was to:

1. contact volunteers
2. sit with subjects while they filled in the questionnaires to ensure that there was no discussion or collusion
3. answer queries about how to fill in the questionnaires
4. avoid having subjects "drop-out" by arranging a date and time for the filling in of the questionnaires
5. avoid the need for the researcher to contact the families in any way

Although the assistants met the subjects, they did not assess the completed questionnaires, nor did they have any knowledge about them other than their names, addresses and telephone numbers.

Assistants were paid R5,00 plus petrol money, for each set of questionnaires they administered.

### 5.3 Procedure

#### 5.3.1 Subjects

Volunteer subjects were obtained in the following way:

The researcher addressed undergraduate students of the Psychology Department University of Cape Town at the beginning of a lecture, explaining that research on families was being done and that their aid was needed in making contact with possible subjects. Each student was given:

- a) the letter addressed to the student (appendix I)
- b) 2 copies of the letter to parents and demographic questionnaire (appendix II)

and requested to hand the letters to families which fitted the criteria outlined in the letter to students. At the time this request was made (February/March 1982), there were approximately 1000 undergraduate students in the department, so that potentially, 2000 families could be approached.

Those who were willing to participate in the study mailed their completed demographic questionnaires to the researcher, c/o the Psychology Department UCT, from where they were collected. Suitable subjects were then selected from the replies.

Altogether 46 couples volunteered to participate in the study, and twenty-eight couples were selected - 14 dual-career couples and 14 traditional couples.

### 5.3.1.1 Reasons for excluding Volunteers

18 couples were not selected for the study, either because they did not fit the criteria, or for other reasons. Table 5.3 lists the reasons why these volunteers were not included and shows the number of couples excluded for each reason:

Reason	Number of Families
Not White	2
Youngest Child too old	1
Unclear category	2
Not culturally South African ie. immigrated as adults	2
Second marriage, with children from both	1
Incorrectly filled forms	1
Dropped out because of divorce	1
Wife works part-time	8

Table 5.3  
Reasons for Excluding Volunteer Subjects

### 5.3.1.2 Subjects Included in the Research

The relevant demographic information for the dual-career and traditional families in the sample are presented in Appendix VI, p. 167. The data indicate that the two groups are comparable (homogenous). Table 5.4 (below) indicates that there are no statistical differences

between the mean age of the husbands, mean age of wives, the mean number of children and the mean age of the youngest child in the dual-career and traditional families in the sample.

	Dual-Career	Traditional
Husband's age	35,0 (+ 1,4)	39,5 (+ 1,8)
Wife's age	33,9 (+ 1,5)	36,4 (+ 1,9)
Number of children	2,0 (+ 0,5)	2,6 (+ 0,3)
Age of youngest child	6,1 (+ 1,0)	5,0 (+ 0,8)

Table 5.4

Demographic Information. Comparison of Means ( $\pm$  standard error) of age of husbands, age of wives, number of children and age of youngest child in dual-career and traditional samples.

The tables in Appendix VI, p. 167 also indicate that there are negligible differences between the occupations and incomes of the husbands in the dual-career and traditional groups and the two groups are equivalent with regard to range in socioeconomic status (derived from income and area lived in) and religion. Particularly relevant is that there are only negligible differences between the educational levels and qualifications of the wives in the dual-career and traditional samples. It should also be noted, that except for two - one architect and one executive director - the dual-career wives in the sample are employed in traditionally female occupations or positions (Coote and Campbell, 1982; Adams and Winston, 1980) as teachers, secretaries and assistants.

From the answers to the question "Number of years in present occupation" it is apparent that 14 (100%) of the dual-career wives resumed work or studies before their youngest child was of school-going age; and 10 of the dual-career wives resumed work when their youngest child was under the age of 4. These figures are included because they emphasise that the age of the youngest child is not a factor differentially affecting the employment status of the wives in the sample.

The only notable difference between the dual-career and traditional groups is the employment of domestic servants. 9 dual-career families have full-time domestic servants, compared to 3 traditional families having full-time domestic servants; and 3 dual-career families do not have any domestic help whereas 9 traditional families do not have any domestic help.

### 5.3.2 Administration of the Questionnaires

Each demographic questionnaire (and thus, each family), was given a code number. This number was placed on an envelope and all questionnaires. Husbands' questionnaires were labelled "H" and wives' questionnaires were labelled "W". In this way, an envelope for each family was prepared, consisting of 2 sets of questionnaires, one labelled "H" and one labelled "W". Each envelope contained:

- 2 Family APGAR questionnaires
- 2 BSRI questionnaires
- 2 FEM scales
- 2 Answer forms for the POI

The name, address and telephone number of the family bearing the corresponding code number was pinned separately to the outside envelope. The code numbers in no way reflected whether the families fell

into the dual-career or traditional category. A separate list was kept of which code numbers related to dual-career families and which code numbers related to traditional families.

The prepared envelopes were handed to the assistants who then made contact with the subjects. The assistants arranged to visit each family at a convenient time. Assistants were instructed to:

1. arrange for a time when the subjects would have 2 hours available for completing the questionnaires
2. be present while the questionnaires were completed
3. ensure that the husband and wife did not communicate about the questionnaires in any way while answering them
4. ensure that the husband was handed the questionnaires labelled "H" and the wife was handed the questionnaires labelled "W"
5. answer any queries pertaining to the answering of the questionnaires but not to discuss the aims of the questionnaires and what they might be measuring
6. thank the subjects for volunteering and confirm that they would be receiving an explanation and summary of the research once the results had been processed.

The completed questionnaires were replaced by the subjects in the envelope and the envelope was sealed, and returned to the researcher by the assistant, who had removed the identifying name and address slip. In this way, the assistant did not have access to seeing the questionnaires, once fully completed, and the scorer did not know the identity of the subject, thus maintaining a degree of anonymity.

### 5.3.3 Scoring

The small number of subjects in the experiment did not warrant the use of a computer and the questionnaires were therefore scored manually.

Scoring was done by two individual scorers separately and each questionnaire was scored twice, once by each scorer, to check accuracy of scoring. One scorer did know the aims of the experiment, the other scorer did not. Neither scorer knew which category the subjects fell into at the time of scoring. It must be emphasised that even had the scorers known the aims of the experiment or category of the subjects, this could in no way influence the scores, as scoring involved simply counting up the answers to the questionnaires, as opposed to, analyzing an interview, for instance.

Once the questionnaires had all been scored, the list of dual-career and traditional family code-numbers was consulted and the data were collated.

After the results had been processed all the volunteers were sent a summary and explanation of the research together with a covering letter of thanks (Appendix III).

### 5.3.4 Statistical Treatment

The scores obtained from the questionnaires for the variables family-functioning, sex-role ideology, self-actualisation/inner-directedness and self-actualisation/time-competence were statistically analysed by four Analyses of Variance (Roscoe, 1969); a separate anova being run for each variable.

Although the appropriateness of the anova for use on the data yielded by the Family APGAR (family-functioning questionnaire) is questionable, as the data is skewed to the right (see histogram, appendix VII), the questionnaire does yield interval data, and it was, therefore, decided to rely on the robust nature of the anova.

The data yielded by the BSRI, being nominal, should have been assessed by means of the chi-square test, however, this test could not be meaningfully used as there were too few subjects (Siegel, 1956). Consequently, the data for the variable psychological androgyny, could not be statistically analysed, but is presented in tabular form.

The correlations between the variables family-functioning, sex-role ideology, self-actualisation/inner directedness and self-actualisation/time competence were looked at, using Spearman's test for rank correlation (Siegel, 1956), on the sample as a whole ( $N = 56$ ).

Spearman's  $r$  was used in preference to Pearson's  $r$  because Pearson's  $r$  assumes the data to be (i) interval and (ii) normally distributed, and unlike the Anova which is robust, Pearson's  $r$  is more sensitive to possible irregularities in the data (Siegel, 1956).

The relationship between the variable psychological androgyny and the variables family-functioning, sex-role ideology, self-actualisation/inner-directedness and self-actualisation/time-competence was investigated by means of median tests (Siegel, 1956), on the sample as a whole ( $N = 56$ ).

## 5.4 Results

### 5.4.1 Family Functioning

The scores on the Family APGAR yielded the following cell means, presented in table 5.5:

		B <sub>1</sub>	B <sub>2</sub>
		Husbands	Wives
A <sub>1</sub>	Dual-Career	8,1 ( <u>±</u> 0,45)	7,8 ( <u>±</u> 0,73)
A <sub>2</sub>	Traditional	7,6 ( <u>±</u> 0,49)	7,9 ( <u>±</u> 0,59)

Table 5.5  
Table of Cell Means

Comparison of mean scores (± standard error) of Husbands and Wives in Dual-Career and Traditional Families on the Family APGAR, measure of family-functioning.

In both the dual-career and the traditional group, husbands and wives have rated family-functioning as falling into the well-functioning range on the Family APGAR. Inspection of the cell means shown in Table 5.5 indicates a lack of variation between the mean scores of husbands and wives in dual-career and traditional families. Statistical analysis of the data confirms that there are no significant differences between the mean family-functioning scores,  $F_{AB} = 0,312$   $df = 1, 52$  (Anova summary table, appendix VIII(a)).

These results indicate that:

1. There is no significant statistical difference between the dual-career group and the traditional group on family-functioning

scores; both the dual-career group and the traditional group have rated family-functioning as good on the Family APGAR.

2. There is no significant statistical difference between husbands and wives on family-functioning scores; both husbands and wives have rated family-functioning as good on the Family APGAR.

#### 5.4.2 Sex-Role Ideology

The scores on the FEM-scale yielded the following cell means, presented in Table 5.6:

		B <sub>1</sub>	B <sub>2</sub>
		Husbands	Wives
A <sub>1</sub>	Dual-Career	62 (+ 1,45)	70,9(+ 2,34)
A <sub>2</sub>	Traditional	63,6(+ 1,82)	61,9(+ 2,72)

Table 5.6  
Table of Cell Means

Comparison of mean scores (+ standard error) of Husbands and Wives in Dual-Career and Traditional Families on the FEM-Scale, measure of Sex-role Ideology.

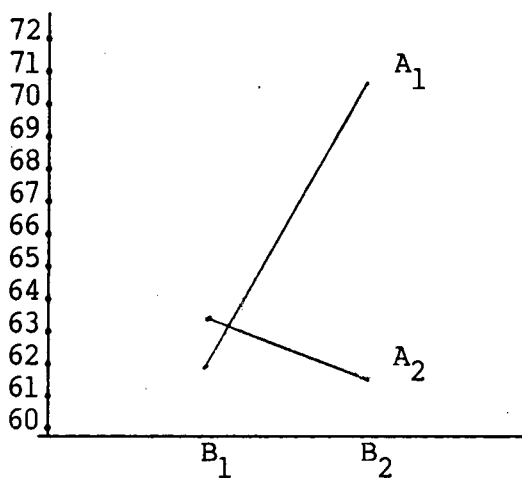


Figure 1  
Graph of cell mean profiles A at B:  
Profile of mean scores of Husbands and Wives in dual-career families (A<sub>1</sub>) and Husbands and Wives in traditional families (A<sub>2</sub>) on the FEM-scale measure of Sex-Role Ideology.

Inspection of the cell means shown in Table 5.5 and the graph of cell mean profiles (figure 1) indicate that the mean score for dual-career wives is higher than the mean scores for dual-career husbands, indicating that dual-career wives have scored more pro-feminist on the FEM-scale. Dual-career husbands, traditional husbands and traditional wives have scored similarly less pro-feminist on the FEM-scale.

Statistical analysis of the data confirms that there is a significant statistical difference between the mean FEM-scale scores,  $F_{AB} = 6,117$ ;  $df = 1, 52$ ;  $p \leq 0,05$  (Anova summary table, appendix VIII(b)).

The results from the test for simple main effects (appendix VIII(c), p 174) indicate that:

1. Dual-career wives differ significantly ( $p \leq 0,05$ ) from traditional wives on FEM-scale scores; and the cell mean scores indicate that dual-career wives are more pro-feminist than traditional wives.
2. Dual-career wives differ significantly ( $p \leq 0,05$ ) from dual-career husbands on their FEM-scale scores; and the cell mean scores indicate that dual-career wives are more pro-feminist than dual-career husbands.
3. Dual-career husbands do not differ significantly from traditional husbands on their FEM-scale scores; and the cell mean scores indicate that dual-career husbands and traditional husbands are similarly less pro-feminist.
4. Traditional husbands do not differ significantly from traditional wives on their FEM-scale scores; and the cell mean scores indicate that traditional husbands and traditional wives are similarly less pro-feminist.

### 5.4.3 Self-Actualisation/Inner-Directedness

The scores on the POI inner-directedness scale yielded the cell means presented in Table 5.7:

		B <sub>1</sub>	B <sub>2</sub>
		Husbands	Wives
A <sub>1</sub>	Dual-Career	77,8(+ 2,65)	80,9(+ 2,36)
A <sub>2</sub>	Traditional	82,3(+ 1,86)	75,7(+ 2,58)

Table 5.7  
Table of Cell Means

Comparison of mean scores (+ standard error) of Husbands and Wives in Dual-Career and Traditional Families on the POI inner-directedness scale, sub-measure of self-actualisation

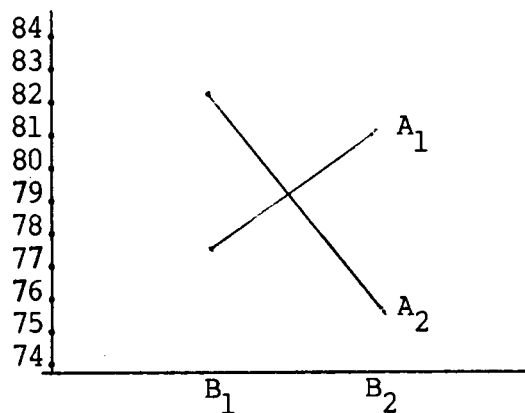


Figure 2.

Graph of Cell Mean Profiles : A at B  
Profile of mean scores of Husbands and Wives in dual-career families (A<sub>1</sub>) and Husbands and Wives in traditional families (A<sub>2</sub>) on the POI inner-directedness scale, sub-measure of self-actualisation.

Inspection of the cell means (Table 5.6) and the graph of cell mean profiles indicates that the mean scores for dual-career husbands and dual-career wives fall into a similar range on the POI inner-directedness scale, and that the mean scores for dual-career husbands and

traditional husbands fall into a similar range on the POI inner-directedness scale, indicating that dual-career husbands, dual-career wives and traditional husbands are similarly inner-directed. The mean score for dual-career wives is marginally higher than the mean score for traditional wives, indicating that dual-career wives might be more inner-directed than traditional wives. The mean score for traditional husbands falls into a higher range than the mean score for traditional wives, indicating that traditional husbands might be more inner-directed than traditional wives.

Statistical analysis of the data is inconclusive. The Anova summary table (appendix VIII(d)) yields a significant F ratio:  $F_{AB} = 4,142$   $df = 1, 52$  ( $p < 0,05$ ) indicating that there is a statistically significant interaction effect, but the test for simple main effects (appendix VIII(e)) yielded no significant F ratios, indicating no statistical differences between dual-career husbands and dual-career wives, traditional husbands and traditional wives, dual-career husbands and traditional husbands and dual-career wives and traditional wives on inner-directedness scores.

This confirms the impression gained by inspection of the cell means (Table 5.7) and graph of cell mean profiles (figure 2) that:

1. There is no significant difference between the mean scores of dual-career husbands and dual-career wives on the POI inner-directedness scale; dual-career husbands and dual-career wives fall into the same range on the inner-directedness scale and are similarly inner-directed.
2. There is no significant difference between the mean scores of dual-career husbands and traditional husbands on the POI inner-

directedness scale; dual-career husbands and traditional husbands fall into the same range on the inner-directedness scale and are similarly inner-directed.

But this does not confirm the impression that dual-career wives might differ from traditional wives on inner-directedness and that traditional husbands differ from traditional wives on inner-directedness, as it means that:

3. There is no significant difference between the mean scores of dual-career wives and traditional wives on the POI inner-directedness scale; dual-career wives and traditional wives are similarly inner-directed.
4. There is no significant difference between the mean scores of traditional husbands and traditional wives on the POI inner-directedness scale; traditional husbands and traditional wives are similarly inner-directed.

The F ratio for AB interaction just reaches statistical significance,  $F_{AB} = 4,142$  and  $F_{crit} = 4,02$  and the table of cell means (Table 5.7) and graph of cell mean profiles (figure 2) seem to suggest that there are differences, even though these differences cannot be statistically confirmed. Reinspection of the table of cell means (Table 5.7) indicates that there seems to be a difference between the scores of traditional husbands and traditional wives on self-actualisation/inner-directedness, with traditional husbands scoring more highly on inner-directedness than traditional wives.

#### 5.4.4 Self Actualisation - Time-Competence

The scores on the POI time-competence scale yielded the following cell means, presented in Table 5.8.

		B <sub>1</sub>	B <sub>2</sub>
		Husbands	Wives
A <sub>1</sub>	Dual-Career	15,7(+ 0,71)	15,9(+ 0,94)
A <sub>2</sub>	Traditional	16,1(+ 0,80)	16,4(+ 0,78)

Table 5.8  
Table of Cell Means

Comparison of mean scores (+ standard error) of Husbands and Wives in dual-career and traditional families on the POI time-competence scale, sub-measure of self-actualisation.

Inspection of the cell means (Table 5.8) indicates that there are no differences between the mean scores of husbands and wives in dual-career and traditional families. All groups have scored similarly, indicating similar levels of time competence, an aspect of self-actualisation.

Statistical analysis of the data confirms that there are no significant differences between the mean time-competence scores,  $F_{AB} = 0,002$   $df = 1, 52$  (Anova summary table, appendix VIII(f)).

These results indicate that:

1. There is no significant statistical difference between the dual-career and the traditional groups on time-competence scores; both groups being similarly time-competent.
2. There is no significant statistical difference between husbands and wives on time-competence scores; both husbands and wives being similarly time-competent.

#### 5.4.5 Psychological Androgyny

As already mentioned (p.111) the data yielded by the BSRI could not be meaningfully statistically assessed by a chi-square test, which would have been appropriate had there been enough subjects. The results of the BSRI are, therefore, presented in tabular form and evident trends are indicated.

According to the score gained on the BSRI, each subject fell into one

of the following categories: Undifferentiated (U)  
 Androgynous (A)  
 Masculine (M)  
 Feminine (F)

	U	A	M	F
D-C	1	7	2	4
Trad	4	1	1	8

Table 5.9

Comparison of Dual-Career wives' scores with Traditional wives' scores on the BSRI.

	U	A	M	F
D-C	2	2	8	2
Trad	2	3	7	2

Table 5.10

Comparison of Dual-career husbands' scores with Traditional Husbands' scores on the BSRI.

	U	A	M	F
W	1	7	2	4
H	2	2	8	2

Table 5.11

Comparison of Dual-Career Husbands' scores with Dual-Career Wives' scores on the BSRI.

	U	A	M	F
W	4	1	1	8
H	2	3	7	2

Table 5.12

Comparison of Traditional Husbands' scores with Traditional Wives' scores on the BSRI.

Inspection of these tables reveals that dual-career husbands and traditional husbands have scored fairly similarly on the BSRI (Table 5.10), whereas dual-career wives and traditional wives have scored dissimilarly (Table 5.9). 50% of the dual-career wives have fallen into the androgynous category as compared to 7% of the traditional wives, indicating that more dual-career wives have scored "androgynous" than traditional wives. Also, 29% of dual-career wives are sex-typed feminine, as opposed to 57% of traditional wives, indicating that more traditional wives are sex-typed than dual-career wives.

In Table 5.11, it appears that 50% of dual-career wives have scored "androgynous" as compared with 14% of dual-career husbands, and 29% of dual-career wives have scored "feminine" (sex-typed) as compared with 57% of dual-career husbands scoring "masculine" (sex-typed).

In Table 5.12, it appears there is less of a difference between traditional husbands and traditional wives. 7% of traditional wives have scored "androgynous" as compared to 23% of traditional husbands; and 57% of traditional wives have scored "feminine" (sex-typed) as compared to 50% of traditional husbands scoring "masculine" (sex-typed).

These tables therefore indicate the following trends:

1. More dual-career wives have scored "androgynous" than traditional wives.
2. More traditional wives are sex-typed than dual-career wives.
3. There is little difference between dual-career and traditional husbands with regard to androgyny and "sex-typedness".
4. More dual-career wives are androgynous than dual-career husbands.
5. More dual-career husbands are sex-typed than dual-career wives.
6. There are only small differences between traditional husbands and traditional wives with regard to androgyny and "sex-typedness".

#### 5.4.6 Relationships Between the Variables

##### 5.4.6.1 The Correlation Matrix (Appendix IX(a))

Spearman's test for rank correlation (Siegel, 1956) was utilized to investigate whether there were any correlations between the variables

family-functioning, sex-role ideology, self-actualisation/inner-directedness and self-actualisation/time-competence.

The correlation matrix for the sample (N = 56) indicates:

1. There is a significant positive correlation between inner-directedness scores and time competence scores ( $r = 0,36$ ,  $p < 0,05$ ), indicating that there is a positive relationship between inner-directedness scores and time competence scores.
2. There is an insignificant correlation between scores on the FEM-scale and scores on the inner-directedness scale ( $r = 0,24$ ,  $p > 0,05$ ), indicating that there is no relationship between sex-role ideology and inner-directedness.
3. There is an insignificant correlation between Family APGAR scores and FEM-scale scores ( $r = -0,13$ ,  $p > 0,05$ ), indicating that there is no relationship between family-functioning and sex-role ideology.
4. There is an insignificant correlation between Family APGAR scores and time competence scores ( $r = 0,12$ ,  $p > 0,05$ ), indicating that there is no relationship between family-functioning and time competence.
5. There is an insignificant correlation between Family APGAR scores and inner-directedness scores ( $r = 0,09$ ,  $p > 0,05$ ), indicating that there is no relationship between family-functioning and inner-directedness.
6. There is an insignificant correlation between FEM-scale scores and time competence scores ( $r = 0,005$ ,  $p > 0,05$ ), indicating that there is no relationship between sex-role ideology and time-competence.

#### 5.4.6.2 The Median Tests (Appendix IX(b))

In order to do the median tests two categories were formed by grouping together the androgynous and cross-sex-typed categories and the undifferentiated and sex-typed categories. Median tests (Siegel, 1956) were done to establish whether there were any relationships between scores on the BSRI and scores on the FEM-scale, the family APGAR, the inner-directedness scale and the time-competence scale.

1. The median test for BSRI scores and FEM-scale scores yielded a statistically significant result. (Yates corrected chi-square value = 11,471  $p = 0,0007$ ), indicating that median Feminism scores are higher in those who scored androgynous and cross-sex-typed than those who scored undifferentiated and sex-typed, thus indicating a positive relationship between pro-feminist sex-role ideology and androgyny and cross sex-typedness.
2. The median test for BSRI scores and Family-APGAR scores yielded a statistically insignificant result (Yates corrected chi-square value = 0,031,  $p = 0,8596$ ) indicating that median family-functioning scores are not higher in those who scored androgynous and cross sex-typed than those who scored undifferentiated and sex-typed, thus indicating no relationship between family-functioning and androgyny and cross-sex-typedness.
3. The median test for BSRI scores and inner-directedness scores yielded a statistically insignificant result (Yates corrected chi-square value = 2,868,  $p = 0,0904$ ), indicating that median inner-directedness scores are not higher in those who scored androgynous and cross-sex-typed than those who scored undifferentiated and sex-typed, thus indicating no relationship between inner-directedness and androgyny and cross-sex-typedness.

4. The median test for BSRI scores and time-competence scores yielded a statistically insignificant result (Yates corrected chi-square value = 0,997,  $p = 0,3180$ ) indicating that median time-competence scores are not higher in those who scored androgynous and cross-sex-typed than those who scored undifferentiated and sex-typed, thus indicating no relationship between time-competence and androgyny and cross-sex-typedness.

## CHAPTER 6

### DISCUSSION

During the course of this century there has been a progressive increase in the Western world in both the number of women who work, as well as the number of married women who work (Amsden, 1980). During the two World Wars women were pulled into the labour force to meet labour shortages produced by the absence of men (Williams, 1945) and whereas between World War I and World War II, and immediately after World War II there was a drop in the number of employed women, there has since been a steady increase in the number of women workers (Amsden 1980). Most women work primarily for financial reasons, either because they are forced to take on the role of breadwinner or to attain and maintain a higher standard of living (Van Rooyen, 1981). However, economic motives alone do not account for what is essentially a change in the role of women. This century has also seen the rise of Feminism, an ideology which changes our understanding of both women and men and gives us a context in which the changes in the roles of women and men become acceptable.

This study, in looking at dual-career families and comparing them with traditional families, is essentially looking at this change in roles. More specifically, this study has looked at family-functioning, sex-role ideology, psychological androgyny and self-actualisation to see whether there are differences on these variables between husbands and wives in dual-career and traditional families.

The results indicate that the changed role of the dual-career wife is reflected in significantly higher pro-feminist scores ( $p < 0,05$ ) (table 5.6, p. 113) and a trend towards more dual-career wives being

psychologically androgynous than the traditional wife. In contrast to this, the dual-career husband does not differ from the traditional husband on these variables. The results also indicate that husbands and wives in dual-career and traditional families do not differ with regard to family-functioning and self-actualisation scores. This chapter will explore these results through interpretation and discussion.

### 6.1 Family-Functioning

The variable family-functioning, which assesses the ability of family members to fulfil each others physical and emotional needs, was included in this study for two reasons.

Firstly, it was included to see whether there is a difference in the family-functioning scores of dual-career and traditional families. As St John Parsons (1978) points out, Western culture presupposes that families operate in the traditional mode. In a society that is geared to the traditional family, does the dual-career family function as well as the traditional family?

The second reason for including this variable derives from research done by Cunningham and Saayman (in press) which hypothesised that psychological androgyny may be present in husbands and wives in well-functioning dual-career families, but not in poorly-functioning dual-career families. On this basis it was considered possible that there would be different dynamics with regard to psychological androgyny, self-actualisation and sex-role ideology in poorly-functioning and well-functioning families. The variable family-functioning was, therefore, included to ensure that either the dual-career and traditional families being compared scored equivalently on family-

functioning, or to enable this possible source of variation in androgyny, sex-role ideology and self-actualisation scores to be taken into account.

The results indicate that the husbands and wives of traditional and dual-career families have scored similarly on family-functioning, with the mean scores falling into the well functioning range.

These high scores could be attributed to two factors. Firstly, the sample was made up of volunteers and, therefore, might not be strictly representative of the population (Rosenthal and Rosnow, 1969). Possibly only families who felt themselves to be well-functioning were prepared to expose themselves as volunteers for an experiment. Although one family did drop out due to divorce, it is probable that families experiencing tensions would not wish to be scrutinised.

Secondly, the nature of the Family-APGAR questionnaire itself may have given rise to inflated scores. This questionnaire in no way disguises its aims. This, together with the fact that the only knowledge the subjects had of the experiment was that the study intended to investigate families, possibly led to a perceived-demand effect as described by Orne (1962). Subjects may have wished to represent their families in as favourable a way as possible, therefore, biasing their answers to this questionnaire in a positive direction.

However, as both these factors apply equally to the traditional and dual-career groups, it is still valid to say that although the scores are possibly inflated, the dual-career and traditional families have scored similarly on family functioning. This fulfills the second reason for including this variable in the study, that is, to act as a

check on the family-functioning levels of the dual-career and traditional families being compared; and within the limits of this research having been done on a volunteer sample, indicates that the dual-career families are as well functioning as the traditional families.

Spearman's test for rank correlation did not reveal any relationship between family-functioning scores and scores on the FEM-scale (sex-role ideology) and scores on the inner-directedness and time-competence scales of the POI (p. 122), nor did the median test reveal a relationship between family-functioning and psychological androgyny and cross sex-typedness (p. 123). As already mentioned, no relationship was anticipated between family-functioning and the other variables in the sample as a whole but the research of Cunningham and Saayman (in press) suggests that there may be different relationships between family-functioning, psychological androgyny, self-actualisation and sex-role ideology in well-functioning dual-career families and poorly-functioning dual-career families and in well-functioning traditional families and poorly-functioning traditional families. For instance, whereas husbands and wives in well-functioning traditional families may be less pro-feminist and non-psychologically androgynous, husbands or wives in poorly-functioning traditional families may be more pro-feminist and psychologically androgynous. A larger sample size and normal distribution of family-functioning scores would be necessary to ascertain this.

## 6.2 Sex-Role Ideology and Psychological Androgyny

The results obtained with regard to sex-role ideology and psychological androgyny are internally consistent. Dual-career wives are significantly more feminist than traditional wives ( $p < 0,05$ ) and

significantly more feminist than dual-career husbands ( $p \leq 0,05$ ) (p. 114). The traditional husbands, traditional wives and dual-career husbands of the sample are similarly less pro-feminist.

Unfortunately, due to the small number of subjects, the results of the BSRI could not be statistically assessed, but do indicate a trend (pp 119-120) that more dual-career wives (7) are psychologically androgynous than traditional wives (1), and more dual-career wives (7) are psychologically androgynous than dual-career husbands (2). Fairly similar numbers of dual-career husbands (2), traditional husbands (3), and traditional wives (1) are psychologically androgynous. Conversely, dual-career wives are the least sex-typed (4), whereas dual-career husbands (8), traditional husbands (7) and traditional wives (8) are similarly sex-typed. Considering that dual-career wives are more pro-feminist and more psychologically androgynous, these results suggest that there should also be a relationship between psychological androgyny and sex-role ideology, and this is borne out by the median test which gives a Yates corrected chi-square value of 11,471,  $p = 0,0007$  (p. 123).

The results for dual-career husbands were less easy to anticipate as research findings have not consistently confirmed predictions based on theory. On the one hand, it could have been expected that dual-career husbands would be more feminist and more psychologically androgynous than traditional husbands in that like dual-career wives they have adopted the dual-career lifestyle. The dual-career lifestyle seems to imply a non-traditional attitude towards the woman's role in society, a willingness to share the traditional male role and presumably a willingness and/or necessity to share the traditional female role. But, on the other hand, whereas Young and Wilmott

(1980), for example, write about symmetrical roles for husband and wife, research has indicated that husbands do not necessarily change their role, by participating more in housework and child-care, when the wife works (Weingarten, 1978). This suggests that dual-career husbands will not necessarily be more psychologically androgynous than traditional husbands. Also, Hardesty and Betz (1980) and Foster et al (1980) found that the dual-career wives in their samples were significantly more pro-feminist than the dual-career husbands, a finding which this study has replicated.

The results for dual-career wives, traditional husbands and traditional wives are consistent with expectations suggested by the theory and previous research, that is, the adjustment in the roles of dual-career wives is reflected in more dual-career wives being psychologically androgynous and dual-career wives being more pro-feminist. The maintenance of the traditional role by traditional husbands and wives is reflected in lower scores on the FEM-scale and a lesser proportion of traditional husbands and wives being psychologically androgynous.

These results seem to indicate that whereas dual-career wives do differ from traditional wives, dual-career husbands do not necessarily differ from traditional husbands. The demographic information indicates that whereas the dual-career wives are similar to the traditional wives with respect to education, training, husband's income, number of children and age of youngest child, the dual-career wives choose to work but the traditional wives do not. This choice, by itself, is demonstrative of an active difference between dual-career and traditional wives. There is no corresponding active difference between dual-career and traditional husbands - the difference is a passive one - the wives of dual-career husbands work but

the wives of traditional husbands do not. Apparently the dual-career husbands have not made any active changes, they passively accept the change in their wives.

This, in turn, raises the following question: If the dual-career husband is not making adaptive changes by sharing the wife's traditional role, surely the wife, in carrying out both her traditional female role as well as her new instrumental role, will be overburdened, consequently affecting family-functioning adversely? For instance, time prevents the working wife from practically meeting the family's needs in the same way as the traditional wife does; the wives should be indicating needs for practical help and leisure time.

A possible answer to this question is provided by the demographic information which indicates that the majority of the dual-career families have domestic servants. This explanation is consistent with two aspects of dual-career families which are dealt with in the literature. Safilios-Rothschild (1970) has pointed out that when the wife is employed, the increase in income allows the family to hire help, and the husband is, therefore, not necessarily required to increase his participation in housework and child-care. The dual-career wife is sharing her role, (though not with her husband) and is, therefore, not overburdened. This situation may even be pleasing to the dual-career wife, for according to Yogev (1981), dual-career wives do not necessarily want their husbands to share their traditional female role as they wish to preserve their status as 'the mother in the family'.

The situation in South Africa is particularly conducive to this state of partial change in roles. The domestic servant is an accepted feature of family life, reducing the threat of censure for leaving some of the running of the home and care of children to an outsider, and the dual-career wife can be relieved of time-consuming and less pleasant tasks whilst still remaining in control of the traditional female role by bearing responsibility for the domestic servant. Poloma and Garland (1971) categorise such dual-career families as traditional/neotraditional as opposed to egalitarian.

### 6.3 Self-Actualisation

The results on the POI subscales inner-directedness and time-competence indicate that there are no statistical differences between the scores of dual-career and traditional husbands and wives on both the inner-directedness scale and the time competence scale (pp. 116 and 118). However, whereas there were clearly no differences between the mean scores on the time-competence scale (table 5.8 p. 118) the mean scores for inner-directedness (table 5.7 p. 115) do indicate a trend that dual-career husbands, dual-career wives and traditional husbands have scored fairly similarly, but traditional husbands have scored more highly on inner-directedness than traditional wives.

Theoretically, the self-actualising person, in developing and utilizing all of his/her potential (Shostrom, 1963) is not bound by role stereotypes (Cristall and Dean, 1976), is likely to be pro-feminist (Hjelle and Butterfield, 1974) and more likely to be psychologically androgynous (Simms, 1979). This is congruent with Jung's theory of individuation which suggests that a more integrated personality is

one which has recognised and incorporated the contrasexual aspect into the personality - the anima in men and the animus in women. (Jung 1928).

In terms of such theory and the previous research, it was anticipated that traditional husbands and traditional wives would score similarly on self-actualisation, the traditional husband scoring lower because he does not express the feminine, nurturant, expressive aspects of his personality, and the traditional wife scoring lower because she does not express the masculine, instrumental aspects of her personality. Dual-career husbands and dual-career wives could theoretically be expressing both masculine and feminine aspects of their personalities and could, therefore, be more self-actualising than traditional husbands and traditional wives. Thus the results, in indicating that traditional husbands score similarly to dual-career husbands and dual-career wives, and score higher than traditional wives (though the interaction effect is significant, the test for simple main effects does not confirm the statistical significance of this (p. 117)), are not consistent with either the theory or previous research.

In addition, the results obtained in the correlation matrix (p. 122) and the median test (p. 123) are similarly inconsistent with the theory and previous research, which lead one to expect that there will be a relationship between self-actualisation and sex-role ideology, and between self-actualisation and psychological androgyny. The correlation between inner-directedness scores and FEM-scale scores was insignificant ( $r = 0,24$ ,  $p > 0,05$ ) and the median test result was also insignificant (Yates corrected chi-square value = 2,868,  $p = 0,09$ ).

The correlation matrix does yield a significant correlation between the time-competence scale and the inner-directedness scale. ( $r = 0,36$ ,  $p < 0,05$ ). However, as these are both sub-scales of the POI, such a correlation is not only to be expected, but should possibly be even higher than the one obtained.

These inconsistencies prompted a closer look at the POI itself, which was done by an item analysis, and this revealed a bias in the POI towards self-assertive, masculine-type behaviours.

Out of 127 items on the inner-directed scale, 28 seem to favour "self-centred", assertive, masculine behaviour and only 2 are orientated towards feminine, nurturant behaviour:

17 items set up a dichotomy between feminine, nurturant behaviour and masculine, assertive, behaviour, scoring being in favour of masculine, assertive behaviour:

eg. item 15: "(a) I put others' interests before my own.  
(b) I do not put others' interests before my own."

(answer (b) scores 1 on the inner-directed scale, answer (a) scores 0)

and

item 38: "(a) I live in terms of my wants, likes, dislikes and values.  
(b) I do not live in terms of my wants, likes, dislikes and values."

(answer (a) scores 1 on the inner-directed scale, answer (b) scores 0)

8 items are specifically in favour of self-assertive behaviour

eg. item 57: "(a) I feel bound to keep the promises I make.  
(b) I do not always feel bound to keep the promises I make."

(answer (b) scores 1 on the inner-directed scale, answer (a) scores 0)

2 items are specifically in favour of nurturant behaviour

eg. item 117 "(a) I am afraid to be tender.  
(b) I am not afraid to be tender."

(answer (a) scores 1 on the inner-directed scale, answer (b) scores 0)

3 items are gender-bound and culturally biased

eg. item 119 "(a) Women should be trusting and yielding.  
(b) Women should not be trusting and yielding."

Shostrom (1968) himself describes the inner-directedness scale in the following way:

"The support scale is designed to measure whether an individual's mode of reaction is characteristically 'self' orientated or 'other' orientated. Inner, or self, directed individuals are guided primarily by internalized principles and motivations, while other directed persons are to a great extent influenced by their peer group or other external forces." (Shostrom, 1968, p. 5)

Whilst this may be a valid aspect of self-actualisation, the POI seems to have difficulties, firstly, in having focused only on self-assertive behaviours and not having an equivalent scale which measures the ability to express nurturant, intuitive, "feminine" behaviours, and secondly, in actually dichotomising nurturant and self-assertive behaviours and forcing respondents to choose between them. This is reminiscent of the scales which saw masculinity and femininity on a unidimensional scale, forcing respondents to fall into one or other category. Bem (1974) recognised this and compiled the BSRI, which allows respondents to score on both masculine and feminine items.

This dichotomy is not consistent with a theoretical understanding of self-actualisation which places importance in freedom and flexibility of behaviour and ability to express all aspects of the personality,

including both masculine and feminine aspects. Furthermore, in not balancing nurturant and self-assertive items, the POI is evaluating masculine behaviours as more self-actualising than feminine behaviours, like the mental health practitioners (mentioned pp 75-76) who see the healthy adult as the healthy male (Broverman et al, 1970).

If the scale were balanced by including nurturance-oriented items and did not dichotomise masculine and feminine behaviours, the traditional wife could gain on these items, whereas traditional husbands would lose. This would bring the scores of traditional husbands and wives closer. Those dual-career wives who are androgynous would perhaps score highly on both the self-oriented items and the nurturance-oriented items, because they are capable of expressing both aspects and are consequently more self-actualising. Under such circumstances androgynous dual-career wives would score higher than both traditional husbands and traditional wives.

It would appear then that the POI is an incomplete measure of self-actualisation, and this impression is confirmed by Bloxom:

"A number of studies indicate that the inner support scale measures feelings, values, and attitudes appropriate to Maslow's concept of self-actualization, but that persons scoring high on these attitudes and values are not necessarily utilizing all of their capabilities in a way consistent with complete self-actualisation." (Bloxom, 1972, quoted in Slali 1980, p. 15).

The POI appears also to be somewhat biased and this impression is confirmed by Coan:

"Unfortunately it represents an arbitrary and theoretically biased selection of variables, and it suffers from a lack of sophistication in questionnaire item formulation." (Coan, 1972, quoted in Slali 1980, p. 15)

Furthermore, it seems that the nature of the present study, in attempting to compare traditional husbands and wives with dual-career husbands and wives on self-actualisation, has been especially sensitive to difficulties of the POI. Perhaps if a more satisfactory instrument were available to measure self-actualisation the results would be more consistent with the results obtained with regard to sex-role ideology and psychological androgyny, as the literature suggests (eg. Kravetz and Jones, 1981; Crisall and Dean, 1976; Hjelle and Butterfield, 1974).

In this light, the results obtained in this study on the inner-directedness scale are more understandable. If masculine behaviours are considered more self-actualising than feminine behaviours, then traditional wives in their feminine role will score less than traditional husbands. Traditional husbands, dual-career husbands and dual-career wives have scored similarly on inner-directedness because they are all three involved in instrumental or masculine roles and, therefore, giving expression to masculine behaviours.

This study has been limited by several factors, namely:

1. a small sample size which generally restricts the strength of the research, but has also prevented meaningful statistical analysis of the BSRI scores.
2. difficulties with the POI, measure of self-actualisation, which appears to be biased and incomplete in its structure.

3. a possibility that the Family APGAR questionnaire, designed to measure family-functioning, was too transparent, leading to a perceived-demand effect and thus giving inflated family-functioning scores.

However, within the bounds of these limitations, some differences between dual-career wives and traditional wives, and between dual-career husbands and dual-career wives have emerged, as well as some similarities between dual-career husbands and traditional husbands.

Although the dual-career and traditional wives in the sample are similar with regard to important variables such as vocational qualifications, number and age of children and husband's income, some psychological difference must account for why the dual-career wives work, whilst the traditional wives do not. The results indicate that there are differences - more dual-career wives tend to be psychologically androgynous, whereas more traditional wives tend to be sex-typed, and the dual-career wives are more pro-feminist than the traditional wives.

The similarities between dual-career husbands and traditional husbands with regard to psychological androgyny and sex-role ideology suggest the possibility that whereas the dual-career wives are moving away from the traditional female role, this is not yet reflected by equivalent changes in the dual-career husband. Despite this apparent lack of change in dual-career husbands, and the indication that more dual-career wives are psychologically androgynous than dual-career husbands, and the finding that dual-career wives are significantly more pro-feminist than dual-career husbands, both dual-career wives and dual-career husbands have reported satisfaction with family-

functioning, indicating that family-functioning has not been adversely affected by these discrepancies. This may, in part, be due to the hiring of domestic servants by the dual-career families, which reduces the need for the dual-career husband to make role changes which accommodate the dual-career wife's new role.

An additional possibility is that the dual-career wives, though in a process of moving away from the traditional female role, do still identify with it, rather than altogether redefining a new role for themselves. This possibility is supported by the following:

- (a) except for two, the dual-career wives in the sample are in predominantly female occupations, suggesting continued acceptance of the traditional female role with equal emphasis being placed on marriage, children and career (Haber, 1980)
- (b) although more dual-career wives are psychologically androgynous, a proportionately large number of them (5) are neither psychologically androgynous nor cross-sex-typed.
- (c) whereas the dual-career wives in the sample are significantly more pro-feminist than either dual-career husbands or traditional wives, they have not scored as highly on the FEM-scale as do women who define themselves as feminists (mean of dual-career wives = 70,9 (table 5,6 p. 113) mean of feminists = 91,3 (table 5,2 p. 102))

In terms of Poloma and Garland's (1971) classification of dual-career families (see p. 54), the dual-career families in this sample seem to fall into the traditional and neotraditional categories, rather than the egalitarian category.

#### 6.4 Further Research

The results of this research, in being only partially consistent with previous research and theoretical writings, are in need of clarification. The present study could be refined by either comparing husbands and wives in egalitarian dual-career families with husbands and wives in traditional families, or by comparing husbands and wives in egalitarian dual-career families with husbands and wives in traditional and neo-traditional dual-career families, on the variables family-functioning, sex-role ideology, psychological androgyny and self-actualisation.

Other refinements indicated are the need for a measure of self-actualisation that is more complete than the POI, and a measure of family-functioning that is less transparent than the Family APGAR. Since the execution of the present research, Epstein, Baldwin and Bishop (1983) have published the McMaster Family Assessment Device which assesses family-functioning.

In view of the lack of clear data on psychological aspects of changes in the husband's role, research specifically aimed at this area appears to be necessary. This could be done not only by focusing on egalitarian dual-career families, but also by comparison with fathers who are single parents. It would be relevant to observe how men who have no choice but to take on full responsibility for parenting and home-making differ from men in traditional or dual-career families.

Psychologically-oriented research on dual-career families is relevant to both clinical and industrial psychology. With regard to clinical application, Cunningham and Saayman (in press) state:

"Clinical experience indicates that it is precisely in the area of role allocation that conflict between the spouses is located."

An understanding of the psychological dynamics in successful dual-career families would give direction to the changes that husbands and wives need to make, to adapt to their changing roles.

On a counselling level, knowledge of the dual-career life-style can guide husbands and wives to plan and co-ordinate their career and family commitments.

In industry and commerce, understanding and acceptance of the dual-career family as a way of life, may lead to changes in policy with regard to such issues as maternity and paternity leave, employment and promotion of women, increased leeway for both men and women to be absent from work because of parenting commitments and the provision of competent day-care facilities for children.

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APPENDIX I

LETTER TO STUDENTS

Department of Psychology  
University of Cape Town

4 March 1982

Dear Student

I am a fellow psychology student, doing research on the family. In order to obtain the necessary large number of subjects for my study, I badly need your help.

Attached you will find two identical letters. All you need to do is hand these letters to 2 families which fit the following criteria:

1. Husband and wife must be living together, ie. they must not be divorced.
2. They must have at least one child still in primary school (or younger).
3. They must live in Cape Town.
4. They must be English-speaking.

At first you may not be able to think of anyone who fits these criteria, but once you have gone through a mental checklist of relatives, friends of your family, neighbours, and acquaintances through friends, you are sure to think of suitable candidates.

Please remember that only a very small percentage of those families requested to volunteer will do so - it is, therefore, crucial that as many families as possible be contacted.

Relying on your co-operation.

Thank you.

VIVIEN SCHAPERA (Née Singer)

## APPENDIX II

### LETTER TO PARENTS AND DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Parents,

As you are probably aware, the family as a unit, is undergoing change to keep up with modern life. Examples of pressures affecting the family include the rising cost of living, a growing national manpower shortage and a changing attitude towards working women.

In an effort to develop an understanding of the present situation, we of the Psychology Department, have planned a research project in which we will be collecting as much information as possible about families in Cape Town.

In order to carry out our research, we need a very large number of husbands and wives who are willing to participate in our study. All you will be asked to do, is to each fill in a series of four questionnaires, a task that will take a minimal amount of your valuable time. Your children will not be required to answer any questions and will not be involved in the study.

If you are willing to participate in our research, please fill in the attached questionnaire and return it to: The Researcher, C/O Professor G Saayman, Department of Psychology, University of Cape Town, Private Bag, RONDEBOSCH.

You are assured of the complete confidentiality of all information provided by you. The researcher will be the only person ever to see these forms and they will be destroyed after processing. Your name, address and phone number are needed only so that we can recontact you when necessary.

Your answers to the follow-up questionnaires will be anonymous. The procedure for ensuring anonymity is as follows:

You will be visited by an assistant at a time convenient to you. This assistant will not be connected to the study in any other way, nor will he know anything about you other than your name, telephone number and address, nor will he ever see your answers to your questionnaires. His only function is to explain to you how to fill in the forms. Each questionnaire that you fill in will bear the same code-number, so that they can be recognised as a set, and there will not be a list collating family names and code numbers. The completed questionnaires will be placed by you, in a sealed envelope, which you may either post to the researcher yourself or hand to the assistant for delivery. These questionnaires will be scored by computer.

2/...

If you would like to receive a summary and interpretation of the results of our study, please indicate this in the place provided.

Thank you very much for your co-operation.

Yours faithfully,

V Schapera  
RESEARCHER

G Saayman  
SUPERVISOR (Professor and Head of Department)

QUESTIONNAIRE

Please complete the following:

1. \_\_\_\_\_

	Husband	Wife
Age	.....	.....
Educational Level	.....	.....
Occupation	.....	.....
Number of years in present occupation	.....	.....
Hobby or Special Interest	.....	.....
Hours per week spent on the above (approximate)	.....	.....

2. Number of years married .....

3. Is this your first marriage? Husband .....

Wife .....

4. Are all your children from this marriage? .....

5. Please fill in the sexes and ages of your children:

	Sex	Age
1.	.....	.....
2.	.....	.....
3.	.....	.....
4.	.....	.....
5.	.....	.....
6.	.....	.....

6. Do you have a full-time domestic servant? .....

7. Do you have more than one domestic servant?

(eg. char as well, gardener excluded) .....

8. Religious Group: Husband .....

Wife .....

9. Are you both born and bred in South Africa, or does either of you originate from another country? If from another country, please state at what age you came to South Africa:

.....

(Items 10 and 11 for wife only)

10. Do you have a full-time job away from home? .....

11. If not, what was the last job you held, and when did you stop working?

.....

12. Income range (Mark with X the appropriate range per month)

Wife:            300 - 499    500 - 699    700 - 999    1000 and above

Husband:        500 - 699    700 - 999    1000 - 1499    1500 and above

13. Are you both willing to participate in our study? .....

NAME: .....

ADDRESS: .....

.....

.....

Phone Number: .....

We, the undersigned, volunteer to participate in this study, on the understanding that our anonymity is preserved and that results of this study may be published under these conditions.

.....  
HUSBAND'S SIGNATURE

.....  
WIFE'S SIGNATURE

We would like to receive a summary of the results of this study:

YES / NO

To assist in assessing response, it would be appreciated if you could return this questionnaire within 2 weeks of receipt. Thank you.

APPENDIX III

LETTER TO VOLUNTEERS

Telephone: 664460

22 Welmoed Court  
Harrow Road  
RONDEBOSCH

7700

16 February 1983

Dear Mr and Mrs

Once again I would like to thank you very sincerely for volunteering to participate in my research. Without your willingness to give of your time this thesis would not have been possible.

Enclosed please find a summary of the nature and results of the study as promised.

With much appreciation and kind regards.

Yours faithfully,

Vivien Schapera  
MASTERS STUDENT (UCT)

## APPENDIX IV

### THE FAMILY APGAR

Developed by Gabriel Smilkstein (1978)

The Family APGAR was administered in the form in which it appears below. As a clinical tool this questionnaire includes space for comments and additional questions on specific relationships with family members.

Scoring:	"almost always"	scores 2 points
	"some of the time"	scores 1 point
	"hardly ever"	scores 0 points

The scores are then totalled. A score of 7 - 10 suggests a highly functional family, a score of 4 - 6 suggests a moderately dysfunctional family, a score of 0 - 3 suggests a severely dysfunctional family. (Smilkstein, 1978).

QUESTIONNAIRE 1

For each question, tick the appropriate box:

I am satisfied that I can turn to my family for help when something is troubling me.

I am satisfied with the way my family talks over things with me and shares problems with me.

I am satisfied that my family accepts and supports my wishes to take on new activities or directions.

I am satisfied with the way my family expresses affection, and responds to my emotions, such as anger, sorrow, or love.

I am satisfied with the way my family and I share time together.

	Almost always	Some of the time	Hardly ever
I am satisfied that I can turn to my family for help when something is troubling me.			
I am satisfied with the way my family talks over things with me and shares problems with me.			
I am satisfied that my family accepts and supports my wishes to take on new activities or directions.			
I am satisfied with the way my family expresses affection, and responds to my emotions, such as anger, sorrow, or love.			
I am satisfied with the way my family and I share time together.			

## APPENDIX V

### THE FEM-SCALE

Developed by Smith, Ferree and Miller (1975).

Scoring: except for the starred items, where the scoring is reversed, responses are scored as follows:

strongly agree	=	1 point
agree	=	2 points
no opinion	=	3 points
disagree	=	4 points
strongly disagree	=	5 points

Possible range of scores : 20 - 100

The higher the score obtained the more pro-feminist the attitude.

(Singleton and Christiansen, 1977)

### QUESTIONNAIRE 3

Indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements by ticking the appropriate box on the answer sheet provided:

1. It is all right for women to work but men will always be the basic breadwinners.
2. Women are basically more unpredictable than men.
3. A woman should not expect to go to the same places or have the same freedom of action as a man.
4. The "clinging vine" wife is justified provided she clings sweetly enough to please her husband.
5. Realistically speaking, most progress so far has been made by men and we can expect it to continue that way.
6. One should never trust a woman's account of another woman.
7. A woman should be expected to change her name when she marries.
8. A working woman who sends her six month old baby to a daycare centre is a bad mother.

9. Women who join the Women's Movement are typically frustrated and unattractive people who feel they lose out by the current rules of society.
10. Women should not be permitted to hold political offices that involve great responsibility.
11. As head of the household, the father should have final authority over his children.
- 12.\* It is desirable that women be appointed to police forces with the same duties as men.
13. A woman who refuses to give up her job to move with her husband would be to blame if the marriage broke up.
- 14.\* Women have the right to compete with men in every sphere of activity.
15. Profanity sounds worse generally coming from a woman.
16. A woman to be truly womanly should gracefully accept chivalrous attentions from men.
17. A woman who refuses to bear children has failed in her duty to her husband.
18. The unmarried mother is normally a greater failure than the unmarried father.
- 19.\* It is absurd to regard obedience as a wifely virtue.
- 20.\* Whether or not they realize it, most women are exploited by men.

QUESTIONNAIRE 3. ANSWER SHEET

Number	Strongly Agree	Agree	No Opinion	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					
7					
8					
9					
10					
11					
12					
13					
14					
15					
16					
17					
18					
19					
20					

APPENDIX VI

Tables Summarizing the Demographic Information of the Families in the Sample.

Suburb	H's Occupation	H's Age	H's Income Range	W's Occupation/Qualification	W's Age	W's Income Range	No of Children	Youngest Child's Age	Domes-tic Servant	No of years mar-ried	Religion
Oranjezicht	Architect	31	above 1500	Architect	31	above 1000	2	10 months	No	7	Protestant & Catholic
Table View	Computer Programmer	27	above 1500	University Student BSc	26	-	2	3	Yes	6	None
Claremont	Marketing Executive	40	above 1500	Executive Director / Teacher	38	above 1000	2	8	Yes	15	Jewish
Not given (P O Box)	Insurance Broker	33	above 1500	Teacher	34	700-999	1	4	No	7	Jewish and Christian
Claremont	Super-market Manager	40	above 1500	Teacher	38	above 1000	2	11	Yes	17	Jewish

Table 13

Summary of Demographic Information of Dual-career Families in the Sample

Suburb	H's Occupation	H's Age	H's Income Range	W's Occupation/Qualification	W's Age	W's Income Range	No of Children	Youngest Child's Age	Domestic Servant	No of years married	Religion
Claremont	Fitter and Turner	27	700-999	Laboratory Assistant / Matric & 1 Tech	24	500-699	1	1	Yes	16 months	Anglican
Edgemead	Fitter & Turner	38	1000-1499	Secretary / Matric	36	500-699	2	9	No	16	New Apostolic Church
Plumstead	Works Inspector	26	700-999	Insurance / College	25	700-999	2	4 1/2	Yes	7 1/2	Catholic and Anglican
Constantia	Chartered Accountant	39	above 1500	Teacher	37	300-499	3	9	Yes	16	Anglican
Rondebosch	Internal Auditor	38	above 1500	Preprimary School Principal	37	above 1000	2	10	Yes	14	Anglican
Plumstead	Foreman	42	1000-1499	Administrative Assistant/Matric	35	500-699	2	11	Yes	15	Anglican

Table 13 (continued)  
Summary of Demographic Information of Dual-Career Families in the Sample

Suburb	H's Occupation	H's Age	H's Income Range	W's Occupation/Qualification	W's Age	W's Income Range	No of Children	Youngest Child's Age	Domestic Servant	No of years married	Religion
Plumstead	Consulting Engineer	38	above 1500	Radiographer/University Student	38	-	3	5	Char	14	Anglican
Somerset West	Student	37	-	Teacher	43	700-999	2	8	No	10	Anglican and D/Reformed
Eerste River	Computer Programmer	35	above 1500	Secretary	33	500-699	2	2	Yes	8	Catholic
Mean ( $\pm$ SE)		35,1 ( $\pm$ 1,4)			33,9 ( $\pm$ 1,5)		2,0 ( $\pm$ 0,1)	6,2 ( $\pm$ 1,0)		11,0 ( $\pm$ 1,3)	

Table 13 (continued)

Summary of Demographic Information of Dual-Career Families in the Sample

Suburb	H's Occupation	H's Age	H's Income Range	W's Occupation/Qualification	W's Age	W's Income Range	No of Children	Youngest Child's Age	Domes-tic Servant	No of years mar-ried	Religion
Fresnaye	Optician	30	above 1500	Nursing Sister	28	-	2	6 months	Yes	7	Jewish
Kenilworth	Civil Engineer	47	above 1500	University Graduated Teacher	43	-	5	8	No	9	Church of Province of South Africa
Bergvliet	Scientist/Manager	42	above 1500	Teacher	39	-	4	6 1/2	No	16 1/2	Anglican
Plumstead	Lecturer	38	above 1500	Teacher	31	-	2	4	No	9	None
Monte Vista	Tugmaster	40	above 1500	Teacher	44	-	2	4	No	16	CPSA
Mowbray	Sole Proprietor	49	above 1500	Nursing Sister	39	-	4	2	Yes	10	Greek Orthodox
Rondebosch	Executive	44	1000-1499	Commercial Artist	39	-	2	9	No	18	Anglican
Constantia	Investment Consultant	44	1000-1499	Secretary	47	-	1	7 1/2	No	14 1/2	Anglican

Table 14

Summary of Demographic Information of Traditional Families in the Sample

Suburb	H's Occupation	H's Age	H's Income Range	W's Occupation/Qualification	W's Age	W's Income Range	No of Children	Youngest Child's Age	Domestic Servant	No of years married	Religion
Claremont	Manager of Construction Co.	39	above 1500	Matric	32	-	3	3	No	11 1/2	Anglican
Diep River	Technical Assistant	28	1000-1499	Junior Certificate	23	-	2	2 1/2	No	7	Catholic and Methodist
Constantia	Orthopaedic Surgeon	34	above 1500	BSc Hons Medical Researcher	38	-	2	2 1/2	Char	9 1/2	Methodist & Catholic
Mowbray	Doctor	35	1000-1499	Matric Clerk	28	-	1	21 months	Char	6	Methodist & R. Catholic
Kenilworth	Chemical Engineer	35	above 1500	Secretary	34	-	3	1 1/2	Yes	7	Anglican
Claremont	Medical Researcher	48	above 1500	Nursing Sister	44	-	4	11	No	23	Anglican
Mean (+SE)		39,5 (±1,8)			36,4 (±1,9)		2,7 (±0,3)	5,0 (±0,8)		17,8 (±6,1)	

Table 14 (continued)

Summary of Demographic Information of Traditional Families in the Sample

APPENDIX VII

HISTOGRAM OF FAMILY-FUNCTIONING SCORES

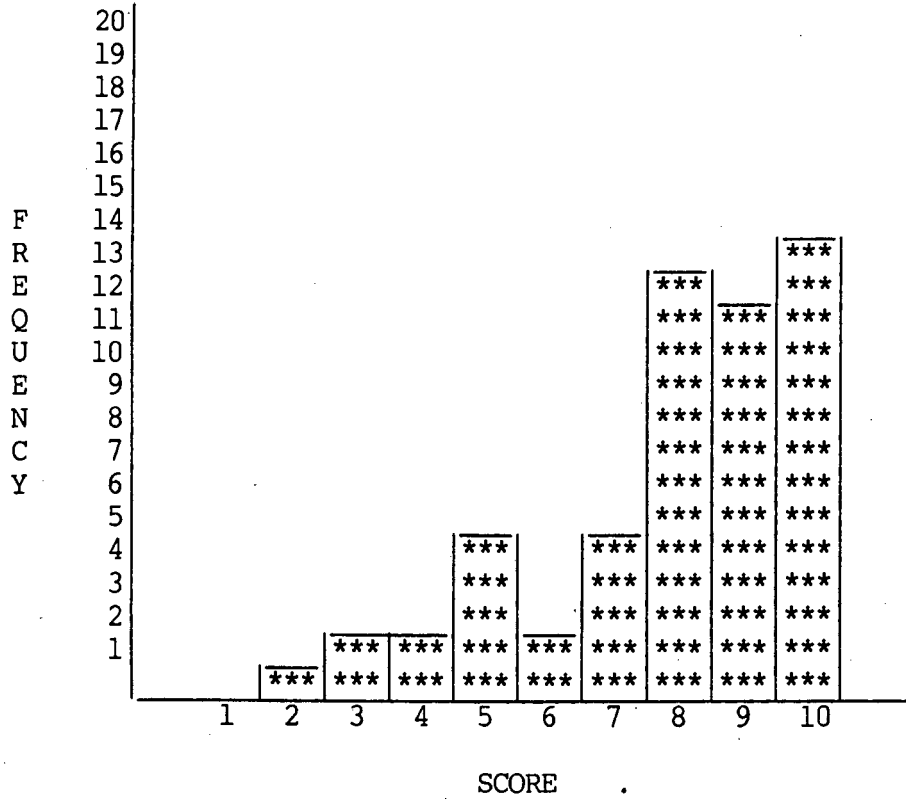


FIGURE 3

Histogram of family-functioning scores (N=56) demonstrating skewed nature of scores in favour of highly functional ratings on family-functioning.

APPENDIX VIII

(a) ANOVA SUMMARY TABLE OF FAMILY-FUNCTIONING SCORES

Source	SS	DF	MS	F Ratio
A	.87505341	1	.87505341	.18864044
B	.01791763	1	.01791763	.00386261
AB	1.4463348	1	1.4463348	.31179497
WITHIN	241.21432	52	4.638737	

(b) ANOVA SUMMARY TABLE OF SEX-ROLE IDEOLOGY SCORES

Source	SS	DF	MS	F Ratio
A	193.14941	1	193.14941	3.0208103
B	178.57861	1	178.57861	2.7929265
AB	391.13525	1	391.13525	6.1172612
WITHIN	3324.8594	52	63.939603	

(c) SUMMARY TABLE OF SIMPLE MAIN EFFECTS ON SEX-ROLE IDEOLOGY SCORES

Source	SS	DF	MS	F Ratio
A AT B 1	17.285156	1	17.285156	.27033568
A AT B 2	567.00098	1	567.00098	8.8677588
B AT A 1	549.14355	1	549.14355	8.588473
B AT A 2	20.570313	1	20.570313	.32171474
ERROR	3324.8593	52	63.939603	

(d) ANNOVA SUMMARY TABLE OF POI/INNER DIRECTEDNESS  
(SELF-ACTUALISATION) SCORES

Source	SS	DF	MS	F Ratio
A	1,7841797	1	1.7841797	.02237214
B	41.14209	1	41.14209	.51588779
AB	330.28857	1	330.28857	4.1415457
WITHIN	4147.0039	52	79.750074	

(e) SUMMARY TABLE OF SIMPLE MAIN EFFECTS ON POI/INNER DIRECTEDNESS SCORES

Source	SS	DF	MS	F Ratio
A AT B 1	141.75	1	141.75	1.7774278
A AT B 2	190.32031	1	190.32031	2.3864594
B AT A 1	69.140625	1	69.140625	.86696627
B AT A 2	302.28516	1	302.28516	3.7904059
ERROR	4147.0038	52	79.750074	

(f) ANOVA SUMMARY TABLE OF POI/TIME COMPETENCE (SELF-ACTUALISATION) SCORES

Source	SS	DF	MS	F Ratio
A	3.0180664	1	3.0180664	.32593855
B	.44668579	1	.44668579	.0482402
AB	.01773071	1	.01773071	.00191484
WITHIN	481.50012	52	9.2596177	

APPENDIX IX

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE VARIABLES

A CORRELATION MATRIX OF SPEARMAN'S RANK CORRELATION CO-EFFICIENTS OF SCORES ON FAMILY-FUNCTIONING, SEX-ROLE IDEOLOGY, INNER DIRECTEDNESS AND TIME COMPETENCE (N = 56)

	FEMFUNCT 1	FEMINISM 2	SELFACTI 3	SELFACTT 4
FEMFUNCT 1	1.0000			
FEMINISM 2	-.1329	1.0000		
SELFACTI 3	.0860	.2417	1.0000	
SELFACTT 4	.1160	.0049	.3604	1.0000

B THE MEDIAN TESTS

RESULTS OF THE MEDIAN TEST ON BSRI AND FEM-SCALE SCORES

MEDIAN TEST

	UST	ACST	TOTAL
ABOVE	12	16	28
BELOW	25	3	28
TOTAL	37	19	56

Minimum Estimated Expected Value is 9.50

Statistic	Value	D.F.	PROB.
Yates corrected chisq.	11.471	1	.0007

RESULTS OF THE MEDIAN TEST ON BSRI AND FAMILY APGAR SCORES

MEDIAN TEST

	UST	ACST	TOTAL
ABOVE	16	9	25
BELOW	18	13	31
TOTAL	34	22	56

Minimum Estimated Expected Value is 9.82

Statistic	<u>Value</u>	<u>D.F.</u>	<u>PROB.</u>
Yates corrected chisq.	.031	1	.8596

RESULTS OF THE MEDIAN TEST ON BSRI AND POI/INNER DIRECTEDNESS SCORES

MEDIAN TEST

	UST	ACST	TOTAL
ABOVE	15	13	28
BELOW	22	6	28
TOTAL	37	19	56

Minimum Estimated Expected Value is 9.50

Statistic	<u>Value</u>	<u>D.F.</u>	<u>PROB.</u>
Yates corrected chisq.	2.868	1	.0904

RESULTS OF THE MEDIAN TEST ON BSRI AND POI/TIME COMPETENCE SCORES

MEDIAN TEST

	UST	ACST	TOTAL
ABOVE	19	7	26
BELOW	17	13	30
TOTAL	36	20	56

Minimum Estimated Expected Value is 9.29

Statistic	<u>Value</u>	<u>D.F.</u>	<u>PROB.</u>
Yates corrected chisq.	.997	1	.3180