FAMILIES AS ACTIVE CRUCIBLES OF CHANGE[1]: A HUMANISTIC SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE DIVISION OF UNPAID WORK IN FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS

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ABSTRACT

Among changes in Australian social life over the past several decades, has been a dramatic increase in workforce participation rates of married women and an associated decline in the traditional male-breadwinner/female-homemaker model of family life. Of social and research interest has been the consistent finding that, while people's attitudes have become more egalitarian, the changed patterns in paid work have not been accompanied by marked changes in unpaid work performance. Most employed women have retained primary responsibility for domestic and child care tasks, irrespective of the amount of time they or their male partner spend in the workforce.

In the present study, data were collected by means of a questionnaire completed by 55 mature-age tertiary students, the majority of whom were employed, as were their partners. Information sought included details of personal background; frequency of involvement by respondents in a range of domestic and child care tasks, relative to partner; and their feelings and perceptions concerning this involvement. Major aims of the study were:

- to identify the division of unpaid work in the family households of respondents and their attitudes towards this;

- to ascertain how respondents accounted for, or 'made sense' of, any apparent discrepancy between their attitudes concerning the performance of domestic and child care work and the reality of the division of this work in their households;

- to identify factors which may have facilitated, or be inhibiting, the development of greater equity in the performance of household work by men and women.

The thesis is strongly theoretical, drawing substantially from the humanistic sociological perspective developed by Thomas and Znaniecki (1927), with contemporary developments by Smolicz and Secombe (1981). This approach provides a theoretical framework for analysis at both cultural and individual levels, as well as incorporating a related theory of social change. The latter was used to examine, in theoretical terms, Australian society's institutional response to married women's greater workforce participation. It proved useful for examining contemporary social change processes. A major thrust of the study, however, was the analysis of attitudinal data in the form of respondents' feelings, perceptions and evaluations concerning the division of work in their households, and the relationship of these to prevailing ideological values.

The theory of culture which Thomas and Znaniecki put forward, conceptualizes culture as residing in human consciousness: in the common meanings (termed 'values') which exist in the thinking and actions of a group's members. These shared meanings have evolved over time, and have come to form systems which represent the various domains of culture - ideology, education, economy, family and so on. The system of ideological values is accorded particular significance. It is seen to co-ordinate all other value systems, as well as

being an evaluating agent for other items of culture. Values in this system frequently are linked to group (and individual) identity; they include a culture's rules, or norms of conduct. Of particular interest to the present study was the female homemaking and male breadwinning norm.

Under the influence of the ideological system, individuals participating in a culture select from the range of values available to them, in constructing personal systems of (corresponding) attitudes; and these are seen to guide their everyday thinking and actions. A concern of the study, then, was to identify those values pertaining to household work performance which had influenced respondents constructions of their personal systems, and how each felt and behaved with respect to these, including their evaluation of and/or justification for the division of work in their households.

The analysis of personal systems revealed evidence for the influence of both traditional ideological values associated with gender division of labour, and new equity values in this area. However, respondents differed regarding the extent of influence these competing value types exerted over their household work performance and their thoughts and perceptions concerning this and their partner's involvement. Traditional work arrangements were being maintained by just over one-third of respondents, and slightly fewer shared some tasks with partners while engaging in traditional divisions in other tasks. Some respondents claimed to feel content, while others expressed dissatisfaction, concerning their traditional work arrangements. Another group held mixed feelings. Comments whereby respondents accounted for inconsistencies between an acknowledged equity attitude and their or their partner's actual work performance, served to highlight the powerful influence of traditional ideological values on their lives. One-third of respondents reported equitable work arrangements. They tended to be younger; and hence may be seen to have been influenced from an earlier age, by the social and institutional changes which had been emerging over the previous several decades, These respondents also were more likely to be childless. Their comments revealed that they had consciously worked at achieving equity in household work performance, and with the co-operation of partners, had attained this. They reported feeling very positively about such an outcome.

Findings from the study provide insight into social and individual change processes, as well as the circumstances in which ideological values may be successfully challenged by individuals. Comments from respondents reveal that there are identifiable stages in the complex cognitive and emotional processes engaged in by individuals and couples as they participate in the 'work' (Walden, 1979) of constructing new and acceptable meanings for everyday activities and experiences in times of rapid social change.

THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE

CANDIDATE'S CERTIFICATE

I certify that the thesis entitled   FAMILIES AS ACTIVE CRUCIBLES OF CHANGE: A HUMANISTIC SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE DIVISION OF UNPAID WORK IN FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS, submitted for the degree of **DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY,** is the result of my own research. This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

I give consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the University Library, being available for loan and photocopying.

Signed:

Name: GLENYS RUSSELL

Date: 21st December, 1995

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FOREWORD

Ideology frequently has been pointed to by researchers in their endeavours to explain the persistence of gender divisions of labour. However, many theories employed in researching this area have not permitted a specific focus on that phenomenon. Bittman (1995, p.15) has drawn attention to inadequacies here and to the need for "significant revision" of theories. As identified by Gittins, a problem in studying the family is that of needing

> ... to differentiate clearly between the ideology and the actual ways in which individuals interact, co-reside...work, rear children...and so on. [And whereas] an ideology [obviously] influences the ways in which people interpret their lives...there has never been a clear way of showing how influential ideologies are on patterns of behaviour (Gittins, 1985, p.156).

A distinctive feature of this study lies in its utilising a theoretical and methodological perspective which permits the kind of differentiation to which Gittins referred (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927; Smolicz and Secombe, 1981). According to this approach, whenever the interest is in seeking explanations for social processes, information must be obtained on the subjective aspect of societal life - the thoughts, feelings and aspirations of the individuals involved. Such data (attitudes) may then be examined in relation to the group's ideological values.

The world of meaning, then, is particularly emphasised in Thomas and Znaniecki's sociology. This, they argued, can be discovered only from the people experiencing the phenomenon under investigation; and can be understood by means of imaginative reconstruction, or empathy (Smolicz, 1979, p. xxi). In such interpretative work, the researcher's own cultural experience necessarily plays a vital part. It is appropriate, therefore, that I provide the reader with some personal details which could be expected to have influenced this activity as it was carried out in the study.

I am a White Australian woman, married with three adult sons. Except for the past three years, I have always lived in a family household. In my family of origin (I was the youngest of three daughters) domestic tasks/care and income provision were divided strictly along gender lines: my mother was the homemaker, my father the breadwinner. On countless occasions I heard my father utter the then familiar catch-cry: "No wife of mine..." (I think - although I cannot be absolutely certain, since it was never talked about - that my mother actually did paid house-cleaning work for neighbours).

On completing my secondary education, I entered the public service as a clerk. I was compulsorily retired on my marriage (age 21). For the next fourteen years I was a homemaker/part-time university student. I (mostly) derived enormous pleasure from being with and caring for my children. This, then, I combined with the work of the household and taking a degree and postgraduate qualification in psychology. Entering university was a particularly stimulating and exciting adventure for me. I was the first person in my family (even beyond the household) to study at university level.

However, without my parents' assistance with child care, I could not have pursued my studies. Although I was on the waiting list for the university crèche for each of my children, I never proceeded far enough up this to be offered a place for any of them. Not infrequently I (guiltily) used a child care facility provided by a nearby department store for its shoppers (for up to two hours). It is of interest to me now that I was not able to detect the discrimination I was experiencing here (as in other areas of my life) because of my gender.

My eventual re-entry into (part-time) paid employment was as a counsellor, working primarily with families. Although my partner and I worked hard to establish a better balance in the family domestic work/caring tasks, we found this extremely difficult to achieve. A search for meaning in relation to our situation, I feel certain, has been a powerful motivating force in this thesis. I now can understand some of the barriers we were up against.

After several years of working as a counsellor, I took up a university position as a tutor, later being appointed a lecturer. I presently teach in graduate counselling courses, with family studies and counselling practice skills being my major teaching areas. With this career move, I also resumed tertiary study - on this occasion in education. It was then that I was introduced (in a sociology unit) to the work of Thomas and Znaniecki.

My early progress on the thesis was severely hindered (although I did not realise it at the time) by the powerful nature of the traditional ideological values which I had learned in growing up in this society. These I had used in constructing a view of reality, a (gendered) identity and guidelines for leading my life and giving meaning to this. The strength of these values had also blinded me, initially, to information of vital relevance to the thesis. Three years into the project the blinkers began to lift, resulting in seven completed chapters being scrapped. Publications by D.H.J. Morgan and D.E. Edgar were particularly influential in helping me to discover a reality previously inaccessible to me. The process is ongoing.

Regarding the layout of the thesis, this is as follows. Chapters 1-4 provide reviews of the literature in the areas of unpaid/paid work and the institutional perpetuation of gender differences in this society. Chapters 5 and 6 present overviews of the theories of Thomas and Znaniecki, with Chapter 7 discussing the methodology as well as introducing the study. In Chapter 8, the results are presented. The following chapter analyses respondents' personal systems and discusses the process of individual change. In Chapter 10 the study's findings are discussed. There is a departure from convention here, in that new material is introduced, enabling certain findings from the study to be integrated within a broader theoretical framework. Finally, the conclusion to the work is presented in Chapter 11. This provides an assessment of the current status of the breadwinner/homemaker ideological norm in Australian society. It also presents a perspective on individual and social change. Finally, the discussion directs attention to the family as a central institution in this society.

CHAPTER ONE

GENDER DIVISIONS IN UNPAID FAMILY HOUSEHOLD WORK

...everyone lives in a household of some kind. ... What goes on within and between household units profoundly affects and contributes to human and social development. The family is a practice ground for making history (Boulding, 1983, pp. 257-8).

The major concern in this chapter is to provide a review of the literature in relation to the performance of work in family households. It begins with a discussion on some aspects of family living arrangements, including gender relations just prior to and following industrialisation. The division between the so-called public world of work, the domain of men; and the private world of the home, the domain of women, is seen to have developed momentum within the spread of industrialisation.

Structures and processes in Australian families are then examined in relation to two time-periods: the period post World War II to the late 1960s and that commencing in the 1970s to the present. The latter period has been marked by dramatic change. Significant here was the marked increase in married women's participation in the paid workforce.

The literature related to household work performance is then examined. This also is done according to the time periods indicated above. Interest in this area of research has grown with the greater number of women with children entering the workplace. A consistent finding is that, although most people consider that the work of caring for home and family should be shared when both partners are in paid employment, women continue to do much of this work.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

All societies must find ways of meeting the material and social needs of members, and of reproducing themselves. The ways in which these are done, however, are diverse; as, too, are the patterns of relations between women and men, on the one hand, and adults and children on the other (see Gittins, 1985; Herdt, 1982, for a discussion). Those groups which are most commonly associated with the fundamental tasks referred to, have generally been identified as families - or, perhaps more commonly, as 'the family'. Yet as Gittins has observed, to speak in terms of 'the family' is totally misleading. There is no such thing. While everybody at some point will share space, time, skills, sexuality, affection and love with others, the ways in which individuals live, struggle and interact together are too varied to be able to encase these activities into a term such as 'the family'. The organization and structure of family households are bound to be variable because of the different access of individuals to economic resources, labour, skills, space and time. Moreover, because

individuals themselves are constantly changing(through the ageing process, as well as other factors), family households are in a constant state of flux and change (Gittins, 1985, p.167). Families , consequently, cannot be defined by "objective criteria"(Gilding, 1991, p.132).

In fact, it has been claimed that definitions of the family "are ideological constructions, shapings around certain key areas of life and experience" (Morgan, 1985, p.298). Following Morgan, a discussion on the family as an institution in this society is reserved until the conclusion of the thesis (Chapter 11) (Morgan, 1985, p.269 - also citing Weber). In the meantime, however - and so that we are not "thrashing about in the dark" - what can be said about the word 'family' is that it

> *...has something to do with marriage and parenthood and that these two terms have something to do with, respectively, the relationships between adults and the relationships between adults and children, the two sets of relationships being focused on something that may be called a home or a household (Morgan, 1985, p.269).*

Families

Families form an integral part of the socio-economic and political system of a society as a whole and can be understood only in that context (Gittins, 1985, p.2). To begin with then, it should be noted that Australia, like many countries ,"is industrialized, capitalist, patriarchal and dominated by the same economic factors that affect many other parts of the world" (Goodnow, Burns and Russell, 1989, p.39). Inequalities in race, class, ethnicity and gender, research has revealed, are "entrenched features" of Australian society (Batten, Weeks and Wilson, 1991, p. xvii). The major focus in the present study, however, is on gender, with only passing attention being accorded to these other factors. It is recognised though, that gender inequality is intimately connected with these.

As indicated above, there exists enormous variability between and within societies in the form and living arrangements of families; as well as in the relations between and experiences of members, however families are conceptualized. Nevertheless, a perspective of 'the family' developed in Western industrialised society which denoted a unit comprising a husband and wife and their children. It frequently was viewed as being based on marriage and biological parenthood, a sharing of common residence, as being united by ties of affection, obligation of care and support, and a sense of common identity (Elliot, 1986). The assumption also prevailed that the male partner/father would be responsible for the income provision for the unit - the breadwinner; while the female partner/mother would take care of the home and family members - the homemaker.

In spite of its failing to represent reality in the sense of the great diversity of social groupings and relational arrangements which denote family, such an arrangement as described (or at least certain aspects of it) came to be presented and accepted as natural or biological. It was also conceptualised as ideal. Such a model came to be entrenched in major

institutional structures in Western industrialised societies. Additionally, it informed early social science definitions of family - most notably the functionalist sociology of Talcott Parsons, which dominated the field in the 1950s and 1960s (Parsons andBales, 1955; Parsons, 1964).

As was indicated, the definition of family provided above represented an ideal: an ideal prescribing how people should behave, and how relationships should be ordered; rather than the realities of families and individuals' living and working arrangements and relationships. Morgan has commented that such definitions of family may be seen as "ideological constructions, shapings around certain key areas of life and experience" (Morgan, 1985, p.298). Likewise with regard to such family-based categories as mother, father, husband, wife, child, marriage and so on, and around which certain meaning have developed - these also frequently are taken for granted and accepted as natural. Yet as the works of feminist writers of the 1970s and 1980s, particularly, made so abundantly evident, the above categories are social constructions which vary between groups and over time (see for example Badinter, 1981; Calvert, 1985; Gilding, 1991; Reiger, 1991). The meanings of which such phenomena are comprised have their roots embedded in the historical past. Political, social, ideological, economic and demographic factors are among those which have been variously influential in the development of such meanings by previous - as well as present - generations of individuals.

Industrialisation

The gender-based segregation of tasks and responsibilities in relation to income provision and home/family care, is seen to have its origins in changes within families as they responded to and shaped the occurrence of industrialisation. In pre-industrial society, both household tasks and income-earning activities engaged in by families (for example agriculture and home industries - like spinning and weaving) were carried out by both women and men, and were regarded as part of the overall productive activities of the household. With the spread of industrialisation through the growth of factories, eventually it became uneconomical for families to continue with their work at home: the factories could do this work more cheaply. To support the family financially, it became necessary to obtain paid work away from the home. This separation of home from work was to have profound and far-reaching effects.

It is appropriate to mention here, several features of pre-industrial society. Firstly, despite women contributing jointly with men in household production activities, and their importance here likely being recognised, women and men were not equals. As Carlson (1990, p.18) has stated "the pre-industrial world was patriarchal" (see Demos, 1970; Ryan, 1979; Lown, 1983; and Dobash and Dobash, 1980 for discussions). In addition to occupying a subordinate place in families, women were virtually excluded from positions of influence beyond their family. They did not participate in the political process except as they could influence individual men, nor did they hold positions of authority in the church. Women did not have equal access to educational institutions, and only rarely participated

independently in the economy. Some women occasionally broke the barriers which kept them from the public sphere, and women sometimes protested the restrictions on their activities. Nevertheless, many women spent their lives in family households, " ... perhaps secure in their place and often exercising substantial autonomy but only within the context of a patriarchal world" (Carlson, 1990, p.18).

It has been argued that women's position actually declined with the spread of industrialisation, as some tasks formerly performed by them in the home were transferred from home to factories. Those women not working outside the home for pay became financially dependent upon their husbands. Many spent greater amounts of time isolated in the home, where the primary responsibility for domestic work and child care - at least for those children not old enough to contribute to family production (which children did from about age seven) - became theirs. Their position in families developed into one of a more specialised "carer/servicer" to the family, than had existed previously (Allan, 1985, p.28). Gittins has referred to the greater "insecurity" facing women at this time. In her words:

> Although never an entirely secure institution, marriage in pre-industrial society had provided women with a reasonable means of economic survival involving both production and domestic work in and around the home, with a good chance of some minimal security in the event of widowhood. The growth of wage labour and the increasing separation of home from work put women more than ever before at the mercy of two increasingly unstable markets: the marriage market and the labour market. In both their position was weak, and economic survival was precarious whether a woman entered one or both (Gittins, 1985, p.27).

In fact, economic survival even for men was precarious in this period. Wages generally were low - and for women "appallingly low". Consequently, both women and men stood a far greater chance of economic survival by living with other wage-earners, whether kin or non-kin (Gittins, 1985, p.23). As Gittins (1985) has commented, some industries "took off" largely through the extensive use of female and child labour. However, because factory work was not compatible with continuous child care, women generally were only encouraged to do such work "when their labour was needed and/or when they needed the money or family circumstances would permit". It was, therefore, primarily poor women who worked for pay, and then mainly in low-status, sweatshop activities: in short, "they constituted a cheap and often non-essential labour pool" (Basow, 1992, p.109). This remains the case for some women today.

Because care and responsibility for children, then as now, rested largely with women, movement into paid work created new problems for working women with young children. Many resolved this by relying more on the help of neighbours, older daughters and other female kin - often quite casual arrangements by today's standards - to care for children while they worked outside the home (Gittins, 1985, p.33). It perhaps should be noted, though, that factory work was not the general experience of all during the nineteenth century. For example, some still engaged in agricultural work, in mining, street-selling and service trades

(Gittins, 1985, pp.28-9). And many women and children carried out a large amount of outwork at home, including making matchboxes, straw-plaiting and glove-making.

A Redefinition of 'Work'

The separation of work and family previously had been irrelevant, because so much work had been centred in and around the household. However, over time it gave rise to an artificial division being drawn between 'productive work' (i.e. paid work), and 'non-productive work' (i.e. unpaid domestic work). Previously, milking the cow, or cooking, spinning and sewing the seed had *all* been part of a general household economy with one task as important as another. Yet whereas all were still crucial for survival, the payment for certain types of work with wages and the non-payment for housework resulted in a new status being accorded to 'productive work' and a general degradation of 'non-productive' work (Gittins, 1985, p.33). It gradually emerged, then, that household tasks came to be regarded as lower status ('non-economic') activities.

In fact, the gradual redefinition of women's key role as non-economic, as Bryson observed, is demonstrated by the history of British Census occupational categories (Bryson, 1984, p.114, citing Land (1980)). Accordingly, in censuses up to 1871, women who followed the "noble and essential occupation of housewife" were included among the "economically active". They were then dropped from the category, although the process was not a totally abrupt one. Up until 1912, commentaries were included explaining that because of the exclusion of this occupation, there was a "consequent underestimation of women's economic contribution". Such statements then disappeared: "housework had been redefined"(Bryson, 1984, p114). Census forms in this country still regard only paid work as a "real job". Likewise, national (and international) account systems still do not recognise the economic value of family household work (DEET, 1991, p.1).

Growth of Wage Labour

The growth of capitalism meant that increasing numbers of families became dependent on wage labour alone. By the nineteenth century, this was the case in Britain for the majority of the population. For most families, this meant as many members as possible needing to work to survive. On the other hand, it meant that the new middle classes were increasingly powerful - economically, socially and politically. With their new wealth they were able to keep a wife and children within the household "as dependants of a male breadwinner" (Gittins, 1985, p.33). This situation was defined by them as both desirable and natural. Furthermore, their increased political and economic power enabled the wealthy middle-classes of this period to impose a number of changes on the rest of society. A central belief which emerged, and which guided their activities

> ... *was that of a male breadwinner gaining a livelihood through work and maintaining his female (and child) dependants within the home (Gittins, 1985, p.31, quoting Davidoff, 1977, p.64).*

5.

A further outcome of the spread of industrialisation was that men in skilled crafts or industries frequently formed themselves into associations or unions. Their general purpose was to defend their members against further capitalist exploitation, mechanisation and wage cuts, and to protect themselves from cheap labour. Since most cheap labour was made up of women and children, the unions tended to contribute further to the already disadvantaged position of women.

Until the second half of the nineteenth century, the majority of unions were made up of men from only the most skilled trades and crafts. One of their aims became that of procuring a family wage; that is, a single wage that was adequate to support a man and dependent wife and children on his work alone. Thus, whereas the concept of a single male breadwinner, as has been indicated, had started with the rise of the middle classes in the late eighteenth century, this was the first instance of a sector of the working class - and a very small sector at that - acting directly in ways supportive of that ideal.

As Land (1976) has pointed out, it is hard to know "whether the unions' argument for keeping wives and children out of the workforce was more a matter of conviction or a rationale for higher wages which they knew would spread to middle-class ears" (cited Gittins, 1985, p.27). However, irrespective of the rationale, the ideal of a family wage became increasingly important as an ideal of the organised trade union movement. It coincided with the new middle-class ideal of women and children as dependants of the husband/father. However, these ideals were often far removed from the reality of many women's and men's lives. The proportion of working-class families in the nineteenth century who could survive on the basis of a man's wage alone was very small. The majority still relied heavily on a household economy based on several wages.

Australian Colonies

Weeks and Batten have observed that upper and middle-class society in the early Australian colonies inherited this British ideal of 'men's rightful place in the public world, and women's place in the home'. Such an ideal, as has been revealed, fitted comfortably with the separation of work from home created by industrialisation. It also has been seen as having " ... supported and perpetuated the dependency of women, children, servants and labourers in the patriarchal household economy" (Weeks andBatten, 1991, p.33, also citing Lown, 1983).

However, just as this ideal was never fully realised for the British working class, so too, did many Australian women have to work outside the home for pay, in addition to their unpaid domestic and child care activities in the home. The work engaged in by women covered a diverse range of activities, and was vitally important to their family and to society, as it is today. Yet, because of the impact of ideology on the collection of statistics, much of the work performed by women in the early Australian colonies was not officially recorded (Markey, 1980, p.86; Ryan, 1989, p.48).

The ideal of 'women's place in the home' persisted into the twentieth century in Australia, when it was "fanned by protective legislation" in the form of the 1907 Harvester judgement (Weeks and Batten, 1991, p.34). Influential in this development, as in Britain, had been a strong trade union movement (Goodnow, 1989, p.39). The basic or minimum wage, was paid to the husband for his labour and calculated at a rate so as to enable him to provide "the necessities of life" for his dependent wife and three children. This legislation provided official recognition of the ideal Australian family. It also has been interpreted as having "enshrined women's dependence [and] settled the case for lower wages for women, even as it identified wages based on need" (Weeks and Batten, 1991, p.34. See also Bryson, 1992). Thus, women's minimum rate of pay was set, for many years, at only half, and later three-quarters that of men (equal pay was formally granted in 1972) (Bryson, 1992, p.92). Moreover, it was highly discriminatory in other respects. For example, it did not take into account the needs of family types other than the 'ideal' - such as the significant number of rural and single-parent families and institutionalised children which existed at that time (Burns &Goodnow, 1985, p.23).

In men's absence during the two World Wars, however, women were encouraged - even welcomed - into the Australian labour force (Russell, 1983, p.9). However, on their return from the fighting, men wanted, and usually got, 'their' jobs back. Of significance also in terms of social change, was the fact that some women were resentful and hostile at having to leave the workforce (Game andPringle, 1983). In relation to World War II, it has been estimated that one-quarter of the women who had actually joined the workforce at that time, remained in it (Beaton, 1989, p.97). Importantly, then, in both World Wars, the rigid barriers between the public and private spheres were broken down, albeit temporarily. Furthermore, women moved into job areas which had previously been protected for men.

Australian Families - Post World War II to Late 1960s

The period in Australia following World War II and up to the late 1960s frequently has been referred to as the familist period. It is the backdrop many people have in mind when they look at family patterns which indicate to them that the family is no longer stable, or disintegrating. In fact, this period has been referred to as the "heyday" of the suburban nuclear family (Goodnow et al., 1989, p.24): a time "when the ideological norms of the nuclear family (the breadwinner-housewife model) were the reality" (Edgar andGlezer, 1992(b), p.30). A marriage boom in the post-war recovery period meant that marriage was practically universal. The work force participation rate of married women was 6.5 percent in 1947 (Weeks and Batten, 1991, p.35). People married younger than they had previously, or have since. Most couples became parents, with early child-bearing being the norm; and few children were born out of wedlock. The divorce rate was low. Devotion to home and family was a theme echoed by many Australians.

A significant feature of social life in this time period also was the artificial separation of work from family. Most women had reverted to full-time 'home duties' following the war. The sphere of work was men's, primarily. It was essentially male-oriented (Probert, 1989, p.89). Workplace policies, like family and other policies, supported and reinforced traditional notions of breadwinning and homemaking. There was, then, considerable correspondence between values reflected in institutional structures and the attitudes and activities of many individual members of Australian society. This situation was in sharp contrast to the period which followed.

Australian Families - Early 1970s to 1990s

The late 1960s/early 1970s saw the emergence of significant changes in family structures and processes; changes which became even more marked in the years which followed. Similar changes have been reported in most other Western societies. It was the period when the children of post-war marriages - the 'baby boom' generation - became adults. The changes in this period represented a dramatic reversal in relation to the period preceding it. Whereas the birth rate had been 2.95 percent in 1971, it had dropped to below zero popular growth (1.87 percent) in 1986, "with a higher decline within marriage than outside it". Third and higher order births contributed only 0.4 percent to the total fertility rate. Younger people were expressing a strong preference for only two children; and 21 percent of women with no children said that they expected to have none (AIFS 1983 - cited Edgar, 1991(c), p.7).

Related to the decrease in the birth rate, as might be expected, was a decrease in the marriage rate. In 1971, total first marriages implied that 99 percent of men and 100 percent of women would ever marry. And while later figures indicated that the actual figures would be lower, this was not by much. By 1986, the rates implied that only 63 percent of men and 65 percent of women would ever marry (McDonald, 1988). Whereas 31.3 percent of women turning 20 in 1971 had been married, in 1986, only 8.5 percent were so. In 1986, the proportion of 'never married' men aged 25 to 29 was 44.7 percent compared with only 25.7 percent in 1971. For women, the figure had risen from 11.6 percent in 1971 to 27.3 percent in 1986 (Edgar, 1991(c), p.7).

The Australian divorce rate had been rising steadily for decades, culminating in the "no-fault" Family Law Act of 1975. It underwent a rise from 4.2 percent per 1,000 married couples in 1971 to 11.0 in 1986. The jump in duration - specific rates of marriages ending in divorce was from 14 percent in 1971 to 35 percent in 1986 (McDonald, 1988, p.41). Between 1974 and 1985, then, the number of female solo-parents almost doubled in Australia. Single parent families (almost 90 percent of which are female-headed) now comprise 8 percent of all households, or 14 percent of all families with dependent children (Edgar, 1991, p.8). In 1985, solo-parents were responsible for 450,000 children - or 11 percent of all Australian children. Since many divorcees go on to re-partner, the incidence of re-marrying and the formation of *de jure* and *de facto* step-families increased (Goodnow et al.,

1989, p.25). Over one-third of marriages in 1981 involved at least one previously married partner. Moreover, in such marriages, the possibility of divorce was found to be slightly higher than in first marriages. A further and most significant change to affect families during this time period (and perhaps in this century) was the substantial increase in the involvement of married women in the labour force. This rose from 12.6 percent in 1954 to 30.4 percent in 1967. By 1977, it had reached 42.6 percent (Weeks and Batten, 1991, p.35).

Numerous (and frequently inter-related) factors were influential with regard to such changes as have been referred to. Importantly among these was the development and ready availability of reliable contraception - and particularly the oral contraceptive pill. This, along with the decriminalisation of abortion (commencing in the State of Victoria in 1969) "freed women from the constraints of their bodies" (Edgar and Glezer, 1992(b), p.36). Greater educational opportunities had become available to girls and were taken, following the expansion of secondary and tertiary institutions during the 1950s and 1960s. For example, whereas in 1967 among 17 year olds, there were 152 boys for 100 girls at school; by 1983 there were 96 boys for every 100 girls. The proportion of females in the university population also increased from 28 percent in 1967 to 48 percent in 1984; and a similar situation was evident in Colleges of Advanced Education. The proportion of women holding some form of post-school qualification increased from 10 percent in 1968 to 33 percent in 1982 (Goodnow et al., 1989, p.25). Such educational opportunities served to open up new choices for girls.

The lifting of the ban on the employment of married women in the Commonwealth public service in 1966 and in all States by 1974 (cited Burns, 1991, p.33), and the major airlines in 1972, also provided further occupational opportunities for women. Moreover, there also occurred a sectoral shift in the economy and this resulted in an increase in the number of jobs in the "white collar" and service industries, which also facilitated women's involvement in the workforce (Burns and Goodnow, 1985, p.88).

As Goodnow et al. (1989, p.25) acknowledged, longer years of study for girls in itself led to a postponement of marriage. Additionally though, it brought changes in attitude to marriage, parenthood and career plans. Thus, for example, sample surveys conducted in 1971 and 1982 revealed a striking decrease over this period in young people's agreement with statements defining women's lives in terms of family roles. And the decrease was greatest among those who had the most years of education. Thus, gradually there emerged the option for young women "to delay marriage while exploring careers and sexual partners", and a lessening of the expectation that everyone would marry and settle down (Edgar and Glezer, 1992(b), p.36).

In addition to such factors as the greater opportunities which higher levels of education provided for girls, the increase in women's participation in the labour force was also determined by economic needs - and in particular a desire for better living standards. As the

above writers pointed out, rising costs through the eighties meant that one wage was no longer enough for a family; and where there are fewer children in families, there often is an accompanying occurrence of a higher level of investment in them. The Australian dream - home ownership in the suburbs - for some families became more of a nightmare. Housing interest rates soared, as did interest rates in general, and cost of living (Edgar and Glezer, 1992(b), p.36).

Some mothers were isolated in suburban houses. Their unequal power in comparison with men, along with a growing dissatisfaction in some women concerning the quality of the marital relationship, were among factors which contributed to the increasing divorce rate. Perceptions of marriage were changing, and the notion of companionship and sharing of interests emerged as important criteria by which relationships were measured. While separation and divorce resulted in poverty for many women and their children, government pensions meant that women no longer had to stay in a violent or otherwise unsatisfactory marriage (Edgar and Glezer, 1992(b), pp.35-6).

A Shift in Values

The Australian Family Formation Project (Australian Institute of Family Studies) has provided an opportunity for a comparison of certain values, extending over the period we have been considering here. This was a longitudinal study involving a nation-wide sample of 18-34 year olds in 1981-82, who were followed up a decade later when they were aged 27-43. This is the cohort born after the Second World War. Consequently, they have experienced those structural changes which were noted earlier (as well as some other structural supports for change which are referred to subsequently, in Chapters 3 and 6 notably). Furthermore, data obtained in this study were compared with an earlier similar survey, conducted in 1971 in Melbourne, Victoria (Australian National University, cited in Edgar and Glezer, 1992(b)).

In comparing the results from the above studies, it was observed that married women have "progressively backed away" from agreement with the idea that "motherhood is their most important role in life" and that "important family decisions should be made by the husband". Thus, in 1971, 78 percent of respondents agreed that whatever a woman's career, motherhood was their most important role. By 1981, support had declined here to 46 percent; and in 1991 it was just 31 percent. Likewise, in relation to males' decision making: while 44 percent agreed in 1971 that men should make important family decisions, by 1981 this had reduced to 16 percent and in 1991 was down to 8 percent (p.37). The study also disclosed an increase between 1981 and 1991 in both married women's and married men's agreement with such statements as "both should contribute to household income" (in 1991, 36 percent of women and 45 percent of men), and "men should share equally in child care" (85 percent of men and 91 percent of women in 1991) (Edgar and Glezer, 1992(b), p.37).

A study by Vandenheuvel has shed further light on prevailing family values in Australia in the 1990s, and particularly in relation to beliefs about the effects on families of

married women's and mothers' involvement in employment. This was a national study involving a random sample of 4511 adult Australians, of whom 51 percent were women (Vandenheuvel, 1991(b)). Most respondents did not think that it was the husband's duty to be the breadwinner and the wife's to be the homemaker. But women were found to be stronger in their feelings towards this than men were (55 percent women, 46 percent men). However, 26 percent of women and 32 percent of men held the traditional view here. Moreover, nearly one-third of women and men thought that a woman should spend most of her time in the care of the family; almost half disagreed. Thirty-six percent of men agreed with the statement that "a job is all right, but what most women really want is a home and children". In disagreement here were 28 percent of men and 39 percent of women.

In examining people's thoughts about the effects of women's employment on the family, the above investigator found that "in every instance there was a difference by gender". Men, it was found, were still more pessimistic than were women, concerning the effects on the family of women's involvement in the labour force. Thus 56 percent of men, compared with 47 percent of women thought that a pre-school child "is likely to suffer" if his or her mother works. And with regard to the effects on the family of a woman being in full-time employment, 51 percent of men and 46 percent of women agreed that family life suffers. In relation to this finding of gender differences, a conclusion Vandenheuvel arrived at was that "when it comes to issues on women's greater equality in and out of the home, the women are more supportive of greater equality" (Vandenheuvel, 1991(b), p.11).

In concluding this consideration of some family values in Australia, attention should be drawn to two features of this which are of particular relevance to the present work, and which arise in subsequent considerations of the literature. Firstly, while the continuing influence of traditional values is apparent there also is evidence for the presence of new values which are associated with less rigid divisions between the two spheres of work and hence greater gender equality. And secondly, in relation to research on family values and living/working arrangements, it is often found that changes in values are not always matched with changes in individuals' actions. That is, there frequently exists a contradiction, or inconsistency, between what individuals think should happen, or is desirable, and what they actually do. This is a consistent finding in studies of household work performance (Edgar and Glezer, 1992(b)).

STUDIES OF HOUSEHOLD WORK PERFORMANCE

Household work, as Goodnow observed, can be distinguished from other forms of work on the basis of a number of criteria. For example,

> ... it is done in households, usually unpaid, usually done by women, invisible, repetitive, undervalued, often undone shortly after being completed, likely to expand to fit the time available, resistant to change and oddly difficult to pass on to others (Goodnow, 1989, p.39).

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Among tasks falling within this category are those associated with the cleaning of the family home, servicing family members via clothes washing and ironing, meal preparation and so on. However, the household work situation of full-time housewives generally will encompass, at least for some period of time, the care of one or more children. And as Allan (1985, p.42) has observed, the actual tasks and activities associated with the two areas "are discrete and often contradictory". For example, whereas some degree of choice is often available as to when household tasks are carried out, this is not the case with child care, particularly with young children - involving such tasks as caring, cleaning, comforting, feeding and so on. As a respondent in Baulton's study commented:

> There are times when I feel like saying 'I will feed you twice as much today so tomorrow I can just have a break'. Before, I could say, 'The fridge really needs to be cleaned, but I can leave it'. With children they need feeding when **they** need feeding. Their nappies have to be washed every day. It's as simple as that. When they cry, you can't say, 'Well, I'll see you in an hour'. That is what hits you: the fact that it's seven days a week, twenty-four hours a day, and they make the rules (Baulton, 1983, p.69).

Childhood is quite central to many people's perceptions of family life. Moreover, increasingly this century it has come to be seen as "a special stage of development in which children need protection, understanding and stimulation if they are to mature adequately" (Allan, 1985, p.42). The feature which dominates mothers' (who are the main carers) experience of caring for pre-school children is the degree of responsibility they feel they have for them. This is seen to be linked to the idealisation of motherhood, which emerged during the late nineteenth century (Ochiltree, 1990, p.54).

Based on interviews with women from both working and middle-class suburbs of Sydney, Wearing has outlined the main tenets of the "ideology of motherhood" (Wearing, 1984, Ch.4). Thus, a central aspect of this, which many of her participants had internalised, was that "motherhood and womanhood are enmeshed"; and further that "a good mother is always available to her children", she is unselfish and supportive, and is needed all the time by her children when small (p.72). Thus, motherhood is seen to involve complete responsibility for one's children; and although it may be seen as a low status job, "its lack of social recognition and material rewards are felt to be outweighed by the intrinsic rewards and value of the role" (Reiger, 1991, p.47 - see Reiger (1991) for an account of the evolution of motherhood ideology in Australia).

The undervalued nature of household work (in an economic sense, at least) is born out by the fact , noted earlier, that the major statistical concepts for assessing national economic well-being, such as Gross Domestic Product (GDP) exclude all aspects of householding, since these focus on production for exchange. Yet it has been estimated that housework "adds up to more GDP than any 'recognised' industry" (Ironmonger, 1989), producing about three times the output of Australia's manufacturing industry; or ten times the GDP of the much publicised mining industry (Eastman, 1991, p.14 - citing Ironmonger, 1989). In 1988-89, Australia's housework when calculated on the basis of its contribution to the

GDP was estimated to be worth $140 billion (*The Age*, January 18, 1989). Yet this vast amount of production is omitted from the National Accounts.

In relation to Australian research in the area of household work, Bryson has noted that this represents "one of the few threads of continuity" in family research (Bryson, 1984, p.128). The area was first studied in the 1940s. In the remaining section of this chapter, some of the major studies conducted since this period are considered, together with some overseas studies. The discussion is again organized around two historical periods: the period from 1940s to 1960s and the period early 1970s to the 1990s.

Research on Household Work - 1940s to Late 1960s

A study carried out by staff and students of the Department of Psychology at the University of Melbourne between 1947 and 1950, represents one of Australia's earliest and most extensive family studies of this period (Herbst, 1952; Oeser and Hammond, 1954). A questionnaire was developed (Herbst's 'Day at Home' questionnaire) and administered at their schools to 86 twelve year old children. It sought information about who carried out, and decided about, a range of family activities.

It was found that household tasks fell into three categories: some were virtually exclusively performed by the mother (for example, cooking, washing, ironing); some were done predominantly by men (such as household maintenance and mowing lawn); and a third area included tasks in which both partners tended to participate (for example doing dishes, shopping). While both parents participated in child care activities, these were 'predominantly controlled by the mother'. Both economic activities and social activities were said to be 'generally engaged in and decided about by both husband and wife'. In terms of sheer numbers, however, wives clearly made most decisions and carried out most activities. It was in the relatively infrequent cases of the pattern of family activity the investigators termed 'husband dominance' that tension within the family was greatest. A further three patterns of family activity were identified: husband and wife acting independently of one another ('autonomic'), which was the most common; this was followed by wife dominance; and then a cooperative pattern ('syncratic cooperative'), in which both partners decided and acted. This latter pattern was associated with least family tension.

An investigation in the early 1950s by Fallding (1957) represents another project which provided information about family activity in Australia. Here, an intensive study was undertaken of thirty-eight families in Sydney. These were chosen primarily because of their willingness to devote a considerable amount of time to the research. Each of the families had two children. Families were visited from four to seven times for a full evening on each occasion, and interviews were conducted with individual members. It was Fallding's conclusion that, as a general rule,

> ... husbands and wives divided authority for family control between them in the traditional way, accepting the customary responsibilities of bread winner and homemaker respectively (Fallding, 1957, p.60).

The division of labour within families was found to be quite uniform, and almost always was according to the traditional arrangement, with wife having major responsibility; although there were differences "in matters of family management". In 55 percent of family households (mostly with the father in a skilled occupation), Fallding found that "the fathers could be said to be in effective control"; in 11 percent it was the "mothers who were in effective control" and in 34 percent there was "partnership in management". In the majority of cases in which the husband was in control, this was considered 'rightful' by both wife and husband. However, in no situation was mother control perceived in this way. In the few cases where this was seen to be the case, it was considered to have been caused by default. In the majority of cases of "partnership" (and these were found mainly in families where the father had a professional occupation) this, was seen as the 'right and proper' way to deal with family affairs (Fallding, 1957, pp.60-66).

In the late 1950s, Adler conducted a study using a modified form of the Herbst's 'Day at Home' questionnaire. This study involved over 1500 twelve year old school children from five Australian states (Adler, 1965). Adler reported that mothers were more active than fathers in all areas except for the "traditional male household duties". He found that the mothers' action and decision roles were both pervasive, with the former being "only a little less developed than her decision role". This finding led to his coining the term 'matriduxy' to denote the powerful leadership functions of mothers within the household. As Bryson has observed, he eschewed the use of the term matriarchy because the basis of the Australian mothers' power was "not a function of inheritance, legal structure or formal organization" (Bryson, 1984, p.129, quoting Fallding, 1957).

Adler also had collected data from Mexico and the USA, and comparison of this with the Australian family patterns highlighted the role of the Australian mother. In the USA, Adler found greater cooperation between mothers and fathers; whereas in Mexico it was fathers who were found to be the major decision makers. The Australian findings had revealed that mothers made 50 percent of the decisions and carried out 40 percent of the activities listed in the questionnaire items. This finding was similar to the Melbourne study referred to earlier (Herbst, 1952, in Oeser and Hammond, 1954).

The latter study, along with Fallding's (1957), was restricted largely to families in which women were not working outside the home. However, in Adler's sample, 29 percent of women were employed. And in the households of these women, there occurred greater husband participation, and there was more disagreement about the activities. This finding led Adler to conclude that

> *... apparently matriduxy is the acceptable way of family life in Australia and that alteration in the mother's role accompanied by increasing father participation tends to be disruptive and tension producing (Adler, 1965, p.155).*

The outstanding finding common to the three previous studies considered, is the key role of women in family decision-making and the traditional gender division in household work

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performance. Of interest, then, is how the conflicting reports of the authors may be accounted for: that is Herbst's finding of a mixture of family types; Fallding's of the husband's control being challenged by 'partnerships in management', and Adler's description of the Australian family as a matriduxy (Bryson, 1984).

Researchers' Assumptions

Retrospectively, it is possible to see that, in interpreting their findings, the above researchers paid scant attention to gender inequalities evident in the household work involvement of partners in the families investigated. This could be linked to assumptions or expectations held about the performance of this work and which, while unacknowledged (and likely unrecognised), had underpinned their study; and/or perhaps a failure on their part to recognise such domestic activities as work. Secondly, as Bryson has pointed out, these authors perceived families as being isolated from the wider social context (Bryson, 1984, p.130). As that writer observed, most of the women in the studies were not in paid employment, a fact to be expected, given that in 1954, just 13 percent of women between 30 and 40 years of age were (Adler's sample (29 percent employed) included a high migrant population, and rates of employment were higher in such groups). It is perhaps not surprising then, that women were very active in family household work; this evidence "seems straightforward enough". Questions arise, however, "when the researcher's judgement appears to impute some more general meaning to the evidence". This may be seen to be the case with Fallding's (1957) use of the term partnership, Herbst's (1952) syncratic co-operation and Adler's (1965) term matriduxy (Bryson, 1984, p.130).

Concerning the above studies, Bryson has further commented on their (at the time of publication) presumed objectivity. She has pointed out how, since the approach used was associated with the positivistic paradigm, and hence "based on the assumption that such studies are 'scientific' and therefore objective", then value questions were "irrelevant". Yet, she continued,

> ... one does not need to look very hard at the studies to unearth the values actually being applied by the researchers. [For example] Fallding and Adler clearly favour a co-operative 'partnership' family and Herbst slightly less obviously so (Bryson, 1984, p.131).

In the particular historical period being considered, family and work were viewed as separate spheres of activity, not impinging on one another to any significant degree, with the former considered to be the domain of women, the latter that of men. The nuclear family was defined as a "universal, biological unit, in which husband and wife specialised in different but equal activities according to their abilities and skills" (Baxter et al., 1990, p.29, also citing Murdoch, 1949). The division of domestic tasks between wives and husbands was seen as 'natural', and an indication of the strength of the traditional family.

The perspective on the family evident from the above, as already noted, was common to Western industrialised societies in the period being discussed, as well as

underpinning the functionalist sociology of Talcott Parsons, which dominated the field in the 1950s and 1960s. Not surprisingly, then, similar questions were asked and similar findings reported in overseas family research, to the Australian studies referred to. For example, in investigating American families in the late 1950s, Blood and Wolfe (1960) endeavoured to assess the impact on families of an increasingly high divorce rate, the removal of many traditional functions to outside institutions, and the progressive movement of married women into the workforce. A conclusion which these researchers arrived at was that the American family had changed its authority pattern from one of patriarchal male dominance to one of egalitarian sharing (Blood and Wolfe, 1960, p.47). The basis of such assessment was that, unlike in the patriarchal past, wives participated with husbands in family decision making; although the "balance of power" was seen by them to fall "slightly in the husband's direction". Additionally, these researchers emphasised the complementary nature of household tasks, which tasks were seen for men, to be divided on the basis of "biosocial" abilities such as mechanical aptitude and male musculature, and for women on the "motherly instincts" and female caring (Blood and Wolfe, 1960, p.23). An expectation underlying such research was that the full-time housewife would assume responsibility for the bulk of the domestic tasks.

In sum: In most family research conducted during the period 1940s through to the late-1960s, the aim was to assess who did what in the home, and how families might be changing in relation to the growth of industrial society. Questions of gender inequality were not raised, despite the evidence that in most families, household tasks were divided along traditional lines, with women taking primary responsibility for child care and housework. Likewise, there occurred little direct or implicit questioning of the traditional assumptions embedded in these gender-based divisions. Participation in family decision-making was taken as evidence for the emergence of more egalitarian marriages; or as Adler argued, the existence of matriduxy. However, as Baxter and colleagues have put it - while at the same time acknowledging that such an observation only may be made retrospectively:

> *Women's participation in family decision-making ... is not an adequate index of equality if they are still defined primarily as housewives and mothers. At the same time, men's help in the home does not indicate equal sharing if tasks continue to be divided on the basis of gender and women continue to accept overall responsibility for housework and child care (Baxter et al., 1990, p.32).*

Thus, both the conceptualization of equality, as well as the methodological approaches adopted in studies conducted at this time, were problematic (see Baxter et al., 1990, pp.30-42 for further discussion).

Research on Household Work - 1970s to 1990s

Research conducted in the late 1960s and early 1970s increasingly was influenced by the considerable social, economic and political changes which were emerging in that period, and which were referred to earlier in this chapter. Particularly significant here, was the greater

number of married women in the workforce, and notably those with children. The participation rate of this group had increased to 40.7 percent by 1975. By 1985, it had reached 50.5 percent (Goodnow, 1989, p.25). A characteristic of later research, therefore, and which distinguished it from that discussed earlier, was that it focussed on the relationships between work and families; and particularly how two-parent families "juggle work and family life" (Glezer, 1988).

Of major significance to research conducted in the late 1960s and 1970s was a renewed women's movement. Attention was drawn by Feminist writers to the unstated, traditional assumptions on which much earlier research was based. Furthermore, the economic importance of household work was noted, including its vital contribution in a capitalist economy. The stereotypic view of housewives as women of leisure, and the associated myth that men work whereas women do not were challenged (Lopata, 1976; Oakley, 1974). And most significantly, attention was drawn to pervasive inequalities which had existed in families and throughout society, for centuries, and which had generally been unrecognised and unacknowledged. These were exposed and examined.

Earlier studies, as has been indicated, had accepted the family system as a going concern, with little direct or implicit questioning of the traditional values embedded therein. Questions now began to be asked about such values; and as the feminist movement developed, their patriarchal nature. For example, in 1972 Safilios-Rothschild asked: "Can a marriage between two unequal people blossom into a companionate relationship? Does not the very notion of a companionate marriage presuppose the union of equals?" (quoted in Bryson, 1984, p.132).

The above point was taken up by Williams (1981) in an investigation conducted in 1974-75, of the marital relations of residents of a Queensland mining town. While the early studies of marriage usually had emphasised harmony, and given preference to lack of tension, Williams pointed out that " ... it was in the unhappy marriages that women displayed greater consciousness of sexual inequalities and the tension in their marriages often resulted from this" (quoted in Bryson, 1984, p.132). It was those marriages fitting the traditional ideology which were described as happy marriages. Thus, while earlier researchers (Fallding and Adler, for example) had recognised tension within some families within which "the hegemony was under challenge"; this, "because of the influence of an equilibrium model of social functioning ... [was interpreted as] deviant rather than likely to be due to an expression of any inherent conflict of interest" (Bryson, 1984, p.132).

However, change does not proceed at the same rate, either at the individual or group level. Hence, despite increasing recognition of inequalities, including the fact that in most families, household tasks were still divided along traditional lines, with women taking primary responsibility for these, partnership lifestyles continued to emerge as a theme in some of the literature of this later time period (Baxter et al., 1990, p.31). For example, Young and Wilmott's book "The Symmetrical Family" appeared in 1973. These writers perceived married

women's entry into the workforce as an indication of marriage becoming a more symmetrical arrangement. They saw this new situation then, as being one in which tasks were shared equitably, thus enabling each partner similar opportunities for individual fulfilment and satisfaction. Later studies revealed the inaccuracies here.

However, among the features which generally came to distinguish much research of the 1970s from the earlier period discussed, was that it no longer assumed that housework was a woman's natural role. Hence, women's movement into the paid workforce was less likely to be defined as a problem or threat to family life. Rather, as Baxter and colleagues have observed concerning this more recent research:

> *The emphasis [was] on understanding why women accept the double burden of paid work and unpaid housework, and how women's participation in the paid workforce 'fits' with traditional beliefs and practices in the home(Baxter et al., 1990, p.40).*

Some examples of such research will be given. Harper and Richards (1979) reported two studies conducted in Melbourne in 1976 ("Two Options" and "Having Families"). Their interest primarily was with the problems faced by women who chose to be mothers as well as workers in the paid workforce. They found that where a wife worked, it was taken for granted that she should carry out both her paid work and the domestic/child care roles - and she did. Because of this, many women preferred part-time work, thus allowing more time for their family role. Where husbands undertook household tasks, they performed fewer tasks than women; and most contributed only when asked; that is, they did not assume voluntary responsibility for household tasks. Many wives also contended that it was easier, often, to do the tasks themselves rather than try to involve husbands in the role. Husbands whose wives were employed full-time, tended to do slightly more work in the home than those whose wives were employed part-time, or not at all. However, those husbands who did increase their workload generally opted for some jobs more than others (mostly cooking, breakfast preparation and washing up). Wives did the heavier tasks, such as housecleaning, washing and ironing. Child care tasks were shared more often than housework chores.

Similar findings to the above were reported by English and King (1983), from information gained in the 1975 National Family Survey of Australian families. In the majority of families, traditional female activities were undertaken by mothers - for example, housecleaning and clothes washing; while fathers carried out traditional male activities - for example, taking out the garbage and mowing the lawns. These divisions were fairly rigidly adhered to, and few tasks were shared by partners. With respect to child care, no fathers took sole responsibility for the daily care and dressing of young children; however, many shared the tasks of disciplining children and putting them to bed.

A decade later, Australian studies continued to report similar findings to the above. Thus, in 1985, Bryson claimed that " ... even when women fully share the economic role it is rare for their partners to share equally in domestic work" (Bryson, 1985, p.303). And while

Wolcott (1987) reported that some men were "helping" more, in both domestic work and child care, this was limited to a narrow range of tasks. Family responsibilities were not being equally shared by partners.

The study titled "Juggling Time", conducted by Bittman (1991), allows for a more specific comparison of men's and women's involvement in unpaid work, between 1974 and 1987. This investigation involved analyses of the results of a pilot survey of time-use conducted in Sydney in 1987 by the Australian Bureau of Statistics, on how householders spend their time. The study also compared the results with data collected in Melbourne, in 1974. In the 1987 study, one thousand Sydney households were surveyed and provided detailed information on the activities which occupy people outside the paid workforce.

Among findings from the study were that women, on average, engaged in about 36 hours per week of unpaid work, while men, on average, did less than half of that amount (approximately 14.5 hours). And irrespective of how many hours of paid work a wife did, her husband's contribution remained relatively constant. In fact, the survey revealed that irrespective of income, education, social background, employment or age, women did more unpaid work than men (Bittman, 1991, p.5). In relation to the contribution to unpaid work of children (15 year olds and above), where a mother took on 35 hours of work a week or more, children did an extra 18 minutes of work per day. Moreover,

> Even at this age, sons and daughters do different amounts and different types of unpaid work. Sons do only two-thirds of the unpaid work that daughters do, and most of it is done outdoors (Bittman, 1991, p.19).

With the arrival of a new baby, whereas new fathers were found not to increase their unpaid work at all, a new mother's hours of unpaid work increased by 91 percent, to nearly 56 hours per week. At that time, also, a woman spent less time in paid work than at any time in her life - less than 9 hours per week, on average. By contrast, men at this time spent more time in paid work than they did at any other time in their life - on average, more than 50 hours per week (Bittman, 1991, p.17).

A comparison of the 1987 data with that collected in 1974 revealed that men were doing more than they used to in the kitchen and laundry. However, two-thirds of their unpaid work continued to be done outdoors, in such tasks as maintaining the car, the yard and the pool. About 8 percent of their unpaid work time was spent on child care. A high proportion was devoted to play or travel. By contrast, women spent just 8 percent of their unpaid work time on outdoor tasks. Their unpaid work generally occurred inside the home, with cooking, cleaning, laundry and child care taking up 73 percent of the time devoted to unpaid work. Related tasks, like shopping and travelling to shops and travelling to child care, took a further 19 percent.

It was Bittman's conclusion that, in the decades spanning the 1970s and 1980s, men changed the type of unpaid work they did. Nonetheless, a clear difference in the types of unpaid work done by men and women was still apparent (Bittman, 1991). And such difference tended to conform with traditional gender divisions. However, while such surveys

are valuable in terms of revealing trends in relation to the performance of household work, they provide limited opportunities for giving meaning and interpretation to the data. Consequently, no understanding can be gained of individuals' experiences, along with the family processes occurring, and which are associated with the gender division of work performance reported.

The study reported by Edgar and Glezer (1992(b)) is less remiss in this regard. These investigators obtained information from their respondents on a whole range of attitudinal factors, in addition to work performance data. However, while they were able to identify some changes in both areas (some of their data could be compared with that obtained ten years previously, from the same participants), their methodology did not allow them to gain insights into the individual cultural processes associated with these changes. This is a feature, to some extent, of all studies which are reviewed here.

Edgar and Glezer reported similar findings to Bittman concerning the performance of household work. However, they also disclosed that their respondents were in strong agreement that this work should be shared by couples when both are employed - a view which was not reflected in the household arrangements of most respondents. Domestic tasks, they found, tended to be divided along traditional lines, thus: "men in 1991 still took out the rubbish and mowed the lawn ... while their wives did the cooking, cleaning and most of the shopping and dishwashing" (Edgar and Glezer, 1992(b), p.4). However, they did find that when a wife works full-time there was "more equal sharing of shopping, cooking, dishwashing and even cleaning the bathroom". Furthermore, while mothers were still more involved in the care of children than were fathers, it was found that when wives worked full-time, husbands shared more in those tasks which involved taking children to appointments, such as the dentist or doctor.

Studies from Britain and America have reported similar findings with respect to continuing inequities in housework involvement, by men and women partners. Pleck (1983; 1985), for example, reported time-use studies which indicated that employed wives generally reduced the time spent in household work, but that husbands who also were employed did not increase their contribution, except slightly for child care. Moreover, those contributions made by husbands were seen as helping rather than taking on primary responsibilities, which remained with their wives. Another British study (Edgell, 1980) examined the divisions of labour in the families of professionally-employed husbands and wives. Edgell reported similar findings to other studies referred to, noting also that husbands tend to participate more in child care tasks than in domestic work.

Perhaps not surprisingly, similar gender divisions in domestic work arrangements have been found in the domestic arrangements of retired couples (Bittman, 1991). Thus, retired married women (living with a spouse) spend significantly more time than younger married women on a range of tasks (for example, double the time in preparing food, one-third more time cleaning and one-third more time doing laundry, ironing and caring for clothes). And

while men in retired couples spend, on average, almost one-quarter more time in unpaid work than younger married men, as with the earlier studies referred to, this is likely to be spent in outside tasks - in the garden, and lawn and pool care. Retired men, on average, were found to have more leisure time than any other group of men or women (Bittman, 1991).

Of interest also, are findings reported in the above study, of the situations of men and women living alone post-retirement. The effects of retirement were found to be "completely opposite" for women and men.

> *Retired men living alone undertake a great deal more domestic work (in general a similar amount to women). The time they spend cooking and house cleaning more than doubles. They spent four times their previous amount of time on laundry and clothes care work.*

> *For women, however, being retired and living alone means domestic work reduces by 7 hours per week. Women spend less time cooking and about 2.5 hours less time doing laundry (Bittman, 1991, p.21).*

The above findings draw attention to the influence of the family structure on members' behaviour, and in particular to the gender-based norms and values which shape and maintain different experiences for men and women in relation to household work performance. Dempsey (1989) has reported similar findings from a Victorian rural community study of retired couples. He concluded that wives had "major sole responsibility" for repetitious, routine tasks: tasks which also were most likely "to place their performer in a subordinate position", as well as to interfere with leisure activities. In relation to both domestic and leisure areas, Dempsey was struck by the inequitable and what he termed "exploitative" nature of these arrangements between retired couples. In relation to the former area, he reported that men left women "with the jobs that require the most forward planning and that restrict considerably the amount of time they can spend away from home: cooking the two main meals of the day, keeping the house clean and tidy, etc.". He found that respondents of both sexes were six times more likely to say that, in their marriage, the husband had greater freedom to pursue his interests and leisure pursuits than they were to say that the wife had the greater freedom (Dempsey, 1989, p.8).

Dempsey's study is of particular value in that it draws attention to frequently taken for granted aspects of family life which many researchers have not investigated. These highlight further the significant servicing functions which women perform for others, and in particular to their subservient position relative to men in society. This point is taken up again in Chapter 10.

Returning now to studies which relate women's position in the home to their position in the workforce, two British studies have been particularly illuminating in relation to the continuing and powerful influence of traditional values on decisions and other actions. The studies to be considered are those reported by Yeandle (1984) and Sharpe (1984). These investigators' approaches are similar, insofar as both used interviews as a means of

gathering data, and both placed a strong emphasis on obtaining attitudinal information from participants.

In *Women's Working Lives* (1984), Yeandle aimed to understand how women combine paid work with unpaid domestic work. She used a series of unstructured interviews to trace the employment careers of the sixty-four employed mothers, aged between 25 and 45, who participated in her study. The focus of the interviews was on participants' movements in and out of the labour force, looking at their experiences as employees as well as wives and mothers. The majority of women in this study had returned to employment because of the family's financial needs. Furthermore, an important factor related to taking up paid work, had been their husband's willingness to take on some of the tasks associated with child care and housework. However, in the majority of cases, these women continued to undertake the bulk of such tasks. Rarely, in fact, were husbands prepared to perform the more laborious tasks of child care (Yeandle, 1984, p.143).

In relation to women re-entering the labour market, the above study found that they tend to seek work which will enable them to retain 'their' responsibilities in the home. They also tend to accept jobs which are lower paid and lower in status than men's jobs. Their work here, though, is always defined as secondary to their responsibilities as housewives and mothers: the needs of family and children always take precedence over paid work. Furthermore, regarding the meaning given to the wife's income, even in those situations where this is essential to the family's economic viability, a wife's income is defined by both women and men "as supplementary to the main income, that is, the husband's wage" (Yeandle, 1984, p.37). Such findings thus provide considerable insight into how both women and men organize and give meaning to their actions in the home and workplace, which do not challenge traditional notions about breadwinning and homemaking responsibilities.

In her study, Sharpe (1984) has reported similar findings. This researcher interviewed 120 mothers with an aim of investigating the practical ways women combine unpaid and paid work. As with participants in Yeandle's study, it was found that economic reasons were primarily given for women returning to paid employment on having children. Emotional and social needs also were mentioned frequently. In relation to husbands' views on their wives working, most men approved of this "as long as housework standards did not drop" (quoted in Baxter et al., 1990, p.38). Concerning the performance of family domestic work, Sharpe reported that husbands of employed women did only slightly more than did the husband of non-employed women. Wives who entered the workforce thus were effectively taking on an extra job. Moreover, even when men did participate in domestic work, there rarely occurred any major reorganization of this. It was most often the case that men helped rather than took responsibility here - an arrangement which could be seen to suggest their own and a partner's views on who held responsibility for this work.

A further finding of interest from Sharpe's study, was that many women in paid jobs tried "[to] organise their domestic life as if they did not go out to work" (Sharpe, 1984, p.188). They endeavoured to fit their paid work arrangements into established domestic routines, thereby creating as little disruption as possible to family members. That is, they preferred only to disrupt their own time. This made part-time work the preferred option for these women. It gave them the opportunity to earn some extra money for the family while still allowing enough time for domestic commitments. Such findings may be seen to highlight the influence of traditional values concerning men's breadwinning and women's homemaking on many individuals' decisions and other behaviours in the home and work settings.

In sum: the preceding review of studies conducted post-1970 has made apparent the change in research emphasis here, from that of the earlier period considered - that of the 1940s to late 1960s. In the earlier period, it was assumed that housework was women's natural role. Questions were not asked about the gender-based allocation of tasks: the research concern was with sex-role differentiation rather than sex-role inequality. From the 1970s, however, many researchers did not accept uncritically the inequitable, gender division of labour. Gender came to be seen as a social construction. Furthermore, increasingly the inter-related nature of unpaid and paid work was recognised. The emphasis moved to seeking an understanding of why it was that women accepted the double burden of paid and unpaid work, and how women's participation in the workforce fitted with traditional beliefs and practices in the home. We see, then, the impact of the prevailing cultural meanings on the expectations of researchers, including the questions they sought to answer through their investigations and the way findings were interpreted and understood.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING COMMENTS

The idea of womanhood - and increasingly wifehood - "has been synonymous with a woman's 'natural' responsibility for child-care and domestic work" (Gittins, 1985, p.131). There has always existed the assumption that, however a society or household is organized, a certain core of domestic work "is by definition women's work". This is regardless of a woman's age, marital status or whether or not she is engaged in paid work. No equivalent assumption is held for men. Thus, while a man may choose to engage in domestic work and child care he is in no way socially or economically ostracised if he does not. Such participation is usually voluntary. In contrast, if a woman chooses not to keep the house clean, or does not provide "adequate" supervision for the children , "she is in danger of being labelled a 'bad' mother or a 'bad' wife - she can be divorced, she can have her children taken away from her by the state" (Gittins, 1985, p.131).

Such a situation contributes to the fact that, in most families, traditional gender divisions in unpaid work persist, both in relation to the amount of work performed by partners and the nature of the tasks. Women, it is found, retain the major responsibility for family

household work, irrespective of the extent of their involvement in paid work. In relation to the latter, women can be seen to define this as secondary to their primary position as mothers and housewives.

Yet, while the review of literature reveals the continuing prevalence of gender divisions in family domestic work and child care, research consistently provides evidence for the existence of new, more egalitarian perspectives. For example, close to 90 per cent of husbands and wives consider women and men should share equally in child care when both partners are employed (Edgar and Glezer, 1992(a), p.5). Similar figures are reported with respect to household work performance.

Numerous of the more recent studies reviewed in this chapter (Sharpe, 1984; Yeandle, 1984; Baxter et al., 1990; Edgar and Glezer, 1992(b)) make reference to the role of ideology in sustaining the gender divisions of labour they reported in findings. For example, Baxter and colleagues put it this way:

> *The answer, we would argue, lies in gender ideology. The ideology of femininity defines women in terms of their position as housewives and mothers, while the ideology of masculinity defines men as breadwinners. This maintains the distinctions between men's and women's work in the home and in the workforce (Baxter et al., 1990, p.38).*

The theoretical and methodological perspective adopted in this study - that of Thomas and Znaniecki's (1927) humanistic sociology - emphasises the powerful directive role of ideology on individuals' lives, including the development of identity. It also enables some understanding of those findings which reflect an "inconsistency between attitudes and actions" (Edgar and Glezer, 1992(b)). One of the aims of this thesis is to contribute to a greater understanding of the nature of ideology and how it exercises its directive power on individuals' everyday lives.

In the chapter which follows, the focus turns to a more specific consideration of women's experience in paid employment. As became apparent in the preceding reviews of studies of women's unpaid work experience, the two areas of work are inextricably linked for women.

CHAPTER TWO

GENDER DIVISIONS IN PAID WORK

The previous chapter revealed that women spend more time than men on child care and housework (with the exception of outdoor tasks). This is the case irrespective of the hours spent by either partner in paid employment. The present chapter examines more closely women's position in the latter. It begins with a brief historical account of women's labour market involvement in Australia, commencing in the late nineteenth century, before moving into an examination of their contemporary experience.

Occupational and industrial segregation, a concentration in part-time or casual work, and lower salaries are shown to characterise the employment experience of many women. Barriers to a gender-equitable workplace situation which are examined, include educational opportunities; inadequate child care facilities; and the prevalence of traditional attitudes with regard to paid and unpaid work responsibilities. Many women and men continue to indicate a preference for work arrangements which reveal the higher priority they place, respectively, on the care of young children and paid work involvement. Workplace structures and employer attitudes also are briefly discussed.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND - WOMEN'S WORKFORCE PARTICIPATION

As indicated in the previous chapter, the Australian colonies inherited the British middle-class ideal of 'men's rightful place in the public world, and women's place in the home'. These separate spheres of work for men and women fitted well with the separation of work from the home created by industrialisation. They also served to perpetuate the pre-industrial dependence of women and children (Weeks and Batten, 1991, pp.32-3).

Early Australian Colonies

In the period of white colonisation in Australia, work patterns developed which were strongly divided by race, class and gender (see Ryan and Conlon, 1989). In relation to women, in the later nineteenth century the labour market dictated two options for the vast majority, irrespective of their class: "dependence upon menfolk to greater or lesser degree, or domestic service" (Gilding, 1991, p.49). Women with the means of independence were "exceptional". Consequently there were "compelling economic inducements" for women to marry. Most working class women struck a balance between domestic production and the labour market, depending upon other elements in the household economy.

In 1871, the census recorded 13,089 women in the Sydney workforce - 24.2 per cent of the total workforce. The majority were single; domestic service, followed by industry, were the main sources of employment. Upon marriage a small number of women remained in full-time employment, notably in suburban schools and post and telegraph offices, where there

was an overlap of work and home. Some also worked in small businesses and outwork "in the shadow of their menfolk". However, this unpaid work was not officially recorded (Markey, 1980, p.86; Ryan and Conlon, 1989). At least from the view of the census-taker, it seemed that "the logic of the labour market dictated men's participation and women's withdrawal" (Gilding, 1991, pp.52-3).

Twentieth Century Development

It is only in recent decades that women - and married women, in particular - have represented any significant proportion of the labour force. Conventionally, the pattern of women's employment generally has involved entry into the full-time labour market after leaving school. Employment generally continued on this basis through marriage, until the birth of the first child. At this time, women withdrew from employment to take up full-time mothering and housework. After the youngest child reached school age, women then tended to move back into the workforce. However, frequently, this was on a part-time basis and it meant finding work which could be fitted around the needs of husband and children (Baxter et al., 1990, p.56). Some changes to the conventional pattern have been emerging over the past 15 years, as will be apparent in the discussion to follow.

Whereas women's labourforce participation increased steadily during the 1960s and 1970s, the decade of the 1980s saw a "spectacular growth" in the employment of women. This was particularly the case for married women. Between 1980 and 1989 the numbers of married women in the workforce increased by 40 per cent, the rate rising by 9 per percentage points, from 42 per cent to 51 per cent (Maas, 1990, p.59). Thus, by the end of the decade, only 39 per cent of two-parent families with children conformed to the traditional image of mother at home while father was employed (Kilmartin, 1990). For single-parent families, 46 per cent of female parents were employed, 55 per cent of them full-time (Wolcott, 1990, p.33).

Within the married women sector of the labour market (which was the fastest growing sector) the two largest employed groups in 1989 were married women aged 25-34 years and 35-44 years. These two groups increased in size by 29 and 40 per cent respectively, between 1984 and 1989. Participation rates thus jumped from 49 and 59 per cent to 60 and 70 per cent. Together, these groups comprised 65 per cent of all employed married women. Of this group of women, 75 per cent had dependent children and 45 per cent had children aged 4 years or under (Maas, 1990, p.60 - also citing ABS 1988(a)). As Maas stated:

> The end result of these changes is that, of couple families with dependent children, the majority have both parents in the paid labour force (56 per cent at July 1989), while the traditional 'breadwinner' family comprises less than 40 per cent (Maas, 1990, p.60).

Studies investigating motivation in relation to workforce participation have primarily concentrated on married women, to whom society accords a 'choice' in the matter; unlike for men. Such a focus draws attention to the fact that women's relation to the paid workforce is different from men's. On the other hand, the language of 'choice' does imply that women's

participation in paid work is optional - a situation which is not applicable to many and never has been (see for example Gittins, 1985; Gilding, 1981).

As Glezer (1991, p.6) has commented, the motivations of women concerning paid work involvement vary. Those women having a higher education and career opportunities were highly motivated to return to employment, following the arrival of children (Glezer, 1988). Frequently these women were eager to re-enter employment because they feared their skills would "become out-of-date if they (remained) out of the workforce too long". Others referred to the difficulty of re-entering some fields, once left (Ochiltree, 1990, p.33). Generally, however, women with career opportunities indicated that they enjoyed work and valued the economic independence and mental stimulation which this enabled (Ochiltree, 1990). However, for a majority of women, "economic necessity" has been the reason most commonly given by them for returning to paid employment after having children (Yeandle, 1984; Sharpe, 1984; Edgar and Glezer, 1992(b)).

WOMEN'S WORKFORCE POSITION

In this section of the discussion, some characteristics of many women's workforce position are examined. Occupational segregation, workforce patterns, marginal labourforce attachment and salary are among factors to be considered.

Occupational Segregation

Maas (1990, p.59) has argued that "one of the main reasons for the spectacular growth in the employment of women is the substantial creation of new jobs in those sectors of the economy most favourable to the employment of women". Thus, of the 1.5 million new jobs created since 1983, 94 per cent have been in the private sector, and women have received 56 per cent of these (DEET, 1989). Since 1984, this growth has occurred in the service sector primarily; and the greatest gains have been in the areas of finance, property and business services (44 per cent), recreation, personal and other services (34 per cent), wholesale and retail trade (33 per cent), construction (31 per cent), and community services (19 per cent). These industries are among the top five employers in Australia, and major employers of women: recreation - 54 per cent female; community service - 65 per cent; finance - 49 per cent and wholesale and retail - 42 per cent (Daly, 1989, quoted in Maas, 1990, p.59).

Some studies have shown that segregation of jobs by gender is even more severe than segregation of jobs by race (Blau and Ferber, 1986). (Jacobs, 1989, provides a thorough analysis of this problem). Yet the increasing parity in the labour force participation of women and men may obscure the fact that most workers are employed in gender-segregated occupations. The latter is particularly the situation in Australia, which has the "dubious honour" of having the most occupationally sex-segregated paid labour force of the OECD countries (O'Donnell and Hall, 1988, p.24, in Weeks and Batten, 1991, p.36). This situation continues despite more than two decades of equal pay legislation (1972), ten years

of anti-discrimination legislation (1984) and the more recent initiatives in affirmative action (1986 - fully phased in by February 1989).

From the chart below, it may be seen that Australia's workforce was spread across twelve Industry Divisions as at August, 1992.
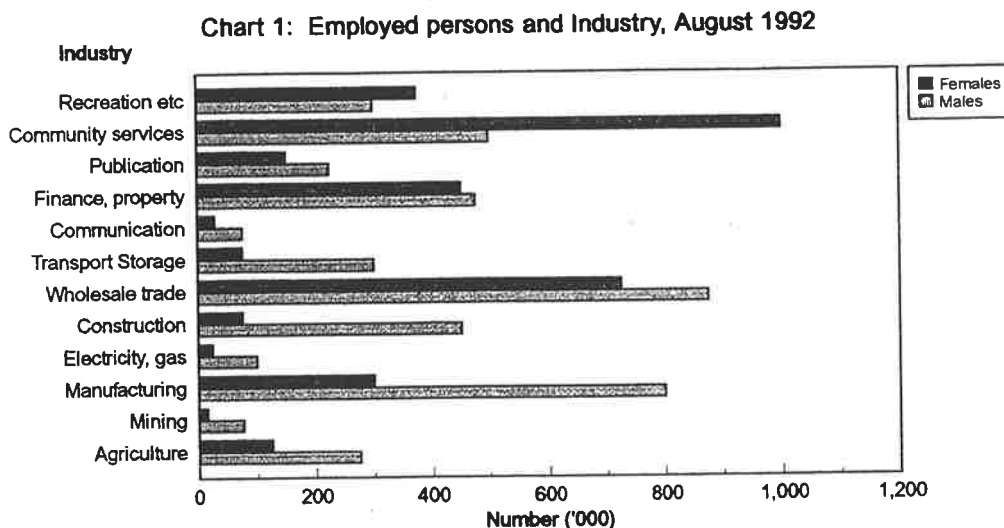
Chart 1: Employed persons and Industry, August 1992

Source: *Women's Employment and Education Experience in the Recession and Recovery, Women's Bureau, Department of Employment, Education and Training, April, 1993, p.8 (Citing ABS, The Labour Force, Australia (Catalogue No. 6203.0).*

While men were spread more evenly across the industries, approximately 92 per cent of Australia's 3.2 million women workers in August 1992 were employed in just seven of the twelve industry divisions. The biggest employers of women were nearly all in the services sector of the economy. The two industry divisions having very high representation of women were community services (health, welfare and education, etc) and recreation, personal and other services (hospitality). Just as industries recorded different rates of change during the 1980s, growth rates for occupations similarly were not uniform in Australia during that period. Chart 2 (below) presents data relating to females' share in occupations for August, 1986 and August, 1992.
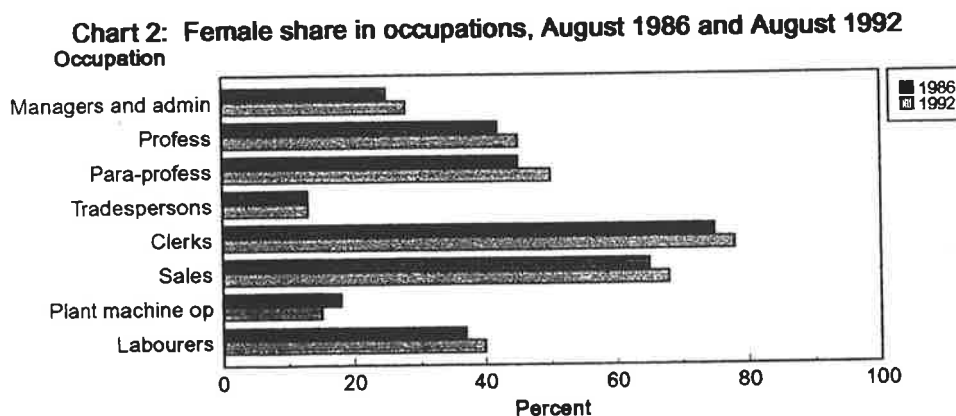
Chart 2: Female share in occupations, August 1986 and August 1992

Source: *Women's Employment and Education Experience in the Recession and Recovery, Women's Bureau, Department of Employment, Education and Training, April, 1993, p.9, citing ABS, The Labour Force, Australia (Catalogue No. 6203.0).*

In August 1992, there was a high representation of women in clerical occupations (78 per cent) as well as in sales and personal service (66 per cent). Women's representation in tradespersons was just 10 per cent. Women also were segregated within categories. For example, whereas approximately 19 per cent of women employees were in professional and para-professional categories, more than half of them were made up of teachers and registered nurses.

An overall characteristic of women's involvement in the paid workforce to which Weeks has drawn attention, is that, unlike most men, they frequently work in areas related closely to family work: child care and the production of food and clothing (Weeks, 1991, p.40). As that writer further has observed, when upper- and middle-class women moved into the workforce, they did so in teaching, nursing, social work and as secretaries and typists. Moreover,

> *[women's] paid work is in areas seen as ancillary to men's jobs and to the major areas of production, which by virtue of the forces of capitalism, status and wages continue to be seen as 'real work' in public ideology (Weeks, 1991, p.40).*

Basow (1992) has referred to research on women's workforce experience in America which reveals similar findings to those reported in this discussion for Australia. There, too, gender segregation is prevalent among industries and occupations. Additionally, this has shown "a slight decrease" since the 1960s, and there has been greater social acceptance of nontraditional career choices, especially among younger cohorts (citing Raemond, 1989; Reskin and Roos, 1990). In relation to management, for example, women nearly doubled their representation between 1972 and 1992 (about one-third of all managers in America, compared with 25 per cent in Australia (Women's Bureau, 1993, p.9)). However, as Basow also has observed, "top management" has remained mostly male. A similar situation may be seen to exist in Australia.

Women, it has been argued, confront a "glass ceiling" in their effort to reach top-ranking jobs (Basow, 1992, p.264; "The Glass Ceiling", ABC Television *Lateline*, July 4, 1990). Ferguson (1992) has reported findings of a recent survey of 125 Australian public companies, in which it was found that just 3 per cent of company directors in Australia were women (*The Advertiser*, April 11, 1992). Likewise, the National Australia Bank (NAB) had gender divisions in occupational levels in 1990, as indicated in Table 2.1. It is of interest that this bank prides itself on its commitment to equality in employment policies and practices (John Butler, Head of Resource Planning - reported on ABC television "The Glass Ceiling").

Table 2.1: Occupational level and gender - National Australia Bank (1990)

Occupational level	Gender	
	Men	Women
Senior Management	345	2
Mangers	3,252	254
Clerical	3,900	11,200

Source: ABC television "The Glass Ceiling", Lateline , July 4, 1990.

Thus, in the NAB for 1990, women constituted less than 0.6 per cent of its senior management, and 8 per cent of its managers. Yet in the lower level clerical positions females outnumbered males by almost 3:1. Data reported by the Australian Institute of Company Directors (S.A.) Division revealed that in 1993, less than 3 per cent of company directors were women (cited Cashmore, 1994, p.8). Basow has cited similar findings from the United States. For example, in 1990, fewer than 3 per cent of the 6,502 top jobs at Fortune 500 companies were held by women, although this was up from 1 per cent a decade before (Basow, 1992, p.264, also citing Castro, 1990; Ball, 1991(b)). Basow has made the prediction, based on the current rate of increases, that "gender equality will be reached in the executive suite in the year 2466" (Basow, 1992, p.264).

In relation to higher status professions, such as medicine, whereas increasing numbers of women are entering these, "men are more likely than women to be administrators and surgeons, powerful positions, whereas women tend to be over-represented in the relatively low positions of teacher, general practitioner and pediatrician" (Basow, 1992, p.264, also citing Sherman and Rosenblatt, 1984; Recer, 1991). In addition to women's concentration in the lower status branches of professions, they tend also to be work in areas perceived as feminine. For example, women lawyers take up matrimonial work; women police deal with female offenders and women sociologists tend to specialise in the sociology of gender divisions (Elliott, 1986, p.91).

Women's lower representation in higher occupational positions is evident also in University teaching categories. Table 2.2 presents women as a percentage of teaching Staff for the years 1972, 1981 and 1992.

Table 2.2: Women as a percentage of Status Category for University Teaching Staff

	Professor	Associate Professor	Senior Lecturer	Lecturer	Tutor
Year 1972	1.6	2.7	5.5	13.3	36.1
Year 1981	2.1	4.6	8.8	18.8	44.0
Year 1992	4.6	10.6	19.7	-	50.7

Source: 1972 and 1981 data - Cass, Dawson, Temple, Wills and Winkler, 1983, p.246. 1992 data - Sydney University, Australia - "The Glass Ceiling", ABC Television, Lateline, July 4, 1990.

The table does show some improvement in women's situation, particularly over the past decade, with increases across each level. However, the proportion of women at the highest levels has continued to remain small, with women comprising just 4.6 per cent of professors. This contrasts with their occupying just over half of tutor positions - the lowest level academic position. In 1992, women comprised just 10 per cent of staff above the level of senior lecturer in Australian Universities (Cashmore, 1994, p.8 - also citing The Law Reform Commission, Equality Before the Law, 22).

The above tendency also is apparent in primary and secondary education. In New South Wales, the proportion of women principals and deputy-principals declined significantly in the Education Department between the decades of 1949 to 1979 - from 20.9 and 25.4 per cent in 1949 to 9.6 and 7.1 per cent in 1979. As Bryson observed, this phenomenon was the subject of an enquiry by the Anti-Discrimination Board, which commented that "women in executive positions can be classified as an endangered species" (Bryson, 1984, p.122). Thirteen per cent of senior executive positions in the Commonwealth Public Service were held by women in 1991 (Cashmore, 1994, pp.8-9).

In Australia, although recent feminist challenges have been more powerful than ever before, it is predominantly men who exercise power in the trade unions, the police, the military, government and the law (Bryson, 1992, p.175). For example, in 1992 only 11 per cent of union officials were women. Just 4 per cent of Supreme Court judges were women, and 10 per cent of federal judicial offices were held by women in 1994. And in April 1993, of 842 people elected to all Federal, State and Territory parliaments, 122 (or 14.5 per cent) were women (Cashmore, 1991, p.8 - also citing Australian Council of Trade Unions, 1994; The Law Reform Commission, Equality Before the Law, 11 and 22; Supreme Courts of the States and Territories (through the Office of Senator Amanda Vanstone)). As Bryson has observed, it needs to be recognised that those holding power are in a strategic position, over time, to define and redefine the structures of power (Bryson, 1992, p.175).

The view also espoused by Bryson was that the under representation of women in the military - "the state's major and highly symbolic coercive institution" is of "central importance". Women, in generally being forbidden to take part in combat roles, thus remain "a 'protected' group rather than acting as 'protectors'" (Bryson, 1992, p.216). She saw such a situation as exposing "the actual symbolic power of physical force", and of throwing into "sharp relief" the undervaluing of caring for people - a role in which women do predominate (see Bryson, 1992, pp.216-7 for a discussion on the "unsolved dilemmas for feminist on this matter").

In sum: Gender segregation in the workforce disadvantages most women, compared to most men. Women are concentrated in a smaller number of industries than men. They also tend to be clustered in low status jobs. Where women are employed in professional occupations and higher levels, they are significantly underrepresented in the higher ranks. As Allan has commented in relation to top occupational levels: not only do markedly few women gain employment here, but also "at every level from chargehand to director, men are far more likely than women to be promoted to positions of authority and control" (Allan, 1985, p.49). This lack of power in the public world has been elaborated by feminist writers. It is argued that since political, legal, medical, educational and economic institutions are controlled by men, such institutions " ... operate in terms of male-defined goals and interests and on the assumption that women's 'proper' place is in the home" (Elliott, 1986, p.93).

Part-time Work

Table 2.3 summarises the working patterns of employed women and men in Australia as at April, 1991 (DEET, 1991, p.127).

Table 2.3: Employment - April 1991

Employment	Female	Male
Number in employment	3,230,700	4,490,200
-% of total employment	41.8	58.2
Number in full-time employment	1,915,500	4,080,900
-% of full-time employment	31.9	68.1
Number in part-time employment	1,315,200	409,300
-% of part-time employment	76.3	23.7

* 59.3% of all female (90.9% of all male) employees are in full-time employment.
* Women comprise 76.3% of the part-time workforce with married women accounting for 55.1% (915,800) of all part-time employees.

Source: Department of Employment, Education and Training, 1991, p.12.

Thus, men comprise 23.7 per cent and women 76.3 per cent of part-time employees. With regard to full-time work, 68.1 per cent of men are employed in contrast to just 31.9 per cent of women. Researchers consistently have revealed that part-time work arrangements are disadvantageous to women in numerous ways. For example, most women who work part-time are casual workers, who do not get benefits such as maternity leave or paid holidays (Women's Bureau, 1991, p.3). In fact, as Weeks (1991) has pointed out, only one-third of women workers have long service leave eligibility compared with two-thirds of men. And two-thirds of women employees have no job-related social benefits at all, compared with one-third of men (Weeks, 1991, pp.151-2). Furthermore, part-time workers frequently are in jobs without promotional opportunities, as well as not requiring significant on-the-job training or educational qualifications. Job security is often low (Baxter et al., 1990, p.70).

Baxter and colleagues have drawn attention to the fact that women differ from men not only in their greater involvement in part-time work, but also in the nature of that work being significantly different from that of full-time workers. Citing data from a survey undertaken in South Australia in 1987, those writers have observed that women were more likely to be engaged in part-time work on a regular basis. Thus, 79 per cent of women compared with 55 per cent of men were engaged in regular part-time work. Moreover, age was also a factor. Part-time work was predominantly an occupation of younger men, with 50 per cent being aged 15 to 24 years. Only 13 per cent of women fell into this category (Baxter et al., 1990, p.65).

To refer further to the South Australian survey, the main reasons cited by women for working part-time were family considerations, including pregnancy and child care (38 per cent), personal choice (25 per cent) and job availability (38 per cent). For men, the dominant categories were job availability (45 per cent), and further education (30 per cent). Similar

findings were reported in a survey conducted in the state of Victoria (ABS, 1988, cited Baxter et al., 1990, pp.65-6). While job availability was no longer a key factor (12.4 per cent of men and 6.2 per cent of women), further education remained the main reason for men working part-time (54.5 per cent) and family reasons and personal choice for women (35.6 per cent and 26.7 per cent respectively). As these authors concluded:

> *The profile of part-time workers ... differs dramatically by sex. The typical male part-time worker is working in the short-term to finance his education. The typical female part-time worker is fitting paid work around her familial and domestic responsibilities, presumably over a longer time span (Baxter et al., 1990, p.66).*

Hartley (1990) reported a study on the expected work patterns of 128 young women and men (primarily 23-24 year olds) when they had children. Almost all women expected to have a period of time off from work on the birth of a child, and then to resume employment on a part-time basis. By contrast, the great majority of young men were not expecting that their work/family patterns would change with the arrival of children; and that " ... in the foreseeable future they would have children, and be working full-time" (Hartley, 1991, p.38).

Glezer (1991) has drawn attention to the fact that it is mothers, more so than fathers, who adjust work patterns to accommodate family commitments. For example, she has reported that

> *One of the main ways in which two-parent families juggle work and family life is by the woman dropping her working hours to part-time after the first birth (Glezer, 1988) enabling her to retain skills, contribute economically to the household, and at the same time raise their child (Glezer, 1991, p.6).*

However, as the above investigator reported in another study ('Maternity Leave Study'), whereas 49 per cent of new mothers would have liked a part-time job, 47 per cent preferred not to work at all. Among this latter group, 46 per cent gave the desire to breastfeed their child as the main factor determining when they resumed employment (Glezer, 1990,pp.25-6).

Recent research (Manderson, 1989) in Australia has shown that around 85 per cent of women breastfeed initially, with approximately 60 per cent still breastfeeding at three months, 45 per cent at six months and between 10-20 per cent at twelve months. Middle-class Australian women are more likely to breastfeed their babies throughout the first year than are women from lower socio-economic backgrounds, women from non-English-speaking backgrounds and Aboriginal Australians (Manderson, 1989). According to Manderson, these differences are related to economic factors. He observed that the lowest rates of breastfeeding were amongst recent immigrants to Australia, and such women, typically, were also employed in the most poorly paid and unskilled occupations. (The Nutrition Task Force for the Australian Better Health Commission has set a target that, by the year 2000, 95 per cent of women should be breastfeeding their infants initially, with 80 per cent continuing to do so by the end of three months (Manderson, 1989)).

Further findings from Glezer's (1991) study disclosed the tendency of many women and men to organize their work and family lives according to traditional notions of

breadwinning and homemaking/caring. Thus, in investigating the preferred work arrangements of women and men, that writer found that 18 per cent of women preferred full-time work, 58 per cent part-time and 24 per cent had a preference not to work. For men, however, 80 per cent wanted full-time work, 15 per cent preferred part-time work and 5 per cent reported preferring not to be in employment. As Glezer concluded: "It would appear that men were doing what they preferred to do, that is working full-time, and the majority of women were expressing a preference for part-time work" (Glezer, 1991, p.6).

Marginal Workforce Attachment

The rising numbers of people who have been without a job for more than a year, or more than two years, have recently focussed community and government attention on unemployment. Historically, the unemployment rate for women has been above that of men, in Australia. Throughout the 1970s this continued to be the situation: female unemployment was considerably higher than male unemployment (Women's Bureau, 1993, p.10). In recent times, however, this has not been the case - a situation which might readily lead to some interpreting this as women's growing workplace advantage over men.

In December 1992, the unemployment rate for males (at 12.0 per cent) was 1.6 points higher than that for women (11.2 per cent in February, 1992) (Women's Bureau, 1993, p.10). Reasons suggested for this reversal in unemployment rates for women and men have included women showing a preference for part-time rather than full-time jobs; job losses being higher in male-dominated industries; job-creation occurring in industries employing predominantly women; and more women becoming marginally attached to the labour force, or discouraged from seeking employment. However, contributing importantly to these findings on unemployment rates, it has been shown, is that women are significantly more likely than are men, to move in and out of the labour force without registering as unemployed. That is, more women are marginally attached to the labour force and hence invisible in the unemployment data (Women's Bureau, 1991, p.3).

Salary

Income, as Baxter et al. (1990, p.68) have claimed, is clearly a very important indication of female and male equity in the paid workforce. For all employees (part-time and full-time) women continue to earn about two-thirds of male earnings - 65.4 per cent in 1990, as revealed in Table 2.4. This pattern has remained "virtually unaltered" over the past two decades.

Table 2.4: Earnings - November Quarter 1990

Average Weekly Earnings	*Female*	*Male*	*F/M Ratio*
Adult employees - full time, ordinary earnings	488.90	589.20	83.0
Adult employees - full time, total earnings	501.20	635.80	78.8
All employees - weekly total earnings	377.90	578.20	65.4

Source: "ABS Average Weekly Earnings, States and Australia, November Quarter, 1990", Cat. No. 6302.0, quoted in Women's Bureau, 1991, p.13.

Even when women are employed full-time, they earn less than men. For example, and as the table demonstrates, for the November quarter of 1990, the average weekly earnings for women was $501.20 and for men $635.80 (full-time, total earnings).

The gap between men's and women's earnings has been shown to have closed by just 0.2 per cent since 1985-86. It has been estimated that in Australia, at this rate, "the average woman will be paid as much as the average man by the year 2780" (*The Advertiser,* February 15, 1992, p.14 - citing ABS data). A better understanding of this inequitable situation in relation to income, requires a closer examination of certain features of the workplace.

Table 2.5 presents data on men's and women's earnings (non-managerial employees) for the years 1978 and 1986, in Australia. It is evident from this table that in every industry (including those in which women outnumber men - see Chart 1), women's full-time weekly earnings were less than their male counterparts. As Weeks and Batten (1991, p.38) have observed "[this] illustrates vertical as well as horizontal gender segmentation".

Table 2.5: Average weekly (ordinary time) earnings: full-time adult non-managerial employees*

Industry	Year			
	1978 dollars		1986 dollars	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Mining	194.20	247.00	407.80	571.90
Manufacturing	152.40	187.50	306.20	370.30
Construction	170.90	196.70	357.70	425.00
Wholesale Trade	173.50	197.20	342.20	383.40
Retail Trade	154.90	173.20	301.70	337.40
Community Services including health	198.70	227.70	404.40	469.90
Recreation, personal and other services	157.30	93.00	323.30	375.70
Total all industries	175.70	202.50	362.20	412.10

* Overtime earnings are not included.
Source: ABS 1987, Cat. No. 6 101.0 (reproduced from Batten and Weeks, 1991, p.38)

Despite equal pay initiatives, then, there has occurred little change in the disparity between women's and men's wages between 1978 and 1986. In Community Services for example, women earned 87.2 per cent of men's wages in 1978, and 86 per cent in 1986. This was (and continues to be) a highly paid industry, covering education, health and welfare. It is heavily skewed by health professionals and teachers, and in fact has a wide spread of wages. Thus, the 1981 Census data showed that 27.3 per cent of men employed in this industry earned below $12,000 per annum, while this was the case for 64.1 per cent of women (Weeks and Batten, 1991, p.37, also citing Brotherhood of St. Laurence, 1986, p.10).

The above writers also have pointed out that women's concentration in certain lower paid industries and in the lower ranks of occupations also is related to award rates for certain occupations being lower. An example they provided is that, in 1967 and 1987 in Australia, women's award rates were 72.4 per cent and 92.7 per cent of men's, respectively (Weeks and Batten, 1991, p.37, also citing Mumford, 1989). Basow has reported similar data from

the United States. As that writer observed, "men in traditionally female jobs earn more than women do" and "women in traditionally male jobs earn less than men" (Basow, 1992, p.264).

Given the pervasiveness of industrial and occupational segregation in Western industrialised societies, ensuring equal pay for the same work can contribute little to redressing the overall salary inequity between women and men. Yet, even when women and men are employed in the same occupations, men often earn more. This finding has been found to be true for male-dominated occupations as well as female-dominated occupations (Basow, 1992, p.266, citing National Commission on Working Women, 1990). Furthermore, in relation to the latter occupations, even when these require more education than the former, males still earn more. For example, in the United States, dog pound attendants who are mostly male, earn more than child care attendants, who are mostly female. Yet child care work requires more education than the work of pound attendants (not to mention the significantly different requirements of, and associated responsibilities attached to, the different workers' 'charges') (Basow, 1992).

Gender segregation in the workforce in the United States thus presents a similar pattern to that reported here for Australia; as does the salary inequity for women and men. The situation there is summed up in the following:

> *Even though women's labour force participation has increased over the past 35 years, the salary differential between men's median income and that of women has shown only slight fluctuation around the 60% mark (Basow, 1992, p.265).*

SOME CONTRIBUTING FACTORS - WOMEN'S INFERIOR EMPLOYMENT SITUATION

In this section, the aim is to identify and discuss briefly some factors contributing to women's inferior employment position, relative to men's. Gender differences in educational experience; child care provisions; paid work and family responsibilities (for example for sick children); and the workplace environment, including employers' attitudes, are considered.

Gender Differences - Educational Experience

Related to the inequities identified in the paid labourforce position of women, are gender differences in educational experiences (Office of the Status of Women, 1993, p.4). These are discussed in more detail in Chapter 4 of this work, when the school's role as a socialization agent is considered. Some brief points are made here.

In the area of vocational education, it is found that women are concentrated in traineeships - comprising 69 per cent of trainees in the Australian Traineeship System (ATS) (Women's Bureau, 1993, p.17). This proportion has been approximately the same since the inception of ATS. By contrast, women are poorly represented in apprenticeships other than hairdressing (Office of the Status of Women, 1993, p.4). In 1991-1992, only 6 per cent of apprentices in male-dominated trades were women.

With regard to higher education, from March 1983 to 1992, female enrolments grew by 84 per cent compared with a growth rate of 40 per cent for males. Women now take more than half of the undergraduate places at Australian universities (53 per cent). A factor contributing to this higher female growth rate here, however, has been the transfer of basic nurse education from hospitals to higher education. This transition has been occurring gradually since 1985 and was completed in 1994.

There has occurred an increase in the enrolments of women in higher degrees and non-traditional areas of study during the 1980s. For example, in Engineering, women's share of enrolments increased from 5 per cent in 1982 to 12 per cent in 1992 (Women's Bureau, 1993, p.15). Women still remain underrepresented in non-traditional fields, however. Likewise, they are overrepresented in traditionally female areas of study such as Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences, Health, Community Services, Hospitality and Transportation (p.16).

At the postgraduate level, women continue to be underrepresented. Although here, too, there has occurred an increase in enrolments (Women's Bureau, 1993, p.15). Hence, men are still more likely than women to attain advanced professional degrees. Thus, of the 161 PhD students enrolled at the University of South Australia in 1994, 64 (approximately 39 per cent) were women (*New Outlook,* 1994, p.32).

Bryson (1984) has made the observation that women still tend to be located in courses leading to occupations which are "less well-paid and prestigious" (p.156). In referring to such outcomes - "when so much lip service is paid today to equal opportunity" - that author has argued that these are "direct hangovers from times when woodwork was for boys only and cooking for girls only". And while such "direct sexism" as the above is generally "frowned on" today,

> *There are, nonetheless, a myriad of much more subtle ways in which women are kept in their place and gradually persuaded to adopt traditional patterns and thus dissuaded from competing strongly with males (Bryson, 1984, p.156).*

The above discussion therefore reveals that, whereas important advances have been made in relation to women's educational experience over the past decade, gender differences are still evident. These are manifested in inequalities in the paid labour force position of women (Office of the Status of Women, 1993, p.4).

Child Care Provisions

In 1970, it has been estimated, only about 2,000 children in the whole of Australia had access to non-profit, subsidised child care programmes (Brennan, 1991, p.263, citing Women's Bureau, 1970). These services were run by various philanthropic organisations. Child care provisions at this time and at least up until the mid-1980s, have been described as "woefully inadequate" (Burns and Goodnow, 1985, p.89). The low priority given to this area by governments, including opposition to the establishment of child care services, has

been seen to derive from an attitudinal perspective, "that children should not be separated from their mothers for a few hours a day" (Brennan, 1983). Brennan has drawn attention to the fact that many migrants to Australia coped with this situation by sending their children back to their home country until they reached school age. The irony here, as that writer noted, was that policies aimed, presumably, at protecting the interests of our children "directly contributed to many being separated from their entire families for years at a stretch and in some cases forever".

Throughout the 1970s (and to some extent in to the 1980s) low priority was accorded child care funding in Australia (see Brennan and O"Donnell, 1986). A consequence was that child care services failed to meet the needs of many families. This constituted a major barrier to some mothers entering the paid workforce (Burns and Goodnow, 1985). In fact, such was the neglect in these early years, that the significant injection of funds and subsequent rapid and major expansion of child care services during the Hawke Labor Government of the 1980s (Brennan, 1991, pp.264-6), child care provision continued to be inadequate. As some writers have assessed this situation,

> ... the need ... far outstripped availability, particularly for infants and toddlers. Compromise, making-do and ingenuity have often been needed to make arrangements for the care of children (Ochiltree and Greenblat, 1991, p.18).

The focus on matters of child care broadened from the mid-1980s. Contributing significantly to this were several initiatives by government and the trade union movement. These developments are referred to Chapter 6, in the discussion of Thomas and Znaniecki's theory of social reorganization. Recent research has revealed that, in the case of pre-school children, more parents use informal care than formal (Ochiltree and Edgar, 1991, cited Ochiltree and Greenblat, 1991, p.18). This was confirmed by Glezer (1991). In her study of almost 1,000 respondents living in two-parent families with dependent children, it was found that in 28 per cent of families, the care of children whose parents were at work "was done by relatives - usually grandmothers" (Glezer, 1991, p.8). Moreover, it was Glezer's conclusion that grandparents

> ... are the main backstop for families juggling work and child rearing. In 85 per cent of families, grandparents (mainly grandmothers) helped with childminding. This includes caring for children where the parents were at work, as well as babysitting for parents' social occasions (Glezer, 1991, p.8).

Paid Work and Family Responsibility

In the earlier review of the literature on unpaid work, it was revealed that women hold major responsibility for domestic work in the home, as well as for the care of children. This continues to be the case in most households when women enter the paid workforce, and has been shown to exert a major influence on women's decisions to enter paid employment. Additionally, studies have revealed that this significantly affects women's experience in the labour market (Sharpe, 1984; Yeandle, 1984; Baxter et al., 1990).

During the 1970s and 1980s, the impact on families of mothers entering the workforce was seen primarily as a "women's issue" (Glezer, 1991, p.6). In this regard, Wolcott (1990, p.32), has commented on the plethora of articles on work and family issues which appeared in the popular press in those years, and which generally featured interviews with women concerning the pressures of combining paid work and family life, and how these were arranged by them. Difficulties of organizing child care, and concerns about the positive or negative effects of mothers (but rarely of fathers) working, were common topics. Those few fathers who took on the job of main carers of their children "were often a subject of interest" (Wolcott, 1990, p.33). Academic attention, including research studies, similarly reflected this narrow, gender-biased perspective which prevailed in the wider community (Wolcott, 1990, p.32).

Studies reviewed in Chapter 1 suggest that it is mothers more so than fathers who adjust their paid work patterns to accommodate family commitments (Sharpe, 1984; Yeandle, 1984; Bittman, 1989; Baxter et al., 1990). The interest in this section is with how employed parents manage their child care arrangements when children's requirements for care impinge on usual work hours - for example when a child is sick, or during school holidays.

Parents rarely have the advantage of "advance warning" of when care will need to be arranged for a sick child. Further, usual formal care arrangements generally cannot be used, "since such settings as child care centres and schools are either unable or reluctant to care for an ill child" (Vandenheuvel, 1993, p.52). Even where alternative, informal care, say with relatives or friends can be readily drawn upon,

> ... parents may find that the ill child wants the company of the parent; further the parent may feel that he or she must provide that company and care. Thus parents often may feel that they have no option other than to take time off (Vandenheuvel, 1993, p.52).

In Australia, as in the United States and Britain, there are no statutory provisions enabling parents legitimately to take off time to care for their children. Some employers, however, make their own arrangements (Ochiltree and Greenblat, 1991, p.24). Consequently, when both parents (or a single parent) are (is) employed, a sick child can present a dilemma for many families. Some have no one to fall back on in an emergency. Hence, if they cannot care for their children themselves (through unpaid care, or using their own 'sick leave') parents must send them to their normal care, despite their being unwell (Ochiltree and Greenblat, 1991, p.23) and the possible reluctance of the centre to accept the child (Vandenheuvel, 1993, p.52).

Strong support exists in Australia for the notion that "if his wife works, a man should care equally in the responsibility of children", with one survey revealing that 87 per cent of men and 93 per cent of women in agreement here (Glezer, 1991, p.6). Furthermore, over three quarters of both husbands and wives agree that "the man should be prepared to stay home with a sick child" (Edgar and Glezer, 1992(a), p.5). Yet, as was the finding in relation to studies of domestic work reported earlier, such views about sharing family tasks and

responsibilities (in the above survey, the caring of children) are not reflected in the behaviour of the majority of those who hold them. As Glezer found of her respondents: "women were more likely to take time off to look after sick children" (Glezer, 1991, p.7). Thus, in families with pre-school children, 60 per cent of mothers "usually" took time off to look after a sick child, while a father "usually" did so in 7 per cent of cases. However, when the child was going to school, care arrangements were more shared. Mothers stayed home most (28 per cent), fathers did so in 8 per cent of cases, and they "shared it between them" in 14 per cent of families.

Similar findings to the above were reported by Ochiltree and Greenblat (1991, p.18). However, these writers included an additional dimension in their investigation, and this throws light on further aspects of caring arrangements. These researchers found that almost 57 per cent of mothers "usually" took time off to care for their children when they were sick during their normal working hours. In just 7 per cent of cases was the father the usual carer. In 17 per cent of cases, relatives - mostly grandmothers - "usually" cared for sick children. In that study, decisions about the appropriate person to care for the child depended on such factors as the severity of the illness, whether another carer was available, and at times on the amount of personal leave due to the parents. However, while some fathers, as has been indicated, played a part in the care of their sick children, "mothers took major responsibility, deciding how ill the child was, making arrangements accordingly and generally orchestrating the situation" (Ochiltree and Greenblat, 1991, p.19).

Dealing with school holidays also presents a problem for families where both parents are employed, or where there is a sole, employed parent. If both parents are employed full-time, they likely will have a joint entitlement of 8 weeks annual leave. School holidays extend over 3 months - " a considerable shortfall which parents somehow have to cover" (Glezer, 1991, p.7). In Glezer's study, this situation was handled in a variety of ways (one parent working part-time, using school holiday programmes and so on). In just over half the families studied, the mother cared for children during school holidays, with fathers assisting in about 20 per cent of families. Many mothers adjusted work schedules to accommodate the needs of their children by taking holidays, working hours "that suit" (such as working weekends to create free week days) and accruing days off. Some women moved out of permanent employment into the casual labour market in order to have the option of refusing work out of regular school hours and during school holidays (Glezer, 1991, p.7).

Whereas, as Edgar and Glezer (1992(b)) have commented, there is some recent evidence for fathers' increased participation in such areas of child care as discussed above, women continue to predominate. Similar findings have been reported in overseas studies. For example, Northcote concluded on the basis of findings from a Canadian study, that

> *While people say that men and women should share equally in caring for children ... in terms of actual behaviour, a traditional division of labour is still much in evidence when trade-offs between paid employment and child-care are necessary (Northcote, 1983, p.393).*

The Workplace - Employers' Attitudes

With regard to fathers' lesser contributions to the care of sick children when both parents work, Ochiltree and Greenblat have argued that this is likely to have as much to do with the realities of the workplace as with fathers' attitudes and willingness to care for sick children (Ochiltree and Greenblat, 1991, p.20). Kahn and Kamerman have reached a similar conclusion. They stated that,

> For many parents, an ill child means that whichever parent has "the less important" job, or the more flexible job, or the more sympathetic boss or supervisor will stay home (Kahn and Kamerman ,1987, cited Ochiltree and Greenblat, 1991, p.20).

As was indicated earlier, fathers are more likely than mothers to be working full-time and to be earning higher wages. Since they earn less than fathers and are more likely to be in part-time or casual work, mothers are more likely than fathers to be seen as having the 'less important job'. This, then "will reinforce traditional sex role behaviour in caring for sick children". It is also likely that "employers are more likely to accept mothers caring for sick children rather than fathers taking time off from work" (Ochiltree and Greenblat, 1991, p.20).

The above is confirmed in a study investigating companies' attitudes to workers with family responsibilities. Wolcott (1991) observed that employers' responses frequently reflected "some of the ambivalence experienced by the community as a whole" concerning who should be responsible for parenting and other caretaking roles in the family (p.32). This study revealed that many employers considered women, rather than men, to be the ones to make the adjustments necessary to meet family needs. The following are examples of comments made by participants in her study, which were indicative of this.

> "It is difficult for women, they have two jobs, one here and one at home."

> "People manage around things, although women have a difficult time."

> "Lots of women are casuals and work fewer hours, so it works out all right."

Despite workplace reforms identified earlier, such comments, then, may be seen to contain evidence for these employers' traditional attitudes (and associated expectations) concerning women's and men's respective responsibilities for family and work. Further evidence for such an attitudinal perspective is apparent in American studies, where the assumption common to "most workplace settings ... [is] of a homemaker spouse who will take care of child care and domestic needs". As Basow further observed in this regard:

> Employers may expect employees to work overtime, entertain clients, or take business trips, all without thought to home needs. Similarly, few employers offer parental leave, flexible hours or on-site day care (Basow, 1992, p.231).

Adie and Carmody (1991) similarly have drawn attention to a workplace setting which continues to be attuned to traditional gender-divided notions of work and responsibilities. On the basis of findings from a survey of 140 Australian businesses, these investigators were highly critical of many employers. It was their conclusion that the majority (of employers)

were very blunt, dull and unable to respond in ways congruent with, and supportive of, the family-work situation of many of their employees. Edgar and Glezer (1992(b)) have made similar criticisms. It is their view that there has been "more real change in family behaviour" than there has been in work structures (and other associated institutions). These writers are of the view that this is highly detrimental to families in terms of the stress it generates.

The above investigators have further argued that this persistence of rigid and outdated work structures constitutes a major barrier to fathers taking "a bigger role in child care and homemaking" (p.39). Wolcott (1990, p.296) likewise has been critical of family-unfriendly work settings. She also has drawn attention to the barriers to gender equality which the prevalence of traditional attitudes concerning breadwinning and homemaking present, when they no longer fit the practical realities of many people's lives. A quotation from her article titled "Between Tradition and Transition: Workers with Family Responsibilities" serves as a statement of her position here:

> *ILO convention 156 clearly states that if women's right to work outside the home without discrimination is to be effective, then measures are necessary to change the still widely prevailing traditional attitudes of men and women to their role at work, in the family and in society (Wolcott, 1990, p.256).*

SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Reviews conducted in the present chapter have revealed that women's position in the labour market is inferior to that of men, being lower in terms of status, salaries and opportunities. This continues to be so, in spite of the numerous structural supports for workplace (and other) changes which have been introduced during the past several decades - for example, Equal Pay, Sex Discrimination and Affirmative Action legislation. Such reforms, it would appear, have had minimal impact in terms of creating a more equitable workplace.

Factors identified as contributing to the above situation include occupational segregation; women's greater involvement in part-time work; gender differences in educational experience; outdated work structures and the prevalence of traditional attitudes among employers. Significant also, and intimately connected with the latter factors, are the decisions and actions of individual men and women, in families and in the workplace. Generally it is the case that family obligations impinge strongly on women's employment, while men's employment opportunities are based on minimal involvement in the home. Studies have revealed that many women perceive themselves as having primary responsibility for this area of family life. For example, they organize their paid jobs around the needs and requirements of their families. This contributes to their inferior labour force position. A consequence is that their involvement here does not (in the case of most women) pose a major threat to men as primary breadwinners. The traditional divisions between men's and women's positions in the home and workforce are thus essentially confirmed and sustained.

Research reviewed in this and the preceding chapter, suggests that an understanding of gender divisions in unpaid and paid work requires an examination of factors beyond those associated with family household and paid work environments. In the chapter which follows, the role of the state is examined in relation to its involvement in family life, and in particular its contribution to sustaining gender divisions in paid and unpaid work. In Chapter 4, the family, school and media are examined in terms of the part they play here, as major institutions of socialization in this society.

CHAPTER THREE

THE STATE AND THE PERPETUATION OF GENDER DIVISIONS OF LABOUR

As Allan has observed, and the literature surveyed so far indicates, "[the] identities of wife as domestic servicer and husband as income earner are as relevant today as they were three or more generations ago" (Allan, 1985, p.167). In this section of the work, a central aim is to examine how certain activities of the state serve to sustain this traditional form of family work organization.

Following a general discussion on the state and its involvement in family life, examples of specific state interventions are drawn from Australian income security policy. Much policy and legislation here, it is shown, address and hence influence family living matters and gender relations, either explicitly of implicitly. Yet, although there have occurred some recent reforms, traditional assumptions concerning men's breadwinning and women's homemaking/caring continue to influence some decisions and other actions of those individuals and groups associated with the state's interventions in areas affecting families.

THE STATE AND FAMILY LIFE

The state is identified as "the institution of political power which is elected by the people". It is reinforced by legislation, the judiciary, police and the armed forces (Edgar, Fopp and Earle, 1993, p.119). In endeavouring to ensure community stability, governments allocate power and regulate societal behaviour by laws. In this sense, they are agents of social control. Governments also assume a "compensatory role to assist those in difficulty". Additionally, they are assumed to have a responsibility to introduce new strategies when change is required (Edgar et al., 1993, p.28).

In Chapter 2 it is noted that all official positions to do with administration, policy-making and enforcement on behalf of the state, in the past, were in the hands of men. While the situation has been changing slowly over recent years, "the unequal power of the sexes" is still very evident (Bryson, 1992, p.215). Even in Scandinavian countries, where women possibly enjoy the highest standard of living and the most extensive citizenship, this general disadvantage has not been overcome. Those advantages gained, as Bryson has observed, are "not synonymous with power - nor with the ability to shape and influence their own status" (Bryson, 1992, p.215).

Edgar and colleagues have pointed to the fact that particular interpretations of social meanings of certain groups whose members are able to gain access to powerful positions, may come to dominate what is seen as "real" or "acceptable " in a given

society. That is, they may "use those meanings, their theories, to control other people in their own interests". However, the assumption may not be made that the state "always acts in the interests of one class, or, indeed, of one sex" (Gittins, 1985, p.136 - also citing Marx, 1973).

Gittins has thus cautioned against thinking about the state as a "monolithic single-minded entity" (Gittins, 1985, p.136). As that writer noted, agitation for reform, for example, may originate from "very radical groups proposing radical changes"; yet as it progresses through the various channels, including parliamentary debate and actual implementation at a "local level", this may end up having quite a different form and effect at the end of the process than that actually intended. Moreover, what a national government may intend as policy, may be implemented in certain contexts quite differently (see Chapter 4 - discussion on the hidden curriculum). Some policy even may not be implemented at all at a local level. Furthermore, some legislation may be carried through with the intention of making concessions to certain groups, yet may end up as oppressing these or other groups. Thus, whereas the state is "not neutral", within it there is a degree of institutional autonomy and groups can and do have a measure of relative autonomy in pursuing other interests (Bryson, 1992, p.185, also citing Poulantzas, 1973(a)).

The growth of the state in modern industrial society has resulted in an ever-growing body of legislation which affects families and the individuals who live in them. It must be kept in mind, though, that because of the enormous diversity of family structures which exist, it cannot be assumed that a law supposedly directed at 'the family' will affect all families in the same way; or indeed, all individuals within a group identifying itself as family. It is the case, in fact, that little legislation has been addressed at families as such, but rather at different categories of individuals within families (children, divorced women, married women and so on). In many instances, whole families may be affected - but again, not necessarily in equal ways (Bryson, 1985, p.136). Such effects (in many instances) are found to depend on both sex and social class (p.152). However, states also have "a definite race and ethnic character", as well as being characterised by "other recurrent axes of inequality", such as age, disability, sexuality and region (Bryson, 1992, p.230). It is primarily on gender that the discussion here is to focus.

The state may be seen to be intimately involved in all areas of social life in modern Western industrialised societies, including, and particularly, family life. In fact at the "most fundamental level", the state is involved in defining what actually constitutes a family, as well as what counts as a genuine and legal marriage, what distinguishes 'natural' from step-parents, definitions of dependants, and so on (Morgan, 1985, pp.72-3). Of particular interest to the foregoing discussion are those areas of state involvement which relate to the shaping and formulation of family and welfare policies; and in particular, the nature of the social meanings (values) which influence such activities.

It is only over the past several decades that the state's relationship to the family has received any degree of consideration. Such a lack of concern could be seen to have reflected the once commonly-held view that the family was independent and separate from state activity. To quote Allan here: "Whereas the state is concerned with regulation, control and coercion, the family is thought of as the arena for love, intimacy and personal fulfilment". Furthermore, a notion had persisted that it is "inappropriate for the state's authority to encroach too far into family life" (Allan, 1985, p.168). Yet at the same time, the state was, and continues to be, seen as having a duty to ensure families care 'properly' for their dependant members, socialize children 'adequately', protect them from abuse and so on. When families fail to do this, the state - or rather its agents, especially social workers and the police - are expected to intervene to rectify the situation. Similarly, with the perceived growth in social ills (delinquency, drug abuse, child battering and so on), which are seen by some as attributable to 'family dysfunction'; the state is supposed to intervene and to reinforce 'family norms'.

There often exists a "contradiction between freedom and direction, between the family being autonomous yet needing policing" (Allan, 1985, p.68). One way the state has been seen to cope with this, is by adopting implicit rather than explicit measures. In Australia (as in Britain) there has never been a ministry or department with overall responsibility for family matters. Thus, in Australia presently, family matters are dealt with in the portfolio of Family and Community Services (FACS). Similarly (and related to this) there has not been a systematic set of family-oriented policies. Thus, whereas many social and economic policies impinge on family life, their aims and objectives are often expressed in terms other than their impact on families. Nevertheless, because such policies generally are premised on a "more or less consistent set of assumptions about the nature of family life", they are influential in encouraging and ascertaining particular forms of domestic organization (Allan, 1985, pp.168-9).

'Preferred' Family Forms

One outcome of an implicit, taken for granted notion of family life being sustained, is that different family forms may be seen not simply as different, but as deviant - and possibly potentially damaging. For example, forms of family organization other than the nuclear model may be considered as 'inferior' and 'deviant' - a view not infrequently expressed, including by politicians. Thus, the acting-leader of an Australian conservative political party (The Country Party), was recently interviewed on ABC television regarding his "concerns" about female-headed families. His views included that the children from such families were likely to be "less civilised" than in families where a male parent also is present. Moreover, such families also were seen by him to be likely "to contribute less to the community", and to be more likely to have children who "come before the courts". When asked to support his claims, this politician informed the interviewer that "the police

told him" and that he had "heard of some overseas studies" (ABC News - January 25, 1993. Interview with T. Anderson). The available Australian evidence does not support the claims made by this person (Funder, 1990).

A similar bias towards single-parent, mother-headed families was revealed by an elected Member of Parliament in the State (Liberal) Government of South Australia, Mr Joe Rossi (MP). Both on television news programmes and in the press, he accused single mothers of "milking" the social security system, and expressed the view that they "should be forcibly sterilised after their third child" (he and his wife, incidentally, have four children). He was of the view that "single women are deliberately falling pregnant to get sole parent Social Security allowances" (City Messenger, July 13, 1994, p.5; NWS - Channel 9 News, July 7, 1994). Moreover, and perhaps equally as disturbing, is the following. When asked in a television interview conducted several weeks later (and following much media attention), how he had "dealt with the Joe Rossi sterilisation issue", the Premier of South Australia (Mr.Dean Brown, Leader of the State Liberal Government of which the person referred to is an elected member) stated: "He has been instructed not to speak out that way again" (NWS - Channel 9 News, July 22, 1994). Such an instruction, it would seem, was perceived by that person as sufficient to rectify this situation and prevent its recurrence.

The above examples, then, reveal the way particular family forms not conforming with the ideological 'ideal' may be considered and presented as inferior and harmful to society. Furthermore, they draw attention to other critical factors. Such individuals as those referred to, through their positions in society, have a certain credibility in the eyes of some. They also take their particular understandings - the social meanings they hold for various family phenomena - into the arena in which they participate in making vital decisions which affect families and their members. These meanings, then, may be seen to guide these individuals' decisions and actions on behalf of the state, as they do in other areas of their lives. As Morgan has commented in this regard:

> The paradox is that even where the family is the site of contested versions of the family and of the proper role of the state in relation to it, it continues to be socially and ideologically constructed even by those who wish to retain or reassert its purity (Morgan, 1985, p.73).

Traditional Gender Assumptions

Discussions presented in Chapters 1 and 2 reveal that gender differences constitute a major axis upon which much family life is organized. As Morgan expressed it:

> The family is, among other things, about gender relations, what is taken to be the normal, natural or desirable relationships between men and women within the household, and how this relates to the distinction between home and work (Morgan, 1985, p.72).

Thus, since the state addresses itself routinely to matters to do with family living, it necessarily is involved in questions about gender. In fact, an examination of almost any

piece of legislation, as the above writer observed, will disclose the considerable extent to which gender differences are either explicitly addressed, or are implied. Gender assumptions which have been identified include the following:

> (i) The assumption of the family wage; that the man's wage is designed to support both that man and his wife and family. (ii) The separation of spheres between the public and the private, mapping on to the differences between women and men, home and work. (iii) The sexual division of labour within the home and at work and within the labour market (Lewis, 1983, pp.32-35 - quoted in Morgan, 1985, p.69).

In the section to follow, some interventions by the state in relation to families, and particularly their living and work arrangements, are discussed. This takes a more general focus, initially. It then moves to include a closer examination of some aspects of Australian income security policy. The aim here is to demonstrate, with specific examples, the state's involvement in family life and the form this may take in perpetuating certain gender divisions in unpaid and paid work.

In terms of state provision for families, which is a major area of state involvement, Allan has noted that this frequently has presupposed a division of labour in the home, and more specifically, "the availability of someone to service other family members" (Allan, 1985, p.169). In relation to education and health care, for example, services are based on the assumption that informal carers are available "to take over where they leave off". The daily and seasonal timing of schooling, for example, generally, is designed to suit educational rather than family household needs. While some flexibility in relation to out-of-hours school care has been evident in some schools in recent years, the assumption continues to prevail that someone (usually the mother) is available to look after the children outside of school hours.

With regard to the state's provision of specialised health care, this is quite limited, with most routine nursing, for example, being undertaken informally in the home (Edgar, 1992(c)). While as Allan has observed, "there is nothing improper or remarkable" in such arrangements and they may be preferred by many; yet "in the absence of accessible alternatives, they do serve to reinforce the very patterns they assume, and consequently are a factor encouraging a domestic division of labour" (Allan, 1985, pp.169-70). Yet in theory, such a division of labour need not be gender-specific. Men as well as women, husbands as well as wives, sons as well as daughters, could provide the range of care which is required. However, it does not work out that way in practice: the burden of informal caring falls squarely on the shoulders of women, primarily, in their positions as wives, mothers and daughters (Morgan, 1985; Bryson, 1992; Edgar, 1992)(c)). The subject of women's involvement in caring is taken up again later.

Complex, inter-related factors combine to ensure the above situation, including labour market inequalities (Chapter 2); socialization into 'natural' aptitudes (Chapter 4);

and most significantly, powerful and pervasive ideological values which may be seen to restrict the choices individuals can make (Chapter 5), even as they restrict the language with which the domestic work and caring debates take place (see Edgar, 1991(b); 1992(c)).

According to Bryson, the maintenance of what she has termed "traditional patriarchal relationships" in families "must be predicated on the dependent status of the wife, or the potentiality for such dependent status" (Bryson, 1984, p.152). The state, that writer argued, has played a critical part in maintaining and perpetuating such dependency. The next section of the work examines income security policy in Australia, as this developed up until the mid-1980s.

INCOME SECURITY POLICY - PERIOD TO THE MID - 1980s

Choices and decisions about the direction of income security policy have a profound impact on the material living conditions and welfare of all Australians. Decisions about pensions, benefits, and other direct cash transfers, as well as wages, taxation, employment and occupational welfare (such as superannuation) and the social wage, all come under the broad umbrella of income security policy. Such policy, then, "is about poverty and wealth, inequality and social justice" (Wiseman, 1991, p.69).

Among factors influencing the debates and struggles involved in reaching decisions and choices about income security policy, is the political philosophy of the particular individuals and of the groups participating. Some of the key and fundamental differences here, are captured in the following statement:

> *Conservatives will tend to emphasise the importance of individual responsibility, freedom and initiative. Socialists will give greater priority to collective responsibility and the need to overcome inequality. Feminists will point in particular to the inequalities and oppression faced by women (Wiseman, 1991, p.70).*

Wiseman has substantiated an argument for the Australian income security system, in its development over the last one hundred years, as tending "to reflect the conservative end of the political spectrum, with an abiding emphasis on the principles of incentive and merit rather than rights or needs". Thus, the two most influential assumptions underlying and guiding the development of such policy have been "full employment" and that "most families will primarily rely on the wages earned by a male breadwinner" (Wiseman, 1991, pp.70-3).

It is appropriate here, to provide a brief historical overview of some of the main income security policy initiatives introduced in Australia from the turn of the century. This will also provide a relevant context for the discussion to follow. Later, several of these policies will be more closely scrutinised (following Bryson, 1984), the aim being to examine, in a more specific way, the assumptions underlying these policies, including the

extent to which they reflect, and hence have served to maintain, traditional gender divisions of labour.

Historical Overview

The notion of the family wage, designed to cover a man with a dependent wife and children, was mentioned in Chapter 1. It is referred to again here, since with its introduction at the turn of the century, Australia was often seen as "a world leader in income security policy" (Wiseman, 1991, p.73). It also has been seen as a "major background" to what has been described as "an unusually sharp differentiation of men's and women's roles in Australia" (Goodnow, Burns and Russell, 1989, p.39). The family wage was paid to the male breadwinner so that his wife would be free to be at home. It was espoused by the union movement and adopted by the new nation in 1907, shortly after Federation. This dependence on a male spouse thus represented a legitimate status for a woman. It also ensured the position of the housewife in Australia (Bryson, 1984). Later policies added further support here.

In 1908, the age and invalid pensions were introduced. The maternity benefit (the 'baby bonus') was introduced in 1912 as also was the supporting mother's benefit. Child endowment was introduced in 1941 and paid directly to mothers. In 1942 a Widow's Pension was provided. As Goodnow and colleagues observed, such income maintenance benefits "provided a safety net for families lacking adequate breadwinners" (Goodnow et al., 1989, p.40). They may be seen also, to highlight the way in which the state is involved in the organization of family life, and in particular the form this took in supporting the traditional male breadwinner/female homemaker model of family organization.

At the end of World War II, the Curtin Labor Government began to lay the basis for the range of income security measures on which Australian families depended for the following forty years. The crucial commitment during this period was to a goal of Full Employment - this defined as "a shortage of men [sic] rather than a shortage of jobs". The welfare safety net was expanded to complement this, and included (for the first time) Unemployment, Sickness and Special (emergency) benefits. Liberal Governments through the 1950s and 1960s made few major policy reforms, relying primarily on the high levels of employment created by the post-war economic boom (Wiseman, 1991).

In their short period of office (1972-75), the Whitlam Labor Government attempted to introduce a wide range of economic and social reforms. The "backdrop" of these initiatives was the evidence provided by the Henderson Poverty Enquiry. This revealed substantial poverty and inequality in Australia. A supporting mothers' benefit and handicapped children's allowance were introduced, and other benefits increased. There also occurred some shift toward "a more universalistic approach to policy-making" (see Wiseman, 1991, pp.74-5). However, the Fraser Liberal Government, which took office in

1975, tightened eligibility for many benefits, and proceeded to dismantle a universal health care system (Medibank) introduced by the previous Labor Government. On the other hand, it did broaden the single parent's benefit to cover fathers.

In assessing the impact of the Australian income security system during the above period (and prior to the high employment rates - 10 percent - of the earlier 1980s). Wiseman has noted that, overall, this had provided "a relatively high standard of living for families in which the male breadwinner was employed" (Wiseman, 1991, pp.74-5, also citing Castles, 1985). This was particularly so when he worked in an industry where trade union coverage was strong and wages high. While women with access to a male's earnings remained dependent on them they had "some degree of financial security" (Wiseman, 1991, p.74). However, for those reliant on the "safety net", the outcomes were less satisfactory. The vast majority of these individuals - those reliant on pensions and benefits - have been women. A major review of the Australian income security policy system was conducted in the mid-1980s (the previous having occurred in the 1940s). This revealed that "the majority of women and children in families without an employed male breadwinner have lived in poverty" (Wiseman, 1991, p.75, also citing Baldock and Cass, 1988).

Pension and Benefit Provisions

In this section, several major pension and benefit provisions are examined. These are wives' pensions, dependent spouse allowance, the widows' pension and supporting parents' benefit - as these were administered until the mid-1980s (at least) in Australia. A major source for the discussion is Bryson's (1984) 'The Australian Patriarchal Family'.

Wives' Pensions

It has been argued that the wife's pension, which was paid "to the wife who [was] not eligible for a pension in her own right, of an age or invalid pensioner", was one of "the most explicit expressions of government support for female dependency". In such situations the State may be seen to have been directly maintaining the capacity of a husband to support a dependent wife. Since there was no stipulation that there be dependent children, "the money must be seen as for this purpose rather than a contribution to child rearing" (Bryson, 1984, p.153, also quoting Department of Social Security, 1981, p.35).

Prior to 1972, this pension was paid to the husband, but from that time was paid to the wife, thus representing "a departure from the traditional arrangements whereby the husband mediates money transactions" (Bryson, 1984, p.153). Nonetheless, the wife was still dependent on her husband for her eligibility; and there was no provision for a dependent wife pension.

Dependent Spouse Allowance

The dependent spouse allowance was payable in respect of unemployment, sickness and special benefit. While this allowance could be paid to either a female or a male, "the usual situation (was) for the allowance to be paid in respect of a wife". As Bryson has observed, the expectations of the (then) Department of Social Security were displayed prominently in a diagram in the Annual Report 1978-79 of that organisation, indicating the proportion of the Australian population over 16 years receiving various types of payment. One of the cells specified that 4 percent of the population were "unemployment, sickness and special beneficiaries (including wives)" (Bryson, 1984, p.153 - also quoting Department of Social Security, 1980, p.7).

Here again, then, the income security provision explicitly catered for the financial dependence of women. However, in later years, the administration of these benefits moved closer to "equal treatment" in so far as the income of either spouse disqualified the partner for benefits. Until 1977, the only provision paid to individuals entirely in respect to their own status - that is, without taking account of spouse's income - was the sickness benefit. However, during the Henderson Poverty Enquiry this was seen as a loophole and was plugged. Like other benefits, spouse's income thus had to be included as accessible income.

Widows' Pension

It has been pointed out that the widows' pension represented an entitlement for which there never has been a male equivalent (Bryson, 1992, p.198). Such pensions clearly were based on an assumption that at least older women had "a right to financial support". There were three classes of widows' pensions. Class A widows - the largest category - represented those widows with dependent children. Class B widows were older women, aged at least 50 years, "or a woman who was aged at least 45 when she ceased to receive a class A pension because she no longer had a "qualifying child". Class C widows represented a very small group who were not entitled to payment on other grounds, but eligible for a pension for six months after the death of their spouse, "as a sort of rehabilitation payment" (Bryson, 1984, p.154 also quoting Department of Social Security, 1981, p.36).

The pensions applied also to *de jure* widows, as well as to "a woman who was the common law wife of a man for at least three years immediately before his death". And for class A and B widows it also included:

- a woman whose husband is in a mental hospital;
- a woman whose husband has been convicted of an offence;
- a woman who is a divorcee (Bryson, 1984, p.154, quoting Department of Social Security, 1981, p.36).

Class B represented the most contentious category. As Henderson pointed out: "it is difficult to find a consistent rationale for the pension to middle-aged widows without children" (Henderson, 1975, Vol.11, p.14). Its abolition was recommended in favour of a provision for breadwinners between 50-65 years, "if they are finding difficulty in working for an adequate private income" (Henderson, 1975, Vol.1, p.238).

Such a recommendation can be seen to have undercut the assumption of legitimate dependency - a fact which Bryson suggested might explain why it was not taken up; particularly given its cost-cutting potential. Support for this interpretation is evident in subsequent actions, where unemployment benefits, and later invalid pensions, were subject to greater stringency, and other cost-cutting measures were applied. Yet there was no attempt to do so in the case of class B widows' pensions. As Bryson concluded: "[this] can be taken as a measure of the strength of support for the legitimacy of the [sic] female dependence" (Bryson, 1984, p.154).

Supporting Parents' Benefit

The supporting mothers' benefit was introduced in Australia in 1933, following an extensive campaign by single mothers. It covered a range of circumstances previously not covered by the widows' pension, although some of these circumstances had been encompassed by the special benefit. In 1977, the supporting mothers' benefit was extended to include fathers, and was renamed the supporting parents' benefit. This benefit was thus available to "a man or woman who has the custody, care and control of a child", and the definition included:

- a separated husband or wife or separated *de facto* husband or wife;
- a man whose partner is in a mental hospital;
- an unmarried parent (Department of Social Security, 1981, p.38).

The fact that divorced and widowed women and men were catered for under separate benefits is indicative of the appended nature of the male benefit. However, it also reflected "some broader changes in attitudes to sex roles" (Bryson, 1984, p.155). Alongside these - competing very strongly with them, in fact - were traditional attitudes concerning men's and women's respective responsibilities in the public and private spheres. Henderson, in recommending the extension of the supporting mothers' benefit to men, assumed that men would very likely not wish "to become dependent on the state in the interests of fatherhood" (Bryson, 1984, p.155). In his words:

> Though income support is not perhaps the most urgent need of the motherless family - generally men prefer to be like their fellows and earn their own income - the disadvantages of such families are such that they should at least be put on the same basis as fatherless families (Henderson, 1975, Vol.11, p.13).

It would seem that Henderson has been proved generally correct here. Whereas the proportion of sole-parent households has about doubled over the past two decades in

Australia (as it has in the United States and numerous other countries) sole parents are more likely to be mothers. In fact, over 80 percent of one-parent families are headed by mothers in virtually all countries (Bryson, 1992, p.193). In most countries, also, the female-headed, sole-parent family, particularly where the mother is dependent on social welfare benefits, shows up as the most disadvantaged household type (Kamerman, 1984).

It has been observed that it is only when women move out of a couple-relationship to head their own family, that their poverty gains recognition. This is related to women's relative economic position being "marked" in two parent family households, by the tendency of statistics to assume equality of access, rather than dealing with access to the family income. Yet, as research on the topic of family income has disclosed, generally "women do not have equal access to, nor control over, family finances" (Bryson, 1992, p.192 - also citing Edwards, 1982; Pahl, 1989).

Similarly, research has repeatedly demonstrated that some women who move out of a marital relationship, even though their access to family income diminishes, and they are close to, or below the poverty-line as sole parents, "report an improvement of their economic, as well as their social circumstances" (Bryson, 1992, p.192, also citing Graham, 1987; Thorogood, 1987). In reviewing successive studies over the past twenty years or so, Graham found that the proportion of women who indicated an improvement in their economic situation ranged from one-fifth to two-thirds (Graham, 1987, p.59 - cited Bryson, 1992, p.192). As Bryson concluded: "On this basis, it is clear that many women experience poverty within marriage" (see Bryson, 1992, pp.192-199 for a discussion of women's economic situation, including cross-country comparisons).

In sum: Following Bryson (1984), the above discussion has focussed on the state income maintenance system operating in Australia until the mid-1980s. Like that developed in many countries, much policy has been directed explicitly at addressing women's relative disadvantage (Bryson, 1992, p.217). Values guiding policy formulation in this area, with few exceptions, have reflected traditional assumptions and expectations concerning gender divisions in paid and unpaid work.

Yet throughout the 1970s and 1980s, married women's presence in the workforce had been increasing dramatically. This was associated with the gradual introduction of numerous other legislative reform measures which aimed to establish greater equality for women (see Chapter 6). In the section to follow, a brief overview is given of some new developments in Australian income security policy from the mid-1980s.

INCOME SECURITY POLICY FROM THE MID-1980s

Based on recommendations of several major reviews of the Australian social security system, the Hawke Labor Government , in the mid-1980s, identified as a "crucial goal" of

income security policy the provision of "support and incentives" for women and men "to move from dependence on pensions and benefits to paid employment and/or training and education" (Wiseman, 1991, p.76). Other major recommendations were made in relation to families and individuals facing various kinds of disadvantages and risks. Specific attention was directed to sole parents (who were primarily women), the unemployed, people with disabilities and the aged (see Commonwealth Social Security Review, 1987, Issues Papers, nos. 2, 3 and 4). Thus, while a more adequate "safety net" was to be maintained for those for whom paid employment was not a possibility, priority was given "to providing a springboard into employment and training" (Wiseman, 1991, p.76).

One of the initiatives flowing from this new approach to policy was the introduction by the Australian Government in 1988, of a new employment training scheme for sole parents - the JET scheme (Jobs, Education and Training). The state's aim - "to translate women's dependent domestic status into independent worker status" - was stated quite explicitly in the press release by the Minister for Employment, Education and Training, viz:

> *JET will offer concerned, practical support and direction to improve sole parents' job skills and help them into the labour market ... JET will build on previous Government moves to encourage sole parents out of dependence on the social security system and into economic independence (Canberra, 23 August, 1988 - source: Bryson, 1992, pp.99-100).*

As Bryson (1992, p.199) has commented, the Australian policy resembles that introduced in the United States; and "suffers from similar problems". Notably, there is no guarantee of employment at the end of the training programme; and women are likely to be financially worse off while doing the training. While the Australian government had also been guided by the Swedish experience in this area, significant differences in related policies between these two countries may be seen to have resulted in different programme outcomes. For example, welfare policies in Sweden have been in place for much longer, and as well as being more generous than those in Australia, are integrated with a comprehensive family package which leaves workers with far fewer associated disadvantages. Thus, in relation to the Swedish policies, whereas these do deal with women as workers, the parenting role catered for in a range of work-related provisions extends far beyond the range of what currently are available in Australia (or the United States) (see Bryson, 1992).

A question which Wiseman (1991, p.22) has raised concerning such programmes as that outlined above, is whether it is feasible, or even desirable from the perspective of families and individuals dependent on pensions and benefits, for them to participate in education/training and employment. And crucially, also, as that writer has questioned:

> *Will the shift from safety net to springboard decrease poverty and dependency? Or will it lead to increasing numbers of people made ineligible for the safety net, and bouncing up and down on a fragile springboard, unable to find lasting and appropriate employment? (Wiseman, 1991, p.77).*

Gender Assumptions - Persistent and Pervasive

It is Wiseman's view that any serious challenge to the Australian income security system necessarily requires a major reassessment of, and challenge to, assumptions which have driven policy development in Australia (and most other industrialised countries) "for the last hundred years" (Wiseman, 1991, p.77). Central here, as noted earlier, have been assumptions about traditional gender divisions of labour. Whereas more recent policy initiatives have revealed some measure of equity in the form of a recognition of married women's participation in employment, traditional assumptions about women's caring responsibilities are found to have remained unaltered. Values incorporated in such assumptions thus continue to guide social welfare policy and programmes, as will become apparent as this discussion proceeds.

It is appropriate at this point, to look more closely at the concept of caring, extending this beyond child care, as discussed in Chapter 1. As Bryson (1992, p.201) has stated, social welfare is not only concerned with financial support but also "the provision of care for those in need and in states of dependence, that is, children, the sick, the elderly and those with disabilities".

The Language of Caring

As Bryson has observed, the "welfare state" is, and always has been, very much concerned with the issue of caring. However it is only recently, largely through the research and writing of feminists, that women's caring labour has been afforded some recognition, and been discussed in a critical and systematic manner. The neglect of this issue, along with the fact that it is women who do most of the caring in society, can be understood "as part of the general acceptance of the naturalness of the traditional sexual division of labour" (Bryson, 1992, pp.211-12). The low status afforded much caring work, which serves to render such work invisible "to those who frame dominant discourses" compounds this situation.

Feminist theories have made the distinction between two notions of caring: 'caring about' and 'caring for' (Graham, 1983). 'Caring about' is to do with the notion or feeling of concern for other people and is most often associated with love between family members. 'Caring for' is about the actual labour of caring: the practical side of the feeling of concern, or day-to-day tending work. 'Caring for' thus involves the actual provision of assistance and physical protection which dependent people need. The distinction between these two notions of caring, it is argued, is crucial for understanding gender positions in the welfare state (Graham, 1983).

Men are expected to care about others and particularly their family and friends. Those men in organizational positions also are likely to be charged with the work of overseeing the task of caring; again, though, caring about. Women are far more likely

than men to be involved in caring for others: the daily, undervalued routine of providing care - in hospitals, family households, nursing homes, child care centres and so on (Finch and Groves, 1983).

In fact, the two senses of caring - caring about people (the love aspect) and caring for them (which is work) - thus may be seen to be "firmly fused" for women, as mothers (Bryson, 1992, p.212). More particularly, when it is said that the mother is the 'natural' caregiver, both senses of the word caring are confused. This, Edgar has argued, has "unfortunate consequences" for women, "such as pressure to do the caring work and guilt feelings if they do not" (Edgar, 1992(c), p.45). Moreover, the impact of caring on women's health has been identified as one of the major issues of 'The National Women's Health Strategy' (Australia). The following comment from Bryson highlights the gendered nature of the caring activity:

> Mothers are expected to care about and for their offspring. More than this, they are considered unnatural if they fail to do so. Fathers are expected to care about their children and this involves taking appropriate responsibility for them. However, fathers are entitled to merely oversee the process, to ensure that 'caring for' is carried out rather than having to do it themselves (Bryson, 1992, p.212, also citing Dalley, 1988, p.8).

It should be acknowledged that the latter situation, more common to fathers, has been the case for a minority of wealthy women, although it is still relatively infrequent. Furthermore, even in these families, "the mother's caring role is very much more strongly sanctioned than the father's" (Bryson, 1992, p.212). Nevertheless, women of middle and upper classes generally do far better than those of lower classes. The former generally have better paid jobs as well as access to other resources which allow them to buy services not so easily accessible to women on a lesser income. Commonwealth priority of access is available to women entering the work force, and studies have shown that the major users of child care are middle class, often two-income, families (Sweeney, 1987). Moreover, women of lower classes have a lesser likelihood of finding adequately paid employment, are often "subject to social security poverty traps", and consequently are more likely to be in a position of caring for other women's children. In Edgar's words:

> These disadvantaged women are thus more likely to suffer the stresses of caring for their own and others' children, disabled spouses and aged parents (Edgar, 1992(c), p.53).

As is seen in Chapter 2, child care is mainly performed by women - by mothers and grandmothers. However, whereas it once was hidden (like the care of children and adults with disabilities) in the private world of family care, child care currently is "a very public policy issue". Demographic and social changes have resulted in a situation in which, that writer has predicted, the care of the elderly "will soon take over the debate" (Edgar, 1992, p.44). Like child care, the care of elderly people - "whether that be from outside their own home, having them live with you or visiting a hostel" - also is done primarily by women.

"Women", as Bryson has contended, "are the carers of the society, both inside and outside the home" (Bryson, 1992, p.212).

It is very often assumed that caring should be done on an altruistic basis. Where public support is given, this is likely to be in the form of out-of-pocket expenses, or minor service support. As Edgar has acknowledged, there is a firmly-embedded notion that paying a wage for the work of caring itself would be inappropriate and "may attract the 'wrong' kind of people". It is interesting, he noted, that this view is in such direct contrast to the perspective used in the labour market, where the assumption is that a good wage must be paid to attract the best people (Edgar, 1992(c), p.45).

The ability of language to reveal the hidden assumptions about private versus public responsibility and which underlie models of care, is also apparent in the terms used in debate and discussion. For example, a 'caregiver' refers to a family member, usually female, who assumes primary responsibility for the day to day work of tending to and supporting a dependent adult. In other words, the labour is given. 'Care provider', on the other hand, is the term used to describe a person who is paid to deliver those specific services. Such a division, as Edgar has pointed out, serves to obscure the fact that

> ... caring is central to keeping the whole human enterprise going, because caring appears to be invisible in the organisation of our daily lives. Nor is there any recognition that caring takes place throughout the life course and is central to the maintenance of society. It is not simply a matter of caring for dependants, but of sustaining individuals as whole persons in a caring community (Edgar, 1992(c), p.45).

In practice, therefore, community care means not care by the community within community structures, but mostly unpaid care by women within families. The term, it has been argued, conveniently hides many women's major social and economic contributions here. These are not seen as work; are not valued in economic terms. Thus, present day notions and tasks associated with community care, and in particular government policies based upon these, can be seen to reflect, sustain and transmit to future generations, traditional values corresponding to women's and men's culturally-assigned responsibilities for family care and income-provision, respectively.

Current Policy Directions

It has been reported that the average (female) carer now spends 16 years looking after children but 17 years supporting parents (The European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions - cited in Edgar, 1992(c), p.44). In the United Kingdom, it has been estimated that there are 3.5 million women caring for older people; and this is twice the number of mothers of children under age five. Australia's 'ageing', as Edgar has indicated, is "less dramatic" and also subject to fluctuations in migration policy. However, the view is emerging at least among some, that

> *Just as choice in full-time child care is now considered a desirable option ... a
> similar choice should be available in other care responsibilities. In other
> words, caring about someone does not necessarily mean caring for them
> (Ungerson, 1987 - quoted in Edgar, 1992(c), p.44).*

Present directions in, and assumptions underlying economic and social policy in Australia
may be seen to run counter to the above. Influential here have been decisions made in
the mid to late 1980s, to cut back funding and other resources to the public welfare sector.
As Bryson has recalled this situation:

> *... the view that social problems can progressively be solved by the
> application of rationally-devised state-implemented social policies, foundered
> on the rocks of the economic rationalist view that such a course is no longer
> affordable (and is not efficacious anyhow) (Bryson, 1992, p.178).*

Such a perspective - based on so-called economic rationalist principles - underpinned a
trend towards moving services out of the public arena, to be provided privately, or
through non-government agencies. This move has been expressed in a range of
policies, including the promotion of community care in Australia (and Britain). As Edgar
acknowledged, the fact that governments had ceased to regard the frail and disabled as
'inmates for life' in institutions was a change to be applauded. Furthermore, the excesses
of inadequate care in institutions were obvious. To quote that writer:

> *The denial of rights to the intellectually handicapped, people with disabilities,
> and to people in old age homes was exposed and had to be rectified. 'De-
> institutionalisation' became the solution, 'equal rights', 'participation' and
> 'community care' the catch-cries (Edgar, 1992(c), p.45).*

What has emerged, however, is a situation in which public expenditure on care and
support services has been inadequate. Both Commonwealth and State government
expenditures in Australia have been declining since the mid-1980s. Social security and
welfare expenditure, for example, declined from 9 percent of GDP to 7.6 percent in 1990.
A consequence of this is that support services are not always available to carers in
need. It is women in families who have borne the brunt of this. Care, then, is yet again
being allocated to women "as a private activity, unpaid and unrecognised" (Bryson,
1992, p.179). Thus, in 1994 in Australia, women constituted 95 percent of sole parents,
60 percent of those caring at home for adults with a disability, 72.6 percent of those
providing care at home for the elderly, and 75.9 percent of those caring at home for adults
with a mental illness (Cashmore, 1994, p.8 - also citing The Law Reform Commission,
Equality Before the Law, 12 and 16). (See Edgar (1992(c)) for a review of studies in the
area of care for the elderly and disabled people).

Women and Unpaid Caring Work

Unpaid work at home has been viewed as being outside the bounds of both income
security policy and social welfare. Within social security the 'carer's pension' is poorly

publicised and not linked to the phasing of women into labour market programmes. And whereas the Commonwealth pays a nursing home subsidy of $35,000 per annum for a person in institutionalised care, the domiciliary nursing care benefit paid to a caregiver (usually a spouse or parent) providing the constant care necessary to enable a person to remain at home is just $1,095 (Edgar,1992(c),p.49). Moreover, the taxation system gives no recognition of caring costs; nor is there any articulated family policy regarding the reasonable expectations and dimensions of informal care (see also Foster and Kendig, 1987), and the appropriate role of government in supporting care at home.

Caregiving provided by family members enables enormous cost-saving to the state. The above Australian figures indicate a saving of $34,000 for every person cared for in the home. Clarke (1991) has claimed that in Britain this saves the country between 15 and 24 billion pounds a year. Yet for women, as one writer has pointed out, caring is an "economic trap". "There is no financial security gained by caring and it undermines any opportunity for paid work, for superannuation, for a pension you can live on" (Brown (OWN), 1992). Edgar, therefore, has been highly critical and condemning of governments which he has accused,

> have traded on the rhetoric of independence, family obligations, community-based care to drive those unable to care for themselves back into the private world of the family and the already overburdened care of women (Edgar, 1992(c), p.45).

Caring, as Edgar has pointed out, is central to the human condition. It rests upon the essential interdependence of individuals and groups, and the inevitable bonds of affection and caring about others which arise from close relationships with them. This is as true for men as it is for women, "though we seem to have forgotten those underlying reciprocities". Thus, when we talk of community care, some sense of collective responsibility should be implied. Here the concern is with protecting the welfare of vulnerable groups and individuals in society: children, elderly people, the sick and those with disabilities; and doing so in ways which do not disempower them. Such work should be the responsibility of everyone: "Caregiving is everybody's business, not just the business of women. Nor is it just the business of families" ((Edgar, 1992(c), p.42). Yet in everyday life, caring work is not shared equally. It, like domestic labour, is a gendered activity, and is done primarily by women.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Until the past several decades, income security policy in this country, like many others, was directed explicitly at addressing women's disadvantage. Thus, this consisted predominantly in social welfare provisions and benefits which could be claimed by a woman as a widow, or parent, or via dependence on her husband. An examination of some of these measures reveals that with few exceptions, they were based upon

traditional assumptions and expectations concerning gender divisions in unpaid and paid work.

Commencing in the mid-1970s, there was recognition in policy that men also had some responsibility for the care of children. From the mid-1980s, policies revealed acceptance of women as paid workers. However, some current policies would seem to be in conflict with these new values. These are based upon traditional assumptions concerning women having major responsibility for society's caring work.

It is the view of some writers that the shift of the debate to one of economic rationalism is disadvantaging many women - and particularly those who are less socially- and economically-advantaged (see for example Edgar, 1991(e), 1992(a), 1992(c); Bryson, 1992). It was Bryson's view that those small gains which women (and other minority groups) had made "through tenacious struggles", have been achieved largely through the medium of state intervention - not that all government activities, she hastened to add, promote or achieve greater equality. Nevertheless, she has contended, "it is impossible to conceive of significant equity measures being taken in the absence of government activity". In her view, therefore,

> Cries for smaller government...represent thinly-disguised calls to
> return to a more inequitable division of power. They represent an
> attempt to remove from the agenda those issues of social justice
> which have been fought for so painstakingly over many decades
> (Bryson, 1992, p. 222-3).

CHAPTER FOUR

SOCIALIZATION AND THE PERPETUATION OF GENDER DIFFERENCES

Once the step is made of identifying men with important economic activity and women with less important personal or family activity, the other aspects of the patriarchal system become a necessary progression. Males and females are differently socialized - men for public life, women for private. They are differently educated, receive different rewards, and develop different personal characteristics (Bryson, 1984, p.127).

In Chapter 2 it was revealed that women, and married women particularly, were entering and remaining in the workforce in larger numbers and for longer periods than ever before. In terms of total number of years spent in paid employment, then, the gap between women's and men's experience has decreased considerably during the past several decades.

Historically, and as the above quotation from Bryson (1984) indicates, socialization institutions in this society have prepared males for paid employment and females for the unpaid work associated with family care and domestic activities. Given the above changes in relation to women's employment, however, an interest here is in ascertaining to what extent these institutions have altered their practices and content, in accommodating to the changes referred to.

The chapter begins by referring briefly to several studies which have aimed to investigate gender differences in behaviour. This is followed by a consideration of some of the ways in which the terms sex and gender have been used by researchers. Some of the prevailing gender stereotypes are then discussed, including changes in these which have been identified over the past decade or so. Finally, reviews are provided of studies investigating the content and practices of the major socialization institutions and forces in this society. The family, education system and the media are focussed upon in this regard.

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN BEHAVIOUR

In 1974, Maccoby and Jacklin reviewed more than 1,400 published studies in the area of sex differences between men and women, boys and girls. Their conclusion, which was supported by another extensive review of the literature published ten years later (Nicholson, 1984), was that few differences could be substantiated on the basis of sex. Those differences which were evident were small and specific (Maccoby, Snow and Jacklin, 1984 in Callan and Noller, 1987, p.160). It should be noted that some of Maccoby and Jacklin's findings have been qualified in recent years (see for example Eagly, 1987; Hyde, 1990).

There is general agreement that men and women differ in mathematical and spatial ability, verbal ability and aggressiveness. More specifically, after the age of 11 years males perform better than females on tests of mathematical and spatial reasoning; whereas women tend to perform better than men on performance, intelligence and achievement tests of verbal reasoning and reading. Boys and men usually demonstrate more incidence of physical and verbal aggression than do girls and women. There is some evidence to suggest that differences in predisposition toward aggressiveness may have a biological basis (Saks and Krupat, 1988, p.142). Some have suggested that this also is the case with differences with verbal and spatial ability . However, on all these characteristics, such biological predispositions as exist may be seen to interact strongly with socialization practices and cultural norms, from early infancy. Other differences, such as styles of achievement and dominance, appear to be attributed primarily to social pressures and role expectations (Callan and Noller, 1987, pp.142-3).

The conclusion generally reached, therefore, is that there are few differences between girls and boys and men and women which can be attributed exclusively to biology; and those differences in general behaviours which have been identified do not provide significant support to " ... the continuation of images of males and females, and fathers and mothers, as opposites in personalities and abilities" (Callan and Noller, 1987, p.161).

Sex and Gender

Gender has been conceptualized as a "fluid assemblage of meanings and behaviours" (Kimmel, 1990, p.92) which the individual constructs from the values, images and prescriptions which a culture provides. Gender, then, is viewed as being socially constructed. Hence, terms like 'man', 'woman', 'masculinity' and 'femininity' are seen to mean different things in different cultures and between groups (or sub-cultures) within a given society. Moreover, as a social construction, gender is variable within a culture over time (historically); as well as over the course of any individual's life.. These differences are outcomes of variations in social structures as well as the way individuals have interpreted, and been influenced by, the meanings of these terms.

To speak of an individual's sex is to use a biological term. At birth (usually) the infant is assigned a sex on the basis of external genitalia. The pronouncement of the infant's being a girl or boy immediately sets in motion a series of gender-associated factors and events, some of which will be considered shortly. This marks the beginning of the development of the infant's gender. Thus, since socialization begins at birth and human beings have such an enormous capacity for learning, it would seem almost impossible to separate the influence of biology and environment on an individual's behaviour. That is, except for reproductive and breast-feeding functions, the identification of what is 'purely' biological in relation to any individual's behaviour becomes increasingly problematic (Basow, 1992, p.18).

It sometimes happens that individuals are genetically of one sex while having the gender identity of the other sex. For example, some infants are born with ambiguous external sex organs, or with organs which do not correspond to their genetic sex: and are assigned a sex which (it is subsequently found) does not match their genetic sex. A mismatch between sex and gender identity also occurs in trans-sexuals who may report feeling "trapped in the wrong body" (Kessler and McKenna, 1978; Money, 1988). John Money and colleagues have conducted extensive research in the area of sex and gender (see Ehrardt, 1985; Money, 1986; Money and Ehrardt, 1972). A finding from their studies of hermaphrodites, pseudo-hermaphrodites and children who have suffered surgical accidents which have affected the genitals (for example, damage to the penis during circumcision), is that "sex of assignment and rearing" is "better than any other variable as a prognosticator of the gender role and orientation" (Money, 1986, p.171). (Although Money's research has been criticised for being biased and methodologically flawed, his conclusion regarding the overriding influence of socio-cultural factors has been supported (Rogers and Walsh, 1982)).

In relation to the development of gender, there appears to be a complex and dynamic interplay of physiological, sociological and psychological factors exerting influences (Morgan, 1985, p.237); with variations across situations and over (historical) time as well as during the course of any individual's life-time. Hence, when such terms as sex and gender, male and female, man and woman, girl and boy are used in the discussion, this is not to imply the exclusive influence of either biological or environmental factors, respectively. Rather the complex interplay of these and other factors is recognised, as well as the difficulty (if not impossibility) of separating their influences.

Research Problems

Prior to proceeding with the review of studies, it is appropriate to restate and elaborate on a point made earlier, concerning research problems. Whereas the latter are liable to occur in any area of research, the areas of gender-related behaviours and sex comparisons are particularly vulnerable in this regard. These areas are very personal and are closely linked to cultural ideology. They also are political in many ways. Accordingly, Basow, in reviewing studies in these areas, has cited specific examples of research problems occurring in one or more stages of some research projects (basic assumptions, choice of subjects, design and methodology and interpretation of the results) (see Basow, 1992, pp.17-22 for examples and a discussion). Such problems serve to place some limits on the reported results. Moreover, it needs to be acknowledged that while every effort has been made to include studies of high quality in literature reviewed in the present work, this is not to guarantee the absence of research problems in some of these.

Gender Roles and Stereotypes

Most societies, it would appear, acknowledge the existence of only two genders - masculine and feminine, and this on the basis of the two sexes which are recognised - male and female. Expectations also are held regarding how members of each gender should behave (usually termed "gender roles") (Basow, 1992, p.3). However, considerable variations exist between societies with respect to the patterns of relations between men and women, and adults and children. Among the Menangkebau of Sumatra, for example, brothers and sisters formed the residents group while husbands visited only for sexual purposes. Women from the Nayar of south-west India, took twelve lovers for sexual relations and reproductive purposes. Boys of the Sambia tribe of Papua New Guinea were separated from their mothers at around age seven, and entered into extensive homosexual experience until marriage, as part of the process of achieving maleness (Gittins, 1985; Herdt, 1981). And among the Tchambuly, also a New Guinean tribe, men possessed traits stereotypically associated with femininity, while women possessed traits associated with masculinity (Mead, 1935 - cited Sedney, 1990). Such findings point to the socially-constructed nature of these roles.

The term gender stereotype refers to structured sets of beliefs and expectations about the personal attributes of women and men (Ashmore and Del Boca, 1979). These beliefs are seen to be normative insofar as they imply that gender-linked characteristics not only exist, but also are desirable (Basow, 1992, p.3). Although research on gender stereotypes has tended to focus on personality traits, stereotypes exist in other areas as well (Spence and Sawin, 1985; Archer, 1989). As Basow has stated:

> Not only can one talk about masculine and feminine traits (such as independence and gentleness, respectively), but one can also talk about masculine and feminine roles (such as head of household and caretaker of children), masculine and feminine occupations (such as truck driver and telephone operator, respectively) and masculine and feminine physical characteristics (such as broad shoulders and grace, respectively). The four components, although related, can operate relatively independently (Basow, 1992, p.6).

Some of the descriptors which traditionally have been associated with female stereotypes include nurturing, expressive, warm, agreeable, friendly, submissive, empathic and mother-oriented. Male stereotypes have included such descriptors as achievement-oriented, competitive, aggressive, dominant and independent. Increasingly, the historical and socio-political origins of these constructs has been recognised; and hence that they are "open to change and challenge" (Hearn and Morgan, 1990, p.11). However, they previously had been taken for granted and had predominated in many Western industrialised societies, including the work of social scientists until recent years. With regard the latter, it has been pointed out that the notion of masculinity which had informed much research was a "white, middle-class, heterosexual masculinity". Among the consequences of this was that the masculinities constructed by other groups (non-whites, gays, working-class or ethnic men)

and which were measured against the latter, "were problematized as non-traditional and non-conforming" (Kimmel, 1990, p.96).

There exist, then, variations in gender stereotypes, based on such factors as are identified above (Del Boca and Ashmore, 1980; Kite and Deaux, 1987). For example, working-class women are stereotyped as more confused, hostile, inconsiderate and irresponsible than middle-class women. Working class men are stereotyped as "physically expressive, macho and overly aggressive", while the stereotypical middle-class male is "upright and emotionally inhibited" (Pease and Wilson, 1990, p.56). Lesbians are stereotyped as possessing masculine traits, while male homosexuals are stereotyped as possessing feminine traits (Basow, 1992, p.4). Boys who engage in feminine activities are viewed as less popular than are other boys (Berndt and Heller, 1986). And women who act in a feminine (modest, family-oriented) manner during an interview are viewed as better suited for traditionally feminine jobs (for example, pre-school teacher) than for traditionally masculine ones, such as high school principal (Towson, Zanna and McDonald, 1989).

The effects of differing class locations on men's notions of masculinity in relation to their experience of work has been noted by Tolson (1977 - cited in Pease and Wilson, 1991, p.54). Similarly, Hodson has drawn attention to an important division between the masculine content of jobs requiring brain and jobs requiring brawn. Men from the working-class, it was found, frequently saw manual work as offering exciting masculine values. At the same time, however, they derided white-collar workers for their supposed effeminacy (Hodson, 1984, p.94). A similar finding was reported by Willis (1980) in a study of teenage males. He found that manual work was identified as hefty, masculine and desirable; whereas mental work was seen as effeminate and undesirable. According to the young men in his study, only a boy whose masculinity was suspect would seek a white-collar job. A social imperative in this group, then, was for a clear and sharp differentiation from girls.

While working-class men have been found to view manual work as affirming their masculinity, several writers have noted somewhat of a paradox here, since numerous aspects of such work also erode men's sense of masculinity (Connell, 1982, Donaldson, 1987). Connell, for example, noted that 'to be masculine' conventionally has meant to be dominant, and to assert one's rights. Yet the usual conditions of work in industry frequently contradict this - for example, constant noise, dirt, the pressure of meeting production targets, being bossed around by foremen and supervisors, and so on. Such conditions could be seen to challenge male dominance (Connell, 1982, p.57).

Stereotypes and Change

Evidence suggests that since the 1970s, changes have been occurring in gender stereotypes (Ashmore, Del Boca and Wohlers, 1986; Deaux and Kite, 1987; Kimmel, 1990; Edgar and Glezer, 1992(b)). This finding is seen to support their (stereotypes') relationship with roles (Eagly, 1987; Basow, 1992). As was seen in Chapter 2, many more

women with children have entered the labour force; and there has occurred a slight increase in some men's involvement in family work. Recent research has indicated that several distinct subtypes of male and female stereotypes can now be identified. In the female category, for example, the housewife - "the traditional woman" - continued to be among these. However, there has now emerged the subtype of the professional woman: "independent, ambitious, self-confident" (Basow, 1992, p.6).

Although the above subtypes of female stereotypes are perceived as differing on many behaviours, traits and occupations, they share commonalties. Notable here is that they, along with all subtypes of female stereotypes, are expected "to be concerned with having and caring for children" (Basow, 1992, p.6). In relation to the latter point, it is of interest that many single fathers (men bringing up children on their own) have been found to subscribe to stereotypical notions of mothering. Thus, Wilson reported that men in his study held the view that their children were severely and inevitably disadvantaged, since as one man stated: 'kids in two parent families are always better off because the kids in a one parent family miss a mother's love. A father still gives a lot of love but it's different to that of a mother" (Wilson, 1988, p.115 - cited Pease and Wilson, 1991, p.60).

For many people now, a "liberated man" stereotype exists. This incorporates such stereo-typically feminine traits as gentleness and sensitivity (Kimmel, 1987; Ehrenreich, 1984; Keen and Zur (1989) - all cited Basow, 1992, p.6). A move away from the 'invisible father' or 'distant Dad' is also evident with respect to the stereotypical father. Edgar and Glezer (1992(a), p.3) have reported findings which suggest "a less bleak" view of where fathers fit in family life. Thus, while fathers continue to be viewed "in terms of their work" they are now more likely to be seen as "sources of fun and play".

The point must be emphasised, though, that in any given society, cultural, political, social, individual and biological factors - including class, race, ethnicity, gender and so on - variously interact to shape the development of a pluralism of stereotypic definitions. For the most part, insufficient attention has been given to this fact. It continues to be the case, then, that "when most people think of a typical man or woman, they apparently have the traditional (white) middle-class stereotype in mind" (Basow, 1992, p.6).

The Impact of Stereotypes

Research confirms both the existence of gender stereotypes and that they are strongly held (Harper and Richards, 1979; Daniel, 1979; Wearing, 1981; Ward 1985; Sedney, 1990; Basow, 1992). They are learned by individuals in the process of growing up in a given society. It has been found consistently, for example, that "average children" are aware of, and engage in, sex-stereotypic behaviours from early ages (Sedney, 1990, p.410). Comprehensive reviews of these studies can be found in Katz (1979) and Huston (1983). However, some examples of representative findings in this area will be given.

As early as their second year, children reliably choose 'sex-appropriate' toys (O'Brien and Huston, 1985). Gender labelling, sex-typed toy preferences, gender identity, and awareness of adult sex-role differences may be observed in a significant percentage of two-year-olds (Weinraub, Clemens, Sockloff, Ethridge, Gracely and Myers, 1984). As Reis and Wright (1982) have reported, by the time children can express their knowledge, at about two-and-a-half years of age, they have grasped the idea of sex-role stereotypes. Meyer (1980) has observed that seven-year-old girls demonstrate stereotyped attitudes in terms of their opinions of sex-stereotypic activities, their preferences for work, female competence and expected activities as an adult.

Riley (1981) has reported that even very young children (aged three to five years) hold "extreme" sex-stereotyped occupational preferences. And concerning older children, Russell and Smith (1979) have documented findings which reveal that among school girls of all ages, most favoured teaching, nursing, secretarial positions and getting married and having a family. Out of 262 girls surveyed, only 24 wanted to follow stereotypically male occupations. Only two out of 187 boys questioned wanted to be in the traditionally non-male occupations, and in both instances they wanted to be nurses. Only seven of the males sampled gave marriage and family as their likely occupations, or what they aspired to on completion of their schooling. For boys, the major emphasis was on high status, action-oriented positions in the paid workforce.

Looft (1971) reported a study of vocational aspirations in children of pre-school and early primary school age. These children were asked what they wanted to be, and also what they expected to become in adulthood. Girls chose primarily sex-typed occupations, such as teacher or nurse. Boys named a greater number of choices than girls. Adams and Hichen (1984) partially replicated the latter study, and compared children's responses a decade later to the same questions. Little change was found in boys' ideals and expected vocational choice from 1971 to 1981. There was however, an increase by 9.1 percent in the number of vocations which girls were interested in pursuing. In addition, girls revealed greater interest in professional career choices. This change - which was interpreted as positive - was seen to be tempered by negative expectations. For example, those girls who expressed interest in the most prestigious and highest-paying occupations, expected to be unable to fulfil these occupational aspirations.

Following an extensive review of the literature in the area of gender stereotypes, Basow concluded that while these are based on few real sex differences, they appear, nonetheless to be powerful forces of social control. For example, they may function powerfully to shape an individual's own behaviour and their expectations and judgements of others (Basow, 1992, p.21). Moreover, there is evidence for a belief in stereotypes giving rise to some behavioural differences between men and women. That is, stereotypes operate as sex role expectations which people learn and are influenced by. In a major review of studies covering a wide range of social and other behaviours, a number of gender

differences have been found in the direction predicted by gender roles and stereotypes (see Basow, 1992, pp.53-79). The size of these gender differences ranged from small in the case of some behaviours (for example non-compliance) to large in others (facial expressiveness), with most falling in the small to moderate range. It needs to be stressed, though, that the amount of overlap between the sexes was found to be greater than the differences between the sexes in all areas surveyed (Basow, 1992, p.78). A conclusion which Basow reached was that situational and personal variables maximised the salience of gender role conformity.

SOCIALIZATION INSTITUTIONS, AGENTS AND FORCES

It is a requirement of individuals in every culture to learn their social roles and the behaviours which go with them. They need to learn what a child, daughter, son, man or woman, brother or sister should do - at various ages and in different situations and circumstances. This is not to say, of course, that the expectations for roles are always clear. It is the case also, that not everyone adopts them to the same degree. Much attention has been directed by researches to theorizing and investigating the development and maintenance of gender roles. Most of this may be seen to fall under the broad umbrella of socialization studies. It should be noted, however, that over the past decade some theoretical and methodological difficulties have been identified in relation to the concepts of socialization and role, and to studies utilising these (see for example Morgan, 1985; Kimmel, 1990; Sedney, 1990; Edgar, 1993).

The term socialization has been used

...to describe how a newborn baby becomes a social person, a unique self; how it becomes a social human being like others; and how a society transmits its culture, its life concerns and the rules and practices or social groups (Edgar, Fopp, and Earle, 1993, p..278).

In each generation, from the moment of birth a child experiences socialization pressures based on her or his sex. In most cases, these incorporate gender roles and stereotypes. Through complex interactive processes and learning, which involve parents, other kin, peers and teachers; and from the social forces of language, play, school, media, work, religion and so on, the child gradually constructs a view of who they are as a person, a vital aspect of which is gender. The processes involved here obviously are highly complex. They are not focussed upon specifically in the discussion here. Whereas numerous theories have been proposed by other researchers, none of these, in itself, appears to account fully for these processes. Basow is among writers who have postulated a model of gender development which involves the integration of several approaches. (See Basow, 1992, pp.118-70 for a discussion of her integrative model, and reviews of several theories of gender development. See also Block, 1973; Sedney, 1990). In Chapter 10, the self-

schema perspective on gender development, as postulated by Crane and Markus (1982) and Markus, Crane, Bernstein and Siladi (1982), is discussed.

The section which follows shortly, reviews some studies investigating the part played by the family, the school and the media in influencing the development and maintenance of gender differences. Following Edgar and colleagues, these are singled out for special attention since they are viewed as having "a more direct influence" on individuals in Australian society than is the case with such institutions as religion, the economy and so on, the influence of which is "more indirect" (Edgar et al., 1993, p.26). (See these writers for discussions on the latter institutions and socialization).

A conceptualization of social institutions which is generally consistent with the theoretical perspective adopted in the present study (Thomas and Znaniecki (1927) - see Chapters 5-6) is that advanced by Giddens (1989). That writer viewed social institutions as the "routine practices" which are carried out by most members of a collective group. Thus, they are not simply the organizations which have developed; but rather, refer to established practices (referred to as values in Thomas and Znaniecki's theory) which pattern social life and make it predictable. Those individuals who behave in ways consistent with these common understandings, therefore, sustain society and its rules and reproduce the social structures through their everyday actions. In this way, the socialization of children in families, their education in schools and through the media, are important sources of social reproduction.

For continuity in social life, individuals ("actors") have to be "right" most of the time. On the other hand, any given person may refrain from acting as expected. Always, it is contended, there is the possibility for innovation and change in every act of social reproduction. Furthermore, processes of control in a society mean that those individuals having the greater share of resources and skills for social action, will have greater control over others (Edgar et al., 1993, pp. 72-3).

In the section which follows, an aim is to ascertain, through a review of studies, what socialization practices are being employed and what gender messages are being conveyed by those having a key part to play in the institutions of family, education and the media - namely, parents, teachers and media-presenters. This information may be seen to provide some evidence of the values which guide these individuals' actions in the areas of life reported, and which therefore are being transmitted to the next generation.

The Family

Edgar has referred to families as "cultural conveyor belts, the carriers of images, traditions, the meanings of life" (Edgar, 1991(a), p.v). Given the large amount of time most individuals spend in family groups, the particularly close nature of relationships which may prevail, along with the social and emotional significance of many of the activities which take place in them, it is understandable that these groups exert enormous influence on the lives of

their members. As Saks and Krupat (1988, p.144) have stated, families are "the first and most vital agent of socialization". It is in family groups, then, that children are first exposed to, and in varying degrees come to adopt, the behaviours, attitudes and ways of seeing the world commonly held by the group to which they belong. Moreover, individuals' early experiences in a family are found to determine the basis of their "view of reality, of what is 'normal' "(Edgar, 1991(a), p.v).

However, it is not only the structure and nature of relationships within their family which affect what individuals learn, how they learn and what sort of person they become. Influential also is the structural location of a person's family in the wider society. Because class, status, religion and ethnic groups differ so markedly it may be expected that there exist vast differences in the way families socialize their members (Edgar et al., 1993, p.279). Yet Australian research has been "slow to move towards considering families outside the groups most available to researchers; namely, the English-speaking groups". Consequently, comparatively little is known, from a research perspective, concerning Australia's Aboriginal and ethnic families, with the former group being "near invisible in the records of 'Australian' patterns" (Goodnow et al., 1989, p.35).

What also should not be lost sight of is that differences between the various social groups also reflect the power differences which exist within the wider social structure. It is in this sense that the family may be viewed as "a chief mechanism for the 'reproduction' of existing power relations in society"(Edgar et al., 1993, p.279), as well as what has been referred to as the "social distribution of competence" (see Edgar et al., 1993, pp.280-292 for a discussion in relation to the latter).

Parent-Child Interactions

It is through symbols that human beings socialize their young and transmit their entire cultural heritage. However, symbols must be invented: "they do not exist in nature". They must be learned, and this occurs particularly through interaction with others and participation in the activities of social groups. Language -words, meanings and symbols - is thus "at the heart of socialization". It is through symbolic interaction, then, that the meanings are learned by which individuals can communicate and act meaningfully and socially with others (Edgar et al., 1993, p.280). However, since symbols are "invented", different social groups interpret social meanings in different ways. These groups vary in terms of their access to power and other resources, and so some groups come to dominate what is seen as "real" or "acceptable" in a given society - and which also is deemed "desirable" (Edgar et al., 1993, p.279. See also Pollner, 1975). Consequently, the extent to which a person's family of origin shares the "acceptable" version of reality will affect their socialization into the dominant culture "or some competing sub-cultural world view" - and hence their life-chances (Edgar et al., 1993, p.280).

As was seen earlier in this chapter, some beliefs about gender differences are strongly held and shared by large numbers of people. Parents, of course, are among those holding such beliefs. Not surprisingly then, research has consistently revealed that many parents' interactions with their children are coloured by normative assumptions about masculinity and femininity. In fact, from the moment of birth, parents are likely to be influenced in their handling of a child, by perceptions and expectations they hold, based on the pronouncement "It's a boy!" or "It's a girl!" (Basow, 1992, p.129). For example, one study revealed that infant girls were more likely to be described by their parents - and particularly the father - as smaller, softer and more fine-featured; while boys were more often seen as firmer, stronger, larger-featured and more alert. However, hospital staff who examined the infants found no overall differences by sex, in body weight, dimensions or dispositions (Rubin, Provenzane and Luria, 1974). Such differences in parental perceptions and expectations have been shown to affect markedly the way parents interact with their children. For example, infant girls are likely to be held more gently and related to more tenderly than boys (Bardwick, 1971; Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974). Parents are likely to play more roughly with their infant sons than with their daughters, who are assumed to be more "delicate" (Coon, 1983, p.542; Condry, Condry and Pognatschnik, 1983 - cited Basow, 1992, p.130)

Research also has informed us that parents are inclined to maintain a more protective stance towards their daughters than their sons (Hoffman, 1972). Sons are more often urged to control emotions than are daughters, but aggression towards other children is tolerated more in boys than girls. Other investigators have documented that mothers speak more frequently to daughters (Cher and Lewis, 1976), touch them more (Goldenberg and Lewis, 1969), and maintain closer proximity to them (Lewis and Weinraub, 1974). Boys are expected to run errands earlier than girls; and generally "are allowed to roam over a wider area without special permission" (Coon, 1983, p.542).

Despite consistent findings of parents' differential treatment of their sons and daughters, parents generally report treating them similarly (Antill, 1987). Such differential treatment (by parents and others), it has been found, can very frequently lead to differential development. Fagot and colleagues, for example, reported that caretakers of one-year old children attended more to boys' assertive behaviours than girls and more to girls' communication attempts than to boys'. At the beginning the infants did not differ in their behaviours. However, ten months later, differences had emerged: the boys had become more assertive and the girls had increased their talk to the adults. It was concluded that the differential reactions by caretakers to girls and boys appeared to stop the development of different behaviours (Fagot, Hagan, Leinbach, and Krosberg, 1985).

Provision of Toys

It has been demonstrated that in general, parents provide their children, from an early age, with different toys based on stereotypical notions and expectations. A study by Will, Self and Datan (1974) - cited by Saks and Krupat (1988, p.145) drew attention to this practice. Thus, one group of mothers were told that they were playing with 6-month-old "Beth" while another group of mothers were told they were playing with "Adam". Each mother got to play separately with each child. They then had the choice of giving "Adam"/"Beth" a doll (traditionally feminine), a train (traditionally masculine) or a fish (considered neutral) to play with. It was found that "Beth" more often was given the doll, while "Adam" got the train. When interviewed later, the vast majority of mothers were not only unaware of their biased actions but believed that they were treating their own boys and girls equally in terms of the toys they provided at home (Saks and Krupat, 1988, p.145).

Pomerlau and colleagues (1990) have reported a study of the rooms of 120 boys and girls 2 years of age and under, in which it was revealed that girls were provided with more dolls, fictional characters, children's furniture, manipulative toys, and the colour pink; while boys were provided with more sports equipment, tools, vehicles of all sizes, and the colours blue, red and white. Studies involving the provision of toys for older children similarly have revealed the influence of stereotypical assumptions. Accordingly, girls are likely to be given dolls, dolls' houses and tea-sets. By contrast, boys are more likely to be given building-sets, trucks and train sets. Even bicycles come in "boys" and "girls" models (Coon, 1983).

A study by Barry (1980) suggests that fathers tend to be more sexist than mothers, in terms of prescribing toys and activities deemed sex-appropriate; and this seems to be more so for sons than daughters. Moreover, both parents have been found to discourage their children, and especially sons, from playing with other-sex toys and from engaging in other-sex activities (Antill, 1987). Another study has suggested that encouragement of sex-typed activities is particularly true for fathers, and may take somewhat subtle forms. Thus, while cross-sex play may not be explicitly prohibited or discouraged, parents tend to show more positive reactions to toys and play viewed as gender-appropriate (Caldera, Huston and O'Brien, 1989). Social learning theory would predict that such differential reinforcement of behaviours should lead to differential frequency of a child's engaging in those behaviours. This appears to be the case: children do spend more time playing with gender-appropriate toys than with gender-inappropriate toys (Basow, 1992, p.132).

An interesting finding in relation to children's play activities is that different toys elicit different types of parent-child interactions. Thus, play with feminine toys tends to elicit closer physical proximity and more verbal interactions; whereas play with masculine toys is found to elicit low proximity and low levels of questions and teaching (Caldera et al., 1989). Hence, girls and boys may develop differing patterns of interpersonal interactions as a function of play with different toys.

In a review of the literature in this area, Kacerguis and Adams (1979) have argued that most toys intended for girls may restrict occupational role choices for them later in life. They considered that toys offer "experimentation with future roles, and present an opportunity on the child's level. Therefore, continuous presentation of stereo-typical toys may deny a child freedom to explore, discover, and express potential" (p.372). These writers concluded from their review that, because toys provide not only a medium for rehearsal of future roles, but also information about future occupations, then these present-day practices serve to encourage the maintenance of traditional gender role behaviours. Thus, toys most frequently given to boys could be seen as related to future breadwinning roles, while those given to girls as preparing them for homemaking-nurturing roles.

Parental Expectations: Children's Future Work Roles

According to Dobash,

> ... boys are not actively socialized to become husbands or fathers because this is not thought to be of primary importance in their lives. They are taught to think of themselves in terms of work, financial responsibility, independence, and individual development. Young boys are encouraged to take on as much independence as they can manage ... Female children are encouraged to imitate the behaviour and attitudes of adult married females. They are given baby dolls to mother, play houses, miniature pots, pans and brooms, and bride dolls to emulate long before they realise what it means to be a little girl (Dobash et al., 1980, p.77).

Generally, research supports the above perspective. For example, Coon (1983, p.543) has reported that parents tend, overall, to encourage sons to engage in instrumental (or goal-directed) behaviours, including preparation for the world of work. Daughters, by contrast, are encouraged in expressive (emotion-oriented) behaviours and, to a lesser degree, are socialized for the maternal role. Boys are encouraged to control their emotions. With regard to traits they would prefer in their children, parents named the following for boys: hardworking, ambitious, intelligent, honest, responsible, independent and strong-willed. For girls they listed: kind, caring, attractive, well-mannered, having a good marriage and being a good parent. Being respected in work and achieving success here, was a far more common goal for sons than daughters (Hoffman, 1972).

Studies of children's involvement in household work have indicated that boys and girls from a wide range of cultures are assigned different responsibilities and tasks, seemingly in preparation for traditional adult roles (Block, 1979 - cited Russell, 1983(b), p.211). Goodnow (1988) and Burns and Homel (1989) have reported such a tendency from when children are as young as five or six. Females, generally, are assigned child care tasks - male baby-sitters are still the exception in most cultures. Sanik and O'Neill (1982) have reported that girls are more likely to wash dishes, prepare food and clean; whereas boys are more likely to engage in yard, car and pet care. For younger girls, the most frequently performed task is house-cleaning; and teenage girls more frequently participate in food preparation. In general, it can be said that girls are more likely to engage in

household tasks undertaken by mothers, whereas boys tend to do activities done by fathers.

Amato (1987) has reported that females of high school age are more likely than males to take responsibility for housework and to keep their rooms clean and tidy. Males are more likely to be expected to take responsibility for taking out garbage, washing the car and mowing the lawn. Overall, evidence from this study has indicated that sex stereotyping of tasks increases with age. However, whether or not parents or adolescents push for this change is not clear (Goodnow, 1988). Findings from the study by Goodnow (1988) have suggested that males are more likely to earn money by doing jobs around the house, like cleaning the car; as well as for doing tasks for other households - like lawn-mowing for example. In referring to this finding, Noller and Callan (1991) have commented that there seems to be an implicit message underlying it: that is, while men may work for money, women should work for love. As those writers concluded: "It looks as though females are being prepared for the role of full-time housekeeper without monetary rewards".

In the area of occupational choice, research findings have indicated that Australian parents actively encourage traditional role divisions in their children (Callan and Noller, 1987, p.164). Mothers and fathers report that they encourage girls more than boys to take up 'female' occupations and develop 'feminine' personalities and interests. Boys, on the other hand, are encouraged to take up 'male' occupations and to seek independence, as well as to develop 'masculine' characteristics and interests.

Identification with Parents

Some writers have argued that the most powerful influence on the development of gender identification and appropriate gender roles in children occurs in the child's identification with its parents, and modelling their behaviours (Smith and Self, 1980). Through this identification and modelling process, it has been argued, the child adopts and internalizes parental values, attitudes, behavioural traits and personality characteristics (Korman, 1983).

Because of the child's early dependency upon its parents, identification, which takes place largely unconsciously, begins soon after birth. In most families, then, women take primary responsibility for child care and household tasks. Psychodynamic theorists have argued for the particular significance of the former in terms of the child's developing sense of self (see Chapter 10). Men continue to be primarily responsible for breadwinning, and they contribute minimally to domestic work and child care. Moreover, where a child is placed in care, it is most likely that this will be provided by women (Russell et al., 1988, p.255). If the family enlists paid domestic help, this also is more likely to be provided by a woman. Such role-modelling is powerful in its impact; moreover, it continues to be the situation through the greater part of our lives.

Other Kin

Parents, of course, are not the only socializing agents in a family. Siblings, grandparents, aunts and uncles exert varying degrees of influence. For example, among all cultural groups, the maternal grandmother plays a particularly strong socializing role, since children see her most frequently and feel closest to her (Eisenberg, 1988). Siblings also play an important part in the gender role development of a child, both directly through their behaviour with the child, and indirectly through their effects on the parents (Chicirelli, 1982; Stoneman, Brody and MacKinnon, 1986). Gender as well as age of siblings has been found to be important. Young children, for example, tend to play with an older sibling. Where the older sibling is of the same sex, play activities tend to be gender-stereotyped. If the older child is of the other sex, then cross-sex play is common. In families where children are of the same sex, household chores are less stereotypically assigned than in those where children of both sexes reside (Basow, 1992, p.135).

Summary Findings/Interpretation

This review has disclosed that stereotypical notions about gender differences between girls and boys as well as assumptions concerning (future) gender divisions in paid and unpaid work, are communicated in many of the interactions between parents and children, and other activities in which they engage. Other family households to which children have access are likely to mirror a similar organization and patterns of relating, to their own. This further restricts their opportunities for exposure to alternative ways of conceiving family living and working arrangements. This gender-based organization may be seen as representing the 'adult model' for which children's other socialization experiences (as identified in the studies reviewed) are preparing them.

There has been a tendency for those conducting socialization studies to pay less attention to taken for granted, more subtle interactive cues than to more obvious actions - as for example, the provision of toys to children (Morgan, 1985, p.233). The greater involvement of mothers relative to fathers in caring for and interacting with children may be seen to represent a powerful influence on a child's social learning and development, and consequently on their adult life (see also Chodorow, 1978; 1990; Reibstein and Richards, 1992).

The Education System

Education has been conceptualized as

> ...a social structure and a social institution charged with the responsibility for preparatory socialization designed to assist students in making the transition from dependence to independence (Edgar et al., 1993, p.324).

Because education is compulsory in this country for most young people up to 15 years of age, "the socialization responsibilities of educators are enormous" (Edgar et al., 1993,

p.329). Chronologically, the education system is the second major institutional structure with which people in Australia have significant dealings, the family being the first. Contact here generally is over quite a prolonged period. While there is undoubted diversity in the delivery of educational services, both between and within the private and state-run systems which co-exist in this country, "there is sufficient uniformity with respect to gender to make it possible to make some general comments" (Bryson, 1984, p.156).

Until the last two decades of the nineteenth century, education for most women meant little; and concentrated on " ... preparing them for wifehood and motherhood with instruction in feminine accomplishments" (Aspin, 1987, p.41). While boys continued to remain at school for much longer than girls throughout the first half of this century, this situation is no longer the case. For example, whereas in 1967 among 17 year olds, there were 152 boys for 100 girls at school; by 1983 there were 96 boys for every 100 girls. At the present time, retention rates for girls are now higher than those for boys in senior secondary school (and higher education) (Edgar et al., 1993, p.355).

Hierarchical Organization - Schools

The very organizational structure of schools, it has been argued, tends to reinforce gender differences (Evans, 1988). For example, while a majority of teachers are females, principals are more likely to be male. Evans has provided data in this regard with respect to primary school teachers in Victoria. Here, it has been consistently found that female representation decreases as seniority level increases. Thus, since 70 percent of primary teachers are women it might be expected to find the same proportion at each level in the teaching employment structure. However, only 19% of principals are women. Bryson (1984) observed that a similar situation has existed with respect to high schools and tertiary institutions in New South Wales.

The situation in the educational bureaucracy indicates an even greater imbalance than the above. It has been reported that in Victoria in 1984, the top 31 positions in the then Education Department, from the Director-General to the Regional Directors, were entirely occupied by men. The most senior women were to be found as Deputy Regional Directors, where they comprised 17 percent of the total (Education Department of Victoria Policy and Planning Unit, 1984, p.25). Apart from important issues of gender inequity and the absence of role-models for women (and the associated abundance of them for men) in senior positions, there is the added factor of the significant predominance of men in decision-making concerning the education of girls and boys, as well as that relating to promotion (Evans, 1988, pp.59-60).

While less extreme, there is a similar imbalance in primary school teachers' unions. Evans (1988) has cited the situation in Victoria, where men comprised almost two-thirds of the appointed officers elected and State Council members of the VTU. (However, States vary regarding their stipulations here. In South Australia, for example, the teachers' union

(SAIT) requires equal representation of the sexes on the Executive and Standing Committees.)

In 1985, it was acknowledged by the Policy and Planning Unit of the Victorian Education Department that traditional gender structures had not altered fundamentally since 1851, despite the introduction of equal pay in 1971. It was further claimed that "matters have worsened" in some respects in the past sixty years. The following is taken from the report concerned:

> In 1925, 67% of women teachers were allocated to the lowest class, 22% to the second lowest, 7.4% to the third class, 2.4% to the second highest and 0.8% to the highest ... in 1984 ... 76% are in the lowest class, 18% in the second lowest, 4% in the third class, 1% in the second highest, and 0.9% in the highest (Education Department of Victoria, Policy and Planning Unit, 1985, p.19).

In subsequent moves toward devolution, the Ministry of Education in 1985 introduced an alternative local selection process, through which school councils could opt to play a role in the selection of new principals. In the year following the introduction of this process, only 30 (8 percent) of the 386 applicants for locally selected primary school positions were women. Of the principals appointed, only 2 were women (4 percent) (Evans, 1988, p.61). Thus, whereas governments and organizations can provide policies and guidelines for regulating such matters, this does not necessarily lead to the kinds of outcomes which are intended. A similar finding is reported in Chapter 2, in the discussion on women's paid work involvement. This point is taken up in subsequent chapters.

Co-educational Schools and 'Male' Cultures

Until the 1970s most educators shared the view that it was preferable to keep girls and boys separated in single-sex schools or classes, particularly for secondary schooling. It was considered that this was a more effective way to socialize girls and boys "without the complexities and distractions" of the other sex. Instruction was thus "more efficient in meeting students' gender needs" (Edgar et al., 1993, p.354). However, some educators in the 1970s agitated against this "unnatural" segregation of girls and boys and voiced support for co-educational schools. Then, in the 1980s and 1990s, feminists advocated single-sex schools with a different rationale to that of the pre-1970s era. Now, it was argued that "because boys were more aggressive and subsequently dominated teacher time, it was in the interests of girls to be separated from boys in order to learn to be more assertive" (Edgar et al., 1993, p.354).

Numerous writers have commented on there being distinct "sex role cultures" in school environments (see for example, Sampson, 1981; Sarah, Scott and Spender, 1980). The latter writers have documented that co-educational schools are organized according to "male norms", and this has been identified as being disadvantageous for girls. Thus, boys frequently are taken more seriously than girls, and lessons organized to suit and stimulate their imaginations. Related to the latter is the finding that boys are more likely "to prove

difficult" when they are required to do things they don't like, whereas girls tend to be "more docile (because they have learned this is expected of them) in their behaviour" (Bryson, 1984, p.156). In fact, numerous studies confirm that there are marked differences in a wide range of behaviours expected of girls and boys in schools. Harris (1992), for example, has reported that an "expensive" Adelaide boarding school requires its female boarding students to do their own washing, but not the males. Other instances of differences include boys being given more latitude to be rowdy and to play rough and competitive games; and not being as strongly encouraged to communicate verbally, "a feature which shows up in poorer performance rates in English" (Bryson, 1984, p.156).

In a number of studies in Australia, it has been demonstrated that girls "develop lower levels of self-confidence and higher self-depreciation than boys", despite girls' higher levels of verbal performance (cited Bryson, 1984, p.156). Other findings have suggested that such effects are less marked for girls in single-sex schools (Sarah, Scott and Spender, 1980). A Sydney survey reported similar findings (National Times, 21-27 September 1980 - cited Bryson, 1984, p.157). This found that girls from single-sex schools were more positive about their own sex and held less stereotyped attitudes than girls attending co-educational schools. Dale (1973) has reported findings from a British study, which support the claim that boys do better in mixed schools while girls do better in single-sex ones. It should be noted, however, that there are many conflicting opinions and findings in this area. Class variables, as Bryson has pointed out, also are of key importance "and are difficult to extricate in research analyses" (Bryson, 1984, p.157).

Teacher-Pupil Interactions

Teacher-pupil interactions play an important part in shaping the classroom culture. Those people advocating single-sex schools frequently draw attention to girls' disadvantage in the classroom with respect to the number and nature of interactions girls have with teachers, compared with boys. Findings from a range of studies have indicated that girls' school work generally attracts less attention from teachers than does boys'; and they are more likely to be praised for "being good, quiet and passive" (Coon, 1983, p.145). Boys are criticised more than girls for disruptive behaviour in the classroom, and they are also praised more than girls for academic performance. The latter findings, as Saks and Krupat (1985, p.145) have observed, are "especially surprising and disturbing" since they came from schools in which teachers were making a conscious effort to treat girls and boys equally (Guttentag and Bray, 1976; Serbein and O'Leary, 1975).

The lower expectancies for achievement which girls generally demonstrate relative to boys has also been linked to teachers' expectations, as these manifest themselves in teacher-pupil interactions. It is particularly with respect to mathematical achievement that girls develop lower expectancy of success than boys. As Bryson has stated: "Girls are not expected to be able to cope with science and mathematics" (Bryson, 1984, p.156). Studies

have indicated that a long-term effect of this is girls' avoidance of maths-related courses wherever possible (Meece, Parsons, Kaczala, Goff and Futterman, 1982). Moreover, when these subjects are taken by girls, there frequently is a gradual dropout from them; and this has severely restrictive consequences for their later occupational choices (Bryson, 1984, p.156).

In the area of English language skills, however, the situation is reversed: girls demonstrate superior abilities to boys. In fact, there is evidence to suggest that some boys experience major problems in the written language area. Thus, boys outnumber girls 20:1 in remedial classes in South Australian schools (*The Advertiser*, 15 May 1989, p.3 - Report on Conference of Independent Schools' Principals). However, there is a paucity of research in the area of boys' disadvantage. Some principals at the conference referred to stated that " ... there (has) been far too much emphasis on discrimination against girls in schools (and) not enough emphasis has been placed on problems faced by boys". Research attention, at least, would suggest that this is true.

The School Curriculum

Edgar has claimed that "[the] school curriculum has been used to *socialise* boys and girls differently". There are two main ways in which he sees this as having occurred: through subject selection and social patterning. Girls have been directed towards the social sciences, arts and humanities. Boys have been directed towards "male" subjects, such as mathematics and the sciences. Generally, he stated, the education of girls "...has been less formal and has featured more verbal interaction, a skill considered crucial to the superior social competence and confidence of older-women relative to men". By contrast, boys have been socialized to be aggressive, competitive and team-oriented, and with a greater emphasis on a structured learning format (Edgar et al., 1993, pp.354-5).

Until recently, school curriculum materials featured sexist language and content, and thus may be seen to have reinforced gender stereotypes. During the past three decades, however, social reformers have been influential in gradually bringing about change here. Particularly over the past decade, State governments in Australia and educational authorities generally, have given increasing attention to the eradication of sexism in educational curricula. Policies on the use of non-sexist language have been introduced. Particular emphasis has been placed on the provision of a curriculum which assumes that men and women are, ultimately, equally responsible for breadwinning, child care and domestic matters. Textbooks and other teaching materials have been scrutinised, and attention also paid to involvement of children in non-traditional extra-curricula activities (sports and so on).

Specific programmes have been developed to encourage girls to pursue studies in science and mathematics. However, initiatives designed to compensate for boys' comparative deficiencies in social skills and language have not been forthcoming so far

(Edgar et al., 1993, p.355); likewise, with respect to domestic skills. In relation to the latter, it has been observed that unlike the area of breadwinning, which features importantly in school curricula (with opportunities for "thinking, talking and learning about people's work"; domestic work is not emphasized formally. In his words: "A curriculum of domestic labour is meagre". Nevertheless, and as will be seen in the discussion to follow, it does become part of the curriculum in a variety of informal ways. Although it is "formally ignored", domestic work "is informally delineated as women's work" (Evans, 1988, p.105).

The 'Hidden' Curriculum

Evans (1988) has drawn attention to the difficulties inherent in the implementation of such changes as have been referred to above, in relation to the formal curriculum. For example, efforts to eradicate sexism are fraught with difficulties. As that writer has pointed out:

> In a narrow and formal sense, curricula are statements about the sequential organization, and the ways of teaching, selected knowledge, skills and values. ... in most societies these curricula statements are either formulated by a State authority for enactment by its schools or are developed by schools within guidelines laid down by the State. As instruments of the State, curricula reflect the values, biases, prejudices and divisions of society (Evans, 1988, pp.93-94).

Furthermore, within the school environment, individual teachers operate from their own unique gender perspective: they apply their own materials, knowledge, skills, interests, experience and values when teaching a curriculum. Examples which have been cited include teachers illustrating points using such subtle comments as (in a plasticine class): "Knead it like when your mother does when she makes scones"; or, "When your mother packs your lunch ...". The message that generally comes across in such interactions, as Evans has highlighted, is that domestic labour is solely the responsibility and preserve of women. It should also be noted that the teachers who were observed making such statements were seen by that investigator as being strongly committed to egalitarian ideals, and to some extent they had egalitarian family/work arrangements. Likewise, students bring to the learning situation their own experience and other resources, all of which impact upon the learning in vital ways. As Evans has commented:

> ... each curriculum becomes a unique product constructed in its classroom context. Its history can be traced back through the lives of the people involved and through the composition of the curriculum documents used by those people (Evans, 1988, p.94).

It has been claimed that there is a sense in which everything learned and experienced within the school environment becomes curriculum: it may be formal or it may be hidden (Apple, 1971; 1979 - cited Evans, 1988, p.4). In his study of two rural Victorian primary schools, reported in his book "The Gender Agenda", Evans identified a range of hidden curricula operating in the lives of teachers, parents and children, which impacted upon the lives and learning of all connected with the school environment. It was his contention, then, that students seeing, for example, men in authority positions and women teachers taking

maternity leave and other leave to care for children (in the schools he investigated men did not take time off for child care matters) are just as much a part of the school curriculum as are "stories, songs, sums and sports".

> *When a teacher leaves school to have a baby and is not seen again by her pupils, it marks a symmetrical shaping between home and school of the pupils' perceptions of gender. This symmetry is also marked by the men who control the school and wield their authority over the pupils' lives. The primary school is analogous to the family with the male staff as 'fathers' - having less contact, more power, authority and importance - and the female staff as 'mothers' - more contact, subordinate and of limited importance (Evans, 1988, p.93).*

Other hidden curricula which Evans identified included the broadcast media, over which teachers had no control but which frequently conveyed traditional divisions of work, both paid and in the home. Parents' involvement in schools was another area - women on canteen duties, assisting with school camps, Mothers' Clubs and so on; with men's contributions limited to occasional mowing, repairs, maintenance and construction work, and being much less time-consuming than women's. Library resources; singing sessions; school excursions "to see people at work"; and the disclosures of teachers to students about aspects of their own lives and family situations also were identified in this regard. As Evans concluded, "the entire school's operation as a social structure lays down its own *agendas* about the rules, values and conventions of the society in which it is located" (Evans, 1988, p.94).

Summary Findings/Interpretation

The social institution of education serves as a powerful socializing force in this society. It was in recognition of this fact that some individuals and groups agitated for and achieved major changes to school curriculum materials and learning practices over the past three decades. Central among the aims here has been the eradication of sexism. Studies reviewed in this section have revealed that the new curriculum may not always coincide with teachers' attitudes. Evidence suggests that some teachers, like many others in this society, continue to be guided in their own lives by traditional notions of breadwinning and homemaking, and the gender stereotypes. This situation powerfully influences the way the curriculum is taught.

Findings here thus cause questions to be raised about the effectiveness of the new wave curriculum - programmes, books, instructional materials, sports and other activities - "when set against the tide of the examples provided by significant adults" (Evans, 1988, p.98). The powerful impact of this situation on students' lives and learning appears to have been given insufficient attention by many concerned with the transmission and structure of knowledge in schools.

The Media

Prior to 1950, Australians relied more on direct interactions with family members, peers and other people in the wider community to acquire information. These interactions were important in individuals' development of attitudes and their establishment of responses to various issues. With the massive growth and influence of the mass media, today's Australians have perhaps become somewhat less dependent on the direct input of family and the community for some learning and information, and more dependent on the mass media (Edgar et al., 1993, p.457). In present day Australian society, it has been argued, "there is no doubt about the socialization significance of the mass media". With its increasingly crucial involvement as an information provider and a socializer of children in this society, then, the mass media's status as a social institution is now acceptable to many (Edgar et al., 1993, p.26). To use Rice's words: "[the] messages which are beamed into the living rooms of millions of people every day shape their attitudes, beliefs and gender roles" (Rice, 1990, p.307). In the section which follows, studies examining the electronic and print media's portrayal of women and men are reviewed.

Television

It is consistently found that television tends to reinforce traditional roles. Typically, a mother/wife is presented as being involved in full-time child care and household activities at home; with the husband/father portrayed more frequently as the breadwinner and in a 'white collar' job (Stewart, 1983, pp.59-60). Kalisch and Kalisch (1984) have documented that not only are women more likely to be shown in television programmes performing traditional female tasks, but also when they are presented as being employed outside the home, the majority are shown as holding positions associated with traditional women's work, such as in nursing or household work. Women are also more likely to be portrayed as being dependent on men for their livelihood. By contrast, men are more often presented as being more independent and in charge of a variety of situations (Dominick, 1979, in Rice, 1990). Men are also more likely to be depicted as rational, capable, powerful, stable and tolerant; whereas women tend to be portrayed as attractive, happy, sociable, peaceful and fair (Weigel and Loomis, 1981).

Other differences in the images television portrays of the genders include women being depicted as more concerned than men about marriage and sex; "looks count more than brains for females"; and female characters being more likely than males to reveal "incompetent" and "helpless" behaviours. For example, even when a woman is a major character, it is often the case that at some time she must be rescued from a difficult situation by a man (Basow, 1992, p.160, citing findings from several studies). While men are depicted somewhat negatively in situation comedies they are more than twice as likely as women to be shown as competent, independent, leader-like, skilled and self confident.

They are also more likely to be older than women and to hold prestigious jobs (Basow, 1992, p.160).

Children's Programmes:

Evans (1988) has claimed that television's images of gender "can provide (children) with wide horizons or narrow vistas" with respect to the world of work.. On the basis of her extensive review of the related literature, Basow concluded that

> *Television depicts marked gender stereotypes: men are presented as more important and dominant than women; women are presented as more subordinate and sexualized than men. These portrayals affect child viewers both by modelling different behaviors for females and males and by encouraging the development of a strong and stereotypic gender schema (Basow, 1992, p.163).*

Coon (1983, p.146) has pointed out that evidence of gender stereotypes persists "even in the most ... respected TV programming". That writer has noted that, for example, the award-winning "Sesame Street", while featuring both males and females (live adult characters) as "warm and non-aggressive" has males more tied to occupations than their female counterparts. Other writers have observed that "The Muppets" (major characters) all have male names or voices, or both (Basow, 1992, p.158). These muppets, however, not only are mainstays of the show, but also feature prominently in toys, books and other commercial articles. Their influence on children, it has been argued, "is strong". For example, it has been demonstrated that children aged 4 to 6 would not play with non-sex-typed toys which had been labelled by two muppets as appropriate only for the other sex (Cobb et al., 1982, cited Basow, 1992, p.158)

The behaviours (as well as the consequences of their actions) of male and female characters portrayed on children's television have been shown to be strikingly different. More specifically:

> *Male characters are more likely than female characters to be aggressive, constructive, direct and helpful, and to be rewarded for their actions. Females are more likely to be shown as deferent and as being punished for displaying a high level of activity. Females also use indirect manipulative strategies to get their way (for example, acting helpless or seductive). In general, female behavior has no environmental consequence (Basow, 1992, p.158 , also citing Feldman and Brown, 1984).*

The pattern identified above, it has been noted, "parallels the practices of socializing agents: males get more attention and reinforcement; females are usually ignored and are expected to be passive and sedate" (Basow, 1992, p.158).

Television Commercials: While there has been a reduction in sexism on prime time television, particularly since the 1960s (Signorielli, 1989), however this is not evident to such an extent with respect to television commercials. Research actually suggests that commercials are "the most sexist" of all television programming. Thus,

...women still are most often presented in the home in the role of wife and/or mother. When they are depicted as employed, their range of occupations is broader than it once was but is still traditionally feminine. Men, whose depiction as husband has increased, still are more frequently presented in other roles, especially ones in the business world. Women are most often seen in ads for food, and they are more likely than men to be shown using the products they advertise. Men are most often seen in ads for automotive products and alcohol. Women in commercials are much younger than the men, who can range between young and middle-aged. Relations between the sexes typically are portrayed in traditional ways. For example, detergent commercials still primarily depict a woman's worrying about getting the dirt off her husband's clothes rather than vice versa. And women are presented as sex objects more frequently than men (Basow, 1992, p.161).

It is also the case that men are increasingly likely to be the butt of jokes, particularly when they reveal ignorance concerning, for example, nutrition or child care (Horowitz, 1989 - cited Basow, 1992, p.161). But perhaps the most striking difference between women and men in their depiction on television commercials, is that men predominate (83%-90%) as "the authoritative, dominant voice-overs". This is the case even when the products being advertised are aimed at women (Basow, 1992, p.161). Similarly, television commercials presented during children's shows also depict gender stereotypes (O'Connor, 1989 in Basow, 1992, p.161). Girls are more likely to be portrayed in passive roles, boys in active ones. Furthermore, both quantitatively and qualitatively, boys can be seen to dominate.

Effects of Television Viewing

The influence of television viewing on attitudes and behaviours appears to be particularly strong for children who, as a group, are not as adept as adults in distinguishing fantasy from reality (Eysenck and Nias, 1978 - cited in Basow, 1992, p.162). Fruch and McGhee (1975) have reported that children described as "heavy" television viewers (25 hours or more per week at the time of the study) hold more traditional values and gender stereotypes than those who are "light" viewers (defined then as 10 or fewer hours per week). Eisenstock (1984) also found that "heavy" television viewing, as well as the way in which television portrayed gender roles, was related to conceptions about gender stereotypes among young adult viewers. M.Morgan (1982) has documented a study which extended over a two-year period, concerning television and adolescents' sex-role stereotypes. Extensive television viewing was found to be associated with increased sexism in the stereotypes held by adolescents.

The effects of television viewing may be mediated by a number of factors. Those shown to be influential include parents' sex-role attitudes, and parents' presence during television viewing by their children. Such factors may modify the message being transmitted by the particular programme. While children mostly watch television alone, television viewing is the single major recreational pursuit families do together (Timmer et al., 1985). A child's level of cognitive development and intelligence also may mediate the television message. Moreover, there is some variation among shows presented. Children

who watch more educational programmes have been shown to demonstrate less sex-stereotyped attitudes than those children who watch little educational material (Repetti, 1984 - cited Basow, 1992, p.163). A similar finding has been reported for young children who viewed such non-traditional shows as "Growing Pains", "Who's the Boss?" and "The Cosby Show" (Rosenwasser, Lingenfelter, and Harrington, 1989, cited in Basow, 1992, p.163). It was found that viewers of these shows tended to have non-traditional gender role stereotypes. (It may, of course, be the case that such individuals prefer watching non-sexist television programmes).

Television appears to be a particularly powerful source of influence on adults as well. It has been found that the amount of television viewing of stereotyped programmes is significantly and positively correlated with the amount of gender stereotyping in self-description (Ross et al., 1982). It needs to be acknowledged, though, that the positive correlation here may indicate that sex-typed people prefer to watch sex-typed shows. However, as Basow observed, frequent television viewing "is likely to be a powerful reinforcer of gender stereotypes" (Basow, 1992, p.163).

Print Media

Studies in the area of print media suggest that gender stereotypes are as prevalent here as they are in the visual media. Fiction books, magazines, newspapers and cartoons are examined briefly in this regard.

Fiction: Children's books, it has been found, tend to portray girls and boys in stereotypic roles, with male characters predominating. Books aimed at adult audiences, though, portray a wider variety of behaviours and roles. There is, then, a trend here toward more inclusivity and gender equality. Yet, along with this another trend is apparent: the increasing popularity of the romantic-historical novel, which is read (and written) primarily by women. The heroine in such stories (for example, Gothic novels) frequently is depicted as helpless, or dependent on a man to bring meaning to her life. However, here too, recent heroines have been more non-traditional in behaviour and attitudes, and relationships are more often between equals than has been the case in the past (Modleski, 1982; Toth, 1984 - cited in Basow, 1992, p.165). Radway (1986) has noted that despite their "seeming confirmation of traditional roles in a patriarchal society", modern romance novels also convey another message: that it is acceptable for men to be gentle and nurturing and for women to be assertive. It has been suggested that such a message "may account for the novel's appeal among women made anxious about changing gender definitions". Such texts, as Basow has observed "in many ways reveal the contradictions in women's lives under patriarchy" (Basow, 1992, p.165, also citing Modleski's research).

Fiction and popular books which are aimed at men (James Bond thrillers, for example) tend to present a male who is going off on some adventure, unencumbered by family ties. If females are presented, they are usually cast in a stereotyped sexual role

(Weitz, 1977). Themes of aggression tend to predominate. Furthermore, much male fiction is pornographic, with interconnected themes of dominance, sexuality and violence against women (Dworkin, 1981; Griffin, 1981 - both cited Basow, 1992, p.165).

Magazines: Because the market for magazines is so segmented, gender stereotypes abound in this form of print media as well. That is, although the visual media may have the predominant audience, they are available for all viewers; by contrast, advertisers aim magazines at a very narrow and specific audience. Magazines aimed at men tend to focus on themes of sexuality - for example, *Playboy, Daring, Road and Track* , *Sports, Field and Stream* . Those magazines which are aimed at women emphasise women's appearance and pleasing or helping others, especially men (Ferguson, 1983; Pierce, 1990, both cited in Basow, 1992, p.165). A notable change since the 1970s in magazines aimed at women is the betrayal of women working outside the home (Geise, 1979; Ruggiero and Weston, 1985).

Yet Basow has noted that advertisers "appear to be the last to acknowledge that women are multi-dimensional". An example she cited is in relation to advertising of new cars. While women account for 39 percent of new car purchases, and participate in buying another 40 percent of all new cars and trucks, automotive companies spend less than 3 percent of their advertising money in women's magazines. Furthermore, as with television commercials, print advertisements frequently are more stereotypic than the context in which they are found. As indicated earlier, women are more frequently portrayed in working roles in advertisements of recent decades, than previously. However, when people are depicted in the home, more women than men appear (Courtney and Whipple, 1983).

The very way an advertisement is composed visually, may convey gender messages. Thus, Goffman (1979) found numerous examples of genderisms which illustrate the position of women and men in society: function ranking (male taller, in front and in an authoritative position), ritualization of subordination (a women at a man's feet, for example), mock assault games, snuggling, "and an over abundance of images of women on beds and floors" (Basow, 1992, p.166) (see also Masse and Rosenblum, 1988). Females are also more likely to be portrayed as smiling than are males.

Short stories appearing in magazines also frequently deploy stereotypical images of women and men. The following is a brief excerpt from a short story titled "Taboo", which was featured in a recent Australian woman's magazine. The characters are a newly-employed woman and her unemployed husband, Quentin.

She used her first pay cheque to pay off the landlord, who promised not to bother her husband about the rent. She felt proud and happy. She had a job she was good at, she was making money - and she was making things easier for Quentin . But before she could tell Quentin about the job, he found her out.. She came home from work to find Quentin waiting for her. Without a word he hit

her hard across the face with his open hand. She fell back on the bed. She lay gazing up at him, while touching her burning cheek.
*"I went to see the landlord today," he said. "I wanted to pay him some money I owed him. He told me my **wife** had taken care of it already." Too late she realised that this slight to his manhood was even worse than what she had tried to avoid. She told him about her job, and she explained the landlord had complained about the rent, and that she had tried to help out..*
"Listen," he said when she had finished. "Your job is to keep house for me, and to be here when I come home. The rent is my business, not yours." (Woman's Day, February 1, 1993, p.73).

Somewhat more subtle evidence of sexism in women's' magazines, is to be found in articles depicting older women in relationships with younger men. This situation, unlike the reverse, frequently is presented as problematic; or at least one which is difficult to understand. In a society where youth is revered, why would a **man** enter into a relationship with an older woman? Thus, whereas negligible attention generally is paid to situations where a man may be 20-30 years older than his woman partner, the magazine "Woman's Day" has recently presented feature articles on, for example, how TV personality Maggie Taberer "somehow" manages a relationship with Michael Zaccharia (8 years her junior); and on Australian cricketer Mark Waugh's (surprisingly) "successful relationship" with a partner who is 13 years his senior ("CRICKET HERO'S OLDER WOMAN" - Woman's Day, November 29, 1993).

Newspapers: As with the other media, newspapers reveal a sexist bias. This is evident with respect to news as well as in the comic strips which are serialised. Most newspaper articles are about men. Only 11 percent of people quoted in newspapers are women ("Study reports sex bias", 1989, in Basow, 1992, p.167). Where women are portrayed in newspapers, their coverage is more likely to include mention of marital status, personal appearance and spouse than is the coverage of men (Foreit et al., 1980). Basow (1992) has pointed out that such comments are not due solely to the fact that women are more likely than men to be written about in the women's sections (such as "Family" or "Lifestyle"). In fact, wherever women appear in newspapers, their appearance and marital status are likely to be noted. Men's photographs similarly outnumber women's three to one, while men are also more likely to be depicted in their professional or athletic roles; by contrast, women are more likely to be depicted with their husbands or families (Luebke, 1989).

Sexist bias also is apparent in the treatment of women and men journalists. Generally, women have "a difficult time" in having their stories appear on the front page, because they are less likely (than men) to cover important news beats (Basow, 1992, pp.166-7). Referring to the period of the 1970s and early 80s, Adelaide journalist Shirley Stott Despoja has reported how information available to newspapers concerning such issues as child pornography; family violence, and particularly incest; sexual harassment; the failure of most non-custodial fathers to support their children; and the early release or inadequate sentencing of men who had killed their partners, were among subjects which she was "terrified" to report, because of the constraints placed by the newspaper for which

she worked at that time (*The Advertiser,* Adelaide). Should she have persisted, she believes her career would have been severely damaged. Moreover, she reported that:

> ... when the veil of silence was lifted a little, men began to write about child abuse and other forms of violence and of harassment with much of the naivety that women journalists had shed through their contact with shelter workers and others at the coalface of human disasters. When the issues were at least given some credibility by being written about by men, they were so often misrepresented that they caused women to despair in different ways. Family murder-suicides were reported (and still are reported) in ways that presented the killer as a victim of "love"; sexual harassment cases were trivialised, and unless the harassment was perpetuated by a woman, victim blaming appeared to be the sub-text of the report. Unable any longer to ignore the crime of incest or to maintain the fiction that it was a rare aberration, the media presented it as something confined to lower socio-economic groups (Stott Despoja, 1992, p.3).

Cartoons/Comic Strips: As previously noted, cartoons and newspaper comic strips (some of which are serialised) similarly portray traditional expectations concerning paid and unpaid work and as such are among the innumerable 'inputs' which serve to confirm and perpetuate gender stereotypes. Men appear more frequently, and they are also more likely to outnumber women in terms of the number of careers depicted. While many female and male characters are described in equally favourable or unfavourable terms, for females there is often an emphasis on sex-typed characteristics (Potkay and Potkay, 1984). Women, for example, are often depicted either as a housewife or a 'sexpot' (Blondie Bumstead, until her 1991 movement into the workforce; Miss Buxley)(Basow, 1992, p.168).

Although a few comic strips portray women as employed mothers (for example, "Sally Forth" and "For Better or For Worse") these women are depicted as superwomen - as doing 'everything' (Mooney and Brabant, 1987). Moreover, the home life of employed mothers is often portrayed as being less happy than that of traditional mothers (Basow, 1992, p.168). Also, in relation to the latter - and which highlights the conflict inherent in many women's lives - an absence of mental stimulation and importance is frequently depicted, in comparison with the more important and mentally demanding activities involved in men's paid work.

Summary Findings/Interpretation

Of all the sources of gender stereotypes, the media are perhaps the most pervasive and, some would say, the most powerful (Basow, 1992, p.157). Studies reviewed in the preceding discussion reveal that women and men are portrayed in stereotypical ways, with deviations to these often being depicted negatively. Since children are trying to understand gender-appropriate behaviour, and to define themselves in this regard, media messages could be seen as being particularly influential here.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Findings from studies reviewed in this chapter of the thesis have revealed the continuing and pervasive influence of traditional notions associated with men's breadwinning and

women's homemaking/caring in those socialization institutions which are examined. Thus, whereas married women's paid work involvement has gained increasing acceptance and formal social recognition over the past several decades, this has not posed any major challenge to perceptions concerning either gender's primary responsibilities in these areas of work.

Research has revealed that children are strongly affected by socializing agents - parents, other kin, teachers and peers. (Basow, 1992, p.140). They generally learn the gender stereotypes early and well. Parents believe girls and boys are different and generally treat them accordingly, especially with respect to toys and chores. Different behaviours are modelled by each parent. By school-age, children know what boys and girls should and shouldn't do, and tend to behave in gender-appropriate ways.

In relation to the school environment, changes have been introduced to the curriculum in recent decades, to eradicate the sexism which previously had prevailed. However the hidden curriculum can be seen to exert subtle, yet powerful, influences (Evans, 1988). Teachers tend to believe the gender stereotypes, and many demonstrate differential treatment of girls and boys in their classes. In relation to the mass media, these represent a powerful socializing force. Gender stereotypes are confirmed and perpetuated in print and electronic media. Men are given more exposure "presumably because the gender pursuits associated with masculinity are presented as more important and also because ratings confirm that they interest both males and females more" (Edgar et al., 1993, p.470).

The most striking feature of the review of socialization forces conducted in the present chapter, is the consistency of the gender stereotypes conveyed. Through family interactions and activities, the school environment and media depictions, the two sexes are portrayed as differing widely in behaviour and status. Men typically are characterised as competent, dominant, active and important wage-earners. Women are portrayed as less important, passive, incompetent, nurturant and homemakers. And whereas women's workforce participation is recognised, home and child care are still portrayed as their special province.

In the chapter which follows, a case is put for those meanings associated with the breadwinner/homemaker norm being accorded ideological status, within the humanistic sociological perspective advanced by Thomas and Znaniecki (1927). Chapters 5 and 6, which follow, discuss this theoretical approach. In Chapter 7, the methodology is examined, including examples of its application to the present study.

CHAPTER FIVE

HUMANISTIC SOCIOLOGY (1) - THEORIES OF CULTURE AND PERSONALITY

.... since concrete social life is concrete only when taken together with the individual life which underlies social happening, since the personal element is a constitutive factor of every social occurrence, social science cannot remain on the surface of social happening ... but must reach the actual human experiences and attitudes which constitute the full, live and active social reality beneath the formal organization of social institutions, or behind the statistically tabulated mass-phenomena which taken in themselves are nothing but symptoms of unknown causal processes and can serve only as provisional ground for sociological hypotheses (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1834).

This and the following two chapters have as their main purpose that of presenting an overview of the theory and methodology of humanistic sociology. In terms of the present study's aims, this approach is seen to have a number of advantages over those which have influenced previous studies of gender differences and household work performance, some of which are discussed in preceding chapters. The chapter begins with a brief review of several of these methodological approaches. An overview of the development of Thomas and Znaniecki's humanistic sociology is provided. This is followed by the major discussion of humanistic theory, which is divided into three main parts. Firstly, the theory of culture is examined. The ideological system, which is the most vital element of culture according to this approach, is then discussed. Finally an overview is given of those authors' theory of personality.

REVIEW OF METHODOLOGIES - GENDER DIFFERENCES/HOUSEHOLD WORK RESEARCH

Studies on the performance of household work which were conducted in the 1950s and 1960s - some of which are referred to in Chapter 1 - could be seen to have been motivated by the functionalist theoretical initiative, which dominated that period. This did not question the universal roles of woman as housewife and man as breadwinner. The natural origins and practicality of such divisions of work for society were emphasised. Some of the methodological problems associated with such studies were referred to in Chapter 1.

Most research reviewed in the previous chapter (Chapter 4) could be assumed to fit within the broad category of socialization studies. These approaches, in stressing the learned aspects of such roles, may be seen to represent some advance on the earlier biological models. However, at another level, they have been criticised for a tendency "to replace a biological determinism by a sociological determinism" (Morgan, 1985, p.233). According to these approaches, children are reinforced or punished for various behaviours (direct learning) and also imitate the behaviour of others - in the home, at school, and in the

media and so on (social learning). Those individuals who are imitated serve as role models.

A further difficulty to have been identified with socialization studies, is that of an assumption of a relatively homogenous society, including a considerable degree of consensus about the expectations for such roles. Yet, as was noted in Chapter 4, variations exist in this regard across social groups; and individuals can be faced with ambiguous and conflicting expectations (see Basow, 1992). Further criticism of such approaches has concerned their inattention to historical and socio-political processes at work in a particular place and time; which processes, research conducted (particularly) by feminist investigators has revealed, have shaped these roles (Edgar, 1991(c), p.3). Latter approaches to the study of the family thus revealed such phenomena to be social constructions, as opposed to being 'natural' and unchanging (Carlson, 1990, p.8).

Theoretically, it may be possible to locate some of the studies reviewed in Chapter 2 within a broad feminist perspective (for example, Sharpe, 1984; Yeandle, 1984; Baxter et al., 1990). Women's economic dependence on men is viewed here as largely an outcome of their responsibility for unpaid work, and this is seen as essential for understanding what is perceived as women's continued subordination. Moreover, the gender division of labour in family households was considered a major factor contributing to gender segregation in the workforce. A central aim common to these studies, generally has been that of examining the social relations of household work, and the effects of those relations on women's access to paid work. The methodology employed differed from most earlier studies. Whereas with the latter, the concern was with large-scale surveys, the more recent research tended to concentrate on case study material and interviewing. Women's experience as mothers and housewives was a primary focus, including their attitudes towards housework and the care of children (Baxter et al., 1990).

The view of society which characterised feminist studies can be seen to be in striking contrast to that which had informed conventional socialization theories. Thus, feminists viewed society as being structured around fundamental relationships of inequality of gender and class, with a major interest being the way such relationships were maintained over time (Morgan, 1985, p.235). Their approach was thus characterised by a shift to the examination of ideology. Nevertheless, a problem which both approaches have been seen to share to some extent, is that of assuming relatively unproblematic responses on the part of individuals, to the various processes to which they are seen to be exposed. However, it should be noted that feminist psychodynamic theorists (for example Miller, 1976; Chodorow, 1978; 1990) and some phenomenological versions of socialization have been viewed as less defective in assuming the passivity of individuals in such processes (see Morgan, 1985, p.236).

It will become apparent, as the discussion proceeds, that a humanistic perspective has numerous advantages over such approaches as have been referred to above. Unlike

those, this approach permits a focus at both group (structural) and individual levels of analysis. Moreover, the theory of culture which the perspective incorporates accords major importance to ideology - a feature which is particularly valuable, given the area currently being investigated. Among further benefits of a humanistic approach to the present study, is the fact that its methodology - which is a logical outgrowth of the theoretical scheme - was designed to permit the investigation of the dynamic character of social life, including rapid social change.

DEVELOPMENT OF HUMANISTIC THEORY

Humanistic sociology is that variant of the social action orientation in sociology which, in Poland and the United States, was associated most frequently with the names of Florian Znaniecki and William Thomas. A contemporary appraisal and some developments to the perspective have been provided by Jerzy Smolicz and Margaret Secombe of Adelaide University, South Australia. They have applied the theoretical concepts and methodology to a range of investigations, notably in the area of multicultural education (Smolicz, 1979; 1981; Smolicz and Secombe, 1977; 1981). The theoretical discussion draws from the contributions of those writers as well as the work of Thomas and Znaniecki (1927), and numerous subsequent publications by Znaniecki.

Znaniecki (1882-1958) developed his sociological perspective in a series of publications which spanned three decades. The major explication appeared in the well-known work which he co-authored with Thomas, namely "The Polish Peasant in Europe and America" (hereafter referred to as "The Polish Peasant"). This was published as a five volume work during the years 1918-1920. It was republished in 1927 in a two volume edition, comprising close to 2,250 pages.[1] It is, then, a vast work. It represented the first endeavour in sociology to make use of personal documents as an instrument of research. A large number of letters, some of them in series extending over twenty years, exchanged by Polish immigrants in the United States and Germany with their families in Poland, provided much of the data for the study, which extended over several years. The authors employed the humanistic perspective to analyse and explain the changes in the lives of the Polish peasants, associated with their emigration from ethnic Poland to the countries referred to.

As Blumer stated in his critique of the work, "The Polish Peasant" was "much more than a mere monograph on the Polish peasant" (Blumer, 1939, p.5). It included also an extensive statement of the premises of social research, as well as the formulation of new theories of personal and social disorganization, and the nature and development of personality. Furthermore, it was widely acclaimed as a classic work in the history of American sociology; "and particularly for the insight it contained about individuals and the strategies they employ in dealing with rapid social change" (Bierstedt, 1969, p.10).

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[1] All references here are to this later edition.

It was Thomas and Znaniecki's contention that the change taking place in Polish peasant life was common with that in contemporary social life. In their work, then, they developed a comprehensive theoretical scheme, and proposed an extensive outline of a methodology, for the study and analysis of social life. This was designed to permit the investigator to establish relations between the essential factors involved in social change - or, as those writers preferred to refer to this - *"social becoming"*. It is perhaps pertinent to note at this point, that Znaniecki, particularly, was loathe to use such terms as "society" since, as Bierstedt put it, "they violated his sense of the flux and changefulness of the human scene". It was his usual claim that "he did not know what they meant" (Bierstedt, 1969, p.28). However, in "Cultural Sciences" (1963)[2] he did advance the following:

> *[Society represents] a separate whole, territorially located including biological human beings on the one hand and culture on the other hand. The culture of a society, ... is conceived as systematically integrated (Znaniecki, 1963, p.381).*

According to Bierstedt (who knew Thomas and Znaniecki personally), the significant contributions to sociology of "The Polish Peasant" were largely an outcome of the special and unique contributions of each of its authors. Both were very different in their intellectual talents and temperaments, and these differences facilitated a very positive collaboration . Concerning the contributions of each, Bierstedt (1969, p.11) observed that Thomas brought to the work "a psychological penetration, a comprehensive curiosity, and a rare wisdom". Znaniecki's concerns were with methodological and philosophical issues, and he contributed "a philosophical sophistication, an historical erudition, and a talent for systematization".

For several years prior to collaborating with Thomas, Znaniecki had been using the concept of value as the basic concept of a general philosophy of culture, and a book (Znaniecki, 1910) and several articles were published around this theme, which emphasised the significance of meaning (1909-14). All of these were in Polish. The "world of culture" according to Znaniecki, was a "world of values"; and values were conceptualized as "primary data of human experience". With Thomas's agreement, Znaniecki set about synthesizing this theory of values with that writer's theory of attitudes. Basically, the position taken was:

> *If attitudes have to be defined with reference to values found in a given collectivity , the meaning of these values to participants in this collectivity has to be ascertained by studying their attitudes. Cultural changes and psychological changes both have to be explained by causal interaction between values and attitudes (Znaniecki, 1963, p.238).*

The concepts of value and attitude - representing the "objective cultural elements of social life" and "the subjective characteristics of individuals", respectively - constituted the foundation for these writers' whole scheme and undertaking. The cue to the nature of these primary data was provided by the two fundamental practical problems:

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2   First published in 1952. All references are to this later edition.

- the problem of dependence of the individual upon social organization and culture; and
- the problem of the dependence of social organization and culture on the individual.

Since the individual and the social organization are the "factors of group life", then the basic data necessarily had to refer to these two factors. Hence, social theory, it was claimed, "if it is to become the basis of social technique and solve these problems really", must include both kinds of data involved with them - attitudes and values; which data "must be taken as correlated" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.20-1).

It should be noted here that not all the attitudes found in the conscious life of members of a social group were seen to have the same relevance for the purposes of humanistic social enquiry, at any point in time. Rather, "the importance of an attitude is proportionate to the number and variety of actions in which that attitude is manifest". Moreover, the more an attitude is shared generally by participants in a social group, and the greater its importance in the life and social activities of the individuals, the stronger the interest it provokes in humanistic analysis. It follows, then, that those attitudes which are either peculiar to a few members or which manifest themselves only on rare occasion have "a relatively secondary significance". (They could, however, become significant through some connection with more general and fundamental attitudes).

The attitudes which are of major significance in humanistic analysis, are those which not only express themselves in the actions of members, but which also find an indirect manifestation "in more or less explicit and formal *rules* of behavior". These rules (norms of conduct, for example) represent the means by which the group tends to maintain and regulate the actions of its members. Of interest to the sociologist, however, is not so much the particular conditions which these rules serve to generate (the social milieu), but rather how the individual evaluates and behaves with respect to these rules (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927 in Bierstedt, 1960, pp.76-7).

THEORY OF CULTURE

Quite early in his career, Znaniecki responded to the philosophical challenge of developing a systematic theory of culture. Thus, among his first philosophical writings (Znaniecki, 1910; 1912; 1919) he pursued the thesis that "culture constitutes a reality of its own and is no mere epiphenomenon of a natural universe" (Bierstedt, 1969, p.7). Then, in his first book to be published, titled "The Problem of Values in Philosophy" (1910), he formulated the hypothesis that all theories of culture required at their base a concept of values. Values, he argued,

> ... are the common data of human experience and which are not reducible to any combination either of natural objects or of subjective processes. They are unique and belong to a realm of their own, no part of the physical world and yet objectively accessible to inquiry (cited Bierstedt, 1969, p.6).

From the perspective he advanced, the essence of culture is seen to reside in human consciousness - in the complex of meanings which a group of people share as the basis of

their common life. Over generations, these meanings have become organized into "webs or constellations of meanings" which cover the various cultural domains (Smolicz and Secombe, 1981, p.3). Such a view of culture, then, is restricted to the realm of meaning; and excludes such "external objects" as art, historical monuments, manuscripts, institutions, settlements and so on. The latter are all interpreted as "correlates of culture", but not its constitutive elements. Culture as conceptualized here, therefore, may be seen to be restricted to what Ossowski defined as "certain patterns of muscular, emotional and mental responses which shape dispositions of group members and which are transmitted as heritage of the group" (Ossowski, 1966, quoted in Smolicz, 1979, p.34).

The world of meaning was particularly emphasised by Thomas and Znaniecki, and could be discovered only from the human agents actively involved in the phenomenon being investigated. Their approach thus may be seen to have been in direct opposition to the positivist approaches which predominated in their day. There was wide acceptance among social scientists of that era, that human situations should be studied by neutral, unbiased and detached observers with the same "objectivity" and with the same "value-free" approach as was alleged to be found in the physical sciences. Moreover, as Bierstedt (1969, p.16) commented, "perhaps a majority" of American sociologists at that time, were of the view that sociology could achieve its "proper stature as a science" only through the use of quantitative methods. Yet Znaniecki, particularly, was highly critical of what he referred to as "over-zealous efforts" to quantify social data. These he accused of "[sacrificing] the substance of valuable knowledge and true discovery for the shadow of mathematical formulae devoid of significant content" (Znaniecki, 1934, p.234, in Bierstedt, 1969, p.16).

A central and distinguishing characteristic of Thomas and Znaniecki's approach, it will be apparent, was its strongly anti-positivistic approach to the study of society. Znaniecki, particularly, stressed the need to interpret all cultural and social activities from the standpoint of the actors themselves. Every situation, he argued, must be studied by an investigator as it is experienced by the individuals who are conscious of it, and who produce and maintain it, and not from an outsider's assessment of it. To take account of this basic assumption in the process of sociological analysis, it was proposed that all data must be taken with the **humanistic coefficient**. The application of this concept enables the intentions, experiences and activities of individuals as active agents to be studied, within the context of their cultural situations and social roles, *"as they themselves perceive these external realities"* (Smolicz and Secombe 1981, p.4). This concept is examined more fully in Chapter 7, where humanistic methodology is outlined.

Thus, from a humanistic perspective, cultural data must always be viewed as belonging to somebody and not as an impersonal abstraction. Accordingly, each member of a social group is conceptualized as a distinct centre of experience and activity, with the "sum total of such centres" constituting the group social system, or the living framework within which the group's culture exists. Individuals, therefore, are seen to play the decisive

role in the creation, continuation, modification and disintegration of the group's cultural systems (Smolicz and Secombe, 1981, pp.3-4).

The Reality of Culture

Perhaps not surprisingly, given the time of his writings, Znaniecki was frequently "attacked" because of his "subjectivist tendencies". His response to this, however, was an uncompromising insistence on the "irreducibility of cultural data to either objective natural reality or subjective psychological phenomena" (cited in Smolicz 1974, p.32). Moreover, the substantiation of this was something which Znaniecki constantly addressed in his writings; for the threat of "dissolving the cultural in the psychological" was most acute in his meaning-oriented sociology. He dissociated himself from all views which smacked of psychological or positivist reductionism; and he argued unequivocally for the autonomy of culture. Cultural data, he insisted, exist "in their own right". This necessarily is a different kind of existence from that typical of the material objects of the natural world, but is no less objective. Cultural data can be regarded as objective "in their own specific sense" (Smolicz 1974, p.32).

For example, in relation to the "essential objectivity" of culture, he pointed out that the values constituting the common meanings in the group's life can always be "tested" by observing the way they are used by participant members. Thus, a value can be experienced an indefinite number of times by an indefinite number of individuals. In this sense, cultural values can be repeatedly scrutinised and therefore subjected to a form of testing. Furthermore, such activity may be conducted "almost as easily" for cultural experiences, as for say, natural observations or chemical experiments; since their "constituent elements", it was argued, "are not some products of introspective and untestable self-analysis, but values that preserve their content and meaning and are observable by anybody". Moreover, both the activities and symbolic expressions of people furnish evidence that a cultural datum exists independently of their current experience of it. Indeed, it exists as something that has been and can be experienced and used by others (as well as by themselves) - whether it does or does not exist in the natural universe (Smolicz, 1979, pp.27-28).

Consequently, from the perspective of humanistic sociology, culture represents a characteristic of human experience which cannot be accounted for adequately apart from human beings as active agents. Yet at the same time such cultural phenomena as initiations, traditions, customs and so on, cannot be analysed simply in terms of individual human characteristics. To quote Smolicz and Secombe here:

> In such instances, it is necessary to adopt a "holistic" perspective which maintains that the whole is something more than the sum of its component parts and that some characteristics of parts may appear only in union with the whole (Smolicz and Secombe, 1977, p.12).

Yet while it is firmly anchored in individual human characteristics, culture is something considerably more than a mere extension of human nature - a point which Znaniecki constantly emphasised, and which is captured succinctly in the following words of the humanistic sociologist, Mokrzycki: "For each person culture constitutes the characteristic traits of other individuals composed in a historically shaped whole, and these are external in relation to [her or] him" (Mokrzycki, 1965, p.20, quoted in Smolicz, 1979, p.29).

Bauman, a sociologist from outside the direct influence of the humanistic school, has provided an interesting commentary on such a view on culture. His own view was similar, as is evidenced in the following:

> Culture [is] a reality in itself, different from both the "hard", material constituents of the human world and its "soft", mental, introspective data. [However it is defined and described] the sphere of culture is always accommodated between the two poles of the basic experience. It is simultaneously the objective foundation of the subjectively meaningful experience and the subjective 'appropriation' of the otherwise inhumanely alien world ... It resists stubbornly all attempts to associate it uni-laterally with either one or the second pole of the experimental frame (Bauman 1973, pp.115-7, quoted in Smolicz, 1979, p.30).

Main Concepts

As has been seen, the basic concept of humanistic sociology is that of cultural value. This and the central concepts of group cultural system, group social system and attitude, are examined in the discussion that follows. Further concepts are more appropriately introduced in that section of the discussion which concentrates on the ideological system.

Basic Concept - Value

The concept of value was used to denote any cultural object, material or ideational, which possesses not only a given content which is accessible to the members of some social group, and which distinguishes it from other empirical objects; but also a particular meaning which it has acquired in the life of a group, and which is or may be, an object of activity. Meaning thus was seen to include cognitive, evaluative and emotional elements. The importance placed on it by the authors is evident in the following.

> We cannot neglect the meanings, the suggestions which objects have for [conscious individuals], because it is these meanings which determine [their] behavior; and we cannot explain these meanings as mere abbreviations of [individuals'] past acts of biological adaptation to [their] material environment - as manifestations of organic memory - because the meanings to which [they react] are not only those which material things have assumed for [them] as a result of [their] own past organic activities, but also those which these things have acquired long ago in society and which [individuals are] taught to understand during [their] whole education as conscious [members] of a social group (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1849).

The "individual counterpart" of a value was termed an attitude; and "activity, in whatever form", was seen as the bond between them. By attitude was meant the "process of individual consciousness which determines real or possible activity of the individual in the social world" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.21-22). This term's use here, then, is

substantially different from that of the psychologist's usage. For the latter, "attitude" refers to "a state of being that exists in a given individual at a given time" (Smolicz, 1979, p.27).[3]

In their use of the concept of value, these writers consistently differentiated between the "cultural" and "natural" worlds. This distinguished their approach most clearly from the perspectives of their contemporaries. To assist in clarifying the distinction, they differentiated between natural objects as things and cultural objects as values. It was argued that a value possesses both a given content (which distinguishes it as an empirical object from other objects) and a meaning (by which it suggests other objects - "those with which it has been actively associated in the past"). A thing "has no meaning, but only a content, and stands only for itself" (quoted in Smolicz 1974, p.17).

An example of a value in this society can be provided by, say, a wedding ring or a coin. Both objects, in addition to their metallic content, have a meaning in the consciousness of people familiar with them: the ring through its connection with the marriage ritual, reciting of vows, institution of marriage and so on; the coin through its buying power. By contrast, such natural things as a slab of granite or a river bed have a content only - or, are unlikely to be perceived as having a cultural meaning by a Western geologist who may study them. The natural thing, then, having no meaning for human activity, is treated as "valueless". If, however, it comes to assume a meaning, then it becomes a value. Its meaning, though, can become apparent only when it is defined in relation to the conscious activities of individuals in a given society: their thoughts, actions and feelings - or, their attitudes towards that value. Meaning, then, was seen as having cognitive, emotional and behavioural elements.

Group Cultural System

From Thomas and Znaniecki's perspective, then, the uniformities and similarities apparent in the activities, thinking and perceptions of a particular group of people are seen to derive from the meanings (values) its members learn as they participate in that group. It is in these common meanings which material objects, events, ideas, words, norms and so on have in the thinking and actions of a group's members that culture resides. Over generations, human thoughts, actions and associated emotional responses have become organized into systems of meanings, or values. These are termed group cultural systems - or group systems of values.

Group cultural systems encompass the various domains of culture - language, family, economy, religion, ideology and so on. Each system is seen to be comprised of a complex of values and these are directly or indirectly related in a causal network, such that each value is related to at least some others "in a more or less stable way within a particular period of time" (Buckley, 1967, p.41). Hence the components of these entities

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3   The attitude concept and its place in Thomas and Znaniecki's scheme, is examined more fully later, when the individual's role in the scheme is more specifically focussed upon. At this stage, the primary intent is on cultural phenomena at the group level.

covary with each being constrained by, or dependent upon, the state of the others. A group's system of ideological values is conceptualized as exercising vital coordinating and evaluating functions in relation to the organization and systematization of each of its numerous systems of values, and their totality.

The keys to understanding how these systems (as with all) operate, are the concepts of organization and wholeness. If a system represents a set of elements which stand in some consistent relationship to one another, then it can be inferred that the system is organized around those relationships. It can be further said that the elements comprising the system interact with each other in a predictable, "organized" manner. Likewise, it can be assumed that these elements, once combined, "produce an entity - a whole that is greater than the sum of its parts" (Goldenberg and Goldenberg, 1991, p.35). From this it follows that no system can be understood adequately, or fully explained, when broken down into component parts; and no element within the system can ever be understood in isolation, since it never functions independently. In Thomas and Znaniecki's words: "Every attitude and every value ... can be really understood only in connection with the whole social life of which it is an element" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.77, cited Blumer, 1939, p.35). It follows, therefore, that the full meaning of a value can be understood only by finding the part it plays in the cultural system as a whole. It is vital in sociological analysis, therefore,

> ... not to wrench the attitude and value out of their context. One must take into account the whole life of a given society (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.19).

Group Social System

When viewed from a humanistic perspective, individuals are values - or, more specifically, they are termed social values. They have both content and meaning. The study of content is concerned with individual's biological or psychological characteristics (and this, as a specific and direct focus, lies outside the concern of the sociologist). Sociological analysis concentrates on individuals' cultural characteristics - or, the meanings which individuals have for other individuals or groups (Smolicz and Secombe, 1981, p.8). It is recognised, though, that their social, biological and psychological characteristics may, in any given historical period, or time, or place, and in certain situations, be influential in terms of the meanings ascribed to individuals by others; or by individuals of others and themselves. Sex, age and skin colour (and inter-relationships among these) are examples of biological factors of potential influence in this regard.

The various groups, institutions and relationships in which individuals participate are viewed as social systems in which members constitute social values for one another. A family group, work team, social club or social clique constitute examples of group social systems. Each member, as a social value is, or may become, the object of the others' social actions and relationships. Moreover, as active agents - thinking, talking, interpreting, doing, choosing, deciding, relating, feeling - members act on all kinds of values, including

other members of their various social groups. Each of those groups in which individuals normally participate, may be conceptualized as representing a segment of their biographic existence.

The interactions and relationships between members of groups which exist over time, become patterned and systematized. For some groups - families, for example - positions are prescribed for members having a particular relationship with other members: mother, father, son, sister, husband, wife and so on. Cultural models (of values) exist which define the behaviours and attitudes expected of those members occupying these positions (models of attitudes). These models are influential in terms of the roles which develop. A "social role" was described by Znaniecki as being "like a social relation ... a dynamic system of attitudes which changes as it goes on" (Znaniecki, 1965, p.207).

With regard to group social systems, although there exists considerable variation between them in terms of such factors as their size, importance, and capacity to influence a given individual, Znaniecki emphasised a resemblance common to them. Thus, each is seen to be brought into existence by the cooperation of a certain number of individuals, and is maintained in existence by the continuing activities of those involved. As Chalasinski put it:

> Social groups do not exist outside individuals, but only in the experience of the individuals who are their respective members. A group is constituted by those individual experiences whose subject matter are common socio-cultural values and by that specific experience ... termed the consciousness of community (Chalasinski, 1979, p.41).

From this perspective, therefore, a social system is a cultural creation which resembles other cultural products. It differs however, in that "nearly every individual who participates in the activities which bring a social group into existence becomes also a part of the product itself as a group member" (Smolicz and Secombe, 1981, p.9, quoting Znaniecki, 1939).

In terms of the transmission of a group's culture, social groups are seen to perform vital functions. Thus, from the cultural materials (group systems of values) to which members have access through participating in the life of a group, they learn the group's culture. In particular, each individual is conceptualized as constructing from the available values, a life-organization - a systematized "set of rules" (attitudes); and this controls and guides their actions and thoughts in everyday life situations in ways (more or less) prescribed by the group (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1852-3). It should be noted that this concept corresponds to that termed "personal system of ideological attitudes" by Smolicz and Secombe (1979; 1981).

More is said concerning the life - organization, shortly. Certain special features of the personal system concept are referred to in Chapter 7. A particular contribution to humanistic theory (and analysis) of the personal system which should be mentioned here, is that it permits a specific focus on the active role played by individuals in using and evaluating cultural materials, as they apply these to actual life situations. Further, these

systematized sets of attitudes, the construction and use of which are seen to be powerfully influenced by ideological attitudes, are conceptualized as being constructed by individuals in all areas of their life. Thus, in the present study, for example, the interest lies in participants' personal system in the area of household work performance. The 'contents' of this (personal system) are ascertained by identifying each participant's single attitudes towards the division of this work in their household, and examining these in relation to their actual performance here (as reported by them). This is done with respect to each of three areas of work (child care, domestic tasks and home management / organization). It is appropriate at this point, to look more clearly at the concept of attitude.

Attitude

In discussing cultural activity from a humanistic viewpoint, it is helpful to keep a three stage sequence in mind. To begin with (and since it represents the experience of the individual), there exists a group value system. This encompasses the group's cultural systems (of values) across the various life domains. The next stage comes into operation when individuals make use of such values to construct a life organization / personal system of ideological attitudes. The third stage involves the transition from conceptual evaluation in the form of an attitude into a concrete act in the form of a tendency. Further, with respect to cultural activity, a humanistic perspective conceptualizes attitudes and values as being in a state of dynamic equilibrium. It is this interpenetration of individuals' attitudes with group values which is seen to be responsible for the dynamism of culture. It also provides a mechanism through which values external to a group, or new attitudes developing in individuals, can gradually be incorporated into a group's systems of values.

Attitudes and Actions (Tendencies)

The distinction between attitudes and actions was given greater emphasis in Znaniecki's later writings, than it was in "The Polish Peasant" (1927). Thus, in the latter work, those writers had concentrated their attention on the dialectical interaction between attitudes and values. However, Znaniecki's focus of interest latter shifted to the need for combining a study of ideas with a study of actions, "while consistently maintaining a distinction between them". Smolicz and Secombe have adopted such an emphasis in their efforts to show how "attitudes may supply the connecting link between ideology and action". In doing so, they used the nomenclature adopted by Znaniecki in what is probably his most significant work, "The Method of Sociology" (1968 - first published in 1934). Here, attitudes were essentially defined as the individual's potential for a particular course of action; whereas tendencies were related to its actual manifestation. The distinction is thus made then, between two types of attitudes. **Ideational** (or **symbolic**) attitudes are never translated into actions, while **realistic** attitudes have the potential to find their expression as tendencies in the performance of actions.

The importance of such a distinction can be readily demonstrated. For example, values and their reflection at the personal level frequently are prohibitive and negative, without providing any specific guidelines to act on. This is often the case with "normative judgements which state explicitly what *should not* be done" in situations which include certain values. Moreover, although they do not imply standards by which these values are to be judged, the standards may be positive or negative, and "in neither case do the norms prescribe what *should actually* be done to the values". Therefore, while they constitute ideological models of attitudes, presumably accepted by everybody, they do not contain patterns of actions: agents "can perform a great variety of actions while refraining from the kind of action [they] should not perform" (Znaniecki, 1963, p.270).

An example Smolicz gave of the above was the Australian ideological value which stresses the importance of not discriminating against individuals on the basis of race, ethnicity, religion, gender and so on. As that writer put it :

> *Most Australians presumably accept such a value and in some way include it in their personal systems. They are fully aware about the badness of discrimination; at the same time no realistic attitudes are provided to guide them in their actual conduct towards [those persons and situations concerned] (Smolicz, 1979, p.52).*

The presence of realistic attitudes for those situations which may arouse racist, sexist or other discriminatory actions in individuals, it was contended, would (for example) "prevent them from being irritated when they hear tongues which they do not understand, or feeling uneasy when olive-skinned neighbours arrive in their street" (Smolicz, 1979, p.52). And, in the area of gender, for example, individuals would not be "...appalled that middle-aged women with husbands to support them are holding down jobs that younger women could be doing" (Mavis Thomas - Letter to the Editor, *The Advertiser*, January 16, 1992). Nor would they make such statements as made by an alderman from Adelaide City Council, apparently concerned about the increasing number of women on council, and pending his retirement, viz: "When I quit in August, you watch. The bloody council will be in the hands of housewives" (Philip White, journalist, *The Advertiser*, June 19, 1992, quoting Alderman Con Bambacus).

Further support for the importance of distinguishing between attitudes and actions, is the "well known fact that people frequently do not live up to the ideals which they themselves profess" (Smolicz, 1979, p.52). That is, they construct personal systems based upon values which result in "very praiseworthy attitudes" and which they may rarely be capable of (or committed to) translating into actions. Such attitudes can also be described as "ideational" in the scheme being applied here. This same "special relationship" between attitudes and actions also arises when new values are emerging. In such instances, new corresponding attitudes may be incorporated in individuals' personal systems; however, because of various impediments, they may remain for some time in the form of ideational attitudes which those individuals are unable, or unwilling, to activate immediately into

tendencies (Smolicz, 1979, p.53). This is a finding in relation to the personal systems of some participants in the present study. An example will be drawn from this, by way of illustrating this point.

Most participants in the study reveal that they have drawn from two value types concerning household work performance, in constructing their personal systems of attitudes in this area of life. The traditional type, corresponding to the male breadwinner/female homemaker rule and which prescribes women's greater involvement/responsibility in the home, relative to men's, is identified. And there is evidence for a new type, which defines equal involvement/responsibility here, when both women and men partners are employed. This is termed here a new equity value. In relation to this latter value type, just over one-third of participants consistently activate the corresponding attitudes which they have incorporated into their personal systems. Respondents' comments were illuminating in terms of barriers some identified, to their and their partner achieving equitable work arrangements. These frequently drew attention to the continuing influence of traditional ideological values on their lives.

The discussion moves now, to make a more detailed examination of the ideological system (of values), as this is conceptualized in humanistic sociology.

THE IDEOLOGICAL SYSTEM

Since the term ideology, as employed here, differs in important ways from the more common usage, it is appropriate at the outset to clarify this term from the perspective being adopted.

Concept of Ideology

As it is used in the present context, the concept of ideology is broader and more inclusive than that which is commonly understood in the popular meanings of the term. For example, it does not carry with it any connotation of economic or political power- as is found for example in Marxist and Feminist-inspired sociology or political science (Smolicz, 1979, p.34). As the term is used here, ideology may refer, for example, to such diverse cultural phenomena as a group's language, or a social norm, or particular form of family structure (Smolicz, 1979; Smolicz and Secombe, 1981). A further distinguishing characteristic, is that it is assumed to be influenced and shaped importantly by actions: the actions and interactions of individuals, as these occur through their everyday involvement and participation in group life. Such activation of their ideological attitudes (or not) is seen as affecting both the course of duration of an ideology and the range of its extension (Znaniecki, 1963, p.281). Like other values, then, ideological values are seen "[to] draw all their reality, all their power to influence human life" from the attitudes which are expressed, or supposedly expressed, in them" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, in Bierstedt, 1969, p.80).

The group's system of ideological values is taken here as the most vital element of its culture. Values in this system include the group's rules of conduct and principles of judgement which all members are supposed to abide by; as well as those values which are intimately connected with group and individual identities. Moreover, this system is seen to co-ordinate and integrate all other cultural and social systems.

Hence, ideological systems are characterised by the scope of their influence: they regulate almost all activities and thought processes of a group's members (Znaniecki, 1963, p.263). Literature reviewed in previous chapters of this study reveals the pervasive nature of values associated with the traditional norm prescribing income provision to men and homemaking/caring to women. They are found to be "common data" in the experiences of those who conducted and reported these studies (Chapter 1), as well as the subjects whose unpaid and paid work situations were investigated (Chapters 1 and 2). These values also are shown to be reflected in and reinforced by mainstream institutions - political, economic, legal and educational (Chapter 3 and 4). In Chapter 3, it is seen that they exercise a major influence on interventions involving the state and families.

The wide scope of these gender divisions in paid and unpaid work, then, is well documented, thus attesting to their ideological significance in this society, from the theoretical perspective adopted here. In the discussion which follows, other characteristics of the values corresponding to these work arrangements are identified, which add further support for their inclusion within the ideological system, as conceptualized here. Notable in this regard is their use for the process of evaluation of items of culture. (The use of sanctions and reinforcing activities is considered in Chapter 6).

Rules: Norms of Conduct and Standards of Evaluation

Values corresponding to the male breadwinner/female homemaker norm, it is being suggested here, are ideological values. They are seen to fit into that special category of values referred to by Thomas and Znaniecki as "formal rules of behaviour". It is through its rules that a group tends to maintain and regulate its members' behaviours: "to make more general and more frequent the corresponding type of actions among its members". Examples of these rules include social norms, customs and rituals, legal and educational norms, obligatory beliefs and aims and so on (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.33). Rules thus represent the ways of thinking and acting which all members of a society should adhere to. It is out of such rules that social institutions and the social organization are constituted.

> The rules of behavior, and the actions viewed as conforming or not conforming with these rules, constitute with regard to their objective significance a certain number of more or less connected and harmonious systems, which can be generally called social institutions, and the totality of institutions found in a concrete social group constitutes the social organization of this group (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.31).

From these authors' perspective then, social institutions are not simply organizations which have developed. Rather, they are systems of rules (values) which prescribe ways of acting and thinking, and which thus provide stability and predictability in everyday life. Individuals who act in conformity with these values can be viewed as sustaining society and its rules - or (re)creating the group's culture. Hence, to gain a comprehensive understanding of social institutions requires that investigators not limit their research to the abstract study of formal organizations. Rather, it requires an analysis of the way the institutions appear in the life and personal experiences of members of the group; and following the influence they have on their lives (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1833). Social institutions "depend for their very existence on the participation of conscious and active human agents and upon their relations with one another" (Bierstedt, 1969, p.19).

Rules qualify as values in the framework adopted here, since (like other values) each rule has an empirical content, which is accessible to a group's members; and a meaning "with regard to which it is or may be an objective of activity". With regard to the latter, this is apparent insofar as individuals may consciously realise the rule as binding; or they may bring to bear other attitudes which may have a negative impact upon a rule (or several rules). Rules are thus considered not only with regard to the attitudes **expressed** in them but also the attitudes and actions **provoked** by them. Moreover, corresponding to any rule there may be "many various attitudes". Likewise, a certain attitude " ... may bear positively or negatively upon many rules and actions". The action engaged in (either in agreement or disagreement with the rule) "becomes also a value, by which a certain attitude of appreciation or depreciation is attached in various forms" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, in Bierstedt, 1969, p.79).

Regarding a group's rules, the culture is seen to provide "models" of thinking and acting in relation to their influence. These are "models" in the sense that they are supposed to serve as "perfect" examples of the "right" thinking and actions for the group members concerned, in the situations to which they refer (Znaniecki, 1963, p.268). This distinction between thinking and actions is one which was consistently stressed by Znaniecki, and is taken up later in the chapter. It is based on the recognition that knowledge (and even a general acceptance) of a rule is different from its application.

Promulgators of Rules

Although there may exist a wide range of differences between groups and individuals in a society - based on factors like ethnicity, class, age, gender, and so on - with regard to a group's rules, **every** member of the community **should** abide by them. As Znaniecki put it:

> From the point of view of those who promulgate definite standards of values and norms of conduct everybody "should recognise" them as valid and "should not deny their validity"; the attitudes of all who accept them are "right" the attitudes of all who reject them are "wrong". Also, in as much as the standards refer to objects with which human agents are dealing and the norms to activities bearing on these objects, every agent who deals with them "ought to

act" in accordance with these norms and "ought not to act" in any way which conflicts with them; actions which conform are "right", actions which conflict are "wrong" (Znaniecki, 1963, p.267).

Those who formulate standardizing values and normative judgements about conduct (judges, lawyers and so on) generally do so with the intent of regulating others' actions: "to make agents who face situations including these values define them in accordance with these standards and act in accordance with these norms" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1963, p.268). Frequently, these judgements become encapsulated and recorded in various forms of official documentation of a society - as, for example, in legal acts, described as " ... the final recorded results of past active performances of judges" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1963, p.188). Furthermore, their judgements about the desirability or not of particular ways of thinking and acting are claimed by them (and others) to possess *"an objective validity"*. That is, "the definitions of situations which they communicate to others are supposed to be more than manifestations of their own subjective attitudes" (Znaniecki, 1963, p.65).

As Znaniecki observed, where others agree with such judgements (and many are guided by them) this indicates that "they accept as objectively valid the standards of values and norms of conduct which the authors have formulated". Such acceptance, however, does not eliminate differences between individuals, as they go about their everyday lives (and which for some will include such actions as the policing and implementation of a society's laws). However, by subjecting all attitudes and actions to common criteria of validity, it superimposes upon them what may be called the same "ideal type" which all of them presumably approximate (Znaniecki, 1963, p.265).

As Kimmel observed, there is a tendency for that which is institutionalised in a society, and which is constructed and enforced through socialization and sanctions - the "normative" - to be seen as " ... normal, designed by nature acting through culture". It is through such a process - "of making a power situation appear as a fact in the nature of the world" - that traditional authority may be seen to work. What is normative, in fact, " ... is not normal, but the result of a long and complex set of social conflicts among groups" (Kimmel, 1990, p.95, also citing anthropologist Maurice Bloch). It is worthy of comment that Znaniecki, in his methodological note to "The Polish Peasant" drew attention to such problems, as they may affect research. To quote him:

> *... in treating a certain body of material as representing the normal, another body of material as standing for the abnormal, we introduce at once a division that is necessarily artificial; for if these terms have a meaning it can be determined only on the basis of investigation, and the criterion of normality must be such as to allow us to include in the normal, not only a certain stage of social life and a limited class of facts, but also the whole series of different stages through which social life passes and the whole variety of social phenomena (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, in Bierstedt, 1969, p.59).*

Evaluating Function of Ideological System: Concepts of Heritage and Tradition

The main purpose of an ideological system is that of guiding not only the present, but also the future experiences and activities of a group's members (Znaniecki, 1963, p.282). One of the critical functions of this system then, is to act as an evaluating agent for items of culture. It is the constant evaluation by each new generation which makes culture a highly malleable rather than a static phenomenon. In systematic terms, those aspects of culture which are positively evaluated overall and hence retained, are passed on to succeeding generations, as the group's heritage. The remaining aspects of culture

> ... represent innovations either generated more or less internally (eg. through scientific or technological progress originating mainly from within the group) or imported from 'outside', i.e.. from cultural systems of other groups by a process of cultural diffusion (Smolicz and Secombe, 1981, p.12).

The evaluating function of the ideological system may be seen as being twofold. One of its functions is to assess the significance, or relevance, of new values to a particular group. The other is to bear upon the heritage of the group. Heritage refers to that part of culture which comes down from the past. This then is evaluated in terms of its capacity to meet the current and changing needs of the group. These functions of the ideological system are evident at the present time in this society, with respect to ideological values corresponding to the male breadwinning/female homemaking norm. Thus, in relation to assessing the suitability of newly emerging values, the following statements provided by researchers and concerning which they sought responses from participants in their studies, could be taken as examples of such evaluation taking place. The replies of participants provide similar evidence.

> Both [partners] should contribute to family income - 36 per cent of males and 45 per cent of females agreed with this statement (Edgar and Glezer, 1992(a)).

> Men should share equally in child care - 85 per cent of males and 91 per cent of females agreed with this statement (Edgar and Glezer, 1992(a)).

Regarding the use of ideological values in evaluating heritage, with respect to its capacity to meet the needs of the present generation of members, the following statements, also taken from a researcher's survey instrument, and the replies, could be similarly taken as examples.

> A husband's job is to earn money; a wife's job is to look after the home and family - 26 per cent of females agreed and 55 per cent disagreed, while 32 per cent of males agreed, and 46 per cent disagreed with this statement (Vandenheuvel, 1991(b)).

> A woman should devote almost all her time to a family - 29 per cent of females agreed with this statement and 51 per cent disagreed with it; 30 percent of males agreed and 46 percent of males disagreed (Vandenheuvel, 1991(b)).

Heritage which is subject to active evaluation in this way is referred to as "the living tradition of the group" (Smolicz and Secombe, 1981, p.12). Thus, tradition may be seen as that part

of heritage which excites feelings of approval or disapproval in the current generation, by involving it in an act of identification or disassociation with predecessors (Smolicz, 1979, pp.35-36 - also citing Szacki, 1969). When referred to in this way,

> *Tradition cannot be regarded as simply any type of link between the past and present - it cannot be submitted to mechanically and unthinkingly - but demands an active display of the sentiments of acceptance or rejection (Smolicz, 1979, p.36).*

As it is conceptualized here, then, tradition cannot be accounted for without reference to the phenomenon of human consciousness. It must be viewed with its humanistic coefficient - that is, how it appears to individuals who actively experience and appraise it (Znaniecki, 1963, p.132). From this perspective then, tradition may be seen as malleable in character, with each generation having a degree of latitude in the way it can select aspects of heritage for particular emphasis, and underplay (or even reverse) the evaluation of others. In this way, those living today can reshape and modify heritage to suit their present needs. At those times when heritage fails to supply cultural items suited to the group's particular circumstances and requirements, these may be "invented" without violating the concept of tradition. As Smolicz observed:

> *... it is not so much a question of whether a particular interpretation of some cultural item from the past is historically accurate, but whether the newly propagated or emergent tradition meets the right ideological climate of values (Smolicz, 1979, p.37).*

Where heritage is no longer actively evaluated, it ceases to form part of the group's tradition, although it will retain its place as part of cultural heritage. In relation to the latter, a culture's tangible records (for example in books or other forms of records) is crucial for this retention. Smolicz (1979, p.38) has noted that where such are destroyed (or in pre-literate societies), past ideological systems "pass into utter oblivion and hence disappear from the group's heritage".

The above writer further observed that, by assigning importance to the evaluative function of the ideological system, "the frequent pitfall of associating tradition with various customs, rites and observances, and thereby ignoring its primary ideological significance" can be avoided. Moreover, the humanistic definition of tradition also serves to underline its malleable nature; as well as its special characteristic as "evaluated heritage". Such evaluation is not permanent, in the sense that each generation has a degree of latitude in the process: "those living today can reform and adjust heritage to tailor it to their current needs" (Smolicz and Secombe, 1981, p.13). A point which should not be lost sight of, however, in discussing the key role which the ideological system plays in shaping the tradition of the group, is that the ideological values which group members activate for the purposes of evaluation are themselves part of the system. In fact, "they constitute its very heartland" (Smolicz, 1979, p.37).

Presumed Permanence of Ideological Systems

A further characteristic of ideological systems which should be noted, is the assumption of their permanence. Thus, in well-integrated systems, it is assumed by those who promulgate and accept definite standards of values and norms of conduct, that they are "essentially changeless" (Znaniecki, 1963, p.276). These rules constitute "models for all human thinking, present and future, about the values and ways of acting, to which they refer". The validity of the judgements formulating such standards and norms, then, "is seen not to be affected by the flux of events; it is above time, just as the truth of theoretic judgements is above time". Likewise in relation to its adherents - an ideological system is assumed to be changeless because of "the absolute validity of its main components". Such an assumption can persist, perhaps indefinitely, even though the composition of the system undergoes modification. As Znaniecki stated,

> New judgements may be promulgated and incorporated into it, and some old judgements may be discarded; yet the system continues to be regarded as essentially unchanged (Znaniecki, 1963, p.276)

Among reasons for the above are that newly introduced standards and norms,

> ... may be interpreted either as an explicit formulation of some ideational model which was already implicitly contained in the fundamental principles of the system, though not verbally expressed, or else as an application of its fundamental principles to new situations which its adherents have to face (Znaniecki, 1963, p.276)

The discarding of "old" standards or norms may be justified in certain circumstances - as for example, when they are no longer required for "the guidance of human valuations and activities" because the situations to which they were applied no longer exist. An interesting finding of studies reported in earlier chapters (1 and 2) in this regard, was that despite the emergence of new values concerning women's involvement in the workforce and the institutionalisation of some of these (as in Equal Opportunity and Affirmative Action legislation and so on), the "old" rules were not discarded, but rather, continued to exert influence. This was evident in the particular meanings which individuals ascribed to women's involvement here: for example, their paid work being secondary to their primary responsibility for family; and certain characteristics of actions in which individuals engaged, as in some women's choice of part-time work. Consequently, it may be argued that the "fundamental principles" of the traditional ideology have been applied to the new situation which individuals were facing (Znaniecki, 1963, p.276).

To return to the assumed changeless characteristics of ideology, Znaniecki cited as an example here the continued acceptance by Catholic theologians of the ideological system of the Roman Catholic Church being "essentially unchanged" in its main theological and ethical doctrines since the seventh century. There have, in fact, been "quite a few important philosophic, legal, and economic innovations ... incorporated into it, and quite a few old conceptions have been dropped" (Znaniecki, 1963, pp.276-7). Yet the main

principles of the system were assumed by those who expected this and who considered these valid, to remain unchanged. (See Znaniecki's discussion on "certain similarities underlying the differences" between religious and secular ideologies in chapter 10, "Cultural Sciences", 1963, pp.276-90).

Znaniecki saw the assumption of this essentially changeless character of an ideological system by those who accept its validity "[as being] the main source of the old and persistent antithesis between stable cultural order and cultural change". That writer also noted the "evaluative connotation" which theorists and investigators (and others) frequently use in relation to this antithesis. Thus, when an ideological system has been established and accepted as "absolutely valid" by a group, "a normal stable cultural order" requires that this system remain unchanged: that it continue to be accepted as binding for members' actions. Changes in standards and norms, then, "imply deterioration, passage from good to bad, from order to disorder, from organization to disorganization" (Znaniecki, 1963, p.277). Individuals may hanker for the stability and order of the past. They may fear for the survival of an institution - or even society itself.

The history of the family during the course of the twentieth century is replete with such instances. Among the perceived threats to the family in this period were birth control, divorce, informal cohabitation and, more recently, reproduction technology. In 1904 for example, birth control was described by a New South Wales (Australia) Royal Commission as a threat to "the value of the family as the basis of social life" (quoted in Gilding, 1991, p.3). However, by the 1950s, the threat had subsided and social scientists then described birth control as "a feature of the Australian family". The distinction was regularly made, then, between large families and small families. At this time, however, divorce emerged as a new threat to the family: this resulted in "broken families". By the 1960s, though, broken families had been redefined. They were now "one-parent families". However, new threats were emerging..

Towards the end of the sixties, perceived threats to the family were numerous. They included, to a greater or lesser degree, working mothers, homosexuality, permissiveness, divorce and teenage delinquency (Gilding, 1991, p.121). In this period there existed grave fears for the family's future: it was indeed perceived as an institution in a state of disintegration. The anxiety of the 1970s was crystallised in an oft-quoted article by Peter McDonald (1983): "Can the family survive?" (Gilding, 1991, p.121). However, there were others - among them some academic sociologists and government policy advisers - who agreed that the family was not breaking down, but changing. It was even claimed by some that "families were more stable and healthier" than many may have imagined (Gilding 1991, p.131, also quoting Edgar (1985)). The Australian Institute of Family Studies (of which Edgar was at the time Director) led the way in redefining the family - or, in Gilding's words "modernising the concept of family". "There was not one Australian family but 'many Australian families'" (Gilding, 1991, p.131).

... and of the situation today? As Gilding concluded from his historical investigation of Australian families:

> For the most part ... the family is still presented - as it was in the post-war decades - as 'something natural and objective, one of the basic units of society' (Gilding, 1991, p.132).

Antithesis: Stable Order and Change

Not only theorists, Znaniecki observed, but also investigators, frequently have considered cultural order as essentially stable, and have contrasted it with cultural change. This, he explained, was associated with the fact that

> many of them [investigated] the products of ideational culture as given to them at the time of the investigation, abstracted from the actions of those who have produced them and used them (Znaniecki, 1963, p.278).

Thus, the presumed changelessness of an ideological system was seen by Znaniecki as an inevitable outcome of an investigatory approach which concentrated upon the **content** of the system within a specified time-period. Such a method neglected the **meanings** which the system held for those who used it. Furthermore, no account was taken of factors of "historical origin and background, [the system's] interdependence with other ideational products or the influence it has exercised upon human actions" (Znaniecki, 1963, p.278).

That an ideology should appear changeless to those who might reconstruct it as a system of ideas, Znaniecki observed, "is a scientifically significant fact".

> It cannot be simply discarded as an illusion or an error, although it conflicts with historical evidence that the content and meaning which such a system had for those who use it inevitably change in the course of history (Znaniecki, 1963, pp.280-1).

It was Znaniecki's contention that written records of the historical past generally provided much more reliable evidence concerning ideological models of attitudes, than did the evidence about actions derived from descriptions by observers. As he stated, insofar as standards and norms are intended to regulate actions, the theorist investigating an ideological system implicitly or explicitly postulates (and not without justification) that the activities of the group where that system is accepted, are ordered in accordance with its requirements (unless the evidence contra-indicates that); "taking for granted, of course, that any individual deviations are apt to occur". Hence, where a system apparently continues to be accepted without "notable changes", the "cultural order of the community is assumed to remain essentially changeless". If at some later time, a different ideological system is found to have become explicitly substituted for an earlier one "this means that a new cultural order has taken the place of a previous one". This, claimed Znaniecki,

> ... is how political historians, economic historians, historians of religion, literature, or art, divide the past of particular cultures into sequences of periods, each period marked by a relatively stable order and separated from the preceding and succeeding period by a process of change (Znaniecki, 1963, pp.278-9).

Comte was the first theorist to use the contrast between stable order and change as a basis for dividing sociology (in the sense of a general science of culture) into two parts: "social statics" - that is theory of "society" as an ordered cultural system at a given stage of its existence; and "social dynamics" - that is, theory of change (which he conceived as progress) from an earlier to a later stage. Znaniecki saw such a division as having been implicitly or explicitly adopted by many sociologists since that time, although the terminology was varied (Znaniecki, 1963, pp.279-80).

The antithesis between stable order and change can be eliminated in cultural research, he argued, by the methodology he proposed, which combines "studies of ideas with actions, while consistently maintaining a distinction between them". Such an approach uses the humanistic coefficient in defining the phenomena being investigated. It is then found that "the distinction between stability and change pervades all human thinking about cultural phenomena. ...[The] content and meaning which such a system has for those who use it inevitably change in the course of history" (Znaniecki, 1963, pp.280-1).

Although the two types of phenomena referred to above - ideas/attitudes and actions - can be, and have been, investigated separately, "in the historical world of cultural reality they are inseparably connected". The main task of all investigators, argued Znaniecki, is "to discover and analyze their most important connections". And when such a task is "adequately performed",

> ... not only will the antithesis between cultural stability and cultural change be eliminated, but scientists will be able to overcome the present dualism of psychological typologies of human behavior, based on the study of actions apart from cultural products, and historico-ethnological typologies of cultures, based upon the study of cultural products apart from actions (Znaniecki, 1963, p.281).

The discussion moves now to an examination of several concepts introduced into humanistic theory by Smolicz and Secombe (Smolicz, 1979; 1981; Smolicz and Secombe, 1981). These are the concepts of overarching values and core values. They are found to have some relevance for understanding the powerful influence of those ideological values of major interest in the present study.

Overarching Values

Smolicz (1979) used the terms "overarching", and "shared", to describe those (shared) values which have evolved in a society governed by some degree of consensus but which is comprised of various diverse and conflicting groups - groups formed on the basis of ethnicity, race, class and so on. Overarching values provide "a kind of cultural umbrella" which is of particular importance in a democratic society, since it is only such an agreement upon certain "fundamentals of life" which enables some guarantee of stability and cohesion

amidst such diversity. 4 At the same time though, these values, which encapsulate a particular version of reality, come to be seen and accepted as inevitable and 'natural'. As William James, long ago, put it: "any object which remains uncontradicted is *ipso facto* believed and posited as absolute reality" (cited in Edgar et al., 1993, p.280 - also quoting Pollner, 1975) (see also Kimmel's (1990) discussion on masculinity).

In Chapter 4, research on gender stereotypes is cited which indicates that notions of men's breadwinning and women's child care responsibilities extend across many groups (that is, those based on class, ethnicity, etc. See Basow, 1992, pp.8-11). They also are reflected in the realities of most women's and men's lives (see Chapters 1 and 2). It is seen in Chapters 2 and 3 that these values became entrenched in social institutions in this country during the first half of the twentieth century. It could be suggested therefore, that these values "overarch" Australian society (Smolicz, 1979).

Theoretically, there does exist a choice about which of the numerous competing versions of experience in a society is officially sanctioned as the "correct" version of the world. However, in most modern, so-called democratic societies, the overarching framework tends to be comprised of values from the dominant groups. It is predominantly the values of these groups which are incorporated in mainstream societal institutions - political, legal, economic and educational. Thus, as Smolicz observed in relation to Australian society:

> ... the culture of the dominant group is bolstered up by the full authority of a government bureaucracy and propagated by mass media and a compulsory system of education (Smolicz, 1979, p.9).

In this society, the dominant groups are comprised mainly of white, male, heterosexual, Anglo-Australians from the middle-classes. It is primarily such individuals who occupy the most powerful positions, including those in government and concerned with the formulation and enactment of laws and policies (Bryson, 1992). A similar situation and group composition is found in Britain (Gittins, 1985) and the United States (Basow, 1992).

A society's overarching values, although they may represent primarily the heritage of dominant groups, as discussed above, "... ultimately become the property of all groups" (Smolicz, 1984, p.11). Yet these values, obviously, cannot serve the interests of all groups equally. In fact, as Smolicz has commented, members of these groups may (and do) "arrange" the various institutional systems in ways which suit their own particular needs, interests and advantage. An outcome of this is a situation in Australia where inequalities in relation to gender, race, ethnicity and class (defined in terms of wealth and income) are "entrenched features" of the society (Batten, Weeks and Wilson, 1991, p.xvii).

Like all values, overarching values are not static. They are dynamic, being maintained and modified by individuals who use and evaluate them. Hence, it is possible

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4   Even authoritarian societies, Smolicz pointed out, which manage their affairs by coercion, "usually search for some set of shared beliefs, be they religious or political, to reinforce their rule" (Smolicz, 1981, pp.21-2).

for a value originally shared by members of a subordinate group to be accepted by other groups, and eventually to penetrate the overarching framework (Smolicz, 1979, pp.2-4). An example may be given with respect to the gendered breadwinning/homemaking norm. Values associated with this, it is claimed here, fit within the ideological system. They also may be classified as overarching values according to Smolicz's criteria, referred to above. A challenge to the traditional norm, in the form of increasing numbers of married women entering paid employment, had been occurring in Australia from the 1950s. Yet for a further several decades, mainstream institutional structures (laws, policies, and so on) continued to reflect traditional values (for example marriage bars in the public service and lower rates of pay for women). Important among factors which succeeded in achieving change was a politically-active women's movement in the 1970s and 1980s (see Chapter 6).

Overarching Values - Australia, Britain and America

Different cultures may have common values in their overarching framework. In relation to Australia, Smolicz has referred to numerous similarities with certain other Western industrialised societies. He also noted the British influence here, particularly in relation to Australia (see Smolicz, 1981, p.22). Such a situation - of values overarching several cultures - is seen to operate as a powerful force in reinforcing and sustaining the values concerned. Research findings cited in Chapters 1 and 2 reveal that gender divisions in unpaid and paid work are common to a number of these societies, suggesting similar corresponding values in their overarching frameworks.

Vandenheuvel (1991(a); 1991(b)) examined the values prevailing in Australian, British and American societies in areas relating to women's employment and their traditional nurturing/child care involvement. It was found that traditional values, as for example, in the importance to pre-school children's well-being of a mother's involvement in their care - were evident in all these countries. Fifty three per cent of Australians thought that a pre-schooler was most likely to suffer from the mother's employment. Forty eight per cent of British respondents held this view also. Americans were least likely to hold this view (43 per cent).

In relation to married women's involvement in paid employment, traditional values also were apparent. Thus, Australians were most likely (50 per cent) to think that "the family suffers" when a mother takes full-time employment. Next came the British (42 percent) and the Americans (35 per cent). Similar values were evident in responses to questions which sought views on whether women should work full-time, part-time or stay at home, as can be seen in Table 5.1 (overleaf). Accordingly, "stay at home" was the preferred choice when there was a child under school age; and part-time employment after the youngest child started school.

Table 5.1: A Comparison of Family Values - Australia, Britain and America
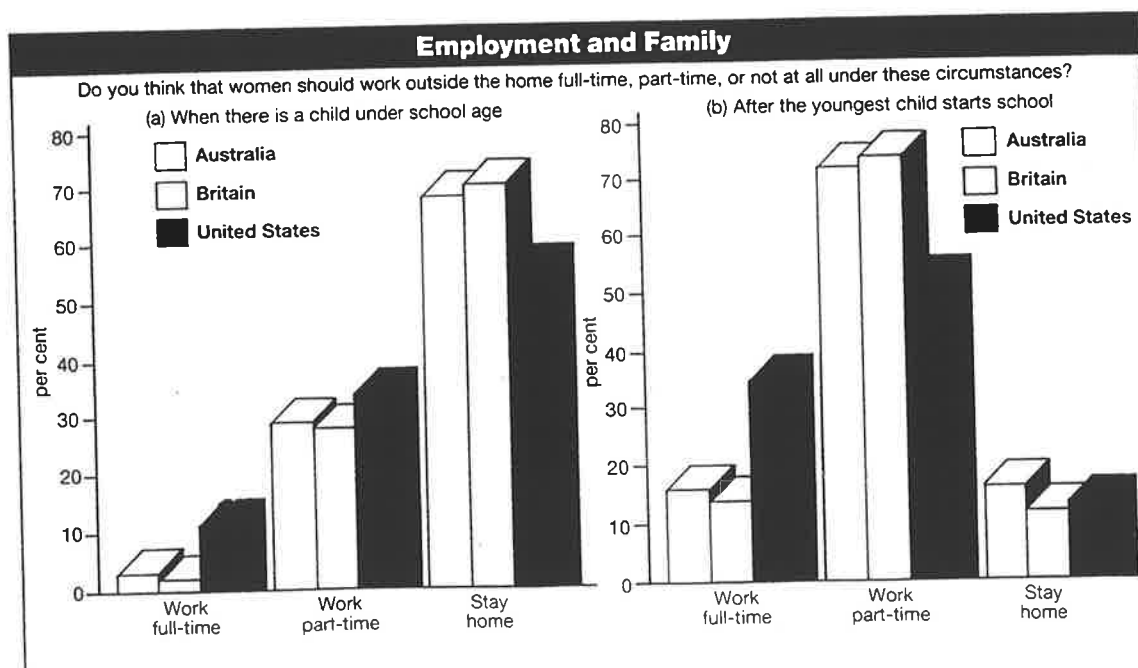
Source: Vandenheuvel (1991(a)): In a Class of Our Own? An International Comparison of Family Values. Family Matters, No. 29, August, p.21).

The existence of common (shared) meanings in the areas investigated is readily discernible from the table. The strong British influence on the development of Australia could be interpreted as contributing to the greater similarity evident in the value orientations of that country and Australia. (Until World War II, the population of Australia, excluding the Aboriginal people, was largely of British descent). The sense of cohesion arising from overarching values common to Western societies (civilization) may be recognised by individuals when they have contact with people brought up in other civilizations, and experience the significant personal and cultural differences which exist.

Unquestioned Acceptance

An important outcome of the existence of shared overarching values across cultures, is that such a situation restricts opportunities for individuals' exposure to alternative ways of thinking and acting in the areas of social life affected. Consequently, the chances are reduced for them to acquire new understandings and insights which, ultimately, they might bring to bear on the re-evaluation of prevailing ideological values, and which may lead to a modifying, or challenging of these. When values become deeply embedded, such that they reflect "the unstated assumptions" of a culture or a whole civilization, "they are taken for granted and accepted unquestioningly" (Smolicz, 1979, p.71).

References have been made several times so far, to the above feature of the gendered breadwinning/homemaking norm in this society, and others. It is noted in Chapter 1, that investigators of the 1950s and 1960s took their hidden assumptions

regarding this area of life, into their research. Other examples may be used to illustrate this point.

An example which Smolicz has provided, is that concerning the Western concept of time. He has noted that most of us who are brought up in Western civilization, find it very difficult to see beyond our Newtonian concept of linear time; and furthermore "naively believe it to be the only possible one". Yet such a concept of absolute time, independent of events, was unknown in either the Orient or the ancient world (Smolicz, 1979, p.71). It has been described by one writer as "...very much the artefact of modernity and bound to the culture of industrial society" (Davies, 1990, cited in Cox, 1993, p.30).

Cox recently made the interesting observation of the 'non-amenability' of linear time, to a consideration of work performance in family households. Thus, she noted that the assumption associated with this - "that we do things sequentially", and which may be consistent with workplace tasks - is "entirely at odds" with family domestic work and child care activities, which can better be conceptualized as "cyclical, like the times of seasons". As well as recurring, there generally is much overlap between these activities. In Cox's words:

> *Most tasks are never completed, they recur and replenish like the full dirty-clothes basket. We also deal with them in overlays rather than sequentially, doing various things at one time - putting out the wash, admiring the toddler's drawing, overseeing the baby's safe passage, and making sure the cake is not burning, all while working out what to cook for dinner and listening to mother complain about her arthritis on the phone (Cox, 1993, p.30).*

Findings of a study of women in Sweden (Davies, 1990) have revealed that women often conceive of time as "spirals or like a cat's-cradle" as they combine unpaid and paid work responsibilities "on a daily basis over a lifetime" (cited in Cox, 1993, p.30). It is this writer's personal observation that the "overlays" of work Cox referred to (above quotation) are more likely to characterise women's than men's performance of household work. Men (again, from personal experience/observation, as well as ad hoc comments from other women) appear more likely to do such work sequentially (for example, if a man is washing clothes using an automatic machine, he tends to engage in relaxing activities (reading, cross-words, etc) 'in between loads'. A woman performing this task however, is more likely to use that time doing other work (eg cleaning the bath-room, toilet and so on) - and perhaps even feel grateful for the 'spare' time!

A range of factors could be suggested as perhaps exerting influence in relation to the examples cited above. Could it be also, as Cox (1993) has implied, that gender differences may exist in the form of taken for grated and unquestioned conceptualizations of time, in certain contexts - at least in the case of some women and men? More specifically, do men take into the domestic sphere a conception of time as developed and used in the workplace, where tasks (unlike in the home) are often more easily separated and distinct, and better accomplished one after another? (See Cox, 1993, for a discussion.)

Concept of Core Value

It will be seen when Thomas and Znaniecki's theory of personality is discussed (shortly), that those authors viewed personality development as being crucially and inextricably linked to culture - specifically, to the group's rules, or ideological values. In more recent developments to humanistic theory, Smolicz and Secombe introduced the concept of core value to this area of theorising (Smolicz and Secombe, 1981). The need for such a concept - which both recognises and permits important distinctions to be made between different groups in a society - arose from their investigations of ethnic groups in Australia.

Smolicz and Secombe used the term core values to refer to those identifying values which are symbolic of a group and its membership. Abandonment of these values may result in the threat of, or actual, exclusion from the group. Core values, it was argued,

> ... can be regarded as forming one of the most fundamental components of a group's culture. They generally represent the heartland of the ideological system and act as identifying values which are symbolic of the group and its membership ... [Moreover, these] values ... provide the indispensable link between the group's cultural and social systems; in their absence both systems would suffer eventual disintegration (Smolicz, 1979, p.57).

While it is generally assumed that core values fit into the category of ideological values, in principle there does not exist a one-to-one correspondence between those values and an ideological system. Accordingly, systems of thoughts and affiliated norms of conduct may form part of a group's ideological system without necessarily representing its core values. Furthermore, some core values may appear to fall outside the normal scope of a group's ideological system. The use of core values for the purposes of evaluation is seen to signify their inclusion in the ideological system, both at personal and group levels (see earlier discussion on the concepts of heritage and tradition).

With regard to ethnic groups in Australia, Smolicz observed that a core (or "pivot") of both a group's solidarity and the individual's loyalty towards it, may reside, for example, in language (Poles) or a particular form of family network (rural Southern Italians). This is not to say, though, that language is of no consequence to the latter ethnic groups. In certain situations, it is possible to speak of a hierarchy of core values, rather than a single value alone (Smolicz, 1984, p.14; Smolicz, 1979, p.58 - also citing Vercole, 1964, p.405 in relation to the Southern Italian example). Where, however, a social norm or language acquires the status of a core value, "[there] is no doubt that ... it assumes an ideological meaning for group members" (Smolicz, 1979, p.58). It was Smolicz's contention also, that core (ideological) values provide the "indispensable link" between a group's cultural and social systems; and furthermore, in the absence of such values, both these systems would suffer "eventual disintegration" (Smolicz, 1979, p.57).

In relation to the latter point, Smolicz and Secombe investigated ethnic groups in Australia for whom their core values resided in language, and where Australian government policy prevented their languages being taught in schools. It was those writers' conclusion

that the survival of these "language-centred" cultures depended upon the preservation of the language of their group members. Here, then, language is more than a medium of communication and self-expression. It is "a symbol of ethnic identity and a defining value which acts as a pre-requisite for 'authentic' group membership" (See also Smolicz and Secombe, 1977; 1981).

Core Values and Identity

A critical element of core values is their direct link to group and individual identity ((Smolicz and Secombe, 1981, p.16). It is through their core values, then, that social groups may be distinguished from one another; as well as being identified as distinctive ethnic, religious, scientific or other cultural groupings or communities (Smolicz, 1979, p.57). Hence, core values may be defined

> *... in terms of the social system whose members identify with them; and, conversely, a social system may be defined in terms of the core values to which its members subscribe (Smolicz and Secombe, 1981, p.16).*

It follows, therefore, that whenever people consider that there is a direct link between their identity as a group and a distinguishing element of their culture, "the element concerned becomes a core value" (p.16). Because of the critical importance of core values to a group, the failure by members to comply with them may carry with it social sanctions of a high order; it may even carry the penalty of exclusion from the group (Smolicz, 1979, p.57). However, a point which should be emphasised is that the identificational connection between core values and the social system is not simply a function of the coercive powers which a social system may invoke, to make its members comply with those values. Rather, the indispensable link between the two is provided by the "collective group identity" which members feel through sharing such values. Parsons (1973, p.34) following Durkheim, labelled such a phenomenon "solidarity". This was seen to differentiate effectively between members and non-members, while at the same time indicating that the collectivity in question had "some kind of definite identity". Such *collective* identification was distinguished from one which bound the *individual* to a particular group and its principle values through a personal sense of belonging, which Parsons termed "loyalty" (cited in Smolicz, 1979, p.75).

Collective identification is a phenomenon which may be acknowledged by a group's members when they are conscious that certain of their attitudes and accepted ways of acting are common to other members, and which here are conceptualized as reflecting the group's value systems. There exist shared feelings among them about "belonging" to the group, and about participating in the formal and informal institutions and activities; as well as similar beliefs about obligations which arise from group membership. As Znaniecki put it:

... certain values are similarly represented by many members, provoke similar emotional attitudes, and rouse similar active tendencies. Conscious of such similarities, members have the experience of sharing ideas, sentiments, and desires: we know; we feel; we want (Znaniecki, 1939, p.808).

References to the notion of solidarity have more frequently been directed to relations between men than women, in this society. Feminist writers, particularly, have drawn attention to the former, this being viewed as among the means whereby men are able "to dominate women" (Hartmann, 1979, p.14. See also Gittins, 1985; Bryson, 1984; 1992). Examples of discrimination against women in the workforce by male employers frequently have been cited in this regard (See Basow, 1992, pp.277-289 for a discussion). Cockburn similarly has referred to findings which indicate that men socialize more with each other than they do with women colleagues. That writer also noted such work-place examples as an "all-male golf society" and "other sports and social activities" which represents "sites of male bonding activity" (Cockburn, 1990, p.82).

Generally then, it would seem, the term solidarity is used less frequently in reference to women and their relationships and shared activities, than to men (Studies of female-female relationships are more likely to draw on terms like intimacy in describing characteristics of these). Nonetheless, the shared understandings and collective consciousness which the term solidarity invokes, along with individual loyalty, are phenomena with which many women may identify. They appear to be exhibited in the following letter, published recently in the 'Readers' Letters' column of a magazine.

> ### Skin Sisters
> *Something unexpected and pleasant happened to a friend recently. On a very tight budget, she was grocery shopping with her husband when she noticed that a dress shop in the mall had swimming costumes at reduced prices. She had not owned one for years and thought it would be good to have one so she could swim with her grandchildren. Her husband is not the most generous of men so, on finding a swimsuit for $70, she went back to him and told him there was one there, a bargain at $35 ... could she put it on lay-by? He agreed and she nipped back to the shop. Imagine her dismay when, in the middle of the lay-by paperwork, her husband walked in the door and generously told her that she could buy it outright as it was so cheap. She hastily whispered to the saleslady and begged her to go along with the deception. What a wonderful saleslady! She whispered back, "Take it for $35 today and post me the rest tomorrow". From her own tiny bank account my friend did just that, and said to me later - still in a state of wonderment at the understanding of her Good Samaritan - that we all are sisters under the skin after all ("Women's Day", August 8, 1993, pp.6-7).[5]*

From the perspective taken here, the representation of a group as a collective body with a collective consciousness, in the sense that it possesses an accepted ideological system, must always be taken with the humanistic coefficient. That is "the group's ideological system always refers to the way it is experienced, shared, and expressed by members". Likewise, the attitudes of individual members do not exist in isolation, but always must be

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5   Among other interpretations which could be made from the content of the letter, is an (unquestioned) acceptance of values reflecting men's dominance and superior position, including their greater economic power in families (or at least this person's family), relative to women's.

viewed as being in dynamic inter-relationship with the group's cultural values. In the case of identity - which is being considered here primarily from its cultural aspect - "what we are really dealing with is a person's attitudes to the core values of a particular social group, or in other words, the components of his [or her] **personal** ideological system" (Smolicz, 1979, p.76). (The concepts of personal system and humanistic coefficient are examined in Chapter 7).

Numerous writers have commented on the intimate connection between women's and men's differential involvement in family life and paid work, and their perceptions of themselves as persons - their self identity (Oakley, 1974; Baxter et al., 1990; Basow, 1992). Thus, Oakley commented that "[a woman's] sense of self as housewife (or not) is a deeply rooted facet of self identity as feminine" (Oakley, 1974, p.185). Basow similarly observed in relation to men, that "[most view paid] work as part of their masculine identity" (Basow, 1992, p.291). Yet with regard to children most men "do not see themselves as primary or even equal caretakers of them" (Basow, 1992, p.247).

At the group level, as noted earlier, whereas cultural interpretations of masculinities/femininities are found to vary somewhat across social groups, these generally share similarities in areas relating to women's association with family care and men's with income provision. As Baxter and colleagues observed in this regard:

> Definitions of masculinity and femininity are closely correlated with traditional notions of masculine and feminine work. A 'good woman' is a 'good mother and housewife': that is one who devotes all her time and energy to her children. For men, the ideology is reversed. A 'good father' is one who devotes his time and energy to paid work (Baxter et al., 1990, p.2).

A recent study by Cox and Leonard (1993) serves to highlight the above point, in relation to women. These investigators studied telephone usage by employed women with children. They found that many mothers conduct significant care work and household organization in their telephone conversations with children, from their workplace. According to those writers;

> They use the telephone to organise the household - delegating chores, planning and organising tasks so they can be completed in minimum personal time, offering emotional support and personal validations to a child doing homework, or spilling her news or pain over the phone (Cox and Leonard, 1993, cited in Cox, 1993, p.30).

Core Values: Men's Breadwinning/Women's Homemaking

In all cultures, broad distinctions are made on the basis of gender. In some, "nearly everything is divided into masculine and feminine" - for example, speech, occupations, dress, toys, walking styles, colours, clothes, personality traits and even food ("Real men don't eat quiche") (Basow, 1992, p.125). Moreover, the characteristic traits assumed for women and men are commonly viewed as being opposite one another: for example, men as dominant and objective, women as submissive and subjective. Such a perspective has

also been taken by some investigators into early studies conducted in this area (for example, Brannon, 1978, cited in Basow, 1992, p.7).

In her review of studies covering a wide range of behaviours, however, Basow reported gender differences which ranged from "small ... to large", with most being in the "small to moderate range". The amount of overlap between the sexes, was found to be greater than the differences between them in all the behavioural areas investigated (Basow, 1992, p.78). These findings suggest that considerable leeway is available to individuals in drawing from cultural materials in the form of models of masculinity and femininity which are available to them, and from which they may be viewed as constructing an image of themselves as gendered beings: their personal system of gender-related attitudes. Znaniecki has observed that this is the case with respect to every cultural pattern. Each may be seen to allow for a certain range of deviations from the model - wider or narrower; and this (model) may be more or less exacting. Hence, both "perfect" and "imperfect" actions, in the way in which they reflect the "ideal type", may be deemed permissible, if not equally approved of. What **is** required of members, is that they accept the same group values and tend to conform to them, even though their actions, at times, may conflict with these. There exists, then, a fundamental difference between "deviations which are judged permissible, though undesirable, and prohibited *transgressions*" (Znaniecki, 1963, p.56).

An example which illustrates this, is women's involvement in paid employment during times of war, as is noted in Chapter 2. This deviation from the traditional rule was acceptable during men's absence; but on their return from fighting, women were expected to give men "their" jobs back and resume "their" home duties. Most did. Those who did not were stigmatized: they were viewed as deviants (Game and Pringle, 1983). According to Smolicz, it is only where individuals' actions take the form of the denial of what a group considers to be a core value that individuals become classified as deviant (Smolicz, 1979, p.44). Such persons then have a choice to make. They may choose either to suppress their deviation from the rule; or alternatively, to flout the conventions by activating what the group considers deviant values. They then face the consequences of possible sanctions, which in some cases may be severe.[6] (See Chapter 6; also Colling (1992) on the treatment of homosexuals in Australia). This could even lead to a state of alienation, where the individuals concerned are not identified with the core values of any group.

In sum: Those ideological values associated with men's breadwinning and women's caring, it is suggested, have the status of core values for the gender groups of men and women in this society. These values are seen to act as identifying and distinguishing

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[6] Yet a further option open to individuals in such a situation is that of securing the support of a sufficient number of group members and eventually to gain tolerance, if not necessarily approval, for their particular personal systems. The ideal would be to have this type of personal system adopted by a sufficient number of individuals, and ultimately to have these attitudes reflected in values at the group level, through their institutionalisation (Smolicz, 1979, pp.44-5). This would seem to reflect some elements of the situation in relation to women's workforce participation, with the Women's Movement playing a critical role in this regard (see Chapter 6).

elements for those groups. They exert a powerful influence on women's and men's thoughts, feelings and actions in everyday life. They also play a major part in their constructions of personal systems in most (if not all) areas of life.

This completes the discussion of Thomas and Znaniecki's theory of culture. The following section briefly considers their theory of personality development. Major themes are first examined. The concepts of life organization, temperament, character and situation are then discussed.

THEORY OF AN EVOLVING PERSONALITY

In their monumental work, "The Polish Peasant in Europe and America" (1927), Thomas and Znaniecki also posited a theory of personality (pp.1812-1914). Commenting on this in his critique, Blumer noted that

> ... it is very provocative, seems suited to the changing world in which we live, and has both a logical and empirical plausibility. It gives evidence of an extensive and intimate acquaintance with human beings in general and, in particular, with persons in a changing society; it indicates thoughtful preoccupation with problems of conduct revealed in the activities of such people; and it shows profound reasoning on such problems (Blumer, 1939, p.61).

A full consideration of this theory, and which would do justice to it, is beyond the scope and requirement of this study. The intention, therefore, is merely to consider certain themes and concepts from it. As might be expected, their theoretical approach here, is closely integrated into the conceptual framework of their whole undertaking. It similarly emphasises, and takes into account, the dynamic character of social life and the active part played by the individual. Social life - or *social becoming* - is recognised as an ongoing process. Likewise, evolution of individual personality - *personal becoming* - is viewed from the standpoint of this movement of life. To quote them:

> all social becoming is viewed as the product of a continual interaction of individual consciousness and objective social reality. In this connection the human personality is both a continually producing factor and a continually produced result of social evolution (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1831).

The scheme of personality development which they proposed embodies the interaction between the individual and the group. It is set, therefore, in the framework of the subjective and objective aspects of social life: attitudes and values - the concepts upon which their whole approach is based. According to these authors, then:

> A personality is always a constitutive element of some social group; the values with which it has to deal are, were and will be common to many personalities ... and the attitudes which it exhibits are also shared by many other individuals (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1831-2).

While the evolution of personality often tends towards stabilization as its ultimate limit, it is seen never to attain this limit completely. Consequently, the social personality manifests

itself only over the total life of an individual. It is acknowledged, nevertheless, that the process of personal evolution becomes "more and more definite" as it progresses. This is because when an individual has acquired "a more or less rich stock of stabilized attitudes", a new attitude may not be accepted because it is "in disagreement with this stock". There are only a few "typical ways" in which an attitude may develop out of a "determined other attitude". It may be difficult and even practically impossible, therefore, to produce a particular attitude, because the necessary influences to which the individual would react in the desired way may not be available. On the other hand, all the while the attitudes of an individual remain disorganized and unsettled - as in a child - a new attitude can be developed out of a pre-existing one in many ways, because the individual is open to many and various influences, and there is "little to interfere with a given influence" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1837-41).

The individual's "future", therefore, is seen to become more and more determined by the very course of development. The stabilization of their attitudes continually diminishes the "possibilities of becoming something else"[7] (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1856-7). This is associated with the fact that the development of a new attitude, according to those authors, can directly arise only out of some preceding one. Thus, this process (of attitude evolution) as with attitude change, may occur only through a gradual step-by-step process, with each succeeding step depending/building upon and emerging out of the preceding one; and "with every single link (being) ... a fact of the type: attitude - value - attitude; or value - attitude - value". Thomas and Znaniecki referred to such a series as a "line of genesis" (see Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1837-42). To quote them here:

> A line of genesis is ... a series of facts through which a certain attitude is developed from some other attitude (or group of attitudes), a value from some other value (or group of values) when it does not develop directly, and the process cannot be treated as a single elementary fact (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1839).

Concepts of Life Organization, Character and Temperament

In developing a theory of personality which fitted their dynamic view of personal evolution, Thomas and Znaniecki were led to reduce personality to three constituent factors which could be handled in a developmental way. These fundamental constituents are temperament, character and life organization.

The concept of life organization is the individual 'counterpart' to the concept of social organization (the latter is examined more fully in Chapter 6). It was noted in the earlier discussion, that the uniformities of behaviour found among members of a group are the outcome of "consciously followed *rules*". In order to control reality, then, individuals must develop "not series of uniform reactions, but general *schemes* of situations". It is the "set

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7   This is defined as "the realization of a certain more or less permanent order within that sphere of reality which the individual controls" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1851).

of rules for definite situations" which they develop here, which is seen to constitute their life-organization (pp.1852-3) (or, in Smolicz's (1979) terminology, their personal system of ideological attitudes).

Temperament and character were defined by Thomas and Znaniecki as follows:

We may call temperament the fundamental, original group of attitudes of the individual as existing independently of any social influence; we may call character the set of organized and fixed groups of attitudes developed by social influences upon the temperamental basis (p.1844).

Temperamental attitudes are seen not to be guided by any rule or scheme. They are "original, native attitudes" arising from impulse and correspond to what the authors called "natural things". The spontaneous hunger of an infant represents such an attitude, food is the "natural thing". When such hunger comes under the influence and control of a rule, or when its expression becomes "defined" in the conscious experience of the individual, it becomes a character attitude. Thus, the concept of "character" was used to refer to "the set of organized and fixed groups of attitudes" which the individual develops under the influence and guidance of the rules constituting the life organization. Attitudes, therefore, are seen to be guided by a "conscious scheme". And while this consciousness need not always be explicit, "it must be implicitly present and become explicit from time to time if the attitude is to be defined as a character attitude". Such attitudes, then, are "intellectual and reflective", and they are "more or less systematized; their continuity through many manifestations [making] this indispensable" (pp.1845-6).

The development of personality, therefore, was seen as involving an organization of temperamental attitudes into a structure of character attitudes. This is done by means of rules (see earlier discussion): the individual brings a temperamental attitude under a reflective rule of understanding. The process here is of crucial importance to Thomas and Znaniecki's views. Reference is made earlier to the gradual, step-by-step developmental sequence of small changes which are claimed to be involved here. Vital to such processes also, is the need for the individual to reconcile the group's demands (in the form of the rule) with their own individual needs, purposes and circumstances.

Briefly, processes being referred to involve the interaction between the individual and their group. Individuals are thus conceptualized as engaging in a constant process of selecting from their milieu, features which must be organized in order to act. In such organization of conduct, they must reconcile the group's social demands and their own attitude demands. Personal evolution, therefore, is always a struggle between individuals and society: a struggle for self-expression on the part of individuals, and for their subjection on the part of society. It is in this process " ... that the personality - not as a static 'essence' but as a dynamic, continually evolving set of activities - manifests and constructs itself". Moreover, in this process also, each individual develops a "characteristic mode" of approach, and this serves as the basis for the authors' characterisation of several different personality types (see Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1853-62 for a discussion).

It was Thomas and Znaniecki's contention then, that the fundamental principles of personal evolution must be sought both in the nature of individuals and in their social milieu (p.1859). To quote them:

> In order to become a social personality in any domain [individuals] must therefore not only realize the existence of the social meanings which objects possess in their domain but also learn how to adapt [themselves] to the demands which society puts upon [them] from the standpoint of these meanings, and how to control these meanings for [their] personal purposes and since meanings imply conscious thought [they] must do this by conscious reflection (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1850-1).

In order to satisfy the social demands put upon their personality, individuals must reflectively organize their attitudes; and in order for them to satisfy their own needs and purposes, they "must develop intellectual methods for the control of social reality". The former, it has been seen, leads to character; whereas the parallel development of intellectual methods of controlling social reality leads to a life organization, "which is nothing more but the totality of these methods at work in the individual's social career" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1851). The character and life organization - "the subjective and the objective side of the personality" - are thus seen to develop together. This is because an attitude can become stabilized as part of the reflective character only under the influence of a scheme of behaviour, and vice versa; the construction or acceptance of a scheme requires that an attitude be stabilized as part of character. According to those authors, then, every process of personal evolution

> ... consists, therefore, in a complex evolutionary series in which social schemes acting upon pre-existing attitudes, produce new attitudes in such a way that the latter represent a determination of the temperamental tendencies with regard to the social world, a realization in a conscious form of the character - possibilities which the individual brings with him [or her]; and these new attitudes, with their intellectual continuity, acting upon pre-existing sets of social values in the sphere of individual experiences produce new values in such a way that every production of a value represents at the same time a definition of some vague situation, and this is a step towards the constitution of some consistent form of behavior (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1858-9).

The concept of situation is examined shortly. Here, brief mention should be made of those human traits which are postulated by the authors as guiding the development of personality.

Guiding Traits and Personality Formation

The process of personality formation inside of the struggle between social conformity and individual expression, was seen by Thomas and Znaniecki as being guided by four fundamental human traits. These came to be known as "Thomas's four wishes" (Blumer, 1939, p.58). They are the desires for new experience, security, response and recognition. Since these traits are manifest in individuals' attitudes, they are seen to be important in determining their formation.

Thomas and Znaniecki theorised that two universal traits exist in all individual attitudes, which form the condition of both development and conservatism. In their "most distinct and explicit forms [they] manifest themselves as curiosity and fear". The authors used the terms "desire for new experience" and "desire for stability" to represent these traits in terms of their involvement in the social development of individuals (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1859).

New experience, which is based on curiosity, represents a break from established regularity. As such, it has two important aspects. One is that it is always the desire for new experience which makes an individual perceive and define new situations. The other is that this desire represents a threat to the adherence to the group's rules. With regard to the desire for stability, which is based upon fear, this is seen to steer the individual into avoiding certain experiences for the sake of security. Hence, it inclines the individual "to preserve the old form and range of activity in spite of the changed conditions and to be satisfied with the results that can be obtained in this way" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1878). It thus becomes responsible for the preservation of a way of defining situations which individuals have formed.

According to Thomas and Znaniecki, the group seeks to develop attitudes and schemes required by existing social systems, and to suppress attitudes which are in disharmony with, or are seen as harmful to (or threaten to be), the existing social organization. The positive way by which this is capitalised on is by the "fundamental social attitudes" of the desires for response and recognition. The desire for response - described as the desire "to obtain a direct positive personal reaction to an action whose object is another person" - is seen to incline individuals to adapt themselves to the attitudes of others, and particularly members of one's primary group. This was claimed to be the major means whereby harmony is maintained and dissension avoided among members of a group. The desire for recognition, or general social appreciation, refers to the desire "to obtain a direct or indirect positive appreciation of any action, whatever may be its object". It is influential "in motivating individuals [to adapt] their activities to the social standards of valuation recognized by the group". It is, according to the authors, "the most common and most elementary, and probably the strongest factor pushing the individual to realize the highest demands which the group puts upon personal conduct" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1882-3).

In sum: The above four traits are viewed as guiding the process of personality formation. On the individual side, it is the alternation of the desire for new experience and the desire for stability which is seen as being the fundamental principle of personal evolution. On the social side, the essential point of this evolution is that the individual living in society "has to fit into a pre-existing social world - has to take part in the many and varied activities of the group" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1867). For those activities, the group has objectified systems. These, it has been seen, are "more or less complex" sets of schemes

of situations. They are organized, the authors argued, " ... either by traditional association or with a conscious regard to the greatest possible efficiency of the result", and with only a secondary (if any) interest in "the particular desires, abilities and experiences of the individuals who have to perform these activities". This latter feature of cultural systems results from the fact that the systems have to regulate identically the activities of many individuals at once. Furthermore, these systems usually last longer than the period of activity of any individual, passing from generation to generation. According to Thomas and Znaniecki

> *The gradual establishment of a determined relation between these systems which constitute together the social organization of the civilized life of a group, and individual character and life - organization in the course of their progressive formation, is the central problem of social control of personal evolution (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1861).*

Concept of Situation

Central to the consideration of the way in which any social group finds ways of expressing its values is the way in which its members organize their behaviour and define situations in which they find themselves.[8] Situation, then, is therefore an important theoretical construct in Thomas and Znaniecki's sociology.

According to the above writers, the elements of social life - values and attitudes - are not isolated; rather, they are "always embodied in active practical *situations*, which have been formed independently of us and with which our activity has to comply". By situation is meant

> *... the set of values and attitudes with which the individual or the group has to deal in a process of activity and with regard to which this activity is planned and its results appreciated. Every concrete activity is the solution of a situation (Thomas and Znaniecki (1927) in Bierstedt, 1969, p.108).*

Three kinds of data are identified in every situation. There is the totality of values (economic, social, family, religious and so on) associated with the social conditions under which the individual has to act and which at the given moment, directly or indirectly affect their conscious states. Involved also are the pre-existing more or less systematized attitudes of the individual which, at the given moment, have an influence on their behaviour. Then there is the definition of the situation, which is "the more or less clear conception of the conditions and consciousness of the attitudes". And the definition of a situation, they argued, was "a necessary preliminary to any act of the will". This was so, they continued, because

> *... in given conditions and with a given set of attitudes an indefinite plurality of actions is possible, and one definite action can appear only if these conditions are selected, interpreted, and combined in a determined way and if a certain*

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8   As these writers use the term "defining situations", it refers to a type of thinking different from that referred to by such expressions as "defining a concept" or "defining a word". The common aspect of these definitions is that "they all require reflection as an ideational activity which may or may not be connected with realistic activities" (Znaniecki, 1963, p.243).

systematization of these attitudes is reached, so that one of them becomes predominant and subordinates the others (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, in Bierstedt, 1969, p.109).

Group Schemes of Situations

The definition and solution of a situation, Thomas and Znaniecki posited, is a "complex fact" in which many values and attitudes are involved, but in which a certain attitude comes to predominate and determines the nature of the action. It does this by bringing forth a definite response to certain of the values included in the given conditions in which the individual acts (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1247). For some situations, there is a ready social scheme (rule). This is usually given to individuals in an abstract form - a moral principle, legal prescription or norm, for example - or through concrete examples. Individuals thus learn to apply the rule to the various situations they "meet by chance, or which are especially created for [them]" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1871). An example of the operation of a group scheme may be taken from the present study. It is found that, in relation to household work/child care situations, just under two-thirds of participants (at least some of the time) define these according to the group scheme prescribing traditional gender divisions for this work - the breadwinner/homemaker norm.

The culture of a group, it has been seen, provides through its rules, schemes of situations or ready-made models of organization, which guide members' actions and thinking in particular situations. These rules and models are learned through participatory activities in the group, so that members gradually realize (or fail to realize) them. These ready-made definitions ensure that members have a socially-appropriate and approved scheme of expression in hand in particular situations, and behave accordingly. Schuetz (sic) put it this way:

> *The [members of the group look] in one single glance through the normal social situations occurring to [them and they catch] immediately the ready-made recipe appropriate to its solution. In those situations [their] acting shows all the marks of habituality, automation and half-consciousness. This is possible because the cultural pattern provides by its recipes, typical solutions for typical problems available for typical actors (Schuetz, 1960, pp.106-7).*

As Schuetz went on to say, "the objective-chances for the efficiency of a recipe" are the greater when the majority of the group conform to it - when there are few deviations from the "typified behavior". This, he observed, "holds specially for recipes designed for social interactions". Such a recipe,

> *... if it is to work presupposes that any partner expects the other to act or to react typically, provided that the actor ... acts typically ... Neither party examines the subjective chances involved. The scheme, being designed for everyone's use, need not be tested for its fitness for the peculiar individual who employs it (Schuetz, 1960, p.107).*

The application of what Schuetz referred to as a "ready-made recipe" has, as he indicated, all the elements of "habituality, automation and half-consciousness". Yet in social life,

individuals do not find "passively ready situations" exactly similar to past situations. Rather, irrespective of how stable a given social milieu may be, each situation has at least some new elements - some "new activities differently combined". There is, then, always a need to engage in some degree of conscious reflection. In fact,

> ... it is impossible even to realize whether a certain experience is socially new or old without consciously interpreting a given content - an object, a movement, a word - and realizing what social meaning it possesses (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1852).

From a humanistic perspective, then, individuals are seen as exerting conscious influence upon their actions and thoughts. As Smolicz stated: "No sociological explanation is a satisfactory one if it omits the active human consciousness". Yet while individuals may consciously choose between one course of action and another, their capacity to do so, at certain times, "can only be exercised in the particular cultural context". To quote Smolicz again here -

> Such a choice may not be a deliberated one: indeed, at times, it may appear quite instinctive due to the spontaneous application of a deeply internalised personal system. Deliberated or not, when [individuals] are questioned about [their] behaviour, [they are] usually aware that other courses of action would have been possible (Smolicz, 1979, p.42).

The limitation to choice which ideological values may impose is revealed in findings from the present study (see Chapters 9 and 10). The all-pervasive and entrenched character of the values of interest, result in only 'one way' being portrayed - from the vast range of possibilities - for conducting those central life tasks to do with family income provision and care (see reviews of literature - Chapters 1-4). An outcome of this is that "alternative conceptions remain unimagined" (Bem and Bem, 1970, p.89). Contributing to, yet completely interwoven with this situation, it is suggested, is the powerful influence of ideology at the individual level; and in particular, to these values being intimately connected with the (gendered) identity which women and men construct. (This idea is pursued further in Chapter 10).

It was Znaniecki's view that consciousness is not a matter of being fully aware of the reasons and causes of a particular type of action; but rather, that it represents a state of mind in which individuals know that they are performing one action rather than another. The capacity of individuals to deliberate upon possible courses of action, along with the ability to analyse acts retrospectively, are seen to illustrate "the distinctly human quality that lies at the basis of human cultural development" (Smolicz, 1979, p.42, also citing Znaniecki, 1963, pp.187-8).

Definitions of New Situations

Sometimes, individuals are confronted with situations in which a group scheme is not available, or where that which the group provides is no longer deemed appropriate or

suitable. This is the case for some participants in the current study. Here, they must evolve their own definition of the situation. In relation to this, whenever considerable reflection is involved, intellectual processes predominate. Yet, in so far as the data about which individuals reflect have meaning for them, "there are also feelings of various degrees of intensity" (Znaniecki, 1965, p.247).

A new definition of a situation is seen to involve two phases. The first is always characterised by an "essential vagueness". Even though there may exist in individuals, certain needs or wishes which will give significance to the new data, these are not sufficiently determined with respect to these (data). Furthermore, "the complexity is not ordered, values are not outlined, their relations are not established" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1847). Hence, the initial step involves some conscious reflection on the situation into which both group demands and personal needs enter as elements. Such reflection involves a process of surveying the values (by which is meant things, including people and ideas, and associated meanings for the individuals concerned, of these things) which appear practically important to them, as well as certain factual relations between these values. Individuals also anticipate the possibilities of future actions and situations, whether positive or negative, which these factual relations may involve. They may then proceed to consider how they can actualize the positive possibilities and prevent the actualization of the negative ones (Znaniecki, 1965, p.199).

The second phase in the process in most cases, emerges out of the above. Through the complex processes of conscious reflection and evaluation, the individual forms a scheme or plan of meeting the situation and making it clear. Associated with this greater clarity about the situation and its handling, is the formation of a corresponding attitude to the scheme (Blumer, 1939, p.57). The situation thus becomes "definite" and the individual begins to control their experience. In defining a situation, therefore, one attitude (or a complex of attitudes).[9]

> ... subordinates to itself the others and manifests itself chiefly in the subsequent action, which is evidently a solution of the situation and fully determined both in its social and in its individual components by the whole set of values, attitudes and reflective schemes which the situation includes. When a situation is solved, the result of the activity becomes an element of a new situation, and this is most clearly evidenced in cases where the activity brings a change of a social institution whose unsatisfactory functioning was the chief element of the first situation (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, in Bierstedt, 1969 p.110).

As noted above, a definition of a new situation (that is, where individuals construct this instead of having it "imposed upon [them] by society") always involves the determination of the vague. To quote the authors here:

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9   In describing a situation, these writers spoke of "attitudes" in the plural as components of it. "Nonetheless", as Znaniecki commented, "since these psychological processes lead to *one* definition, a synthesis of all the values and facts of [agents'] present practical experience which seem significant to [them] at the time, they may be viewed as one complex attitude, an integration of several simpler attitudes" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1963, p.247).

Any new situation is always vague and its definition demands not only intellectual analysis of the objective data but determination of the attitude itself, which becomes explicit and distinct only by manifesting itself in action (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1875).

Consequently, and as noted earlier, every definition of a new situation is possible only to the extent that a new corresponding attitude can arise directly out of some pre-existing one, "as its qualification or modification in view of the new value". And this determination of the attitude is possible, in turn, only if the new situation can be defined "on the ground of some analogy with known situations - as an old problem viewed from a new standpoint". The development of a new attitude, therefore, involves conscious thought and reflection. It requires the "necessary preparation" to have taken place, and may only occur gradually and in a certain determined order. Moreover, the definition which an individual works out for every new situation is conceptualized as growing in "definiteness" as the solved situation acts back upon it. Out of these definitions, the individual gradually constructs a consistent scheme of behaviour. This expresses the individual's new way of defining the situation (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1874-5).

In sum: In the face of a social situation in which individuals have certain attitudes, and in which they encounter demands made on their behaviour, individuals have to organize their behaviour. From the perspective being examined here, this occurs through the process of defining the situation. Sometimes, the definition is already at hand, in the form of a group prescription or scheme, which is imposed on individuals; and at other times, they are forced to evolve their own schemes of action. The latter always necessitates a process of enquiry on the part of the individual, since it involves an experience of the unknown, the unfamiliar. The new attitude, it has been argued, may only be developed out of a pre-existing attitude. This has important implications where individuals are confronted with events involving change in their life activities and relationships, for which they are mentally unprepared. This point is pursued in Chapter 9, in connection with findings from the present study.

This completes the discussion of Thomas and Znaniecki's theories pertaining to culture and the evolving human personality. Main points are summarised and some final comments made in the section which follows.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING COMMENTS

- In relation to culture, the essence of this is seen to reside in meaning - the common meanings, or values, which material and ideational objects have in the thinking and actions of a group's members. These have become organized and patterned over generations, into systems of values which cover the various domains of culture.

- The most vital element in the theory of culture is the ideological system. This is seen to co-ordinate all other cultural and social systems. Included in this system are a group's rules, or norms of conduct. These prescribe the ways of acting and thinking which all members are supposed to accept and abide by.

- All cultural and social phenomena must be studied by the investigator as they are experienced by the individuals who are conscious of these and who produce and maintain them, and not from an outsider's assessments. Thus, understanding of the culture may be obtained by discovering members' attitudes - how they think and feel - and actions, in relation to the cultural values which they have learned in the process of growing up and participating in the life of the group. Because of their different life histories, personalities, experiences, and particular needs and circumstances, each member activates group values in a somewhat different way, and the range of tolerated deviations may be quite considerable. Nevertheless, except in particular social and historical circumstances, most individuals construct their personal systems - their guides for conducting their lives and giving meaning to these, in specific life areas - well within the limits set by the group system.

- The distinction between attitudes and actions is an important one. Whereas attitudes are recognised as "social facts in their own right", they represent only the *potential* for action. Their activation into tendencies is dependent on the removal of obstacles to this. Such impediments may relate to group demands as well as individual needs and purposes, and which also may not be freed from cultural constraints (Smolicz and Secombe, 1981, p.13). These points are discussed more fully in Chapters 9 and 10 in connection with findings from the present study.

- The individual's development as a social person is inextricably interwoven with the culture. The personality is viewed as something which exists in the form of evolution: it develops, matures and changes. Consequently, it shows itself only in "the course of its total life" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1837). In order to become a social personality in any domain, the individual must realise the existence of the social meanings which objects possess in this domain. They also must learn how to adapt themselves to the demands of society with respect to these meanings; including how to control these (meanings) for their "personal purposes". Because meanings imply conscious thought, this must be done by conscious reflection (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1850-1).

- Core values are regarded as forming one of the most fundamental components of a group's culture. It is through these values that social groups distinguish themselves from one another. However in addition to this link to group identity, core values also are a vital component of individual identity (Smolicz and Secombe, 1981). Their use

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for the purposes of evaluation of items of culture signifies the inclusion of these values in the ideological system, at group and individual levels (attitudes). It is suggested that values associated with men's breadwinning and women's caring responsibilities in families, are core values for the gender groups of men and women, respectively, in this society.

The chapter which follows examines Thomas and Znaniecki's theories of social disorganization and social reorganization. These are based upon the same fundamental principles and conceptual units as those theories just discussed.

CHAPTER SIX

HUMANISTIC SOCIOLOGY (2) - THEORIES OF SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION AND REORGANIZATION

Znaniecki constantly emphasised the dynamic quality of social relations: "all is action in society", he insisted. Not surprisingly, he was highly critical of Comte's distinction between social statics and social dynamics. This he referred to as "pernicious", and he expressed his opposition to it "with an earnest enthusiasm" (Bierstedt, 1969, p.28). Since the social world is a world becoming and not in being, it is inconsistent and unwarranted, he argued, to inquire into a social structure. Studies which do so lead only to a distortion of social reality. They are "erroneous in basic premise, because there is no such thing as static action". As he put it:

> One can no more talk about social structure than one can change a tire [sic] while the automobile is in motion (Bierstedt, 1969, p.28, citing Znaniecki, 1934).

The Polish peasant society which was the focus of Thomas and Znaniecki's study, "The Polish Peasant in Europe and America", was undergoing extensive change. There was a considerable breaking down of the traditional patterns of life and the emergence of a new order through emigration. Hence, as noted earlier, these investigators had a major concern with social change. The interest in the present chapter of the thesis, is to present an overview of the theories they postulated in that regard, and which they applied to their analysis of Polish peasants in their new situations. The theory is then considered, in theoretical terms, in relation to contemporary Australia's response to married women's increased workforce participation. The latter is interpreted as the manifestation of new attitudes, and which appear to be in conflict with the traditional male breadwinner/female homemaker norm.

SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

Thomas and Znaniecki's theory of change is based upon their fundamental idea of subjective attitude and objective value, and consequently it is in conformity with other divisions of their theoretical structure. Thus, as we have seen, social life involves external (or objective) factors which impact individuals and through the medium of their experience, influence them with respect to certain forms of conduct. Accordingly, the subjective dispositions of individuals (as influenced by past experience, personality and so on) determine how such individuals respond to the objective factors acting upon them. It is in the interaction between these objective factors and subjective dispositions that change ("social becoming") is analysed. The problem of social theory and practice, then, is that of identifying the causal

sequences between these phenomena - it is

> ... to find both the value and the pre-existing attitude upon which it has acted and get in their combination the necessary and sufficient cause of the new attitude (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, in Bierstedt, 1969, p.90).

The concept of social disorganization refers primarily to institutions and only secondarily to individuals. It was defined as "a decrease of the influences of existing social rules of behaviour upon individual members of the group" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1128). In their words:

> Just as group organization embodied in socially systematized schemes of behavior imposed as rules upon individuals never exactly coincides with individual life-organization consisting in personally systematized schemes of behavior, so social disorganization never exactly corresponds to individual disorganization (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1127).

Personal disorganization refers to "a decrease of [individuals'] ability to organize [their] whole life for the efficient, progressive, and continuous realization of [their] fundamental interests". If individuals break some (or even most) of the social rules which prevail in a group, this may be because they are losing the "minimum capacity of life-organization required by social conformism". They may, however, reject particular schemes of behaviour imposed by the social medium "because they prevent [them] from reaching a more efficient and more comprehensive life-organization" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1128-29).

Personal disorganization indicates that "the rules and institutions do not correspond to the real attitudes of its members". Individuals are thus without the means (schemes) of constructing a life-organization (or personal systems - Smolicz, 1979) which would enable them to cope with the new values in their experience (Blumer, 1937, p.67). Such a situation, however, can never exactly coincide with social disorganization. Thus, "even if we managed a group lacking all internal differentiation", every member would systematize these schemes differently in their personal evolution: "would make a different life - organization out of them." This is because every individual's life - history and personality, are different from every other's (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1127).

Deviations from rules of conduct associated with social disorganization may range from a single break of a particular rule by one person to a general erosion of all institutions of the group. Consequently, social disorganization is not an exceptional phenomenon which is limited to certain periods or certain societies. Rather, "it is found always and everywhere, since always and everywhere there are individual cases of breaking rules" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1129). From this perspective then, the stability of group institutions can be viewed as a dynamic equilibrium of processes of varying degrees of disorganization and reorganization. This equilibrium is disturbed when attempts to reinforce existing rules can no longer check the processes of disorganization. The period of prevalent disorganization which follows could lead, eventually, to the dissolution of the group. "More usually", though,

> *it is counteracted and stopped before it reaches this limit by a new process of*
> *reorganization ... [consisting] ... in a production of new schemes of behavior and*
> *new institutions better adapted to the changed demands of the group (Thomas*
> *and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1130).*

An endeavour of Thomas and Znaniecki - and one which they considered should be the chief aim of all science - was to explain social disorganization causally. In support of such a perspective, they pointed out that the principle of causality is applied continually by us to social experience, both in activity and thought, and that "we shall always do this as long as we try to control social becoming in any form". The challenge for social theory, then, was seen to be that of striving to make this more methodical and perfect in the concrete - by the actual process of investigation, rather than "fruitlessly discussing the application in the abstract" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, in Bierstedt, 1969, p.83).

In relation to the causal appearance of an attitude, these writers argued

> *... that [this] is never produced by an external influence alone, but by an external*
> *influence plus a definite tendency or predisposition, in other words, by a ... value*
> *acting upon, or more exactly, appealing to some pre-existing attitude (Thomas*
> *and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1131).*

Likewise, if we are to explain the appearance of a value - "a scheme of behavior, an institution, a material product" - this requires that we

> *... take into account as part of the real cause the pre-existing objective, social*
> *data which in combination with a subjective tendency gave rise to this effect; in*
> *other words, we must explain a ... value by an attitude acting upon or influenced*
> *by some preexisting ... value (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1131).*

With regard to the process of disorganization, then, the phenomenon which is to be explained concerns the appearance of certain attitudes which impair the efficiency of existing rules of behaviour; and which, consequently, may lead to the decay of social institutions. As the authors put it:

> *Every social rule is the expression of a definite combination of attitudes; if instead*
> *of these attitudes, some others appear, the influence of the rule is disturbed*
> *(Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1131).*

They went on to add that there may be numerous different ways whereby a rule loses its efficiency, "and still more numerous ways in which an institution, which always involves several regulating schemes can fall into decay". The causal explanation of any particular instance of social disorganization, therefore, requires, firstly, the identification of "the particular attitudes whose appearance manifests itself socially in the loss of influence of the existing social rules. "Next, efforts should be directed at determining the causes of these attitudes" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1131-2). Examples are given in the section which follows.

Examples of Social Disorganization

(1) Social Disorganization - Polish Peasant Community

In Thomas and Znaniecki's study of social disorganization among the Polish peasant families and communities, an essential factor in disorganization was the appearance of "individualistic" attitudes among the peasants through their participation in a new social context - through immigration to America or seasonal migration to Germany (see Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1127-1300).

These individualistic (as opposed to the old group-oriented) attitudes were identified as being associated with motives and desires for individual success and economic advancement. Their emergence was related also to the presence in both new environments (Germany and America) of values which supported individualistic economic advancement and success. However, these new (for the peasants) values were insufficient cause for the new attitudes. Rather, among the immigrants, a "desire for new experience" was seen as an important factor in the decision to immigrate among at least 50 percent of them. The desire for economic advancement also emerged as an important fact for many others. Thus, these pre-existing attitudes were readily supported by the new values; and they facilitated the peasants' response to these. Intimately associated with the change process also, was seen to be the weakening of family and community rules, through the peasants' isolation from these institutions in their homeland.

Thomas and Znaniecki thus interpreted the peasants' new attitudes as the outcome of both the new social conditions (values) **and** the pre-existing attitudes in combination. Each individual's past experiences, personality, priorities and existing personal systems determined how each responded to the objective factors (social conditions) acting upon them: how they defined new situations which they confronted.

(2) Social Disorganization - Australian Society

The interest here is in the new attitude emerging in Australian society as manifest in married women entering the workforce. The rule which is becoming "differently valued", is that defining separate spheres of work for men (public) and women (private): the male breadwinner/female housewife norm.

Following World War II, there was a period of several decades in Australia, when the small, so-called 'nuclear' family was the predominant family form. In fact, this has been described by one writer as " ... a period of cultural affirmation - indeed dogma - of the 'breadwinner-housewife nuclear family' model (Edgar, 1991(c), p.7). It was not until the mid to late 1960s that married women began to enter (or re-enter) the workforce again, in any significant number. What then, were the external conditions (the objective data) which contributed (in combination with individuals' pre-existing attitudes) to these new attitudes? [1]

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[1] Some of these influences have already been referred to in previous discussions (Chapters 1 and 2). Brief mention is made to them again here, because of their relevance to the present discussion.

Briefly, they included the following: the availability of better education for girls; the ready availability of reliable and affordable birth control; abortion legislation; change in other family norms - for example, smaller family size and a lessening of expectations that everyone would marry and settle down; a sectoral shift in the economy in the form of significant expansion in the service sector (that is, the availability of jobs perceived as 'suitable' for women); and rising costs and home interest rates, such that the norms of home ownership and a better standard of living (which emerged in the affluent times following the war) were not affordable on one wage (Edgar and Glezer, 1992(c)). Particularly significant also in relation to the development of the new attitudes were the contributions of some feminists and women's organisations, about which more will be said shortly. The main concern here is in postulating what might have been the pre-existing attitudes among Australians and which, in combination with the above external influences, were associated with the development of the new attitude referred to.

Perhaps the most common experience of women was the lack of opportunity for choice in many areas of their lives. Financial dependence and their unequal power compared with men were among factors which severely limited a woman's capacity to exercise control in her life. The desire for economic independence, then, could be regarded as a possible pre-existing attitude among many women. Women in the suburbs were often isolated: they felt lonely, unhappy and trapped. "Being a wife and mother just didn't seem enough" any more, for many of them (Colling, 1992, p.31). Housework, for some, was dreary. It was unpaid, had low status and was perhaps unappreciated by their families. Paid employment in the workforce, even if it involved similar work and a "double shift", may have appeared as a far more attractive option to many. The economic independence it allowed also opened up other choices.

There also was occurring around this time a growing dissatisfaction with the quality of the marital relationship. The divorce rate was increasing (culminating in the 'no-fault' Family Law Act of 1975). Provision of government pensions meant that a woman could now leave an unsatisfactory or violent marriage. And whereas this gave no guarantee of a satisfactory financial situation if she chose to leave, this did not act as a deterrent to increasing numbers of women. Such women generally wanted (and were given, in nine cases out of ten) custody of children. However, many of them lived in poverty (Edgar and Glezer, 1992(b), p.36).

For other women, post-war affluence was associated with a desire for higher living standards; and perhaps for better educational opportunities for their children. Rising costs and housing interest rates frequently meant that one wage was insufficient to achieve these. Still other women, having had the advantage of a tertiary education, discovered the attraction of career advancement and success in the public sphere. However, as the literature review conducted in Chapter 2 reveals, women were (and continue to be) poorly represented in top paying, high status jobs.

The New Value

The new value to emerge gradually in Australian society, was an increasing acceptance by many of married women's participation in the workforce. It is conceptualized here as the outcome of external influences - such factors as better educational opportunities for girls (see Chapter 4); the availability of certain jobs (see Chapter 2); reliable birth control and so on - in combination with certain pre-existing attitudes in individuals. In relation to women, it may be postulated that these included a preference for economic independence, achievement of higher living standards, or a "desire for new experience". With regard to the latter, and as was noted in Chapter 5, Thomas and Znaniecki saw this as a fundamental need, or basic attitude, which is of major importance to the formation of new attitudes - and hence, potentially, to social change (Blumer, 1939, p.58).

The new attitudes which were emerging (through innumerable instances of a value acting on a pre-existing attitude, or an attitude acting on a pre-existing value) caused the old value corresponding to the male breadwinner/female homemaker norm - to be evaluated differently: to take on new meanings. This (or these) can be understood only when the value is considered in social life - in the activities of the group's members, and how they interpret and evaluate these activities. An aim of the present study is to discover some of these meanings as they relate to that aspect of the norm involving the performance of family household work.

Defence of the Traditional System

The devices whereby the State, employers and unions have restricted women's participation in the labour market have been well-documented by feminist historians (see for example Kingston, 1975; Ryan and Conlon, 1975; Game and Pringle, 1983). The review of literature presented in Chapter 2 of this study revealed women's inferior workplace position, relative to men's; a situation which continues despite legislation and policies aimed at gender equity here. It also drew attention to the prevalence of traditional gender assumptions and expectations of some employers concerning employee's work participation (see for example Adie and Carmody, 1991). In Chapter 3, the discussion of the State's involvement in family life highlighted the way decisions, policies and so on (including pension provisions) often were based on traditional assumptions about men's and women's family and paid work responsibilities.

All such strategies may be interpreted as efforts to defend or maintain the traditional system. The intention in the discussion which follows is to refer more generally to certain strategies which may be employed by a group when it aims to prevent or counteract disorganization. The involvement of some Christian churches in this regard is also referred to briefly.

Reinforcing Activities/Use of Sanctions

Thomas and Znaniecki commented that the "natural and naive expectation" of social groups is that traditionally accepted and applied ways of defining and dealing with social situations will last indefinitely and "bear any amount of change". Moreover, the appearance of phenomena of disorganization are first interpreted as merely negations of the traditional order. The group's first attempts at dealing with such transgressions, therefore, are to place additional social emphasis upon the "old rules"; making them more explicit and striving for stricter observance. According to Thomas and Znaniecki, efforts directed at preventing or counteracting disorganization - whether faced by the community which wants the individual to conform to traditional rules, or by the individual who wishes to influence the community so as to retain the traditional system - always can be reduced to the following formula: "How to make the individual or the community define and solve certain situations in the same way as before, in spite of changed conditions or changed attitudes or both" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1247-9).

It frequently happens that the reinforcement of traditional rules through their added emphasis and the use of sanctions, is quite successful in restoring traditional social definitions. As the above authors stated, even the mere fact of having certain rules formulated and continually repeated makes their transgression assume a character of "abnormality". This can be seen to be the case in the rule of interest here. Thus, married women always have had a presence in the workforce which, from the perspective being discussed here, exercised varying degrees of disorganizing influences on group institutions. During times of relative stability, though, the continuous incipient disorganization was constantly controlled or prevented from spreading to others, by group activities which reinforced, with assistance of existing sanctions, the power of the prevailing rule.

A characteristic of changes in standards and norms is that they "imply deterioration, passage from good to bad, from order to disorder, from organization to disorganization" (Znaniecki, 1963, p.277). Individuals may hanker for the stability and order of the past. They may fear for the survival of an institution - or even society itself. Towards the end of the sixties, perceived threats to 'the family' were numerous. In addition to working mothers, they included homosexuality, permissiveness, divorce and teenage delinquency (Gilding, 1991, p.121). In fact, in this period there existed grave fears for the family's future: it was indeed perceived as an institution in a state of disintegration. The anxiety of the 1970s was crystallised in an oft quoted article by Peter McDonald (1983): "Can the family survive?" (Gilding, 1991, p.121).

Moral conservatives (including certain religious leaders) rallied against this 'breakdown' of the family. Many of these drew on research such as that by Bowlby (1951 - and subsequent books published in 1971 and 1972). This writer and his followers had assumed the primary importance for infants, of continuous exclusive relationships with their natural mother. Moreover, it was claimed that such a relationship was "a necessary

prerequisite for healthy psychological and emotional development" (quoted in Pease and Wilson, 1991, p.58). Bowlby made no mention of the contribution of fathers to childrearing. Subsequently, may serious methodological flaws have been identified in Bowlby's work (see for example Rutter, 1972). Yet as Dally (1982) disclosed, this research was used by post-war governments in a number of countries, to restrict women's role to the domestic sphere. This enabled greater re-employment opportunities to be created for men in the paid workforce.

Burns and Goodnow have referred to numerous examples of sanctions which drew on the 'vital nature' of the mother-child relationship; and the drastic consequences for the child's behavioural and emotional well-being when this was interrupted (as when a mother joins the workforce). The following was cited by these writers - a petition to the Australian parliament in 1983, urging rejection of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women:

> The proposed legislation (will give) strong encouragement to mothers to join the workforce, with the provision of networks of creches and child care centres ... (and) is likely to result in maternal deprivation and psychological disturbances among children with an increase in childhood psychiatric illness (Signed by 150,000 signatories) (Reported in Burns and Goodnow, 1985, p.54).

A similar sanction - or reinforcement of the traditional order - may be seen to be contained in the following statement made by a State President of a government-funded marriage guidance organisation in South Australia, and taken from his foreword to the 1988 Annual Report of that organization:

> Traditional motherhood is being devalued as women increasingly prefer fulfilment in the work force. Children are being abandoned to various forms of child care, many of which are unable to provide adequate mothering and nurturing... The compounding effect of this deprivation is likely to be a further erosion of family life and greater social disruption. One can predict that there will be an increase in indicators of negative social health such as rates of crime, drug dependence, suicide, divorce and mental illness (Kirby, 1988).

Moral sanctions such as the above, emanating from an individual representing an official organization of a given society, may be seen to possess a further dimension of influence, because of the (often) assumed expert status of the person concerned. Thus, these statements potentially may be referred to, or actually be quoted by, say, politicians and legislators in relation to developing policies or framing laws. They are likely also to be quoted in the media; as well as by individuals in everyday conversations in and between families and with friends, neighbours and so on (Morgan, 1985). These exchanges may be seen to reinforce the traditional meanings (ideological values) which such statements contain within them, as well as to operate as sanctions for those who may transgress the rule. In such ways, the group's culture is kept alive and is transmitted to future generations.

At another level, individuals' traditional ideological attitudes may cause them, for example, to fear the negative effects on children of employed mothers; or to resent married

women (but not men) holding jobs when there are high levels of youth unemployment. Such persons manifest these attitudes in their everyday conversations and dealings with others. Some also may express their views in writing to print media, in the hope of publication. Success here ensures communication to a much wider audience. The following represent several examples of such letters, which have appeared in recent print media in Australia.

Give the younger people a go

It appalls me that so many middle-aged women with husbands to support them are holding down jobs that younger women could be doing. I know of many who are really only working so they can indulge in expensive holidays, fine clothes and wants, not needs. Surely employers can see what is happening and give the younger people a go. The older women are past their struggling days, with freehold homes and families off their hands, yet are too selfish to step aside and give the next generation a chance.

Mavis Thomas, Broadview, SA
"The Advertiser", 16 January 1992

Kids come first

Who among us can do justice to two careers at the same time? Few if any. If mothers accepted responsibility and took pride in their chosen career as a parent, we would have a generation of well-adjusted young people, instead of a bunch of confused misfits who don't really know where they belong. If you have spare time while the children are in school, by all means, take on some outside work or activity. But only after the children's homework has been checked, stories read, lunches made, loose buttons secured, sore throats treated along with copious amounts of hugs and kisses and any discussion the children need or want . If you are selfish enough to insist on continuing your paid career and having a child, get ready to suffer the consequences. Children don't need a faster car, flash house, an overseas holiday or an extra television - they need you!

J Evans, Gumdale, Q
"Woman's Day", August 1992, p.54

Our country's future

In the past few weeks I have witnessed the funeral of my eldest son's former classmate, who died as a result of suicide, and empathised with the family of another one who attempted suicide. Then came three disturbing reports in "The Advertiser"; namely, the increase in the unemployment figures, due mainly to the number of married women trying to rejoin the workforce; the alarming youth unemployment figures and to cap it all, the article on the increasing demand for child care.
When, oh when, will the Government realise that if the billions of dollars spent annually on building and maintaining childcare centres and making dole payments to our youth were paid instead to mothers - making it economically viable for them to stay at home and mind their own children - the youth unemployment problem would be solved overnight. Most of us are in the workforce not by choice but by sheer economic necessity.
While it is true that many jobs once held by the young have been done away with by technology, many of those jobs now are held by middle-aged women who have no need whatsoever to work and do so only because they are "bored" at home. The time has surely come to means test households where there are no dependent children to ensure that only one partner works full-time. The "bored" partner would be eagerly snapped up by Meals On Wheels or other voluntary organisations which are crying out for helpers. Our youth are our country's future. To deny them work is to deny us all a future.

(Mrs) Bronwen Pederson, Paradise, SA
"The Advertiser", 25 July 1992

At what cost?
For some time, I have felt concern about the number of children suffering from hypertension, asthma and like illnesses. In my childhood (in the '20s), these things were unknown among children and rare in adults. So I was interested in the letter (AWW Jan) about the adverse effect that hot chips had on her daughter's health. Could the increase in asthma be linked to the increased use of fast foods - things that were unknown when I was small? With no electricity, we had no fridges, no deep freeze. Our larder - with shelves floor to roof packed with home-preserved fruit, jam and vegetables, and jars of butter-covered potted meat - was deep in the cellar, and always cold, even on the hottest day. In the kitchen were jars of home-made cookies and tins of home-baked cakes. I admire the way wives work to help their husbands provide for the home, and I see the need for take-away foods, but I also wonder at what cost to children's health?

BR Tucker, Roleystone, WA
The "Australian Women's Weekly", September 1992

Such letters (which took little effort to locate) draw attention to the continuing, powerful influence of traditional ideological values on the lives of some in this society. There appears, among these individuals, to be a rejection (or, at most, 'luke-warm' acceptance) of mothers' workforce participation. Women are assumed to have primarily/sole responsibility for family care, except in the area of economic provision. The reverse appears to be the expectation for men.

Furthermore, several of the above letters contain within them the kind of sanctionary message which is seen to contribute to the "ambivalence about leaving young children", which many women report feeling (Glezer, 1991, p.6). This can operate as a barrier for some to entering paid employment; or should they choose to do this, to limit themselves to jobs which are least disruptive to what they (and the community) perceive as their responsibilities for children and home (Yeandle, 1984; Sharpe, 1984). Furthermore, as Glezer also reported, should a woman experiencing such ambivalence take a job, she may have "considerable difficult" adjusting to this as well as child-rearing. Many women report feeling "guilty" at leaving young children. The dilemma they face could be seen as arising from their having drawn from two conflicting value types (new and traditional) in constructing their personal systems. This is captured in the following statement from a woman in Glezer's study: "...I feel I should go out to work full-time to help my husband financially, but feel I should be at home until the children are older..." (Glezer, 1991, p.6).[2]

Research informs us less well it appears, concerning sanctions applied to men who actively engage in homemaking and child care while a female partner is employed. Yet given the relative infrequency of such family household arrangements - estimated by Russell (1983) to be around 2 percent - it may be expected, and some evidence confirms, that social sanctions contribute to this. Furthermore, follow-up studies of men's involvement in non-

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2   This comment is of interest for its attitudinal content also, in that it is an example of the meaning being given by many, to the new value. That is, women's workplace participation, when it is accepted, is seen as being secondary to men's (Sharpe, 1984; Yeandle, 1984; Glezer, 1991; Basow, 1992). Such a value may be more readily incorporated within the prevailing traditional ideology.

traditional arrangements revealed that they are not sustained for longer than a year or so (Russell, 1987).

Women frequently report that they want men to be more involved with family responsibilities. It appears, however, that some of their responses to such involvement, when it occurs, could act as a deterrent. For example, Russell et al. (1988, p.256) indicated that some fathers reported feeling "annoyed" at their partners' (and others') assumptions of them as "helpers"; as revealed, for example, in such comments from other women as: "Gee Joan must feel lucky to have you helping so much with the children". There was evidence too, that attempts to become involved were "often subject to a high degree of supervision and criticism" by partners. Others have referred to findings that attempts made by men to take responsibility were "blocked by their partners" (Bryson, 1985).

Russell et al. (1988) have reported examples of sanctions which were applied to men by other men, when they took on a care-giving role with respect to children: for example, what an "easy time" they were having, and so on. Such an assessment would seem also to incorporate within it prevailing assumptions about what constitutes work: unpaid family work still not qualifying as 'work' in the eyes of some. This is particularly notable in an example Russell (1983(b)) gave of a situation experienced by a father having major responsibility for home and family care, whilst his female partner was employed. The full script is reproduced below.

> Father: *If another (blank) man who has little involvement with his children makes another snide remark about how easy it is to stay at home, then I'll almost certainly crown him one! After having a rather hectic morning with my two (aged 2 and 4), a bloke from up the street walked past. He stopped and said: "Gee you must have it easy, don't you go to work these days - just do a little bit at night do you? It must be a good life just looking after them ... give them something to amuse themselves with and give them lunch". In reply I said, trying to be serious: "I don't know, sometimes I think I'd rather be at work. Whenever I try to get anything done there's always one of them wanting something. This morning has been really bad, I haven't had much success. But I've still got to get things done. Now it's time to go and get Amanda from pre-school and another set of demands will start". His sarcastic answer to that was just about as much as I could take. He laughed and said, "Gee that must be hard, going for a walk in the sun"* (Russell, 1983(b), quoted in Russell et al., 1988, pp.257-8).

Insofar as such criticisms, or ridiculing, of men's participation in domestic and family work may serve to reduce their involvement, or contribute to an unwillingness to participate, they may been seen to operate as sanctions which (like others referred to) assist in maintaining traditional gender divisions of work, and hence the attitudes corresponding to these divisions. The Australian magazine *New Idea* has a column titled "Mere Male" (referred to previously, in Chapter 4), the prime purpose of which is to print readers' letters reporting examples of men's 'ineptitude' in domestic and family matters. An amount of $10 is paid for each letter printed and $150 is awarded for the 'best' letter published in each issue. Examples of letters appearing in some recent editions of the magazine have been reproduced and appear as Appendix VIII ("Examples of sanctions; Letters reproduced from "Mere Male" (MM) column,

New Idea"). They serve to highlight the diverse, subtle and pervasive nature of the kinds of sanctions and reinforcing activities which have been referred to in this discussion.

"Removing the Values Out of Reach"

According to Thomas and Znaniecki, one of the "simplest" methods of counteracting progressive disorganization is "to remove these values out of reach". Such a method, they argued, occurs in every social group,

> ... as soon as reflection persuades it that disorganization is no longer an exceptional phenomenon limited to a few "abnormal" individuals but begins to touch a continually increasing number of apparently quite average members (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1256).

Gilding (1991) has cited numerous examples in Australia's history, of how involvement in the labour force was placed "out of reach" of women (as well as the innovative ways many women "got around" this in hard economic times). An obvious present day instance of this can be seen in the low priority afforded child care services - and even opposition to this - by successive governments at both Federate and State levels, until recent years (Brennan, 1983). For example, throughout the 1970s and early 1980s, the amount of money spent on pre-school services in Australia was lower per capita than all OECD countries excepting Spain, Portugal and Turkey (O'Donnell, 1984). The shortage of facilities has meant that some women who would like to enter the labour force, have been prevented from doing so. In 1986 this was the case for 70,000 women (ABS 1986). As is referred to in the discussion on social reorganization in Australian society (to follow), substantial increase in funding for child care occurred from the mid-1980s. However, the following example serves to highlight some of the inconsistencies evident here.

In May 1989, the Federal government announced a grant of $3 million dollars for 2,500 additional child care places in South Australia, these to be made available over a 3 year period (ABC "7.30 Report", 22nd May 1989). However, increases in the costs of care - from $87 to $105 per week for a child under 5 - along with the fact that these were unsubsidised for the majority, made the taking-up of such places prohibitive for many less-well-off families. As a father of two children under 5 years old stated on the programme referred to: "It's just not worth the wife working when practically all her wage goes on childcare". (A comment also of interest because of its attitudinal content). Yet, such a method of counteracting social disorganization - placing values "out of reach" - is only ever successful in the short term. As Thomas and Znaniecki stated:

> The method would be perfectly efficient in preventing certain specific phenomena of disorganization by making impossible such situations as require those particular values; though, of course, it would have no preventive effect on other kinds of phenomena produced by different influences. [And], ... sooner or later the internal creative forces of the community produce other values which upset the traditional order (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1256-7).

The area of child care represents an example of such a case. Here we have substantial contributions being made by other family members to the care of young children, when both parents are employed. As was seen in Chapter 2, grandparents (or more usually grandmothers) make a considerable contribution here, as they do also in those situations where neither working parent is able to care for a sick child (Glezer, 1991).

Gilding (1991) has referred to some of the religious forces in Australia, which "led the reaction against changes in the family and the reconstruction of gender". He noted for example, the movement led by the Reverend Fred Nile, a church leader from New South Wales. In Gilding's words:

> Their vehicle included old organizations turned to new ends such as the National Civic Council; and new organizations such as the Festival of Light, Right to Life, Women Who Want to be Women and Call to Australia (Gilding, 1991, p.130).

Such groups demanded state intervention in defence of 'the family' - "a curious contradiction to their claim that they were upholding natural and divine law", Gilding noted (p.130). These activities were spurred on by some of the changes occurring in families and which were perceived by some as threatening the survival of this institution (McDonald, 1983). The text of a letter published in the "Letters to the Editor" column of an Adelaide daily newspaper, reprinted below, captures one of the common themes of such groups, in their defence of traditional breadwinning and homemaking activities.

Discrimination

Josephine Tiddy[3] (The Advertiser, 30.8.91.) says she is keen to overcome the view that paid work for women was supplementary to their main role as homemakers.
Maybe she should also devote time to overcoming the discrimination against the 30 percent of young school leavers who cannot find work and, on present indications, never will.

Mark J Posa, Executive Officer
The Australian Family Association Adelaide
(The Advertiser, 6 September 1991)

Gilding also has noted that some right-wing politicians took up the "moral conservative political agenda", notably, Joh Bjelke-Petersen in Queensland in the late 1980s. However, with the exception of Queensland, moral conservatives had only minor political impact in other Australian states. As Gilding (1991, p.131) has commented: "At a more fundamental level, the movement could have only limited success given its unwillingness to confront the centrality of the market in the 'breakdown' of the family".

A further example of the church's defence of the traditional system which has received much press of late, concerns the ordination of women. Until very recent times, the 'real' work of the church had been exclusively in the hands of men. A minority of church leaders are supportive of change to allow the admission of women, viewing this as both just and

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3   Ms. Josephine Tiddy was the Director of the Equal Opportunity Commission in Sourth Australia at that time.

positive with regard to the work of the church. Several women have been ordained so far in this country. Other members of the church hierarchy, however, are very condemning of such moves. For example, the Anglican Archbishop of Sydney, the Most Reverend Donald Robinson warned of "the long term disintegration of the church if women (are) ordained". Another church leader - the Reverend John Morley, Archdeacon of the Murray (South Australia) cautioned that it would be "decidedly dangerous" for the more liberal Anglican Archbishop of Adelaide, the Most Reverend Dr Ian George, to proceed with a plan to ordain a woman priest (*The Advertiser*, 24 January 1992, p.3).

Such conflicting perspectives and interpretation by various individuals as revealed above, are particularly indicative of the differences between individuals and groups when society and its institutions are in a state of flux. Thus, in the earlier example concerning the fear by some for the survival of the family - others at the same time, including some academic sociologists and government policy advisers, agreed that the family was not breaking down, but changing. Some even claimed that "families were more stable and healthier" than many may have imagined (Gilding, 1991, p.13, also quoting Edgar, 1985).

To return to the example of married women's workforce participation - with increasing numbers of women continuing to activate this new attitude, social disorganization may be seen here to become "widely prevalent". Reinforcing activities and social sanctions previously successful in maintaining the status quo were no longer capable of suppressing the new attitudes. Society's task, then, became one of finding and providing institutional expression and support for these new attitudes. This is referred to here as social reorganization, or social reconstruction. The corresponding task for (some) individuals involves doing the cognitive-emotional and behavioural 'work' (Walden, 1979) of reorganizing their personal systems - their guide for behaving and giving meaning to those areas of life affected. Thus, where a new attitude enters this system (as a consequence) of the interaction between new and preexisting values and attitudes) the equilibrium is disrupted and subsequently must be restored.

In sum: A central problem of social disorganization, it has been seen, is that of explaining why a social rule loses its efficacy and why it can no longer be reinforced. The answer which the authors provided is in terms of the general methodological principle which they develop in their work. Thus, a particular social rule (a value) is maintained by a combination of attitudes. If new attitudes appear - for example, when a particular scheme of behaviour is insufficient, or no longer perceived as constructive - the rule is perceived differently by those who hold the new attitudes; and consequently its influence is correspondingly lessened and disturbed. The task of explaining social disorganization, therefore, requires the identification of the new attitudes which cause the rule to be disturbed, or valued differently; and determining the cause of the new attitudes.

Initially, phenomena of disorganization appear as a mere negation of the traditional order, so that the problem facing the group appears to be a simple alternative - "either the old order or complete chaos". It is only after disorganization progresses somewhat that there is a growing realization of new forms of social life, and that a different form of social order appears possible. It is then that the problem becomes viewed in less simplistic terms, and perhaps "discloses itself as a very complex and very different problem of social evolution, offering an indefinite variety of more of less satisfactory solutions" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1213).

SOCIAL REORGANIZATION

When new values enter the experience of people "on an extensive scale", thus occasioning an increasing number of new attitudes and further weakening of the existing rule, this event gives rise to a different problem. In Thomas and Znaniecki's words:

> The problem is then no longer how to suppress the new attitudes but how to find for them institutional expression, how to utilize them for a socially productive purpose, instead of permitting them to remain in a status where they express themselves merely in individual revolt and social revolution (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1121 - cited Blumer, 1939, p.65).

The general nature of the social reorganization, or social reconstruction, process is conveyed best in the words of the authors:

> The problem of social reconstruction is to create new schemes of behavior - new rules of personal conduct and new institutions - which will supplant or modify the old schemes and correspond better to the changed attitudes, that is, which will permit the latter to express themselves in action and at the same time will regulate their active manifestations so as not only to prevent the social group from becoming disorganized but to increase its cohesion by opening new fields for social co-operation (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1303).

The process of reorganization, therefore, does not consist merely of reinforcing the decaying organization; but most importantly, of producing new schemes of behaviour and new institutions which are better adapted to the changed and changing demands of the group. Moreover, this process of social reconstruction - the production of new schemes and institutions - is possible

> ... only because, and in so far as, during the period of social disorganization a part at least of the members of the group... have been working toward a new and more efficient personal life organization and have expressed a part at least of the constructive tendencies implied in their individual activities in an effort to reproduce new social institutions (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1130).

The section which follows includes some general comments concerning the social reorganization process in relation to Polish peasant society. This is followed by a discussion on certain aspects of the reorganization process in contemporary Australian society, using the same earlier example - married women's increasing workforce involvement. Here, the interest

lies in the measures adopted to permit institutional expression and support of the new attitudes.

Examples of Social Reorganization

(1) Social Reorganization - Polish Peasant Community

Thomas and Znaniecki pointed out that whenever social evolution is rapid, there is a requirement for rational control of the social reconstruction process. In these circumstances, all forms of control based upon the assumption of an essentially stable social organization, are unsuitable. In the case of the Polish peasant community, for example, complicated systems of beliefs and rules of behaviour had developed during many centuries. Such evolution had been slow, proceeded by innumerable modifications and additions, without regard for consistency and without any idea of subordinating these (morals and beliefs) to some common and general aim. Through a kind of "social selection" then, those forms of behaviour became stabilized which, under given conditions, were apt to give a "fair satisfaction" to the fundamental needs and desires of members of the group. Here then,

> ... there is time enough to develop in a purely empirical way, through innumerable experiments and failures, approximately sufficient means of control with regard to the ordinary and frequent social phenomena, while the errors made in treating the uncommon and rare phenomena seldom affect social life in such a manner to imperil the existence of the group; if they do, then the catastrophe is accepted as incomprehensible and inevitable (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, in Bierstedt, 1969, p.54).

Under ordinary circumstances, then, the traditional rules and belief systems which have thus evolved are sufficient to control social life. In the case of eventual extraordinary circumstances, the cohesion of the group and the persistence of its membership are strong enough to withstand, passively, such influences, "although there is no adequate method of meeting them". Where a crisis is too serious and the old unity or prosperity of the group breaks down, "this is usually treated at first as a result of superior forces against which no fight is possible". However, in the immigrant Polish peasant community, owing to a breakdown of the community and the isolation of the group, along with its contact with "a more complex and fluid world" with a differing set of cultural values, the crises became more frequent and varied and the social evolution more rapid. Then,

> ... there is no time for the same gradual, empirical, unmethodical elaboration of approximately adequate means of control, and no crisis can be passively borne, but every one must be met in a more or less adequate way, for they are too various and frequent not to imperil social life unless controlled in time. The substitution of conscious technique for a half-conscious routine has become, therefore, a social necessity (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, in Bierstedt, 1969, p.54).

Under the conditions of stability described earlier, no social institution, it was claimed, is consciously created for the definite purpose of satisfying any specific needs of the

community, by producing specific values. By contrast, in the process of social reconstruction,

All the new or reformed social institutions are consciously created and maintained for definite purposes, are meant to satisfy certain needs by producing the specific values required (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1424).

The method of formation of institutions is based on certain new popular attitudes, originally more or less vague and "expressing themselves rather in dissatisfaction with the present than in positive demands for the future." These become defined and formulated by the leaders as the need for certain values, and the plan of a new institution - or of a reform of an old institution - is presented as the only accessible way of satisfying a given need (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1424). In the process of creating social reforms, these writers observed, "the role of the individual, the inventor or leader" is of far greater importance than is the case in the preservation and defence of the traditional system. With regard to the latter, even in those instances where this is assumed by particular individuals, "the latter act merely as official or unofficial representatives of the group". And while they may be more or less original and efficient in realizing their aim, this (aim) "has been defined for them entirely by social tradition" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1303).

The Social Reconstruction Task

The enormity and complexity of the social reconstruction task with respect to the re-located Polish peasants was emphasised by Thomas and Znaniecki. Briefly, this involved the following:

1. the discovery and understanding of the new attitudes which demanded an outlet;

2. the invention of new schemes of behaviour which corresponded more closely with the new attitudes which had been identified;

3. gaining the acceptance of the group of these schemes, as social rules or institutions;

4. facilitation of the change of attitudes in those parts of society which were evolving more slowly and hence were not ready for the reform. This process also may involve a "struggle against obstinate defenders of the traditional system" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927. p.1304).

The Polish peasants in Thomas and Znaniecki's investigation were in a period of transition: a transition from the old forms of the social organization which had been in force (with only insignificant changes) for many centuries, to a modern form of life. The authors' analysis of their cultural situation revealed that sufficient of the old attitudes remained to make the social reconstruction possible, while at the same time they were sufficiently advanced "upon the new way" to enable a study of the development of the modern attitudes. The new, although initially somewhat vague, attitudes, eventually became defined and formulated by the leaders as the need of certain values, and the plan of a new (or reformed) institution was presented to the group as a way of satisfying the identified need. The authors' primary interests lay in

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the nature of the new forms and how these were imposed upon the peasant communities, and the resulting social organization.

The experience of the Polish peasants primarily involved the creation of new institutions rather than the reform of the old. Each new institution (for example Commune or Agricultural Circle, Loan and Savings Bank) and new rules of personal conduct, as noted earlier, were aimed at supplanting (or modifying) the old schemes and enabling socially recognized expression of the new attitudes. There was, a "conscious purposefulness" in the formation and functioning of such institutions, which could be contrasted to the "planlessly agglomerated" product of many past generations, characterizing the old primary group.

Role of Leaders: In the reorganization of Polish society, the efforts of the leaders were critically important. These were predominantly members of the nobility, clergy and middle-classes. Briefly, their task was to make use of attitudes responsible for the unity of the old primary group communities, in developing a sense of, and attachment to, a wider community on a national basis. Alongside this absorption of the peasants in a wider group, the new schemes of behaviour had to provide for the expression of those attitudes which could not secure such expression in the old communities.

As Thomas and Znaniecki stated, "always and everywhere it is a strenuous task to make society adopt rational methods in any particular activity, and ... this adoption is never the result of mere intellectual persuasion". In relation to the Polish peasants, they noted that in order to materialise the plans of the leaders, it was necessary, firstly to convince the peasants, that they really had the needs which the leaders had formulated. Then they needed to believe that the institution planned was the best means of satisfying that need. They next had to be convinced that the conclusion that the leaders drew from the premises was right and the establishment of the new institution was really desirable (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1425).

These writers have provided a comprehensive discussion on the variety of complex social reforms utilised in the reconstructive movement of the Polish peasants which it is beyond the requirements of this work to consider. Very briefly, the fostering of "conscious co-operation" by the leaders resulted in the formation of organized groups throughout the country. In this regard, the authors noted that the prestige of the leaders, at least initially, was vital - for example, in facilitating acceptance by the peasants of suggestions without fully understanding their bearing (see Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1307-1429).

Role of Organizations: The press and formal organizations performed vital functions too, in providing the necessary unity of the small group. Such wider community involvement enabled and aided the reconstructive process through the pressure of "indirect social opinion" and by the influence of example. Significant also in the overall reconstruction task was the process of education of the peasants. As the authors stated, in gaining acceptance by the

peasant community of any institution different from the traditional, "it [was] indispensable to have this community intellectually prepared to meet the new problems" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1304). However, even when the peasants were convinced that certain needs were "real and important" and that the institutions should be established, the fear of "the vague possibilities of unforeseen changes" which the establishment of the new institutions could produce, generated resistance to its formation. Popular education served the function of making the peasants more accessible to "intellectual persuasion" (see Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1420-1426).

With regard to the creation of new institutions, the authors commented that it was in the economic area that the attitudes were "most general and at the same time the easiest to institutionalize". They went on to suggest a number of reasons for this (see Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1400-01). A further observation was that

> ... the evolution [occurred] sooner in those fields in which the peasants' judgement [was] less dependent on tradition and public opinion, in which [they were] better able to define situations rationally from the standpoint of a proper adaptation of the means to the end, instead of defining them from the standpoint of their accordance with traditional rules (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1335).

"Less efficient and without definite methodological principles", then, were attempts to reorganize "the most important traditional institution - the family". A finding of interest which they reported here (but did not examine further nor attempt to explain) was that, whereas in the traditional organization, "it was the man upon whom the unity of the large family mostly relied", in the reorganized society, "the woman (was) expected to be the bearer of the solidarity" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1400).

This completes the brief overview concerning the general features of social reconstruction in Polish peasant society, as reported by Thomas and Znaniecki. It is appropriate now, to refer to some aspects of this process in relation to contemporary Australian society, again utilising the example provided earlier.

(2) Social Reorganization - Australian Society

As indicated earlier, social disorganization in Australian society was associated with the emergence of new attitudes which were manifest in large and increasing numbers of married women in the paid workforce - previously the principal domain of male breadwinners. These new attitudes were seen as the outcome of changed social and material conditions (external influences), appealing to pre-existing attitudes among some individuals (a desire for economic independence, or higher living standards among some women, for example). The emergence of the new attitudes caused the traditional rule to be valued differently. More specifically, the appearance of new attitudes resulted in the efficiency of the existing rule of behaviour being impaired; with associated decay of some social institutions. It is only when such changes in individual attitudes "become sufficiently pronounced as to affect group values" that the

process of social reconstruction may begin. This is aimed at "improving the fit between the newly evolved cultural system and its social base" (Smolicz and Moody, 1978, p.63).

As has been noted previously, Australian society is divided into many groups whose life conditions and experiences vary substantially. These differences extend beyond income, to include many other resources and benefits - such as education, health care and housing. Change does not occur evenly in the various groups. Moral conservatives had railed against the 'breakdown' of the family, including married women's participation in paid work. Certain other groups and individuals, however, took a different stance. Some of these supported, and even welcomed, the changes. Among them were feminists, members of the Women's Movement, some academic sociologists as well as government police advisers (Gilding, 1991, pp.130-1). Particularly influential in their contributions to aspects of the social construction process, were the Women's Movement and the Australian Institute of Family Studies. Brief comment will be made on some of their activities.

The Women's Movement

The Women's Movement in Australia has played a major role in informing on, and illuminating, issues of family, particularly as these relate to women. Its impact on the social reconstruction process cannot be over-emphasized. Having begun in the late 1960s, the feminist movement became a "powerful force" by the 1970s (Burns, 1991, p.33). Among the numerous and significant challenges to ensue was the basic rationale of male/female relationships. This was challenged in a way that had never occurred previously.

Feminist writers and scholars played a particularly vital role in early social awareness-raising with respect to issues of inequity in employment and family areas. Such exposure to many women of new values, represented - from the cultural perspective adopted here - an essential element in their redefining of new situations in these areas, and hence to the emergence of the new attitudes. Popular literature from feminist writers was particularly influential around this time. Betty Friedan's "Feminine Mystique", as Colling (1992) stated, "brilliantly articulated" the experience of many suburban housewives "trapped, without the capacity to make choices for themselves, caught in a system not of their making" (p.3). This book was read by large numbers of women. Other popular literature included Germaine Greer's "The Female Eunuch" and "Sexual Politics", by Kate Millett. These books were highly influential in drawing attention to, and hence raising society's awareness (but more often women's) to gender stereotypes, expectations and inequities. Later scholars, such as Elizabeth Badinter (1981), cleverly exposed the myth of the so-called "maternal instinct" and systematically demonstrated its social construction (Gilding, 1991).

Among numerous and significant achievements of the women's movement in Australia to which Burns (1991) referred, were the foundation of the Women's Electoral Lobby in 1971, and the appointment of Elizabeth Reid as the first Women's Adviser to the Federal Government. Such events, with other achievements, contributed powerfully to the

emergence of a social scene in which, as Colling (1992) put it, "the whole weight of social, political, philosophical and religious thought was up for re-examination from a new perspective - women's" (p.36). The outcome has been what one writer described as an "achievement without historic parallel - the initiation of public discourse on the gender script" (Dixon, 1986 - cited Burns, 1991).

However, the powerful impact of the women's movement on the shaping of new attitudes among many women can be seen as having had a very different impact on the lives of the majority of men. Gilding (1991) observed that men's response to such events "was ambivalent and sometimes hostile". Some men did not want their wives to work, despite the economic advantages to the family (any possible benefits for wives was likely incomprehensible). Bryson and Thompson (cited Gilding, 1991, p.118) reported a study conducted in the 1960s, which indicated that 21 percent of working-class husbands disapproved of their wives working. About the same percentage of middle-class husbands, a further study revealed, "refused to let their wives work" (Gilding, 1991, p.118, citing Stivens, 1985). By contrast, many women who did not already have paid employment wanted this - at least part-time.

Many men, Colling has argued, were confused. They experienced the "onslaught on their power base as an attack on their selfhood". Men's self-image, their identity, for centuries had been underpinned by their central role in society as breadwinner. They had felt secure in this role. Now it was being challenged. It was under threat, as increasingly women became their colleagues in the workforce, and competed against them for jobs. As Colling commented: "Feminist criticism exposed the model they had used to define their lives, their values, as being largely negative. And so they became confused, vulnerable and prey to self-doubt" (Colling, 1991, p.37).

Some men also were defensive - and "justifiably so", it has been contended, with regard to certain features of the "feminist revolution". Some feminists had presented them as "acting collectively, conspiring to deride and degrade the status of women" (Colling, 1991, p.35). Such an accusation was one to which most men could not relate. At the same time, this might have contributed to the unwillingness by many, to examine gender inequalities, including their greater power in many areas of life relative to women; and the institutional support of this. Most men, it has been claimed "... literally did not understand what women were on about. They were unable to take in the injustices being exposed by the Women's Movement and to reconcile them with their own experiences of themselves "(p.33). Alison Thomas (1990) reached a similar conclusion, from her British study. She reported that "men are less likely to have applied a political analysis of gender to their own lives in the way that many women have done" (p.159). And furthermore, that many men "... do not even bother to pay lip-service to feminism and cling resolutely to 'old-fashioned' values" (p.150).

The foregoing suggests again, that many women and men are being influenced by and constructing personal systems from vastly differing cultural values in the areas of life

involved here. It should not be lost sight of either, that such factors as race, class, ethnicity, age and sexuality also are influential in determining the values to which people have access. Moreover, their use of the available cultural materials will depend also on each individual's unique personal history, experiences, personality and other characteristics.

Australian Institute of Family Studies

The group of researchers and policy-advisers who comprised the above organization had a key role to play in the social reconstruction process being discussed here. The Institute was established "in the context of pressing political and social problems: the fear of the new 'no-fault' Family Law Act of 1975." However, as Edgar, the founding Director, also has stated,

> *Its brief statement of function was a broad, basic research one: 'to promote, by the conduct, encouragement and coordination of research and other appropriate means, the identification of and the development of understanding of the factors affecting marital and family stability' (Edgar, 1990, p.2).*

In the almost two decades since its inception, this organization has made major contributions to research on families. Particularly significant here have been achievements with respect to qualitative research. As Edgar has commented, the Institute led the way in this area, drawing attention in its investigations to "what lay behind the bare statistics of change" (Edgar, 1990, p.4). The Institute's journal, *Family Matters*, was made available free to interested organizations and individuals up until the end of 1992. This ensured that the excellent research being conducted, along with other relevant information, were widely disseminated in Australian society. Numerous other publications also were produced, reporting research on contemporary family life, many of which (like the journal) have been consulted in the present study.

In addition to its key role in research on families, the Institute has played a very influential role in shaping family policy in this country. Its significant achievements include the taking of major initiatives in modernizing the concept of 'family'. As indicated earlier, a conceptualization of family had developed which presented a narrow and unrepresentative perspective of families. This took the form of the traditional family, comprising Mum, Dad and two or three children, with Dad firmly fixed as the breadwinner and Mum as housewife (at home) and carer of children. Such an image had shaped earlier family policy in Australia, thus serving to disadvantage the many families which did not fit this type.

The message from the Institute was (and continues to be) that there is not one Australian family, but many Australian families. Moreover, the family as an institution is not breaking down, nor is it on "an inexorable slide into oblivion" (Gilding, 1991, p.13). On the contrary, it would appear that the "most fundamental and intimate values of family life - the emotional, caring relationship between husband and wife and between parents and children - may well now be receiving more emphasis than ever" (McDonald, 1983, p.8).

Government Initiatives

Legislation, policy and other initiatives introduced into society as part of the social reorganization process, may be viewed as both legitimising and providing expression for, the new values which had been emerging and which were reflected in married women's increasing workforce participation. The first supports for structural change in Australian society emerged in the late 1960s.[4] It was in 1966 that the marriage bar was dropped from the Commonwealth Public Service. By 1974 all States also had abandoned this. Equal Opportunity laws were passed in the 1960s and 70s. The first equal pay case - equal pay for equal work - was won in 1969. The equal pay provision of 1974, as Edgar stated, may be seen as "representing at least a symbolic move away from the concept of the male breadwinner". In 1973, the supporting mothers' benefit was introduced, later becoming the Supporting Parents' Benefit in 1978. This was a vital move in drawing attention to, and formally supporting, a parenting role for fathers as well as mothers. Prior to the supporting mothers' benefit, deserted, but not deserting, wives could claim a benefit (Edgar and Glezer, 1992(b), p.36).

Numerous additional legislative and other supports for family change emerged in the 1980s. Some of these were in the form of initiatives to enable the achievement of educational as well as vocational objectives for women. Included here were the Sex Discrimination Act (1984) and the Affirmative Action (Equal Opportunity for Women) Act, 1986. In 1981, Australia became a signatory to the International Labour Organisation (ILO) Convention 156. This convention outlines the child care and family services necessary if both men and women are to be able "to exercise their right to work ... to the extent possible without conflict between employment and family responsibilities" (Wolcott, 1990, p.34). In 1990 the Government announced that Australia had ratified the Convention. Such ratification represented a recognition of the new nexus between labour policies and the child-rearing task (Wolcott, 1987). Measures to promote women's training and access to the job market; time off for parenting; maternity, paternity and adoption leave; and the reorganization of work time, in this context, were seen as family policy measures (Edgar, 1990, p.8).

In 1990, the Australian Government set up a new Work Family Unit within the Department of Industrial Relations. One of the early initiatives of this body was the publication of a pamphlet entitled "Work and Family: How do People Manage?", which explains how some employers are responding to demographic and social changes in Australia, by reconsidering work and family issues. Likewise, the Affirmative Action Agency has provided a book entitled "The Triple A List". This gives a wide variety of examples of how Affirmative Action can be applied in the workplace. Examples of initiatives by a number of Australian companies are included (see *Family Matters*, April 1991, No. 28. See also the AIFS article "Progress on the Work-Family Front in Australia" for a report on further initiatives taken by the Work-Family Unit and the Public Communications Sections of the Department of

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4   Some of these are discussed in Chapter 1. They are referred to again briefly, in Chapter 10.

Industrial Relations, a further body funded by the Government and involved in the work/family area).

In 1980, maternity leave (although initially unpaid) became generally available for most women working under awards in permanent and continuous jobs. Those women employed in the Public Service and in some private sector categories became entitled to several months of paid maternity leave. Additionally, they gained an entitlement of unpaid leave for the reminder of the period, up to one year. However, most women employed in the private sector were entitled only to unpaid leave - up to 52 weeks - and reinstatement to their jobs on return from leave (Wolcott, 1990, p.36). In 1990, the Industrial Relations Commission granted paternity leave to fathers and parental leave up until the child's second birthday (Glezer, 1991, p.6). This can be seen to represent a significant change, insofar as it both recognised and supported the notion of caring responsibilities for fathers.

Child Care: With regard to child care provisions, in 1985 there occurred substantial increases in government funding for child care centres, thus providing a 50 percent increase of places in the following year. This was followed in 1987 by a further commitment by the Federal government. Yet another initiative of the latter was the establishment of a scheme aimed at encouraging employers to provide on-site childcare. Under this scheme, introduced in 1989, employers were to provide the capital costs for establishing child care centres, with recurrent costs being shared among employers, employees and the community at large through taxes. However, in spite of such developments, as McDonald (1990) reported, "many women" continued to have difficulty in organizing suitable childcare arrangements.

In 1990, the provision of child care emerged as a major issue in the Federal election. Substantial increases to the existing programme were promised, with an additional 78,000 child care places to be funded by 1995-96 (Hawke, 1990). The new initiative, it was estimated, should produce an overall total of 255,300 places for children under school age. As Maas (1990) commented though, there continues to exist a substantial demand for out-of-school-hours care for children up to the age of about ten years. And demand here will increase, since it is estimated that 87 percent of those married women aged 35-44 years in the workforce, will have dependent children (p.62). It is apparent then, that child care, having emerged as a major political issue, " ... will continue to require resolute attention in order to best meet the needs of families, employers and most importantly, the children being cared for" (Maas, 1990, p.63).

Corporate Responses

Referring to the response of the corporate sector concerning changes in families and the composition of the workforce, Wolcott has observed that although work and family issues "seldom" appeared on the agendas of corporate meetings prior to this time, towards the end of the 1980s, interest in the work/family area had begun to increase. This has expanded somewhat in the 90s (AIFS, 1991, pp.50-1). Those companies which are offering family-

related benefits have begun to document the cost-effectiveness of these. Increased responsiveness is linked with numerous rewards. For example, with regard to employer-provided child care, the Office of the Status for Women (1989) estimated that annual labour-related savings in reduced turnover in women employees and reduced absenteeism, was $87,000 for a forty-place centre (Wolcott, 1990, p.37).

Wolcott (1990), in reporting on initiatives taken by a number of employers in this area, referred to a finding from an Australian company in which the proportion of women employees returning after maternity leave increased from below 50 percent to 80 percent, after the introduction of a company child care centre. This resulted in a saving of $100,000 in training for each new employee (also citing Neales, *Financial Review,* 28 November 1989). Some businesses also are using the services of the non-profit organization Childcare At Work Ltd, which was established to assist employers to determine whether or not to set up their own child care centre. As Wolcott summed up the situation:

> *Most companies are interested in the cost-benefit advantages of providing family support to workers - the bottom line. In general, benefits to companies are considered to include reduced absenteeism, improved recruitment and retention of women employees, reduced training costs, improved morale, and reduction in stress leading to increased productivity (Wolcott, 1990, p.36. Also citing Fernandez, 1986 and Friedman, 1987).*

However, Edgar and Glezer have been highly critical of the corporate sector's overall response to changes in families, and the composition of the workforce. Only a minority of Australian companies, they have claimed, are supportive in this regard. On the basis of their own and other research, they concluded that

> *Unfortunately the cutting edge employers are just that; the majority are very blunt, dull and unable to respond (Edgar and Glezer, 1992(b), p.39 - also citing research by Adie and Carmody, 1991).*

Union Responses

Some trade unions in Australia have played an active and significant role in addressing family/work issues. For example, the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) adopted an 'Action Programme for Women Workers' during the 1980s, to promote flexible working hours, maternity leave and various forms of parental leave (Wolcott, 1990, p.35). Moreover, this union mounted a family leave test case, based on the premise of equal sharing of work and family responsibilities (Matthews 1987). This test case application was successful in 1990, with fathers being allowed unpaid paternity leave for up to 12 months, following the birth of their child, provided the mother does not simultaneously take maternity leave.

Issues for women workers associated with restructuring awards also have been analysed by the ACTU (Doran, 1988, cited Wolcott, 1990, p.36). The need for eliminating job segregation, where women are concentrated in casual, low paying jobs, was noted; as was the need to improve women's access to training and career paths, particularly as this is affected by interrupted patterns of work because of child-rearing. Another trade union to

have been active in family-work matters is the Municipal Employees' Union. For example, a wage case was brought on behalf of family day care workers in which it was argued that "childcare work had been undervalued because it was considered women's work" (Wolcott, 1990, p.36 - citing Davis, *The Age*, 27 February 1989).

Education Initiatives

The discussion presented in Chapter 4 makes reference to the significant changes to curricula which have been introduced into Australian schools, commencing in the 1970s. Here, it is intended to refer to some more recent government initiatives which have supplemented these changes. The Commonwealth Government's Australian Women's Employment Strategy (DEET, 1988) had as its focus the improvement of women's position in the labour force in relation to training and education. Particular emphasis was placed on reducing occupational and industrial segregation, which contributed to women's over-representation in low-paying jobs "without adequate career structures or wages and benefits equity" (Wolcott, 1990, p.34. See also Chapter 2).

Initiatives taken by the Commonwealth Schools Commission (1984) also should be noted here. They also shed further light on the cultural situation in this country, regarding men's involvement in family work. In addressing the educational issues generated by shifts in community attitudes and expectations concerning family work and sex roles, the Commission emphasized the importance of the students' knowledge and understanding of employment as a "central human activity" for women and men. The significance of having a curriculum which addressed the need for women and men having marketable skills and domestic skills also was stressed, with an emphasis on parenting skills for both. However, while there was evidence of change in girls becoming more work and career oriented, there has been little evidence of boys' greater involvement in courses having a family/domestic focus. Wolcott (1988) reported a study concerning student participation in human relations education in Australian schools. This revealed that, of the students who took Home Economics - a course with a strong family sociology component - 90 percent were girls.

The Federal Department of Education, Employment and Training (DEET) established an "Education for Girls" policy and funded a "girls in maths and science" programme. The aim here was to encourage girls to enter non-traditional career paths and so reduce occupational segregation. Wolcott (1990), in noting the preceding initiative, commented that "the same emphasis on encouraging boys to take on caring jobs within the work world or at home is less evident" (p.35). From the theoretical perspective adopted here, this may be explained by the fact that men's involvement in this kind of work (caring work within the family context) has not emerged as a cultural value in this society. Until it does so (as evidenced by a marked increase in the number of men engaging in such work (manifestation of new attitudes), then society will remain limited in terms of the structural supports (values) for such expression that it can provide (and which would be utilised for such expression, should they be provided).

This draws to a close the discussion of some of the structural supports for change introduced in Australia, as part of the social reconstruction process considered here. In relation to the impact of such measures, some brief comments are made below. The topic is taken up again in Chapter 9.

Impact of Structural Supports for Change - Australian Society

For a number of reasons, it is not easy to assess the impact of the reform measures which have been discussed. There did occur a dramatic increase in women's workforce participation rates in Australia in the 1980s. Married women's rate of employment increased by 40 percent, and this compared with a growth of 23 percent in the total workforce (McDonald, 1990, p.14). However, in the mid-1980s there occurred a major sectoral shift in the economy which resulted in a substantial increase of jobs in occupational areas traditionally occupied by women (Maas, 1990, p.59). This obviously was influential in the terms of the employment percentages referred to. However, such data - while informative in their own way - tell us little concerning the attitudes of the individuals concerned: the meanings they (and their partner) ascribed to their workforce participation and the changed family arrangements which accompanied them.

A further reason for this difficulty in assessing the impact of structural supports for change, is that the effects of these frequently are not those which were intended. This may be seen to have been the case, for example, in the earlier discussion on women's experience in the workplace (Chapter 2). Here, despite such reforms as the Equal Pay and Affirmative Action Acts, it was seen that inequalities based on gender were still prevalent: new attitudes and tendencies corresponding to the legislative reforms had not developed. Similar findings were reported in other areas of social life examined (education, welfare provisions and so on - Chapters 3 and 4), with the activities, decisions and so on (tendencies) of individuals suggesting that many were continuing to be guided predominantly by traditional ideological attitudes concerning work and family responsibilities.

Numerous writers have commented on the ineffectiveness (or at least minimal impact) of such reform measures as legislative procedures, policies and so on, in terms of their achieving the desired or intended outcomes (see for example Bryson, 1992; Edgar and Glezer, 1992(b)). In the area of law, for example, Edgar and Glezer observed that in cases of separation and divorce, the State now asserts financial parenting roles (following a prolonged situation where judges failed to award adequate child support payments, together with the failure of courts to enforce these). However, it (the State) "is less assertive about equal participation in the socio-emotional side of parenting". Custody of children is still more likely to be given to mothers (90 percent of cases), which leads to a reduction over time in the father's contact with children, a situation which is shown to have detrimental effects on children (Jackson, 1984). Re-marriage further reduces the father's contact, while for the

women it means taking her children into a step-family. It is claimed that until there is greater change in such areas, "the goals of equal opportunity and equal parenting will remain elusive" (Edgar and Glezer, 1992(b), p.36).

In referring to reforms which were introduced in Britain - for example in the areas of family law, taxation and income maintenance - Land (1983) concluded that these had been associated with a shift in emphasis rather than changes to wider assumptions about women and men. According to Land, then, the emphasis changed to the role of women as single "carers" rather than, as was the case prior to the reforms, on their position as "married women" (cited Morgan, 1985, pp.69-70). Edgar has commented similarly in relation to the situation of women in Australia (Edgar and Glezer, 1992(c)). Gittins also has observed how efforts for reform, as they progress, "may end up having quite a different form and effect at the end of the process" than that which originally had been intended. To quote her in this regard:

> What a national government intends as policy may be implemented at a local level quite differently, perhaps not implemented at all. Some legislation may be carried through with the intent of making concessions to certain groups, yet may end up as a means of oppressing these, or other, groups (Gittins, 1985, p.136).

Legislative procedures, according to Thomas and Znaniecki, represent the "most persistent form" of social technique. Here, a social problem or crisis is met

> ... by an arbitrary act of will decreeing the disappearance of the undesirable or the appearance of the desirable phenomena, and using arbitrary physical action to enforce the decree (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, in Bierstedt, 1969, p.55).

It may happen that what those authors referred to as the "ordering-and-forbidding" technique, appears to (or does) produce the desired result. However, because the process of causation is unknown, and therefore cannot be controlled, "the success is always more or less accidental and dependent upon the stability of general conditions". Likewise, if the intended effect fails to appear, it is not possible to account for the reasons of the failure. The most common result, however, is that where "the action brings some effect, but not the desired one" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, in Bierstedt, 1969, pp.54-5).

The above writers pointed out that social reformers frequently place an "exaggerated importance" on the social scheme. Thus they focus on the introduction of laws, policies and so on, with the expectation that such interventions will produce certain attitudes in individuals exposed to them, which correspond to the schemes. By contrast, "the psychology of the people who live in the particular social conditions is given little attention". Such an emphasis would seem to characterise certain aspects of the social reorganization process as discussed earlier, in relation to Australian society. There was, then, an assumption of the "spontaneous development" of attitudes corresponding to the new schemes and institutions which were provided, and the modifications which were made to the old. The expectation was, therefore, that individuals would have "identical reactions to identical influences", regardless of their individual and social past (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1963, in Bierstedt, 1969, pp.63-4).

It would appear also, that, in relation to the social construction process referred to, minimal attention was paid to individuals in terms of the development of attitudes which might have enabled them to accommodate more readily to the values which had been incorporated in the various schemes (laws, policies and so on). Consequently, those newly-imposed meanings (objective elements) in combination with the pre-existing attitudes of individuals (subjective elements) resulted in the emergence of attitudes which had been more powerfully influenced by the prevailing ideology. That is, in their definitions of those situations in which these values and attitudes were involved, the traditional ideological attitudes which had been incorporated in individuals' personal systems, predominated in this process, and hence determined their attitudes and actions (or non-actions).

In addition to the relative neglect in the reform process, of a focus on individuals (in terms of the development of attitudes, as outlined above) little was done " in those parts of society which [were] evolving more slowly" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1304) to facilitate the development of attitudes corresponding to (or which would permit easier accommodation to) the values in the schemes. Thus, for example, while the Women's Movement was very active and played a vital part in the reform process, this was more likely to be University-based - in the early days, at least. Those women having lesser education, possibly minimal exposure to feminist literature and perhaps 'living in the suburbs', therefore, had limited access to the new ways of thinking, and few opportunities to talk about what the changes may mean for them. Such factors - including and particularly opportunities for talk - are viewed here as being a crucial element to the development of new attitudes.

According to Thomas and Znaniecki, the attraction of external social factors to social reformers is that they are "concrete and tangible" and therefore "easier to grasp". Moreover, they contended, social science, both in theory and practice, has contributed little to an understanding of social change process from which reformers can draw (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, in Bierstedt, 1969, p.64). Consequently, in the absence of "objective principles" on which to rely, those involved in the reconstruction process ascribe a "prepondering importance" to the more tangible dimensions of social life. The "more important process" - of producing attitudes and actions to fit the schemes - is, consequently, left largely to the individuals themselves. Consequently, while the "normal way of social action" would be to develop the attitudes and tendencies and to create the material conditions simultaneously, when this is not possible,

> ... attention should be paid rather to the development of tendencies (in individuals) than to the change of conditions, because a strong social tendency will always find its expression by modifying the conditions, while the contrary is not true (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, in Bierstedt, 1969, p.63).

Thomas and Znaniecki referred to numerous other reasons for the frequent failure of social schemes (laws, policies and so on) to find their intended response in individuals (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1871-5). The most common of these is where individuals presently lack the attitude which the social scheme demands - which may be seen to be the case in

relation to the earlier example of workplace reform measures. A further general cause of such failure of the social schemes, is their "uniformity and stiffness". The social schematism, is not adapted to the variety of individuals but to "the artificial production of a minimum of uniformity". Even when successful, the attitudes tend to evolve not only in single individuals, but also in the whole group. Moreover, this evolution is continuous, while the schemes can be changed only discontinuously, "and so they remain behind - occasionally run ahead of - the social reality which they tend to express". Such causes therefore, contribute to the ineffectiveness of efforts "to adapt the content of social life to its form - to produce attitudes to fit the scheme" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1873).

It should be pointed out, though, that the importance of social and material conditions in facilitating (or hindering) the development of corresponding lines of behaviour is always acknowledged by those authors. Furthermore, it was their contention that social life may be improved "by even such a control as common-sense sociology is able to give". Certainly, they continued, "no effort should be discouraged for the ultimate balance proves usually favourable". However, the potential for such social values to facilitate the development of corresponding behaviours in individuals, as indicated earlier, is always dependent on there being certain pre-existing attitudes in those individuals so exposed to such social measures and which favour the new values: "for the way in which they will be used depends on the people who use them" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, in Bierstedt, 1969, pp.63-4).

This concludes the discussion on Thomas and Znaniecki's theory of social reorganization, and the theoretical application of certain aspects of this to some social reform measures introduced in Australia. Summary comments follow.

Summary and Concluding Comments

The social reconstruction process as discussed above, outlines some aspects of this society's response to the increasing numbers of married women entering paid employment over the past several decades - the emergence of new attitudes. The latter process is referred to as social disorganisation. It represented a disturbance to, or weakening of, the traditional ideological value corresponding to men's breadwinning and women's home/family responsibilities.

The reform process may be viewed broadly, as having had as a central concern, that of providing equal employment opportunities and rewards for women and men: or in other words, permitting gender-equitable expression of the new value, both for present and *future* generations. A major focus of the reform process, then, was on the eradication of gender inequalities which previously had pervaded the paid work sphere, and which - like such inequalities in other areas of life - had either largely been unnoticed, or accepted as inevitable by many individuals.

As noted earlier, the full meaning of the new value may be ascertained only by examining the way in which it is used and experienced by individuals in social life. Some of

the research findings cited earlier enable us to suggest certain possibilities concerning aspects of this meaning. It must be emphasised, though, that such data only permit suggestions. The full meaning may be obtained only by ascertaining from groups of individuals, what their thoughts, feelings, aspirations, actions and so on are, concerning this.

Research consistently has shown that mothers are more likely to be in part-time or casual employment (60%), whereas fathers are more likely to be in full-time employment. Fathers also are more likely to be in higher status positions and earn higher wages than mothers (Edgar and Glezer, 1992(b), p.38). Studies also have indicated that change in women's employment is not necessarily associated with significant changes in women's perceptions or ideologies about breadwinning responsibilities (Bryson, 1984; Russell, 1984 - both cited in Russell et al., 1988). Men are still likely to be seen as having primary responsibility for the financial support of the family, with a women's income being viewed as supplementing this. Furthermore, women are more likely to take time off from work to be with children in times of sickness; and employers (mostly men) generally are more accepting of such arrangements than is the case with male employees.

The above findings highlight the fact that gender inequalities continue to pervade both the unpaid and the paid work spheres (see Chapters 1 and 2). Although the new values were institutionalised into many work (and other) structures, most employers have continued to be guided in what they do and think here, predominantly by the traditional ideological attitudes incorporated in their personal systems (Adie and Carmody, 1991). Furthermore, many women have been found to make decisions, and take other actions which indicate that they, similarly, are continuing to be influenced powerfully by an ideology which emphasises their primary responsibility for home matters and the care of children (Sharpe, 1984; Yeandle, 1984; Glezer, 1991). Such findings suggest that the meanings being ascribed to women's paid employment, both at group and individual levels, include that of its being secondary to their perceived primary role as care-givers. Most unpaid family work continues to be done by women, irrespective of the hours either parent spends in paid work (see Chapter 1). Men's family responsibilities continue to be defined primarily in terms of breadwinning (Russell et al., 1988).

On the other hand, the ideological significance of many women's and mothers' entry into paid employment, can be expected to be associated with important changes at the individual level. Women and men must engage in the mutually-interactive tasks of adjusting their particular view of reality; and of modifying their guidelines for conducting, and giving meaning to, their various activities in this area of life (their personal systems of attitudes). The changes in any given individual may be slight; perhaps scarcely noticed by others. They are, nonetheless, of importance to the person concerned, for "... the world in which [they live] is not the world as society or the scientific observer sees it, but as [they see it themselves]" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1858).

The discussion on humanistic methodology which follows (Chapter 7), reveals how the sensitivity of this sociological approach to individuals' experiences, permits such slight changes in consciousness as are alluded to above, to be discovered. Chapters 8 and 9 which follow that, demonstrate this capacity of the methodology, in relation to certain life experiences of individuals participating in the current study.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE METHODOLOGY OF HUMANISTIC SOCIOLOGY

The methodology used in the present study is based on the work of Thomas and Znaniecki (1927), whose social theories are examined in the preceding two chapters (Chapters 5 and 6). A later work by Znaniecki ("The Method of Sociology" (1934))[1] also is drawn upon, as are contemporary developments by Smolicz and Secombe of Adelaide University, Australia (Smolicz, 1979; Smolicz and Secombe, 1981). The chapter begins by outlining the principal views which informed the development of the methodology. Fundamental principles and concepts are then discussed. Finally, some examples are given of the methodology's application to the present study.

METHODOLOGY

As earlier discussions have shown, Thomas and Znaniecki constantly emphasised the dynamic character of social life. The social world, as they conceptualized it, was "a world becoming and not a world in being" (cited in Bierstedt, 1969, p.28). It was their conception, then, that

> A method which permits us to determine only cases of stereotyped activity and leaves us helpless in face of changed conditions is not a scientific method at all, and becomes even less and less practically useful with the continued increase of fluidity in modern social life (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.43).

In developing their methodological approach, an aim was to devise a scheme which was suited to the study of "actual civilized society in its full development and with all its complexity" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.43). Such a society is marked primarily by change - or, as the authors called it, the "process of *becoming*".

To accommodate the changing character of social life, these theorists argued, the methodology must permit the investigator to establish relations between the essential factors involved in that process. These primary, or basic, factors, it has been seen (Chapters 5 and 6) are attitudes and values. The scheme they proposed, therefore, resolved social happening into an interaction of attitudes and values; which refer, respectively, to subjective dispositions and objective influences. Accordingly, their fundamental methodological principle is expressed in the following statement, which is taken from the Methodological Note to "The Polish Peasant":

> The cause of a social or individual phenomenon is never another social or individual phenomenon alone, but always a combination of a social and an individual phenomenon. Or in more exact terms: The cause of a value or an

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[1] A later edition was published in 1968. All references are to the 1934 publication.

attitude is never an attitude or a value alone, but always a combination of an attitude and value (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.44).

Basic Concepts: Value and Attitude

It may be seen, then, that the methodology which Thomas and Znaniecki developed, incorporated the same basic theoretical units which constituted the foundation for their whole scheme and undertaking - values and attitudes. The task of social enquiry, therefore, became that of identifying attitudes and values, ascertaining their interaction, and isolating the causal relations between them (Thomas and Znaniecki's claim in the latter regard, however, has been the subject of debate and controversy. See Blumer (1939) and Bierstedt (1969) for discussions).

A perspective which informed Thomas and Znaniecki's methodological theory was an emphasis on "the primary and essential meaningfulness of social reality"; and the associated requirement "to accept human values and activities as facts, just as human agents themselves accept them" (Znaniecki, 1934, p.vii). Hence, their methodology had to accommodate that intrinsic and peculiar characteristic of social life and human groups: the subjective nature of human experience. As has been seen, subjective phenomena - sentiments, feelings and so on - were seen by these writers as being intimately involved in the actions of human beings. Consequently, it was necessary for their scheme "[to] catch the subjective dispositions and interpretations in terms of which individuals react to external influences" (Bierstedt, 1969, p.20).

Another view which informed their approach (but which was more strongly advocated by Znaniecki), was that of the inappropriateness (generally) of statistical methods for much social analysis. In "The Method of Sociology" (1934) he was critical of certain methodological tendencies which were apparent at that time in sociology. Among these were simple enumerative induction (Spencer, Sumner and Kellers, n.d.), and the effort to increase the precision of such induction by statistical techniques. While acknowledging certain legitimate uses of the statistical method, Znaniecki contended that "formal precision has nothing to do with material significance". Indeed, statistical methods were seen by him as having the potential to be "harmful ... in that they substitute mechanical tabulation for creative thought" (cited in Bierstedt, 1969, p.23).

The point which Znaniecki emphasised here, was that in using statistical techniques, "each case is treated like every other case" - which it is not. In the method he proposed, however, ("analytic induction"), the differences between cases received methodological recognition (cited in Bierstedt, 1969, p.23). At the same time, though, it should be noted, the importance was stressed of maintaining in such qualitative studies, "the highest standard of logical exactness compatible with the nature of social data" (Znaniecki, 1934, p.vi).

Objective Influences

A person participating in a humanistic study, it was argued, is an object of sociological interest "not because of the intrapsychological processes which take place in an isolated individual, but because of being part of a certain social milieu". The sociologist studies the social consciousness of individuals and their social behaviour, and analyses the connections between those individuals' mental states (attitudes) on the one hand; and the objective social conditions and collective consciousness (values) on the other. Each individual and their milieu, as Znaniecki put it, "form a single whole" (Znaniecki, 1924, p.v - cited in Chalasinski, 1979, p.35).

Sociologists can thus be seen to view participants in their studies (unlike psychologists) "entirely and solely" against their social background, and "never in isolation from it". However, since individuals' thinking and actions can be influenced by their social milieu only to the extent that it enters their experience, "and in that form in which it does so", it follows that sociologists are not interested in that milieu as such - for its own sake, so to speak (Chalasinski, 1979, p.35). Consequently, the point "... is not to reconstruct it possibly and faithfully and objectively from the standpoint of a perfect impartial observer". Rather, on the contrary, the intention is to reconstruct that milieu **as it is seen by those individuals who live and act in it**; and to discover what it means for those persons; and in what way the objects which comprise it form part of their consciousness (Smolicz, 1974, pp.52-3).

Subjective Orientation

Since individuals are seen to act in terms of the meanings which given situations have for them, it is essential in social analysis, to secure this subjective orientation in order to understand their activity. Such a perspective requires the adoption of a methodology which allows for individuals to reveal their cultural and social situations through the expression of their own thoughts, feelings, opinions and aspirations (Smolicz and Secombe, 1981, p.4). Consequently, there is an emphasis in humanistic sociology, on techniques which enable verbal expression. According to Znaniecki:

> The verbal expression is a social action and though we cannot judge from it what other social actions the agent does or does not perform, it constitutes a datum in itself; the tendency, intention, ideal standard expressed actually exists, though as a social force it may be barely strong enough to manifest itself in words and may yield to other, stronger forces whenever it conflicts with them (quoted in Smolicz, 1974, p.55).

Life-records of concrete personalities are viewed as constituting the "*perfect* type of sociological material". Other materials frequently are used, though, primarily because of the practical difficulty in obtaining the latter, and in sufficient number; as well as the enormous amount of work demanded for their adequate analysis (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1852-3). More commonly utilised in humanistic analysis, then, are personal documents -

such as letters, diaries and memoirs; as well as interviews and questionnaires. These also permit the generation of subjective data. They should provide opportunities for individuals to tell their own stories or report their own views and experiences, in the way they feel and experience them, in their own consciousness. It is from that perspective - the perspective of the individuals concerned - that such phenomena are studied. The concept of **humanistic coefficient** was introduced by those writers, to allow for this methodological orientation.

Concept of Humanistic Coefficient

From the methodological perspective being discussed, social analysis may be seen to involve, firstly, ascertaining from information they provide (via such means as the above) the attitudes of individuals on whom particular social influences are impacting; and secondly, the following of the experiences[2] of such individuals as they behave in reference to these influences. Given the time it was written, it is not surprising that the empirical nature of such data had to be strongly argued for in "The Polish Peasant"; and was constantly defended by Znaniecki in his later writings. He was emphatic that empirically-oriented sociologists base their research on empirical data as do natural scientists. But, as he put it:

> ... in contrast with the natural scientist, who seeks to discover any order among empirical data entirely independent of conscious human agents, ... [students] of culture [seek] to discover any order among empirical data which depends upon conscious human agents, is produced and maintained by them (quoted in Smolicz, 1974, p.15).

Reconstruction of Experience

As discussed in Chapter 5, cultural systems are seen here to depend both for their meaning and for their very existence, on "the participation of conscious and active human agents and upon their relations with one another" (Bierstedt, 1969, p.19 - citing Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927). Consequently, to qualify as sociological data, cultural and social phenomena require a methodology which permits their observation from the standpoint of the function they perform in the consciousness of those who produce and maintain them (and at certain times challenge and modify them). Such a methodology must, therefore, provide for the theoretical reconstruction of the original experiences of individuals, which should be analysed in the light of all relevant cultural and individual data available (Smolicz, 1974, p.24). In the performance of such a task, Thomas and Znaniecki contended, every empirical datum must be taken with what they termed the humanistic coefficient: that is, as it appears to those individual's who experience it and use it (Smolicz, 1974, p.15). The concept of humanistic coefficient is thus central to any humanistic, sociological analysis, since it underlies all cultural activity. Through its application, the intentions, experiences, and activities of individuals as "active agents"

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2   By "experience" here is meant "being aware of any particular cultural or natural phenomenon". Awareness, therefore, need not imply an active state of consciousness, but is a general concept, including such various human states as feeling, thinking, remembering, imagining and dreaming (Smolicz, 1979, pp.23-4).

can be studied, within the context of their social positions and cultural situations, as **they** perceive these external realities. It is in this way, then, that sociological enquiry is grounded in the two inter-related principles referred to earlier (Chapter 5), namely: (1) the dependence of the individual upon social organization and culture, and (2) the dependence of social organization and culture on the individual.

Theoretic Standardisation

It is possible, in the case of cultural phenomena and social relations, to "theoretically standardise" original experiences (Smolicz, 1979, p.24). This involves the sociologist in a process of reconstructing the original experiences of those individuals whose situations are being investigated, and subjecting these to what Znaniecki termed "theoretic standardisation" and hence to systematic study (Znaniecki, 1939, pp.799-811). However, this may be achieved only from within the consciousness of the "participating human agents". That is, every empirical datum is taken by the investigator with the humanistic coefficient. In the present study, the theoretic standard used in the reconstruction of participants' experiences was the male breadwinner/female homemaker norm.

Experiences of many different kinds can be subjected to systematic study, it is claimed, provided a particular person identifies them as occurring more than once, and that others also have become aware of them at the same, or another time. (Generally, though, subsequent experiences of the same phenomenon are never exactly the same, "but are 'given' differently each time they are experienced" (Smolicz, 1979, p.23).)

It was Znaniecki's view that the social scientist involved in the work of reconstruction would apply in each case "the standard of theoretic objectivity accepted by other practitioners in their particular community" (quoted in Smolicz, 1979, p.25). Commenting on this in terms of current terminology, Smolicz has observed that:

> ... such objectivity is paradigm-bound in the case of natural sciences; in the social sciences, value-free standards are hardly to be looked for - except possibly among the unrepentant positivists. (The norms of natural science may not be accepted as 'true' for all time, but their justification to be found in a paradigm is vastly different in character from the type of support social scientists derive from, and mete out to their models) (Smolicz, 1979, p.25 - also citing Stretton, 1969, p.254 and Smolicz, 1969, 1970).

Znaniecki further contended that social scientists even may:

> ... use [their] own original experiences of values and activities as data for study just as [they use] those of other people; but [they] must reconstruct them in conformity with the same theoretic standards [they use] in reconstructing the experience of other people, basing [their] generalisations on [their] reconstructive not on [their] original experiences, so that they can be controlled by other students (Znaniecki, 1939, p.802).

The only qualification needed in relation to the above statement, is that the theoretic standards used in the reconstruction probably would be affected by the sociologist's own attitudes and activities. The standards which are arrived at in this way should then be

formulated and applied consistently to the reconstruction of experiences taken from all sources. Smolicz noted that some critics "might argue against such procedures as unduly 'scientific', claiming that original experiences alone should be the ultimate source of knowledge". However, as that writer has pointed out, individuals' introspection on their own activities, if undertaken for theoretical purposes, "is also a reconstruction and never a reproduction of the original experience (or series of experiences)". The reconstructions should, in such a situation, be undertaken by persons most qualified to identify the data in a precise and systematic manner, which is suitable for comparison with new experiences (Smolicz, 1979, pp.25-6).

Empathy (or Verstehen)

As has been indicated, a humanistic investigation requires the sociologist to gain access to participants' mental states (or attitudes). The techniques which are utilised are of the kind which facilitate individuals' providing information from which these mental states can be ascertained (or extracted). Such information is used in conjunction with all other available knowledge concerning a given person, and applied to the situation at hand. The intention is to arrive at an interpretation of what a given situation means to a person - emotionally and/or cognitively and/or in some kind of evaluative sense.

The terms 'empathy' and 'Verstehen' generally have been used as labels for the processes involved here, although Znaniecki himself most often used the term "imaginative reconstruction" (see Smolicz, 1974, pp.35-43 for a discussion). The empathic understanding gained is seen to enable predictions to be made concerning how a person thus investigated may be likely to act in such a situation in everyday life. In this regard, Smolicz has commented on the similarity between such processes as have been described, and the everyday social interactions in which individuals engage. As that writer put it: "We make constant use of [empathy] ourselves every day". In this way, social science may be seen as a continuation of certain domains of everyday forms of understanding (Smolicz, 1974, pp.35-6).

In a humanistic investigation, examples of information used by the sociologist here could include written and oral comments and statements, written replies to questions, gestures, tone of voice, facial expressions, products of work and so on, depending on the particular data-gathering technique/s chosen. Information which also is incorporated in Verstehen, is that concerning individuals' personal and social backgrounds - their age, gender, occupation, ethnic origin and so on. The point to be emphasised is that all available, observable data should be taken into account here. "Verstehen", as Smolicz put it, "involves the "matching" of information derived from all these sources" (Smolicz, 1974, pp.40-1).

Concept of Personal System

The central analytical tasks in a humanistic investigation involve the following: (1) ascertaining an individual's single attitudes, (2) showing analogies and dependencies among these; and (3) interpreting them in relation to the social milieu upon which they appear. A contemporary development to humanistic theory and methodology which has proven to be advantageous here, is the concept of personal system (Smolicz, 1979; Smolicz and Secombe, 1981). As is seen in Chapter 5, individuals are conceptualized as drawing from available values, in constructing personal systems of attitudes. These guide their thoughts and actions in everyday activities, in the life area to which they correspond. The concept permits a specific focus on these activities of individuals, as they use the raw materials provided by the culture in their own unique ways, to suit their needs and (usually) meet the group's demands.

The attitudes constituting an individual's personal system in a particular life area are viewed as being in constant interaction with corresponding group values. They (attitudes) also are considered to be systematically organized, being under the controlling influence of an ideological attitude (scheme). Where the latter is disturbed or weakened - as with, say, the emergence into an individual's sphere of social reality of a new group value which threatens the existing scheme - the equilibrium of the personal system may be disrupted. Attitudes comprising the system are then marked by contradictions and inconsistencies.

The Sociologist

It was noted in the earlier discussion on empathy, that in engaging in this process, sociologists need to avail themselves of everything that is known about the person being investigated. They thus should be seen to draw on all their own humanistic knowledge, including their knowledge of specific individuals and their social milieu; the culture by which they have been influenced; as well as their own knowledge and understanding of life, themselves, and human beings in general. The point to be emphasised here, is that the "special efficiency" of Verstehen depends not only on the knowledge of the person who is the "object" of this process; but also on the sociologist's own level of cultural and personal awareness. As Thomas and Znaniecki put it,

> In all the endeavors to understand and interpret ... we must use, consciously or not, our knowledge of our ... present life, which remains always a basis of comparison (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, cited in Bierstedt, 1969, p.67).

Znaniecki argued, on the basis of the above, that "imaginative reconstruction" could be effective only if the mental states of the person being investigated were included in some form in the sociologist's experience. It was his claim that "we can reproduce realistically or *ideationally* only those systems which are not too different from those we have already experienced". Moreover, he contended, even with educational assistance, "the field of our personal experience can widen only gradually" (Smolicz, 1974, p.41 - citing Znaniecki, 1934).

It was Znaniecki's view that when sociologists faced a system very different from the ones in which they have participated

> ... theoretic observation is the only reliable approach. Until ... [they have] investigated it thoroughly from the outside as a non-participant, it is better not to try to get an 'inside' experience for .. [they are] apt to look for familiar meanings and relationships and to miss the very features which make the system different from those ... [they know] (Smolicz, 1974, p.42 also citing Znaniecki, 1934).

In dealing with systems which they do know, sociologists (like all individuals) demonstrate varying capacities to empathise accurately with others' situations and experience. It was Thomas and Znaniecki's view that

> ... the less objective and critical our knowledge of the present, the more subjective and unmethodical is our interpretation ... Unable to see the relative and limited character of the culture within which we live, we unconsciously bend every unfamiliar phenomenon to the limitation of our own social personality (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, in Bierstedt, 1969, p.67).

The above point would appear to be particularly relevant in those areas of social life which are "not neutral" - areas like gender, sexuality, race and class, for example. Thus, attention has been drawn on several occasions, earlier, to research problems which are prevalent in studies of gender and family relations. As Rosser (1988) has observed in this regard, until society is "neutral" here, "it is impossible to assume that science will be" (cited in Basow, 1992, p.22). It would seem to be incumbent upon all researchers, therefore, to understand how their social milieu and personal experience influence the processes in which they engage; and perhaps also, to work at developing a degree of cultural/personal awareness which may reduce the extent to which they impose limits on their investigations because of their own restricted awareness. Ideological constraints would seem to be particularly pertinent in this regard, as well as being perhaps the most difficult to confront.

Following on from the above, the humanistic school of sociology places much importance on the education of sociologists - with education being taken here in its broadest sense. This position is put most clearly in the following statement by Professor Jan Szczepanski (one of Znaniecki's last students from his Poznan university days):

> ... I am deeply convinced that in the education of a sociologist, direct life experiences are as important as any university study and book knowledge ... Direct participation in practical life, direct contact with many social circles, gives the sociologist a fund of experience, and a possibility of perception, of understanding facts and processes in their natural context, and prevents [them] from spinning fanciful hypotheses (Smolicz, 1974, pp.10-11, quoting Szczepanski).

It is appropriate now, to refer more specifically to the types of data obtained, and the nature of the analysis which is conducted in humanistic investigations. This is done in the section which follows, by using examples of the methodology's application to the present study. Main features of the study are outlined first, including its aims, details of the survey questionnaire employed and some information about respondents.

APPLICATION OF METHODOLOGY TO THE STUDY

The Study and its Aims

The present study sought to address the overall question of why, in spite of women's entry into the labour force, there has not been occurring any corresponding change in traditional gender divisions of unpaid work in family households. Numerous writers have pointed to the influence of ideological factors here. However, theoretical approaches and methods used in family research, have tended to be such as to restrict the extent to which issues in that area could be identified and examined. Such a situation points to the "need", which Callan observed, "to experiment and develop new methods for understanding marriage, the family and interpersonal relationships (Callan, 1991, p.137).

Whereas the methodology employed in the present study obviously can have no claim to being "new", it was considered to have some advantages over other approaches, in terms of addressing the problem referred to. For example, it is a 'natural outgrowth' of a theoretical perception on culture which, it has been seen, accords particular significance to ideology (see Chapter 5). Additionally, as the foregoing discussion has revealed, the methodology permits a focus on individuals' everyday activities - their thoughts, feelings and actions, as they go about their day-to-day lives. It is at this level, it is claimed, that the directive power of ideology is manifest (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927; Voysey, 1975; Smolicz, 1979; Smolicz and Secombe, 1981). Within the broad question which it sought to address, the study had the following major aims:

- to identify the division of unpaid work in the family households of respondents to the questionnaire and their attitudes towards this;

- to ascertain how respondents accounted for, or 'made sense' of, any apparent discrepancy between their attitudes concerning the performance of work and the reality of the division of this work in their households;

- to identify factors which may have facilitated, or be inhibiting, the development of greater equity in the performance of this work by men and women.

The Questionnaire

A copy of the questionnaire appears as Appendix I. It was 8 pages in length, with the information sought being grouped into three main areas (identified as Parts A, B and C, respectively). In Part A, respondents were asked to provide information concerning their personal and social background (gender, age, educational level, their own and partner's occupation and hours worked, for example). Information also was sought concerning the amount of time spent by them in household domestic work and child care. Part B was concerned with obtaining information from respondents concerning the frequency with which they engaged in a range of specific household tasks (domestic work and child care) relative to their partner; as well as their feelings about doing such tasks.

Part C sought information concerning the practical significance ascribed by then to their household work arrangements. Questions here aimed to obtain information concerning their evaluations of the division of work in their households, as well as how they justified any inequities here. Such information, from the perspective adopted here, is seen to provide information concerning respondents' attitudes (Znaniecki, 1963, p.261). As that writer put it: in such comments and evaluations "the authors are communicating to other persons their definitions of situations".

A point which should be noted in relation to the questionnaire, refers to the question seeking information about respondents' gender (Part A, Question 4). Here, respondents were asked to indicate their 'gender' in either of two boxes labelled 'male' or 'female'. At the time the questionnaire was designed, this ambiguity was not apparent to the investigator. Such blindness to inconsistencies and contradictions is a not uncommon finding in discourses involving ideological elements (Giddens, 1979). However, such an acknowledgement is not to excuse this. Kimmel, for example, has been critical of the tendency of sex researchers to

> ... routinely use categories of 'male' and 'female' as the independent variables against which various behaviours or attitudes are measured. But what is being analysed is not the behaviours or attitudes of male or females but the behaviours and attitudes of women and men, social and gendered beings (Kimmel, 1990, p.97).

Respondents

Copies of the questionnaire and an accompanying letter (see Appendix I also) were sent to all students enrolled in the Graduate Diplomas in Health Counselling, Educational Counselling and Group Work, at the South Australian Institute of Technology (now the University of South Australia). Three weeks were given for completion of the questionnaire. A pre-addressed envelope was provided for its return via the internal mailing system of the institution concerned, where the investigator is a member of the academic teaching staff.

The above courses were most usually undertaken on a part-time basis over two or more years, by individuals who were already employed, primarily in the areas of health and education. The total enrolment at the time the data were collected - November, 1988 - was 318, of whom 259 were women and 59 men. Because the study had a major interest in the impact of gender on the division of family work and the meanings given to this, criteria for inclusion were that participants be residing in a common dwelling and sharing living arrangements with an adult person of the other gender to that with which they identified. Any children of either or both adults may or may not be present some or all of the time. These compositions represent several of a wide range of possible household types (Boulding, 1983, p.258).(See Morgan, 1985, pp.271-86, for a discussion on varieties and types of families; also, pp.267-8 for reference to the "problematic status" of the family as an object of study).

Fifty six completed questionnaires were returned, of which fifty five met these criteria. Forty four of these respondents were women and 11 were men, a gender ratio (4:1 women to

men) closely approximating that of the total course enrolment (see above). Two-fifths had children. Full details of respondents' backgrounds appear in Appendix II: "Concrete Facts: Respondents' Backgrounds". Summary details of these appear in Chapter 8, Section 1 - Personal Details of Respondents.

Vision of Reality

The present study was concerned solely with the experience and perceptions of one member of the family household - one of the adult partners. The focus, then, was on the individual's vision of reality in that environment, as this relates to the area of investigation. Thus, for example, a woman respondent may view her partner's lesser involvement here as, say, because of his unwillingness to become involved in household work. It is her experience which is accepted as valid and is the focus of interest and analysis. Her partner's experience of their situation may differ from this. However, this is not sought in the study - a limitation which is acknowledged. Nevertheless, this is not seen to threaten the validity of the study. It was Znaniecki's contention that even in situations involving conflicting information - as in the above hypothetical example - the validity of cultural facts is not reduced. To quote him:

> ... every valuation, whether that object valued is or is not objectively such as the author claims it to be, gives evidence of what the author considers it to be; and verbal expressions of normative views are really potential social activities aiming to impose the norms expressed upon human behavior (Smolicz, 1974, p.53, quoting Znaniecki).

In fact, even in cases of deliberate "lying", it is claimed, comments provided by individuals do not lose their validity. Humanistic sociologists see in such material an active expression of the author's aspirations; and writers do not normally express aspirations which they never experience. From this perspective, therefore,

> ... a verbal expression of an aspiration represents at least its partial social realization. There is here no question of the truthfulness or falsehood of this statement, for such a statement is a fact which on its own possesses the meaning ascribed to it by the author (Smolicz, 1974, p.53).

More of a problem in humanistic analysis than that of untrue information being provided and analysed, is seen to be what the participant "hides" - "the incompleteness of personal matters". Hence, whereas "each personal statement is valuable as datum" not every one of them throws valuable light on the individual and the particular situation being investigated (Smolicz, 1974, p.55).

Classification of Data

The various facts which emerged from the questionnaires were classified into two main areas. These were labelled as cultural facts and concrete facts (Smolicz and Secombe, 1981). They are discussed briefly, along with their uses, in the section which follows.

Concrete Facts

These facts constitute information concerning the more easily documented and material manifestations of daily living. Included here, then, were personal details of respondents and their backgrounds - for example gender, age and so on, as noted earlier.

Cultural Facts

Included in this category were facts which are referred to as first order and second order constructs (Smolicz, 1974, p.50). The former refer to the attitudes and aspirations of individuals to particular cultural phenomena, when taken in the context of their actual life situations. The latter (second order constructs) include individuals' generalised statements about, or perspectives on, particular social phenomena.

Second Order Constructs: These cultural facts, then, are not directly related to specific life situations, actions or experiences of the individuals concerned. Part C, Questions 1-3 of the questionnaire generated such information. Examples of these questions were: *How much do you agree or disagree with this statement? "A woman should not take on 'outside work' if it affects her ability to take care of her home and family."* Another question here asked participants to indicate (either Yes or No) whether they thought family work should be shared equally when both partners work. Comment also was invited here (see Appendix V: "Respondents' Comments: Equal Sharing of Work when both Partners have Outside Work").

With the exception of some comments which were provided by participants and which qualified as attitudes, data generated via the above questions were classified as second order constructs. They are of the kind which usually are produced by opinion polls and other surveys (see for example Vandenheuvel, 1991(a), (b)), where they also are referred to as attitudes (or values). Since they were not related to respondents' own life situations and actions, from the perspective taken here they did not qualify as attitudes. However, such data do have certain important uses. For example, when a society is in a state of flux and new values are emerging, not all members (because of their varying experiences, involvement in different groups and so on) have the same degree of access to the new values; and individuals (and groups) are variously influenced by them depending on a variety of factors. Consequently, these data allow information to be gained concerning respondents' awareness of/knowledge about newly-emerging perspectives (values). This was the case in the current study.

Smolicz (1974) has referred to a further relevance of these second order constructs, in terms of the revelations they may contain concerning values deemed to be "socially desirable" (and/or which have been institutionalised) at a given time in a social group. A frequent finding is that some individuals (at such times) verbally declare the new values as valid, while at the same time intending to activate attitudes derived from the competing

traditional system. Such data may be indicative also, as Znaniecki pointed out, of "what the current aims of social education are in [a given] collectivity" during a particular time period; "for education always purposes to develop desirable, and to repress the evolution of undesirable characteristics" (Smolicz, 1974, p.51 - also quoting Znaniecki).

First Order Constructs: Thomas and Znaniecki saw the concern of social psychology as being with "the attitudes of the individual toward all cultural values of the given social group". Sociology, however, was seen to be involved with the study of "only one type of these values - social rules in their relation to individual attitudes" (Blumer, 1939, p.24, also quoting Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.33). The term ideological values (Smolicz, 1979) also was used in the present study, in referring to these values (rules). The terms ideological attitudes, traditional ideological attitudes and traditional attitudes were variously used to refer to the individual counterpart of these values.

Attitudes

From the perspective adopted here, attitudes are viewed as a given individual's potential (or predisposition) to engage in a particular course of action corresponding to a given ideological value (Smolicz, 1979, p.47). Since these expressions of these cultural phenomena are taken in the context of individuals' perceptions of their own life situations and social positions, they are classified as first order constructs. Znaniecki maintained that attitudes could be used as scientific source material since, in being the potential for action, "they represent the real, if indirect manifestation of some regulative or normative aspirations" (cited in Smolicz and Secombe, 1981, p.26). Information concerning respondents' attitudes was obtained from the investigator's interpretation of comments they provided in answering certain sections of the questionnaire. Several questions sought their reactions to particular work arrangements, including the division of work in their household. Comments most often took the form of expressions/labelling of feelings and thoughts (cognitions) about these work arrangements, and were seen to provide insight and understanding into individuals' predisposition to behave in a certain way; as well as their aspirations and assessments of their (and others') actions (see Beck (1976) and Ellis (1989) for discussions on the relationship between thoughts/cognitions and feelings).

Feelings: Since it is only in recent decades that feelings have begun to achieve any degree of credibility (as data) in social and psychological research, more should be said here concerning an importance which is assumed in the present study. It first should be noted that the terms emotion and feeling tend to be used interchangeably in the psychological literature. Emotion has been defined by Taylor and colleagues as "an aroused physiological and psychological response to a stimulus" (Taylor, Rosegrant, Meyer and Samples, 1986, p.40). In this sense, emotions are behaviours (see also Adler and Towne, 1981, pp.91-

179.

111). However, as the term behaviour is used in the present study, it refers to (potentially) observable actions. Behaviours of primary interest are those to do with the performance of family household work. Respondents' written expressions of feelings (as in descriptions or use of language labels, eg "anger", "joy", "sadness") are interpreted as providing evidence for their attitudes (either ideological or new, equity) towards the performance of this work. These attitudes may or may not find expression in related behaviours as tendencies. This point is taken up again shortly, in the discussion of idealistic and realistic attitudes.

Having feelings, Dworetzky claimed, "is an important part of being human". In fact, he further asserted , they are what make us seem "most human" (Dworetzky, 1982, p.300). Importantly also for our purposes here, is that feelings are consistently found to exert a powerful influence on behaviour (see also for example, Adler and Town, 1981, pp.81-121; Cialdini, Petty and Cacioppo, 1981; Coon, 1983, pp.292-312; Ellis, 1989; Watson and Tharp, 1992; Egan, 1994). Perhaps not surprisingly then, feelings often are looked at "even at the expense of thought and logic, in order to understand why we behave in the way that we do". Attesting also their importance is the fact that feelings are pervasive: "they pervade our existence, affecting our every moment". Further, emotional expression develops early in life, with infants of just a few weeks old "demonstrating striking emotional behaviours" (Dworetzky, 1982, p.300).

The importance of emotions is further evidenced, in that all cultures have languages which include words identifying feelings. The English language has been shown to have over 400 such words. And although some languages have few words which label feelings, this does not indicate that those people who speak these are any less emotional. Studies have shown that people from such cultures "are just as emotional as members of cultures whose language includes many words for emotions" (Dworetzky, 1982, p.301, also citing Dativz, 1969). Cultural norms concerning the acceptability or not of emotional expression (including for certain specific emotions) could be seen to play a part here. Basow (1992) has reported differences here based on ethnicity, class and gender.

Except in cultures where members are taught not to display certain emotional expressions, people universally are found to show the same expressions when experiencing the same emotion (Ekman and Oster, 1979). In this regard, five different facial expressions have been found to be universal - that is, identifiable by almost all who see them (happiness, anger, disgust, sadness and fear-surprise). Such findings - of similar facial expressions and emotional reactions "in all members of our species" has been taken as evidence for some emotional behaviour being innate. This, of course, is not to deny that much is the result of learning and cognitive processes (Dworetzky, 1982, p.314).

Researcher Robert Plutchik (1980) has outlined a theory of "psychoevolutionary syntheses of emotion" in which he has argued for emotions being inherited behavioural patterns which have important functions, but which are modifiable by experience. He defined emotion as

... a complex sequence of events having elements of cognitive appraisal, feeling, impulses to action, and overt behavior - all of which are designed to deal with a stimulus that triggered the chain in the first place (Plutchik, 1980, p.68).

The importance of feelings in human experience is now being recognised in disciplines in which, not too long ago, this would have seemed impossible. The philosopher, Charles Birch, illustrated this point in the following comments he made, which are taken from an interview with ABC radio broadcaster, Caroline Jones, in 1991.

Bertrand Russell once said that, 'Either you think life is like a machine or the world and universe is like a machine or you think that the world and the universe is like a life'. I've come much more to the latter position. In other words, the important things are sentience, the fact of being able to experience feelings and things, which doesn't come much into science. Science doesn't analyse the actual experience of happiness, science doesn't get at the intrinsic nature of you or me or the electrons but people in quantum physics are being led in that direction. Biology is slowly moving in that direction although there is still a very strong hold in biology of the mechanistic approach, amongst the behaviourists in psychology and so on. I think fundamentally we are experiencing entities - the most important thing to me are my feelings, and if my philosophy and my science aren't going to tell me anything about my feelings forget about it (Birch, 1991, p.66).

Directly and Indirectly Expressed Attitudes: Concerning the identification of attitudinal data, these were classified according to whether they represented the direct or indirect expression of attitudes. The former were obtained from comments made in reply to questions which asked respondents to report their feelings concerning the division of work in their households. Baby/child care, domestic work and family organization/management were each focused upon (Part C, Questions 6a, 6b and 11). Thus, where a man, for example, reported feeling 'guilty' concerning his partner's greater involvement in household work, this was interpreted as direct evidence for acceptance of a new (equity) attitude (and rejection of the traditional ideological attitude). Where a woman, say, reported feeling 'comfortable' with the traditional division of work (her greater involvement) in her household, this was interpreted as her acceptance of this, and as evidence of her traditional attitude dominating her definitions of such situations.

Phenomena which have been referred to as indirectly expressed attitudes include those which, while related to their life situations, were not directly and specifically linked to respondents' actions. However, their nature was such that they were seen to complement and enhance the understanding of directly expressed attitudes. Questions 7 and 8, Part C, were included in the questionnaire for the purpose of generating such data. The former sought respondents' explanations for any inequities in the performance of unpaid work in their family households. As was hoped, these accounts proved to be a rich source of respondents' ideological attitudes. Question 8 invited replies and comments concerning whether, when tasks were unfamiliar to a partner, time was taken to explain how to do them. Data thus generated were valuable in terms of their revelations of new attitudes.

Additionally, the significant effort required by individuals to introduce changes in established work patterns in family households, was highlighted.

Ideational and Realistic Attitudes: As noted earlier, there is a difference between individuals' acceptance of group values, including their incorporation into their personal systems, and the practical application of these attitudes through their activation as tendencies. **Ideational attitudes** are those which are not translated into actions. **Realistic attitudes**, on the other hand, find their expression as tendencies in the performance of actions. (However, a realistic attitude, at times, may involve a conscious decision not to act). An example will be given from the study to illustrate the distinction.

Respondent F12 and her partner have three children, aged 20, 16 and 13 years. Their paid work hours are similar. Both are employed in education. Additionally, she is enrolled as a part-time student (9 hours class contact plus 9 hours private study per week). She reports feeling *"resentful"* at her partner's lesser involvement in child care in their household; and *"sometimes annoyed"* with herself at being more involved than he in the home management area, since she sees herself as *"taking this on"*, These feelings (negative assessments) about these divisions of family work are interpreted as her acceptance of new equity attitudes and her rejection of traditional attitudes. Yet the behaviour she engages in does not reflect this. Traditional divisions of work prevail in the household: that is, she continues to activate traditional attitudes.

This respondent's new attitudes are thus said to exist at the ideational level only: they are ideational attitudes. Barriers may be assumed to exist which prevent their activation as tendencies. One of these she identifies as being her *"need to feel less responsible and share work more"* (Part C, Question 6b) - a comment which also draws attention to the conflict in her personal system, because of the dual presence of (conflicting) new and traditional attitude types. Should this (and any other) barrier be removed (and provided her partner also were willing to activate new attitudes by increasing his involvement in family work) then her new equity attitude may be "set free" for activation as a tendency (Smolicz and Secombe, 1981). This attitude would then be termed a realistic attitude.

To conclude this discussion on the application of humanistic methodology to the study, an example is provided of the kinds of processes engaged in, and uses made of the data, in conducting the analysis.

Example of Data Analysis

Respondent F20's situation is used. Firstly, concrete facts are identified. This respondent is a woman. Her age is not given. She spent her childhood in New Zealand. She and her *de facto* partner have been in their present living situation for under 5 years. Her occupation is in the health area and her partner works in the vehicle industry. She works 40 hours per

week and he 40-50 hours. As a part-time university student, she has study commitments of 9-10 hours per week. She and her partner do not have children. From the information given, it would seem that they have similar periods of involvement in work/study outside the home. They do not have "home-help", although a person is engaged to mow the lawns. Next, cultural facts are identified.

The respondent makes the following comment, in reacting to the statement "Child-rearing is a mother's natural job": *"I believe Nature decreed that the female of the species has all the attributes of childrearing"* (Part C, Question 1). This comment is interpreted as a cultural fact, although it is classified as a second order construct only, since it is a generalised statement which is not related in a direct or specific way to the respondent's personal situation. It is suggestive of her holding traditional attitudes in the area of life being studied. Further support for the latter comes from her indication of agreement with the statement: "A woman should not take on 'outside work' if it affects her ability to take care of home and family" (also interpreted as a second order construct -cultural fact).

The above cultural data suggest that this respondent either has had limited exposure to or/and has not been personally open or receptive to, new information and values which have been emerging in this society over recent decades: values to do with gender equity, the part played by learning in the development of gender differences, notions of joint parenting responsibilities, and so on.

In the home, respondent F20 reports being more involved than her partner both in domestic work and in home management/organization. With regard to her partner's lesser involvement here, the respondent reports feeling *"Comfortable with our set-up"* (Part C, Question 6b), and *"Comfortable since I am more skilled"* (Part C, Question 11), respectively. These positive expressions of feeling about these inequitable work patterns are considered in the context of such facts, as, for example, her gender, her being employed full-time, her greater involvement in family work than her male partner, their 'outside' work responsibilities involving similar hours, and other data as indicated above. They (comments) are interpreted as providing direct evidence for her holding traditional ideological attitudes, the activation of which also is confirmed through other information provided by the respondent concerning the division of work in her family household (i.e. these are realistic attitudes).

Her explanation for her partner's lesser involvement in family work (Part C Question 7a), as being because of *"the greater demands of his work role"* (interpreted as the indirect expression of an ideological attitude) provides further evidence for a predominance of traditional attitudes in her personal system. Evidence for firmly established gender-divided work patterns prevailing in the family household system, is apparent also from the following comment she provides, concerning what she considers her partner feels/thinks about participating in domestic chores (Part C, Question 9b): *"Comfortable but less skilled - this balances out as he is skilled in other areas"* (indirect expression of traditional attitudes).

There is, however, an indication of some awareness of new gender equity values, from her reply to Part C, Question 3. Thus, she considers that when partners are both employed, they should share the family work. She also provides the following comment "*I think it's a question of skills and willingness of others to learn new skills. All people benefit from learning to share*". These cultural facts are classified as second order constructs: they are not directly applied to her actual life situations. When considered in the context of other information she provides (referred to above), awareness of the new value at the level this comment suggests, may exercise minimal influence on her thinking and actions (personal system) at this point in time.

Personal System Identification: The nature of each respondent's personal system in the area of life investigated (i.e. family household work performance) was ascertained by identifying their individual attitudes toward their own and/or their partner's actual level of involvement in three areas of family work: domestic tasks, child care and home and family organization/management.

Thus, in relation to respondent F20 (who did not have children), she was identified as holding traditional attitudes in both domestic tasks and home management areas. These attitudes were activated by her (realistic attitudes). This respondent's personal system is thus identified as being comprised predominantly of traditional attitudes which are systematically organized by (i.e. under the guidance and control of) an ideological attitude corresponding to the breadwinner/homemaker norm. The systematized character of her attitudes is interpreted from the high degree of consistency between her thoughts, behaviours and feelings in relation to her household work involvement (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927).

This completes the example of the analysis. It also bring to a conclusion this chapter, which has introduced the methodology utilised in the study and provided some examples of its application. The chapter which follows presents the major findings from the study.

CHAPTER EIGHT

DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS FROM THE STUDY

This chapter reports the analysis of data and major findings from the study. The data analysis is conducted in two stages, each of which includes several sections reporting various specific aspects. Stage 1 is concerned primarily with the identification of concrete fact data. Section 1 here presents concrete fact data in the form of personal details of respondents - age, country of birth, gender, occupation and so on. Section 2 is concerned with ascertaining respondents' general orientations in relation to traditional notions associated with gender divisions in paid and unpaid work. The focus of the analysis in Section 3 is on respondents' reports of their actual performance of family work. These are examined in three areas: child care, domestic tasks and home/family management. Section 4 considers respondents' work involvement (relative to partner) across these three areas for the purpose of identifying their overall work orientation (traditional or new arrangements, or a combination of these).

The second stage of the analysis concentrates on the identification of respondents' attitudes through an examination of statements and comments they make in responding to certain sections of the questionnaire. More specific information concerning the latter is given in the introduction to the Stage 2 analysis. For the sake of greater clarity and ease of reference, the discussion is organized in formal report style with the headings and sub-headings numbered.

STAGE 1 ANALYSIS

SECTION 1 - PERSONAL DETAILS OF RESPONDENTS

The first stage of the questionnaire analysis includes extracting concrete facts concerning respondents' personal backgrounds, from information provided from their responses to Part A of the questionnaire. This information appears as Appendix II: "Concrete facts - respondents' backgrounds". Presented below is a summary description of the personal details of those taking part in the study.

Of the 55 respondents who satisfy the criteria for inclusion in the study, 44 are women and 11 are men. All are students in Graduate Counselling courses offered by a South Australian tertiary institution. More than two-thirds are in the age category 31-45 years and just under one-quarter fit the 21-30 years category.

Three-quarters of these individuals have spent all, or most, of their childhood in Australia, and one-fifth in countries which could be seen as culturally-similar - Britain, Canada and New Zealand. Two respondents have spent most of their lives in Malaysia. In relation

to social class background, initially it had been hoped to include this variable in the analysis. However, this proved difficult for a number of reasons, including the recognition that an insufficient range of details concerning respondents had been obtained, to enable any classification in this regard to be made.

Concerning their educational experience, almost three-quarters have been educated to Degree/Diploma level. All but three respondents are employed (i.e. 95 per cent) and for the majority this is full-time - 35 hours or more per week. More than four-fifths work in the education and health areas. The partners of 90 per cent of respondents also are employed, most of them full-time. Two-fifths have children whose ages range from young infants to young adults, some of whom have left the family household.

It is noted that those participating in this investigation cannot be assumed to be typical of most tertiary students; nor of the general population. However, from the theoretical perspective adopted here, individual attitudes are conceptualised as being in dynamic interaction with group values. Consequently, information obtained concerning the cultural influences impacting respondents, and their individual thoughts and actions in relation to these, may be seen as contributing to an understanding of some of the values prevailing within certain segments of the wider society.

SECTION 2 - RESPONDENTS' GENERALISED VIEWS: THE DIVISION OF LABOUR AND RESPONSIBILITIES IN FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS

This section of the analysis is concerned with tapping respondents' general orientations towards traditional notions of males' breadwinning and females' homemaking/childcare responsibilities. Cultural data are derived from respondents' replies to Questions 1, 2 and 3, Part C, of the questionnaire. Where appropriate, comments provided by the respondents are included as illustrative data. Here and throughout the reporting and discussion of findings, the letters M and F are used (prior to a number), to indicate a respondent's gender. Thus, for example, respondent MO6 is a man and F46 is a woman.

Data analysed in this section are classified as second order constructs or generalised assessments, since they are not directly related to respondents' personal situations and actions. One of their purposes is to shed some light on participants' level of awareness/acceptance of newly emerging values supporting gender equity in paid and unpaid work.

Question 1: "How much do you agree or disagree with this statement? *"A woman should not take on 'outside work' if it affects her ability to take care of her home and family"*.

With regard to the above question, 51 (96 percent) of respondents indicate that they strongly disagree with the statement (2 of the subject group do not respond here). This is interpreted as a lack of support for traditional notions of homemaking and breadwinning.

There is evidence for the presence/influence of newly emerging values which accept that the care of family and home are not the sole responsibility of women, nor breadwinning for men; and that other individuals than mothers can be involved in caring for family and home.

Question 2: "Please react to the following statement: *"Child-rearing is a mother's natural job".*

Participants' verbal comments in response to the above statement are categorised according to whether they suggest the following general orientations:

1. Traditional - includes responses which emphasise the biological aspects of motherhood.

2. New - which emphasise the influence of learning with respect to child-rearing, as well as partners' joint responsibility here.

3. Other - includes responses which neither support, nor fit into, the above groupings, exclusively.

Table 8.1 (below) summarises findings.

Table 8.1: Views about child-rearing

Respondents	Traditional	New	Other	Total
Men	1 (9%)	8 (73%)	2 (18%)	11 (100%)
Women	2 (4%)	37 (88%)	3 (8%)	42 (100%)
Total	3 (5%)	45 (85%)	5 (10%)	53 (100%) (2 missing)

The following are examples of comments suggesting traditional orientation, and which are provided by 5 per cent of respondents.

- *"Yes - I think female mammals are biologically designed and programmed to rear offspring"* (M06).

- *"Agree - but happy to see males enjoy the responsibility if they want to"* (F46).

Among those responses from 85 per cent of respondents, which are interpreted as evidence for awareness/influence of new values are:

- *"Because a woman has child-bearing ability does not mean she must be the 'child rearer: nor that she is a 'natural' mother"* (F34).

- *"Child-rearing is everyone's responsibility, but is no one's natural job"* (M04).

- *"It is a learnt task and should be shared by both parents"* (F55).

- *"Crap! My husband has proven himself to be just as capable as me in rearing/nurturing/caring for our daughter"* (F52).

- *"We've been conditioned. That makes me feel resentful"* (F50).

- *"It's not natural. It can be learned by fathers as well"* (F44).

Eleven per cent of participants provide responses which fall into the category of 'Other'. Examples of these are:

- "*Essentially yes - but it is a shared responsibility*" (F36).

- "*Maybe for many; for others it is a burden*" (F15).

- "*In infancy I would encourage a mother by helping to provide conditions to breast feed her child and have as much contact as she wants*" (M08).

- "*If women choose to bond closely with babies then this should be carried through until the child is ready to feel secure in the separation from mother*" (M05).

In sum: Analysis of comments reveals that 85 percent of respondents generally reject the notion of child-rearing being a 'natural' (or innate) ability of women. There is support for the idea of this work involving activities which both men and women are equally capable of learning and performing. This may be taken as evidence for widespread knowledge among participants, of new equity values about child rearing.

Question 3: This question required a "yes" or "no" response to the question: "*Do you think that when both partners have paid work outside the home, family work should be shared equally between them?*" It then invited comment. Answers to the first part of the question, which are classified as second order constructs or assessments, are presented in Table 8.2.

Table 8.2: Views about sharing family work

Respondents	Should be equally shared (New)	Should not be shared equally (Traditional)	Total
Men	10 (91%)	1 (9%)	11 (100%)
Women	43 (98%)	1 (2%)	44 (100%)
Total	53 (96%)	2 (4%)	55 (100%)

From the table it can be seen that almost all respondents (96 percent), indicate that, when both partners are employed, family work should be shared by them. Comments provided generally take the form of supportive statements concerning this. These appear in Appendix V ("Respondents' comments: Equal sharing of work when both parents have outside work"). Some refer to difficulties in achieving this.

In sum: Replies to questions examined in Section 2 suggest that most respondents are both familiar with and supportive of new ideas (and ideals) which have been emerging in this society over the past several decades (see Chapters 2 and 6). Thus, these individuals consider that women and men are equally capable of performing both paid and unpaid work, including the rearing/caring for children. They emphasise the learned rather than biological

nature of this work. Furthermore, 96 percent hold the view that family work should be shared when both partners are employed.

SECTION 3 - RESPONDENTS' FAMILY HOUSEHOLD WORK PERFORMANCE

This section of the analysis aims to ascertain data with respect to respondents' actual participation in family household work.

3.1 Frequency with which Specific Family Tasks are Performed Relative to Partner (Part B of Questionnaire)

Appendix 3 - "*Performance and organisation of family tasks*" presents information given by respondents according to each task listed in Part B of the questionnaire and is categorised according to gender. Reference will be made here to some general trends evident in these data.

With regard to involvement in household tasks, women respondents are more likely than are men, to frequently engage in the majority of tasks listed in the questionnaire. Exceptions are evident in meal clean-up, repairs/maintenance (house), mowing lawns, car repairs and yard work, with men having greater involvement in these tasks.

While there is evidence of both men's and women's involvement in specific tasks traditionally performed by the other gender (e.g., meal preparation for men and yard work and putting out the rubbish for women), traditional gender differences are evident in the majority of tasks investigated. Thus, women are about twice as likely as men to frequently perform the following: household cleaning tasks (bathroom and toilet, sweeping floors, dusting furniture), ironing clothes, paying the bills and managing the household. Men, on the other hand, are much more likely than women, to repair the car, mow the lawns and perform general household maintenance.

The comparatively small number of participants with young children makes useful gender comparisons in relation to child rearing difficult to achieve. However, trends evident in the data available are worth referring to. Thus, both men and women report engaging in indoor play with their children; and from their estimates, men do so more frequently. It appears that men and women respondents are about equally as likely as their partner to get up to children at night, to feed, bathe and 'change' the baby, to help teach their children toileting and home tasks and to take them to sporting activities. When children are ill, either partner may take them for medical attention, although women are likely to do this more than men; as they are to stay home when children are sick.

In sum: The analysis suggests that the majority of women have greater involvement than men in most domestic activities associated with family life, with the exception being outdoor work. Gender differences are not so apparent in specific tasks in the child care area. There is some evidence for both men's and women's involvement in certain tasks traditionally associated with the other gender. That is - while traditional divisions of family labour are apparent in the subject group, there is some evidence of traditional boundaries being crossed by both men and women respondents and their partners.

3.2 Respondents' Estimates of Hours Spent in Family Work (Part A, Question 14)

Respondents are asked to indicate the approximate number of hours they spend doing baby/child care tasks and household chores. Their responses are listed in Tables 8.3 and 8.4 below.

Table 8.3: Estimated time spent on baby/child care (N=22)

Respondents	Less than 10 hrs/week	Time estimates 11-30 hrs/week	31 + hrs/week	Total
Men	4	2	0	6
Women	7	5	4	16
Total	11	7	4	22

Table 8.4: Estimated time spent on household chores (N=54)

Respondents	Less than 10 hrs/week	Time estimates 11-30 hrs/week	31 + hrs/week	Total
Men	5 (46%)	4 (36%)	2 (18%)	11 (100%)
Women	12 (28%)	13 (30%)	18 (42%)	43 (100%)
Total	17	17	20	54 (100%) (1 missing)

With regard to Table 8.4, perhaps the most notable feature is the greater percentage of women relative to men, estimating their involvement as being 31+ hours per week in domestic chores (42 percent compared with 18 percent of males). An interesting observation from the data is the way in which the number of men in this category decreases as the hours of household involvement become greater, whereas for women the situation is reversed: the number of women increases as the hours of household involvement become greater. However, two men from the subject group do have considerable involvement in household chores (31+ hrs/week).

In relation to child care, Table 8.3 reveals that while almost half the women respondents spend 31+ hrs/week in this work, no man spends this amount of time. Two men could be said to be moderately involved in child care activities in their family households.

3.3. Respondents' Assessments of Partner's Involvement in Family Household Tasks Relative to Their Own (Part C, Questions 6(a), (b) and 11(c))

Child Care: Respondents are asked to indicate whether they see their partner as being less involved, equally or more involved than themselves, with respect to baby/child care. Table 8.5 summarises data extracted from information provided.

Table 8.5: Partner's involvement in baby/child care (N=22)

Respondents	Less	Partner's Involvement Equal	More	Total
Men	0	2	5	7
Women	10	4	1	15
Total	10	6	6	22 (1 missing)

Perhaps the most notable feature of the data presented in Table 8.5 is that, whilst no male respondent sees his partner as being less involved in activities here, two thirds of female respondents do perceive their partner's involvement as less than theirs. The one woman respondent (F16) who reports her partner as being more involved than she, is living in a *de facto* relationship in which her partner's children visit for holidays. Five of the seven men report their partner as being more involved in child care than they. Six respondents (4 women and 2 men) report their partner as being equally involved in this work.

Domestic Chores

Table 8.6 (below) presents data generated from respondents' replies to a question seeking their assessment of their partner's level of involvement in domestic chores, relative to theirs (Part C, Question 6(b)).

Table 8.6: Partner's involvement in domestic chores

Respondents	Less	Partner's Involvement Equal	More	Total
Men	2 (18%)	3 (27%)	6 (55%)	11 (100%)
Women	26 (59%)	15 (34%)	3 (7%)	44 (100%)
Total	28	18	9	55 (100%)

Respondents' reports with regard to involvement in domestic chores may be seen to follow a similar trend to that revealed in child care participation. Of the women respondents, more than half see their partner as being less involved in this work than they, compared with two males. Six men perceived their partners as being more involved than they, while three females do.

Organization/Management of Home/Family

Table 8.7 (below) summarises the data obtained from question 11, Part C of the questionnaire: *"Do you see yourself as having the main responsibility for organizing and overall managing the activities of home and family?"*

Table 8.7: Organization and management of home and family

Respondents	Yes (Respondent greater responsibility)	Organization/Management No (Respondent's partner greater responsibility)	Equal (Partner & respondent)	Total
Men	0	4 (36%)	7 (64%)	11 (100%)
Women	22 (50%)	0	22 (50%)	44 (100%)
Total	22	4	29	55 (100%)

The most striking feature of the above data is seen to be the total absence of women respondents who perceive their partner as having "main responsibility" in this area; and the absence of men who see themselves with this responsibility. However, half the women respondents see themselves as being equally responsible with partners, as do seven of the eleven men.

3.4 Respondents' Household Work Arrangements - Child Care, Domestic Tasks and Home Management

Table 8.8 (below) summarises findings from the analysis conducted in the previous segment (section 3.3).

Table 8.8: Respondents' household work arrangements: child care, domestic tasks, home management

Household work arrangements	Area of work		
	Child care (N=22)	Domestic tasks (N=55)	Home management (N=55)
Predominantly Traditional	15 (68%)	32 (58%)	26 (47%)
Predominantly New	7 (32%)	23 (42%)	29 (53%)
Total	N=22 (100%)	N=55 (100%)	N=55 (100%)

It can be seen from the above table that in the area of domestic work, while traditional gender differences in level of involvement by partners are evident in the households of more than half respondents (58%), new arrangements are reported by 42 percent of respondents. The area of child care shows most evidence for gender divisions of work, with these operating in the family households of more than two-thirds of respondents with children. It is in the home management area that work is least likely to be divided along gender lines, with more than half respondents having equitable arrangements here.

SECTION 4 - PERSONAL DETAILS OF RESPONDENTS AND TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD WORK ARRANGEMENTS

Analysis conducted in section 3.3 reveals respondents' level of involvement, relative to partner, in each of the areas of child care, domestic tasks and home management. In this section, the interest lies firstly in examining their performance across these three types of household work. This enables an assessment to be made concerning the extent to which their overall performance here is indicative of gender-divided or shared arrangements, or a combination of these. Table 8.9 presents details of findings.

Table 8.9: Respondents' household work arrangements (N=55)

Work Arrangements	Respondents' Identification
Predominantly Traditional N=20 (36.5%) (17 women, 3 men)	M04, M05, M06, F12, F13, F17, F20, F22, F27, F30, F33, F34, F36, F37, F46, F48, F50, F51, F54, F55
New and Traditional (i.e., new in one or more area/s, traditional in other/s) N=15 (27%) (11 women, 4 men)	M01, M03, M07, M08, F15, F16, F18, F19, F25, F32, F38, F39, F45, F52, F53
Predominantly New N=20 (36.5%) (16 women, 4 men)	M02, M09, M10, M11, F14, F21, F23, F24, F26, F28, F29, F31, F36, F40, F41, F42, F43, F44, F47, F49

The above table discloses that just over one-third of respondents have traditional work patterns extending across all those areas of work relevant to their situations. The same proportion have new, equitable work arrangements. Just over one-quarter have traditional patterns in one or more area/s of work and new, shared arrangements in other/s.

A point to which attention should be drawn concerns that group of respondents (N=20) whose work arrangements have been identified in Table 8.9 (above) as predominantly new (i.e., shared by partners). Among these respondents, two (2) only, live in households having children. That is, for the majority of these respondents, the overall assessment of their work arrangements is based only on examination of their involvement in domestic work and home management areas. The presence of children in households, therefore, is more likely to be associated with traditional, gender-divided work patterns.

The only other characteristic concerning participants' personal details/backgrounds (apart from gender), which the analysis suggests may have some association with type of household work arrangements, is their age. Table 8.10 presents findings concerning the latter, as well as presence of children in households.

Table 8.10: Household work arrangements and presence of children/age of respondents

	Respondents' Age Category (N=54) (1 missing)			Children in Household (N=22)
Work arrangements	21-30 (N=13)	31-45 (N=33)	46+ (N=4)	
Predominantly Traditional N=20 (36.5%)	1 (7%)	16 (43%)	2 (50%)	11 (50%)
New and Traditional N=15 (27%)	4 (31%)	9 (33%)	2 (50%)	9 (41%)
Predominantly New N=20 (36.5%)	8 (62%)	12 (24%)	0	2 (9%)
Total	13 100%)	37 (100%)	4 (100%)	22 (100%)

From the above table it may be seen that both the presence of children and older age of respondents are more likely to be associated with traditional work arrangements. In contrast, new work arrangements are more likely to characterise the situations of respondents who are younger and childless.

This completes the Stage 1 analysis, which has focussed primarily on the identification and examination of concrete fact data. This has identified the division of labour in respondents' households. Additionally, the assessment data have permitted some indication to be given of the types of attitudes which they are activating, or values they are being influenced by. However, in Stage 2, which follows, attention is directed to the examination of comments respondents have made in replying to various sections of the questionnaire. The aim here is that of identifying evidence for respondents' attitudes (cultural facts). Findings here will be illuminating in terms of such factors as the consistency (or lack of it) between respondents' expressed attitudes and their actual household work arrangements, as well as to what extent they are being influenced by each of the two value types - traditional and new.

STAGE 2 ANALYSIS

In this stage of the analysis, the primary interest lies in the identification of respondents' attitudes from the cultural facts they provided in the questionnaire. Sections 1, 2 and 3 concentrate on their attitudes towards the division of family work in their households, (as revealed in Stage 1 analysis) with child care, domestic tasks and family/home management each being focussed upon. The major sources of attitudes identified here are the feelings and thoughts respondents report in their comments about their and their partners' relative involvement in this work. Section 4 presents summary findings of attitudinal data derived from this analysis. In Section 5 the analysis focusses on the identification of attitudes as these are revealed indirectly, in information respondents provide in explaining or justifying any inequities in the performance of this work, in their households. A similarly indirect source of attitudes is used for the analysis reported in Section 6. Attitudes here are derived from

comments respondents provide concerning their explanation of unfamiliar tasks, to their partner.

The process of imaginative reconstruction (or 'verstehen') is used in the identification of attitudes (see Chapter 7). This involves taking into account all available, relevant information concerning a respondent, in the analysis of their statements or comments for evidence of attitudes. Cultural facts thus identified are then "theoretically standardized" (Smolicz, 1979) in so far as they are considered in relation to an identified standard - here, ideological values corresponding to the male breadwinner/female homemaker norm.

As indicated in earlier chapters, traditional (ideological) values associated with unpaid and paid work involvement include notions of greater involvement and responsibility by women, relative to men, for the care of home and family; and by men for family income-provision. Involvement in income-provision and family responsibilities, respectively, for women and men, is seen as secondary to these other primary responsibilities. In contrast, the newly emerging values support the notion of equity between men and women, both with regard to the performance of household work and for family income-provision. However, the full meaning of these values may be ascertained only by determining the part they play in social life - how they are used by individuals, or the meanings ascribed to them. The identification of respondents' attitudes, vis a vis these values, in the analysis to be conducted here, aims to contribute to this understanding.

SECTION 1 - CULTURAL FACTS: RESPONDENTS' ATTITUDES TO CHILD CARE INVOLVEMENT

1.1 Identification of Attitudes

Table 8.11 (overleaf) presents brief statements extracted from respondents' comments, in indicating their feelings about the division of child care in their households (Part C, Question 6(a)). The full texts of comments appear as Appendix IV - "Respondents' comments re division of family work". Also included in Table 8.11 are brief notes concerning the type of attitude identified (Note: as before, an F preceding a number (for example, F16) indicates that the respondent is a woman an M (eg, M05) indicates that the respondent is a man).

It will be evident from the table that not all respondents meet the request (in the questionnaire) to provide information on their feelings. Some report cognitions - for example participant M07: "I am more prepared to let things go their own way". Such a finding is not uncommon, and is apparent also in some replies given to other sections of the questionnaire. Individuals frequently experience difficulty in recognising and labelling (and hence expressing) what they feel - their emotions (Dworetzky, 1982, p.302). (Perhaps the irony here - as that writer also points out - is that even quite young infants are capable of doing this exceedingly well, with respect to a quite extensive range of emotions.)

Table 8.11: Respondents' Attitudes:Child care Involvement

(Full texts of comments appear in Appendix IV - "Respondents' comments re division of family work)

Partner's Degree of Involvement (N=22)	Comments about degree of involvement reported (N=18 - no comments from 4 respondents)	Interpretation
Partner equally involved (N=6 -- 4 women, 2 men)	Completely at ease - M01 Fine. Great. Extremely happy - F36, F38, F44, F52 (N=5 - No comment - 1 respondent)	M01, F36, F38, F44, F52 - Positive expressions of feelings interpreted as evidence for respondents holding new attitudes (partners' equal involvement in child care). These attitudes are activated in their household situations
Partner more involved (N=6 -- 1 woman, 5 men)	I think I should like the opportunity to be more involved - M05 I feel I let her down a bit, but I feel she is more comfortable with the tasks - M06 I am more prepared to let things go their own way - M07 OK - his children - F16 (N=4 - No comments - 2 respondents)	M05 - Statement (aspiration) interpreted as evidence for new attitude - somewhat tentatively held. M06 - Evidence for both attitude types (See analysis - Chapter 8, Stage 2, Section 1.2.2) M07 - Statement reveals acceptance of traditional arrangement, therefore is interpreted as evidence for holding traditional attitudes. F16 - Respondent is in defacto relationship. Partner's children visit. (See detailed analysis - Chapter 8, Stage 2, Section 6.2.3).
Partner less involved (N=10-- 10 women)	Resentful - F12 Resigned, sad - F30 Sad, angry, worried, annoyed - depends on situation - F33 OK - F32 Happy, F13 They aren't his kids - F51 Partner's greater work commitments - F19, F48 (N=9 - No comment - 2 respondents)	F12, F30, F33 - Feelings suggest negative assessment of traditional work divisions. Interpreted as evidence for new attitudes. It is the traditional attitude which they activate. F13, F32 - Statements reveal acceptance of existing (traditional) child care arrangements. Taken as evidence for these respondents holding traditional attitudes. F19, F48, F51 - These justifications for traditional work arrangements interpreted as indirect expressions of traditional attitudes.

1.2 Examples and Comments on Analysis

Gender, reported level of involvement in the work examined (child care) and hours spent in paid work are among concrete facts taken into account in the imaginative reconstruction of comments, in the process of identifying respondents' attitudes. Other information known about respondents is variously used in conjunction with these data, in the effort to understand their unique situations and their thoughts and feelings about these. Information provided by respondents F30 and M06 is examined below, for the purpose of illustrating the processes involved in identifying individual attitudes. Relationships and analogies among attitudes also are analysed. This is done in the context of identifying, from the information they provide, the content of individuals' personal systems in the area of life being investigated.

1.2.1 Example 1 - Respondent F30

The first respondent to be discussed is a woman who works as a research assistant (15 hours per week) and she is also a part-time university student (8 hours per week). Her partner, a Government employee, works 40 hours per week. They have two children, aged 8 and 12 years. She is more involved than he in the care of their children, as she is in the other areas of work examined. That is, she can be said to be activating traditional attitudes. There is evidence, though, from the comments she makes, that she is aware of new values associated with equitable family work arrangements when both partners are employed. For example, she considers this work "should" be shared under these circumstances, but adds: *"It never is!"* She also views parenting as learned activities which "all people" can develop competence in (Part C, Questions 1-3).

In relation to her partner's lesser involvement in child care, she reports feeling *"resigned/sad"*. These expressed feelings, in the context of the above information, could be seen as indicative of her negative assessment of these gender-divided work arrangements. They can be interpreted, therefore, as evidence for new attitudes which have been incorporated in her personal system, and which are supportive of her partner sharing in the work of caring for their children. Barriers exist, however, to the activation of these new attitudes (as tendencies). It is traditional attitudes by which she is continuing to define situations in this area of life.

It seems from comments she makes that she is maximally and her partner minimally, involved here. Her replies to Part B of the questionnaire indicate that the only tasks listed which she does not do 'frequently' or 'very frequently' are general repairs/maintenance (house), car repairs, lawn mowing and dealing with household rubbish. Comments she makes in this regard, include:

> *"There are some things he never does ... [what he does do is] garbage duties and occasional vacuuming"* (Part C, Question 3).

"I have asked him to take responsibility for the car, the pruning and some watering, and it's not done and I just keep doing it" (Part C, Question 13(a)).

She sees her partner's work responsibilities as a factor contributing to his lesser involvement in the home - *"[he] feels worn out and overburdened by his job"* (Part C, Question 9(b)) (indirect expression of traditional attitude). Additionally, she takes some responsibility herself here, as indicated from the following comments she makes:

"I should be more assertive and make more demands" (Part C, Question 6(b)) (indirect expression of new attitude).

"This is partly my fault because I like things done my way, for example, when he irons he leaves my clothes at my request" (Part C, Question 8) (indirect expression of traditional attitude).

From the above analysis, it can be seen that respondent F30's personal system in this area of life includes both new and traditional attitudes. The new attitudes have disrupted the equilibrium which previously had existed among her stabilized, traditional attitudes. Thus, there is evidence now of inconsistencies between her thoughts, feelings and actions in relation to the areas of life thus affected. However, it is the traditional attitudes which predominate and hence determine her actions.

1.2.2 Example 2 - Respondent M06

Respondent M06 is a teacher who reports working 50 hours per week. He is also a part-time student in the Graduate Diploma in Educational Counselling, which involves 5-6 hours study commitment per week. He and his partner have three children (1, 3 and 4 years of age). His partner is not in paid employment. She is more involved than he in all three areas of work examined. Their present family work arrangements thus may be viewed as traditional.

In relation to his partner's greater involvement in child care, he writes: *"I feel I let her down a bit, but I feel she is more comfortable with the tasks"*. There would appear, on the face of it, to be evidence of both attitude types here. However, an examination of additional information provided by the respondent will assist in analysing his situation further. It is noted, for example, that he holds the view that child rearing is a 'mother's natural job'. *"I think female mammals are biologically designed and programmed (?) to rear offspring"* is his comment in replying to Part C, Question 2 - suggestive of traditional attitudes. On the other hand, his responses to Questions 1 and 3 suggest that he is accepting of women (and mothers) being in paid employment, and that men "should" share the family work when partners are both employed (indicative of awareness of new values and suggestive of a general acceptance of these).

With regard to his involvement in activities with care of their children (Part B), it seems that the only activities from those listed which he 'frequently' engages in are reading/talking with them, and taking them to recreational activities. He 'very infrequently' baby sits, stays

home when a child is sick, or gets up to a child at night. Further, he reports feeling *"grumpy"* if he does do this. He also provides the following comment in relation to the tasks listed: *"My time available for many of these activities is limited - especially as children go to bed relatively early"* (indirect expression of traditional attitude).

Consideration of some comments concerning his partner's involvement with the home and children, allows a better understanding of the family system here - the established patterns of work and care in the household. It already has been noted that his partner is more involved than he in all three areas of work examined. He thinks that she feels *"Happy - most of the time"* about caring for the children and that *"she doesn't enjoy [the domestic chores] much but feels them a duty"* (Part C, Question 9(a), (b)) (indirect expression of traditional attitude). He reports that they *"never disagree or argue about who does a particular task; and infrequently disagree over how a task should be done"* (Part C, Question 13(a),(b)). There is a suggestion though that he may see himself as competing with the children some of the time for her attention: *"I feel good ... when she pays attention to me rather than the children"* (Part C - Question 18).

It would thus appear that overall, neither this respondent nor his partner, at this point in time, is seriously questioning the established gender-divided character of their work arrangements. His voluntary involvement in tertiary study, in addition to his 50 hours per week involvement in his teaching occupation, similarly seem to be unquestioned - to be taken for granted.

Returning now to the comment this respondent makes concerning his lesser involvement in child care, and which is to be examined for evidence of attitudinal data - when considered in the light of the above information concerning the respondent and his family household situation, it may be more confidently asserted that his questionnaire responses provide evidence for both his traditional and new attitudes, viz: *"I feel I let her down a bit* [negative assessment of gender-divided arrangement - taken as direct expression of a new attitude] *but I feel she is more comfortable with the tasks"* (inequity justified by drawing on a traditional attitude - comment interpreted as indirect expression of the latter). A similar interpretation is given to the comment he provides, reporting his feelings concerning his lesser involvement in domestic work (Part C, Question 6(b)). Thus, *"She spends more time at home* [indirect expression of traditional attitude] - *I feel a little guilty"* [direct expression of new attitude].

However, it is the traditional attitudes, according to his questionnaire replies, which predominantly determine this man's actions. His new attitudes exist at an ideational level only. Barriers to their activation may be seen to include the strength of these ideological attitudes, which may be seen to be bolstered and supported by established patterns of work in his household system. It would appear from information he provides, that both partners are generally accepting of the existing arrangements. However, new, alternative meanings have entered his consciousness, disrupting his stabilized ideological attitudes to

the extent that, in order to maintain consistency or equilibrium (given his behaviour has not altered) he rationalises their gender-divided work arrangements. In doing so, he is drawing from the ideological attitude (eg, *"She is more comfortable with the tasks"*).

In sum: The above examples of the analysis of these participants (F30 and M06) family household situations draw attention to the competitive relationship between the two conflicting attitude types in their personal systems - traditional ideological attitudes and new attitudes supportive of equity in work arrangements. They also highlight the powerful influence of ideology in guiding individuals' everyday thoughts and actions. Despite the entry of new meanings into their consciousness, the "group scheme" continues to predominate in these individuals' definitions of situations. Rationalisations of their actions (which draw on ideological attitudes) permit minimal disruption to the equilibrium of stabilized attitudes in their personal systems.

1.3 Subject Group

The attitudinal data derived and examined in the above analysis enhance the understanding of findings (concrete facts) reported in the Stage 1 analysis. Thus, while it was found there that more than two-thirds of respondents having children have traditional care arrangements, just one-third of respondents whose comments are examined here hold attitudes consistent with this gender-based division. More than half of these participants reveal evidence for new values, supportive of sharing the care of children. However, under one-third activate these new attitudes.

SECTION 2 - CULTURAL FACTS: RESPONDENTS' ATTITUDES TO DOMESTIC WORK INVOLVEMENT

2.1 Identification of Attitudes

Attitudes in this analysis are derived primarily from expressions of respondents' feelings and thoughts concerning the division of domestic work in their family household (Part C, Question 6(b)). This information is taken into account with other relevant concrete and cultural data available. Table 8.12 (overleaf) presents summary details of findings of the analysis. The full texts of comments appear as Appendix IV: "Respondents' comments re division of family work".

Table 8.12: Respondents' Attitudes: Domestic Work Involvement

(Full texts of comments appear in Appendix IV - "Respondents' comments re division of family work")

Partner's degree of involvement (N=53) (2 missing)	Comments about degree of involvement reported (N=45 - no comments from 8 respondents)	Interpretation
Partner equally involved (N=18 -- 15 women, 3 men)	Grateful - M02 Satisfied - M09, F14 That's how it should be - M10, F31 Great, Wonderful, Good - F26, F19, F32 Happy - F24, F41, F42 It's important we work together - F40 He has more time during the day - F44 Both contribute to the mess - F28 Comfortable - F29 (N=15 - No comments - 3 respondents)	M02, M09, M10, F14, F19, F24, F26, F29, F31, F32, F42, F44 - Comments/ expressions of feeling interpreted as evidence for direct expression of new equity attitudes. These attitudes are activated in respondents' household situations. F28, F40, F44 - Comments take the form of explanations. They are interpreted as the indirect expression of new attitudes (also activated).
Partner more involved (N=7 -- 5 men, 2 women)	OK - M01 I think our work evens out, my wife might not agree- M05 Guilty - M06, M07 I need to get more involved - F23 Excellent - F36 (N=6 - No comment - 1 respondent)	M01 - Acceptance interpreted as evidence for traditional attitude. M05 - Comment implies acceptance (at least from him) - evidence for traditional attitude. M06, M07 - Indications of dissatisfaction with gendered work arrangements - interpreted as evidence for new attitudes, but which are not activated. F23, F36 - These women activate new attitudes (as do their partners). Although F23 feels pressure 'to get more involved'), her comment and that of F36 are interpreted as evidence of their new attitudes.

(Table 8.12 continued overleaf)

Table 8.12: Respondents' Attitudes: Domestic Work Involvement   (Cont'd)

(Full texts of comments appear in Appendix IV - "Respondents' comments re division of family work")

Partner's degree of involvement (N=53)	Comments about degree of involvement reported (N=45 - no comments from 8 respondents)	Interpretation
Partner less involved (N=28 -- 2 men, 26 women)	Comfortable - M08, F20 Happy - F13 Accept - F22 Fine - F39 He's away all week - F18 Responsibilities shared - F15 Certain chores are his - F25 Greater work responsibilities of (male) partner/stress - F46, F48, F55 Partner in wheelchair - F51 Dissatisfied - M11 Need to share more - F12 Want more sharing - F16 Anger - F17 Resentment - F27 I should be more assertive - F30 Sometimes wish He's do more.. I do more by choice - F34 Disappointed/frustrated - F35 Pissed off - F37 Resentful, put upon - F38 Resigned but won't give up the struggle - F52 Resentment, anger - F54 (N=24 - No comment - 4 respondents)	F13, F20, F22, F29 - Expressions of positive feelings concerning gender divided work arrangements interpreted as evidence for holding traditional attitudes. M08 - Positive feeling expressed - taken as evidence for new attitude. M11 - This (and others of this respondent's comments) is difficult to interpret because of his negative feelings about his partner's lesser involvement in this work. (See Chapter 8, Stage 2, Section 3.2.2 for detailed analysis). F15, F18, F25, F34, F46, F48, F51, F55 - Comments represent explanations/justifications for traditional work arrangements. Interpreted as indirect expressions of traditional attitudes. F12, F16, F17, F27, F30, F35, F37, F38, F54 - Expressed negative feelings/comments interpreted as rejection of traditional attitudes. While new attitudes are accepted, they are not activated. F52 - Evidence for both attitude types in this comment (point taken up in later discussion).

2.2 Examples and Comments on Analysis

The family household situations of respondents F23 and M08 are used here, to provide examples of the analysis. The former respondent and her partner share the responsibilities and tasks associated with running the household In respondent M08's case, most of the domestic work is shared, but his partner is more involved than he in the care of their children.

2.2.1 Example 3 - Respondent F23

This person and her partner have lived in their present situation for between 11-20 years. There are no children. Both are employed as managers in the corporate sector. They work roughly identical hours (35 hours per week). She also has a 5 hour per week university study commitment.

Concerning her partner's greater involvement in domestic work, relative to her, this respondent comments that she needs *"to get more involved"*. This is interpreted as some dissatisfaction with the present arrangement. However, when considered in the light of other information she supplies, it can be interpreted as the indirect expression of a new (equity) attitude. Thus, concerning what she thinks her partner's views are about participating in domestic work, she states: *"Thinks it is necessary - an evil necessity, and resents it if I don't share"* (indirect expression of new attitude) (Part C, Question 9(b)). She also notes that *"He often initiates family work because he is much more organised than I am. I tend to put work first - this has to be rationalised also"* (Part C, Question 5).

Respondent F23 also provides some suggestion of new attitudes in the strong views she expresses on sexism and gender issues. She appears very strongly committed to the idea of partners sharing household work and responsibilities (comments given to Part C, Questions 1-3).

As well she places considerable importance on her paid work. She makes the following comment in Part B of the questionnaire: *"We have no children by choice - but our jobs have become very demanding and we both tend to be perfectionists (and stressed by work if we don't take care) at our jobs. We take our work seriously ... I <u>hate</u> housework - yet also hate living in a mess - so we have some paid help. We try to share - if anything my husband does a bit more than I. We argue about washing dishes - but we do communicate and negotiate"*.

The above analysis suggests that this respondent holds and activates predominantly new attitudes in relation to work performance in her family household. From what she reports, it appears that her partner has constructed a personal system which is similarly composed of new attitudes. The family household system - the established work patterns - thus could be seen to facilitate this respondent's ability to construct and sustain a personal system of stabilized new attitudes at this time.

2.2.2 Example 4 - Respondent M08

Respondent M08 is a clergyman. His wife is a health professional. They work similar hours (possibly he more hours than she - "40+ 50?" for him, "40+" hours for her). He has university studies (9 hours per week). They have 3 children, ages 12, 14 and 16 years. He is more involved than she in household domestic work, but they share the work and responsibility associated with home/family organisation. His partner is more involved than he in the care of their children.

In reporting his feelings concerning his greater involvement in domestic tasks, he writes: *"I'm just more domestic - comfortable"*. This can be interpreted as a direct expression of a new attitude. This same interpretation is given to his statement of feeling *"comfortable"* about sharing the work of family organisation/management with his partner. However, he does not say how he feels, nor provide any comment enabling identification of attitudinal data, in relation to his partner's greater participation in child care (Part C, Question 6(a)). He reports of her that she *"loves"* her involvement with the children (and *"hates"* domestic work) (Part C, Question 9(a),(b)). Comments and replies he makes in other sections of the questionnaire though, are informative in this regard.

For example, in replying to Part B of the questionnaire he indicates that he 'very infrequently' engages in indoor play with the children (*"Not my scene"* is his comment); and replies likewise with regard to 'outdoor play activities' and 'getting up to a child at night'. On the other hand, the greater flexibility of his job (relative to his partner's) means that he 'very frequently is able to take the children to sporting activities as well as stay home when they are on holiday or are sick. Regarding the latter, he writes: *"I usually feel quite good about this - the day often turns out special or interesting"*. These statements can be regarded as the direct expression of new attitudes. He also 'frequently' reads and talks with the children, from which he reports feeling *"enjoyment"*.

In terms of respondent M08's personal system, then, this can be seen to be constituted of primarily new attitudes in relation to domestic work/home management activities - and these are activated. With regard to child care involvement, he activates both new and traditional attitudes in this area. His comments, however, do not reveal any dissatisfaction with, or desire to increase, his lesser involvement relative to his partner here. This is suggestive of a predominance of traditional attitudes in the area of child care in his household.

In sum: Respondents here have rejected, to varying degrees, the traditional ideological attitudes. They have developed household work patterns in which many tasks and responsibilities are shared by partners, irrespective of their gender.

2.3 Subject Group

Here again, the attitudinal data derived from the above analyses of respondents' comments reveal change processes which an exclusive focus on task performance (concrete facts) could not detect. Thus, whereas the Stage 1 analysis revealed that 58 percent of respondents have gender-divided domestic work arrangements, the attitudinal data indicate that just 24 percent of respondents whose comments are analysed here (N=45) have attitudes consistent with these - i.e., traditional attitudes. Fifty eight percent disclose evidence in their comments for holding new attitudes supportive of their partners sharing this work. However, in only 42 percent of household situations are these actually activated. A further 18 percent of participants reveal in their comments the fluctuating influence of both attitude types.

SECTION 3 - CULTURAL FACTS - RESPONDENTS' ATTITUDES TO HOME MANAGEMENT INVOLVEMENT

3.1 Identification of Attitudes

Data used in the analysis conducted here is obtained from respondents' replies to a question seeking their feelings about their level of involvement, relative to partner's, in the home management/organisational tasks associated with family household life (Part C, Question 11).

Table 8.13 (overleaf) provides summary details of the findings. Abbreviated comments are sometimes used here. The full texts appear in Appendix IV - "Respondents' comments re division of family work".

3.2 Examples and Comments on Analysis

Two respondents' situations are used as examples of the analysis conducted in this section - those of respondents F34 and M11. The former's household work arrangements can be seen to be predominantly traditional. And whereas respondent M11 reports equitable divisions of work in the area of home management, he also reveals being more involved than his partner in domestic work. This does not please him.

Table 8.13: Respondents' attitudes: family household organization/management

(Full texts of comments appear in Appendix IV - "Respondents' comments re division of family work")

Partner's Degree of Involvement(N=55)	Comments about degree of involvement reported (N=47 - no comments from 8 respondents)	Interpretation
Partner equally involved (N=29 - 22 women, 7 men)	The way it should be - M01, F23 Should be equal - M10 Comfortable - M08. Happy - M02 Excellent - F40. It took years - confident - M07 Arguments sometimes - M11. Great - F18, F26 Happy - F14, F24, F29 Different areas of involvement - F25 Depends - personal priorities - F28 Fine - F39, F36, F45. Necessary - F31 I should be more involved in financial matters - F41 Good - F43. Fluctuates - F44. Satisfied - F49 (N=24 - No comments - 5 respondents)	M01, M02, M07, M08, M10, F14, F18, F23, F24, F26, F29, F31, F36, F39, F40, F42, F.43, F44, F45, F49 - Feelings and thoughts interpreted as evidence for direct expression of new attitudes supporting partners' shared involvement in organizational/managerial aspects of family life. These attitudes are activated by these respondents. M11, F25, F28, F41, F53 - Statements do not readily enable extraction of attitudinal data. Generally, though, they may be seen to convey acceptance of new attitudes - particularly since the latter are being activated in their life situations. These statements therefore are interpreted as indirect evidence for new equity attitudes in this area of work.
Partner More Involved (N=4 - 4 men)	She generally organises household ... - M06 (N=1 - No comment - 3 respondents)	M06 - This comment does not lend itself readily to extraction of an attitude - although it could perhaps be interpreted as general acceptance of this arrangement. Other information concerning this respondent's situation lends support for this (See Stage 2, Section 1.2.2 - Example 2)
Partner Less Involved (N=22 - 22 women)	Happy - F13, F34 Comfortable - more skilled - F20 Don't mind - F22. My decision - F46 Good. OK Fine - F48, F33, F27, F19 OK, but responsibility for short comings is high - F16 Mostly good - sometimes too much - F32 Resentful but reluctant to forego my power base - F51 Sometimes OK, other times frustrated - F54 Annoyed - F12, F35. Unsupported - F30 Resentful, tired - F37, F50. Resigned - irritated too - F38 Can be burdensome - F52 Don't mind if balanced with something partner does - F17 OK I like to organise. If I get fed up I hand it over - F55 (N=22 comments)	F13, F19, F20, F22, F27, F33, F34, F46, F48 - Feelings and thoughts interpreted as direct expressions of traditional attitudes toward the organizational/managerial aspects of family work. These attitudes are activated in respondents' lives. F12, F30, F35, F37, F50, F52 - Expressions of negative feelings/thoughts about their greater involvement in this work interpreted as negative assessments of this and as evidence for new ideational attitudes (ie attitudes not activated). F16, F17, F32, F38, F51, F54, F55 - Comments reveal evidence for fluctuating influence of both new and traditional attitude types influencing their thoughts and feelings concerning their gender - divided work arrangements.

3.2.1   Example 5 - Respondent F34

This person has been living in her present life situation for between 5 and 10 years. She is a teacher. Her partner is employed in the financial area. Their work hours are similar (55 hours per week for her, 60 hours for him). She also is a part-time student, which she indicates involves 5 hours of her time per week (class contact and home study). They have no children. She is more involved than he in the management/organizational activities associated with running the household, as she is also in domestic work. These latter facts suggest that she is activating traditional attitudes in these areas of her life. On the other hand, her replies to Part C, Questions 1-3 of the questionnaire, suggest that she is conscious of the new values which have been emerging over recent decades, and generally supports the idea of partners sharing paid and unpaid work responsibilities.

Regarding her greater involvement than her partner in home management activities, she reports feeling *"generally happy"* about this. This is interpreted as accepting of this division of work, and hence as a direct expression of a traditional attitude. However, her comment concerning her feelings about her greater involvement in domestic work is interpreted as revealing evidence for both traditional and new attitudes, viz. *"Sometimes I wish he'd do more but as my standards are higher than his, I will do more by choice, as well as more by knowledge of needs"* (Part C, Question 6(b)).

In relation to the first part of her comment *("Sometimes I wish he'd do more")* this is interpreted as indicating dissatisfaction *("sometimes")* with her greater involvement in the work, relative to her partner. It is viewed, therefore, as evidence of a (fluctuating) new attitude. That (second) part of her comment, in which she may be seen to account for her greater involvement and in which she refers to her *"higher standards"* and *"knowledge of needs"* is interpreted as the indirect expression of an ideological attitude. From the perspective taken here, then, the *"choice"* which this respondent sees herself as exercising in the latter regard, is seen to be made within the significant constraints posed by cultural ideology. It is guided by the traditional attitudes which predominated in her personal system.

3.2.2   Example 6 - Respondent M11

Respondent M11 works in career guidance. His partner is a health professional. They work similar hours, although she does 'shift' work. He has study commitments also, involving 3 hours per week. They have been in a *de facto* relationship for between 5 and 10 years. There are no children. His replies to Part C, Questions 1-3 of the questionnaire suggest that he is familiar with gender-equity issues and is generally supportive of men and women partners sharing family responsibilities and activities in relation to both paid and unpaid work.

He reports being equally involved with his partner in the work of managing and organizing their household. However, the reply he gives to the question seeking his feelings about this, does not permit the extraction of attitudinal data, viz. *"Arguments occasionally about value of work done - to do"* (Part C, Question 11). What is clear from his comments,

though, is that he likes an "orderly" household. For example, he makes the following comment in replying to Part C, Question 16: *"I like an orderly home life: I appreciate care and co-operation in family chores, arranging household activities. And I admire others' care in making their environment pleasant - welcoming".*

His partner, it seems, may not share his delight and enthusiasm about such matters. When asked to comment on how he thinks she feels about doing domestic tasks, he states, *"[she'd] rather not do them"* (Part C, Question 9) (interpreted as indirect expression of new attitude). In fact, he indicates that she is less involved than he in household domestic work. He feels *"dissatisfied"* about this (Part C, Question 6). He indicates also that he, himself, does any tasks unfamiliar to his partner (rather than show her how to do it) because he'd *"rather get the job done than listen to procrastination"* (Part C, Question 8). He describes her as *"slack"* and sees her *"spoilt background"* as contributing to this (Part C, Question 7). A further factor which he sees as impacting negatively on their household situation, is her irregular ('shift') work hours. Thus, he comments in this regard that he is *"pissed off (and) fed up with living with a shift worker"* (Part C, Question 15).

Whereas work performance data suggest that this respondent is activating new attitudes in the area of family household work, the analysis of his comments often does not permit the ready extraction of corresponding attitudinal data. However, his reported household work involvement, when taken in conjunction with some cultural information which could be extracted from his comments, suggest that his actions and thinking are more strongly influenced by new than traditional attitudes.

In sum: The example provided of respondent M11's situation serves as a useful illustration of the difficulty which at times may be experienced, in the process of imaginative reconstruction, in distinguishing attitudinal data from reactions which perhaps stem from personal frustrations, conflicting needs and so on. Furthermore, since the investigation is concerned only with his (and not his partner's) experiences, it cannot be known whether, say, what the respondent interprets as his partner's *"slack (ness)"* represents a strategy on her part to facilitate gender equitable work arrangements (i.e., is she activating a new attitude here?)

The other example of the analysis given here - that of respondent F34's situation, can be seen to draw attention yet again to the powerful role of ideology with respect to the routine every day activities of individuals; including the rationale given by them for engaging in them.

3.3 Subject Group

As with findings from the analysis of attitudinal data reported in Sections 1 and 2, the analysis here reveals the varying and often competing influences of two broad attitude types in respondents' life situations - here, those relating to family management activities.

Whereas concrete fact data compiled in Stage 1 of the analysis disclose that 47 percent of those participating in the study have traditional arrangements in this area of family work, the attitudinal data obtained here reveals that just 21 percent of respondents providing comments here (N=47) hold attitudes consistent with these gender-divided work patterns. Almost three-fifths hold predominantly new attitudes, while one-fifth reveal from their comments that each attitude type exercised fluctuating influences on their actions.

SECTION 4 - RESPONDENTS' ATTITUDES: CHILD CARE, DOMESTIC WORK AND HOME MANAGEMENT

The analysis conducted above (Sections 1, 2 and 3) identified respondents' attitudes towards the division of labour in their households, in each of the above areas of work. Table 8.14 (below) compares these attitudes with the actual work arrangements which exist in their households (Stage 1, Section 3.3).

Table 8.14: Respondents' family work arrangements and attitudes towards these (N=55)

Child Care

Work Arrangements	Traditional New (Shared)	68% 32%
Attitudes	Traditional New (Shared) Both Traditional and New	33% 56% 11%

Domestic Tasks

Work Arrangements	Traditional New (Shared)	58% 42%
Attitudes	Traditional New (Shared) Both Traditional and New	24% 58% 18%

Family Organization/Management

Work Arrangements	Traditional New (Shared)	47% 53%
Attitudes	Traditional New (Shared) Both Traditional and New	21% 58% 21%

Summary Comments: Section 4 Analysis

- Some respondents have traditional divisions of work in certain work area/s, and new (shared) arrangements in other/s.
- The work arrangements characterising respondents' households do not always reflect the attitudes they hold. The distinction between attitudes and actions is, therefore, an important one.
- Some respondents reveal fluctuating new and traditional attitudes - that is, under certain circumstances (times or tasks), individuals may accept the traditional (or new) attitudes and at other times (circumstances, etc) they reject them. This finding draws attention to

the active part played by individuals in using the available cultural material, to suit their own particular needs and purposes.

In Chapter 9, information as summarised in Table 8.14 is used as the basis for identifying these individuals' personal systems.

SECTION 5 - CONCRETE AND CULTURAL FACTS: RESPONDENTS' EXPLANATIONS FOR PARTNER'S LESSER INVOLVEMENT IN FAMILY WORK

In the various attitudinal analyses discussed up to this point, there have been numerous instances of participants providing in their comments, explanations or justifications for their actions in given situations. The section which follows is concerned with the analysis of data obtained from replies to a question specifically seeking respondents' explanations for a partner's lesser involvement in family work (where this was felt to be the case).

Data for this analysis are drawn from respondents' replies to the following question (Part C, Question 7): *"If you see your partner as being less involved than yourself in family work (domestic chores and child care), do you think this is because of: (a) the greater demands of his/her work role? (Yes/No); (b) other reasons? (please comment)"*. Information obtained from respondents' replies and comments appears in Appendix VI: "Explanations given by respondents for partner's lesser involvement in family work". Two men provide responses to the above questions (the only two to whom this applies). All females reply either to part (a) or (b) (and some of them to both).

With regard to part (a), one man and 13 women give their partner's work demands as the reason for their lesser family work involvement. This finding is taken as suggestive of the influence of ideological attitudes associated with men's breadwinning, in the case of the 13 women concerned; and of a new attitude in relation to the male respondent. Whereas 16 women do not consider their partner's work demands the reason for his lesser involvement in family tasks, some of these draw on similarly gender-related reasons in accounting for this when replying to part (b) of the question.

The analysis which follows aims to examine reasons respondents give for inequities in unpaid work involvement in their household, for evidence of ideological attitudes. A total of 23 respondents - 2 men and 21 women - provide comments in reply to part (b) of the question. The analysis of these for attitudinal data (as with the previous analysis reported) involves a consideration of each comment in the context of all available information concerning the participant. Preliminary examination of comments enables their classification into the following categories, although considerable overlap is acknowledged.

1. Partner's work arrangements (N=3 - 2 women, 1 man)
2. Traditional gender expectations (N=13 - all women)
3. Greater skills/higher standards (N=4 - all women)
4. Other reasons (N=3 - 1 man, 2 women).

5.1 Partner's Work Arrangements (N=3 - 1 man, 2 women)

The man whose reply fits this category provides in his response evidence for new attitudes in relation to domestic work arrangements/paid work responsibility in his family household. His situation was discussed earlier. He accounts for his partner's lesser family work involvement as follows: "Her work is less flexible - and she is less domestically inclined" (M08) (see Stage 2 - 2.2.2).

There are two women respondents whose explanations are included in this category. Respondent F33 is a teacher, her partner is employed in the transport industry. She works "50+" and he "65+" hours per week. As a part-time tertiary student she also spends a further 6 hours in class contact/home study. They have 2 children, aged 6 and 8 years. She is more involved than her partner in all three areas of work examined in the study.

Respondent F18 is a health professional, her partner an engineer. They each work 37.5 hours per week. She also has university studies which require 12 hours (6 hours class contact, 6 hours home study) of her time per week. There are no children. As with the above respondent's situation, all areas of family work in her household are strictly divided along traditional gender lines. These respondents account for their greater involvement in home/family management, thus:

> "He's away all week" (F18);

> "His time at work is far greater. I can bring work home" (F33).

These comments are interpreted as indirect expressions of ideological attitudes. They are seen to be based upon taken for granted assumptions about men's primary role in the 'public' and women's in the 'private' spheres; with the associated secondary nature of family responsibilities for men and of paid work in women's lives.

In sum: Analysis conducted above enables the identification of the influence of traditional ideological values (N=2 - F18, F33) and the new equity value (M08), on these respondents' lives.

5.2 Traditional Gender Expectations (N=14 - all women)

Those comments given by respondents in accounting for inequitable work arrangements, and included in this category are:

> "Traditional expectations" (F12)

> "He has a hobby which makes him very happy and he prefers to spend time on this" (F17)

> "Yes (his work) - BUT even if this wasn't so he would not be involved in domestic duties" (F22)

> "Tired and lazy" (F24)

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"Usually (his lesser involvement) is over a disagreement - or he chooses to watch a programme on TV" (F27)

"Church commitments which I don't have" (F39)

"During winter he has football commitments" (F45)

"Ingrained expectations" (F37)

"Laziness and enjoyment in the garden" (F53)

"Why not? He shoulders responsibilities. I prefer not to" (F15) (same reply given to question 6(b))

"One partner may choose to let the other think that they have more responsibility at work" (F49)

"'Male role' - committed at times - when convenient" (F50)

"Due to social pressure - history. Change is a slow process" (F52).

Ideas and assumptions about women's greater responsibility for family work - and interpreted as evidence for the influence of traditional ideological values on these individuals' lives - appear to be either implicit in the above explanations (as in *"Laziness and enjoyment in the garden"*, which is respondent F53's explanation for her partner's lesser family work involvement); or else are more explicitly stated, as in respondent F50's accounting for this in terms of her partner being *" 'Male role' - committed at times"*.

Thus, in relation to the former (implicit variety) explanations, referring to hobbies, laziness, tiredness, watching TV, enjoying the garden, church and football commitments - these represent options and activities in which (it seems to this writer) only those who do not hold major responsibility for family work have the free time to engage in preference to that work. Hence, implied in those comments containing such references, is the idea that men's involvement in leisure activities/relaxation constitutes a 'reasonable' justification for men's lesser involvement in family work: an explanation which 'everyone' understands (and some accept). Implicit in them also could be seen an acceptance of men's higher status in the household. Such explanations are interpreted here as indirect expressions of ideological attitudes corresponding with the male breadwinning/female homemaking norm (F17, F24, F27, F39, F45, F53 - N=6).

In other comments included in this category (listed above), respondents make more explicit references to the traditional gender differences which they see as accounting for their partner's lesser involvement in family work. These comments are similarly interpreted as the indirect expressions of their ideological attitudes. They are used by these respondents in order to justify (or provide 'rational' accounts for) their actions in particular situations (F22, F37, F49, F50, F52, F12, F15 - N=7). Thus, the analysis in this section reveals an influence of the traditional ideology on 13 respondents' lives (all women). Respondent F22's situation will serve as an example of the analysis conducted here.

5.2.1 Example 7 - Respondent F22

This woman and her spouse have been together for between 11 and 20 years. The children are no longer at home. She is not employed presently (educator) but she is studying part-time (7 hours per week). Her partner is employed in retailing, and this takes 25 hours per week of his time. Her comment in reply to the question concerning her partner's lesser involvement in family household work is that this is because of his work demands *"... BUT even if this wasn't so he would not be involved in domestic duties"*. This is analysed here for its attitudinal content, in the context of all that is known about this respondent Firstly, she is more involved than he in all areas of work examined. In fact, information she provides in Part B of the questionnaire indicates that she not only *'very frequently'* performs tasks traditionally performed by women, but that she does this also in relation to 'men's' tasks - for example, general repairs/house maintenance, about which she feels *"annoyed"*, mowing the lawns (she's *"happy"* about this) and dealing with the household rubbish (she feels *"resentful"* here). Aside from the latter negative reactions to these tasks, though, she appears to be generally accepting of her greater involvement in the running of the home.

Concerning what she thinks her partner feels about involvement in family work, she states that *"He would help - when he wanted to"*, with child care; but in relation to domestic work *"He wouldn't touch it unless I was unable to"* (Part C, Question 9(a), (b)) (indirect expression of ideological attitudes). She also indicates that they 'infrequently' argue or disagree about who does/does not do a particular task: *"Our tasks have been settled - we seldom question them"* (Part C, Question 13) (indirect expression of ideological attitudes).

In another part of the questionnaire she comments *"When I was working my husband demanded my attention. My work was 'fitted in' when nobody else demanded me. Very frustrating"* (Part C, Question 15(b)). This comment provides evidence for both traditional and new attitudes. Her knowledge and general support of the latter are also evident in her replies to Part C, Questions 1-3 of the questionnaire. For example in reacting to the statement *"Child rearing is a mother's natural job"*, she writes: *"Not for everyone. Women should have a choice"*. And regarding whether family work should be shared by partners, she indicates that this *"should"* be the case, and adds *"Happens more with my children than in my generation"*.

Thus, whereas there exists evidence for new attitudes, these can be seen to exist at the ideational level only. Except in relation to her frustration at her partner's (and children's) reactions to her paid work involvement, there is no evidence for any direct application of the new attitudes to actual work situations in her household. The established patterns of work in the household system could be seen as among factors contributing to the latter. Her personal system is comprised predominantly of stabilized ideological attitudes. It is these then, which guide her everyday thinking and actions. She accepts these arrangements, as indicated in the following comments: *"As he is 50 and I met him 15 years ago - I accept this"*

and *"I don't mind - gives me free range"* (Part C, Questions 6(b) and 1, respectively) (further evidence for influence of ideological values on respondent's life situations).

5.3 Greater Skills/Higher Standards (N=4 - all women)

The following comments provided by respondents, in justifying a partner's lesser involvement in family work, are classified according to the above category.

> *"I do things better than he does"* (F29).

> *"Sometimes I wish he'd do more, but as my standards are higher than his, I do more by choice"* (F34) (same response provided for Part C, Question 6(b)).

> *"My partner is confined to a wheel-chair, but also I find it hard to relinquish my responsibility - my 'power-base'; and resent it when things aren't done the way I like"* (F51).

> *"I am more obsessional about the cleaning than he is"* (F55).

These comments, in which women respondents explain their partners' lesser involvement in family work in terms of their own higher standards, greater skills, or being *"more obsessional"* about the house cleaning, when considered in the context of other information provided by them, are interpreted as evidence for traditional ideological attitudes guiding the organization of their personal systems. Respondents thus may be seen here as drawing from traditional assumptions and expectations (values) about women and men and their respective family and paid work responsibilities, in their efforts to 'make sense' of - or to arrive at some 'rational' understanding of their family work situations. Comments by respondents F34 and F51 are seen also to contain evidence for the influence of new values - in the form of dissatisfaction with the traditional division "sometimes" for the former; and awareness of the possibility of an alternative in the case of respondent F51. Some details of the latter's situation are given, by way of illustrating the analysis conducted here.

5.3.1 Example 8 - Respondent F51

This respondent works in education. Her partner, with whom she has lived in a *de facto* relationship for between 5 and 10 years, is employed in the legal profession. They work similar hours - around 40 hours per week (she slightly more). She is also studying part-time. There are two children from her former relationship (15 and 11 years). She has major responsibility for their care, describing him as being *"resentful, apprehensive, relaxed sometimes"* in his dealings with them (Part C, Question 9(a)). She also states that *"He will help the children with school work, etc. only if directly asked by them"* (Part B).

In explaining her greater involvement in household work, she indicates that while it is the case that her partner is confined to a wheelchair, this is not the reason for the imbalance. Thus, she acknowledges that he is *"limited in some areas"*; however, more influential here is that he *"has limited perceptions as to household needs. He doesn't <u>see</u> the mess in the kitchen"* (Part C, Question 6(b)) (indirect expression of new attitude). Moreover, while he is

capable, she writes, of performing *"specific tasks"* , he will only do these *"when directly appealed to"* (Part B). When commenting on what she thinks his thoughts and feelings may be, concerning participating in domestic work, she states: *"self righteous and superior (he would deny this)"* (Part C, Question 9(b)). She also reports that they argue or disagree about who does or does not do a particular task about *"half the time"* (Part C, Question 13(a)) (indirect expression of new attitude).

She reports feeling *"resentful"* about his lesser work involvement (direct expression of new attitude) but also *"resigned"* to it (Part C, Question 6(b)). She comments that *"Perceptions of equal sharing differ when (as a woman) you have been socialised to see what needs to be done; it seems as if you are always doing more"* (Part C, Question 3). (This statement can be interpreted as suggestive of new attitudes, as well as recognition of gender differences which are powerfully entrenched. This is consistent with the *"resigned"* feeling, reported above). Among factors she sees as contributing also, to their gender-divided work arrangements, are certain characteristics of her own. For example, in her comment which is of specific focus in this section of the analysis (in terms of the evidence it provides for attitudinal data), she notes that *"I find it hard to relinquish my responsibility - my 'power base' and resent it when things aren't done the way I like"*. This comment, then, is interpreted as an indirect expression of a traditional attitude.

Thus, there is considerable evidence of awareness by this respondent, of new, alternative and more equitable meanings for the performance of household (and paid) work; and the analysis has revealed the existence of corresponding attitudes in her personal system (as revealed in her *"resentment"*, for example, at the gendered work divisions of her household). The latter, however, while guiding much of her thinking, do not guide her actions with respect to the performance of this work. It is the ideological attitudes which predominate in their influence. It is these that she activates as tendencies in her life situations.

5.4 Other Reasons (N=3 - 1 man, 2 women)

Three comments provided by participants, in accounting for a partner's lesser involvement in household work, could not fit any of the previous categories, and were classified as "Other Reasons". Comments within this category are:

> *"Spoilt background, slack"* (M11).
> *"There is a sharing of the overall load"* (F16).
> *"He just wouldn't think he wasn't doing enough"* (F42).

Regarding respondent M11's comment, this is seen as a personal reaction, and hence does not constitute attitudinal data of relevance to the analysis (see earlier example in Stage 2 - 3.2.2). Respondent F16's comment, similarly, does not permit the extraction of an attitude: it does not contain any explanation for why her partner is less involved than she in household work. The comment provided by respondent F42, however, is seen to provide evidence of

a new attitude. To demonstrate the analysis and processes whereby such a decision is reached, an example is given.

5.4.1 Example 9 - Respondent F42

Respondent 42 is a midwife. Her *de facto* partner (of less than 5 years) is a sales representative. They each work approximately 40 hours per week. Her study commitments involve her in a further 12 hours per week (contact and home study time). There are no children.

Concerning their household work arrangements, she reports being equally involved with her partner in domestic tasks and in home management. *"Happy - it's a partnership"* is her comment in relation to this mutual involvement in the former area of work (Part C, Question 6(b)). With regard to what her partner thinks about his participation here, she states: *"Doesn't think anything of it. It's expected"*. These comments are interpreted as the direct and indirect expressions, respectively, of new attitudes. Similar evidence for her awareness and acceptance of new values is apparent from other sections of the questionnaire (for example, Part C, Questions 1-3).

In relation to her statement which is being examined here, for evidence of attitudes, viz *"He just wouldn't think he wasn't doing enough"* - this, when considered in the context of the above information, is interpreted as the indirect expression of a new attitude. This respondent is thus seen to have constructed a personal system in this area of life, comprised predominantly of new attitudes which she also activates.

Summary Comments - Section 5 Analysis

This completes the analysis of those comments which are provided by respondents in accounting for a partner's lesser involvement in family work. Of the 23 comments which are analysed, evidence is found in two, for the presence of new attitudes (1 man, 1 woman). Nineteen (all women - 43 percent of female respondents) reveal evidence in their comments for the influence of the traditional ideology. Findings from this analysis thus support those which previously revealed the powerful impact on some participants' everyday lives of attitudes corresponding to these values (Sections 1-3). Apparent also here, is evidence for the active part played by participants in using the culture's values - actually applying these to their lives - in their own unique ways and to suit their different needs, purposes and life situations (See in particular Sections 5.2 and 5.3).

SECTION 6 - CONCRETE AND CULTURAL FACTS: EXPLAINING UNFAMILIAR TASKS TO PARTNER

The analysis to be reported here also is concerned with the identification of attitudes. These are derived from the analysis of comments participants provide in replying to Question 8, Part C of the questionnaire, viz: *"When a task is unfamiliar to your partner, do you do it*

yourself rather than take the time to explain how to do it to him/her?" Yes/No. Comment also was invited.

6.1 Concrete Facts: Explanation of Tasks to Partner (N=55 - 44 women, 11 men)

Table 8.15 presents concrete facts derived from replies to the first part of the above question.

Table 8.15: Explaining unfamiliar tasks

Respondents	Do task self (i.e., do not explain)	Usually explain task to partner	Sometimes explain task	Total
Men	4 (36%)	4 (36%)	3 (28%)	11 (100%)
Women	14 (31%)	24 (55%)	6 (14%)	44 (100%)
Total	18 (33%)	28 (51%)	9 (16%)	55 (100%)

Concrete facts as revealed in the above table indicate that more than two-thirds of respondents take time to explain a task unfamiliar to their partner, at least some of the time; with women being more likely than men "usually" to do this. These findings are suggestive of new attitudes, since they may be seen to indicate a desire, or at least some willingness, on the part of some respondents to make changes to traditional divisions in family household task performance. The analysis of cultural facts, which follows, will add to the understanding here.

6.2 Cultural Facts: Comments on whether or not Respondent Explains Tasks to Partner (N=39, 7 men, 32 women)

The full texts of respondents' comments here are contained in Appendix VII - "Comments by respondents: explaining unfamiliar tasks to partner". They are categorised as follows:

1. Respondents do tasks themselves rather than take time to explain to partner how to do these.

2. Respondents sometimes take time to explain tasks to partner.

3. Respondents usually take time to explain tasks to partner.

The aim of the analysis is to examine respondents' comments for evidence of cultural facts (attitudes). In the process of imaginatively reconstructing their experiences as part of such an analysis, all available information concerning a respondent and their household situation is taken into account.

6.2.1 Respondents do Tasks Themselves (N=10, 3 men, 7 women)

The interest here is with those comments given by respondents who maintain family work patterns in which they continue to do tasks which are unfamiliar to their partner, and do not

take time to explain to them how these are done. Of the ten comments appearing in this category, the analysis conducted here reveals evidence in eight of them for traditional ideological attitudes. Concrete facts derived in Stage 1 analysis (3.3) indicate that these attitudes also are actually activated by these respondents, in the area of domestic work performance. These comments are:

> *"I feel she has enough work to do without being shown how to do more"* (M06) (see Stage 2 - 1.2.2).

> *"Time factor and to avoid hassles"* (F50).

> *"Partly my fault because I like things done my way, for example, when he irons he leaves my clothes at my request"* (F30) (see Stage 2 - 1.2.1).

> *"It works both ways - I don't like looking after car repairs so I don't"* (F45).

> *"He does want to learn how to make custard, but it's simpler for me to do it - and I enjoy feeling useful"* (F46).

> *" ... and I end up doing it forever"* (F22) (see Stage 2 - 4.2).

> *"Often this is more time-effective"* (F25).

> *"Only if he asks for assistance"* (F27).

The above comments, in making reference to such factors as time-effectiveness, own or partners' greater skill in traditional tasks or preferences to engage in these, may be seen to draw upon traditional notions about gender differences in work areas and performance.

Comments provided by two participants do not permit the extraction of attitudinal data. Thus, respondent M08's reply, that he does a task himself because *"[he would] rather get the job done than listen to procrastination"*, is interpreted as his personal reaction (see earlier example, Stage 2 - 3.2.2) The comment provided by M07 - *"She is not an idiot"* - likewise is seen not to reveal evidence of attitudes of relevance to the investigation. As with the previous example, this is seen to relate more to the respondent's relationship with his partner.

In sum: The analysis reveals evidence for traditional ideological attitudes in the comments of 8 participants (M06, F22, F25, F27, F30, F45, F46, F50). An example of the analysis follows.

6.2.1.1   Example 10 - Respondent F46

Both this respondent and her partner are in professional occupations. She works slightly more hours per week than her partner. She also is undertaking university studies. This commitment requires a further 6 hours of her time each week. She and her partner have three children, but they are "young adults" and no longer living at home.

Household work is divided strictly along traditional gender lines in their household (Although she also mows the lawns (Part B)). It would appear that he does little (if any at all) of the domestic work. Thus she writes in Part B of the questionnaire *"I've indicated 'very frequently' (re performance of a range of tasks) as it is myself doing all of the above"*. She

also states: *"I do all the menial work - but my partner does the planning/paying bills"* (Part C, Question 3). These concrete facts are suggestive of her activating traditional attitudes.

In replying to questions seeking her feelings about her partner's lesser involvement in family work, she comments in relation to domestic work and home management/organization, respectively:

> *"His work is more stressful to him - he can't cope with more"* (Part C, Question 6(b)).

> *"It's a decision I've made so its no problem"* (Part C, Question 11).

Both the above are interpreted as direct expressions of ideological attitudes. The former is associated with traditional notions about men's breadwinning. And whereas in the latter, she makes reference to *"a decision"* on her part, this is interpreted as a decision she has made within the constraints of her ideological attitudes. Elsewhere she reports that *"He doesn't like chores"* (Part C, Question 9(b)), and that he engages in family work only when she requests this of him, noting in this regard: *"If I ask nicely and give a list of reasons"* (Part C, Question 5).

In replying to a question which enquired as to whether she and her partner argue or disagree about who does/does not do a particular task, she indicates that this occurs "infrequently". This is the case also in relation to how a task is done - although she also adds here: *"Used to be more!"* (Part C, Question 13). The latter comments are interpreted as indirect expressions of ideological attitudes, i.e., they indicate acceptance of the traditional division of work which characterises their household, both in relation to degree of involvement and nature of tasks performed. They thus point to stabilized, traditional patterns of relationship and work arrangements within the household system. The attitudes comprising her personal system are in a similar organized state (dynamic equilibrium), being under the influence of an ideological attitude corresponding to the traditional norm.

Returning now to the question of whether she takes time to explain an unfamiliar task to her partner, or does this herself - she replies that she does it herself (direct expression of ideological attitude) (evidence does suggest that he would be neither a willing nor eager learner). Her comment about his wish *"to learn how to make custard"* - a wish she denies him, she indicates, because of her need to feel *"useful"* - again this draws attention to the way individuals use the materials provided by the culture in their own unique ways (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927).

6.2.2 Respondents sometimes take time to explain tasks (N=16, 4 men, 12 women)

Respondents' comments which fit within the above category are included in Appendix VII - "Comments by respondents explaining unfamiliar tasks to partner". Some are again quoted below, in the reporting of the analysis. These comments draw attention to such factors as time pressures, opportunities for explaining a given task and the nature and attractiveness

of a task for the respondent, in justifying whether a task is explained to a partner, or not. All 16 comments are seen to contain (indirect or direct) evidence for both new and traditional attitudes, with either type being activated by respondents, depending on the situation and factors they perceive as important to them in the particular situation. The following are examples of comments provided by respondents who sometimes explain an unfamiliar task to a partner:

"Except in major financial matters" (M08) (see Stage 2 - 2.2.2).

"If she is interested, I explain and we share the task" (M10).

"Maybe [do task or explain]. Depends if I think it will be useful for him to know" (F18).

"Sometimes - although if time permits I try to explain how I would like it done" (F28).

"Depends on how much I like/dislike the task and how hard it would be to explain" (F29).

"Depends on whether I enjoy the task or not" (F31).

"Sometimes yes [do the task and not explain]; but when I think he needs to know I'll show him" (F34) (see Stage 2 - 3.2.1).

" ... unless it's an emergency [I explain task]. I refuse to do his ironing ... he chooses to pay someone to do it rather than learn how, but he won't pay me! I should do it for love! We agree to differ" (F51) (see Stage 2 - 5.3).

The above comments, as do others in this category (see Appendix VII "Comments by respondents: explaining unfamiliar tasks to partner") reveal indirect evidence for both new attitudes, as in an awareness of alternative equitable courses of action which sometimes are acted upon; and traditional attitudes - for example, references to liking/preferring to engage in gender-linked tasks, time pressures and so on. These also are acted upon in certain situations. Thus, the choices which respondents engage in frequently suggest the influence of, and restrictions imposed by, ideological values on their life situations.

Comments analysed in this section of the analysis reveal indirect evidence for new and traditional ideological attitudes (16 respondents: M01, M02, M08 M10, F15, F18, F19, F24, F28, F29, F31, F34, F42, F45, F51, F55 - 12 women, 4 men). Both attitude types are activated at certain times/specific situations. Factors respondents identify as influential here include time availability, ease or difficulty of explaining a task, and whether a task is "enjoyed" and "liked" by a respondent, or not. Such explanations are interpreted as providing indirect evidence for these respondents drawing from ideological attitudes. However, there are times and situations in which new attitudes (which compete for activation with the traditional) exert a stronger influence and hence determine an individual's definition of a situation, and thus their action (or non-action).

6.2.2.1 Example 11 - Respondent F29

Respondent F29's comment is chosen as an example of the analysis conducted here, since this not only reveals quite clearly the existence of both attitude types, but also highlights the way these attitudes compete for activation. This participant is a medical doctor, her partner is a also a health professional. They have been married for between 5-10 years. There are no children. She works approximately 35 hours and he 50 hours per week. As a student (Graduate Diploma in Health Counselling), she has up to 16 hours each week taken up with study commitments. They have "home help" (initiated by them both) of 4 hours per week.

In reacting to the statement that "Child-rearing is a mother's natural job", she writes: *"Apart from the biological function of breast-feeding I see no reason for women to naturally assume this role"*. Regarding involvement in domestic work by partners, this respondent holds the view that this should be shared equally "if both partners work equal hours" (Part C, Questions 2 and 3). In relation to her own household situation, she indicates that domestic work arrangements at times involve her partner and herself equally, but at other times and for certain tasks she does more than he. Such arrangements suggest that both new and traditional attitudes are being activated.

The respondent's reported feelings about these arrangements - *"Comfortable (but) sometimes taken for granted"* (Part C, Question 6(b)) - similarly are interpreted as containing evidence for fluctuating new and traditional attitudes (both of which are activated in some situations and not others). She sees her partner's lesser involvement as being to do both with his greater work demands and because, as she puts it, *"I do things better than he does"*. These reasons are taken as the indirect expressions of traditional attitudes. In commenting on how she thinks her partner feels about participating in domestic work she states, *"Happy to, depending on task"* (Part C, Question 9(b)). She also indicates that she frequently takes time to sort out and negotiate which of them will do what tasks, noting that *"We are very organised in this regard"* (Part C, Question 14) (indirect expression of new attitude).

This respondent's personal system thus may be seen to include both new and traditional attitudes with the former being activated more frequently in situations than the latter. The household system may be seen to reflect a similar cultural pattern. Her comment in reply to the question being examined here is similarly indicative of new and traditional attitudes and their fluctuating activation. The degree of 'choice' she is seen to exercise here also may be seen to comprise an element of 'real' choice, at least some of the time. This is seen as an outcome of the new values which have entered her consciousness (field of reality). She may be seen now as having an alternative to the traditional ideology from which she may choose, viz *"Depends on how much I like/dislike the task and how hard it would be to explain"*. However, the influence of the traditional ideology is still seen to be evident in the latter comment.

The final analysis to be conducted in this section (and the chapter) concerns those comments indicating that respondents "usually" take time to explain tasks which are unfamiliar to partners.

6.2.3 Respondents usually take time to explain tasks (N=13, all women)

Comments categorised according to the above are listed in Appendix VII - "Comments by respondents: explaining unfamiliar tasks to partner".

Compared with previous comments which have been analysed in this section, those considered here are seen to reveal stronger evidence for the influence of new, rather than traditional, attitudes on respondents' family work arrangements. These attitudes are particularly evident in the statements which indicate the more deliberate choices which participants are engaging in, and associated awareness of the consequences to their family work arrangements of not taking the time and making the effort to explain tasks to a partner.

The following are examples of comments:

"I make a point of explaining even if it is something I do routinely, so he can do it if he needs to" (F39).

"[I explain] he should be as competent as me at jobs - he is willing to try" (F48).

"I used to do it myself and I found I was doing more. Now I take time to explain" (F49).

"I used to, but quickly learnt that this left me doing everything myself. Now I take time to show him, and that saves me time in the long run" (F52).

Other comments draw attention to the carefully planned and sensitively implemented strategies which respondents engage in, in their efforts to assist partners in developing skills which enable more equitable work arrangements in their households. Examples of such comments are:

"I did in the past [do unfamiliar task/not explain] but in the last year I have taken the time to explain and I accept the way he does things" (F14).

"I often explain or do it with him to help him learn. Sometimes I have to do this a number of times for the same task" (F16).

"I try to teach him in a non-patronising way" (F38).

"I will not do the task. I will take time to explain, supervise, reinforce the action" (F40).

Thus, when examined in the light of other concrete and cultural facts available concerning these respondents, the comments of 12 are identified as evidence of new attitudes. [Respondent 20's comment here *("We operate well with good communication")*, while suggestive of a partnership involving sharing (and hence possibly new attitudes), does not specifically address the question. It is not taken as providing evidence of attitudinal data].

In sum: Findings from the above analysis - comments from 12 of the 13 women respondents who usually explain unfamiliar tasks to partners, provide evidence for a dominant influence of new attitudes in their personal systems. These are apparent in the choices these individuals reveal they are making, some of which appear to be free from ideological constraints (traditional attitudes). Thus, while these respondents reveal a knowledge of traditional meanings (values), they may be seen to have reached a stage of conscious awareness from which they are capable of challenging the suitability, or practicality of these for some of their present situations. All but two activate new attitudes in at least one work area (F12, F14, F16, F21, F23, F36, F38, F39, F40, F48, F49, F52).

Two examples of the analysis are given. One is characterised by a predominance of new attitudes in the respondent concerned (F40) and her household system. In the other example, whereas the respondent herself (F16) holds new attitudes, the domestic work in her household is rigidly defined along gender lines. Her partner does not share her desire for equity in family work involvement.

6.2.3.1 Example 12 - Respondent F16

The female respondent whose situation serves as an example here is a health professional. Her *de facto* partner (of under 5 years) is a company executive. They each work approximately 50 hours per week, with each earning in excess of $30,000 pa. She is also a part-time student (involves 5-10 hours per week). They do not have "home help". He has two children from a former relationship who visit in the school holidays. On such occasions, he is more involved than she in their care. She feels *"OK"* about this, adding *"he wants the involvement with his children"* (Part C, Question 6(a)).

In her replies to Part C, Questions 1-3, she reveals considerable awareness of and support for the new values concerning gender equity in paid and unpaid work. Additionally, she recognises the difficulties individuals experience in 'freeing' themselves from the constraints of the traditional, for example, *"The traditional roles are difficult to break as we tend to have skills in traditional chores. Takes a lot of energy to negotiate, then reinforce behaviours"* (Question 3).

In describing how she thinks her partner feels about participating in domestic tasks, she writes *"Reluctant, ineffective"* (Part C, Question 9). She states also that *"[He] just doesn't think about what is involved. Does not look ahead or think about ways of saving work, hassle for others"* (Part C, Question 5) (evidence for new attitude). Concerning her greater involvement in home management and domestic work she comments (respectively):

"OK. But responsibility for shortcomings in management is heavy" (Part C, Question 11) (evidence for traditional [*"OK"*] and new attitudes [remainder of comment - recognition of alternative]).

"Often I would like more sharing of chores or even just some understanding re not making more work than is necessary" (Part C, Question 6(b)) (evidence for new attitude, but also suggesting acceptance of traditional arrangement - for example, when he considers *"her"* situation, and *"doesn't make work"*)

In relation to the above comment, the desire for her partner's greater involvement is evident also in the reply she provides, which forms part of the analysis just reported, and concerning the explanation of unfamiliar tasks (i.e. *"I often explain or do it with him to help him learn. Sometimes I have to do this a number of times for the same tasks"* (it could be assumed, then, that he is a slow, or perhaps reluctant/unmotivated, learner).

This woman also reports the following concerning her family work performance: *"I feel that there is not enough time - always trying to catch up or just do the basics. It does not feel good or fulfilling"* (Part C, Question 16) (evidence for both attitude types). She also finds that she has to *"compromise"* on relaxation and leisure activities. For example, she is *"training for competitive long distance running* [and finds this is] *always compromised by work and family commitments"* (Part C, Question 17) (some dissatisfaction interpreted [*"compromise"*] - indirect expression of new attitude). This situation, when taken in the context of other information she provides concerning household arrangements, is suggestive of this woman's inferior status, relative to her partner, in the household.

This person's comments and descriptions, provide evidence of her having predominantly (but not exclusively) new attitudes in her personal system. However, in terms of household work performance, she activates traditional attitudes. Her personal system is thus characterized by incongruence - inconsistencies and contradictions between her thoughts, feelings and actions. It is unsettled and disorganized, not being under the control and guidance of a consistent attitudinal scheme.

Among barriers to the activation of her new attitudes (as tendencies) would seem to be the established relationship and work patterns comprising the household system. In relation to this, her partner appears not to be inclined to have existing arrangements change; and while she is motivated in this regard, she apparently is powerless to act on this at present.

6.2.3.2 Example 13 - Respondent F40

This participant and her spouse have been in their present situation for between 5 and 10 years. She gives her occupation as Administrator/Counsellor. He works as a Technical Officer. Each spends *"40+"* hours per week in paid work activities. They do not have children. She has university commitments involving 4 hours class contact plus 4 hours home study per week.

A feature of respondent F40's comments and replies to the questionnaire, is the dominance of new attitudes which she activates. This is demonstrated in the above comment concerning the explanation of teaching an unfamiliar task to partner. She considers that *"Both working partners need to work together in the home to ensure happy cohabitation"*

(Part C, Question 3). And she reports that *"My partner and I share household tasks - if a job is there and you see it, you are responsible"* (Part C, Question 5) (indirect expression of new attitude). A strong theme running through her comments is the idea of her partner and herself doing tasks together, viz: *"It is important that we work together [on domestic tasks]"* (Part C, Question 6(b)); and *"The job is easier when we work together, as a team"* Part C, Question 9),

She reports feeling *"excellent"* that she and her partner share responsibility for organising and overall management of the home (direct expression of new attitude). Each appreciates the contribution of the other to this and other household tasks (Part C, Question 12) (indirect expression of new attitude). The only time they disagree or argue about doing a particular task is when in comes to *"who clears the chook shed"*; and this is not to do with the task as such, she states, but because *"the buggers peck!!"* (Part C, Question 11). In fact, respondent F40 reveals experiencing *"a great deal"* of self-fulfilment from sharing the work of running the home with her partner. To quote her: *"It's a bit hard to describe cleaning the dunny or chook shed as self-fulfilling. However the overall effect - clean, tidy environment with a great quantity of chook eggs - is very fulfilling for me"* (Part C, Question 17).

The shared work arrangements which characterise respondent F40's household situation could be seen also to contribute to her positive assessment of her and her partner's relationship. In another part of the questionnaire she writes: *"We are 'PARTNERS' "* (Part C, Question 18); and in replying to another section states:

> *"Routine family work is important because it provides an environment that is pleasant and comfortable. Environment has a large role to play in relationships working - also the aspect of working together enhances relationships. A person's status in a relationship is enhanced by participating in family work. Other people's (i.e., those outside the relationship) perceptions are not important"* (Part C, Question 16).

The analysis of this respondent's family household work arrangements - her thoughts, feelings, behaviour and evaluations in relation to these - has revealed that this person (like the household system of which she forms part) holds and activates new attitudes. That is, her personal system is comprised predominantly of new attitudes which are systematically organized under a new equity attitude. New attitudes thus predominate in her definitions of situations involving family household work performance; and thus guide her thinking and actions in this area. The overall very positive tone of this person's replies to the questionnaire, is a more common finding in those respondents' situations where they reveal consistency (or congruence) between new attitudes and the nature of work arrangements predominating in their households (i.e. shared).

This completes the analyses of data from the study. Summary comments are now given. Following this, a brief report is provided of the completed Section 6 analysis.

Summary Comments - Section 6 Analysis

The analysis of comments given by respondents concerning the explanation of unfamiliar tasks to a partner, again reveals the varying compositions of their personal systems in terms of the prevalence of traditional or new attitudes. The analysis of comments reveals evidence for traditional attitudes in 8 of these, new attitudes in 12 and both new and traditional (variously activated). Those participants who do not take time to explain tasks to a partner are more likely to be activating traditional attitudes in relation to family work performance in their households, than are those who usually take time to do this.

This concludes the analysis of data and report of findings from the study. Presented below is a summary of the main findings.

SUMMARY OF MAJOR FINDINGS OF ANALYSIS

1. Stage 1 analysis (Section 2) reveals that almost all participants subscribe to the general view that family work should be shared by partners when both are employed (which is the case of the large majority of participants in the study (see Section 1)). Subsequent analysis reveals that such a work arrangement does not characterise the household situations of most. Women's greater involvement than men in family work is found among more than two-thirds of respondents in the area of child care, in over half in domestic work and just under half in home management (Sections 3 - 3.3.4). Those respondents not having traditional arrangements are more likely to report partners sharing work equally. There are a few instances of men being more involved than women (child care N=1, domestic work N=3).

2. When their household work involvement is examined across all three areas of work, it is found that just over one-third of participants have predominantly traditional work patterns prevailing in their households. The same fraction have predominantly shared work arrangements with partners. Over one-quarter have a combination of these arrangements within and across the three areas of work considered. Traditional work patterns are more likely to exist in households having children present, and where respondents are older. Those having shared arrangements tend to be younger and childless (Stage 1, Table 8.10).

3. The identification of respondents' attitudes is the main focus of the Stage 2 analysis. This reveals that participants have been, and are being, influenced to varying degrees in their family work involvement by two competing sets of values. There are those ideological values associated with the traditional breadwinner/homemaker norm; and new values, supportive of equity between partners in the area of work performance and involvement. Thus, these two value types have been variously drawn upon by participants in constructing their personal system of attitudes in this area of life.

4. With regard to participants' attitudes to the division of work in their households, more than half of those having traditional arrangements are found to have attitudes which are

inconsistent with these (Sections 1, 2 and 3). There is evidence for over one-half of respondents having new equity attitudes in their personal systems, with respect to each of the three areas of work examined. Furthermore, some reveal evidence for the fluctuating influence of both new and traditional attitude types on their household situations.

5.   Inconsistencies between their attitudes and actions are found to be associated with the dominating influence in respondents' personal systems (and family household systems) of traditional ideological attitudes. That is, it is the latter by which some individuals continue to define situations, despite the presence in their personal systems of new attitudes inconsistent with the traditional household work patterns they are maintaining. The analyses of respondents' explanations for inequitable household work arrangements confirm the powerful impact of ideological attitudes on their everyday lives (Section 5). It also draws attention to the active role of individuals in using these attitudes in ways which enable them to 'make sense' of their inequitable household work arrangements and so retain the equilibrium of their personal systems.

6.   The analysis conducted in Section 6 also highlights the fact that individuals are not passive recipients in the processes being considered. Analysis here is particularly illuminating with regard to the way those individuals whose personal systems are constructed primarily of new attitudes, may exercise real choice, seemingly free from the constraints of the traditional ideology.

This completes the reporting of the data analysis and major findings from the study. In Chapter 9, which follows, these are discussed and conclusions are presented.

CHAPTER NINE

INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIAL CHANGE PROCESSES

If attitudes have to be defined with reference to values found in a given collectivity, the meaning of those values to participants in this collectivity has to be ascertained by studying their attitudes. Cultural changes and psychological changes both have to be explained by causal interaction between values and attitudes (Znaniecki, 1963, p.238)

This and the following chapter are concerned with the discussion of findings and presentation of conclusions from the study. A main interest of the present chapter is that of identifying and examining the cultural characteristics of respondents' personal systems. This will permit some understanding to be obtained of what cultural meanings these individuals are ascribing to domestic work and family care when both parents from a family household are in paid employment - an apparent challenge to the male breadwinner/female homemaker ideological norm. Insight may also be gained here, into individual - and hence social - change processes (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1303-5; Znaniecki, 1963, p.238).

As discussed in Chapter 5, from the perspective of Thomas and Znaniecki's theory of culture, each generation is conceptualized as evaluating the group's heritage (cultural items from the past) and any new values, in terms of their suitability for the group's current and changing needs. It is this constant evaluation and associated reshaping and modifying of values by successive generations of members, which make culture a highly malleable, rather than a static phenomenon. As noted in the earlier discussion also, the ideological system (at group and individual levels) is seen to play a vital role in such evaluation processes.

Those cultural items whose evaluation is of interest here, are ideological values associated with the above norm, and which prescribe gender divisions in paid and unpaid labour; and a newly emerging equity value, which defines a sharing of responsibilities and tasks by women and men partners in those areas of work. From the perspective taken here, the full meaning of this new value can only be discovered by ascertaining how it is being used in social life: by identifying the particular meanings individuals ascribe to it in their strivings to make sense of their life experiences, including how they behave in relation to it. Such an understanding may be obtained by examining the content and characteristics of their personal systems. Information thus gained may also provide insight into the processes of individual and social change, as these are conceptualized here. (See Chapter 6 for discussions on Thomas and Znaniecki's theory of social disorganization and social reorganization).

PERSONAL SYSTEMS OF RESPONDENTS

The concept of personal system is introduced in Chapter 5. Briefly here, it refers to the systems of attitudes which members build up from the cultural materials (values) available and accessible to them, as they live their lives and participate in various interactions, events, and other activities of their social groups. These sets of more or less systematized attitudes are seen to guide individuals' everyday thinking, behaviours, problem solving and so on, in the particular area of life to which they correspond. Since the attitudes comprising personal systems are conceptualized as being in constant interaction with group values, a knowledge of respondents' constructions here will permit insight into how these individuals are shaping cultural values concerning family household work performance when both adult partners are in paid employment. Although participants do not constitute a socially-representative group, information concerning their situations may also enable some understanding to be gained of cultural forces prevailing in some sectors of the wider society.

Respondents' personal systems are ascertained from the analysis of data concerning their level of involvement, relative to partner, in domestic work, child care and home management; and their attitudes towards this. Attitudes are identified from comments they provide concerning their feelings and thoughts about any (gender) divisions here (Part C - Questions 6(a), (b); 11. Data analyses - Chapter 8, Stage 1 - Sections 3.3 and 3.4; Stage 2 - Sections 1-4).

The Stage 1 data analysis reveals that slightly more than one-third of respondents have household work patterns which are characterised by traditional gender divisions. This is evident in relation to both the level of a partner's involvement and the types of tasks engaged in. The same proportion of respondents are found to have work arrangements in which tasks and responsibilities are shared by partners, and for the most part are not divided along gender lines. These have been termed new arrangements. Just over one-quarter of respondents have household work patterns which are gender-divided in certain areas of work (for example, child care) but which involve partners equally in others (for example, home management) (Stage 1 - Sections 3.4 and 4. See also Table 8.9). The analysis in Stage 2 concentrates on the examination of comments which participants provide, for evidence of their attitudes. Findings are particularly enlightening with regard to their attitudes toward their actual work arrangements. The sensitivity of the methodology has enabled five different patterns of cultural activation to be revealed here (see Appendix IX - "Personal system identification"). From these, it has been possible to identify six types of personal system (see Appendix X - "Personal systems of respondents").

Personal System Types

It is regarding the group of respondents who maintain traditional work patterns that findings have been most revealing. Thus, among these 20 individuals it has been possible to

identify three different types of personal system (Types 1, 2 and 3). There is one group in which respondents' attitudes are congruent with their gender-divided work involvement - that is, consistency is evident between their actions, thoughts and feelings in this area of their lives (Type 1 - N=6). Others here reveal evidence for new attitudes in relation to one or two of the types of work examined, and traditional (ideological) attitudes in the other/s (Type 2 - N=9). Thus, consistency exists between their attitudes and traditional work arrangements in some situations, and inconsistency in others. A further group reveals new attitudes which support partners' equal involvement, and which therefore are incongruent with the established gender-divided patterns which characterise their household situations (Type 3 - N=5).

Another further type of personal system which is identified is that in which similar consistency/inconsistency to the above exists between attitudes and actions, but where in at least one of the areas of work examined (unlike the above) gender equitable work patterns exist (Type 4 - N=15). Moreover, among those personal systems thus categorised, it is possible to discriminate between some which are systematically organized - that is, under the guidance of a consistent rule of behaviour, or attitudinal scheme (Type 4A - N=10); and those which are not, and therefore are in a state of imbalance or disequilibrium (Type 4B - N=5). Finally, it is possible to identify a personal system which is comprised predominantly of new attitudes which are consistent with the equitable work arrangements participants report (Type 5 - N=20). Individuals here, then, both hold and activate new attitudes in this area of family living. Their personal systems, it is suggested, are under the control of an attitudinal scheme which they have evolved themselves - a new equity attitude.

Each participant's personal system is conceptualized as a unique construction which guides their thoughts, feelings and actions in unique ways. Their particular life histories, social background, past experience, personality, present circumstances and needs are among factors seen to be contributing to such uniqueness. However, the analysis of their level of household work involvement and their attitudes towards this has drawn attention to the presence of commonalities among respondents with respect to these constructs. From the perspective taken here, this is seen as an outcome of participants having selected from similar cultural materials in building these systems of attitudes. Evidence exists for the strong influence of traditional breadwinning/homemaking ideological values on participants' constructions of their personal systems. Attitudes corresponding to these values provide varying degrees of guidance in the life situations of around two-thirds of participants. However, the same proportion are to varying extents guided by the new equity values. At this stage, though, the influence of the latter is more apparent in some participants' ideas and thinking than at the level of action.

INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIAL CHANGE

In the present study, the aim is to conduct an in-depth analysis with a view to ascertaining how participants are organizing and perceiving household work, when both partners are employed. Given the small number of individuals taking part, the intention is not to extrapolate or generalise findings to the wider population. However, as Boulding has commented, while it

> ...may seem like a big step to go from the everyday happenings of reality construction in the family to construction of alternative realities in society...historically this is the nature of the social process (Boulding, 1983, p.262).

A further and related aim of the study is that of contributing to an understanding of the complex, inter-related cognitive, emotional and behavioural activities associated with individual and (consequently) social change processes. In Chapter 6 it is seen that social disorganization refers to a decrease of the influence of existing social rules (values) upon individual members of the group. The rule of interest in the present study is that corresponding to the male breadwinner/female homemaker norm. The weakening of, or disturbance to, this rule is associated with the emergence of new attitudes in the form of the entry, in larger numbers than ever before, of married women into paid employment. As Thomas and Znaniecki (1927, p.1132) put it: "the decay of given rules or institutions is merely the objective, superficial manifestations of the appearance of these attitudes". The full meaning of these attitudes, however, may be discovered only by determining how they are used in social life; including how they are perceived by the individuals concerned and how they behave in relation to them.

The above new attitudes did not comply with "the socially recognized and sanctioned schemes of behavior". Moreover, attempts to check their development (such as reinforcing existing rules and social sanctions) eventually were unsuccessful (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1122) (see Chapter 6). Social disorganization thus became increasingly prevalent. While this phenomenon has the potential to lead to the "complete dissolution of the group", more usually it is counteracted before this, by a new process of social reorganization. The problem then becomes not how to suppress the new attitudes; but rather, how to find institutional expression for them. The discussion in Chapter 6 also outlines some measures taken in Australia in the latter regard - the process of social reorganization, which commenced from the late 1960s.

Evidence for individual change in response to influences from newly emerging values, is taken here as being demonstrated by the presence of new equity attitudes in relation to family work performance, in respondents' personal systems. Thus, each of the six types of personal system referred to in the previous section may be distinguished on the basis of the extent of attitudinal evidence present in it, or absence of this, for the influence of the new equity value on respondents' life situations in the area investigated (see

Appendix X - "Personal systems of respondents"). The presence of this new attitude in their personal systems is seen to be associated with the weakening of the traditional male breadwinner/female homemaker rule. It is also interpreted here as evidence for individual and social change (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1127-1130). It follows, therefore, that the content and characteristics of these individuals' personal systems may provide an understanding of the nature and sequence of the cognitive, emotional and behavioural activities associated with the processes involved here.

Figure 9.1 (below) presents respondents' personal systems along a continuum ranging from low to high in relation to the extent of influence of the new value on their life situations in the area of family household work performance. Those personal systems located down the low end of the continuum (personal systems Types 1 and 2) reveal least evidence for the influence of the new value, and a corresponding high influence of traditional ideological values. Types 4 and 5 personal systems, being situated at the high end of the continuum, reveal a low influence of the latter and a corresponding high influence of the new equity value. In the discussion which follows, each of the personal systems identified in the analysis is discussed in relation to the evidence revealed in it for the respective influences of the new equity value and traditional ideological values.

Figure 9.1 - Influence of new equity value - respondents' personal systems

INFLUENCE

LOW ← → HIGH

TYPE 1	TYPE 2	TYPE 3	TYPE 4A	TYPE 4B	TYPE 5
Traditional attitudes held and activated	New and traditional attitudes held - activating predominantly traditional	Predominantly new attitudes held, activating predominantly traditional	New and traditional attitudes held, activating both (structured)	New and traditional attitudes held, activating both (unstructured)	Predominantly new attitudes held and activated

Type 1 Personal System (N=6)

A distinctive feature of those participants whose personal systems cluster at the low influence end of the continuum, is the contentment and overall satisfaction they communicate with respect to their gender-divided family work arrangements (see Appendix X - "Personal systems of respondents"). Congruence exists between these individuals' thinking, feelings and actions in this area of life: they hold as well as activate traditional attitudes. Their personal systems, then, are seen to be comprised predominantly of stabilized attitudes which are systematically organized and schematized. These attitudes are under the conscious influence of the group scheme corresponding to the male breadwinner/female homemaker rule. Evidence (among some) for the influence of the new

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value exists at the ideational level only. Thus, whereas all reveal awareness of alternative, equitable ways of organizing this work (Chapter 8, Stage 1 - Section 3), such information appears to have been internalised by them (in the sense of conscious application to their life situations) to varying extents. Examples will assist in illuminating the latter point.

Respondent M04's personal system is among those which suggest a minimal level of influence of the new equity values which have been increasingly apparent in this society over the past several decades. This person is a teacher. He works five hours fewer than his wife per week. She is professionally qualified, with her job bringing in a higher annual salary than his. There are three children (5, 16 and 19 years). He discloses that his partner is more involved than he in all areas of work examined. However, he does not reply to the questions which seek comments on his feelings about these inequitable work patterns (Part C, Questions 6(a)(b) and 11). On the other hand, he does reply to those questions which ask for his thoughts on what his partner feels about participating in domestic work and child care - "OK" on both counts, he thinks (Part C - Question 9(b)).

What is noticeable about this person's replies, and is evident also, although to a slightly lesser extent, in the case of respondent F22, is an absence of justification for the gender-divided work arrangements in their households. Unlike others in this category, then, there is a taken for granted or "what is there to explain here, anyway?" quality about these individuals' replies. This is interpreted as being related to a relative absence of influence of new values on the construction of their personal systems. It seems that the routine nature of their everyday activities here, may rest upon what Giddens (1989) referred to as "tacit" understanding or "practical consciousness". Thus, these individuals appear to have only limited awareness of the wider circumstances (reasons and causes) affecting the particular actions they are performing (Smolicz, 1979, p.42 - citing Znaniecki, 1963, pp.187-88). (See Giddens (1989) for his perspective on practical and discursive consciousness).

The absence of new attitudes in these individuals' personal systems, it is suggested, is associated with the continuing strength and domination of their traditional ideological attitudes. This inhibits their capacity to relate to the new values at a personal level - to see any relevance in them for their actual situations. Inequities in work arrangements frequently are accounted for in terms of their traditional attitudes. Minimal disruption, therefore, has occurred to the equilibrium of their stabilized and systematized attitudes, which remain under the control and guidance of a traditional ideological attitude. This weak influence of new values (as indicated by the seeming absence of attitudes corresponding to these, in those participants' personal systems) is related to factors operating at both group and individual levels (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927).

Age as well as presence of children in households are among factors found to influence participants' capacity to access and use available values (Stage 1, Section 4, Table 8.10). (These are discussed more fully in Chapter 10). Both respondents M04 and

F22 are from the older age category, and each has children (although the latter's are no longer living in the home). The family household system of each also appears to be congruent with the gender-divided work patterns which prevail. In consequence of this predominance of traditional attitudes in their personal systems, it may be suggested that these participants are similar to those persons identified by Thomas and Znaniecki, and "[who] do not know of any other way of defining a situation in which these attitudes would find a satisfactory expression" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1249).

A factor of possible influence at the individual level, and to which Thomas and Znaniecki made specific reference, is the "personality type" of a given person. From their investigations of Polish peasant society, these writers identified several personality types, one of which was characterised by extreme "fixity" in relation to attitudes. As these writers found, the attitudes of some persons were accessible to "only a certain class of influence - those constituting the most permanent part of [their] social milieu". Such rigidity, therefore, may exclude the development of any new attitudes. Hence, the only possibilities of evolution remaining open to such persons

> *... are the slow changes brought by age [in themselves], or a change of conditions so radical as to destroy at once the values to whose influence [they were] adapted (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927 p.1853) (Parentheses added).*

It could be argued, therefore, that the personality type of certain individuals contributes to their not allowing any "radically new schemes" to be noticed. A consequence is that a few "narrow schemes" are sufficient to lead them through life, "simply because [they do] not see problems on [their] way which demand new schemes". These individuals - "conformists" - "are usually accepting [of] social tradition in its most static elements". They continue to apply their old definitions of situations (corresponding to the group scheme) for as long as these are sufficient to permit them to satisfy their claims, if the latter are low. However, they "cannot compete with those who have higher aims and more efficient schemes" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1854-5).

A characteristic of all respondents in the study, while obvious, needs to be highlighted Thus, their replies to the questionnaire reveal that they know a great deal about their family household system - the part they play in this, their and their partner's views about domestic work involvement, and so on. This knowledge influences their attitudes and actions, including their evaluation of these. Other information about respondents confirms that they are intellectually competent (for example, most are educated to degree level at least, presently pursuing post-graduate studies; employed in professional occupations and so on). Yet, participants whose personal systems are categorised as Type 1, particularly, reveal in their replies only a limited understanding of the wider circumstances influencing their lives in this area. From the point of view of Giddens' structuration theory, such knowledge as people do have here "... may be carried primarily in

their practical activities or in discourse which is highly contextualized" (Giddens, 1989, pp.291-2).

The above may be seen as characterising the life situations of many Australians in that period of relative stability (referred to on numerous occasions), commencing post-World War II and extending into the 1960s (Edgar, 1991(c), p.7). From a humanistic perspective, this may be conceptualized as a period in which values (rules) relating to the breadwinner-housewife norm, and which were embedded in social institutions, actually did reflect the reality of the attitudes and work arrangements of most people (see Chapters 1-4). Among significant effects on individuals when their reference groups and the social institutions are all transmitting virtually the same messages, it has been argued, is that of rendering alternative views of the world impossible to conceptualize. They cannot be even imagined. The dominant perspectives not only are taken for granted and unquestioned, but are actually **unquestionable**. Bem and Bem have captured well the point I am trying to make here, in the following: "Only a very unparochial and intellectual fish is aware that his [or her] environment is wet . After all, what else could it be?"[1] (Bem and Bem, 1970, p.89).

It was indicated earlier that any evidence for the influence of the new equity value on the situations of individuals whose personal systems are classified as Type 1, is minimally apparent, and at the ideational level only. From Appendix X ('Personal systems of respondents"-Type 1 in particular). it is apparent that some women respondents voluntarily provide comments in which they account for their greater work involvement. (A further question (7(a), (b)) specifically sought information concerning how respondents justify, or account for, inequities in work performance. Findings are referred to in Chapter 10). Thus they refer to their own greater skills, having more time than their partner, a partner's greater work demands and so on. Giddens has referred to such phenomena as "rationalizations of action". They are seen to reveal the capacity which "competent actors" have of "keeping in touch with the grounds of what they do, as they do it, such that if asked by others, they can supply reasons for their activities" (Giddens, 1989, p.376). That writer viewed such conscious activities as being implicated in the continuation of day-to-day actions; and consequently as "[contributing] to the reproduction of larger institutional forms" (Giddens, 1989, p.293). Such a perspective is consistent with the theoretical approach which is presented in this study.

Explanations for inequitable work involvement as are referred to above, are interpreted in this study as cognitions which are products of the work of individuals (Walden, 1979): outcomes of conscious processes in which group demands and the individual's interests and needs have been taken into account in their efforts to make sense

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1   It is noted with interest that in referring to the "subtle and profound" influence of ideology, and particularly as this is related to gender, these writers commented that even those individuals who consider themselves to have attained some degree of freedom from its constraints, may find themselves "unexpectedly cluttered with its remnants" (p.80). As if almost to confirm the point - their entire essay uses the male pronoun exclusively - even in relation to fish!

of - to give meaning to - their life situations in this area, given their knowledge about the new value (Thomas and Znaniecki. 1927, p.1851). These cognitive outcomes (for example, justification for gender-divisions of work) have resulted here in minimal disturbance to the systematic organization of these individuals' personal systems of stabilized attitudes, into which they have been integrated. They therefore represent only slight modifications to traditional ideological attitudes. They do not challenge the gender divisions of unpaid work which prevail in the households of respondents concerned.

In sum: This personal system type thus confirms the continuing directive power of ideological values in relation to both the construction and maintenance of these individuals' personal systems (Smolicz, 1979; Smolicz and Secombe, 1981). What also is apparent is that individuals, although guided by the ideology, use this in unique ways, based on such factors as their needs, purposes, personality, past and immediate experiences, and so on. In so doing, they create a reality by which they render their activities reasonable and accountable, at a given time and place - both in relation to themselves and society (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1852).

Type 2 Personal System (N=9)

According to Thomas and Znaniecki, when individuals are "satisfied" with what they are able to get out of given conditions, they

> ... will not try to act and solve new problems, to see more in the situations [they meet] than [they] used to see, or to find in [their] environment a greater complexity of situations than [they] used to find (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1877) .

It follows from the above, then, that the experience of such feelings as dissatisfaction and discontent by a person with regard to certain life situations - suggesting negative evaluation of aspects of these - may be an important factor with respect to individual change. Further, as was noted in Chapter 7, at the commonsense level, people frequently look to their feelings in order to understand why they behave as they do. The fact that feelings also are pervasive, affecting every moment of our existence to greater or lesser degrees, also suggests their relevance in people's lives (Dworetzky, 1982, p.300).

This idea - of the importance of individual feelings and their interrelationship with thoughts and actions, in such processes as are being discussed - is a theme running throughout Thomas and Znaniecki's work. In their methodology, for example, individuals' statements of feelings in relation to particular social and cultural phenomena are accepted as direct expressions of attitudes: "potential for a particular course of action" (Smolicz, 1979, p.47, also citing Znaniecki, 1934). Smolicz similarly has pointed to the association between negative and positive evaluations of situations (as indicated through individuals' expressed feelings about them) and change processes. For example (in discussing aspects of the system of school education in Australia), he has commented that when individuals

are "generally happy with the existing state of affairs", then there is less likelihood that there will be moves on their part to alter things. In fact, it may be assumed that "they would resist any fundamental change in the present system" (Smolicz and Moody, 1978, p.63).

Thomas and Znaniecki have pointed out that instances of "inconsistency and disharmony" among individuals' attitudes are "certain signs" of social disorganization. These are among characteristics found in those participants from the study identified as having Type 2 personal systems (Appendix X - "Personal systems of respondents"). These individuals, while retaining traditional work patterns, reveal in their comments evidence for dissatisfaction with this division, in some area/s of work examined. Their reported negative feelings about inequitable work involvement are interpreted as evidence for new attitudes in their personal systems. At this stage, however, these exist only at the ideational level (Chapter 8, Stage 2, Sections 1, 2 and 3). Barriers are said to exist which prevent their activation. It is, then, the traditional ideological attitudes which they continue to activate as tendencies. Anger, guilt, resentment, sadness, frustration and annoyance are some of the feelings reported by respondents, at their continuing inequitable work arrangements. This is in sharp contrast to the contentment and acceptance expressed by Type 1 people.

The evidence for new ideational attitudes among Type 2 respondents, leads to their personal systems being placed further along the change continuum than Type 1, for whom only minimal influence of the new equity values could be found (Figure 9.1). It will be recalled that those changes in cognitions found in the latter participants represent only slight modifications to traditional attitudes, rather than (as is the case for Type 2) the non-acceptance, or rejection, of these, and which is associated with the disruption to the equilibrium of their personal systems. This is evident in inconsistencies between a respondent's thoughts, actions and feelings, in relation to certain areas of household work involvement (see Appendix X - "Personal systems of respondents"). Information is not at hand which could indicate the contents of their personal systems (in terms of cognitions and attitudes) which may have been associated with the development of the new attitudes. What may be said is that these were in a state where the new equity value could appeal to them, and in their combination with this and other conducive individual and situational factors, led to the new ideational attitudes being produced.

The Type 2 personal system is identified in respondents for whom the new attitudes appear only in certain areas of work, or in broadly specified situations in an identified area of work. For example, while respondent F33 feels 'OK' about her partner's lesser involvement in the work of home management and organization, she reports that in the child care area, this causes her to feel " ... sad/angry/worried/annoyed - depends on situation". There exists, then, inconsistency between her attitudes and actions. Her comments - and notably the variety of feelings this person identifies - draw attention to the range and complexity of data which may be taken into account by individuals in any given

situation, the processing of which leads to their ascribing a particular meaning to it, or defining it (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927).

The above is similarly evident from comments such as those from respondent F54, which reveal that she feels *"anger"* at times, with her partner's lesser involvement in domestic work; while on other occasions this *"doesn't bother"* her. This person thus many be seen to have fluctuating new and ideological attitudes, depending on the particular definition of a given situation which she arrives at. Among important data entering this, appears to be the degree of *"pressure"* she feels in relation to a particular situation at a given moment. (This respondent's full comment regarding her partner's lesser involvement with domestic work, as referred to above, is: *"Sometimes anger, sometimes doesn't bother me - depends on pressure"*). A comment from respondent F17 reveals a similar fluctuation between new and traditional attitudes, with the latter often being maintained because of her positive feelings about her partner and to avoid arguments. She reports feeling the following concerning her greater involvement in domestic work: *"Sometimes anger and I explode and he changes for a while. However, he is so great in so many ways I often think it's not worth arguing about, so I compromise"*.

Preferences for particular tasks, absence of opportunity, and difficulty in relinquishing responsibilities are among other reasons which respondents perceive as influencing the continuation of gender divisions of work in their households. These are interpreted as new cognitions and the result of the new equity value acting upon their prevailing (dominant) traditional attitudes. They perhaps represent the only cognitive outcomes possible for them, given the nature of their attitudes and the organization of these (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1839). They, thus confirm the continuing strength of the ideological value on their lives in this area. Likewise, the choices which some participants report themselves as making (respondents F17, F34, F51 and F55) are seen as operating within the particular constraints of the cultural context. (The notion of 'real' choice is picked up later in the discussion, when the Type 5 personal system is examined).

In sum: The Type 2 personal system identified here is in a state of disequilibrium. It is not under the control, or conscious guidance, of a consistent scheme of behaviour: the group scheme is accepted in relation to some work areas and is rejected for others, and for which the new scheme is deemed appropriate. With regard to respondents' actions, these are in conformity with the traditional scheme (i.e., gender-based divisions of work prevail in these respondents' households). In referring to similar examples of disorganization among the Polish peasants, Thomas and Znaniecki commented thus:

> Social relations are no longer controlled by one system of norms, but two, or even more, different systems coexist in social consciousness, and the individual subconsciously takes the standpoint of the system which makes [her or] his claim appear as justified (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1143).

Type 3 Personal System (N=5)

Like participants having Type 2 personal systems, those identified as having Type 3 (all women) are characterised by inconsistencies and contradictions between their thoughts, actions and feelings. In relation to the latter, these reveal the dissatisfaction they are experiencing at their inequitable work arrangements, which extend across all areas of work examined. That is, "disorganization has gone...further" than is the case for Type 2 respondents (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1147). These respondents, it is suggested, have rejected the group rule (traditional scheme). It is no longer seen as appropriate for their circumstances and situations. Yet their actions are in conformity with it. Consequently, their personal systems are imbalanced and disorganized - in a state of disequilibrium (see Appendix X - "Personal systems of respondents"). The experience of such disharmony and incongruence among their attitudes is uncomfortable for individuals (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927 - see also Festinger, 1957) - a point which is pursued in Chapter 10 (section titled "Nature of change processes").

Impediments are said to exist which prevent the activation of these respondents' new (ideational) attitudes as tendencies (Smolicz, 1979, Smolicz and Secombe, 1981). (Some of these are identified and discussed in Chapter 10 - "Some factors facilitating or inhibiting change"). According to Smolicz, an inability of individuals "to translate thoughts into actions" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1845), is frequently found when changes are occurring to a group ideological system. Thus, while attitudes corresponding to new values may be incorporated in individuals' personal systems, "because of various impediments these may remain for some time in the form of ideational attitudes, incapable of an immediate activation into tendencies" (Smolicz, 1979, p.53). Findings from the present study (Chapter 8, Stage 2, Sections 1-3 and 5) reveal that for many participants their ideological attitudes (and those of the partner of some) represent barriers to the activation of new attitudes they have developed, supporting partners' equitable involvement in family work, into actions (tendencies).

Comments respondents provide suggest that some view their inequitable work arrangements as being attributable either to themselves - for continuing to do more; or their partner - for not being more involved. This finding is consistent with a view expressed by Dobash and Dobash. (1980, p.44) . Thus, those writers have observed that it is in the nature of ideology - where this "legitimises the order and makes it right, natural and sacred" - to produce conflict in individuals rather than "to emerge as overt resistance". The *"resentment"* which some respondents indicate feeling towards partners because of their lesser involvement, has been reported in other studies. For example, in a recent American (national) survey, 52 per cent of women cited their husbands' failure to help with household tasks as a major cause of resentment ("Male Bashing", 1990, cited in Basow, 1992, p..223).

In terms of evidence for individual change, respondents here are interpreted as having advanced further in terms of such processes, than those others discussed thus far. They are viewed as having predominantly new attitudes toward all areas of family household work involvement. These represent new interpretations which these individuals have developed for family work performance, and which have enabled them to re-evaluate their work involvement differently. As noted in Chapter 7, such a perspective - that people's interpretations and the way they make sense of events may give rise to their feelings, rather than the actual events themselves (here the division of family work) - has considerable support in the psychological literature. In fact, it is the central premise upon which cognitive therapies, including Ellis's Rational Emotive Therapy, are based (Beck, 1976; Ellis, 1989; McLeod, 1993).

However, as with those participants identified as having Type 2 personal systems, the participants whose situations have been considered here are seen not to have fixed their newly acquired attitudes in a "stable formula". They have not, so far, developed a scheme which will permit them to express these in action (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1879). Their actions, then, are inconsistent with their new equity attitudes - the new meanings they give to household work performance. Psychologists have drawn attention to the "psychological discomfort" associated with such incongruence. This they have termed "dissonance" (Festinger, 1957). It is suggested by cognitive dissonance theory that "humans have a built-in motivation to maintain consistency" among their beliefs and actions (Fazio and Cooper, 1983, cited Saks and Krupat, 1988, p.227. See also Dworetzky, 1982, pp.590-2). They are motivated to, and generally do, engage in activities which reduce their discomfort (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1845).

In relation to respondents in the study, the task confronting them is seen to involve their bringing the attitudes constituting their personal system in the life area investigated, under a consistent behavioural scheme. This work will involve cognitive and emotional activities as well as the development of new behaviours. When the new scheme has been developed, their attitudes will once again be systematically organized - will be guided and controlled by this new attitudinal scheme (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp. 1875-6). They will then be in a position, once again, to regulate and control their experiences in this area.

Type 4 Personal System (N=15)

In the pattern of cultural activation identified here, inconsistencies exist insofar as participants reveal evidence for having both attitude types present in their personal systems, as well as having equitable work arrangements in one (or two) work areas and gender-divided in the other/s (see Appendix X - "Personal systems of respondents"). These personal systems are placed further along the change continuum (Figure 9.1) than those discussed previously, because participants thus classified do have equitable arrangements in at least one of the work areas examined - i.e., they activate new attitudes

in some situations. However, some among these personal systems are structured and organized, while others are not.

The analysis reveals that for two-thirds of these respondents, the attitudes comprising their personal systems in the area investigated, are settled and organized. These individuals appear to have brought their attitudes under the conscious guidance of an attitudinal scheme. Their attitudes and actions suggest that this scheme is comprised of elements of both the traditional and new equity attitudes. These personal systems are classified as Type 4A (N=10). A second category of personal system is identified as Type 4B (N=5). Here attitudes are imbalanced and disorganized - marked by varying degrees of inconsistency between thoughts, feelings and behaviour. There is here, then, no evidence for the attitudes of which they are constituted, being stabilized - under a consistent scheme of behaviour.

Type 4A Personal System(Structured) (N=10)

The distinction between the two personal system types referred to above can best be illustrated by examples. Respondent M01 is among those participants whose personal system has been classified as Type 4A. He feels *"completely at ease"* about his equal involvement in child care; and he considers that his sharing of home management with his partner is *"The way it should be"*. Yet in spite of these new attitudes and work arrangements, he feels *"OK"* about his partner's greater involvement in domestic work. Acceptance here is interpreted as evidence for traditional attitudes. Thus, while gender inequities continue to exist in relation to work involvement in his household, he appears to be accepting of this. There is no evidence for his recognising any discrepancy between this and his view that household work should be shared by partners (Part C, Question 3).

Respondent F19's personal system provides another example of the Type 4A personal system. She feels *"wonderful"* about her partner's equal involvement in domestic work because, she states *"[it] lets me off the hook when I feel lazy"* (evidence of new attitude). Yet concerning her greater involvement in home management and child care, she comments *"Fine. I've learned to take responsibility the hard way"* in relation to the former, and states only that this is *"necessary"* with respect to child care (both comments taken as evidence for traditional attitudes). (Appendix X - "Personal systems of respondents" - Type 4A. See also respondents M08, F15, F18, F25, F39, F45, F53, for similar patterns).

The above suggests that these individuals have incorporated both new and traditional attitudes in their personal systems and these are variously influential with respect to their thinking and actions. But more particularly, these supposedly conflicting attitudes have the appearance of being settled and organized: a degree of harmony exists among them. Accordingly, equitable work arrangements are positively assessed where they exist; while at the same time gender divisions in some work areas are accepted. The latter, it is suggested, is made possible by these participants' having developed an attitudinal scheme

which incorporates elements of both traditional ideological and new equity values, and hence permits the two seemingly conflicting attitude types to coexist in the personal system. There appears to be an acceptance of women's greater overall involvement in family work, provided a male partner is perceived as contributing equally in some area/s of this work. Such an attitudinal scheme has been termed a modified ideological attitude. Its evolution has permitted the balance of their personal systems to be restored (or to have been maintained, if the equilibrium among attitudes was not previously disrupted).

The above individuals could be seen to fit that model of social behaviour referred to by Thomas and Znaniecki as the "moderately productive conservative". To quote these writers here:

> ...[a person] may indeed oscillate, so to speak, from relative passivity to relative creativeness without going far enough in the first direction to become entirely inefficient, and without becoming so efficient as to have to reject the scheme; the less radical these oscillations, the more the individual's conduct approaches the average prescribed by the scheme (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1898)(Parentheses added).

It is possible that such acceptance of work inequities could be associated with the "symbolic meaning" which is sometimes attached to a male partner being seen, or seeing himself, to be equally involved in some area of family work (Goodnow, 1989, p.41). The latter writer, in referring to studies of household work performance, has observed such a phenomenon. Related to this is the situation where certain tasks are found to have "high symbolic value" when estimates are made by couples committed to equal sharing, of how far each has contributed to family work. For example, the changing of "the occasional diaper" or "willingness to help" have high symbolic value for many men. Women, however, often "may accept as especially valuable" the performance of tasks that men "wouldn't be caught dead doing". Goodnow also has noted how each partner may be amused by the value which the other places "on a symbolic contribution that is actually small on any measure of time or effort" (Goodnow, 1989, p.41 - also citing Bachetti (1982) and Gulestad (1984)).

Individuals whose attitudes are disorganized, it has been noted, seek to restore stability and predictability to their lives. This occurs with the stabilization and schematization of their attitudes (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1845). The uncertainty experienced when their personal systems are disrupted and disorganized, is uncomfortable and often anxiety-provoking for individuals. They have no reliable guidelines for organizing or evaluating their actions, or those of others. Thus, under conditions of continuing uncertainty, some individuals, motivated by the desire for stability (see Chapter 5), may reach a state where they are ready "to accept any [scheme] that is given to [them] and expresses more or less adequately [their] new way of defining situations" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1879). That scheme which the Type 4A participants have constructed and accepted, it is suggested, while deviating somewhat from the traditional group scheme

corresponding to the male breadwinner/female homemaker rule, may be seen still to be in basic conformity with it. Women, here, continue to do more unpaid work and generally have more responsibility for it than men. It would also appear that they and their partners are accepting of this.

In sum: The systematization and schematization characterising these respondents' personal systems is taken as indicating that their attitudes - both traditional and newly acquired - have been "fixed in a stable formula". The new attitudinal scheme which they have evolved is seen to correspond with their new ways of actually defining situations, and is interpreted as a modified traditional ideological attitude. It is conceptualized as having developed gradually, through processes which culminate in an attitude becoming a stabilized element of their life-organization; stabilization and schematization processes thus representing two sides of the same coin (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1857-8).

Type 4B Personal Systems (Unstructured) (N=5)

Among those respondents identified as having Type 4B personal systems, there is evidence for attitudes being unsettled and unsystematized: contradictions and inconsistencies exist between their thoughts, feelings and actions (respondents MO7, F16, F38, F52 and F32 (minimally); respondent MO3 does not provide comments - see Appendix X - "Personal systems of respondents"). Whereas these participants are generally pleased when work is shared with a partner, they appear dissatisfied to varying degrees when it is not. Thus, for example, respondent F38 is somewhat positive about her partner's equal involvement in child care. In her words: *"He is interested, especially in the intellectual things"*. However, she feels *"resentful and put upon"* and *"resigned but irritated, too"* with respect to his lesser involvement in domestic work and home management, respectively. All these statements are interpreted as evidence of new attitudes. However, in relation to the new domestic work attitudes, these are not activated.

The personal system of respondent F52 provides a further illustration of Type 4B. This person feels *"extremely happy and content"* about her partner's shared involvement in the care of their children (evidence for new attitude). She comments thus concerning her greater involvement in domestic tasks: *"I guess I've become resigned to it, but I won't totally give up the struggle"*. This is interpreted as evidence for the existence of both attitude types. However, there is some indication that this woman may be working towards the stabilization of her personal system under the guidance of a modified ideological attitude. Her *"resigned"* feeling about inequities in domestic work (acceptance of traditional attitude) is suggestive of this; as also is the following comment she makes about her greater involvement in home-management: *"It can become burdensome but usually I don't think about it much"*. Further evidence for moves toward stabilization as suggested, is obtained

from the absence of negative feelings about gender work inequities, and which would more likely be associated with the development of further new cognitions (with the possibility of eventual stabilization under a new equity attitude).

While the pattern of cultural activation amongst participants identified as having Type 4B personal systems is similar to that for Type 4A, the former are placed further along the change continuum (Figure 9.1). The main reason for this is that, being de-stabilized, these personal systems are in a greater state of readiness, or openness, to change: new information and ideas are more likely to be noticed, and possibly result in the development of new attitudes. In contrast, once attitudes are systematized, a new attitude in disagreement with these may be excluded (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1854).

In sum: Like participants having personal systems Types 2 and 3, these participants' (Type 4B) personal systems are in a state of disorganization, or disequilibrium. The attitudes of which they are comprised are no longer under the conscious guidance of a consistent attitudinal scheme. The old rule, now weakened, had previously enabled them to ascribe consistent meanings to their actions - to make sense of them. It had informed them about how to behave and what to expect from others, had guided their thinking, feelings and actions. Associated with its weakening, or rejection, therefore, have been varying degrees of loss of certain regularized patterns of interactions and customary ways of thinking about and performing family work activities. This reduced guidance (or structure), therefore, is associated with some degree of loss of control over their lives. A fear of such, it has been suggested, accounts partly for why some individuals and groups resist change, and thereby maintain stabilized structures which may be distasteful to member/s (Klein, 1972, pp.128-9; Minuchin, 1974). Where such stabilization and the accompanying uniformity and control it permits is lost, individuals will seek to restore it (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p. 1845). This point is taken further in Chapter 10.

Type 5 personal system (N = 20)

A distinctive feature of individuals whose personal systems are identified as Type 5, is the high level of satisfaction - indeed, joy and pleasure - most report feeling with regard to their equitable unpaid work arrangements (Appendix X - "Personal systems of respondents"). Their personal systems, comprised predominantly of new attitudes which are activated in their life situations, are balanced and systematically organized: in a state of dynamic equilibrium. They are under the control and guidance of a new equity attitude. Thus, the greatest evidence for change, as this is defined here, is evident in these personal systems.

Some characteristics common to participants identified as having such a personal system include their tending to be younger (almost two-thirds are of the youngest age category) and childless (nine-tenths of these respondents do not have children) (Chapter 8, Stage 1, Section 4, Table 8.10). In relation to the latter point, this appears to be important

in terms of the division of domestic work (as well as child care). Studies have shown that, even where couples formerly had equitable work arrangements, with the advent of a child they usually revert to gender divisions in household work. Thus, with the arrival of a child, not only do the majority of women do most of the caring, but also they perform more of the domestic work than previously (Belsky et al., 1986; Croghan, 1991). The question is raised, then, concerning the possible sustainability of these respondents' work arrangements, should those presently not having children go on to have them. This is discussed further in Chapter 10, when the finding of age difference also is pursued.

With regard to the family household systems of respondents being considered here, a notable characteristic of these (as reported by them) is a similar commitment by their partners, to being jointly involved with them in the work of running the home (see for example Chapter 8, Stage 2, Sections 5.4.1 and 6.2.3.2). This is seen to facilitate greatly the development of their own new attitudes. When values incorporated in the household system do not support this, it may serve as a significant barrier to a member (most likely a woman) achieving change. The example of respondent F16's situation illustrates this well (see Chapter 8, Section 6.2.3.1).

Capacity for Choice

Compared with respondents whose personal systems indicate the greater influence on their thinking and activities of traditional values, respondents here reveal a capacity for what could be termed *real* choice in their lives. This greater choice is associated with their awareness of alternative ways of organizing work arrangements, which has been made possible by the appearance in their personal systems of new equity attitudes, and the weakening of the directive power and influence of traditional ideological attitudes. Some examples are given to enable the necessary distinction to be made between the kind of choice referred to above and that which is constrained by prevailing ideology.

The analysis reveals that some respondents see themselves as choosing to be more involved in family work than a partner, because they are *"more obsessional about cleaning" (F55)*; or a partner is *"more comfortable with the (child care) tasks" (MO6)*. Respondents' *"higher standards"* or *"greater skills"* also are referred to in this way (always by women about themselves). For example, respondent F34 states: *"Sometimes I wish he'd do more, but as my standards are higher than his, I will do more by choice"*. In comments such as these, respondents are justifying their inequitable work arrangement by drawing on their traditional attitudes. The choice they exercise, therefore, is confined within the constraints of the latter.

The first point which should be made concerning the exercise of *real* choice by an individual, is that this is generally based upon far greater knowledge and information - the relevance of which to the situation at hand may not be recognised in the above examples of constrained choice. This is because a person's ideological attitudes can cause certain information which may be available in their wider environment, to go unnoticed; or perhaps

to be denied or distorted, where this conflicts with the group's ideology (Znaniecki, 1963). Thus, concerning individuals having Type 5 personal systems, generally they reveal a far greater knowledge of the wider circumstances affecting their situations than do others in the study. Additionally, they demonstrate a greater capacity to apply aspects of this to understanding their family situations and relationships, as well as changing aspects of these.

The above is particularly apparent from the analysis conducted in Section 6.2.3 (Chapter 8, Stage 2 - respondents F14, F21, F23, F36, F40, F49). For example, the following statement from respondent F14 is suggestive not only of her commitment to sustaining equitable work arrangements in her household, but also of her experience and knowledge, gained from within the relationship and without, of how this goal is more likely to be achieved. Thus, in replying to the question of whether she takes time to explain an unfamiliar task to her partner, or does it herself, she states: "I *did in the past but in the last year I have taken the time to explain and I accept the way he does things"*. Similar evidence of deliberate and informed thinking, with desired outcomes in mind, is apparent in the following comments, given in reply to the same question: *"I won't do the task. I will take time to explain, supervise, reinforce the action" (F40)*. And - *"I used to do it myself and I found I was doing more. Now I take time to explain" (F49)*.

To use a distinction Giddens has made, these individuals may be seen as "[doing] something for reasons". And this differs in important ways from "[having] reasons for doing something" (Giddens, 1989, p.346), which may be seen to apply to the kinds of explanations referred to earlier, in which respondents account for the inequitable division of work in their households in comments which reflect their traditional attitudes. But more precisely, the latter may be interpreted as cognitive manifestations of certain slight modifications to their traditional ideological attitudes. However, it is possible, for a variety of reasons, that a particular cognition may represent the only change of which a given individual, in their total context, is capable of realising at a given time. Such cognitive changes permit individuals to maintain the equilibrium of their personal systems of stabilized and schematized attitudes. The new equity value is excluded: it does not appeal - in fact likely cannot appeal, presently - to these individuals' pre-existing attitudes. The alternative which it represents is unable to be conceptualized by them in relation to their own personal situations. This, it is suggested, is associated with its being too far removed, in a cognitive sense, from their present level of consciousness in this area of their lives (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1838-40; p.1874).

Formation of New Schemes

Some individuals continually try to find and define new situations, with their activities becoming "progressively intense and efficient". Their efficiency thus becomes increasingly "dangerous" to the group scheme "because even if certain activities begin in perfect conformity with the scheme, the accumulating novelty of experience sooner or later makes

the scheme appear inefficient" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1899). Ultimately, it may be rejected. This is found in Type 5 participants in the current study. The personal systems of these individuals, it has been suggested, are comprised of new attitudes which are systematically organized and stabilized. They are under the influence of a new equity attitudinal scheme which is expressed in these individuals' new ways of actually defining situations and leading their lives - including the way they make sense of their experience.

Thomas and Znaniecki viewed the formation of a scheme as exerting important influence in terms of further change. For example, prior to its formation there continues to be a "lingering in the past", with an inclination to interpret certain situations according to old definitions. It is the case also that some "new elements" which have entered an individual's construction of external reality may not be sufficiently noticed until such time as the scheme is constituted. Increasing awareness here is thus a gradual process which develops through a person continuing to define situations in conformity with a certain new attitude. According to the authors, when it is formed, the new scheme "at once makes conscious the evolution that has been accomplished - sometimes even makes the [individual] exaggerate its importance" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1872-5).

The formation of a scheme, therefore, greatly assists "in developing new attitudes and defining situations in a new way" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1875). These writers also have observed how any recent changes associated with the above, in the light of the scheme, may appear as "examples of a new general line of behavior": they acquire an "objectivity" which they previously did not possess. This is associated with the fact that

> ...the scheme can be communicated to others, compared with social rules of behavior -and can even become a social rule of behavior - for such is the source of every social reform (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1876).

With regard to the definition of a new situation, it was contended by these authors that "no external power" is capable of forcing individuals to work this out. Rather, the factor determining this "is always [their] own, conscious or subconscious, desire for new experience". However, in relation to the formation of schemes - a new scheme which individuals evolve to express their new ways of defining situations - this is not the outcome of the desire for new experience. This, "on the contrary, is the result of the desire for stability" . Behaviour which is in disaccordance with the previously recognised rule - here, the male breadwinner/female homemaker norm - and which "is not schematized, not generalized, but is, or seems to differ from moment to moment", after a while calls for recognition and justification. It "provokes a desire for settlement". (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1876-9). This point is pursued more fully in the section titled "The nature of change processes", which is presented in Chapter 10.

This concludes the examination of respondents' personal systems, in terms of the evidence revealed in them for new equity attitudes - and hence of the influence of the new equity value on their life situations. Some concluding comments are provided below.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING COMMENTS

It has been possible, on the basis of the data collected, to identify six different types of personal systems among those participating in the study. These reveal that they have been influenced by two main value types, in constructing and sustaining their personal systems in the area of life investigated. These are traditional ideological values, which prescribe gender divisions in unpaid and paid work; and new equity values which define a sharing of this work by women and men partners when both are employed. However, the full meaning of these new values may only be discovered by ascertaining the way they are perceived and used by individuals in social life. Hence, analysis of respondents' personal systems may be expected to shed some light on this.

The similarity among respondents' personal systems in terms of influences from the above values is interpreted as the outcome of their having had both these value types available to them, to varying extents, as raw materials, from which to construct their personal systems in the life area examined. Some factors influencing the different availability to them of these respective value types are examined in Chapter 10. In spite of these similarities, however, the analysis of respondents' personal systems has revealed that each of these is a unique creation. That is, each person has selected from and used the available cultural materials in different ways. Many reveal evidence for the degree of effort entailed in the struggle to meet the demands of the group - from the standpoint of its "social meanings" - while at the same time satisfying their own needs and purposes (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1850-1). It was Thomas and Znaniecki's claim that such individual differences are found "even in the least differentiated groups that exist" (p.1127).

From the perspective adopted here, the examination of respondents' personal systems is informative concerning how participants are shaping and modifying past and newly emerging cultural phenomena. Thus, with regard to evidence for the influence of the new equity value on respondents' lives, this is found to vary markedly between them. It has minimal impact in the case of those identified as having Type 1 personal systems, and on whom the traditional values are found to exert a major influence on their thinking, feelings, and actions in the area of family work involvement. However, at the other extreme are those respondents identified as having Type 5 personal systems, and on whom the new equity value is found to exert a major influence on their life situations, including the way their experiences in this life area are understood by them. These findings - of varying degrees of influence of the new value - thus support Thomas and Znaniecki's contention that the process of social disorganization does not occur uniformly across social groups.

The directive power of the traditional ideology on the everyday lives of individuals is apparent in numerous findings from the examination of personal systems. Thus, in spite of educational, work and other reform measures introduced during the past twenty-five years in this country (see Chapter 6), for one-ninth of participants the new equity value has entered their consciousness at a superficial level only in terms of its perceived relevance for, or applicability to, their life situations. Their thinking and ideas would appear to have altered only minimally, and their thoughts, feelings and actions continue to be strongly influenced by traditional ideological values concerning the performance of unpaid family household work and child care. It was Thomas and Znaniecki's view that without this phenomenon - of individuals or the group retaining the same definitions of situations in spite of some changes to attitudes and material conditions - there could be no social organization and no continuity of individual behaviour (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p. 1248).

Further evidence for the continuing powerful influence of the traditional ideology is apparent from the finding that, although some respondents hold the new equity attitude (i.e., it is present in their personal systems) in relation to one or more of the work areas examined, they continue to maintain traditional gender divisions of labour in their households in some (or all) of these areas (Types 2,3 and 4B personal systems). There thus exist inconsistencies or contradictions between these individuals' thoughts/ideas and actions. This is the case for over one-third of respondents. According to Thomas and Znaniecki (1927), such disharmony and inconsistency among people's (previously) systematized sets of attitudes is a certain sign of processes of social disorganization.

With regard to the nature of the change process as this is experienced by individuals, the examination of respondents' personal systems permits several observations to be made. These are referred to briefly here, with some being taken up again in Chapter 10. Firstly, change in this area appears to proceed for a time as a slow and gradual, step-by-step process, with its progression appearing to depend importantly on the degree of relevant "mental preparation" which has taken place in an individual - or, their receptivity to a new influence (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1874-5). Change which may involve disruption to the organized and systematized character of the personal system tends to be resisted. Individuals may distort social reality, thus sustaining an outmoded construction of this which permits them to maintain the organized structure of a personal system. They also may develop certain cognitions which enable them to retain certain customary ways of living or organizing their lives (personal system construct) but which are actually inconsistent with their construction of social reality (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1847; 1850-1). (Rationalization and the denial of the relevance of information to their life situations are examples of such "cognitive distortions" (Egan, 1994). These are discussed further in Chapter 10).

Where the lack of fit between individuals' personal systems and their constructions of external reality can no longer be denied or avoided, a state of disequilibrium may ensue in the personal system. This is marked by inconsistencies among thoughts, feelings and actions, as referred to above (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1848). This is conceptualized as the outcome of the previous attitudinal scheme which had controlled and organized the personal system, no longer being perceived as suitable (the eventual outcome of the gradual weakening of the former scheme). The process here also appears to be incremental insofar as, for some respondents, it is found to involve specific area/s of household work (e.g. Type 2 personal systems). The Type 3 personal system, however, reveals a total rejection of the traditional scheme with regard to family work performance. The evidence suggests that social disorganization is further advanced here, with no reorganization being apparent at this point in time.

Individuals, it has been claimed, "have a conscious tendency to restore harmony and avoid contradictions" among their systematized sets of attitudes (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1845). Consequently, when their personal systems are disorganized and unsettled, they seek to restore harmony and balance among them. They thus engage in the work involved in gradually bringing their attitudes under the control and guidance of a new scheme of behaviour which, when it has evolved, will be associated with the systematization of the attitudes of their personal system This construct may once again operate as a (somewhat) consistent, reliable guide to their thoughts and actions, enabling them to control, understand and to give meaning to their experiences in the life area concerned. The work involved here involves complex interrelated cognitive, emotional and behavioural activities. The scheme's eventual construction "makes conscious the evolution which has been accomplished" (Thomas and Znaniecki, pp.1875-6).

In relating the above processes to personal systems identified in the study, it is possible to note the following:

- Type 1 personal systems are stabilized and systematically organized according to the traditional scheme;

- Types 2, 3 and 4B personal systems presently are disorganized - i.e., not under the conscious guidance and control of a consistent behavioural scheme;

- Type 4A personal systems have been brought under the control of what has been termed here a modified traditional ideological attitude. Attitudes comprising these systems, while seemingly conflicting, are systematically organized. This is made possible by the nature of the attitudinal scheme which these individuals have developed and which includes elements of both traditional ideological and new equity values.

- Type 5 personal systems have been structured according to a new equity attitude and are in a state of dynamic equilibrium. However, the finding that the majority (nine-tenths) of respondents in this group - the only group to have restructured their personal systems under the influence of the new equity value - do not have children, could be seen as pointing to the significance of women's caring role, and hence to the continuing powerful influence of traditional motherhood ideology on individual's lives (Calvert, 1985; Reiger, 1991; Basow, 1992, pp. 234-5; Edgar, 1992 (c)).

Several points of a more general nature should be made prior to concluding this summary. One relates to Thomas and Znaniecki's basic premise with respect to the development of attitudes and values. The other concerns these writers' perspective on the relationship between individual and social change. In relation to the former, it is important not to lose track of the fact that the "cause of social change must include individual and social elements". Thus, the same attitudes/cognitions and actions in different social conditions produce quite different results. Likewise the same social conditions, with different predispositions existing in individuals (and to which the value in some way appeals) may be associated with the emergence of different types of attitudes and actions in individuals (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, in Bierstedt, 1969, pp.87-8).

The second point to be referred to concerns the humanistic perspective on individual consciousness, or cultural growth. The preceding analysis of respondents' personal systems highlights the capacity of individuals to deliberate upon possible courses of action, as well as to analyse activities retrospectively. It was Znaniecki's contention that individuals, ultimately, are responsible for their actions; and that they have the capacity to evaluate a given situation in their own unique ways. This, as Smolicz put it, "represents an act of human consciousness which is not the mere sum total of one's biological and cultural systems" (Smolicz, 1979, pp.42-3).

However, to gain a perspective on individuals' contributions to the slow and complex process of social - or perhaps more correctly here, cultural - change is difficult. In this regard, the theoretical perspective adopted here makes what may appear to be an exceptionally ambitious claim. Accordingly, it is argued that it is possible for some thought originating in the mind of an individual, ultimately, "[to] change the course of history of a whole nation". Yet not everyone can be a Nelson Mandela, of course! Obviously, the spheres of influence of ordinary individuals are much more limited than for one who emerges as a great leader in a given historical period. However, while the scale is different, the principle is seen to remain the same. The following quotation, taken from the Methodological Note of "The Polish Peasant", would seem to capture the point which Thomas and Znaniecki were making in this regard:

> ... it is neither more nor less difficult to explain the greatest changes brought by a Charles the Great...than to explain a small change brought by a peasant who starts a lawsuit against [their] relatives or buys a piece of land to increase [their] farm.
> The work of the great [person], like that of the ordinary [person], is the result of [their] tendency to modify the existing conditions of [their] attitude toward [their] social environment which makes [them] reject certain existing values and project certain new values. The difference is in the values which are the object of the activity, in the nature, importance, complexity of the social problems put and solved. The change in social organization produced by a great [person] may be thus equivalent to an accumulation of small changes brought by millions of ordinary [people]... over several generations (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, in Bierstedt, 1969, p.87).

For these writers, then, the "creative process" of change is no more explicable when it lasts for several generations than when it is performed in a few months. The direct link between individuals' consciousness and cultural growth here, gives rise to the dynamic view of culture which they expound.

In the chapter which follows, factors are identified which may be facilitating or inhibiting change in the gender division of family work in the households of respondents in the study. The process of individual change is examined more closely also, with the perspectives of several other writers being discussed.

CHAPTER TEN

FACTORS FACILITATING OR INHIBITING CHANGE

In the continual interaction between [individuals and their] environment we can say neither that [individuals are the products of their] milieu nor that [they produce their] milieu or rather, we can say both. For [individuals] can indeed develop only under the influence of [their] environment, but on the other hand during [their] development [they modify] this environment by defining situations and solving them according to [their] wishes and tendencies. [Their] influence upon the environment may be scarcely noticeable socially, may have little importance for others, but it is important for [themselves] since the world in which [they live] is not the world as society or the scientific observer sees it but as they [see it themselves] (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1858).

Findings from the study concerning family household work performance are generally consistent with those reported in much of the literature reviewed in Chapter 1. There would appear, to be some evidence for greater change among respondents than has previously been reported (see Chapter 8, Section 3.4, Table 8.8. See also Baxter et al. 1990; Bittman, 1991, 1995; Edgar and Glezer, 1992(a)). The utilisation of different methodologies here, though, does make comparisons difficult. Nevertheless, a consistent finding has been that most women spend more time on domestic labour than do men. This is regardless of social class, education, age, number of children and the extent to which family income provision is shared by a partner (Baxter, 1988, p.87).

Investigators have variously emphasised structural, personal and relational factors in accounting for such findings. Goode (1982), for example, argued that women's greater involvement in this work is because of men's resistance; whereas Bryson (1983) interpreted this as women's desire to retain some degree of autonomy. Finch (1980) suggested that the sexual division of labour is maintained because it allows readily available and conventionally acceptable identities (cited Goodnow, 1989). Other writers - Edgar and Glezer (1992)(b)) for example - have argued for the part played by structural factors, and particularly those operating in workplace settings. Work structures, it was contended, are so rigid and family-unfriendly that women and men have little choice but to give primary responsibility to traditional areas of home/family care and breadwinning, respectively. Other scholars, in endeavouring to account for such findings, have emphasised the part played by ideology (Bryson, 1984; Gittins, 1985; Baxter et al. 1990; Edgar, 1991(b); Edgar and Glezer, 1992(b)).

Of those writers taking the latter perspective, it would appear that most have provided little, if any, indication of what it is they take ideology, specifically, to mean; neither have they addressed such issues as how this may come to exert its powerful influence, nor how it may be successfully challenged by some individuals. As is seen in Chapter 9, findings from the present study, when interpreted from a humanistic sociological perspective, suggest some possible answers to these questions. These confirm the

powerful directive force of ideology on some participants' everyday life activities and the way these are understood by them. Findings also point to the capacity of some individuals - under certain social influences and having personal circumstances and predispositions conducive to this - to exercise choice which suggests a freedom from ideological constraints. Generally, then, findings support Thomas and Znaniecki's premise that an individual "...cannot become exclusively dependent upon society without the help of his [or her] own disposition, nor become independent of society without the help of social influences" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1859).

The aim of the present chapter is to identify and examine factors which may work to facilitate or inhibit change in the area investigated. The discussion is presented in four main sections. Firstly, certain personal characteristics of respondents are considered with respect to their association with gender-divided or equitable household work arrangements. Factors which are examined include respondents' age; the presence or not of children in households; educational and employment experience; their family household systems; and finally, here, gender as a factor related to motivation for change. The second section concentrates on change, and begins by briefly reviewing several additional theoretical perspectives in relation to this. Some comparisons are made with Thomas and Znaniecki's theory and certain findings from the study are discussed from those other perspectives. Thus, contrary to convention, new material is introduced here, as it also is in the following section. This is justified on the grounds of its assisting the development and substantiation of a (tentative) argument for the ideological attitudes of interest here also representing elements of the self-concept which each individual constructs. Such an interpretation can help explain the persistence of gender divisions in household work performance, and the traditional meanings which continue to be ascribed to this work, in spite of the major changes referred to (see Chapters 2 and 6). The third section includes an examination of the characteristics of the self-concept. Certain similarities are identified between this concept and individuals' ideological attitudes - notably in the form of influence each exerts on their life situations and how they understand these. In the final section, issues to do with individuals' control over their environment are examined. The fear of losing a particular form of control may constitute a barrier to that kind of change associated with the destructuring of the personal system.

CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS AND THEIR SITUATIONS

The nature of the personal systems which people construct, it has been seen, depends upon the type and accessibility to them of group values, as well as the unique way in which each individual selects and uses these. The analysis based on the survey data reveals that respondents have differentially drawn from two broad types of values, in constructing, sustaining and modifying their personal systems of attitudes in the area of household work

performance. One of these comprises traditional values, which correspond to the male breadwinner/female homemaker norm - identified here as traditional ideological values (Thomas and Znaniecki (1927) - see also Chapter 5). A modified version of these values - termed here modified ideological values - is now available. These assign major responsibility to each of the genders for the traditional areas, but accept involvement by men and women in both paid and unpaid work. The other type of values to have emerged, and which respondents have used to varying extents is associated with more egalitarian ideas, where a sharing of family work by partners is emphasised when both are in the workforce. These are referred to as new equity values. Such factors as race, ethnicity, social class, age, sexual orientation and gender are among those which may be influential in terms of the availability of values to individuals, as well as their capacity to draw from these and use them in constructing and sustaining their personal systems. A given person's particular needs, interests and personality characteristics are among factors operating at an individual level which may also have an impact here.

Respondents' Age

Findings from the analysis reveal evidence for a predominating influence of either new or traditional values on participants' personal system construction, being associated with their age. Those from older age categories tend to have traditional work arrangements and are more likely to have attitudes consistent with these. Younger respondents reveal greater evidence for new attitudes which have a higher probability of being activated in their household situations (see Chapter 8, Stage 1, Table 8.10).

Vandenheuvel has reported similar findings in relation to age. In her survey of people's views on mothers in the workforce, she found that traditional and "more conservative" ideas were significantly more likely to be expressed by older, rather than younger, respondents (age categories 18 to 34, 35 to 49, 50 and older). For example, both men and women older respondents were more likely than younger respondents to prefer mothers with pre-schoolers to stay at home. Older respondents also would prefer these women to be in part-time employment at this stage (Vandenheuvel, 1991(b), p.47). Results of newspaper and magazine surveys on this topic reveal similar trends in relation to attitudes and ages of respondents (see for example Appendix XI - " 'Streetwise' Survey - Child care payments and superannuation", *The Advertiser*, May 9, 1992, p.7). A study by Baxter and co-workers, which investigated household work performance, also has reported greater conservatism among older persons. To quote these writers:

> *Age has a direct effect on participation in housework for women, and is indirectly significant via sex-role attitudes for both men and women. In other words, older women have more responsibility for housework than younger women and, furthermore, older women hold more conservative sex-role attitudes. This in turn leads to a greater involvement in indoor housework. Conversely, older men hold more conservative attitudes and this leads to a decrease in involvement in indoor housework (Baxter et al., 1990, p.58).*

Relative availability to respondents - traditional and new values

As discussed earlier (Chapters 1 and 2), prior to the late 1960s, people in Australia had access at the group level almost solely to traditional ideological values. This has been described as a period of "cultural affirmation" (Edgar, 1991(c) p.7): a time when the separation between men as breadwinners and women as homemakers was firmly entrenched in the social structures, and values associated with this norm controlled and guided most people's lives. Whereas some married women and mothers were in the paid workforce (as there always have been), those instances of "continuous incipient social disorganization" in this period of relative social stability, were "continuously neutralized" by social sanctions and group reinforcing activities (Thomas and Znaniecki 1927, pp.1129-30 - see also Chapter 6). Thomas and Znaniecki viewed "the central problem of the social control of personal evolution" as being the "gradual establishment of a determined relation" between these systems - i.e., those constituting the social organization and individuals' systematized sets of attitudes in the various areas of social life and the schemes by which these are organized "in the course of their progressive formation" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1861).

The increasing involvement in the paid workforce of married women and mothers with children, commencing in the late 1960s in Australia, represented, from the theoretical perspective adopted here, a challenge to or weakening of, the traditional breadwinner/homemaker rule - the process of social disorganization. The new attitudes which were manifest in women's workforce participation (and whose full meaning could not immediately be ascertained) were the outcome of the interaction between certain economic and social conditions (values) and pre-existing dispositions (attitudes and cognitions) in individuals - predominantly women (see Chapter 6). It was the *simultaneous occurrence,* or *coinciding,* of these objective and subjective phenomena which had been emerging over the previous several decades, which is seen here as a critical factor in relation to the emergence of the new attitudes.

The usual social mechanisms could not deal with the large numbers of women entering paid employment: the equilibrium "of processes of disorganization and reorganization" was disturbed (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1130-1). Theoretically, the task then became that of producing "new schemes of behavior and new institutions better adapted to the changed demands of the group", as well as facilitating the expression of the new attitudes. The introduction of equality policies and laws during the 1970s were among early reform measures which aimed at increasing women's paid work options and eliminating gender inequality. Chapter 6 outlines further structural changes affecting families. (See that chapter also - section titled "Impact of structural supports for change - Australian society" - for a discussion on barriers to the development of new attitudes in the wake of reform measures). Respondents in this study may be viewed as having had

access to, for the purpose of personal system construction, the new values which these changes represented, from differing ages.

Those participants from the youngest age category (21-30 years) were born between 1958 and 1967 and therefore have had some exposure to the institutionalised new values from their early schooldays. These individuals - to use Burns' description from her study of a similar age group - were "heirs to the social changes of the 1970s, best positioned to benefit from these changes" (Burns, 1991, p.30). In contrast, those from the oldest age category (46+) were in their 20s when those measures first began to be introduced. Figure 10.1 (below) is used to illustrate this point, as well as to enable comparisons to be made with regard to ages of respondents when some of the major structural changes were introduced.

Figure 10.1 - Structural changes influencing Australian families: 1961-1988.
(Adapted from Burns, 1991, p.32 and Edgar and Glezer, 1992(a), p.2).

Year	Structural Changes	Respondents' Age Group		
		21-30 1958-67	31-45 1943-57	46+ 1942-
1960				
Born				
61	Oral contraceptives marketed			
62				
63	Setting up of Women's Bureau			
64				
65	Mid 60s: expansion of tertiary education			
66	Marriage law lifts - Commonwealth Public Service			
67		0-9yrs	10-24yrs	25yrs+
68				
69	Decriminalisation of abortion - 1967-'71. Equal pay case			
1970				
71	Women's Electoral Lobby founded			
72	Supporting Mothers' Benefit. Maternity leave - public sector			
73	First Federal women's advisor - public sector			
74	Equal pay case			
75	Family Law Act			
76				
77				
78	Supporting Parents' Benefit			
79	Maternity leave - private sector			
1980				
81				
82				
83		16-25yrs	26-40yrs	41yrs+
84	Sex Discrimination & EEO legislation			
85				
86	Affirmative Action			
87				
88				

Findings from the analysis indicate that of those respondents from the study who are in the oldest age category (46+), none activates predominantly new attitudes in their households. All of them, therefore, maintain traditional work patterns in at least one of the work areas

examined. In contrast, almost two-thirds of participants from the youngest age category both hold and activate new attitudes: that is, in their households, tasks and responsibilities are shared by partners. Almost one-quarter of those from the 31- 45 years age category have similar shared work arrangements (see Chapter 8, Stage 1, Section 4, Table 8.10).

Such findings are consistent with Thomas and Znaniecki's perspective on the evolving human personality. It was their contention that the pre-existence of a "more or less rich stock of stabilized attitudes", which could usually be assumed to arise as people grow older, has a "limiting effect" in terms of individuals' openness to, and acceptance of, alternatives - different ways of thinking and acting. Certain influences, therefore, may be rejected "because they are in disagreement with the stock". As noted in Chapter 5, the way in which a given new attitude can develop is limited. Moreover, it may be difficult - and sometimes even "practically impossible" - to produce a certain attitude, because the necessary influence to which a given person would react in the desired way may not be available. As those writers postulated: "...the stabilization of individual attitudes diminishes the probability that his [or her] future development will assume an unforeseen direction" (Thomas and Znaniecki 1927, p.1841).

Numerous writers have pointed to the powerful nature of early childhood socialization. This - termed *primary* socialization - has the special characteristic that what is learned is taken for granted as the natural way of the world. In contrast, *secondary* socialization is seen to be a more conscious process in which occupational and other choices are made in the awareness that alternatives exist. (This is not to say, of course, that social class and other factors may not limit choices in this regard)(Burns, 1991, p.31, citing Berger and Luckman, 1966; Edgar et al., 1993, p.278). As is seen in Chapter 4, traditional assumptions concerning what it means to be a girl or a boy, a man or a woman, in this society, including gender divisions of unpaid and paid work, prevail in many family households. From the perspective discussed above, this has important implications for the development of members' subsequent attitudes.

A further point relevant to the discussion here relates to the pervasive character of the values of interest. As discussed earlier (Chapters 1-4 and 6), they are found to exert important influences in all major institutions in this society, in spite of recent reforms. The questionable impact of any such measures, directed at a limited range and towards specific areas of social life, cannot be understood in isolation from this entire context - i.e., the *total* system of values (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, in Bierstedt, 1969, pp.61-2). The continuing availability of traditional ideological values, in conjunction with certain predispositions and characteristics of some individuals, may account for the present study's finding of evidence for the influence of these values on many participants' lives (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1858-9).

Those in this society who support and seek further reform, recognise the importance of achieving gender-equitable household work arrangements, to any improvement in

women's paid work involvement - as well as achieving equality in other areas of life. Moreover, men's participation in child-rearing is also found to enhance the status of women (Coltrane, 1988, in Basow, 1992, p.344) - a factor which is similarly crucial to bringing about change in women's and men's relative shares in paid and unpaid work. An educational campaign was recently launched by the Australian Federal Government, "urging husbands to share the burden of household chores" (*The Advertiser,* March 3, 1992, p.2). However, the fact that the cartoons depicted in Figure 10.2 (overleaf) appeared in a major newspaper's reporting of this campaign, is suggestive of some people's perceptions of, and possible reactions to, reform measures directed at the family household.

Figure 10.2 - Homework push for husbands. (Reproduced from *The Advertiser,* March·3, 1992, p.2).
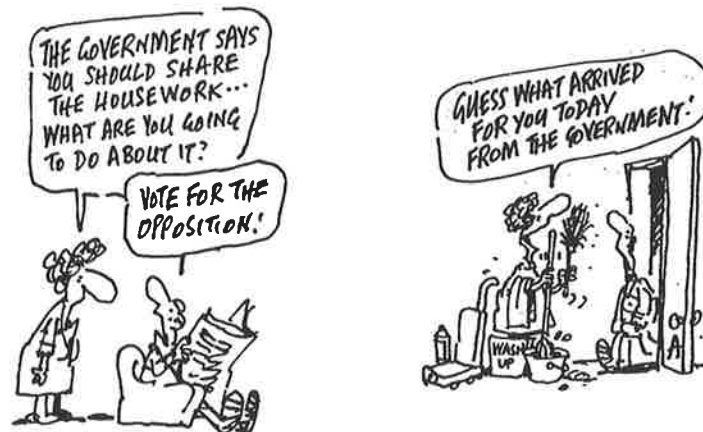
In concluding the discussion here, it may be said that findings from the study suggest that structural reform measures such as those identified in Figure 10.1 may exert some influence in terms of the development of new attitudes in certain individuals. The age at which people first have access to the new values appears to be influential, the impact being lessened when individuals are exposed to them when they are older. However, other factors obviously are important, some of which are referred to as the discussion proceeds. The continuing prevalence of traditional values with respect to family socialization content and practices (see Chapter 4), would suggest that numerous factors are operating at group and individual levels to inhibit change in the area investigated.

Presence of Children in Households

Of those respondents in the study who maintain gender-divided work patterns in all areas of work examined (N=20, personal system Types 1,2 and 3), more than one-half have children In contrast, among those respondents who share family work and responsibilities (N=20, personal system Type 5), only one-tenth have children present. These findings

suggest an association between children's presence in households and the prevalence of gender-divided work patterns (see Chapter 8, Stage 1, Table 8.10).

Research conducted by other investigators has shown that the more children there are in a household, the less likely are men found to participate in housework. Baxter and colleagues (1990, p.53) explained this finding by the fact that, where there are children in households, women are more likely to work part-time, or not at all, and therefore are likely to take on greater involvement in domestic work. Other research has suggested that the advent of a child in a family household is associated with an adherence to -and where equitable arrangements had previously been established, even a resumption of traditional work patterns. This is irrespective of the previous division of labour, as well as partners' employment status (Belsky, Lang and Huston, 1986; Ruble, Fleming, Hackel and Stangor, 1988; Croghan, 1991). On the basis of the latter findings, the question may be raised, then, regarding whether the gender-equitable work arrangements found primarily among those participants in the current study who are childless, may revert to traditional patterns, should they have children. The latter event necessarily would call for women and men partners defining new situations, as they develop parent identities in the process of carrying out the everyday, ongoing activities associated with the presence of a child. Materials (values) from which they may draw in the identity-construction work involved here (Walden, 1979) include the prevailing cultural interpretations for the identities of mother and father in this society.

Cultural Interpretations: Men and Women

As the discussion in Chapter 4 reveals, socialization experiences are likely to ensure that women and men have been well-prepared for their socially-prescribed responsibilities here. Children, it was noted, are conscious of their gender, as well as gender roles and stereotypes, from an early age. Generally, they expect their life to unfurl in a manner appropriate to their gender. That ultimately it usually does, however, is not simply an outcome of childhood expectations and experiences. Influential also, is the degree of correspondence, or fit, between these assumptions and the values prevailing in social life at a given time - and which they face as adult women and men (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1839-42). It is from this cultural material that they continue to draw in constructing and sustaining their personal systems, which guide their attitudes and actions and enable them to make sense of their experience in these particular areas of their lives (Smolicz and Secombe, 1981).

As Basow has commented, motherhood is "chief among the requirements of the female role, and has been considered a woman's major goal in life". Some writers have even gone so far as to assert that motherhood is a "mandate" which women are required to fulfil. According to this mandate, every woman should have at least two children and "raise them well" - which is taken to mean spending most of her time with them (Basow, 1992,

p.234, also citing Russo, 1976; Calvert, 1985; Reiger, 1991). In contrast to women, men in this society (and most others) do not have a prescribed nurturant role/identity: they are not prepared psychologically, behaviourally, or socially for such a role. Hence, they do not "automatically participate" in such activities; nor do they generally develop the "sense of responsibility" which is internalised by women (Basow, 1992, p.291). In relation to the latter, and as is noted in earlier literature reviews (Chapters 1 and 2), some women feel guilty at leaving their children in alternative care arrangements when entering the paid workforce (Glezer, 1991). Moreover, it has been further observed that not only do many women blame themselves for failing to live up to "impossible myths [of motherhood}" (see Basow, 1992, pp.234-5), but society also blames them. For example, medicine, psychology and the law have a "long history" of blaming mothers for their children's problems and behaviours (Caplan, 1989). The father-child relationship is rarely the target of blame in this regard.

For boys and men in this society, their socializing experiences and developing sense of responsibility and identity are more likely to be associated with an occupational role, or breadwinning (Graham Russell et al., 1988; Basow, 1992, p.197). Thus, in spite of changes referred to earlier, "[men] still are expected to be a good breadwinner and to be dominant in employment" (Basow, 1992, p.329). Edgell (1980, p.27) is among other investigators to cite findings which suggest that "...a man's occupation is likely to be his major source of identity". Likewise, Allen and van de Vliert (1984) argued that occupational and family roles play a crucial part in determining a woman's and a man's identity. Evidence for this is most obviously apparent when a person is asked the question "Who are you?". The most frequently given answers relate to the social positions which a particular individual occupies, and are most likely to be man or woman, husband or wife, and occupation (Kuhn, 1960).

The personal significance to men of their occupational position becomes particularly apparent when that role is threatened. The stress associated with this, it has been observed, "is sometimes overwhelming" (Basow, 1992, p.197)(see also Basow, pp.196-8, for a discussion and references to numerous studies in this area). Burns and Goodnow also have cited evidence (Windshuttle, 1979) which suggests that men's unemployment is associated with heavy drinking, family conflict and marital separation - which often have been interpreted as evidence of individual and family stress . It was those writers' conclusion that "the more an individual is wedded to the idea that identity and status can only be gained through holding down a job...the more devastating the experience of unemployment" (Burns and Goodnow, 1985, p.81). Men have been found to suffer adverse physiological effects from unemployment, with the highest rates of illness being found in married men. The suggestion has been made on the basis of such findings, that "the stress of their unemployment may be exaggerated by sex role expectations" (Liem and Rayman, 1982 - cited Basow, 1992, p.197).

In conclusion, it may be said that men's breadwinning and women's caring responsibilities are important elements in prevailing cultural interpretations of what it means to be a woman or a man in this society. This could be seen to represent an inhibiting factor with respect to change in the areas of life thus affected, since it suggests that the occupational role for many men, like the caring role for many women, may be closely linked to psychological identity. This idea is explored further in a later section. A point which should be noted here, however, is that the materials individuals use in building such constructs as we have been considering are not politically neutral. Rather, the values which are more likely to be incorporated in major institutional structures, generally reflect the values of the dominant and most powerful groups in a given society. Hence it is the interests of these groups which are most likely to be best served by these (see Chapter 5).

Educational Experience

A factor distinguishing the study's participants from most individuals in this society, is their greater educational experience/qualifications (see Appendix II - "Concrete facts: respondents' backgrounds"). Thus, almost three-quarters have tertiary qualifications, with one-quarter being educated to higher degree level. (By comparison, 6.7 per cent of the Australian population have Bachelor's Degrees/Post-Graduate Diplomas, while 1 per cent hold Higher Degrees (ABS, 1991)). Resources in the educational area are also likely to be influential in relation to other social and economic advantages, for example, with which they are interrelated in complex ways (Edgar et al., 1993, p.26).

Respondents' educational experiences also could be seen as perhaps permitting greater accessibility than generally may be available, to new values as expressed through feminist ideas, information about gender issues, family and employment matters, and so on. Yet, as past studies have shown, such knowledge and experiences do not, in themselves, necessarily lead to changes in attitudes (A.Thomas, 1990) or behaviours (Baxter et al., 1990; Edgar and Glezer, 1992(a)). What to this writer would appear to be important here, is the extent to which education may provide opportunities for the relating to, and applying of, such information as referred to, by learners, to actual personal experiences/life situations.

As a staff member of the counselling courses respondents are taking, the writer is aware that the above (adult learning) principle is central to these educational programs. Complementing this is a belief in students and their knowledge and experience as being valuable resources in the learning process: resources which should be, and are, utilised. Students' contributions are both encouraged and respected, such that a learning environment is gradually developed in which they are comfortable to discuss, in suitable contexts, relevant life experiences (family, employment and so on), as these relate to theoretical and other course materials. This occurs particularly in small sub-groups, which are designed specifically for such purposes. (A non-graded assessment scheme - which

has to be constantly argued for and defended in the wider university context - is found to facilitate the development of mutual support and cooperation among students, which are vital to achieving the educational aims referred to). Students' responsiveness to such a learning approach and the experiences it enables, is evident in these courses being among the most positively evaluated in the university, as well as being the most sought after in terms of entry. A consistent comment in written evaluations of courses - and a reason which many individuals state for seeking admission to them - is the unique opportunity these courses provide for personal as well as professional development.

Numerous writers have hypothesised such "primary needs" in individuals as "self-actualization" (McLeod, 1993, p.66, also citing Maslow (n.d.) and Rogers, 1978, 1980. See also Yeomans, 1984; Egan, 1994). However university programmes, traditionally, do not formally address such dimensions of human experience. The suggestion is made here that the learning approach utilised in the courses which participants are undertaking - and notably the structured opportunities provided for engaging in talking about and relating information/theoretical material to their actual life situations and experience - may have contributed to what appears to be greater evidence for behaviour change in the life area investigated, than has been reported in other studies (see Chapter 8, Stage 1, Sections 3.4 and 4, Tables 8.8 and 8.9)(see also Baxter et al., 1990; Bittman, 1991, 1995; Edgar and Glezer, 1992 (a)). It would seem possible that talk (Watson and Tharp, 1992, pp.108-11) may have the potential to be an important vehicle for the evolution of new attitudes, as this process is conceptualized by Thomas and Znaniecki (1927). This idea is taken up again later.

Employment Experience

Little information concerning the actual nature of respondents' paid work involvement is obtained from the questionnaire. It can be seen from Appendix II ("Concrete facts: respondents' backgrounds") that around four-fifths of those participating in the study work in education and health areas. Some are employed as school or health counsellors, whereas others are engaged in careers for which some counselling requirement could be expected. Those in the category of 'Other' include a minister of religion, personnel manager and human resource manager.

For some respondents it could be the case that their employment experience and associated special knowledge and skills may constitute resources which could be utilised in any efforts on their part to introduce change to their own household situations. Notable here is the possible emphasis in many of their occupations, on knowledge of strategies for assisting individuals who are motivated to do so, to gain self-understanding and achieve behaviour change in relation to aspects of their lives which are problematic for them. Numerous comments from respondents actually reveal the application of course learning (for example, counselling skills and behaviour change strategies) to their own life situations,

when they are striving to achieve change. This is particularly evident to the writer in those comments from respondents - all of whom are women - analysed in Chapter 8, Stage 2, Section 6.2.3.

The Family Household System

Each family household may be viewed as developing its own culture through the way it uses the values provided by the wider culture, as well as through the particular events and experiences which are shared by and unique to its members. Each household develops its own different rules for expressing affection and other feelings, what is acceptable talk, dealing with conflict, use of space, physical contact and so on. Moreover, through the interactive processes involved here, family members are conceptualized as developing "familial identities" (Boulding, 1983, p.260). It was Boulding's view that the familial identity which an individual develops "plays a key role in orchestrating all other identities". According to that writer,

> A person does not simply go from a family role, to a work role, to a civic or play role but, to some degree, carries familial values and intentions into every other activity, feeding community interests back into family interests during household interaction (Boulding, 1983, p.261).

From the theoretical perspective adopted in the study, the family household system may be conceptualized as incorporating those values through which its members' define their own actions and the actions of other members, and make sense of these. Included here are those meanings which members have for one another, the positions they hold. and the responsibilities which go with them. Yet while commonalities may exist among a family's members, each individual member actually develops his or her own interpretations of events (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1851). Thus, as one writer has commented, the fact that families are "reality-constructing institutions" does not mean that a "uniform world view is shared". On the contrary, "they are the site of multiple realities, 'his', 'hers', the child's view of marriage, family, divorce" (Edgar, 1991 (c), p.5). This point is illustrated in Figure 10.3, which serves to highlight differences which may exist between a parent's and child's realities. The importance of language to the reality-construction process is also demonstrated.

Figure 10.3 - Different realities: father and child. (Source unknown).

"Dad's gonna change the baby. I hope he gets a dog!"

Findings from the current study generally are consistent with those cited in earlier literature reviews, in confirming the central involvement of women in most family households - in their positions as mothers and wives/partners. An example of what this may mean for a woman in a practical, real-life sense - although only incorporating a brief slice of family living - is provided in Appendix XII - "The family household system: No rest for the (woman) afflicted". This also serves to draw attention to the systemic character of family households, and how this in itself can constitute a barrier to change. In busy households with children present and where both partners are employed, previously established gender-based norms concerning which-parent-does-what may be especially difficult to change, even where this may be desired. Numerous women respondents cite time pressures as a reason for their continuing to perform a greater proportion of family work - it often being quicker to do a task themselves than to explain to another how to do it, as well as deal with any possible resistance. Moreover, the needs and demands, particularly of young children, are ongoing and often cannot be 'put off' for long.

Women's greater skills in certain tasks; a child's preference, say, to be comforted by their mother (as may have been the case in the past); a male partner/father not being overly committed to, or perhaps not comfortable about, altering his role; a woman's preference to avoid hassles, etc. - all may constitute *real* barriers to a person putting in the kind of effort, and (ideally) sensitive handling needed to change the family's rules: their particular ways of organizing domestic work and child care (Minuchin, 1974), Moreover, a woman may be the only member of the household who desires such a change, and so may have little support or assistance from other members towards achieving this.

Preference for Structure

A characteristic feature of family households is that the structure which they evolve over time and which is manifest in predictable patterns of relating between members, the activities they are expected to - and do - perform, and so on, resists change. This fact has given rise to a major therapeutic orientation - structural family therapy (Minuchin, 1974). The central aim of this approach is that of assisting a family to change its structure where this has been identified as problematic - in some way destructive to the functioning of the family or certain member/s.

Klein contended that "group structure" could be understood "primarily as a solution to the functional problems of a group of people". Accordingly, under the influence of certain rules (norms), some of which are socially-prescribed, members' interactions become structured, or "institutionalised". This is seen to reduce the tensions which may have been generated through previous unpredictability of the actions of others. Additionally, it alleviates each individual's uncertainty about how to behave, themselves, including how to behave towards each other in interactions (Klein, 1972, p.81).

According to Klein, group structure provides the individual with security: "the security of knowing how to act" (Klein, 1972, p.109). He claimed that where structure is absent, individuals feel uncertain and anxious, and it is "most usual" for them to seek (or request) "stabilization of relationships": "...to look for, develop and demand structure" (Klein, 1972, p.81)(see also Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1878-9). A similar argument has been put forward by Giddens (1989). He argued for the repetitive, routinized character of day-to-day activities as being vital to the "psychological mechanisms" whereby a sense of trust, or "ontological security", are sustained in daily social life. He included in this regard, "the basic existential parameters of self and social identity" (Giddens, 1989, p.375). For that writer, therefore,

> ... the apparently minor conventions of daily social life are of essential significance in curbing the sources of unconscious tension that would otherwise preoccupy most of our waking lives (Giddens, 1989, pp.xxiii-iv).

The above perspectives permit some understanding of why it is that individuals and groups tend to react by defending, resisting, or denying information or events which are perceived as threatening their stability. It seems often to be the case that almost anything is preferred to uncertainty. Family groups are particularly susceptible in this regard, and may resist changes to structure even when events associated with this are painful, distasteful, and even "dysfunctional" (Klein, 1972, pp.128-9; Minuchin, 1974). This finding, when considered in the light of other features of social systems referred to, as Klein acknowledged, "does not augur well for change" (Klein, 1972, p.97).

Yet family household systems can, and do, change their structure. When this occurs, relationships are disrupted, new behaviour patterns usually are not readily available. This is usually a stressful and uncertain time for members. New behaviours and ways of understanding these need to be developed. A transitional period usually ensues during which the family flounders - searches for, and experiments with, new ways of behaving - before new rules are formed and the corresponding "modes of operation" are set up (cited Golan, 1981, p.33). In the latter regard, Weiss (1976) observed that the new, stable organization which is established following a period of disruption to the family system's equilibrium, "may be adequate or deficient in some way". Where the latter applies, this "leads to a new stable state of permanent 'deficit' " (quoted in Golan, 1981, p.7). (See Walters, Carter, Papp and Silverstein, 1988, for discussions and examples of how interventions by some family therapists may reflect their "patriarchal assumptions about male-female roles and family organization" (p.20)).

A point to which most of the above writers did not refer - and which findings from this study suggest is pertinent here - is the impact on the processes outlined, of a member's relative access to power and status. The particular interest here is with adult partners in this regard.

Women's Subordinate Status/Inferior Position

Gender inequality is very often built into the social structure which each family household develops (Batten et al., 1991, p.xvii). While sometimes obvious and acknowledged, such inequality - as in, say, resources like power and status - can also manifest itself in subtle ways, as is suggested in Figure 10.4, below.

Figure 10.4 - Unpaid work: a family responsibility. (Reproduced from M. Bittman, 1991, p.4).

Giddens has referred to power as being perhaps the "most elemental" concept of social science. As noted earlier, he saw this as "the means of getting things done"; and as such, it is seen to be "directly implied in human action". By the concept "control", that writer meant "the capability that some actors, groups or types of actors have of influencing the circumstances of action of others" (Giddens, 1989, p.283). Findings from the study would suggest that, in respondents' households, male partners are more likely to have greater access to such resources than are women. The more obvious evidence of this lies in the greater involvement of female partners in the **unpaid** work of family households. Along with this is the particular nature of this work - notably, the degree of servicing of others which this entails (Allan, 1985). However, some women participants, although now recognising inequalities here, continue to behave in ways which perpetuate these - and accept them. This situation, it is suggested, is related to the continuing powerful influence of traditional ideological values on the functioning of the household system and their own personal systems. And whereas some women participants now have a need to justify their inequitable work arrangements (usually drawing from traditional assumptions in doing so - for example, a male partner's greater paid work commitments), still others indicate their desire to maintain their greater involvement in this work.

In referring to similar findings, Sharpe suggested that some women may seek to protect their domestic role, since it provides a clearly marked area of responsibility, carrying certain elements of power, and a definite sense of control (Sharpe, 1984, p.183). A similar explanation has been given by Limerick (1992), in accounting for such findings in her study. She expressed the view that because women often are "powerless in many areas", they

fear losing their power over activities in the home. That writer, then, did not see women's fear of men "taking over the kitchen" as "irrational". She went on to support this view by citing the example of "cooking", pointing to the predominance of male authors of cookery books and "cooking segments on television...now [often being] done by males" (Limerick, 1992, p.2). It was the belief of participants in her study that a loss of control "in the kitchen" would lead to their greater subordination. To quote her:

> *It is only [there]...that many women can experience any feelings of control or power over what they do or how they do it...increased involvement by husbands would be an unwelcome invasion of their territory (Limerick, 1992 - quoted in The Advertiser, January 16, 1992, p.2).*

Some participants from the present study, however, appear not to hold such a view. They are dissatisfied with their gender-divided work patterns and seek change. These are predominantly women. However, the unwillingness of some male partners to become more involved here is reported by numerous respondents. This appears to constitute an impediment to achieving change in established work patterns in some households. Klein has observed that it usually can be expected that change would be resisted when perceived as posing "a threat to a member's access to [valued] resources" (Klein, 1972, p.115). On the other hand, the fact that this work is unpaid, of low status, and generally not valued in this society could be seen as contributing to men's reluctance to become more involved in it.

Figure 10.5 - Subordinate status: women and family household work. (Reproduced from M. Bittman, 1991, p.2)

The inability of some women to elicit a partner's co-operation in establishing more equitable work arrangements, has been referred to by numerous writers. Some have noted the obvious point, that the process of negotiating such day-to-day issues in the home "...is not...conducted apart from the wider social context and without influence from it". Attention has been drawn to the (usually) greater monetary power and status resources of men relative to women. Examples cited include men's role as primary breadwinners, their representing the family in the "outside world", their traditional position as "head of the

household"; and the wife's "primary obligation to him, the children, and the household" (Dobash and Dobash, 1980, p.127). Such differences, where they exist, could be seen to pose barriers to any effective negotiation of household task performance. As Carter asked: "How can two. unequal partners negotiate anything that could not be rescinded at the whim of the more powerful one?" (Carter, 1988, p.240).

A notable feature of respondents' personal systems where the new equity attitudes have entered these, is their strong negative feelings about, or evaluations of, inequitable work divisions in their households. The extent to which these reactions are openly expressed in the household environment cannot be known - although some do report having arguments with partners about this situation. It could be expected, though, that these negative feelings may impact on the family system in some way, even if they are not directly and openly acknowledged (Minuchin, 1974). Basow has reported that couple relationships in which either partner is not "living up to" the other's expectations, and/or where there is a perceived imbalance of domestic work, are more likely to be beset by "difficulties". This is in comparison with those couples having egalitarian or inequitable ("traditional") work arrangements, but which meet both partners' expectations (Basow, 1992, p.223). Here there are fewer "difficulties" and marital satisfaction is found to be higher. These family household systems (like the personal systems of the men and women in the couples concerned, it could be suggested), are in a state of dynamic equilibrium - guided by a consistent rule which is accepted by those concerned.

Other studies have reported that many women feel angry and resentful about gender divisions of labour in their households. This situation also has been identified as an important factor in marital conflict. For example, Huber and Spitze (1983) found that "thought of divorce" was strongly related to this. And Genevie and Margolies (1987) have reported that many mothers resent a husband's lack of involvement in the care of children. Findings from a recent study by Dale Spender led her to conclude that "a husband's unwillingness to share the housework...is 'the crux' of today's relationship problems". The following comments from two participants from her study highlight the sense of powerlessness which some women feel here, such that "drastic change" - in the form of actually leaving the household system - appeared to them as "the only way out", viz. :

> "I couldn't bear the arguments about housework any more. No way was he going to change, and I couldn't cope". And,

> "I wanted a bit of peace before I died" (Spender, 1994, quoted in The Advertiser, May 18, 1994, p.2).

Findings from numerous sources in the study are suggestive of women's lesser power and subordinate status relative to men in family households. In relation to the latter, this appears to be manifest in the forms of acknowledgement or response given to a partner on completion of certain tasks done for the other partner's benefit (Part C, Question 12). Accordingly, almost one-third of all women participants indicate that a male partner's most frequent response to this is to say or do nothing, or to criticise it. Among comments they

provide concerning their feelings about this are: "....taken for granted", "unappreciated", "taken advantage of", "disappointed" and "used". One participant, who indicates that her partner either criticises, says/does nothing, or gives advice here, reports having "negative feelings towards partner" because of such reactions. Some women indicate that they have "grown used to" a lack of response or acknowledgement (for example "Have become used to it. No feedback means no problem" - F49). Others are not quite so easily satisfied. For example, respondent F35 states: "It would be nice to receive some acknowledgement for tasks done".

The above findings are in marked contrast to those for male participants. Here, all but one report that a female partner's most frequent response where a task is performed by them, is to express appreciation. Typical comments provided by men concerning this - which are similar to those given by women participants when this recognition applies to them - are expressions of feelings such as "happy", "good" and "appreciated". In relation to such findings, it could be argued that gender differences in speech style and content are associated with them. Different expectations do exist for men and women in relation to "politeness", with women being expected to be "more polite" than men, in their speech (Kemper, 1988). Even so, some research does point to such differences frequently reflecting varying degrees of dominance and power between the genders, with men generally having and exercising greater levels of these (Basow, 1992, p.58).

Further findings from this study which suggest some women's inferior position relative to men in family households, is available from information participants provide on the amount of time they estimate spending in relaxation and recreational activities (Part A, Question 17). This indicates that women tend to spend less time in this area than men. For example, with regard to the time category of '1-5 hours' per week, only one of the eleven male participants (the Minister of Religion - MO8) indicates that this applies to him. In contrast, almost one-third of women participants estimate this to be the amount of time they spend weekly in such activities. Moreover, some women (but no men) refer to the pressure they feel to complete family work before they are free to relax at home - which, some studies suggest, is the main site of most women's recreational experiences (Dempsey, 1989).

Respondent F52, for example, indicates that her relaxation and recreational activities occur "mainly in the evening when daily chores are finished, and the baby is tucked up in bed". And respondent F38 reveals that her time spent in relaxing/recreation is "not enough", but adds: "I like to get the chores out of the way first - but I'm the only one who thinks that way" (Part A - Question 17). Respondent F46 indicates that her leisure comprises "Mainly TV! And visiting mother and (adult) children". No male respondent provides such comments in replying to this question. (See also Chapter 8, Stage 2, Section 6.2.3.1 - respondent F16). The consistency of such findings as these from research studies has led Dobash to the following conclusion:

The dictum that a woman's place is in the home is now much more applicable to what she is supposed to do when she comes home from her job than it is to whether she should go out to work. Thus the idea that a woman's place is in the home does not so much mean that she shall not go out to work but that she should not go out to play (Dobash and Dobash, 1980, p.91).

Figure 10.6 - Women and sport. (Cartoon by Jenny Coopes - Women and Support Unit. Reproduced from *Women and Work*, June, 1991, p.17).

The lower status of women relative to men in family households is apparent in further findings (see Chapter 8, Stage 2, Section 5.2). Thus, some respondents (all women) justify a partner's lesser participation in family household work as being because of his involvement in some form of recreational activity. Hobbies, TV viewing, enjoyment in the garden, church and football commitments are among explanations which are provided here. Moreover, these appear to be accepted by the women concerned as 'legitimate' reasons for the lesser contribution of their male partner to family work, relative to them. Dempsey (1989) reported similar findings to the above, in his study of retired couples in an Australian rural community. He found that women were twice as likely as their husbands, to report that their home was the place where they engaged in most leisure activities; and the most frequently cited activities were "inextricably bound up with their domestic work: sewing, knitting, tatting, etc.". That investigator also found that older wives "service" their partner's leisure activities, ensuring appropriate clothes are clean and prepared for these, preparing food for consumption at such activities, and so on. It was Dempsey's conclusion that women's primary responsibility for, and performance of, household work is "most likely to place [them] in a subordinate position and to interfere with their leisure activity" (Dempsey, 1989, pp.3-8). Most women, it seems, generally were accepting of their situations. To quote one of Dempsey's participants:

You can't expect a man to start washing clothes and cleaning once he's retired. It's a bit much when he has worked hard all his life. Anyhow, men are a bit like children! They just don't know how to look after themselves (Dempsey, 1989, p.5.

Figure 10.7 - Retirement: a well-earned rest. (Reproduced from M. Bittman, 1991, p.20).
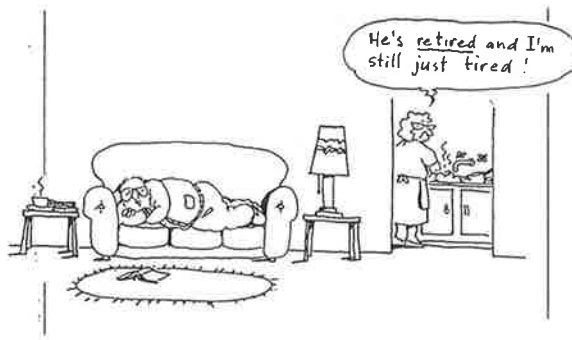
In concluding the discussion here, it may be said that findings from this study point to the greater power and status of men relative to women partners in the households of the majority of respondents. This is apparent not only in most men's lesser involvement in unpaid household labour, but also in the way this inequality can continue to be sustained even where a woman partner is dissatisfied with this and desires greater sharing of this work. Men and women, findings suggest, are not on equal ground with respect to negotiating for such change. Other evidence for men's higher status and privileged position relative to women in the households of some respondents, is apparent in the greater amount of leisure time which men have. Additionally, some women accept men's participation in recreational activities as a legitimate reason for their lesser involvement in household work, relative to them. The status differential of the genders, therefore, may be seen to constitute a significant barrier to achieving equality in household work performance.

Gender Differences - Motivation for Change

Figure 10.8 - Women are forcing the pace of change in families. (Spellbound Postcards, 23-25 Moss Street, Dublin 2. Ireland).

Findings from the present study suggest that it is more likely to be women than men who actively seek change from traditional divisions to greater sharing by partners of family household work. Thus, more than one-quarter of women respondents reveal from their

comments that they are deliberately employing strategies and engaging in actions (and non-actions) aimed at achieving a male partner's increased involvement in this work (see Chapter 8, Stage 2, Section 6.2.3). Whereas several male participants reveal a level of discontent at their lesser involvement in family work (see Appendix IV - "Respondents' comments re division of family work" - respondents MO5, MO6 and MO7), the evidence from the analysis of all comments suggests that no male respondent is actively seeking change in this area. The strongest evidence for a desire for increased participation in family work is from respondent MO5, who "thinks" he would like to be more involved in the care of his children.

Alison Thomas (1990) has reported findings from an investigation of mens' gender identity construction which are relevant to the discussion here. Thus, while she found that the majority of men had accepted women's involvement in paid employment, there had occurred "only minimal accommodation" on the part of many in relation to involvement in household work (A. Thomas, 1990, p.143). Furthermore, although men in her study had been exposed to "the wide range of contrasting discourses of gender", feminist ideas had limited impact upon their thinking about gender. It was her conclusion, therefore, that in many instances, the latter perspective had proved only to be "a liberal 'gloss' on a generally more conventional outlook". Whereas evidence was found for general support in relation to the gradual improvements in women's status in society, there was "only very limited enthusiasm for any radical change" (A. Thomas, 1990, pp.156-7). Siegel (1991) has made a similar observation, reporting that men are "not disturbed by evidence of gender inequality", and even those who are "disturbed" by this do not think that it requires remedial action on their part (cited in Basow, 1992, p.354).

A question which Thomas raised, concerned the extent to which her male participants had "engaged with feminist thinking and its implications for them". Thus, while they talked "a current liberal stereotype", this was not consistent with their beliefs and actions. Of the forty-five men in her study, she found that only one had made the "connection" between a personal experience of feeling dissatisfied with traditional male roles and "a political analysis (informed by feminism) of the social construction of gender" (A. Thomas, 1990, p.157). On commenting upon such findings, Hearn and Morgan (1990, p.15) made the observation that men, as "superordinates" in relation to gender, "generally have no more need to theorize their situation than fish need to theorize about water". (As those writers also noted, this absence of the need to theorize their situation applies also in instances of race and class).

In a similar vein, Seidler (1990, p.218) reported that "[it] is not unusual for men [in their publications] to pay lip-service to feminism and to women's struggles in their opening paragraphs and to ignore the implications of these studies for the work they are involved in". That writer also has referred to certain of the difficulties some men have experienced in attempting to address the "personal and practical challenge" feminism presents to them,

concerning "who [they] are as men and how [they] relate to men both to [themselves] and to others". For example, consciousness-raising groups often were "difficult situations" for many men because of their tendency to intellectualise and rationalize their experiences, rather than sharing them. Moreover,

> *Sometimes these groups died after a few weeks when it was not clear what men were supposed to talk about. It was difficult for men to **share** their experience with other men because [they] have been brought up to treat other men as competitors in a way that makes it easy to feel that showing [their] vulnerability would only be used against them] (Seidler, 1990, p.216).*

Seidler went on to point out that it was not uncommon for heterosexual men to report that because of the closeness they felt to women anyway, they considered that "they did not need consciousness-raising". This he interpreted as their covering over a fear of sharing themselves with other men, "a suspicion of men that has deep roots connected to homophobia and a fear of intimacy" (Seidler, 1990, p.216). The possible significance of these and other responses referred to above, for attitude and behaviour change, is addressed at a later stage.

Desire for new experience and desire for stability

It was Thomas and Znaniecki's (1927, p. 1860) contention that, on the individual side, "the fundamental principle of social evolution" was the "alternation of the desire for new experience and of the desire for security". From this perspective then, all the while individuals are satisfied with what they are able to obtain from existing conditions, they do not seek change: they are not motivated to define new situations. On the contrary, they will be inclined to preserve their existing definitions and corresponding ways of conducting their lives (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1878) This is consistent with an observation of men made by Edgar and Glezer. It was their view that

> *...many male lives are still more set, more standard and less subject to change and new possibilities. Moreover, since men have more power to lose and prevailing ideologies of homemaking and parenting are still undervalued, men have less incentive than women to accept a reconstruction of reality (Edgar and Glezer, 1992 (b), p.36).*

This inclination of individuals to maintain existing ways of behaving and making sense of their lives, was referred to as the desire for stability, or security (see Chapter 5) and was seen to be associated with an avoidance of certain experiences (Blumer, 1939, p.58). Included here is a tendency for individuals *not* to relate in a personal way to new perspectives and other information (if they are noticed) where these run counter to their existing attitudes. The latter response, it will shortly be argued, represents a barrier to change. It could be seen as similar to that described in some men, in studies referred to above.

In relation to the area investigated here, as Basow has observed, while "[men] have a great deal to gain from sharing the burden of financial support...they also have much to

lose by giving up their privileged status" (Basow 1992, p 226). In contrast to many men, women appear more likely "to seek and develop new definitions of situations" in the areas referred to. This represents "a break from established regularity....a threat to the adherence to the rules of the group". The factor determining the latter, it was claimed, is always the individual's "own, conscious choice or subconscious desire for new experience" (Blumer, 1939, p.58 - also citing Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1876 and 1859). This is consistent with Edgar's claim - that "[it] is women who are forcing the pace of change within the family". That writer saw this as being because "their options outside the home have expanded so rapidly" (Edgar and Glezer, 1992(b), p.36). Such benefits as economic independence and personal fulfilment through involvement in paid employment (although as is seen in Chapter 2, the latter still is not on an equal par with men's) have become increasingly attractive to many women, providing opportunities for choices and other advantages and sources of fulfilment previously denied them.

It should be noted though that not all women, as with men, are equally advantaged here. Influential also in this regard are race, class and ethnicity. The situation reported by Basow of American society, similarly applies in this country: White men are at the top of the employment hierarchy; women, especially minority women, are at the bottom (Basow, 1992, p.292). Thus, a White, middle-class, tertiary-educated woman in a fulfilling career, and who may be able to afford home assistance and superior quality child care, obviously is in a very different position from a woman (or man) factory worker who is employed out of 'economic necessity' and who is unable to afford such arrangements..

However, irrespective of their employment circumstances, this study suggests, some women continue to view their paid employment as secondary to family work involvement. They make decisions, organize their activities and give meaning to these in ways which reflect this Furthermore, whereas most men do not seek to increase their participation in household work, some women seem unprepared to reduce their involvement here (see also Sharpe, 1984; Yeandle, 1984; Glezer, 1991). The factors which are operating here obviously are diverse and complex.

Concluding Comments

This completes the discussion on certain characteristics of respondents and their situations which could be associated with change to gender divisions in household work performance, or the maintenance of these. Younger age, the absence of children and a family household system supportive of sharing this work, are more likely to be associated with equitable work arrangements. Respondents' advantaged educational situation and the nature of their employment experience also may be influential in terms of the latter. The subordinate position of some women and the higher status frequently accorded to men appear to be associated with the maintenance of gender-divided household work patterns. Gender appears to be a factor also in relation to motivation for change , with women generally

appearing more willing to embrace this than are men. The discussion which follows provides a more specific focus on the stages and processes involved in individual change .

NATURE OF CHANGE PROCESSES

According to Thomas and Znaniecki (1927, p.1303), social change or the process of social disorganization (see Chapter 6), is merely "the appearance and development of new attitudes leading to activities which do not comply with the socially recognized and sanctioned schemes of behaviour". In the current study, varying degrees of change in the life situations of respondents are suggested, based on evidence in their personal systems for the influence of a new equity value, which has been emerging in this society over several decades. The new (corresponding) equity attitudes which some participants have incorporated in their personal systems, are found to impact variously upon their thoughts, feelings and (for some) actions in situations involving family work performance. However, it is their traditional attitudes which exert the greater influence on participants' situations. In the discussion which follows, some of these findings are examined from the perspectives on change provided by several other writers.

Different Kinds of Change

Marris (1974), a social planner, examined interacting personal and social changes. His findings enabled him to distinguish three broad categories of change, in terms of a balance between what he termed continuity, growth, and loss. These distinctions may be seen to have application in terms of some findings from the present study. First, Marris observed, many changes may be viewed as incremental, or substitutional, with the patterns of expectations and purposes they seek to satisfy remaining essentially the same. Second, some changes represent growth in the sense that expectations and familiar purposes are not disrupted; but rather, are incorporated within a broader range of understanding. This kind of change, consequently, does not threaten the integrity of what already has been learned; and so the individual's sense of continuity remains unbroken. The third category of change identified, represents loss of some kind - either actual or prospective. Here, patterns of established relationships are disrupted in ways for which individuals are not fully prepared; and the integrity of the structure of meanings upon which "the thread of continuity" relies, consequently becomes attenuated, or lost. This kind of change, Marris concluded, "cannot be acknowledged without distress" (Marris, 1974, p.21). Each of these kinds of change is examined in relation to findings from the study, in the discussion which follows.

Change - Incremental or Substitutional

The situation of those respondents identified as having Type 1 personal systems would appear to fit that kind of change which Marris distinguished as incremental, or

substitutional. In the case of these individuals, the analysis suggests that a new equity attitude has not penetrated their personal systems (of attitudes) in the area of life investigated. Yet the large majority reveal some knowledge about issues to do with gender equity and accept that household work should be shared by partners when both are employed. This is interpreted as evidence for their having incorporated the new value into their constructions of social reality. However, there has occurred only minimal application here, to their actual life situations. Their expectations for their own and partner's behaviour and their plans for organizing their everyday activities - their personal systems in this area of life - are largely unaltered. Contributing to maintenance of the systematized character of these are those justifications, or rationalizations [1] which these participants have developed for the gender-inequitable divisions of work in their households. These are found to reflect their ideological attitudes and include references to greater paid work demands of men, women's higher standards of household work and so on, in accounting for gender divisions of work (see Appendix X - "Personal systems of respondents"). These justifications are viewed as permitting individuals to retain harmony among their existing systematically organized and stabilized attitudes. The capacity of individuals to regulate and control their experiences - and in a way which reflects both group demands and their own unique characteristics and situations - is a central premise of Thomas and Znaniecki's sociology (1927, p.1853).

In the kind of change discussed above then, individuals control their experience in a manner which permits their familiar expectations and ways of organizing everyday activities to be preserved, although a slight modification has been made to their way of understanding this life area. The interpretations which they have arrived at do not threaten the integrity of meanings which they have learned - those corresponding to the traditional breadwinning/homemaking norm. Hence an attitudinal scheme in conformity with this continues to guide their lives in the area investigated. Whilst these participants' attitudes, over time, may modify further, it is of interest that the kind of change identified here seems akin to that found to occur under social conditions which are relatively stable. At such times, Thomas and Znaniecki argued, "spontaneous social evolution is possible only by an agglomeration of small changes". These changes, although not noticed at once, are "seen [to] modify from generation to generation the stock of traditions while leaving the illusion of its identity" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1893). Yet, in relation to the area investigated - as reported in earlier chapters - there have occurred some significant changes.

Thomas and Znaniecki viewed such "dependence upon the environment" (in terms of accepting the traditional way of defining situations imposed by the group) as being

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[1] It should be noted that such cognitive phenomena were identified by Thomas and Znaniecki as attitudes. A criticism of their approach has been that of using this term as a kind of "catchall" for "any psychological process or item of consciousness" (Blumer, 1939, pp.24-5). Such phenomena are referred to here as cognitions and (following those writers) are seen as the outcome of these individuals' pre-existing, and predominating traditional, attitudes interacting with the newly emerging equity values which have been incorporated into their construction of external (social) reality.

conditioned by "the primary qualities of the individual and the type of social organization" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1858). In relation to Type 1 participants in this study, the "fixity" of their attitudes is referred to in Chapter 9 (section entitled "Type 1 personal systems"). These are accessible only to certain influences - "those constituting the most permanent part of [their] social milieu". The meanings contained in the new values are too far removed from these to permit, in their combination, the development of a new equity attitude. The tendency of individuals towards stability, together with the nature of their attitudes and schemes and the way these are unified, contribute importantly to their position here (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927 p.1853). Yet it can also be said that the organization of society must be such as to be "[enforcing] by various means [this] individual subjection". Earlier literature reviews (Chapter 1-4) in revealing the continuing prevalence of traditional ideological attitudes, suggest this to be the case in relation to the area investigated here. Dependence on the environment, like independence, is thus associated with both group and individual factors (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1858-9).

Change - Continuity Unbroken

The second kind of change which Marris distinguished is that where familiar purposes and expectations are not disrupted, but are incorporated within a broader range of understanding, or interests. Here, then, the integrity of what already has been learned is not essentially threatened, and the sense of continuity remains unbroken. This would appear to be similar in certain respects to the kind of change evident in participants, as referred to above. However, it appears to be more directly apparent among those identified as having Type 4A personal systems (see Appendix X - "Personal systems of respondents"). Their personal systems appear to be comprised of both new and traditional attitudes which are systematically organized under the guidance of what has been termed here a modified ideological attitude. This attitude, it is suggested, holds that while men should to domestic and child care work when both partners are employed, women should continue to retain responsibility for this, and do more of it. Women's caring work appears to be particularly significant in this regard, among participants in this study. Other research has also shown that this is often accorded a higher priority - including by women themselves - than their paid work (Sharpe, 1984; Yeandle, 1984; Edgar, 1992(c)). The modified ideological attitude identified in some of the study's participants could be seen as not posing a major threat to prevailing ideological values. And while it cannot be known, it would seem possible that the new scheme that they have constructed may have evolved without major disruption to the equilibrium of their personal systems.

It was the seemingly changeless character of ideological values which led Znaniecki to emphasise the need for investigators to take an historical perspective in their studies. As he pointed out, "if an ideological system becomes a dynamic ideal, a guiding principle for actions [thus introducing] order into some part of the cultural world", it inevitably must - and

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does - change, in view of new problems which arise (Znaniecki 1963, p.284). Examples here may be drawn from Gilding's (1991) historical account of the Australian family. This disclosed how family ideology has been modified and reinterpreted over time, often through initiatives taken by certain more powerful groups in the society (see also Gittins, 1985). The prevailing ideological values are thus adjusted in ways which suit the particular needs and circumstances of a given generation - or at least certain groups from this (see the discussion on heritage and tradition in Chapter 5). Reiger's (1991) essay on motherhood ideology also is illuminating here, particularly in relation to the part played by professionals and 'experts' in the modification of this during the first part of the 20th century, in Australia. Yet, as the present study also confirms, certain fundamental components of the ideology continue to be passed on, remaining largely unchallenged by many. Moreover, its historical roots may be traced back at least to Roman times, as the following description of the "ideal wife" by Dio Cassius reveals:

> For is there anything better than a wife who is chaste, domestic, a good housekeeper, a rearer of children; one to gladden you in health, to tend you in sickness; to be your partner in good fortune, to console you in misfortune; to restrain the mad passion of youth, and to temper the unreasonable harshness of old age? (Dio Cassius 9 A.D - quoted in Dobash and Dobash, 1980, p.36).

Change - Continuity Broken

The discussion resumes now, to an examination of the third form of change which Marris distinguished - that in which individuals' established patterns of relationships and ways of conducting everyday activities and making sense of these, are disrupted in a manner for which they are not prepared; and so the "thread of continuity" is "attenuated or lost". Whenever it occurs that the integrity of the structure of meanings on which continuity rests is fundamentally threatened, this "cannot be acknowledged without distress" (Marris, 1974, p.21). Concerning this change, it was Marris's finding that this always was resisted by individuals, at least initially (see also Golan, 1981; Yeomans, 1984; Egan, 1994, pp.158-170). This was the case even where there existed "the will to change". The individual, Marris concluded, always has to overcome an impulse to restore the past. He termed this the "conservative impulse", and noted that it was pervasive and profound (Marris, 1974, p.6).

The above kind of change would seem to correspond most closely with that which is found to varying degrees among participants whose personal systems are disorganized through the entry of new equity attitudes (Types 2, 3 and 4B). These personal systems are characterized by inconsistencies and contradictions between thoughts, feelings and actions. The attitudes comprising them are thus not systematically organized. Rather, they are in a state of disequilibrium, lacking the control and guidance of a consistent attitudinal scheme. An important outcome of this, it would seem, is that these individuals do not have reliable guidelines either for consistently directing their own behaviour, or for interpreting events and experiences. Such lack of control and uncertainty, as Marris suggested, is

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likely to be experienced as stressful. Respondents' expression of feelings support such a view. Yet as Marris contended, if "life is to go on" continuity must be restored. This necessarily involves a reinterpretation of what previously has been learned, as new ways for leading their lives and giving meaning to these, in the area of life affected, are gradually established. It would appear that the latter may have been the experience of respondents identified as having a Type 5 personal system. These individuals appear to have completed the work required to bring their personal systems under the guidance and control of a new attitudinal scheme, in the form of an equity attitude (see Appendix X - "Personal systems of respondents").

Definitions of New Situations

For Thomas and Znaniecki, change of the kind being considered here - where customary ways of behaving and past interpretations of these are questioned and are no longer deemed suitable - requires that the individuals concerned develop definitions of new situations. By this, those writers meant those processes whereby people engage in the work of gradually developing new attitudes and constructing their own attitudinal scheme, instead of being guided by the scheme which the group imposes. As is seen in Chapter 5, in the latter situations the scheme is usually given in an abstract form or through concrete examples, and individuals, in their social education, are taught to apply it to the various situations which are especially created for them or which they meet by chance (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1871). However, in defining new situations, as Schuetz also stated, there is no "guarantee [of] an objective chance for success, but rather a pure subjective likelihood which has to be checked step by step" . That is individuals have to be certain that the solution suggested by any definition will "produce the desired effect for [them] in [their] special position". Consequently, they

> ...cannot stop at an approximate acquaintance with the new pattern, trusting in [their] vague knowledge **about** its general style and structure but [need] an explicit knowledge of its elements, inquiring not only into their **that** but into their **why** (Schuetz, 1960, p.107, also citing W. I. Thomas - unreferenced).

The problem for individuals in defining new situations, it was argued, "always consists...in the determination of the vague". Hence, a new definition is possible only if a new corresponding attitude (or cognition) can arise directly out of some preceding one, "as its qualification or modification in view of the new values"; and this, in turn, is possible only if the new situation can be defined on the ground of some analogy with known situations - "as an old problem viewed from a new standpoint" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1875) (cf. Marris, 1974, p.6). The acquisition of new attitudes which are in conflict with an existing scheme, can therefore occur only where certain 'mental preparation' has occurred; and then they must be gradually developed and in a certain determined order. Every definition of a new situation requires individuals to work this out for themselves in conformity with their existing attitude, "which grows in definiteness as the solved situation acts back on it,

and out of these definitions they gradually construct a schematism" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1872).

Schuetz (1960) held a similar perspective to the above writers, as revealed in his essay on the "typical situation" newcomers to a group face, as they attempt to interpret the group's cultural pattern - "the process of social adjustment which they must undergo". Whereas this adaptation, he observed, appears initially to be "strange and unfamiliar", it is in fact a continuous process of inquiry. If this inquiry is successful, the "cultural pattern" and its elements become to the newcomer "a matter of course, an unquestionable way of life". Moreover, Schuetz did not view "strangeness and familiarity" as being limited to the social field; but rather, considered them to be "general categories of our interpretation of the world" (Schuetz, 1960, p.109). Thus he stated that

> If we encounter in our experience something previously unknown and which therefore stands out of the ordinary order of our knowledge, we begin a process of inquiry. We first define the new fact; we try to catch its meaning; we then transform step by step our general scheme of interpretation of the world in such a way that the strange fact and its meaning becomes compatible and consistent with all the other facts of our experience and their meaning. If we succeed in this endeavour, then that which formerly was a strange fact and a puzzling problem to our mind is transformed into an additional element of our warranted knowledge. We have enlarged and adjusted our stock of experience (Schuetz, 1960, p.109).

In engaging in such work, individuals take into account not only their own interests and needs, but also the social meanings. The group's values, it was argued, are significant to a person "as much or more because of the meaning they have for other individuals or for the group" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1848-57). Such an emphasis - on the powerful influence of cultural factors in terms of the change processes being considered here - while also apparent in Schuetz's perspective, is generally not evident in the writings of those others whose perspectives have been outlined. Even so, at the time his work was published - as with Thomas and Znaniecki's - issues to do with gender were generally unquestionable - and hence, unquestioned.

Crisis ... or Self-Realisation Potential?

Yeomans, an educator and psychologist practising from a psychosynthesis perspective, has emphasised the "personal growth" or "self-realisation" potential of "crises related to loss of some kind" - death of a loved one, loss/change of job or relationship, and so on. It was her view then, that

> The process of self-realisation is a long and arduous journey with many critical stages...at times the process is transformational and this includes both the falling apart of our known ways of being and the coming together and reforming of new more evolved ways of being (Yeomans, 1984, p.67).

There are times in our lives therefore, of "disorientation, of struggle, or crisis; as well as times of integration and harmony". Thus, while the experience of certain life events may

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be marked by a great deal of sadness and emotional pain, from a psychosynthesis perspective,

> ...*crisis ...is always thought of as the breaking of something old and constricting, leading to something greater, to a higher level of integration and a more inclusive identity (Yeomans, 1984, p.66).*

In common with those other authors whose work in this area is referred to above, Yeomans has identified three similar stages in terms of an individual's experiences of such life events or transitions. She recognised these as representing changes to the self. However, she warned against these being conceptualized as occurring in a "neat" development sequence - "they are much more cyclical and repetitive"; and further, "nor are the edges between the three stages so sharp and clear" (Yeomans, 1984, pp.70-1). The term "destructuring" was used by that author to refer to the "undoing" or "positive disintegration [of the] natural ways" of seeing or knowing the self, or relating to the world. Here, old symbols lose their meaning and habits and established patterns of activity "come to be deemed unsatisfactory". "Restructuring" was the term used to describe the time when individuals "build again": when the structure is reformed. New ways of thinking, feeling and behaving are acquired, as individuals develop "new more evolved forms of being" (Yeomans, 1984, pp.67-71). The "time-in-between" destructuring and restructuring (also referred to as "dark times") was identified as "stressful", being marked by feelings of uncertainty, anger, self-doubt, anxiety, upset and fear. Yeomans paid particular attention to this stage in her paper titled "Self-care during dark times" (1984, pp.65-80).

It should be pointed out that while the above author acknowledged that some of the crises which individuals may experience during their life-time are "crises that the culture has named", she failed to take into account the peculiar characteristics of these (as compared with those which are not thus identified) (Yeomans, 1984, pp.66-7). Hence, in emphasising the freedom and degree of choice individuals may potentially exercise at such times, she has not addressed the constraints which the culture may impose, and which are evident among some respondents in the current study, in terms of their capacity to change.

Changes to the Self

It has been only over the past several decades that changes which are found to inject disequilibrium into people's lives have received any significant attention from investigators. The relative neglect of this area, it has been claimed, was associated with a past tendency of developmental psychologists to concentrate on "the two extremes of the life span". It is only in more recent times, then, that work has been carried out "on the adult individual as a changing, unfolding personality engaged in a continuous process of growth and change" (Golan, 1981, p.5)(see also Neugarten, 1976; Sheehy, 1977; Golan, 1981; Yeomans, 1984; Watson and Tharp, 1992; Egan, 1994). The changes of interest here are frequently found to involve "the vital life-roles of adulthood", and have now come to be recognised for their

inter- and intra-personal significance. In particular, studies have revealed that experiences associated with these changes are "emotionally charged". As such, "they are potentially moving, since they penetrate into the human being's personality structure and functioning" (Perlman, 1981, p.xvi).

A major focus of attention by psychologists investigating life changes, has been that aspect of personality referred to as the individual's "sense of self" - or, the self-concept (Golan, 1981, p.15).[2] For example, Sheehy (1977) used a case-study approach to follow the self-concept's transformation over the years. She demonstrated that significant changes occur in a person's view of self, simply as a consequence of the stages of life through which they pass. The self-concept, therefore, may be seen as adjusting "to the major physical and psychological events of life" (Taylor, Rosegrant, Meyer and Samples, 1986, p.51). An association between the kind of change being discussed here and alterations to the self-concept, is important to an argument which is developed in the major section which follows (entitled "Self-concept, ideology and the division of family household work").

While some researchers studying this area have drawn upon clinical materials (for example, Golan, 1981 and Yeomans, 1984 used case studies), it is recognised that the changes of interest are entirely "normal" - "[they] can happen to any of us" (Golan, 1981, p.4). Thus, individuals' experiences in relation to such events as marriage, divorce, parenthood, occupational achievement, changes to a relationship, loss of job, children growing up and leaving home, growing old and frail, and so on, have all been the focus of investigations. And while all such events "call forth changes" in self-concept and sense of identity, "...they are not for the vast group of normal persons, traumatic events or crises that trigger mental illness or destroy the continuity of the self" (Golan, 1981, p.30, also citing Neugarten, 1976, p.18). On the other hand, however, such events invariably "are felt with heightened acuity", since an individual's capacity to cope with the needed adjustment in living, it has been claimed, affects the subsequent course of their life (Golan, 1981, pp.14-15 - also citing Perlman, 1968. See also Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1839-41).

What appears to be important in terms of individuals' handling and experiencing of such events, is the extent to which they are mentally prepared for them. This is consistent with Marris's and Golan's perspective, as well as that adopted in the present study. It has been suggested that ongoing socialization processes result in individuals carrying around in their heads a sense of what is likely to be expected of them at various stages of their lives. Certain experiences and events are thus anticipated in advance, may be mentally rehearsed, talked about and so on. In such ways, individuals gradually develop the cognitive structures, and hence also the psychological readiness, for the corresponding future changes - or "restructuring" (Parkes, 1970; Yeomans, 1984). With such mental

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2.   An important difference in two areas of research, into personality and self, is that research on personality generally takes the perspective of the outside observer, whereas research on the self is typically concerned with how a person conceives of herself or himself (Saks et al., 1988, p. 82).

preparation, events such as those referred to may "scarcely be noticed". Where, however, a change is sudden and surprising - for example, the unexpected loss of a spouse, or a job - "it is likely to be felt as major" (Golan, 1981, p.18). (Obviously here, other group and individual factors are variously influential in any given case).

The kind of change being referred to here, as noted earlier, is such that individuals' patterns of relationships are disrupted in ways for which they are not fully prepared, and the continuity of meanings is lost (Marris, 1974, p.21). The loss of continuity represents a fundamental threat to the integrity of the structure of meanings on which this had rested. Individuals then find themselves in "unchartered territories", where they encounter "unfamiliar demands" (Golan, 1981, p.1). In referring to their handling of such situations, Marris advanced a perspective which shares important similarities with that presented by Thomas and Znaniecki, and referred to above (sub-section entitled "Definitions of new situations". It was Marris's contention, then, that new experiences could be assimilated only by placing them in the context of "a familiar, reliable construction of reality". Such a structure was seen as resting not only upon the "regularity of events themselves", but also on the "continuity of their meaning". Continuity must be restored. For certain changes this necessitates a reinterpretation of what previously has been learned. In order for this to occur, it was claimed,

> *...the loss must first be accepted as something we have to understand - not just an event that has happened, but as a series of events that we must now expect to happen and a retrospect of earlier events whose familiar meaning has now been shadowed by our changed circumstances. The conservative impulse will make us seek to deny the loss. But when this fails, it will also lead us to repair the thread, tying past, present, and future together again with rewoven threads of meaning (Marris, 1974, p.21).*

Concerning the kinds of change being considered here, there would appear to be agreement among investigators that several identifiable stages characterise them. In simple terms, these transitions are seen to involve the individual in passing from a relatively stable state into an interval of uncertainty and strangeness, on the way to a new stable state (Golan, 1981, p.3; Yeomans, 1984). It is possible to identify each of these stages from the analysis of respondents' personal systems, as conducted in the current study (see Chapter 9). Thus, the Type 1 personal system is stable, being structured in accordance with the traditional norm. The personal systems identified as Types 2, 3 and 4B reveal evidence for varying degrees of destructuring, or disorganization, having occurred. Individuals' experiences here are stressful to varying degrees - a finding also reported in other studies referred to. The nature of Types 4A and 5 personal systems suggest that these have been restructured - the former under the guidance and control of what is termed here a modified ideological attitude, the latter according to a new equity attitude. The above similarities between the kinds of change found among respondents in the study and those identified by investigators researching the self-concept, could be taken as providing some support for the notion of those ideological attitudes of interest also being elements of

individuals' self-concept. More is said shortly concerning activities and processes associated with individuals' handling of this form of change (sub-section entitled "Restoration of control").

Concluding Comments

- Key issues in relation to individuals' experience of events involving major change, appear to be those which arise from alterations to their established relationships or social positions. Such changes, it has been claimed, "penetrate into human personality structure and functioning", requiring varying degrees of adjustment to a person's self-concept, or sense of identity (Perlman, 1981, p.vi).

- It is possible to distinguish identifiable stages and predictable patterns in the experiences of 'normal' individuals, as they deal with 'normal' problems and events which most people confront over the life-span. That change which has been claimed by investigators to impinge on a person's self perceptions, has been described as involving "alternating periods of building up, tearing down, rebuilding" (Golan, 1981, p.4).

- Individuals' experiences of change - and most particularly in the "tearing down" (or "destructuring") phase which varies in duration and personal impact - always involve some degree of distress (Yeomans, 1984). Absence of structure, characteristically, is marked by feelings of anxiety and uncertainty. The rebuilding (or "restructuring") phase requires the individual to make "basic shifts in thinking, feeling and behaving" (Golan, 1981, p.4). These lead to a new (relatively) stable state eventually being reached.

- This study's findings concerning the nature and stages of individual change processes in relation to household work performance, reveal similarities with those reported by investigators studying changes to the self-concept, as outlined above (see Chapter 9 and Appendix X - "Personal systems of respondents"). This could be seen to offer support for the idea that the changes detected in participants also are linked to changes in their self-concept. The section which follows aims to provide further support for such a perspective.

SELF-CONCEPT, IDEOLOGY AND THE DIVISION OF FAMILY HOUSEHOLD WORK

...a nomothetic social science is possible only if all social becoming is viewed as the product of a continual interaction of individual consciousness and objective social reality. In this connection the human personality is both a continually producing factor and a continually produced result of social evolution, and this double relation expresses itself in every elementary social fact (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1831).

As indicated in the above quotation, and the discussion in Chapter 5 discloses, Thomas and Znaniecki accorded a vital place within their theoretical scheme and conceptual framework to the human personality and its evolution. However, those authors did not attribute significance to that aspect of the personality of particular interest to the discussion here - the self-concept: that cognitive construct of who or what a person believes themself to be, based on their social world (Saks and Krupat, 1988, p.86). Nevertheless, they did recognise the self as a "reality" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, cited in Bierstedt, 1969, p.21). Smolicz and Secombe similarly did not attribute significance to such a concept (Smolicz, 1979; Smolicz and Secombe, 1981). From those authors' perspective, personal identity (or at least the cultural dimension of this) was viewed as residing in the individual's personal system of ideological attitudes - which concept corresponds with Thomas and Znaniecki's life-organization - a constituent factor of the personality.

Gender Development and the Self

The following comments were given by two respondents who participated in recent newspaper and magazine surveys:

> My husband would not do what I do - trying to work full time, look after the house and raise a family. I do all the worrying, planning, management, decision-making in the home - all the things that society regards as useless since housewives don't get paid. I therefore try to work as well. My husband doesn't understand at all. He just thinks it's a bit extra I have to do. (Respondent - "Couples in the 90's" survey, conducted by Advertiser Newspapers Ltd, The Advertiser, February 16, 1993, p.16].

> He [husband]wants me to take more sickies. I think he may even be a bit jealous of my work, because I do feel it is important and I feel obligated to go to work. And I enjoy it. I think Peter tries to understand, but he still resents it. He often says I am working too hard - which means that I am working too hard for his liking. My job has to fit in with the family. His job doesn't. We all have to fit in with him. If I have a bad day, I am not allowed to take it out on my husband and kids, or they all think they are suffering because of my job. But if he has a bad day at work, look out! Peter is a bit better trained now but it has been a struggle. He does help out with the kids, but he does almost no housework. The worst thing is this assumption that his career should take precedence over mine. I still have to fight for my rights. When its all boiled down, I'm sure he thinks I should be at home with the kids, full-time. I'm sure he really thinks all mothers should be at home with their kids. Even when he pretends to be understanding, I don't think he really understands at all ("Joanna" - New Idea, Feb. 20, 1993, p.40).

The situations and experiences these women refer to highlight the diverse character of gender differences in this area of life. They are similar to those reported by many respondents in the current study. For example, women frequently report that a partner can "switch off" in relation to the household work; whereas, as one woman respondent (F52) puts it: "I (unlike my partner) am always thinking about what needs to be done or what I should be doing". Another participant comments that her partner "doesn't see the mess in the kitchen" (F51). This same respondent also expresses the view that "Perceptions of equal sharing differ when (as a woman) you have been socialized to see what needs to be

done; it seems as if you are always doing more". These marked contrasts between many women and men in the way they view and experience such life situations, could be taken as suggesting that the gender differences with which we are concerned here may be embedded in the personality (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1831).

Figure 10.9 - Two different worlds? (Reproduced from M. Bittman, 1991, p.1).

'Her' and 'His' Realities

The view of 'her' and 'his' marriages (or couple relationships) as "two different cultures with utterly different life experiences", has been expressed by numerous writers (Edgar, 1991(c), p.6). See also Bernard, 1982; Wolcott & Glezer, 1989; Colling, 1992). Wolcott and Glezer (1989) for example, in reporting a study on marriage counselling, suggested that "men and women approach and experience marriage and the counselling experience with very different personal 'languages' " (cited Edgar, 1991(c), p.6). Likewise, Colling, a family therapist, has commented on the difficulty faced by many couples, in

> *... trying to build a marriage and a family when the man and woman are working to different blueprints and speaking different languages - particularly when both partners are mostly unaware of what those differences are and act as if they were working from the same data (Colling, 1992, p.ix).*

Similar observations have been made by Walters, also a family therapist. In referring to couples seeking counselling for "communication problems", she has commented on how they often experience their relationship

> *... as one in which the woman is endlessly seeking more conversation and information, greater relationality, support, emotional intensity, and fuller expression of feelings, and the man is endlessly protesting and withdrawing in a haze of confusion about what more is needed, wanted, required - feeling that no matter what he does it is never enough, and not even sure that he would know what to do if it ever became clear what she wanted him to do (Walters, 1988, p.241).*

Such an experience would seem to be what the cartoonist was endeavouring to portray, in the interaction between Cathy and Irving in the "Cathy" cartoon reproduced overleaf.

Figure 10.10 - A couple struggling to communicate. (Unknown source).

Walters saw conflict of the type evident here ("pursuer-distancer") as an outcome of a "belief system" which (women and men) couples share, and which includes beliefs that women are "over-involved" in their relationships and men are "too distant"; that a woman needs a relationship and a man needs a wife; that women need intimacy and men fear it; and that women have personal skills to nurture relationships while men do not (Walters, 1988, p.242). This shared belief system, it was suggested, is also related to differences between partners in terms of what experiencing conflict and "feeling failed" in a relationship may mean for them. Thus, whereas men are more likely to feel "inadequate", women tend to feel "disappointed" - and perhaps even "feel crazy because they are constantly seeking to get what both of them believe is not there to be had". The possible impact of this on the everyday life of couples, is captured in the following quotation from Walters' article, entitled "Does Strong have to mean Silent?":

> ... since he feels inadequate, he expects her to take care of those family matters that require relationship skills; his and/or her siblings, their children, social arrangements and the like; and she feels put upon, burdened, and unpartnered in having to carry primary responsibility for these family affairs. And so the couple maintains a socially acceptable system, even though in conflict with it. If he "can't", she will protect him, even as she presses him "to do". Her emotionality protects him from having "to do" what he "can't do". If she "can", it seems only reasonable for him to expect her "to do", with or without his help. Thus, the ship stays afloat; he rows and she bails water! (Walters, 1988, p.242).

The point which that writer was emphasising here, then - but which frequently is obscured - is that there is a connection between such couple conflict and the different expectations, experiences and roles of women and men, wives and husbands. Each member's experience of self and the other, here, is gender-differentiated - is socially-prescribed, "generalizable as well as particular": a way of being which has deep roots "in cultural forms and foundations" (Walters, 1988, p.242). The psychological development and social

experiences of each member of the couple are seen to have their origins in a gendered culture.

Self-Labelling and Gender Development

The development of gender may be seen to begin with the initial labelling of the newborn as male or female, followed by differential treatment (see chapter 4). At around 18 months - with the acquisition of language - children are found to self-label as to gender, and this appears to be influential in terms of the development of gender differences (Basow, 1992, p.123). After 29 months, the ability to self-label "appears to be fairly reliable" (Basow, 1992, p.124 - also citing Leinbach and Fagot, 1986; Etaugh, Grinnell and Etaugh, 1989). Associated with their gender self-identification, children learn some of the cultural associates - like toys and clothes - which, studies have shown, they then gradually seek out. Gender-appropriate models and situations also are sought which are in accordance with their self-categorization, "in order to remain self-consistent". That is, having established that they are male or female, "children look around to find out what people with that label do" (Basow, 1992, p.123).

The initial and gradual emergence of an experience of self - a gendered self - and the development of self-concept appear to be based to a large extent on such observations, along with the reactions and responses to the child of significant people in their lives, most often parents and other care-givers. Such people are said to provide the "looking glass" through which children learn to interpret themselves; and the reactions of these significant others may have long-lasting effects on their self-concept (Taylor, Rosegrant, Meyer & Samples, 1986, p.49). An individual's perception of self, therefore, develops out of interactions with others.

While not wishing to downplay the enormous diversity and complexity of factors which obviously are involved here, it does appear that self-categorisation in the form of the child's label of self as "girl" or "boy", is influential. Studies suggest that this becomes "an organizing focus of future behaviors" (Basow, 1992, p.123; Watson & Tharp, 1992). Children are found to reveal a readiness both to seek out and to interpret experiences, and to organize their world according to their group's models (values) or interpretations, of masculinities and femininities. Thus, as Markus and colleagues have noted,

> ... by the time children are three years old, they are keenly aware of their sex and behave as if they have differentiated their self-systems according to this factor (Markus et al., 1982, p.39).

The above findings are supported by other studies. For example, research into gender identity suggests that by age 3 or 4 years (depending on the consistency of child-rearing experiences) the identity becomes consolidated. A critical period appears to be that when the child acquires language. Thus, an attempt to change a child's assigned sex up to age 2 may be "relatively easy". However, after age 4 it is "usually unsuccessful", and may lead to

later emotional problems (Basow, 1992, p.123 - also citing research by Money and Ehrardt, 1972; Money, 1986). Such a finding is consistent with Thomas and Znaniecki perspective on the evolution of attitudes (see Chapter 5). Thus, all the while attitudes are unsettled and unorganized (as in a child of around age 2), a new attitude can develop out of a previous one in many different ways, because the child is still open to a variety of influences. However, once a "stock" of schematized and stabilized attitudes has developed - which, data cited above suggest, has begun to occur in a 3 to 4 year old child in relation to gender - then a new attitude "may not be accepted" because it is in "disagreement with this stock" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1841).

Psychodynamic Theories

Current feminist psychodynamic perspectives on the development of personality attribute major significance to the self, with gender being viewed as an integral component of this (J. Miller, 1976; Chodorow, 1978, 1990). The emphasis in their approaches is on how early childhood experiences with the primary caregiver (usually a woman) shape a child's personality. In particular, such experience is seen to cause girls and boys to develop different personalities and cognitive orientations.

According to these theories, then, girls develop their sense of self, which starts to emerge during the first year of life, in the context of a relationship with a similar other. In contrast, boys experience a disjunction between their first "object" of attachment and their own developing sense of self. Girls, who continue a person-identification with the female socializer, are seen to develop a more personal and embedded style of being: a self-in-relation (unless this is thwarted by not having it validated by others) (Reibstein and Richards, 1992). Such a self is seen as being characterised by empathy and interpersonal involvement. Boys, in contrast, must shift to an abstract identification with a (usually) more distant male figure. As a consequence, they are seen to develop a more impersonal and abstract style of being - a more autonomous, independent self: a self characterised by independence and autonomous strivings. Moreover, associated with their development of an identity, boys also must reject their identification with the mother. In doing so, it is postulated, they reject everything connected with her: everything female and feminine.

Colling (1992) is among other writers to have formulated perspectives on separation and gender identity. He has referred to separation from the primary care-giver as "one of the great hurdles we have in establishing identity". It is his view also, that this is less problematic for girls than for boys. Girls, he pointed out, are able to establish an identity before they separate, "by copying their mothers". The task for boys, however, is much harder. In order to gain independence, they have to be different from their mother. They thus have "to leave the security of the nurturing mother before they have a clear picture of what a man is" (Colling, 1992, p.48). Reibstein and Richards similarly have pointed to

separation being potentially more "dysfunctional" for boys than girls. The reason for this, they suggested, is that being treated as separate

> ... stultifies the development of empathy, engenders 'under identification' and a view of relationships as an extra part of themselves, something desirable that is added. For women it is part of their being (Reibstein and Richards, 1992, p.67 - cited in Edgar, 1992, p.46).

It is the above authors' contention, therefore, that since boys are taught to define their male identity by separation from the mother and female characteristics, one consequence of this is that "they grow up with a strong message to avoid closeness". This is interpreted as negatively influencing "all future intimate relationships" (Reibstein and Richards - in Edgar, 1992, pp.46-7). It may be seen to have important implications for men's involvement in family relationships, particularly with regard to the caring role (Edgar, 1992).

Empirical testing related to theories referred to above, it should be pointed out, is lacking. Further, some have been subjected to a range of criticisms (see for example Sayers, 1982, p.92 - cited in Morgan, 1985, p.236; also Basow, 1992, pp.118-22)). Nevertheless, Basow is firmly convinced that "the implications [of these theories] with respect to gender differences in behaviors and attitudes are far-reaching" (Basow, 1992, p.56).

Self-Schemas and Gender

Among other investigators who have emphasised the importance of the self to an understanding of gender differences are Spence and Helmreich (1981, 1984), C. Miller (1984) and Markus and co-researchers (Markus, Crane, Bernstein and Siladi, 1982; Crane and Markus, 1982). A particular focus of their research has been on the relationship between self-schemas and gender. Their studies have led them to arrive at a similar conclusion to that of psychodynamic theorists: namely, that gender is an integral component of self-concept (Markus et al., 1982, p.38).

According to Markus et al. (1982) self-schemas are cognitive constructions and summaries of past behaviours, which develop from the integration and organization of past processing of self-related information. They may be conceptualized as cognitive structures in the form of self-statements by which individuals organize and evaluate their behaviour in various focal domains, and which also enable them to understand a wide range of information about themselves. Self-schemas are, therefore, active in the categorisation, interpretation and comprehension of social events and behaviour (Crane and Markus, 1982, p.1195). They are seen to cover a wide diversity of "focal domains", with the union of these particular schemas for a given individual being referred to as their self-concept (Markus et al., 1982, p.38).

Individuals are assumed to "vary enormously" in terms of the content and organization of their self-schemas. For example, some may have an intense concern with their honesty, their creativity, or their masculinity, and thus "may develop highly articulated

schemas about themselves in these particular domains". Others, in contrast, may be without self-schemas ("aschematic") in these domains (Markus et al., 1982, p.39). However, where a self-schema is available or accessible, it has been found "[to] facilitate fast, efficient, and elaborate encodings of consistent stimuli" (Crane and Markus, 1982, p.1195; C. Miller, 1984).

Markus and colleagues also observed that some aspects of behaviour "are so prominent and central" that most individuals in a group develop schemas pertinent to them "to one degree or another". They referred to these as "universal schemas". And these, they stated, are "particularly salient and available for social evaluation and comment" (Markus et al., 1982, p.39). From the theoretical stance taken in the current study, such self-schemas could be seen to include certain cultural phenomena - that is, similar understandings and ways of behaving which members of a given group share as the basis of their common life.

According to Markus et al. (1982), because sex is both physically salient and commonly used to discriminate between individuals from early in life, self-schemas are "particularly likely" to develop in this domain (cited in C. Miller, 1984, p.1223). It would appear "almost impossible", therefore, "for individuals to avoid thinking about themselves in terms of biological sex and the traits and behaviors that are stereotypically associated with masculinity and femininity" (C. Miller, 1984, p.1223). Thus, for those individuals who use these "networks of meanings" to think about, describe and evaluate the self, a self-schema may be thought to exist. The occurrence of this could be imagined as "a merging of the self-concept with the network of knowledge relevant to masculinity or femininity". For example:

> ... the elements in the feminine structure, perhaps some of the stereotypical elements such as warmth, nurturance, gentleness, or understanding, may now be seen as having relevance and importance for the self. Some aspects of one's representation of the self may now become associated with some of these trait elements, and in turn the representation of these features may engage representations of some aspects of the self (Markus et al., 1982, p.39).

Hence, whereas some theorists (Bem, 1981, 1983; for example) have viewed sex-typing as resulting from the assimilation of the self-concept into gender schema, Markus and colleagues have argued and provided some degree of support for the idea of *self-schemas with respect to gender* - that is, masculine and/or feminine characteristics being incorporated into the self-concept (Markus et al. 1982; Crane and Markus, 1982). According to these investigators, when gender is incorporated into the self-concept, masculinity, for example, comes to be associated with "me" and with self-definition. However, along with making a "me" categorisation, there comes the simultaneous knowledge of that which is "not me" - here, femininity. This, these writers claimed, also is importantly self-defining. To quote them in this regard:

If "me" is associated with masculinity, what is likely to be in the "not me" category is femininity. Because it is not self-relevant, however, this structure is not likely to be as well articulated as the masculine structure (Crane and Markus, 1982, p.1196).

In fact, these researchers have reported finding a "striking assymetry" in the cognitive processing of gender-related stimuli, between individuals identified as having masculine and feminine identities. The latter group, for example, were found to remember more feminine than masculine attributes; to endorse more feminine characteristics; as well as to require shorter time for processing "me" judgements to these attributes, than the other types (of attributes). They were found to be more confident of these judgements than of other "me" judgements; and also provided more examples of their own feminine behaviour. Those identified as having masculine identities, however, were found to demonstrate "the mirror image of this pattern by showing greater ease in processing masculine attributes when making self-relevant judgements" (Crane and Markus, 1982, p.1195). Gender-relevant stimuli, it was concluded from their findings, were neither equally available to these individuals; nor were they processed with equal efficiency.

The "striking" differences found by the above investigators, between participants classified as male or female sex-typed, were accepted as evidence for these subjects having masculine or feminine self-schemata, respectively, which were used to organize certain information about themselves. It was further reported that the assymetry they detected was "so marked" that they

...have no difficulty in assuming that the manner in which gender has been incorporated into the self-concept influences not only cognitive behavior but most other forms of individual behavior as well (Crane and Markus, 1982, p.1197).

And further, that those phenomena identified in this current study as ideological attitudes corresponding to the male breadwinner/female homemaker norm may also be conceptualized as gender-related self-schemas in this society (Markus et al., 1982; Crane and Markus, 1982; .C. Miller, 1984). The schema concept is discussed in more detail in a later section of the discussion, entitled "Perception and cognitive processing".

Core Values

Support for the idea of understandings about gender-divided work patterns being incorporated in individuals' personality - being integral elements of the self-concept which they construct - may also be derived from the theoretical argument presented in Chapter 5, concerning certain characteristics of the values of interest. There it is suggested that traditional ideological values corresponding to men's breadwinning and women's homemaking/caring in this society also, have the status of core values for the gender groups of men and women, respectively. A key feature of this type of values is their powerful connection to identity - both at group and individual levels (see Smolicz, 1979, pp.59-73 for a discussion on core values and identity). Further characteristics include their

being deeply embedded in the culture such that they are frequently taken for granted and accepted unquestioningly. Core values are thus very effective in regulating members' thought processes and behaviours.

Many individual men and women strongly identify with those ideological values of interest here - a finding which further supports their classification as core values. A member's rejection of them is usually viewed very seriously by the group. Furthermore, considerable conflict may be generated in some individuals when prevented from leading a life consistent with these values (e.g., a man's forced unemployment, or a woman's 'having' to take a job for economic reasons) (Burns and Goodnow, 1985; Glezer, 1991; Basow, 1992). Most women and men accord meanings to their activities which permit them to sustain personal systems in these life areas, "within the limits set by the prevailing group value system", even when both partners are employed and desire this (Smolicz, 1979, p.43).

In selecting from available group values in the process of developing their personal systems in the various life domains, individual women and men also may be viewed as variously drawing from 'gender-appropriate' values relevant to these. This constructive activity, according to Smolicz, is guided by characteristics peculiar to a given individual as well as by ideological systems at individual and group levels. These systems, it was claimed, are a reflection of the dominant group's ideological system of values *in interaction with* those (systems) supplied by other (subordinate) groups in a given society (Smolicz, 1979, p.42). This latter perspective would appear to have some support from findings on gender differences in the present study; as well as those cited earlier, concerning what Walters (1988) termed the "shared belief system" of men and women couples. Similarly, the dominant version of masculinities is found to be constructed around heterosexuality, in "opposition" to homosexuality (possibly a core value for gay men) and effeminacy (Gilding, 1991, p.107) (see also Kimmel, 1990).

It is being suggested then, that in those complex processes whereby individuals construct their systematized sets of attitudes (personal systems) in the various life domains, they may be conceptualized also as being simultaneously engaging in the work required to build and sustain a gender identity: "a subjective sense of their maleness or femaleness" (Basow, 1992, p.2). It is appropriate at this point, to make a closer examination of the self-concept.

The Self-Concept

The self-concept, some writers have claimed, "is nothing less than the sum of [a person's] identity, and as such it is extremely important" (Adler and Town, 1981, p.125). Its centrality as a "starting point" for understanding and explaining human behaviour has been pointed to by numerous authors (Hamachek, 1985, p.136. See also Adler and Town, 1981; Golan, 1981; Taylor et al., 1986; Hamachek, 1988; Watson and Tharp, 1992; Egan, 1994).

However, it should be noted that these writers, in advancing their particular perspectives, generally have paid minimal attention to the operation of cultural and other structural factors on a person's development of a self-concept. From the perspective taken here, these are seen to play a crucial part. More particularly, such factors are considered to be influential with respect to the provision and nature of the cultural materials which individuals select from and use, in the work of constructing and sustaining (or modifying) their self-concept; an integral component of which, it is suggested, is gender.

The "self" has been described as "one unique person who shows a physical and psychological continuity" (Saks and Krupat, 1988, p.83).[3] Self-esteem - the individual's evaluation of the self - has been described as "the affective component of the self", self-concept being the "cognitive component" (Hamachek, 1985, p.137). It is the "distinctly human" capacity for self-consciousness which enables individuals to "stand outside the self and look at it as an object, describe it, evaluate it, and respond to it" (Hamachek, 1985, p.137). When they do, they consider all aspects which are salient to them. As defined by Taylor and colleagues, the self-concept "contains all one's physical, emotional, social and intellectual perceptions of self". Thus it includes a person's perceptions of their physical characteristics, their social positions, job-oriented abilities, intellectual attributes, characteristic expressions of temperament, ethical standards, values, strengths, weaknesses and so on (Taylor et al., 1986, p.38). An obvious advantage of the self-concept to an understanding of behaviour, therefore, is that it "helps us to bear in mind the fact of the unity of the organism" (White, 1964, p.146, cited Hamachek, 1985, p.136). The latter fact, it seems, may easily be lost sight of - particularly since most investigatory approaches have tended to focus upon specific aspects of the individual, and in relative isolation - that is, the biological *or* the psychological *or* the social.

In the earlier discussion, mention was made of some processes which may be associated with the individual's development of a self-concept. It was also noted that the diversity of self-relevant information which people gain through their social experience becomes cognitively organized into what have been referred to as self-schemas. The union of these cognitive constructs in the various focal domains has been conceptualized by Markus and colleagues as the self-concept (Markus et al., 1982, p.38). Those characteristics (or "traits") for which self-schemas exist are seen as being "central to [the individual's] personality" (Saks and Krupat, 1988., p.73). As noted earlier, individuals differ in relation to those traits on which they are "self-schematic". Where self-schemas exist, people are found to pay careful attention to what others say about them, and are also more inclined to notice these in other people (Saks and Krupat, 1988 - citing Cacioppo, Petty and Sidera, 1982; Fong and Markus, 1982).

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3   It should be noted that there has been a certain amount of confusion in the psychological literature in relation to the meanings of key terms in this area of research. See Hamachek (1985, 1988) for a discussion and some clarification of terminology.

As conceptualized here, the self-concept is a systematically organized structure; as also is each of the various focal domains whose union comprises it. In relation to these domains, each is viewed as being structured according to a particular self-schema. The manner in which elements comprising the self-concept "intercept, interlock and affect each other" has been referred to by numerous writers (Taylor et al., 1986, p.38. See also Adler and Town, 1981; Saks and Krupat, 1988; Watson and Tharp, 1992; Egan, 1994). To quote Taylor and her co-researchers:

Each part of the system is related in some way to each other part, even though there is no consistency or similarity among the parts. Thus, each part affects all other parts when something happens to it (Taylor et al., 1986, p.41).

Self-Concept and Behaviour

The individual's self-concept, it has been claimed, is crucially relevant in terms of the continuity - and hence predictability - of their behaviour. In interpreting their own experiences, individuals attach personal meanings to them. These meanings create self-expectations and these, in turn, influence their behaviour. Thus, people tend to behave as they expect themselves to behave: the "self-fulfilling prophecy" (Taylor et al., 1986, p.53). For many individuals, their gender strongly impacts on their expectations and interpretations of their behaviour (Taylor et al., 1986, p.46). A man, for example, may define himself in terms such as "I am strong", "I can be angry". Thus, anger and strength are components of that person's self-concept. When he feels angry or strong, there will usually exist consistence, or congruence, between his feelings and resulting actions and thoughts or words (McLeod, 1993, p.67). But if this person does not define himself as, say "nurturing", and is in a situation where a feeling of nurturance or care is evoked, it may be predicted that

...he will not be able to put that inner sense or feeling accurately into words, and will express the feeling or impulse in a distorted or inappropriate way. Someone who is not supposed to be nurturing may for instance, become very busy 'doing something' for someone who needs no more than companionship, comfort or a human touch (McLeod, 1993, p.67).

Others' expectations also are influential in determining how a person behaves. It has been theorized that an understanding of the self as a social object comes only after individuals realise that they exist as objects in the social world of others. Once that awareness has been achieved, they can interact symbolically in the social world by imagining their behaviour and how it will be reacted to in a given social context - the process of symbolic interactionism (Saks and Krupat, 1988, p.86). It is postulated that most individuals become "so good" at anticipating others' reactions that it becomes "second nature to them" to engage in the necessary adjustments to create the image of self they wish to portray, or obtain the response which they desire from others (Saks and Krupat, 1988, pp.85-6 - also citing William James, 1890; Cooley, 1922; G. H. Mead, 1934). Since the self-concept develops in part through others' appraisals of them and the positions they occupy, when

individuals behave in ways consistent with the expectations of significant others, they generally receive reinforcing feedback. This usually leads to repeated behaviour which is again reinforced, and so on: the "Pygmalion effect" (see Taylor et al., 1986, pp.52-3).

The importance of the initial encounter between new people in a new situation was emphasised by Goffman, "since it commits a person to a particular character". That writer believed that people adopt roles and engage in a range of techniques to present and sustain their "performance", in much the same way as an actor does in presenting a character to an audience (Goffman, 1959, cited in Saks and Krupat, 1988, p.94). This task - of presenting oneself to others, which all of us face in creating the character we wish to project in a given sphere of life - was termed "impression management". This involves the manipulation of verbal and non-verbal information with the intention of affecting the image or impression which others come to have of us.

Research has revealed that people vary in their ability to modify the impressions they create (Miell and Duch, 1983 - cited Saks and Krupat, 1988, p.91), as well as in their tendency to monitor their social surroundings and people's reactions to them. Those individuals described as "high monitors" are more in tune with their surroundings and with what people in various situations expect of them. They tend to be "flexible, adaptive, and shrewdly pragmatic and their behavior is more situation-specific". Those individuals identified as "low monitors" have been described as having "a more 'principled' self". They are more behaviourally consistent across situations and reveal "greater similarity between their private and public selves"(Saks and Krupat, 1988, p.90 - also citing Snyder, 1974, 1979; Snyder and Campbell, 1982). (See Buss, 1980, and Scheier and Carver, 1983, for discussions on the public and private self. Also Gergen, 1982, and Greenwald, 1982, for discussions on "multiple selves").

Much research in the area of the self-concept has focussed on the influence this variable exerts on communication. The view has been expressed by Taylor and colleagues that not only is it the case that the self-concept "strongly affects most behavior", but also that this variable lies at "the very heart of communication processes". People are found to attend more to situations which confirm their view of themselves; as well as to retain information according to how this affects, or relates to, their self-concept (Taylor et al., 1986, pp.54-5). Studies have also shown that what people see and hear, how they think and feel, how they relate to and respond to others, who they choose to talk to, what they talk about, what they decide to listen to and what they remember, are influenced importantly by their image of self. The overwhelming evidence, therefore, suggests that self-concept "is probably the major cause of *selectivity in exposure, attention, perception, and retention of communication*" (Taylor et al., 1986, p.55).

Self-concept and change/resistance to change

It has been claimed that people are "more flexible, adaptable, and changeable than has usually been supposed" (Saks and Krupat, 1988, p.93 - also citing Gergen, 1972, 1982; Greenwald, 1982). Because a person's behaviour differs as a function of the situation in which they find themselves, individuals, in trying to predict their own and others' role behaviour, may be viewed as trying "...to keep the situation stable and unaltered, thus protecting [their] own and others' role identity" (Golan, 1981, p.16). Typically, they focus on a small number of attributes which are salient in relation to their own self and their perception of the other person. Yet when they are in truly new situations, they are bound to engage in substantially new behaviour. Here, according to Golan, the process is basically a "circular" one. Having defined themselves in a certain way, people then seek situations which are consistent with that definition. "Thus the situation itself reconfirms the definition and a feedback loop is instituted" (Golan, 1981, p.16).

Thus, whereas it may seem obvious to many people that the self is a relatively constant, integrated and continuous whole, research findings have indicated that "the most accurate piece of that picture may be the word *seem*" (Saks and Krupat, 1988, pp.83-93). The tendency to see unity and consistency in another's personality, it has been suggested, is more likely a consequence of a casual observer's characteristics, or of stability in a person's relationships and situations than of stability in that person. However, individuals have a mostly stable view of themselves. This is achieved in large part through their focussing on only a few attributes - certain central aspects (of the self) by which they define the self-concept they have constructed (Saks and Krupat, 1988, p.92). It is around such "salient characteristics" that self-schemas develop (C. Miller, 1984, p.1223).

Yet, individuals are constantly changing in small ways. Having been through each day of their own life though, they generally will see themselves as "not really changed" - even over many years - but rather, as "just the product of a continuous, almost imperceptible progression through life" (Saks and Krupat, 1988, p.83). Contributing to this is the fact that, when self-perceptions and experiences are assimilated and systematically organized into a "coherent picture", individuals are strongly inclined to work at maintaining the consistency of this - "to live in accord with their self-schemas" and to resist change (Hamachek, 1985, p.137. - also citing Epstein, 1973). A "major underlying motive" for individuals striving to maintain such consistency of their self-concept, it has been suggested, is that when the various aspects of the individual are integrated into a "unified concept of self" this is accompanied by feelings of comfort and freedom from tension (Hamachek, 1985, p.137, quoting Rogers, 1947, p.359. See also Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1845). Resistance to major change here, then, has been interpreted as deriving from people being unwilling "to go through the disorientation that comes from redefining themselves" (Adler and Town, 1981, p.76). Consequently, then, most changes to the self-concept are slow and gradual, not dramatic and abrupt (Saks and Krupat, 1988, p.83).

Consistent with the above are findings reported by Greenwald(1980). That investigator reviewed a large and diverse body of research, and used findings to construct a portrait of how the "self as historian" operates. He concluded that the self "makes little more than a pretense of objectivity about itself, and can best be characterised as a biased historian" (cited in Saks and Krupat, 1988, p.88). The most striking feature of this was the existence of a number of cognitive biases which, he reported, "correspond disturbingly to thought control and propaganda devices that are considered to be defining characteristics of a totalitarian political scheme" (Greenwald, 1980, p.603). Of interest here is that particular bias which he termed "cognitive conservatism". This refers to a tendency to preserve existing structures in the face of conflicting evidence, rather than for individuals to modify their conceptions of themselves. Thus they "selectively search their memories for supporting evidence" and old memories are distorted "to move them in line with present needs". Consequently the self, for most individuals, has the advantage of "an almost completely unwritten history which can be endlessly revised". This characteristic would appear to be important in terms of change to the self-concept, as postulated by Marris (1974), and where the restoration of continuity includes a reinterpretation of past meanings. This approach to change, as noted earlier, shares some similarities with that proposed by Thomas and Znaniecki (1927).

The preceding discussion suggests that much individual behaviour can be understood as an effort to be consistent with, or to preserve an existing image of, the self-concept. As one writer has stated, this concept enables an individual "to act like the person they perceive themselves to be" (Hamachek, 1985, p.137) (see also Andrews, 1991). People filter information about themselves selectively, and expose themselves to people (and situations) who confirm the view they hold of themselves (where they can exercise such a choice). Any idea or information which is inconsistent with the individual's perception of self - with an existing self-schema - cannot be assimilated (Hamachek, 1985, p.137; Markus et al., 1982; Crane and Markus, 1982). Thus, in spite of the considerable variations in their behaviours across situations and with different people, individuals have a mostly stable view of themselves. The self-schemas which they construct permit them to organize information about themselves, to understand their experience and to integrate, or explain, their behaviour in a particular domain (Markus et al., 1988, p.38).

Defence Mechanisms: It was noted in the earlier discussion on change processes that when individuals are confronted with information or experiences which in some way challenge, or threaten, their view of themselves, established patterns of relationships and so on, they will deny, or in some way avoid dealing with this, at least initially (Marris, 1974; Golan, 1981). There is a tendency, as some writers have observed, "...to dispute the facts and cling to the outmoded self-perception" (Adler and Town, 1981, p.70). Such reactions are termed "defense mechanisms" by psychologists. These are processes which are said

to occur in the individual (or psyche) and which serve to distort reality. In so doing, it is posited, they protect the self-concept from information or new insights which would conflict in some way with it. Denial, rationalization, intellectualization, blame and projection are among defence mechanisms which have been identified (see Dworetzky (1982, pp.445-7) and McLeod,(1993, p.27) for discussions).

Certain findings from the present study, when examined from a self-concept frame of reference (Hamachek, 1985, 1988), could be seen as providing some support for the above. For example, some respondents may be interpreted as denying the relevance of information about gender equality and other feminist issues to their own lives (see particularly those respondents identified as having Type 1 personal systems - Appendix X - "Personal systems of respondents"). There is evidence that these respondents are aware of these new meanings - that they have been incorporated into their view of social reality (see Chapter 8, Stage 1, Section 2 of analysis). However, in denying the full relevance of this information to their own actual life situations, they are able to maintain their self-concept in its present structure. But more specifically, the self-schemas which they have developed and whereby they organize and understand their behaviour and experience in the domain of family domestic work and child care, remain essentially unaltered (Markus et al., 1982, p.38).

Other participants may be interpreted as sustaining a distorted and unrealistic self-concept (in view of the changed conditions, of which they are aware) by reacting here with the defence mechanism of blame - either of self or other (partner) (McLeod, 1992, pp.66, 27; McKay and Fanning, 1992, p.66). Examples from the present study can be seen in Appendix X - "Personal systems of respondents", Types 2 and 3 (particularly respondents MO6, F17, F33, F54, F12, F30, F35, F37). Likewise, the defence mechanism of rationalization can be identified among some participants. This has been described as one of the "most common ways of avoiding a threat to [the] self-concept" (Adler and Town, 1981, p.136). Here, "acceptable explanations [are substituted] for the real, but unacceptable reasons" (Dworetzky, 1982, p.445). Examples from this study can be seen in comments from respondents which appear in Appendix VI - "Explanations given by respondents for their partner's lesser involvement in family work" (see also Chapter 8, Stage 2, Section 5). Similar findings have been reported by other investigators (for example Hochschild 1989, cited Basow, 1992; McKay and Fanning, 1992; Egan, 1994). An indication of the elaborate and fanciful shape rationalizations may take can be gauged from the situation of a dual-career couple taking part in a study by Hochschild. In their household, the wife took care of the house and the child, while the husband took care of the dog and the garage. Both considered that the division of labour was "equitable" (Hochschild, 1989, cited Basow, 1992, p.223).

While the above psychological interpretation of certain findings from the study could be seen as providing some support for the argument that the ideological attitudes of

interest are also self-schemas - components of the self-concept of some individuals - such explanations are generally deficient. In particular, as noted earlier, they fail to take account of cultural factors. This study has revealed that the latter are powerfully at work here. For example, the present state of some participants' attitudes - in the context of prevailing group values - is such as to deny them any significantly different ways of defining situations in this life area (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1839). Their prevailing ideological attitudes - which control their personal systems and which correspond to ideological values whose common meanings continue to be shared by many in this society - prevent alternative conceptions of life in this area, at this time as this applies personally to them, from even being imagined. As Thomas and Znaniecki put it: "a field of social reality whose meanings the individual does not know, even if [they] can observe its sensual contents, is as much out of the reach of [their] practical experience as the other side of the moon" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1850)(see also Schuetz, 1960).

Counselling and psychotherapeutic models: Recognition of the significance of the self-concept to individual behaviour, as well as the inherent difficulties in major change to this, has resulted in this concept having a "central place" in one of the most widely-used orientations in counselling and therapy over the past fifty years - person-centred therapy. Furthermore, methods used in this model have been integrated into numerous other approaches (McLeod, 1993, pp.62-7, also citing Thorne, 1992. See also Rogers, 1951; Carkhuff, 1971, 1987; Andrews, 1991; Egan, 1975, 1990, 1994). The model developed by Andrews (1991) provides an example of the latter. The core idea in this approach is that the individual acts in the world to reaffirm her or his self-concept. This process of self-confirmation is seen to involve a feedback loop consisting of several stages. The self-concept is viewed here as the way a person perceives his or her attitudes, feeling states, ways of acting in situations and all other dimensions of 'what I am'. This sense of self generates characteristic expectations and needs. Thus, a person who, say, perceives of herself/himself as dominant may experience a need to be controlling and powerful in relationships, and will expect others to follow directions which are laid down. Patterns of action and behaviour will ensue "which are consistent with the underlying needs and expectations and even more fundamental self-concept". This behaviour, in turn, is perceived and reacted to by others, some of whom are people with whom that person is actually in a relationship (family member, colleague, and so on); but with some also being "internalized others" (for example, mental images of parents). The person then perceives the response of these others, and "..not only cognitively interprets that response, but also has a feeling or emotional reaction to it". These inner experiences also are assimilated into the self-concept and the process resumes (McLeod, 1993, pp.103-5, also citing Andrews, 1991).

As McLeod observed, "at the heart of the self-confirmation model" is the assumption that at each of these stages the person acts in order to prevent outcomes which are in conflict, or dissonant with, their self-concept. People may engage in distortions at any stage in the feedback loop in order to protect the self-concept from contradictory information from the environment. Problems in living may arise from these distortions. An objective of counselling or psychotherapy is, therefore, to enable the client to understand how self-confirmation operates in their life, and to change what is happening at those stages where the most serious distortion is occurring (McLeod, 1993, p.104).

The difficulties many clients experience in terms of changing dysfunctional self-related messages has been referred to by numerous writers/therapists (see for example Beck, 1976; Golan, 1981; Yeomans, 1984; Ellis, 1989; Andrews, 1991; McKay and Fanning, 1992; Watson and Tharp, 1992; Egan, 1994). In fact, it was such recognition which gave rise to the development of a new therapeutic orientation - cognitive behavioural counselling (see McLeod, 1993, pp.45-61 for a discussion). The cognitive strand of this approach, which grew out of behavioural psychology, is of particular interest here. This has been described by Ellis (1989), the founder of Rational Emotive Therapy (RET) (Ellis, 1962).

Among the earliest attempts to work in a cognitive model with clients took place within the field of sex therapy (Ellis, 1989). Pioneers in this area found that they needed to challenge inappropriate beliefs and fantasies clients held about sex. To do so effectively, required that they give their clients information about sexuality and the varieties of sexual behaviour - in other words, provide them with new, accurate information which could enable them to alter their distorted reality-constructions in this area. Clients then may be assisted in gradually incorporating this new knowledge and awareness into their own guidelines for engaging in and giving meaning to their sexual activities. This aim - of helping clients to change the way they think about things - has remained a central focus of cognitive counselling approaches (McLeod, 1993, p.52).

Both Ellis (1962) and Beck (1976), who founded cognitive therapy, began their careers as psychoanalysts. They became dissatisfied with psychoanalytic methods, and found themselves becoming more aware of "the importance of the ways in which their clients thought about themselves" (McLeod, 1993, p.52). The approaches they developed evolved from the perspective that the behavioural and emotional difficulties which individuals experience in their lives, and which may lead them to seek therapy, are not caused directly by events; but rather, by the particular interpretations they give to these - the way they make sense of them. A key feature of such approaches is that of paying close attention to the cognitive processes through which individuals monitor, control and understand their behaviour (McLeod, 1993, p.45).

In developing his approach, Beck went on to describe a number of "self-critical cognitions" and "cognitive distortions", or "automatic thoughts", which individuals often demonstrate. These include deeply-held beliefs, often developed in childhood, by which

individuals define the self (McKay and Fanning, 1992, p.192). A frequent observation has been that people will "stick rigidly to an interpretation of the facts", to the point of denying or avoiding contradictory evidence. Such ways of thinking, as noted earlier, serve both to protect and perpetuate a self-concept which is both unrealistic and often self-defeating (McLeod, 1993, p.54). The distorted cognitions which Beck identified are similar to Ellis's "absolutistic" and "catastrophizing" thinking; and to what Egan termed "self-defeating internal dialogues", "evasions", "blind spots" and "distortions" (Egan, 1984, pp.158-176). Such cognitive phenomena are associated with individuals continuing to construct distorted and inaccurate perceptions of themselves, others and life events/experiences (McKay and Fanning, 1992; Watson and Tharp, 1992). These ways of thinking which individuals have developed are seen to keep them "locked into their problem situations" (Egan, 1994, p.167).

In recognition also of the effort required to change self-related messages, numerous therapeutic strategies have been developed to assist clients here. These aim, firstly, at eliciting their unrealistic beliefs and negative self-talk/thoughts; and then challenging these, with a view to then facilitating the acquisition of new, more realistic self messages and associated change to the self-concept.[4] In relation to the former task, gaining access to the self-statements and beliefs of the client requires the utilisation of such techniques as a client's 'thinking out loud' when doing a task, questionnaires, thought-listing and unobtrusive tape-recording of spontaneous speech. However, what should be noted is that the aim here is essentially that of identifying, from information the client discloses, the (destructive) self-message, or self-schema, according to which he or she is cognitively processing information and understanding, or interpreting, their self-experience in a certain area. Such a self-schema having been identified, is challenged by the therapist (see below) who then assists the client to develop an alternative, more appropriate one.

A principal strategy to be employed in relation to the client's acquiring more realistic self-messages (and hence self-concept) is that of encouraging them to experiment with alternative self-statements or beliefs in particular situations; and so to discover for themselves the effects of acting according to a different set of guiding assumptions (McLeod, 1993, pp.56-7) (see also McKay and Fanning, 1992; Watson and Tharp, 1992; Egan, 1994). Egan has expressed the view that challenging self-limiting and self-destructive ways of thinking "is one of the most powerful methodologies for behavioural change" (Egan, 1993, p.167). However, he also acknowledged the considerable difficulty associated with this - and hence facing counsellors, in facilitating a client's change in this area. As already noted, challenges to the self-concept have the potential to precipitate "some disorganization" in individuals, which has been variously referred to as "crisis, disorganization, a sense of inadequacy, disequilibrium, and beneficial uncertainty" (Egan,

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4   The purpose, Egan emphasised, is "not to strip clients of their defenses, which in some cases could be dangerous, but to help them overcome blind spots and develop new perspectives" (Egan, 1994, p.165).

1994, p.173 - also citing Beier and Young, 1984). This is always experienced as stressful and is resisted. Even where clients are seeking change, and when a counsellor's "direct challenge" or "invitation to self-challenge" is accurate and delivered sensitively and caringly, Egan has observed, "still they dodge and weave" (Egan, 1994, p.173).

Pointing also to the powerful influence of the self-concept on people's life situations and their understanding of these, are findings from an extensive evaluation of counselling outcomes. This has suggested that any positive effects which clients have experienced from counselling or psychology, frequently have derived not from deliberate therapeutic interventions in relation to problems presented. Rather, these have been the result of changes in client's self-perceptions. Important here have been increases in self-esteem "in response to consistent positive regard from the therapist" (McKay and Fanning, 1992, p.5 - also citing research by Zilbergeld, 1983). As Hamachek (1985, p.137) observed, self-esteem and self-concept - like all components within the self's organization - "are mutually reinforcing and highly interactive".

A final point should be made before concluding this discussion on the seeming resistance to change of self-related messages. This is that the cognitive phenomena referred to above and observed by therapists in their clinical work - cognitive distortions, rationalizations and so on - have also been reported by psychological researchers working in other settings, with "ordinary adult people who were not under emotional threat or suffering from psychological problems" (McLeod, 1993, p.54). The evidence thus strongly supports the idea of the preservation of a stable and consistent view of self - albeit unrealistic - being of major significance to individuals. They may be conceptualized as constantly engaging in cognitive work in order to accomplish this.

Self-concept and Cultural Ideology

The interest here is to identify certain similarities between the kinds of influence on individuals' lives which the self-concept and cultural ideology may each exert, as these have become apparent in preceding discussions. To begin with, a feature of both phenomena is the powerful limitation each may impose on individuals' actions and experience. Thus, with respect to the ideological values of interest here, of the vast range of ways whereby family income provision and care may be organized - "the relationship between biology and culture" - one method is selected and presented by society, and this is used by members and accepted by them - as *the* way by which everybody *should* abide (Edgar, 1991(c), p.5, also citing Althusser, 1971). Likewise in relation to the self-concept - whereas every individual represents "a mass of potential capable of displaying a wide range of behavior", each person usually sees and defines the self by focussing on "a few attributes from the assortment of possibilities" (Saks and Krupat, 1988, p.92).

The enormous directive power of both ideology and the self-concept on individuals' everyday lives, and the way their experiences and activities are understood, represents a

further similarity these phenomena share. In relation to ideology, this is discussed in Chapter 5 from the theoretical perspective of Thomas and Znaniecki (1927) (see also Schuetz, 1960). Literature reviews conducted in Chapters 1-4 reveal how the influence of traditional breadwinning/homemaking ideology is manifest in major institutions in this society; and on the lives of girls and boys, women and men. Findings from the current investigation also are revealing here. With regard to the self-concept, studies cited in the previous discussion point to this having major impact on individuals' behaviour and thinking, including - as with ideology - the way they perceive the world: their version of social reality.

Apparent also from the earlier discussion is the way individuals, in constructing a coherent self-concept, draw from and organize self-relevant information and experience which may be contradictory. In fact, the overwhelming evidence points to "the importance of the selection, use and distortion of self-data as critical to the self-concept" (Saks and Krupat, 1988, p.89 - also citing Epstein, 1973; Greenwald, 1980, 1982). A person may even prefer to sustain a self-destructive perception of self - one which is associated with considerable emotional pain and dysfunction in their lives - than to risk change. Thus, individuals devote considerable effort to the work of sustaining what they believe to be a consistent and coherent picture of themselves. The importance of such - the "self-regulating psyche" - was stressed by Jung, who also referred to human beings' capacity "to reconcile the opposite factors" within their own personality (cited in Golan, 1981, p.125).

Similar characteristics to the above have been identified with respect to cultural ideology (see Chapters 5 and 9). Schuetz's (1960) essay, referred to earlier, highlights the impact of the "cultural pattern" (cf. "social organization" of Thomas and Znaniecki) upon individual members of a given group and on social life, generally. Thus, individuals' knowledge, it was pointed out "...is not homogeneous ...is incoherent,...only partially clear and...not at all free from contradictions". Yet the "trustworthy recipes" for interpreting the world and behaving in it take on the appearance of sufficient clarity, coherence and consistency. In Schuetz's words: ".. it is the function of the cultural pattern to eliminate troublesome inquiries by offering ready-made directions for use, to replace truth hard to attain by comfortable truisms, and to substitute the self-explanatory for the questionable" (Schuetz, 1960, p.102).

Examples of the above are apparent in relation to the male breadwinner/female homemaker norm. For example, Gilding (1991) concluded from his historical research that many working class women in Australia have always had to supplement the family income through paid work. Morgan has commented similarly in relation to Britain. In that country also, "the notion of the breadwinner has never matched actual experience" (Morgan, 1985, p.78). Findings from the current study - notably from the analysis of respondents' personal systems - also highlight the way individuals, under the influence of ideological values, may not notice, or otherwise distort, certain information. They thus may also develop new

cognitions (cognitive distortions) which permit them to integrate conflicting ideas into their personal system, and so maintain the organized structure of this. As a consequence, this system continues to be controlled and guided by an ideological attitude, or a modified version of this.

As is seen in the earlier discussion on change processes, similarities exist between change to the self-concept and that found in the present study in relation to individuals' ideological attitudes. For example, with their development of new attitudes, the ideological attitude (attitudinal scheme) by which an individual's personal system previously had been organized and systematized may eventually lose its power to control this. A state of disequilibrium ensues. Inconsistencies and contradictions in this life area - previously hidden because of the (then) systematization and the nature of the scheme by which they were unified - now become evident. Similar findings are reported in studies of major change to self-concept (Golan, 1981; Yeomans, 1984). Moreover, in relation to both, the equilibrium among attitudes/self-related information gradually must be restored. This involves the individual concerned in gradually doing the cognitive-emotional and behavioural work necessary to bring the respective phenomena under the control and guidance of a new attitudinal scheme/self-schema. More is said concerning these processes in the section to follow.

Following from the above, both a person's ideological attitudes and their self-concept appear to be incapable of rapid major change (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1248; Hamachek, 1985, 1988; Saks and Krupat, 1988, p.74). A given individual's experiences in these areas are organized and interpreted according to pre-existing cognitive frameworks for as long as they can be - i.e., until the individual is faced with information such that inconsistencies and contradictions can no longer be denied, or 'rationalized away'. Consequently, individuals can maintain certain interpretations pertaining to ideology and the self, even in the face of what is actually contradictory evidence, but which is unrecognised by them (see Chapter 9 for examples from the study).

Concluding Comments

From Thomas and Znaniecki's perspective, a group's ideological values play a vital role in processes whereby individuals evolve a social personality. An aim of the discussion in this section has been to provide support for an idea that ideological attitudes pertaining to the male breadwinner/female homemaker norm may also be elements of the self-concept - i.e. self-schemas which men and women respectively, develop. Among the support marshalled for such a view, is the perspective on the self-concept advanced my Hamachek (1985, 1988) as well as research conducted by Markus and colleagues (1982) on information processing. Studies by the latter investigators - on the cognitive processing of information - point to the existence of gender self-schemas. Additionally, findings here could be interpreted as providing some support for the notion of the scheme as conceptualized by

Thomas and Znaniecki - in particular, the nature of the organization of experiences and understandings which this permits. This idea is pursued further in the section which follows.

PROBLEMS OF CONTROL - EVERYDAY AFFAIRS

The directive power and relative stability which characterise ideological attitudes and the personality (specifically here, the self-concept) are crucial to the social organization and individual identity - the "continuity of individual behavior" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1248). They are also linked importantly to issues to do with individuals' regulation and control of their environment - their particular sphere of social reality. Problems to do with control have been identified by some authors as the "central problems of life" (Edgar et al., 1993, p.46). A consideration of some topics related to this area, occupies the final section of the discussion.

Group Life and Individual Behaviour

From Thomas and Znaniecki's perspective, not only could there be no group life (social organization) and no continuity of individual behaviour without the existence of social meanings; but also, neither of these could be possible without the *preservation* of these (meanings) in spite of changes in social conditions and attitudes (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1248). Similar views have been expressed by other writers. Egan, for example, commented that an absence of some common understandings "would lead to chaos and eliminate the ability to communicate" (Egan, 1994, p.164). The *other* would be experienced as a stranger. According to G. H. Mead, self-control and empathy represented the psychological basis of the social order, since "...without insight into the feelings of others the person could not participate successfully in social interaction and interpersonal relationships" (Edgar et al., 1993, p.286, also citing Mead, 1964 [1934]).

The meanings a group of people share, along with shared socialization experiences, shared pasts and shared life situations, also lead to the development of social bonds: "the social cement of mutual interdependence, cooperation, negotiation and compromise on which a society in the end relies for survival" (Edgar, 1991(a), p.vi.). Moreover, in the absence of those regularities provided by "routine, tacitly understood ways of behaving" there could be no predictability of social life. It has been claimed also that a type of "existential anxiety" would prevail which would "limit human behaviour" (Edgar et al., 1993, p.72, also citing Giddens, 1989). The social organization thus may be seen to enable society to function smoothly, to some degree, as well as to provide individuals with the security of knowing what is expected of them and others.

The earlier discussion drew attention to how the self-concept, in focussing on certain central and defining aspects of a person, permits individuals to maintain a stable view of themselves. The degree of stability thus attained in its members, Thomas and Znaniecki

contended, is also required by society. As they observed in relation to "the social aspect of the problem of personal evolution": the individual's personality must be "...based on attitudes common to all members and socially desirable, so that each member shall appreciate it positively". Additionally, it must present "a perfect unity, in spite of the multiplicity of individual activities" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1880-1). That aspect of the personality which is crucial in the latter regard, it is suggested here, is the self-concept - and in particular, the cultural elements constituting this (which may, of course, interact with other aspects of the self - social, biological and so on.

The perceived consistency and stability of the self-concept appears to be vitally important both for the individual and for the group. Taylor and colleagues claimed that without the continuity and overall consistency of personality which the self-concept provides, individuals would be unable to maintain long-term interpersonal relationships (Taylor et al., 1986, p.52). Commenting similarly, Berglas, a psychiatrist, has pointed out that individuals whose personalities are "fixed in negative ways" are preferable in relationships, to those which are "mercurial". Furthermore, if individuals constantly changed, others could not know them, and nor could they know themselves. Concerning other possible outcomes of such, Berglas observed in somewhat humorous vein : "We wouldn't know who we were coming home to at night" (Berglas, 1994, p.15).

Adaptation

The particular view of social reality which each individual constructs, irrespective of how vast it may be compared with that of others, necessarily is "always limited": "constitutes only a small part of the whole complexity of social facts". It may, for example, extend only over one society and perhaps only one class in that society. Furthermore, there is much more going on in the environment than people are able to experience, given their limited senses. Even within the realm of the senses, people tend to be aware of only a small part of what is happening around them. There is, as noted earlier, much in the environment which is "left unheeded". It is, therefore, a "fallacy" to assume that individuals "know social reality because they live in it" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, in Bierstedt, 1969, p.56; Adler and Town, 1981, pp.166-7)..

The view of reality which individuals construct "...is nature and society as [they see] them". People can only react to their experience, and this obviously is not all that "an absolutely objective observer might find in the portion of the world within the individual's reach" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1847). What each person finds in their environment, it was contended, depends on their attitudes toward their environment, the demands they make upon it, the control they exercise over it, the particular desires and needs they seek to meet and the way they attempt to satisfy them. From those writers' perspective, a person's world widens with the development of their demands and the means of their control.

The establishment of a certain "more or less permanent order" in a particular sphere of an individual's reality - i.e., the stabilization and systematization of their attitudes - permits them to consciously regulate and control their experiences (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1851). However, the "practical success" in achieving such a determined relation, those writers observed, "is not a proof of intellectual superiority" (p.1854); nor is it a "guarantee of [individuals'] knowledge of the relations between the social phenomena which [they are] able to control " (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927) in Bierstedt, 1969, p.57. Rather,

> It may mean simply a limitation of claims and interests and a stability of external conditions which do not allow any radically new situations to be noticed (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1854).

There must of course be some "objective reality" in schemes individuals construct, "otherwise [they] could not live in society". Yet "the truth of these schemes", it was pointed out, is always "only a rough approximation and is mixed with an enormous amount of error" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, in Bierstedt, 1969, p.57). It cannot be assumed, therefore, that people's "successful adaptation" to their environment is "a proof that [they know] this environment thoroughly". Such an assumption would overlook the fact that

> ...there are degrees of success, that the standard of success is to a large extent subjective, and that all the standards of success applied in human society may be - and really are -very low, because they make allowance for a very large number of failures each of which denotes one or many errors (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, in Bierstedt, 1969, p.57).

According to the above authors, any perspective which views the appearance of new ways of behaving (new definitions of situations) solely as a result of adaptation to new external factors, is "based upon a quite inadequate conception of adaptation" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1876). It was their contention that in every adaptation, two elements are found in varying proportions. One is the actual control exercised over the environment, and the other refers to the claims which this control serves to satisfy. An adaptation thus may be "perfect" either because of "particularly limited claims" or because of "particularly successful and wide control". Whenever, within the given range of claims, the control proves insufficient, the person (or group) can either limit the claims or develop a better control (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, in Bierstedt, 1969, p.57).

Relating the above to findings from the present study, it could be said that respondents identified as having Type 1 personal systems - attitudes stabilized and schematized according to the traditional norm - have a "perfect" adaptation but their claims are low and their control over the environment, narrow. Thus, in the presence of changes to material and social conditions, they "restructured events in their minds" (Saks and Krupat, 1988, p.62). In so doing, they retained control over their environment by limiting the claims which this (control) served to satisfy. This is in contrast to Type 5 participants, whose personal systems are systematically organized and controlled by a new equity attitude. They also have a "perfect" adaptation; however, these individuals have widened

their claims and extended their knowledge and control of that sphere of their reality upon which this study focusses. The new stabilized attitudes in their personal systems and the new scheme they have constructed, permit new elements in their environment both to be noticed by them and to be perceived as relevant to their actual life situations (see Chapter 9). As the study shows, these individuals also use the new values to guide their actions and the meanings they give to their life in the area investigated. In other words, their world has widened

> ...with the development of [their] demands and [their] means of control and the process of this widening [has involved] two essential phases - the introduction of new complexities of data into the sphere of [their] experience and the definition of new situations within those complexities (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1847).

It was Thomas and Znaniecki's argument that "in every activity", the former of the examples cited above - a limiting of claims (referred to as "adaptation by failures") - plays a "very important role". Thus, people's knowledge of their environment

> ...can be considered as real only in the particular matters in which ...they do actually control it...[their] schemes can be true only in so far as they are perfectly, absolutely successful. And if we remember how much of practical success is due to mere chance and luck, even this limited number of truths becomes doubtful (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, in Bierstedt, 1969, p.57)

For those writers, therefore, adaptation was not a "state reached at a certain moment" but a process of "the widening or narrowing of the sphere of adaptation". This, they pointed out "depends essentially upon the individual...not upon [their] environment"; and in particular, upon whether they are satisfied or not with what they can obtain from existing conditions and the way they have organized their lives with respect to these (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1879-82. See also Chapter 5 - discussion on desires for new experience/stability).

According to the above writers then, "the truths which stand the test of individual practice are always schemes of the concrete and singular", just as the situations are in which individuals find themselves. Consequently, people's knowledge of social relations and acquaintance with social data which are acquired in practice, always are more or less subjective, both in generality and number. Thence, they pointed out,

> ... comes the well-known fact that the really valuable part of practical wisdom acquired by [individuals] during [their lives] is incommunicable - cannot be stated in general terms: everyone must acquire it afresh by a kind of apprenticeship to life - that is, by learning to select experiences according to the demands of [their] own personality and to construct for [their] own use particular schemes of the concrete situations which [they encounter]((Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, in Bierstedt, 1969, p.58).

Perception and Cognitive Processing

A person's capacity to function is crucially related to their ability to sort out and manage the myriad of stimuli with which they are constantly bombarded, and so make sense of their experiences (Adler and Town, 1981, p.168, also citing William James (n.d.)). In recent

times cognitive psychologists have directed attention increasingly to the processes which determine people's perceptions - their mind's processing and interpretation of information (Atkinson et al., 1983, pp.146-7). It appears to the writer that certain findings from this research could enhance understanding of such cultural phenomena as are being considered here.

In recent times some investigators - notably, those involved in social cognition research - have "gotten back to basics" and have used and extended the principles of experimental psychologists who studied such topics as attention and memory. Their studies have included a focus on distinguishing between factors associated with information being attended to and that which gets overlooked or discarded - the process of selective attention (Saks and Krupat, 1988, p.65). A further area of interest has been a theoretical concern with regard to the way vast amounts of diverse information are held together in, and organized by, the human mind (Saks and Krupat, 1988, pp.65-72). The concept of schema occupies a central place in such theorizing, and it is on this that the discussion here primarily focusses. (See Atkinson et al., 1983, pp.146-50 and Saks and Krupat, 1988, pp.65-79 for reviews of some studies and an overview of stages of human information processing).

Schemas

The schema concept was referred to earlier, with regard to self-related information (Markus et al., 1982). Briefly here, schemas have been defined as "knowledge structures that impose meaning on the blooming, buzzing, confusion around us" (Saks and Krupat, 1988, p.72, also quoting MacArthur and Boron, 1983). They are developed through experience, becoming more complex and refined over time. They have the effect of making the processing of information more efficient, since they substitute knowledge about general cases for each specific instance encountered; and often help people to make sound predictions about the world (Saks and Krupat, 1988, p.76). Thus, where a schema has been developed it serves to simplify and organize knowledge about a given event, person, group and so on, while at the same time also enabling it to take on a fuller meaning (Atkinson et al., 1983, p.147). Schemas may therefore be seen to perform the vital function of permitting individuals " to form expectations about people and events, to focus...attention and energies on relevant, important information, and to interpret ambiguous information into pre-existing frameworks" (Saks and Krupat, 1988, p.72, also citing Fiske and Linville, 1980; Taylor and Crocker, 1981).

Those schemas which are important to individuals are influential in simplifying and organizing broad segments of their experience into explicit beliefs, attitudes and actions (see Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1848). The significance of gender self-schemas in this regard was noted earlier, as were the information-processing consequences of these cognitive structures (Markus et al., 1982; C. Miller, 1984). In the area of gender, as in

others where the culture prescribes certain activities and interpretations in relation to these, similar schemas could be said to exist among members of given groups in a society - in this example women and men. These common schemas are, in a sense, "imposed upon the individual" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1871). That is, the limited variety of values in a person's milieu, along with the similarly organized activities, sequences of influences, events, situations and so on, to which they are exposed during their social education, ensure that similar schemas are developed by a group's members (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1847). These cognitive structures are influential in organizing a person's future activities, the way these are cognitively processed, understood and so on.

As indicated above, schemas pertaining to the self, individuals construct schemas about other people, groups, roles and events (Saks and Krupat, 1988, p.73). A person schema, for example, will contain understandings of behaviours, traits and so on of a specific individual, or types of individuals. Role schemas are "ideas, beliefs and expectations which are held for people who fit into social categories". Event schemas involve knowledge structures which people hold about certain specific situations (Saks and Krupat, 1988, p.73). The latter schemas are also called "scripts", "because our knowledge about them almost dictates the words to be spoken and the actions to be carried out, like the script for a play". It has been further suggested that behaviour may be "...determined by scripts in various social events to such an extent that they are really like rituals" (Saks and Krupat, 1988, p.74 also citing Goffman, 1967).

An earlier discussion aimed to provide support for the idea of ideological attitudes corresponding to the breadwinning/homemaking norm in this society, also constituting gender-related self-schemas. However, following on from the above, it could be suggested that individuals may develop, for example, similar situation, role, and event schemas with respect to aspects of life involved here. From a cognitive-processing perspective, then, the (possible) existence of several mutually-supporting schemas which are common to many individuals, may help explain why individual (and social) change in this life area is often difficult to achieve; and further, the pervasiveness of this norm with respect to individuals' lives, and in this society. It continues to be difficult for some individuals even to conceptualize alternatives to the traditional gender-divided norm.

In emphasising the active involvement of the individual in cognitive processes associated with perception, cognitive psychologists introduced the term "analysis-by-synthesis" (Neisser, 1976). According to this, individuals search for the schema which seems to be most consistent with the available data. One hypothesis after another is tested until one is found which matches with reality. In most situations, though, there is only one "reasonable interpretation" of the sensory data, so that the search for the correct schema "...proceeds so quickly and automatically that the [perceiver is] unaware of it" (Atkinson et al., 1983, p.146). What is of "critical importance" here, is that where there exists a schema - "a neat schematic package that fits together as well as possible" - subsequent testing and

thinking is referred back to this, with little reference to "the fuller more complex packet of information that was initially received" (Saks and Krupat, 1988, p.76 - also citing Wyer and Gordon, 1982). Where information pertaining to a particular person, role or event and so on, does not fit into a "broader schema", it is a person's "...perception [which] usually yields to the schema, rather than vice-versa" (Saks and Krupat, 1988, p.74 - also citing Crocker, Hannah, and Weber, 1983). Consequently,. all schemas tend to resist change.

The self-concept, it has been theorized, is formed in a similar process to that outlined above - that is, "...by testing a set of hypotheses about who I am, what kind of person I am" (Saks and Krupat, 1988, p.87, also citing Epstein, 1973). The behaviour which a person enacts each day and the way she or he responds to a variety of situations provide the data against which a person's self-theories (or self-schemas) are tested. The data change according to time, place and circumstances, as individuals bring into play various different aspects of the self. As noted earlier, individuals are inclined to cling to an existing self-schema, even when this is contradicted by the evidence, for as long as they are able - i.e., until faced with information where the poor fit is undeniable. The self-concept may then gradually be modified in line with the data (Saks and Krupat, 1988, p. 78)(see also Golan, 1981; Greenwald, 1982; Hamachek, 1985, 1988).

Everyday Reality-Testing

As they go about their everyday lives, individuals may be conceptualized as constantly engaging in reality-testing work.. Their very survival may depend upon their having certain environmental information available to them and this being understood and effectively acted upon. Essential to such activity, it is suggested, are individuals monitoring and, where necessary, adjusting the fit between their constructions of external reality and those relating to their plans and expectations for living and conducting their lives. The concept of personal system is used in the current study, to indicate the cultural dimension of the latter. In relation to each of these constructions, findings from this study suggest that both ideological values and a person's unique situations and personality characteristics - including their self-concept - are among factors which may exert influence in the processes referred to. Moreover, these constructs may be seen as being shaped by - as being sustained and or modified - as a consequence of the kinds of reality-testing referred to.

Reality-testing work may be conceptualized as taking place during individuals' participation in and observation of everyday activities and life events, as well as through reading, television-viewing, conscious reflection and so on. Caldicott (physician and anti-nuclear campaigner) has drawn attention to the significance of everyday conversational talk in this regard, a point which is taken up shortly. A personal example she provided here also draws attention to the reality-disjuncture which may eventually face a person when the - ideally ongoing - reality-testing task is neglected. In her case, this concerned psychological

matters, and was related to her according a higher priority to other events, at a particular time in her life. To quote her:

> ...Eating, sleeping, dreaming nuclear war for ten years, giving two or three speeches a day and numerous press conferences...I didn't have time to deal with normal psychological events that happen day-to-day in people's lives where we sit around, talk with our friends and family and work things out...I was too busy and so I pushed it back, bagged it in a way, and so all of that stuff has been coming out and I've had to deal with that, which has been healthy and very good, if extremely painful. I think in the end I'll probably be stronger and more secure in a way, more serene. (Caldicott, 1991, pp.175-6).

The example Caldicott has given here would seem to be similar in certain respects to those instances where a person's ideological attitudes may be impeding the effectiveness of reality-testing processes (e.g., Type 1 personal systems) or have previously impeded (e.g., Type 3 personal systems). In relation to the latter respondents, their development of new attitudes - and the corresponding de-schematization or disorganization of their personal systems - has permitted them to see former distortions and the inconsistencies they hid (see Appendix X - "Personal systems of respondents"). These individuals then, are faced with "the shock of reality disjuncture", as was Caldicott, (Edgar, 1991(c), p.6).

Loss of Control

Thus, when a lack of fit between a person's constructions of social reality and their guidelines and expectations for living in this (personal system) and/or their self-concept, is actually recognised and acknowledged by them, some disruption among the elements comprising these constructs may be expected. The individual may experience, to varying degrees, a loss of control over certain everyday affairs . This is to say that ideological attitudes, or self-schemas, which previously had controlled and organized particular sets of attitudes, or self-perceptions, and which had corresponded to certain established routines of behaviour and ways of thinking, feeling and understanding in relation to these, may become weakened, and in certain instances may no longer be accepted as valid by the individual. In other words, what previously had been accepted, or taken for granted, is challenged. The individual's personal system (or self-concept) with respect to a particular sphere of life is thus in a state of disequilibrium or disorganization - lacking the control and guidance of an attitudinal scheme (or self-schema). The restoration of control may require major readjustments to these constructs, in contrast to the gradual, step by step, often imperceptible day-to-day adjustments which may otherwise take place.

Schuetz made the point that "the normal way of life" is "always far less guaranteed than it seems". Moreover, the only symptoms of "the rising of a crisis which may menace the whole foundation of the 'relatively natural conception of the world' " may pass unnoticed by a group's members, who "rely on the continuance of their customary way of life". In contrast, a stranger to the group may discern this threat "with a grievous clear-sightedness". The deeper reason for such an individual's objectivity lies in their own bitter experience of

the limits of "thinking-as-usual": the knowledge that "a person may lose [their] status, [their] rules of guidance and even [their] history" (Schuetz, 1960, p.108). Such a perspective, as advanced by Schuetz, is similar (at least in its cultural aspects) to that outlined above - a fact not altogether surprising since he acknowledged drawing from "W.I.Thomas' famous definition" of a crisis, viz:

> ...a "crisis"..."interrupts the flow of habit and gives rise to changed conditions of consciousness and practice"; or, as we may say, it overthrows precipitously the actual system of relevances. The cultural pattern no longer functions as a system of tested recipes at hand, it reveals that its applicability is restricted to a specific historical situation (Schuetz, 1960, p.102. W.I. Thomas reference not specified).

Edgar and colleagues have posited a similar view in relation to a crisis. This was defined as a "threat to what has been taken for granted" (Edgar et al., 1993, p.46). According to those writers, events "may precipitate change...if they create a *loss of control* over everyday affairs". To quote them further here:

> When the **normal** breaks down, new elements force themselves upon us and threaten to destroy our control over our affairs. They challenge our habits, our customs and our sleepy acceptance of the way things are. In so doing, they awake our attention to the central problems of life - those to do with control over our environment. When attention wakes thought becomes necessary and the search for new meanings to restore control begins (Edgar et al., 1993, p.46 - also citing W.I. Thomas (1920) - not referenced).

Reactions to Loss of Control

Golan is among authors to emphasise the highly stressful nature of the intermediary, or destructuring, stage of self-change . As she commented, this is:

> ...often marked by feelings of anxiety, loss and upset, which sometimes erupt into states of active disequilibrium. This period involves an interval of adaptation and reorganization, both in one's inner and outer worlds, during which basic shifts in thinking, feeling and behaving must be made (Golan, 1981, p.4).

People are also often self-critical at such times and tend to judge themselves "too harshly". In referring to this, Seidler observed that a failure "to come to terms with the self-critical voice" may even constitute a barrier to change (Seidler, 1990, p. 221). Comments frequently made by individuals in these situations include "I feel ashamed. I don't want anyone to know this about me" and "I want to hide this. People won't understand, they'll be critical". There is often an assumption by the person concerned, that "something must be wrong with me": "in the unfortunate words of our culture, 'He or she broke down' " (Yeomans, 1984, p.76). And people *are* often critical "because they don't understand, and often that brings criticism" (Yeomans, 1984, p.72).

By way of illustrating the impact on the individual of the kind of change being discussed here - that involving the loss of a particular form of control and meaning - some writers have detailed personal examples. Thus, Yeomans has described such an experience as "terrifying". She later could realise that it had been associated with "letting

go of a belief system that had held [her] life together for some time" (Yeomans, 1984, p.77). She reported sitting and talking with a friend:

> ....and I decided to go even more deeply into my experience, terrifying as it was. It seemed as if that was all there was to do, although I wasn't at all sure it would go anywhere. It was like falling down a deep chasm and not being at all sure if there would be any light, or any relief. As I fell, I was crying and saying "I believed so much. I believed so much" (Yeomans, 1984, p.72).

Pierce (1991), in providing a personal account of a crisis, likewise draws attention to the stressful and disorienting nature of experiences which may be associated with the kind of change being referred to. As that person disclosed in relation to its handling: "To get hold of an emotion - a feeling - a knowledge - an intrinsic something that you can rely on, that no one can take from you, is the starting point, on the way back to sanity" (Pierce, 1991, p.163). Similar reactions have been reported by Helen Caldicott. She also has drawn attention to the intensely emotional nature of the experiences being considered here. Thus, she referred to having felt "very frightened" as well as at times, "deeply depressed" in working through what she described as a "mid-life transition". Caldicott expressed the view that "the only way out" for individuals, in relation to such dilemmas as the above "is to break through the isolation and talk about what happened...and then they start feeling sane again" (Caldicott, 1991, p.176) (see also Golan, 1981). Yet, she did not underplay the difficulty in doing this - in being open about personal experiences of the kind being discussed.

Thus, concerning her disclosure of a "personal story", she stated: "I felt like, I guess, a homosexual coming out of the closet. We don't talk about this...the norms of society say 'don't do it' and you don't". Hence, she admitted, "[it took] guts to make myself totally vulnerable, to say what happened to me" (Caldicott, 1991, p.176). As that person observed concerning this society: "we are taught not to be vulnerable...We're taught to win, to compete, to show the best side, to put the best foot forward" (Caldicott, 1991, p.177). This is consistent with a viewpoint expressed by Yeomans, who similarly perceived such an orientation as a barrier to personal change. As she stated, although the "disorientation,...falling apart [and] struggle" which accompany destructuring are as essential to the "process of growth" as are the times of "integration and harmony", such a perspective is not widely held in Western cultures. In these contexts, destructuring is, in the main, neither understood nor respected - in contrast to "the wisdom of the East and...the shamanistic cultures" (Yeomans, 1984, p.70, also citing Arriens, n.d.). As she went on to comment in relation to the former: "...the cultural habits of moving ahead, of pushing through, of not acknowledging destructuring, of not allowing oneself to fall apart, are very strong in most of us"(Yeomans, 1984, p.72).

Related to the above would seem to be notions of mental illness which prevail in this society (and those similar). Thus, as some writers have observed, the person "who is...not balanced or happy - who "[lacks] harmony of thoughts, actions, and feelings" is often perceived as being 'badly adjusted or disturbed". Significantly, those writers continued, "we

say that a person who is mentally ill is "unbalanced" (Watson and Tharp, 1992, p.3). Such a statement, as they also pointed out, is obviously a "value judgement", viz: "to the total conformist, any individualist seems badly adjusted, out of line with the group. To the individualist, total conformity seems bad adjustment, lack of harmony with oneself" (Watson and Tharp, 1992, p.3).

It is women who, in societies such as this, are more likely to be diagnosed as suffering from mental illness (Basow, 1992, p.184). Yet it is "incorrect" to say that "females are more mentally disturbed than males" (pp.184-5). The factors operating here are numerous and diverse, as well as being complexly interrelated (see Basow, 1992, pp.180-96 for a discussion). Thus, whereas women are more likely to receive diagnoses for "affective disorders" (about twice as likely as men with respect to 'depressive disorders'), men are more likely to receive diagnoses for alcohol or drug-related disorders (about four times more likely than are women in the case of "alcohol hallucinosis"). However, these are often "considered developmental disorders or forms of social deviance rather than mental illness per se". In fact, contrary to popular belief, males actually "suffer from more disorders than females, [but] they are less likely to be viewed as mentally ill" (Basow, 1992, p.186).

Gender Differences - Expressions of feelings

Of relevance to the discussion here also, are the different role prescriptions for males and females with regard to the expression of feelings. The suggestion has been made that the "unemotional nature" of the male sex role may mitigate against men's recognition of problems they may have as a result of their role (Basow, 1992, p.353). Boys from as early as four years of age, unlike girls, are found to cover up certain of their feelings. To quote Basow in this regard: "maxims such as "Big boys don't cry", "Keep a stiff upper lip" and "Take it like a man" all pressure boys to keep their feelings hidden". According to male gender role prescriptions, showing feelings is "weak and to be avoided at all costs". If boys do not hide their emotions they are likely "to suffer marked loss in prestige, to be liked less, and to have difficulty assuming the competitive role society has set out for them" (Basow, 1992, p.208). Seidler has commented similarly, noting that most men "...identify with their reason". They

> ...are thereby estranged from their emotions and feelings. This is systematically organized and structured. It is a matter of the way a particular dominant form of masculinity and male identity is organized (Seidler, 1990, p.226).

In addition to restrictive emotionality, certain other aspects of the traditional male gender role (David and Brannon, 1976) - notably, inhibited affection and rejection of feminine behaviours - also have been identified as working against the self-disclosure of feelings (Snell, Miller, Belk, Garcia-Falconi and Hernandez-Sanchez, 1989 - cited Basow, 1992, p.197). By contrast, the female gender role encourages females to focus on their feelings and consequently to amplify them (Basow, 1992, p.191 - also citing Ingram, Cruet, Johnson and Wisnicki, 1988; Nolem-Hoeksema, 1987, 1990). It is not surprising, therefore, that

many men view disclosure of feelings "as 'feminine, revealing emotionality and vulnerability" (Basow, 1992, p.58 - citing E.T. Lewis and McCarthy, 1988). Moreover, studies have shown that individuals who deviate from gender role expectations here, are "socially denigrated". For example, people of both sexes have been found to perceive men who use the 'female' linguistic style as homosexual and women who use the 'male' style as uppity (Rasmussen and Moely, 1986).

It has been suggested that the masculine stereotype and gender role socialization may have created a fear of femininity in men. Even as children, most males, in defining themselves, avoid anything seen to be connected with females (Basow, 1992, p.353). Many male adults also demonstrate "a great deal of anxiety over anything vaguely feminine". This, Basow observed, may lead them "to deny certain aspects of themselves that have been associated with femininity, particularly feelings of dependence and vulnerability" (Basow, 1992, p.180). The latter thus may be among factors which contribute to it being more difficult for men to receive help for psychological symptoms than for women (Basow, 1992, pp.191-2 - also citing research by Good, Dell and Mintz (1989)).

Colling has expressed the view that a major disadvantage many men face with regard to acknowledging and expressing certain feelings, derives from their early socialization experiences: "they [lack] the language of emotions and the skills of self-awareness". Men, he contended, "are now being impoverished by the same shortcomings" (Colling, 1992, p.52). The latter point is supported by the following comment made by Ian Cohen in an interview with Caroline Jones (1991). Thus, Cohen said of himself:

> ...I'm often in the head. I'm so often working out of the intellect and what I've got to learn, as a male in this society, is to get down to the heart level or down to the gut level and start feeling my emotions. There's a need to get into our emotional side - both men and women (Cohen, 1991, p.200).

As noted earlier, what Yeomans termed destructuring, and which could be seen to correspond in this study with the disorganization of the personal system, is marked by feelings of uncertainty, self-doubt and vulnerability. These are feelings which may be interpreted as revealing weakness or femininity. It could be predicted then, that some men would be particularly moved to avoid this; and further that in so doing they fail to engage in cognitive-emotional activities which may be crucial to the kind of change referred to. In contrast is women's generally greater facility in identifying and disclosing feelings, and a social-acceptance of this. This may equip them more favourably with regard to engaging in the cognitive-emotional work necessary for dealing with and proceeding through the vital intermediary (destructuring) phase of the individual change process; and hence opening the way to the development of (possibly) new attitudes and the evolution of a new attitudinal scheme. Influential also in relation to the latter, it is suggested, are further differences in communication behaviours and styles of women and men. A later section of the discussion briefly examines some of these. (This, of course, is not to deny the multitude of other

factors which are influential here, and which are related in complex ways to the gender differences identified here).

Restoration of Control

The analysis conducted in Chapter 9 reveals that the development of new attitudes and gender equitable work arrangements in certain household work areas is not necessarily associated with total rejection of the traditional norm. Such abandonment appears to be the case only for those individuals identified as having Types 3 and 5 personal systems. In the case of the latter, these individuals have restructured their personal systems such that the new attitudes are systematically organized and schematized according to a new equity attitude. Control is said to be restored. That is, the stabilization of their attitudes permits these individuals once more to have reliable guidelines for making sense of their conduct in this life area, as well as to consciously regulate and control their experiences (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1851). The feelings they express about their situations are overwhelmingly positive, reflecting the harmony in their lives and their positive evaluation of this. This is similarly the case for respondents identified as having a Type 4A personal system, who have evolved a new scheme which is referred to here as a modified ideological attitude.

In relation to Type 3 respondents, these individuals have developed new attitudes but their behaviour continues to be in conformity with the traditional ideological attitude by which attitudinal scheme this system, it would seem, had formerly been systematically organized (see Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1248). Their personal systems are in a state of disequilibrium, marked by inconsistencies in thoughts, actions and feelings, with the latter being negative in tone, generally reflecting their discontent with their situations (see Appendix X - "Personal systems of respondents"). According to Thomas and Znaniecki, it is the desire for stability which will motivate these individuals to strive for consistency among their attitudes, associated with which is the evolution of a new behavioural scheme by which their personal system will be systematically organized (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1875). Such inconsistency as presently characterises their life situations, it was contended, "provokes a desire for settlement". Moreover, "there are always plans to be made for the future requiring a conscious stabilization of the individual's own activity" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1878). Thus,

> ...even independently of social demands which make the individual search for security in determined systems...the individual, after a longer or shorter period during which new forms of behavior are developed, wants to fix [their] acquisitions in a stable formula. And when such a moment comes, if the individual is unable to create [their] own scheme, [they are] ready to accept any one that is given to [them] and expresses more or less [their] new way of defining situations (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1878-9).

Concerning Type 3 individuals (personal systems disorganized), whereas their prevailing new attitudes would suggest that the scheme they eventually evolve may be a new equity

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attitude, this cannot be assured. Certainly, there is "no way of destroying the new attitudes": "the individual or the group cannot have its consciousness pushed back to the stage which preceded the appearance of the new attitudes" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1857)..Nevertheless, it is

> ...possible to have the individual and the group return to forms of behavior which are in accordance with the traditional rules, by developing attitudes which will reinforce the traditional definitions, that is, will both counterbalance the undesirable new attitudes which are the source of the divergent definitions and work towards practical expression similar to that reached through the old attitudes which have ceased to play the decisive part in determining situations (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1857).

The above could be seen to represent a possible interpretation for the situations of Type 4A participants, referred to above (who evolved a modified ideological attitude by which their personal system is systematically organized). In relation to Type 3 respondents - all of whom are women and most have children in their households - the particular scheme they eventually evolve will be influenced by both group factors and those peculiar to their own individual characteristics and personal circumstances. For example, the relative availability to them of new and traditional values; characteristics of their household system - including their status relative to partner, their ability to reduce their involvement in this work, and/or a partner's commitment to, and willingness to become more involved in family work; and unique aspects of their personality, including the nature of their self-concept and(possibly) level of self-esteem.

Restructuring the Personal System

The definition of any new situation (i.e., one not guided by the traditional group scheme) always involves "the determination of the vague" (see Chapter 5). Consequently, such definitions can directly arise only out of a pre-existing attitude, and even then they can do so if this situation is in some way familiar to the individual (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1875. See also Schuetz, 1960, p.109; Marris, 1974, p.6). Consequently, new attitudes can be acquired only gradually and in a determined order, with each new definition growing out of a previous one and becoming an element of a new situation (see Thomas and Znaniecki, in Bierstedt, 1969, pp.109-10). Accordingly, various patterns of cultural activation identified among respondents, and upon which the personal system classification was based (see Chapter 9), may be interpreted as stages in a process which - other group and individual factors being conducive to this - could lead these individuals to develop both new attitudes and a scheme in conformity with these. This appears to have occurred for Type 5 participants. As Thomas and Znaniecki observed, such processes are "most directly evidenced in cases where the activity brings a change of social institution whose unsatisfactory functioning was the chief element of the situation" (Thomas and Znaniecki, in Bierstedt, 1960, p.110).

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The work of restoring control, it is suggested, thus may be conceptualized as involving a series of slight adjustments being made to a person's constructs of external reality, their personal system in a given life area (and, in certain domains, their self-concept), in an effort to improve the suitability of fit between these constructs. In effect, the individual is striving to achieve reliable guidelines for living their life and giving meaning to this, in a certain area, following the entry of new elements into their version of external reality *and* the recognition that the new meanings have relevance for certain situations in their own life. Customary ways of behaving and understanding their situations have been disrupted - a state of disequilibrium ensues among their personal system of attitudes in the life area affected. The equilibrium is disturbed and they will seek to restore this (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1845).

Concerning the cognitive-emotional work associated with this destructuring and restructuring (Yeomans, 1984), a person's perception of this may be of its being "...dark...inchoate, ...seemingly random" (Yeomans, 1984, p.79). It does, however (as might be expected) have an "inner order". Yeomans provided the example of a client of hers having kept a journal during this period and of his being "amazed" at recognising that a "thread had run throughout" this period - "yet in the moment it had been impossible to see" (Yeomans, 1984, p.79). The author has made similar observations of individuals engaging in such work, on reviewing video-taped counselling sessions which she (and others) have conducted (see for example, Russell, 1990).

As has been indicated, with the stabilization and schematization of their attitudes, individuals may once again control their experiences. The development of a scheme "makes conscious the evolution which has been accomplished". And it, in itself, becomes "a great help in developing new attitudes and defining new situations in a new way" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1875). On the other hand, however, with its evolution "the range of possibilities of further development remaining open to the individual" is curtailed. (See Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1853-5 for a discussion. See also Saks and Krupat, 1988, pp.72-8 for a discussion on social schemas and their functioning in cognitive-processing and understanding).

The Importance of Everyday Talk

From the theoretical perspective adopted in the current study, individuals use the cultural materials available to them in developing constructs of external reality and plans for leading their lives, through participating in group life, including and particularly in interacting with others. Through these activities and their understandings in relation to them, these constructs also may be sustained or modified. Individuals' conscious reflection is of crucial importance here, since they must take into account not only their own needs and requirements, but also group meanings (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1850-1).

The suggestion is put here, that the everyday conversations people engage in about their life situations - concerning their thoughts and feelings about these, difficulties they may experience, negotiating a household task with a partner, achieving an agreement or not, and so on - may play a crucial role in relation to individual (and hence social) change. More particularly, such talk could be conceptualized as enabling new cognitive links to be established and new understandings gradually arrived at, such that updated and hence more realistic perceptions of external reality may be constructed and the individual's life plans, expectations and activities modified to fit with such a view. Critical also in relation to some life areas, it is suggested, is an updating of the self-concept: how the individual perceives and describes the self in relation to those life situations affected.

Some support for such a perspective - i.e., pointing to the importance of talk here - may be gained from certain counselling literature. For example, Egan has emphasised the relevance to individuals' gaining new perspectives and insight through their 'telling their stories' (Egan, 1990, 1994). New ways of viewing their situations is found to open the way for choices to be made by them, concerning how they may more effectively handle problematic situations. Research by Carkhuff has similarly confirmed the importance to the development of new understandings (and new behaviours), of individuals 'exploring their situations' (Carkhuff, 1971, 1987). There is, then, considerable evidence to support the perspective that a person's disclosure of perceptions, reactions and experiences "results in these becoming] clearer, better organized, and [taking] on new meanings" (Johnson, 1990, p.35).

Gender Differences in Self-Disclosure

Studies have shown that women and men often differ in the extent to which they engage in the communication behaviour of self-disclosure - information people reveal about their own life situations, ideas, events, problems, experiences, feelings and so on (see Basow, 1992, pp.57-67 for a review of studies).[5] Statements which share feelings, it has been observed, "involve the most self-disclosure" - and such behaviours "help [to] deepen and maintain close interpersonal relationships" (Taylor et al., 1988, p.187). On the negative side, however, it has been pointed out that exposing feelings and ideas to others provides "an occasion for their criticism or disapproval" (Saks and Krupat, 1988, p.89). People thus may become particularly vulnerable by sharing feelings. Someone - and particularly in a competitive atmosphere - may take advantage of such vulnerability. Women, it has been found, are more likely than men to share information about themselves, including expressions of feelings. They tend "to use talk to signal support and to maintain relationships" (Basow, 1992, p.58). In contrast, men's communication often may involve limited personal information/intimate disclosure. It has been suggested on the basis of

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5   The discussion here draws substantially from Basow (1992). It needs to be noted that situational factors exercise important influences regarding many of the behaviours researched.

these and other findings that men are inclined to "use talk to negotiate and maintain their higher status" (Basow, 1992, p.58). As already noted, men are found especially to avoid expressions of positive feelings and other feelings which may be viewed as "feminine" - revealing emotionality and vulnerability (Lewis and McCarthy, 1988).

Tannen (1990) has reported similarly, regarding the different communication styles of women and men. The style characteristic of women, it was noted, includes intimacy-seeking talk which they enjoy and through which they achieve closeness and connection. Many women, then, gain comfort from sharing their troubles and concerns, and in knowing they are heard. This form of disclosure, it is suggested, has the potential to lead to the development of new understandings for those engaging in it. Men, in contrast, tend to engage less often in intimate disclosures. A more common approach by them to emotional problems, Tannen reported, is to play "Mr Fix-it". Emotional distress is therefore likely to be viewed as a problem to be solved. Consequently, the desire or need for a woman or child (or another man) to just talk and be listened to, about an issue which worries them, may not be understood. Instant solutions, advice-giving, and 'helpful hints', tend not to be the most constructive form of response at such a time (see for example Carkhuff, 1971, 1987; Egan, 1975, 1990, 1994).

Figure 10.11 - Gender differences in communication styles and behaviours. (Reproduced from Basow, 1992, p.66. Reprinted there with special permission of North America Syndicate, Inc.).
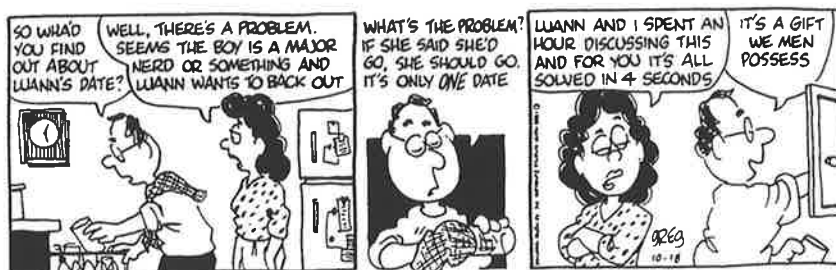
Research on same-and cross-sex friendships are also relevant to the discussion. Findings here have suggested that there is often a lack of emotional sharing in many male-male friendships, so that men do not receive "maximum benefits" from these: "the relief of being able to release feelings with someone else and receive support, and the opportunities to broaden interests and perspectives". Studies have indicated that many men have never had a close male friend or know what it means to share concern and affection with another man without fear of ridicule (Basow, 1992, p.207, also citing Garfinkel, 1985; Letich, 1991). It was Basow's view that many men avoid "expressing positive feelings toward other males [because of] the fear of being thought a homosexual (*homophobia*)" (Basow, 1992, p.208).

Homophobia is "so pervasive", she contended, that intimacy between males is deliberately suppressed, this being associated with the generally poor quality of these relationships (David and Brannon, 1976; Garfinkel, 1985; Stoltenberg, 1989). Furthermore, and presumably linked to this fear, boys are discouraged from touching each other "except in ritualized ways" (back-slapping, handshakes, and so on); and fathers, it was observed, stop kissing and hugging sons (Basow, 1992, p.208). Women also internalise and perpetuate such expectations, as is suggested by the following comment by a male respondent to a recent newspaper survey:

> For years I would kiss both my father and mother at bedtime. Then when I was 11 year old I remember coming down to the kitchen table before bedtime for a kiss. My parents were sitting talking and I went to my father for a kiss. My mother said to my father: 'Isn't he too old for that?' My father drew back and that was the last time we kissed (The Weekend Australian (Review), August 29-30, 1992, p.1).

In contrast to the above findings in relation to men, for many females, close same-sex friendships exist across the life-span; and are characterised by loyalty, trust, nurturance and attachment (Basow, 1992, p.205). Females converse frequently "about such intimate topics as personal and family matters" and tend to find female friendships supportive and valuable. The establishment of close female relationships, Basow argued, is facilitated by females' socialization, which includes a valuing of connection and intimacy. Moreover, personality traits encouraged in females - empathy, nurturance, sensitivity, caring and expressiveness - facilitate the development of intimate relationships (Basow, 1992, p.204). It was Basow's conclusion, on reviewing a large range of studies, that "females contribute emotional closeness and meaningfulness to an interaction", irrespective of whether that relationship be with another female or a male. Not surprisingly, then, men are more likely to look to other-sex rather than same-sex friendships for support and emotional intimacy.[6] In contrast to men, women rate their cross-sex friendships as "less intimate and accepting" than same-sex friendships. (See Basow, 1992, pp.203-20 for a review of studies involving gender and friendships/relationships).

It seems possible to the author that gender differences in self-disclosure could be among factors contributing to findings of variations in the pace of change between women and men in the area investigated; but, more specifically, the greater evidence for attitude and behaviour change in women (Vandenheuvel, 1991(b); Edgar and Glezer, 1992(b), p.36; Basow, 1992, pp.241-2). It is suggested, then, that the type of verbal communication more typical of women may facilitate the work required for the kind of change referred to - that leading to the disorganization and subsequent reorganization, or restructuring of an individual's personal system (see Chapter 9).

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6   Basow has cautioned that these studies were of White participants and that sex-race groups appear to have different patterns of friendship (Basow, 1992, p.212).

Talk Facilitating Self-Disclosure/Development of New Understandings

A point emphasised by those writing in this area, is that the work required of the individual involved in the kind of change being discussed - and which was earlier referred to as destructuring and restructuring (Yeomans, 1984) - generally incorporates an emotional dimension (Golan, 1981; Carkhuff, 1971, 1987; Egan, 1975, 1990, 1994; Watson and Tharp, 1992; McKay and Fanning, 1992). In recounting certain personal experiences here, Helen Caldicott indicated that this represented certain new learning for her. From what she revealed in an interview with Caroline Jones (1991), her prior, customary ways of dealing with those life situations and events of interest here, appear to have involved a focus on cognitive aspects. As she reported on this:

> I thought my way out of unpleasant emotional situations. My persona is one of being pretty smart, I feel I can do anything. "A clever doctor at Harvard", but behind this was the feeling in truth you can't think your way out of feelings. I got to a point where I realized that to give up thinking and just to be and feel was a bit scary but the more I do it the more I like it (Caldicott, 1991, p.180).

As noted earlier, social expectations and "cultural habits" may operate to inhibit ventilation of the diverse and often intense feelings which may be experienced at times of personal change (Golan, 1981, p.266); and may even prevent some individuals (men particularly) from recognising certain feelings (Yeomans, 1984, p.73; Basow, 1992, p.353). Where this applies, it may constitute an important barrier to achieving change. As Caldicott observed: "If you recognise and name your emotion, it tends [not only] to abate" but also can lead to enhanced insight and new understanding (Caldicott, 1991, p.178 - also citing Buddhist philosophy). McLeod has commented similarly. According to that writer,

> When a symbol, for example a word or phrase, captures the meaning contained within a feeling, there is a sense of fit, and then a sense of movement or change as this clarification of meaning allows other meanings to emerge (McLeod, 1993, p.93, also citing Gendlin, 1962).

The meaning of a person's experience, it was suggested, arises from the symbolization of a felt sense. This (felt sense) has been described as a "bodily, multifaceted area of feeling which the person experiences in response to events". Contained within it are all the diverse meanings which that event might have for a person. However, these meanings, it has been posited, "can only be accessed through symbolization, usually in words, but potentially also through images" (McLeod, 1993, p.93). Such a perspective in relation to understanding experiencing has been highly influential within person-centred counselling, as well as in those related models proposed by Carkhuff (1971, 1987) and Egan (1975, 1990, 1994). It was Gendlin's (1966) view that this approach (which he advanced) provides a framework for validating the use of theory, through the process of 'experiential explication'. He suggested further, that the test of whether an idea or concept is helpful (in therapy), "depends on whether its use brings about a shift in the felt sense of a problem". Hence theories and concepts, it was suggested, "have a subjective truth value as well as an

objective, scientifically verified validity". Commenting on this framework, McLeod noted that Gendlin has also drawn attention to the importance of counsellors using language in a sensitive and creative manner - a point also emphasised by Carkhuff and Egan. To quote McLeod here,

> The technical language of much counselling theory does not mean a great deal to clients, and it is essential for counsellors to communicate...through a mutually constructed 'feeling language' (Hobson, 1985) that makes sense to the client (McLeod, 1993, p.93, also citing Gendlin, 1966).

The counselling literature is informative also in terms of identifying the kinds of conditions and the forms of talk which may facilitate an individual's disclosure of personal information. A feeling of being accepted - and not judged - is found to be important, as also is a perception of the other person (disclosee) as being genuine ('real') and empathic (Golan, 1981, p.271). These are among those "core conditions" identified by Rogers (1951, 1961) as being necessary for such disclosure and hence for an "interpersonal environment that will facilitate [self] actualization and growth" (quoted from McLeod, 1993, p.70). It was Rogers' claim that these conditions were "not just important or useful, but sufficient in themselves" for such change to occur. In other words, "no other therapeutic conditions were necessary" (McLeod, 1993, p.70 - also citing Rogers (n.d.)). The substantial research stimulated by that model "has broadly supported the position taken by Rogers" (McLeod, 1993, p.70 - also citing Patterson, 1984).

Carkhuff's extensive research - which initially aimed at identifying the kinds of responses which helped people (in the sense of enabling them to live their lives more effectively) and those which did not - went on to operationalize Rogers' concepts, as well as further develop that model (Egan, 1975, p.3). It was found that interventions which inhibited self-disclosure/understanding were evaluative responses and advice-giving (particularly) as well as certain questions - notably those focussing a person's attention (talk) on to areas perceived as important or relevant by the counsellor rather than that individual. Responses of a reflective kind permitted the client to determine the direction, nature and pace of their talk, and were found to be most facilitative of a client's exploration of their situations and the development of new understanding - new realities, or schemes, by which their situations and experiences could be organized and understood. More specifically, those interventions identified by Carkhuff as most effective and efficient in relation to achieving the latter, were those which accurately identified and labelled a client's feeling and a causally-related reason, or meaning for this in the specific moment (Carkhuff, 1971, 1987. See also Egan, 1975, and Gazda, Asbury, Balzer, Childers and Walters, 1977, for reviews of studies evaluating the Carkhuff counselling model, and which generally confirm its effectiveness).

Socially Valued/Non-Valued Talk

It has been claimed that, in societies such as this, "reason" is recognised as the "only source of knowledge". Hence the kind of understanding and insight involved in the

processes we have been discussing - which stem importantly from feelings and desires - is not regarded as "legitimate" knowledge (Seidler, 1990, pp.226-7). To quote Walters on this:

Emotional or intuitive thought is considered the antithesis of the objective, scientific, and rational. It is also "less than". The former is biased, ambiguous, unstructured, amorphous - and associated with the feminine. The latter is neutral, disciplined, structured, substantive - and associated with the masculine. In this context, the entire sphere of knowledge that derives from subjective experience is devalued. Such knowing is discredited when measured against the tough, pragmatic requirements of the "real world", the "market place" of economic, intellectual, or public pursuits (Walters, 1988, p.45).

Perhaps not surprisingly then, the kinds of relationship dimensions and interpersonal skills which may maximise the opportunities for individual change as defined here, are not commonly found. Rather, as Taylor and colleagues have reported, evaluative statements and opinions, while not always being the " most useful" are "probably the most common type of talk" (Taylor et al., 1986, p.187). Those authors also saw this as being related to the fact that: "[our] society values rationality and we consider ideas important". As they went on to point out: "Many factors - religious, psychological and educational - encourage this type of communication. As a result most of us are quick to evaluate, and we state our opinions often" (Taylor et al., 1986, p.187).

Research has revealed a similar cognitive emphasis in the training of the so-called "helping professions", including social work, psychology, psychiatry and the ministry (Egan, 1975, pp.17-18). The frequently "highly cognitive" nature of this has been criticised by Egan. Moreover, there is some evidence that "many graduate students in the helping professions become *less* capable of helping because of the training they receive." In the words of Egan: "Overly cognitive, nonsystematic training programs run by educators who themselves lack basic helping skills - this is a devastating combination" (Egan, 1975, p.18). Seemingly related to this have been findings that those core conditions and helping skills identified by Rogers and Carkhuff are as likely to be demonstrated by "lay" individuals as by those whose "credentials" qualify them as helping professionals. And furthermore, that "people in need of social-emotional help are as likely to be rehabilitated *without* psychotherapy as with it " (Egan, 1975, p.17, also citing Eysenck, 1952, 1960, 1965). Findings reported by Carkhuff here, suggest an even more grim picture: "because of inept helpers some people get worse from treatment" (Egan, 1994, p.11; Egan, 1975, p.17, also citing Carkhuff, 1969 (a),(b), 1972; Carkhuff and Berenson, 1967). Such findings led Egan to acknowledge what he termed "the crisis in helping" (Egan, 1975, pp.17-9). The debate about the efficacy of this process continues to rage today (see for example Weisz, Weiss and Donenberg, 1992; Kendall, Kipnis and Otto-Salaj, 1992; Hill and Corbett, 1993). As Egan has summed up the situation: "In the hands of skilled and socially intelligent helpers, helping can do a great deal of good". However, "there is plenty of evidence that ineffective

helping still abounds" (Egan, 1994, p.11). That writer continues to see the latter as deriving importantly from the cognitive emphasis in many training programmes.

Given the above references to counselling, it is perhaps pertinent to point out that a case is not being made for the necessity of this activity in relation to the kind of change being discussed here. As noted on numerous occasions, these are normal processes - part and parcel of "our personal and collective evolution" (Yeomans, 1984, p.68) (see also Golan, 1981). The particular relevance of the counselling literature to the discussion stems from what this can tell us about the kinds of talk, as well as the forms of response to this, which may best facilitate, or hinder, individuals' acquisition of new understandings/ways of viewing their situations. It is these meanings which give rise to their behaviour (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1849).

A point which should be noted, though, is that the "helping skills" identified by Carkhuff were claimed by him - and have been recognised by others - as the skills required for everyday living and relating with others (Carkhuff, 1971, 1987; Gazda et al., 1977; Egan, 1975, 1990, 1994). He thus avoided terms like counsellor and client, opting instead for helper and helpee, with the former defining "a 'functional' professional if he [or she] has the skills needed for effective helping". He further argued for there being "a great need for functional professionals, whether or not they have credentials" (cited Egan, 1975, p.18). It was Carkhuff's view that "the best mode of treatment is to train the helpee [client] directly and systematically in the skills [they need] to live more effectively" through the process of experiencing being helped. He included here both human-relations and problem-solving skills. As Egan commented: "This step [constituted] a revolution in the helping professions" (Egan, 1975, p.5). It was Carkhuff's philosophy also, that the use of human relations developed on a large scale could bring about "effective change in society and the human condition" (Gazda et al., 1977).

The latter perspective is similar to one put by Charles Birch. That philosopher/writer has revealed holding a "great faith" in individuals' capacity "to discover themselves, amongst themselves, without having to depend upon some outside authority" (Birch, 1991, p.71). However, a point to which Birch did not allude - but which the present study suggests is relevant - is that the kind of self-discovery to which he refers, is determined also by the cultural materials available to individuals. But more particularly, the nature of the materials to which they have access and draw for such purposes, do not equally advantage all individuals. On the contrary, these benefit some individuals more than others, resulting in the self which certain individuals discover/construct being more socially acceptable, more desirable - having more of the socially-valued characteristics (social capital) than do others. This has important implications for their access to other valued resources in a given society.

Some brief final comments follow on the discussion provided in this section, prior to reporting major conclusions from the study.

Concluding Comments

Change in the form of a challenge to the traditional breadwinner/homemaker norm, following a person's development of new gender equitable attitudes for this area of life, involves major disruption to their personal cultural world. The absence of systematic organization of the latter, with the rejection of the traditional scheme by which it had formerly been organized, leaves the individual without the capacity to regulate and control their experiences. This is emotionally stressful. The restoration of this particular form of control includes the development of new attitudes and behaviours; and the evolution of a scheme in conformity with these, and by which they (attitudes) become stabilized and schematized. Reflective activity as well as everyday conversational talk may assist in this work. In particular, the disclosure of experiences, thoughts and feelings, may facilitate the development of cognitive links which eventually could develop into new understandings (attitudes) being arrived at.

Gender differences in the communication behaviour of self-disclosure in this society, along with a greater acceptance of expressions of feelings and vulnerability by women, may advantage them in terms of dealing with and moving through the various stages involved in the kinds of change identified here. On the other hand, the continuing strength and prevalence of cultural materials in the form of traditional ideological values, may restrict women in terms of the nature of the attitudes and schemes which they may ultimately evolve.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

CONCLUSION

We can discover many long-lasting social relationships by observing how individuals who share a common dwelling, popularly called a 'home' - a hut, a cabin, a house, an apartment - act and react to each other (Znaniecki, 1965, pp.49-50).

Prior to drawing final conclusions from the study, it is opportune to restate its original aims. Central here was that of ascertaining how participants, who were primarily from two-income households, were organizing their domestic/child care and how they made sense of their arrangements. A major interest, therefore, was that of determining to what extent they were maintaining, modifying or challenging ideological values corresponding to the male breadwinner/female homemaker norm, in the light of changes occurring in this society over recent decades - in particular, the dramatic rise in married women entering paid employment. The identification of factors which may be facilitating or inhibiting the development of gender equitable work arrangements was a further aim. Information gained in relation to these aims, while not generalisable to the wider population, can be important in increasing an understanding of the changes to cultural values and behaviour patterns to be found in other sectors of this society. It may contribute also to knowledge about the cognitive-emotional activities involved when individuals engage in the kinds of change investigated here. From the theoretical perspective adopted in the study, individuals' subjective experiences - their feelings, thoughts, aspirations, likes, dislikes, prejudices and so on - "...reveal the subjective aspect of social change" (Chalasinski, 1982 [1979], p.36).

The conclusion to the study is presented in four main sections. It begins by giving an assessment of the cultural materials currently available to members of Australian society, in the area investigated. It is from these values that members draw in developing guidelines for leading their own lives and making sense of their conduct and experience. In the second section, conclusions are drawn concerning the process of change. The nature of this, in itself, may be such as to constitute an impediment to change, at both group and individual levels. Next, a case is put for the relevance of taking individual identity into account, in attempts to understand change with respect to the traditional male breadwinner/female homemaker norm. Finally, certain findings from the study are integrated with perspectives from other writers, in supporting an argument for the centrality of the family as an institution in this Australian society.

CURRENT IDEOLOGICAL STATUS - BREADWINNER/HOMEMAKER NORM

The " 'tasks' and preoccupations" we are concerned with here are those which underpin all forms of social organization. These are "the necessity to survive, via some form of productive activity...and the necessity to be social, to care for and be cared for by others" (Edgar, 1992(c), p.41). In this society, the main responsibility for the former - to do with earning income - has been placed on men, whereas the main responsibility for caring has been with women. And whereas this division represents only one of many ways by which these key human tasks may be handled, its incorporation into ideological values has been associated with the non-availability (or marginalising) of possible alternatives. Along with this has occurred the pronouncement of this method as not only "inevitable and natural but also desirable" (Morgan, 1985, p.295. See also Edgar, 1992(c), p.41).

The ideological values of interest here - corresponding to the male breadwinner/female homemaker norm in this society - have historical origins which can be traced back at least to Roman times (Dobash et al., 1980). They consequently have been adjusted and adapted by groups and individuals from countless generations, across and over time, in arriving at the form they take today. Because they usually are taken for granted, accepted unquestioningly, the fact is frequently obscured from view that ideological values often may operate in the interests of dominant groups (Gittins, 1985; Edgar et al., 1993). In this society the latter are comprised primarily of individuals who are male, White, Anglo-Saxon and middle-class . Moreover, while ideological values may at certain times take on the appearance of being, and be presented as, universal, the perspectives on reality contained in them are always open to challenge from subordinate groups (Morgan, 1985, p.295). This was the situation with respect to the feminist movement in the late 1960s, and which gave rise to certain new, gender-equitable values being incorporated into some institutions in this society.

Available Cultural Materials

Individuals and groups in a given society differ in terms of the type and availability to them of cultural materials. Race, class, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation and age are among factors which are influential here. Furthermore, each individual's capacity or willingness to select from and use available values will also be affected by their own circumstances, needs and interests as well as certain aspects of their personality - in particular, the nature of the self-concept they have constructed, as well as characteristics which incline them towards openness/flexibility or rigidity in dealing with life situations and problems (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1879-80).

There are at the present time, several broad types of cultural materials available to members of this society, from which to construct their cultural worlds in the areas of income provision and care of home and family. These include ideological values corresponding to

the traditional norm, and which have come down from our historical past. There are also new values which prescribe a sharing of these activities when men and women are employed, and which compete for activation with the former. A modified version of the ideological value has emerged, which accepts men's and women's secondary involvement in homemaking and breadwinning, respectively (see also Graham Russell et al., 1988). This - which is termed here a modified ideological value - appears to be an outcome of the new equity value acting upon pre-existing traditional ideological attitudes in many individuals (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1831).

The availability of cultural materials additional to and in conflict with those representing a group's prevailing ideological values, is, historically, a quite rare phenomenon. It is possible only when there is a co-existence of changes to social/material (environmental) conditions and certain predispositions in some individuals, to which these changes appeal (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1131). That is,

> Change of conditions is a factor, but not a cause of social happening; it merely furnishes influences which will produce definite effects only when combined with definite pre-existing attitudes and is a cause only together with the latter (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1134).

Environmental influences which can be identified as having been influential in terms of the change of interest here, include an increase of jobs in certain sectors of the economy, greater affluence, increase in home ownership, a significant rise in the divorce rate, girls and women being better educated than ever before, the availability of reliable contraception, and individuals marrying later and delaying having a first child (Edgar and Glezer, 1992(b)). These changes in social, economic and demographic factors had been emerging gradually in this society, over the decades following World War 1. Proceeding along with them was the evolution of changes in thinking at the individual level - especially among women, many of whom were becoming increasingly discontent with their situations. For example, some housewives were unhappy at their isolation in suburbia; there was emerging a growing dissatisfaction with the quality of the marital relationship, and of women's unequal power with men; and there was the injustice of the poverty-producing effects of divorce for custodial mothers and their children (Edgar and Glezer, 1992(c)). Such dissatisfactions as well as the desire for autonomy, self-fulfilment and economic independence on the part of increasing numbers of women could be seen as predisposing them to favour the new conditions (newly emerging values) (Edgar and Glezer, 1992(c)). An outcome was the large scale entry of women into paid employment (new attitudes).

It was, then, primarily in women that the predispositions developed to which the new conditions appealed. The resultant dramatic rise in the number of married women and mothers in paid employment - i.e., the appearance of new attitudes "which [did] not comply with the socially recognised and sanctioned schemes of behavior" - is referred to here as social disorganization (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1303). The efforts of a strong and

politically-active Women's Movement contributed importantly to these new equity values being incorporated in some institutions in this society. This is part of the process of social reorganization, which is concerned with understanding the new attitudes and creating new rules (values) which correspond better to these and which also facilitate their expression (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1303). However, the full meaning of the new values can only be ascertained by discovering how people use them in social life; how they behave in relation to them and the meanings they give to their actions.

The New Value in Social Life

In relation to values pertaining to the breadwinning/homemaking norm, most people in this society now accept women's presence in the workforce; and many also hold the view that unpaid family work should be shared by partners when they are both employed. In relation to the latter - the main interest of the present study - the reality is that most women continue to do the bulk of this work. In some households, little also has changed regarding how this work is understood: it remains, unquestioningly, 'women's work'. For individuals in such situations, traditional ideological values are said to exercise a major influence both on the way they conduct their lives and how they make sense of their and a partner's activities. However, many people now account for any gender-imbalance in family work involvement in their households. This is interpreted as reflecting a change in thinking in response to the presence of the new equity values in society. Yet many of the reasons and justifications they provide similarly draw attention to the continuing and powerful influence of traditional ideology over their lives - for example, a male partner's greater employment demands, or his time spent in leisure or sporting activities; or a female partner's greater efficiency/skills in domestic work. Implicit in many such explanations then, are assumptions concerning men's dominant position and higher status in family households, relative to women.

The manner in which individuals organize their lives and account for their conduct in this area reveal the way they are adjusting ideological values, as they strive to give meaning to their lives, following the (seeming) challenge to the traditional norm, as referred to above. Moreover, through such processes also, they may be conceptualized as transmitting cultural values to future generations - providing the materials from which others draw, especially their children - as they construct a view of the world and their respective places in this.

Regarding the individuals referred to above, the cultural materials they select and the way they use these in such processes, reveal the limits imposed by the continuing dominating influence of ideological attitudes over their personal systems. These operate to control and regulate their experiences. A consequence here is that the wider circumstances affecting this area of their life - and of which they have some awareness - cannot be recognised as relevant to their actual life situations. That is, at this stage the strength and organization of their prevailing attitudes are such that the available new values

cannot appeal to them. Contributing to such a situation are the "limitation of claims and interests" of these individuals, together with the continuing prevalence of ideological values in this society, including its major institutions (see Chapters 1-4 and 6). Such group and individual factors may operate so as "not [to] allow any radically new situations to be noticed", a consequence being that "the narrow schemes [they have evolved] are sufficient, simply because [they do] not see problems on [their] way which demand new schemes"(Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927 p.1854).

There has emerged among some sectors of this society, what has been termed here a modified ideological value. This continues to accept women's primary responsibility for homemaking, but prescribes some involvement here for men, when both partners are employed. A new equity value in relation to household work performance also has evolved in some individuals and groups. However, this is not always expressed in their actions, which may continue to reflect the traditional norm. This points yet again to the power which the ideological values of interest here, exert over people's life situations. It also draws attention to the importance for research to focus upon both attitudes and actions, in combination, in attempting to understand this area of life. There are, however, some individuals in this society who have developed gender-equitable work arrangements which are consistent with their new equity attitudes. They are conceptualized here as having selected from and used the new cultural materials available to them - new equity values - in constructing their view of social reality and plans and guidelines for leading their lives in this area.

Some Factors Affecting the Development of New Attitudes

The ability of individuals to recognise, select from and use the new cultural materials emerging in this society from the late 1960s, is related to factors operating at both group and individual levels (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1858-9). The powerful and pervasive influence of the prevailing traditional ideology already has been noted in this regard. Values corresponding to the gendered norm, in spite of recent reform efforts in relation to certain institutions, remain embedded in the social system. Many individuals continue to organize their actions and make sense of their life (attitudes and actions) in ways which reflect the influence on them of these values. Thus, the continuing strength and entrenched character of these values, together with their link to individual identity - a point which is pursued shortly - may be seen as constituting a major barrier to achieving gender-equitable paid and unpaid work arrangements.

There is some evidence in this society, that younger individuals (under 30 years) are more likely to have developed new equity attitudes which are expressed in their actions. These individuals may be said to have successfully challenged the traditional ideology. It is suggested that, among other factors, exposure in childhood to these new cultural materials may have assisted such developments (Burns, 1991). At this early stage of their personal

evolution, it is possible that too great a "fixity" had not been attained in their attitudes, so that these individuals were (and have continued to be) accessible to a broader range of influences than those who did not have such early access to the new values (Thomas and Znaniecki, pp.1853, 1849).

However, a further factor characterising these younger individuals' situations and which could also be seen as influencing their use of the new gender-equitable meanings, is the absence of children in their households. Thus, responsibilities relating to the care of children do not need to enter into any negotiations about the performance of this work, in which a couple may engage. Should they eventually have a child, or children, it is possible - numerous studies suggest - that these individuals could adopt (or revert to) gender-divided work patterns. In such an event, it has been found that most women not only have major involvement in child care, but also do most of the domestic tasks (Belsky, Lang and Huston, 1986; Genevie and Margolies, 1987; Ruble, Fleming, Hackel and Stangor, 1988; Croghan, 1991).

Continuing power ideological values

Concerning the latter point, the continuing directive force of traditional motherhood ideology on people's lives (Reiger, 1991; Basow, 1992) as well as the way this and breadwinning are embedded in social structures (Edgar, 1992(c)) could be expected to be influential. Moreover, the biological dimension also enters the equation here, and may be assumed to interact with cultural and social factors. As Morgan observed, many of the events and processes with which the family has to deal are "to do with nature and things natural... so clearly points where biology meets culture". Hence, in the area of family, it was argued, "ideology has particularly amenable materials with which to work" (Morgan, 1985, p.294).

The different experiences of men and women (and of individuals within these groups) with respect to pregnancy, childbirth and breast-feeding necessarily will also influence the respective meanings they accord to these; and additionally could be expected to impact upon the nature of parent-child relationships which develop and the way these are experienced and understood by parent and child. Such factors could be seen as influential in terms of women's greater involvement in child care with the arrival of an infant, as referred to above - given also other factors operating in the total context. They cannot explain though, why this event should be accompanied by a couple adopting gender-divided housework arrangements where these previously were equitable, and irrespective of either partner's employment status (Belsky et al., 1986; Croghan, 1991; Ruble et al., 1988). Further research obviously is needed in this area, with a view to identifying and understanding factors associated with this situation.

Questionable Impact -Structural Changes

From the perspective adopted in this study, a group's ideological values constitute the most vital element of its culture. Values from this system are seen to coordinate and control all other value systems of the group (Smolicz and Secombe, 1981). In relation to the breadwinner/homemaker norm, this is evident in values corresponding to this exerting important influence in all major institutions in this society (see Chapters 1-4 and 6). Yet structural changes introduced over recent decades, and aimed at eradicating the sexism inherent in this, have concentrated primarily on women and almost exclusively on laws and policies to do with their involvement in the workforce (Bryson, 1992). There is then, an implicit assumption that "any group of social facts can be treated...in an arbitrary isolation from the rest of the life of a given society" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, in Bierstedt, 1969, p.61).

It is not surprising, therefore, given the systemic and controlling character of the ideological values referred to, that the impact of the above measures in terms of achieving such change, has been limited. As Edgar commented,

> *There is many a slip between policy, administrative practice and everyday effects. And it is often difficult to unravel the threads between high-sounding rhetoric and the intended versus unanticipated consequences of its implementation (Edgar, 1992(b), p..2)*

In relation to workplace reform measures, for example, studies suggest that a modified ideological value has evolved (Glezer, 1991; Wolcott, 1991(a)(b)(see Chapter 2). Accordingly, men continue to be viewed by most people as the primary breadwinners, irrespective of their earnings and hours spent in paid work, relative to their partner (Graham Russell et al., 1988). However, apart from gender segregation of the labour market and the prevalence of sex discrimination in the face of equal pay and equal opportunity legislation, "a major factor limiting women's career advancement is their continued commitment to family and child care" (Edgar, 1991(c), p.10). Such outcomes are explained here, by the strength of the pre-existing values. "[These values], fixed by tradition and conditioning the attitudes...cooperate in the production of the final effect quite independently, and often in spite of the intentions of the social reformer" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, in Bierstedt, 1969, p.95).

The emergence of a value different from that which reformers had intended is a not uncommon occurrence. It is seen to be associated with a tendency of social reformers, to ascribe an "exaggerated importance" to environmental influences: to "pay more attention to the material conditions of the people than to the psychology of the people". There is generally an assumption, then, that there will occur a "spontaneous development" of attitudes "if the material conditions are given...that the organization of a well-endowed institution is all that is needed to make the public realise its value in practice" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, in Bierstedt, 1969, pp.63-4).

The point needs to be kept in mind also, with respect to the development of new attitudes, that these evolve at different paces among the various groups (and individuals within these) in society. Some, then, are not yet ready for the reform. Furthermore, there may arise from among these, "obstinate defenders of the traditional system" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1304)(see Gilding, 1991, pp.130-1). Whereas other individuals may not have such a high degree of rigidity in relation to their existing attitudes and the way these are organized, the values as institutionalised still may not be such as to appeal to any attitudes they hold. Thus, "a general cause of the frequent failure of social schemes to find ready response in the individual is their uniformity and stiffness". They are "...not adapted to the variety of individuals but to the artificial production of a minimum of uniformity" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1873). And further,

> ...even when this is successful the attitudes tend to evolve, not only in individuals but also in the whole group, and this evolution is continuous, while the schemes can be changed only discontinuously, and so they remain behind - occasionally run ahead of - the social reality which they tend to express (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1873).

The Need for a Greater Focus on Attitude Development

It is frequently the case then, that the design of reform measures takes insufficient account of people's pre-existing attitudes. Yet it is on the attitudes that any newly-institutionalised values will act. Related to such an orientation is a tendency on the part of those implementing change measures, not to direct specific attention on the actual development of attitudes by individuals. Rather, there is a concentration on "[adapting] the content of social life to its form - to produce attitudes to fit the scheme, while the contrary and more important process must be left largely to the individuals themselves" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1873).

It should be emphasised though, that the relevance of environmental influences - as in, say, the institutionalisation of the desired value - are not being denied here. These "do help or hinder to a large extent the development of corresponding lines of behavior". But, in terms of the development of new corresponding attitudes, this is possible "only if the tendency is already there, for the way in which they will be used depends on the people who use them" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, in Bierstedt, 1969, p.63). It would appear then, that many of the reform measures in relation to the area investigated in the study (see Chapter 6) fit the following description of those authors;

> At every step we try to enforce certain attitudes upon other individuals without stopping to consider what are their dominant attitudes in general and their prevailing attitudes at the given moment; at every step we try to produce social values without taking into account the values which are already there and upon which the result of our efforts will depend as much as upon our intention and persistence (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, in Bierstedt, 1969, p.95).

Such a perspective thus permits some explanation for the relative ineffectiveness of certain reform measures introduced in this society and others. For example, Sweden has come further than any other country "in egalitarian ideology and national policy", with numerous positive consequences (see Basow, 1992, pp.348-9; Bryson, 1992). Women's and men's participation in both parenthood and employment have been encouraged since the 1970s. Yet there is a "lag in terms of the development of new attitudes": "true equality has lagged behind national policy" (Basow, 1992.p.348)(see Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1873). A problem here appears to be that of "encouraging men to make use of such policies" (Basow, 1992, p.349).

The success of social change strategies which direct attention to individuals' attitudes, is witnessed in the valuable contributions of the women's movement, in its utilisation of consciousness-raising (CR) groups. Such groups generally consist of 7 to 15 same-sex individuals who meet together (usually weekly) to focus on members' common experiences and attitudes. Many personal problems are viewed "as having a social cause and a political solution". Members increase their awareness of gender stereotypes, and their consequences, through sharing their experiences. Support also is provided and individuals are given opportunity to explore new ways of relating and behaving (Basow, 1992,

p.338 - also citing Nassi and Abramowitz, 1978; Rosenthal, 1984; J. Freeman, 1989). Documented changes which appear to have occurred as a result of CR groups, include an altered world view and greater understanding of social, political and economic factors; a clearer sense of identity; more egalitarian relationships with members of the other sex; a greater sense of self-acceptance; and higher self-esteem and self-confidence (see Basow, 1992, pp.338-9).

However, while CR groups increase political and ideological awareness and "appear to produce real personal change", they do not inevitably propel their members into political action (Basow, 1992, p.338). It is the case also, that there have been some negative experiences with consciousness raising. Yet, as Cockburn (1990, p.88) has commented, "surely we cannot avoid in the long run addressing the problem of changing consciousness". Some feminists also have called for

> ...a new round of consciousness raising for the women brought up to believe that they could "have it all"(Friedan, 1985). Such women need to see that their failure to have it all is not a personal failure, but rather a societal one (Basow, 1992, p.339).

What should be avoided here, though, is conveying the impression that change in the area we are considering is possible merely through focussing at the level of the individual, using such strategies as those referred to - successful as they have the potential to be. As has been indicated on numerous occasions, the ideological values we are dealing with here are embedded in the social system and appear to be intimately connected with a person's sense of identity. Hence, the emergence of any change in relation to these is obviously an

enormous and difficult endeavour, and requires an attack on 'all fronts'. Goals and interventions need to be considered at personal, social and institutional levels (see Basow, 1992, pp.326-59 for a discussion here).

Some idea of the enormity of the problem here, may be gauged from the fact that there is a lack of a clear image of what a more sex-egalitarian society would even look like (Boulding, 1979). Like all 'unknowns' this is frightening; and further it may involve undesirable as well as desirable changes. Undoubtedly, it would involve a redistribution of power - and this, according to Basow, "accounts for most institutional resistance" (Basow, 1992, p.355). To quote that writer further here:

> [Institutions] were developed and run primarily by White upper- and middle-class men, based on their values and perspectives. Letting other people (women, men of color) in will mean major institutional change and loss of power for those now holding it. It is easier (and cheaper) to try to destroy the social movement attempting change than it is to actually change the system (Basow, 1992, p.355, also citing Toch, 1966).

INDIVIDUAL CHANGE PROCESSES

> Social processes never are manifestations of the objective, socio-economic structure, but a result of working of human emotions, attitudes and aspirations under definite socio-economic conditions (Chalasinski, 1982 [1979], p.35).

An understanding of the processes we are concerned with here, rests importantly on a study of individuals' attitudes *and* actions, in their combination (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927; Chalasinski, 1982 [1979]). Consequently, studies which have focussed exclusively on either individuals' attitudes toward gender divisions of work (Vandenheuvel, 1991(b)) or the actual performance of this (Bittman, 1991) obscure important changes which groups and individuals within these, have been, and are presently undergoing. Such research is incapable of discovering how people are adjusting or challenging ideological values in response to married women's large-scale labourforce entry and the institutional support of this.

On the other hand, certain findings here, notably those which have suggested that the traditional homemaker/breadwinner division of labour "is a thing of the past" - also the 'popular' conception - have recently been questioned (Bittman, 1995, p.10, also citing Hochschild, 1989). In commenting on these reported 'changes' - and which now appear to be in contradiction with the reality of most people's lives - Bittman has noted that some academics even have produced "a literature about how it is possible to re-negotiate successfully the domestic division of labour" (Bittman, 1995, p.10, also citing Goodnow and Bowes, 1994; Morgan, 1985, p.269. See Edgar 1991(c) for a discussion on ideology and "inbuilt contradictions").

From the theoretical stance adopted in the study, a group's ideological values are conceptualized as exerting major influence on its members' constructs of social reality, on their social personality, as well as their customary ways of leading their lives and giving meaning to their actions (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1847). Findings from this study support such a perspective. Furthermore, there is some evidence also for those ideological attitudes corresponding to the breadwinner/homemaker norm actually constituting components of that aspect of the personality termed the self-concept (Hamachek, 1985, 1988).

A Search for Meaning

Individuals, the study suggests, are strongly motivated to find meaning to their experiences. Some writers have claimed that people have an "innate concern" with such an endeavour (Millikan, 1990, p.4). Birch has similarly pointed to the significance of such activity as a "primary motivating force in life". As he went on to comment: "It doesn't have to be a distant purpose, but a meaning for this day, this hour, this moment" (Birch, 1990, p.4).

The struggle to make sense of their experiences - "to find some meaning to the things that happen in this life" (Millikan, 1990, p.4) - requires constant work on the part of the individual (Walden, 1979). This is not always an easy task. Some even have remarked that "it is part of the lot of humanity to arrive at understanding by way of pain" (Millikan, 1990, p.4) Certainly, in relation to the area investigated here, processes involved are found to require not only that the individual take into account their own needs and desires, but also social meanings - "the conditions, customs, beliefs, aspirations of [their] social milieu" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1852). And these meanings - which (usually) determine individuals' behaviours - have "no interest in the particular desires, abilities and experiences of the individuals who have to perform these activities". This feature results from the fact that

> the systems have to regulate identically the activities of many individuals at once, and that they usually last longer than the period of activity of an individual, passing from generation to generation (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1861).

The social meanings of interest in the study - those corresponding to the male breadwinner/female homemaker norm - are first learned by members of this society early in their life, and within a family context: it is there that "[individuals] are first cared for and learn to care about others" (Edgar, 1992(c),. p.41). Moreover, dominant views about appropriate sex roles, it is seen in earlier chapters, pervade all other major institutions with which a person has contact, with "assumptions about the caring role [also being] sustained and reinforced by the division of labour in society" (Edgar, 1992(c), p.41).

In order to become social personalities, then, individuals not only must learn these(and other) group meanings, but also learn how to adapt themselves to the demands put upon them by society from the standpoint of these meanings; as well as develop ways

"to control these meanings for [their] personal purposes". And since "meanings imply conscious thought, [they] must do this by conscious reflection" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1850-1). It is the individual's establishment of a determined relation between the social organization - "these systems which constitute together the civilized life of a group" - and the schemes and attitudes which they develop in relation to the various life domains - which "is the central problem of the control of personal evolution" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1861).

Stabilization and Schematization of Attitudes

The stabilization and schematization of a person's attitudes in a particular life domain - referred to in this study as their personal (cultural) system (Smolicz and Secombe, 1981)) - is associated with "the realization of a certain more or less permanent order within that sphere of reality which the individual controls" (Thomas and Znaniecki , 1927, p.1851). This stabilization involves the "conscious, purposeful regulation of new experiences" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1851) Hence, once specific attitudes have been formed and a scheme in conformity with these has been reached, this reduces the range of possibilities open to them for further development - i.e., this in itself constitutes a barrier to individual change. People differ in relation to the latter, in given external conditions, depending upon the nature of their attitudes and their schemes, as well as the way both of these have evolved and the way these are 'unified and systematized (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1851-5). For example, in the area investigated in this study, the organization and schematization of attitudes according to the traditional norm can be such that alternative ways of living and making sense of their lives are not conceptualized by individuals concerned, even though they have incorporated, to varying degrees, information about gender equity issues in their constructs of external reality.

At the other extreme are those individuals who have rejected the traditional schemes and who have used the latter cultural materials in constructing their guidelines for conducting and understanding their household work arrangements. They have thus evolved a new equity behavioural scheme by which their new attitudes are stabilized and systematically organized. With the stabilization and schematization of a person's attitudes, then environmental information and experiences which may run counter to their ways of organizing and understanding their lives can remain unheeded, even pass unnoticed by them. Moreover, when these contradictions are heeded, they may be ascribed meanings which are consistent with prevailing attitudes and schemes - which in fact, actually distort reality. This is particularly evident among individuals for whom a scheme corresponding to the traditional homemaker/breadwinner norm is influential to some degree (see Appendix X - "Personal systems of respondents" - Types 1, 2 and 4A). The kind of conscious reflective activity which such individuals demonstrate, Thomas and Znaniecki claimed, is what

"society expects of its members, when it requires of [them] a stable life organization". In other words,

> ...it does not want [them] to react instinctively in the same way to the same material conditions, but to construct reflectively similar social situations even if material conditions vary (Thomas and Znaniecki , 1927, p.1852)

Research by psychologists investigating social cognition and information processing, permits some suggestions to be made concerning the cognitive mechanisms whereby individuals may sustain such distorted views of reality, and upon which they base their plans for leading and making sense of their life in a given area. The concept of schema is particularly relevant in this regard.

It has been suggested that schemas (and notably self-schemas) are "particularly likely to develop" around characteristics which are "commonly used to discriminate between people" (C. Miller, 1984, p.1223) - hence their relevance for consideration in relation to the area of interest here. It is seen in Chapter 10 that schemas are knowledge structures and systematic frameworks which individuals develop from past processing and integration of information and experiences, and which participate in ongoing selective and interpretative activity during information processing (Markus et al., 1988, p.38). They permit individuals to simplify, understand and integrate their knowledge and perceptions regarding a given person, social position, event, group as well as the self. Once established, they play a vital part in the comprehension of a wide range of social and self-related phenomena.

Schemas then, make the processing and interpretation of information - including ambiguous information - more efficient, by substituting "knowledge about general cases for each specific instance"; and can assist people in making "good predictions" about the world they live in, people, events and so on. When situations or people do not fit the broader schema, perceptions tend to yield to the schema (Saks et al., 1988, p.76). Hence, once established, schemas do not change readily, information being organized according to them until such time as contradictory information can no longer be denied or rationalized away: can no longer be organized and understood in terms of the existing schema (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1854-5; Saks et al., 1988, p.74). In such instances, it has been suggested, "new subcategories develop and old structures slowly begin to crumble" (Saks et al., 1988, p.74, also citing Rose, 1981; Weber and Crocker, 1983).

Regarding the latter point, and in relation to the area investigated here, there is considerable variation among members of this society. That is to say, change is not occurring uniformly across groups, and individuals from these (see Appendix X - "Personal systems of respondents"). For example, women are more likely than men to be dissatisfied with the gender division of work and to seek change with respect to this. However, the lesser status and power on the part of many, relative to men, contribute to their inability in enlisting a partner's cooperation here; additionally, some women experience difficulty in reducing their own involvement in this work. Among most people, the change which is

gradually emerging appears to relate more to the meanings being accorded to the gender division of family household work, rather than to its actual performance . And these meanings reflect the continuing influence of the traditional ideology, albeit somewhat modified in the case of some individuals. The exception here, as noted earlier, appears to be among young, childless couples and where a male shares a woman partner's commitment to equitable work arrangements. Influential too, it is argued here, are factors operating at a deeper and more profound level, for many individuals: those to do with the identity which each constructs.

Loss and Subsequent Restoration of Control

It is seen in Chapter 10 that in every adaptation two elements are found in varying proportions: one of these relates to "the actual control exercised over the environment"; the other refers to "the claims which the control serves to satisfy" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, in Bierstedt, 1969, p.57). It is noted there also, that a person's adaptation may be "perfect" either because of particularly limited claims, or because of successful and wide control. The latter orientation may be seen as representing those individuals referred to above, who have used the new cultural materials that have become available, in developing gender equitable household work patterns. The former may be seen as applicable to those individuals who continue to organize and ascribe meaning to this area of life in conformity with the traditional norm - given the presence of new values in this society which make it possible for inconsistencies and contradictions inherent in this to be recognised. In relation to these individuals and the "perfect" adaptation they reveal, it can be said that the claims they make on the environment are low, and the real and actual control they exercise, is limited. This can be contrasted to those other individuals referred to, who have widened "the control of [their] environment,..[and adapted] to their purposes...[an increased] sphere of social reality" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1856).

Cognitive social psychologists in recent years have devoted increasing attention to issues to do with people's control over events in their lives. Different kinds of control have been identified, a common feature being that each helps to reduce the stress of unpleasant or unpredictable events (Thompson, 1981). It has been found that even the *illusion of control* is influential in this regard (Saks et al., 1988, p.62).

The kind of control of particular interest in the present study relates to a certain form of meaning or understanding. It permits individuals to have reliable guidelines for viewing the social world, and organizing and understanding their present (and future) activities in ways deemed appropriate for, or fitting, this view. The presence or absence of such control, it is suggested, can be ascertained by determining and analysing the unique cultural world which each individual constructs: their personal systems of attitudes. Thus, an analysis of the contents of this - i.e., a person's thoughts, feelings and actions with respect to a given life area - can reveal whether this construct is systematically organized

(or not), as well as the likely nature of the scheme they have evolved in the process of stabilizing their attitudes. Thus, stabilization/schematization is evident in consistencies in relation to the phenomena referred to (thoughts, feelings, actions). Inconsistencies in relation to these suggest disorganization, or a state of disequilibrium in this construct. There is, then, the lack of a reliable behavioural scheme, and hence an absence of the form of control referred to.

As they go about their everyday lives, individuals are conceptualised here as engaging in constant reality-testing work (Walden, 1979). More specifically, they may be viewed as testing or monitoring the suitability of fit between their constructs of external reality and the plans (present and future) they have developed for living their lives in the various domains (with the interest here primarily in the cultural dimension of this). Where a suitable fit between these constructs has been achieved, this is manifest in the systematic organization of their personal systems in accordance with a consistent behavioural scheme (see Appendix X - "Personal systems of respondents" - Types 1, 4A and 5).

Individuals strive to maintain such stability as the above, and the control and life-certainty it permits them. In fact they will endeavour to sustain this as long as they are able - even in the face of conflicting information. They thus may deny or in other ways distort reality; and in so doing, lessen the actual control they exercise over their environment (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, in Bierstedt, 1969, p.57). For some people (and related to both group and individual factors), the situation may be reached where, through such distortions and the development of new attitudes and the associated weakening of the (traditional) scheme, the latter eventually may be totally rejected. A state of disequilibrium arises (see Appendix X - "Personal systems of respondents"- Type 2 for examples of weakening; Type 3 for examples of rejection of scheme).

In the absence of a scheme, the individual is unable to control and regulate new experiences. Hence, new elements enter their world. Previously-masked contradictions and inconsistencies now become apparent. Customary ways of behaving are challenged. In short, attention is wakened to what some authors have identified as the "central problems of life": "those to do with control over our environment" (Edgar et al., 1993, p.46, also citing W.I. Thomas, 1920, unreferenced).

This is a time when, to use Yeomans' description "old ways are not working" for the individuals affected; and "where old symbols have a kind of emptiness and have lost their meaning" (Yeomans, 1984, p.71). Yet new understandings are not immediately apparent and may only be acquired gradually (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1858, 1875; Schuetz, 1960, p.109; Marris, 1974, p.17). This is because the restoration of control here is dependent upon and inextricably connected with the continuity of meanings which individuals construct in relation to their activities and experiences. Consequently, this work necessitates the development of meanings which successfully tie together "past, present and future...with rewoven strands of meaning" (Marris, 1974, p.21).

The restoration of control entails a series of gradual adjustments being made to the individual's constructs of external reality and the personal system, eventually resulting in the stabilization and schematization of a person's attitudes, as discussed earlier (see also Chapters 5 and 10). Modifications to the self-concept also may be involved in relation to some changes - which, it is suggested, is the case in the present investigation. The revised constructs, insofar as they take some account of the new elements which have entered the person's world, reflect more 'truthful' realities than previously (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, in Bierstedt, 1969, p.57). The new scheme the individual evolves may be in greater or lesser conformity with the group scheme (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, pp.1879-80) (see for example Appendix X - "Personal systems of respondents" - Types 4A and 5, respectively).

Change such as is referred to above, tends to be resisted for as long as possible by people (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1245; Marris, 1974, p.21; Saks et al., 1988, p.74). Both group and individual factors are variously influential in this regard. The processes themselves are stressful for individuals. Moreover, society provides few satisfactory supports for those individuals and their expression tends to be assessed negatively by others. Thus, the very process in itself could constitute a major barrier to a person's engaging in the kind of change whereby group ideology is challenged (or a self -concept revised). The section which follows pursues further such a possibility. This presents a case for the relevance of taking into account individual identity, when attempting to understand change in the area investigated here.

CULTURE AND INDIVIDUAL IDENTITY

[Individuals'] social consciousness and...social self-knowledge are shaped by [their] co-existence with others within a common milieu. An individual is always an organic part of collective life and is not in a position to obliterate the traces of...those social groups which do have such an impact upon [them] (Chalasinski, 1982 [1979],p.40).

Thomas and Znaniecki conceptualized group rules such as those corresponding to the traditional breadwinner/homemaker norm as being represented at the individual level as components of the personality, specifically the life organization (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1843). Smolicz and Secombe saw a person's identity - or at least, the cultural dimension of this - as being comprised of these elements- i.e., their set of ideological attitudes (Smolicz, 1979, p.76; Smolicz and Secombe, 1981). They postulated that a hierarchy may exist among these in terms of the relative importance of particular ideological attitudes to an individual's personal identification.

It is suggested by the writer that the ideological attitudes investigated here may be components of that aspect of the personality identified as the self-concept (Markus et al., 1982; Crane et al., 1982; Hamachek, 1985, 1988). This has been described as "the

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nucleus of [personality] around which the rest of the system revolves" (Hamachek, 1985, p.137 - citing Lecky, 1945). The suggestion is made here that this construct may be crucially involved with ideology, in those vital tasks whereby a person creates a view of the world and guidelines for living in this (see Chapter 10). The self-concept could thus be viewed as in some ways shaping, as well as being shaped by, those constructs; and with all three structures being sustained or modified through, mutually interactive, causative processes.

Integrating Components of the Self-Concept

The loss of a particular form of control and meaning generally gives rise to such feelings as anxiety, anger, vulnerability, self-doubt and often fear (Golan, 1981; Yeomans, 1984; Egan, 1994). Emotional reactions such as these would seem to be associated with the uncertainty which accompanies the challenge to taken for granted ways of thinking about and organizing everyday activity (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1879; Schuetz, 1960) (see also Giddens, 1989). Current cultural interpretations of masculinities and femininities may operate so as to make men particularly eager to avoid such emotional experiences/expressions (i.e., revealing vulnerability, femininity) - and may even inhibit their recognition of these feelings (Basow, 1992, p.353).

It is suggested in Chapter 10 that these gender differences in emotional expression as well as self-disclosure generally, may be among the complex inter-related factors contributing to evidence found in this study, for greater attitude and behaviour change in women (see also Vandenheuvel, 1991(b); Edgar and Glezer, 1992 (b), p.36; Basow, 1992, pp.241-2). It could be that the type of verbal communication more typical of women (generally involving greater openness and willingness/desire to talk about personal issues/emotional problems) may facilitate the kind of change leading to the disorganization - as well as the subsequent reorganization or restructuring - of an individual's personal system (see Chapter 9).

As discussed in Chapter 10, the self-concept includes an individual's perceptions concerning all aspects of the self - biological, physical, emotional, social, intellectual, cultural and so on. Following from the above, such factors and their inter-relationship could be seen to enter variously as data, in the life situations which individuals encounter, give meaning to and act (or not) in relation to. Thus, among further theoretical contributions of the self-concept to understanding individuals' behaviour, is that of enabling "the unity of the organism" to be kept in mind (White, 1964, p.146 - quoted in Hamachek, 1985, p.136). Kimmel (1990, p.94) provided an example which highlights the significance of race, gender and class for an individual in a particular situational context.

The earlier discussion (Chapter 10) also refers to the unified and systematic character of the self-concept (Markus et al., 1982; Taylor et al., 1986; Hamachek, 1985, 1988). Accordingly, once individuals have developed "a coherent self-picture", they strive to

be consistent with this: "to maintain their 'self-schemata' ". Information and experiences inconsistent with these cannot be assimilated (Hamachek, 1985, p.137). Thus, in relation to the area investigated in this study, the question may be raised concerning to what extent some men and women are able to integrate radically different alternatives to traditional notions of breadwinning/homemaking into their self-concepts. In Chapter 5, it is argued that the norm constitutes core values for the gender groups in this society (see also Chapter 10), and for these (values) being closely linked to individual identity.

With regard to female stereotypes in this and similar societies, it is seen in Chapter 6 that several distinct subtypes of female stereotypes have emerged since the 1970s (Ashmore et al., 1986; Deaux et al., 1987). These variously take into account changes to traditional gender roles which have been emerging over the past several decades. Yet all these stereotypes share a common expectation: women's involvement with "having and caring for children" (Basow, 1992, p.6). Such a priority, it could be suggested, may make it difficult for women to develop and integrate a gender-equity attitude (a self-schema) with respect to child care, into their self-concept. Edgar has observed that women's "continued commitment to family and children" is "a major factor limiting [their] career advancement" (Edgar, 1991(c), p.10). As noted in Chapter 3, social policies in this country also reflect an assumption that women are "the 'natural' carers" (Edgar, 1992(c), p.41).

Concerning male gender role stereotypes, whereas these also differ according to such factors as race, social class and ethnicity, several commonalities are evident. Thus, men's breadwinning consistently looms as of major importance . And, as the psychiatrist - author, Gaylin, observed: "[men engage] in a desperate attempt to establish their identity as providers, not only in the eyes of the world, but in their own gut"(Gaylin, 1993, p.90). He expressed the view that while the world is of "men's design",

> ...we have designed it badly. And not just for women. We have created a male dominated society in which the very nature of our dominant role becomes increasingly difficult to fulfil. We live in a world of insecure men (Gaylin, 1993, p.90) .

Male gender stereotypes tend also to limit the expression of feelings, as well as create a fear of femininity (Basow, 1992, p. 197) (see also Chapter 10). Even as children, males define themselves by avoiding anything even vaguely feminine. To alter their self-definition as adults to include 'feminine' behaviours could be expected to be difficult. It may also mean a "perceived loss of status and self-esteem for some men" (Basow, 1992, p.353). Homophobia, in so far as it denies men characteristics culturally viewed as feminine, functions to maintain traditional definitions of masculinity (Basow, 1992, p.208).

Edgar and Glezer (1992(b),p.36) are among researchers who have referred to the "profound impact" the changes of recent decades have had on men. For example, their "control of family finances" has been challenged; and their "assumed right to dominate family decision-making, where to work and live" has been undermined. The experiences of

such can be expected to have had major impact on many men's self-concept and their self-esteem. This would seem to be consistent with the following conclusion arrived at by those authors:

The fragility of the male ego, their confusions about their role, their dismay at being left behind both physically and mentally tempts us to describe men as 'The Fragile Sex' (Edgar and Glezer, 1992(b),p.36).

The suggestion is put here then, that prevailing cultural interpretations of masculinities and femininities in this society and early socialization experiences in relation to these, constitute barriers to adult women and men assimilating into their self-concept, characteristics and behaviours which are in opposition to and in conflict with these values. This situation is further compounded by assumptions about caring and breadwinning roles, which are sustained and reinforced by the gender division of labour in this society (Edgar, 1992(c), p.41). Whereas many women have integrated involvement in paid employment into their self-concept, this is often perceived by them (and society) as secondary to their primary family responsibilities (Graham Russell et al., 1988). A challenge facing many men today is "to find an identity...that will allow them to integrate the vulnerable, sensitive" (Colling, 1992, p.x). That author - based upon findings from men's groups which he conducted (he is also a family therapist) - expressed the view that many men are now recognising the need "to address the conflicts between the social expectations of masculinity and their own need for personal and emotional fulfilment" (Colling, 1992, p.x).

Self-concept and Reality Construction

The suggestion is put in Chapter 10, for the self concept's involvement with ideology in those tasks in which individuals construct a view of reality and guidelines for leading their lives. Such a key role for the self-concept could be seen as similar to those perspectives which consider this construct to be "the lens" (Basow, 1992, p.120) or "the filter on the lens" (Taylor et al., 1986, p.54) through which a person sees the world. It is consistent also with that view advanced by Edgar, who also emphasised the significance of the self in terms of the perceived control this allows. According to that writer, then, a person's "sense of self" is "an anchor of security from which to predict and control (in so far as that is possible) their transactions with others" (Edgar, 1991(c), p.6). It was earlier noted that (as with ideological attitudes) a person's self-concept may filter and distort information relating to external reality in order to maintain a consistent (albeit 'outdated') perception of this. Such distortions also protect existing guidelines for viewing the world and conducting their lives, including what has been termed in the present study, the personal system.

A Fear of Change?

According to Edgar and associates, "the most basic motivation of all" is to have control over one's environment (Edgar et al., 1993, p.284). A similar view has been put by some

cognitive psychologists. Their perspective resembles that advanced in the current study, in the sense of according major relevance to meanings with respect to achieving and sustaining such control. Thus, according to these researchers, "people act in order to *understand* and thereby to exert *control* over their lives" (Saks and Krupat, 1988, p.61 - their emphases).

In relation to the kind of change of interest here - where individuals' "usual habits and patterns of activity do not work as well" and where they "...are not as one with [their] selves" - it has been observed that their "first impulse is to continue as before" (Yeomans, 1984, p.71). Marris (1974) similarly noted that what he termed the "conservative impulse" is both pervasive and profound. Findings from the present study also reveal such a tendency. Moreover, it is also found that individuals may construct rationalizations (new cognitions) which justify established patterns of behaviour; and additionally, they may maintain the latter even when they have developed attitudes inconsistent with these. As already noted, it was Thomas and Znaniecki's claim that such retention was necessary both for the social organization and individual identity (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1248).

Individuals' experiences of the kind of change associated with life transitions and alterations to the self-concept are frequently described by them as the "most painful" with which they ever have to deal (Yeomans, 1984; Caldicott, 1991; Watson et al., 1992; McKay et al., 1992; Egan, 1994). A particularly negative aspect of this appears to be the lack of direction in relation to them. In Yeomans' words, "the person does not know where all this experience will lead" (Yeomans, 1984, p.71). Thomas and Znaniecki also referred to such a difficulty, noting that *anything* "may become preferable to mental uncertainty" (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1879). The "insecurity" associated with such experiences , and "how to deal with that" was described by Caldicott as "...probably the most difficult thing we ever have to encounter" (Caldicott, 1991, p.174). That person, in referring to difficulties being experienced by her, made the association with a loss of control. To quote here: "I just don't know where it is going. I think giving up the control..." (Caldicott, 1991, p.181).

Yeomans (1984, p.70) pointed to those experiences we are discussing being both "fearful" for individuals as well as "feared" by them. The emotion of fear, as with anger, it has been observed, "is aroused when threats are perceived to our survival, [and are] intended to fight those threats" (Gaylin, 1993, p.90). Regarding the kind of loss of control which is of interest here - that arising from the loss of a particular form of meaning - Marris posited that such an experience is, in fact, akin to a threat to survival for the individual concerned. In support of such a position he stated that survival is importantly linked to our capacity to learn from experience. And the latter, he continued, "relies on the stability of the interpretations by which we predict the pattern of events". When individuals are experiencing the change being discussed here, they have no reliable guidelines for their actions and for according meaning to these, in the area of life affected. Moreover, new meanings are not immediately available, and may only be acquired gradually, with new

experiences being assimilated "by placing them in the context of a familiar, reliable construction of reality" (Marris, 1974, p.6) (see Chapters 5 and 10). There is a temporary vacuum, therefore, in the lives of those affected, in terms of understanding and predictability in relation to their actions and their understanding of these. It is not surprising, therefore, that change of this order tends to be resisted by individuals for as long as possible (Marris, 1974; Golan, 1981; Saks et al., 1988, p.74).

But furthermore, if - as has been suggested - those ideological attitudes corresponding to the traditional breadwinner/homemaker norm are components of women's and men's self concepts, this may help explain why change to these values is "so threatening" to individuals and resisted by them. Threats here

> ... affect our basic and unconscious sense of self. [And since] we view the world entirely through the subjective lens of the self, all challenges to traditional gender concepts are challenging to one's core self (Basow, 1992, p.121).

A Need to Normalise Change

Although they frequently are feared, change processes such as are referred to above, and involving the loss of control and the development of new understandings through which control is restored, are not "for the vast majority of normal persons" trauma-producing (Neugarten, 1976, p.18 - quoted in Golan, 1981, p.30). Likewise Marris (1974) observed that, despite the anxiety and ambivalence involved by venturing into the unknown, the experience is not fundamentally disruptive. Moreover, Yeomans identified such experiences as valuable and relatively rare opportunities for individuals to exercise a greater degree of choice over their lives - a similar perspective to that advanced in this study. Thus, according to that writer, people have more freedom during such periods than at any other time in their lives, to participate actively and creatively in constructing "new more evolved ways of being"(Yeomans, 1984, p.67).

Caldicott likewise has pointed to the great personal (and professional) value to her of moving through experiences of this kind - described by her also as being the "more painful than anything I've ever done". As she stated: "I've become a good doctor by experiencing my own life...you learn about other people and you are able to help other people only by experiencing life yourself, and being open to it"(Caldicott, 1991, p.179). Yet regrettably, society generally does not take such a positive view here - and the process of destructuring not only is not valued and respected, but involvement in it is judged negatively and discouraged. Individuals experiencing this process frequently do not feel comfortable seeking or receiving the support and assistance which may enable them to cope more effectively, and be more purposefully involved in the new constructions which they are creating (Yeomans, 1984, p.68).

Several writers have pointed to the importance to individual - and hence here, social - change of normalising the kinds of emotional experiences which are part and parcel of the processes involved. Caldicott (1991, p.179) for example, referred to the need to "legitimise"

such emotional expression, "so others can resonate with it and say, 'I'm not mad, what is happening to me is normal." There is a need, she contended, "to write books about it and popularise it". Yeomans (1984), in fact , did just that. As she commented, rarely in this culture "[do we] see these times with respect or as a necessary aspect of the process of growth". Among strategies she identified for assisting individuals to work through such processes, include that of, firstly, recognising and naming the experience: "naming it something...transition...change...grieving...even destructuring, will help". Such labelling, according to that author, "...gives some sense of control and even some sense of meaning at a time when we are losing both a certain kind of control and a certain kind of meaning" (Yeomans, 1984, p.70).

Yeomans' personal experiences with such transitions and which she reported in the article referred to, left her in no doubt as to their "fearful" nature. Yet she cautioned against these being "feared" (Yeomans, 1984, p.70). In this regard she emphasised the need "to teach and demonstrate" that the destructuring phase of personal evolution - viewed here as akin to disequilibrium in the personal system - be seen as "helpful", essential to the building of the new. However, the conflict and tensions inherent in such change processes obviously are considerable - a point not missed by the philosopher, Charles Birch. As he observed,

> ... the human being is made for creative transformation as a bird is made for flight. To be sure, each of us is in a cage much of the time. We long for the door to be opened that we may be free to soar into the heavens (Birch, 1990, p.5)

A point which may be easily lost sight of in discussing such intensely personal experiences, is that these are influenced importantly by sociopolitical forces at work in a particular place and time. In fact, the very materials individuals use in deciding on their actions and giving meaning to these - in constructing their realities - depend upon "collective interests and the social power to impose a particular view of the world on others" (Edgar, 1991(b),p.2).

In the final section of the conclusion, which follows, the focus of the discussion returns to the subject of the family. It draws on findings from the study, integrating these with other perspectives, and argues for the central role and particular importance of this institution, in society (Boulding, 1983; Morgan, 1985;Edgar, 1991(c)).

FAMILIES AND SOCIAL CHANGE

In relation to the study of the family, Edgar has commented that this may be made more difficult than, say, the study of religion, work, or politics, simply because it is so taken for granted and apparently natural. A possibility arising from this is "that more may be made of the internal reality construction process (between husband and wife, parents and children)...than of the [prevailing] sociopolitical processes"; which may even "restrict the language by which that reality is sustained" (Edgar, 1991(c), p.3). Morgan also has

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observed that social and historical circumstances at a given time may limit people's capacity to recognise what he termed the "two-edged character of family life" (Morgan, 1985, p.286). Following Morgan, Edgar has identified the family and "its central processes of marital and parenting relationships" as being appropriately viewed as "...both public and private, both society and the individual, both institutional and personal, macro and micro at the same time" (Edgar, 1991(c), p.4 - also citing Morgan, 1985, p.285).

The Institution of Family

The above perspective on the family is consistent with that adopted in the study, and is supported by certain of its findings. Thus, the individual and society as conceptualized here, are not so clearly separate, but arise out of one another (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1831). And whereas the same may be said of all institutions, the family, it has been argued, has a "peculiar importance" (Morgan, 1985, p.292). This derives from its relating society and the individual and dealing with the temporal dimension of society. The family is especially concerned with socialization and reproduction, with "relationships between individuals and the particular social formation in which the individuals were born". It is uniquely concerned with relationships over time (both cultural and material transfers across generations); and is peculiar also in being a "central institution for the regulation of gender order in society" and its articulation with other features of social stratification (Morgan, 1985, pp.292-3).

A further feature rendering the family as "particularly distinctive" in society is the intensity of interactions between members, "particularly between parent (mother) and child but also between adults". The intensity and character of such relationships is seen to give rise to the importance of family themes and family-based projects in individuals' lives, particularly in giving them a sense of self. This could be seen as "[contributing] to the reproduction not only of society but also of the institution of the family itself and the particular gender order which is shaped around it" (Morgan, 1985, p.293).

The Family as Shaper and Conveyor of Ideology

The present study points to the continuing power of ideological values corresponding to the traditional gendered norm, on the thinking and actions of many individuals - and hence in their households. In Chapters 1 and 2, the historical origins of this norm are outlined, and its pervasiveness in this society is examined in later chapters (Chapters 3 and 4 particularly; parts of 5 and 6). The analysis in Chapter 9 permits some understanding of the ways individuals may be adjusting and even challenging the traditional ideology in response to the emergence of a new equity value in this life area. This work is taking place in family households as women, men and children go about their everyday activities and give meaning to these.

It is in family households also that individuals have their initial exposure to the values of their group - a fact which in itself, points to the special significance of the family as a social institution (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1841). In such settings, children "are first cared for and first learn to care about others"(Edgar, 1992(c),p.41),and this appears to have lasting impact on the individual (Chodorow, 1978, 1990). Such experiences and observations are among the cultural materials which family members select from and use in their constructions of a view of social reality, their own place in this, and a (gendered) self-concept. (See Chapter 4 for a discussion on family socialization content and practices). Those attitudes developed early in life - and which are reinforced with a child's subsequent exposure to other social institutions (school, etc.) - become that part of a person's world which is taken for granted, accepted unquestioningly as normal and natural.

A distinguishing feature of a group's ideological values, it has been seen, is that they prescribe for members only *one* way for conducting their activities and making sense of these in the particular aspects of life to which they refer. Thus, in the area investigated in the study, from the vast array of possibilities for handling "the relationship between biology and culture", one way is identified as *the* way by which everyone *should* abide. The family, as Althusser (1971) put it, is "the main site in which individuals are constructed, both as subjects of a particular regime and as the locus of identity" (Edgar, 1991(c), p.5 - also citing Althusser, 1971). In capitalist societies, it has been pointed out, notions of the self, of the individual, carry a "particular burden", linked as they are with other values to do with private property, free enterprise, personal and competitive agency (Morgan, 1985, p.297; Edgar, 1991(c) p.5). Accordingly, Morgan has developed an argument for the family as an "ideological apparatus... simultaneously [doing] both the work of constructing and shaping individual subjects and also, in the same moment, itself as the authentic and natural agency for this task" (Morgan, 1985, p.297).

The rhetoric of capitalism, it has been observed, emphasises free, individual action rather than group action. Thus, individual needs, interests and purposes are echoed in much of the vocabulary of sociology and educational psychology: self-actualization, self-development, free competition, equal opportunity, etc. A consequence of this is that the group interests which lie behind much apparently individual action, may not be recognised (Morgan, 1985, p.297; Edgar et al., 1993, p.285). Such interests, as Boulding (1983) contended "are shaped in family settings and pursued out of family identities" (p.261).

What the terminology referred to above conceals also, is that the individual is *not* free to act alone in society; and further, that irrespective of motivation, effort, skills and so on, some individuals cannot achieve certain outcomes because society's resources and rewards are unequally distributed (Edgar et al., 1993, p.285). It has been postulated that perhaps the "most significant contradiction" in the ideology which the family constructs and - with varying degrees of success - conveys, is that the concept of individualism is (formally)

gender free; and

> ...once the balance of resources necessary for personal control and the pursuit of individual goals shifts (as it has in the case of women) broader social structural adjustments between interest groups will eventuate (Edgar, 1991(c), p.5).

Male-Dominated Households

Regarding change to the division of labour in the home, it has been seen that this is made difficult by numerous interrelated factors. Traditional socialization and the workplace continue to steer women and men into different roles in society (see Chapters 4 and 2). The state, in its dealings with families - although now recognising women's workforce participation - continues to assume that they are society's main carers: for children, individuals with disabilities, and the frail elderly (see Chapter 3). Other factors working against achieving change here include those which operate at perhaps a more profound level: those to do with the identity each individual constructs and which is inextricably connected with all of the above (see Chapter 10).

The study suggests that in this society some women have developed new equity attitudes but they are prevented from activating these for various reasons. Among the latter are an absence of similar attitude change in a male partner and an accompanying lack of willingness to become more involved in the home. There are numerous examples where, it would seem, a family/couple reality does not exist in relation to the aspect of family life investigated (see Appendix X - Types 2, 3, and 4B personal systems) (see also Edgar, 1991,(c); Boulding, 1983). A feature of the households concerned is that, in the absence of this (shared reality), it is the male's reality - here, reflecting the traditional norm - which corresponds to the actual division of unpaid work; and further, many employed women are resentful at such gender-divided work patterns (see also Basow, 1992, p.239). Although they desire and seek a partner's cooperation in increasing his involvement, and so redress the imbalance here, they are unable to achieve this: they are powerless to activate their new attitudes (Znaniecki, 1963[1952],p.267).

It appears to be the case, therefore, that many women's sense of power and control in the family prevents them from reaching the goals they espouse. This lesser access to resources on the part of women, compared with men, is evident in other aspects of family living (see Chapter 10). Furthermore, the strength of the prevailing traditional attitudes of some and the way these are organized and schematized, prevent women (as they do men) from perceiving the real inequalities and injustices which exist here. For example, some accept unquestioningly a male partner having greater time to pursue recreational interests; and further, they view the latter as a legitimate reason for his lesser contribution to family work.

Findings from the present investigation are thus in disagreement with research suggesting that women and men as individuals and as members of couples in families, are free to negotiate realities with few outside directives (see for example Backett, 1982). On

the contrary, and consistent with Voysey's (1975) findings, most participants in this study are found to draw from prevailing ideological values and to use these as a guide to their actions and the understandings they construct for these. Consequently, while most have also selected from the new cultural materials, the influence of these on their lives with respect to actual behaviour is, for the majority, minimal (Type 5 personal system being the exception here). Many women continue to do the bulk of unpaid family work, as well as have lesser power and inferior status compared with their male partners - a situation which is mirrored in the wider society.

Yet, contradictory to the above, many of society's laws and norms now suggest that "relationships have become permanently negotiable, reality construction less confined to clear social typifications" (Edgar, 1991(c),p.6). Commenting upon this phenomenon in relation to Australian society, Edgar has suggested that we are undergoing a shift towards what he termed "normative individualism". Whereas this may liberate women in certain ways, for some it has brought them into "perhaps even greater class subjugation than before". To quote that author further:

> As de Tocqueville(1969) observed, individualism may be the end of freedom, the enemy of a democracy in which oppressed and exploited groups can fight the tyranny of those in power. The need for female labour force participation will certainly alter their power relationships with men and the affective meaning of those adult relationships, but it effectively 'capitalises' women into the modern corporate state in the same way men have been and demands split loyalties and time allocation that will drastically alter both the form and the symbolic meaning of marriage and parenthood (Edgar, 1991(c),p.6).

Change in Families...Change in Society

> The best that society has ever done for its members was to put at their disposal materials for creative development by preserving values produced by the past (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1906).

As in family households, women in the wider society "tend to have less power ... and less control over their lives" than do men. They are also "more likely to live in an unpredictable environment" (Basow, 1992, p.198). In fact, women are likely to have lesser access than men to all socially-valued resources. As we have seen, Australian society is patriarchal and capitalist. Overwhelmingly, societal power is in the hands of White men - politically, economically, legally, and militarily. Although women have made gains in recent years, progress is slow and difficult to achieve. Essentially, this is because gender is embedded within the total social system. Elimination of inequality in family households, therefore, requires elimination of inequality in all other areas of social life - politics, religion, work and so on (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, in Bierstedt, 1969, p.61). Moreover, until male dominance is eliminated. "...we cannot know how to reconstruct the state and its institutions because our very thinking is limited by gender politics"(Basow, 1992, p.322).

Integral to achieving a more egalitarian society with respect to gender , it is postulated here, is a greater balance in the division of family household work between women and men. Without this, women end up with low status in the public sphere (including the workplace) as well as doing a "second shift" at home (Hochschild, 1989; Segal, 1990). And further, traditional notions of performing this work and making sense of it continue to be transmitted to society's next generation of members - the future mothers, fathers, policy-makers, teachers, and so on. Although some men are increasing their involvement in family work, the bulk of this is still done by women. Where men do participate in child rearing, this is found to enhance women's status (Coltrane,1988).

Challenges Confronting Today's Families

It is appropriate here, to highlight certain circumstances which may be found to exist, to varying degrees, in today's dual-income families. Firstly, the investigation reveals that the process of radical personal change - which some individuals (mainly women) are experiencing - is stressful for them, often being accompanied by uncertainty, self-doubt and anxiety. Male and female partners also may have different reality constructions here, which makes any understanding of the other's situation problematic. The very language each uses may be different - a situation which could be expected to impact negatively upon any of their efforts to communicate in this area (Edgar, 1991(c), p.4 - also citing Wolcott et al., 1989).

Moreover, as is seen in Chapter 10, women and men usually have different stakes in maintaining the status quo. Men may see a change from traditional patterns as eroding their power (and perhaps impeding their career prospects), women may see such a change as increasing theirs. Thus, whereas women may desire and seek change, men are less likely to see a need for this as well as to be motivated to achieve it (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927,p.1877). This imbalance has been identified "as the area of most conflict between women and men" (Basow, 1992, p.344). It has been found to be strongly related to "thought of divorce" (Huber and Spitze, 1983) (see Basow, 1992, pp.222-6, for a review of studies in this area).

Compounding all of the above - and intimately connected with it - is the fact that the kind of change we are concerned with here has its own special set of demands. It requires of individuals and couples not only taking into account their own personal needs and interests and those of the household, but also the *cultural meanings* they have learned in growing up in this society (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, p.1850). Such values are part of their world-taken-for-granted. Thus, as Edgar stated in relation to the situation of the contemporary family, : "Familia faber, the family as maker, is having to work overtime because it is both society and the individual" (Edgar, 1991(c), p.6 - also citing Boulding, 1983).

As families and their members struggle with the challenges associated with change, including trying to develop new ways for making sense of their experiences, they may be faced with other pressures. Many women and men are feeling work/family stress (Edgar and Glezer, 1992(b); Edgar, 1991(c), p.44). The demands being faced by today's families ,particularly in terms of time and income-earning, have been pointed to by numerous researchers (Edgar, 1991(c),1992(c); Basow, 1992; Hiller and Phillaber, 1990). According to Hiller and Phillaber (1990), partners who are both employed "may be overloaded with demands on their time and energy"; and furthermore, pressure associated with this may actually "generate rigid role performances as well as emotional exhaustion" (p.253). Moreover, such demands and pressures also may deprive couples and families of time and opportunities for the important work of relationship-building. As Edgar said of contemporary Australian families:

> It is ... a picture of couples ... struggling with the demands of earning an income in a system which obviously leaves little time for home-building but which also produces stress as they try to meet their family obligations (Edgar et al., 1992(b),pp.38-9).

Such dynamics in family households as the above sketch depicts, suggest environments not altogether conducive to the kind of couple communication and negotiations necessary if more equitable family work arrangements are to be achieved by couples.

Lacking...Social Support for Family Relationships

Australia could be said to have done "fairly well" in providing structural supports for family change. Nevertheless, it has not gone far enough to ease the pressures on families, associated with what is a major structural shift in family life (Edgar and Glezer, 1992(b), p.36 - see Edgar, 1990(b) for a discussion). A problem has been that, beyond the legislative reforms referred to earlier (see Chapters 6 and 10), insufficient concomitant change has occurred in other structures - work, education, law and community services, for example. The latter fact has caused some researchers to caution against "attributing resistance to change only to fathers". Without change in those other structures, they argued, "the goals of equal opportunity and shared parenting will remain elusive". Particular attention has been drawn to the rigid, family-unfriendly character of many work structures in this country (Edgar and Glezer, 1992(b), p.36) (see also Adie and Carmody, 1991). These reveal the continuing powerful influence of traditional ideological values on the life situations of those responsible for policy formulation and so on. In contrast are the (less evident) family-friendly work practices and employer responses to workers with family responsibilities, which reflect the influence of the new equity values on the lives of those involved (Edgar, 1991(g),p.2).

In this country also, there is a relative paucity of policies and programmes which are supportive of parenting and assistance with the child-rearing task - this situation similarly

highlighting the continuing dominating influence of traditional ideological values in this society, generally. It was noted earlier that Scandinavian countries are very progressive in their approach to family policy. This is particularly so with regard to the relationship between family and work. The Finnish approach, for example, places a high priority on promoting egalitarian family life, and emphasises women's rights as well as the positive role of men and fathers in the family. Moreover, it is recognised that modern family life is very demanding in terms of time and income-earning, and so policies are based on "trying to ensure the security necessary for lasting human relationships" (quoted in Edgar, 1992(d), p.4). The fact that women make up one-third of the Finnish parliament may help account for this more humanistic view of social and economic policies. (The same proportion of women make up the parliaments in Norway and Sweden. This compares with around one-tenth representation in Australia as well as other countries having national parliaments (Basow, 1992, p.299 - also citing United Nations, 1989))

With regard to economic and social policies in this country, Edgar has expressed the view that "economic rationalists" have made the "fatal slip" of "treating society itself as the enemy. They have put a system above the people it is meant to serve" (Edgar, 1991(e), p.3). Here then, to use Birch's interpretation, "people [may be treated] as mere objects". And this, he argued, constitutes "a desecration of life". That philosopher-writer emphasised the relevance to human living of "entering into another's experience rather than turning away from it as irrelevant to us" (Birch, 1990, p.9). Like Edgar, Birch is critical of the tendency of "the technological society", in putting a premium on efficiency, "to treat people as objects for economic ends and not as subjects who have an urge to live". From such a perspective, individuals' value lies in "their value to the gross national product". "But what's the point", Birch asked, "of gaining top marks for GNP and losing your soul?" As he went on to warn: "the golden goose can lay rotten eggs" (Birch, 1990, p.9) The alternative to economic rationalism ("so-called") which Edgar proposed - that of "economic humanism" - "rests upon investment in people, and that means families" (Edgar, 1991(e), pp.3-4) (see Edgar's article titled "Economic Humanism: A New Direction for the 90's" for a discussion (Edgar, 1991(e)).[1]

Family Relationships and Social Change

It was Edgar's view that social and economic policies and programmes are required which are supportive of the work and responsibilities of families with children; and which ease the considerable pressures facing them today, in terms of time and energy demands. Most working parents, he pointed out, have to struggle to fit their family life around the

---

[1] It needs to be acknowledged, however, that the counter-forces to such a radical alteration in thinking and direction, are powerful. Among these, as Edgar identified in an earlier publication, is an apparent absence of any realisation among many of the Australian government's "senior policy-makers", that "the quality of familial and social relations is ... central to the sound functioning of any economy" (Edgar, 1990(b),p.6-also citing Vanier Institute, Canada, 1983).

requirements of their job (Edgar 1991(c),p.10). Often there is little time left for the crucial work of relationship-building - and which, it is argued here, may be vital to creating an environment conducive to a couple's successful negotiation of even relatively small changes to household work arrangements.

In his role as coordinator of IYF (International Year of the Family, 1994), Henryk Sokalski listed the following key targets for the new egalitarian family: shared responsibility; mutual respect; trust and support; non-threatening behaviour; honesty and accountability; negotiation and fairness; economic partnership and responsible parenting (cited Edgar, 1992(d),p.3). Identifying ways whereby such values and ways of relating may be more fully realised in family households, would seem, to the writer, to be both an important and worthwhile endeavour. When translated into the activities and relationships of family households this may provide an excellent base for children to learn from, and through which families could eventually cease to be patriarchal. Regrettably though, values such as these may all too easily be marginalised "in a relatively narrow and ideologically constructed unit" (Morgan, 1985, p.261); and perhaps especially so in social contexts where economic values frequently are accorded priority over humanistic ones.

Changing relationships, it has been argued, "is a key aspect of social change and is where many people get bogged down". This is especially true in the case of female-male relationships in family households (Basow, 1992, p.344). Findings from this study provide some support in relation to both these points. Any challenge to the traditional ideology requires that couples reach new verbal agreements about the performance of family work, as well as their following through with changed arrangements consistent with these - and sustaining them (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927). None of these steps is easy, as previous discussions about the nature of the attitudinal change process involved here and the (group and individual) factors which run counter to it, have revealed. At the household level, as noted earlier, members are experiencing work-family stress - physical tiredness and emotional exhaustion are not uncommon experiences for adult partners in many of today's dual-income families (Hiller and Phillaber, 1990; Edgar and Glezer, 1992(b)). If such conditions allow insufficient time for couples even to do the work of *maintaining* their relationships, as Edgar and Glezer (1992(b)) suggested, then it could be expected that their chances of successfully negotiating change in a life area such as we are concerned with, are minimal, to say the least (Hiller and Phillaber, 1990).

Yet, for all of the above, studies consistently reveal that high levels of cooperation and support exist in many (other) areas of family life (Edgar, 1992(g) citing research by Australian Institute of Family Studies). Most Australians place a high value on family life. Public opinion polls have disclosed that 70 per cent of people ranked family as 'the greatest satisfaction in life ' (compared with 5 percent for work) (cited in Edgar, 1991(c), p.10). And although the divorce rate (which has been rising fairly steadily over recent decades) is now

around 35 percent, many people in this country consider stability in their relationships to be important for them (Edgar, 1991(c), p.7).

The immense satisfaction and pleasure which some individuals can derive from being in a family/couple relationship, is apparent in the comments provided by some respondents in the study. These are predominantly from that group identified as having a Type 5 personal system and who, it is suggested, have challenged the traditional ideology. Their replies to the questionnaire indicate that they put time and effort, together with their partners, into developing and sustaining a relationship of 'equals' which is very fulfilling for them (see for example Chapter 8, Stage 2, Section 6.2.3.2.). They also reveal a greater awareness (than do other participants) of the wider circumstances affecting their situations. This enables them to exercise far greater choice and control over their lives than can those who are still constrained by their traditional ideological attitudes.

However, unlike the above, many couples do not have the luxury of being able to devote time and energy to maintaining their relationships (Edgar and Glezer, 1992(b)) - particularly where children are present within a household. Nor do they all have certain resources available to them, which the relatively socially-privileged individuals participating in this study appear to have. Their access to tertiary education and professional careers, along with other benefits which usually accompany these (higher paid jobs, better housing and health, for example) may serve to reduce pressures on them which often may accompany a busy lifestyle; as well as enabling them to buy services not available to those with fewer privileges (e.g. high quality child care, home help). These may be seen to greatly assist their situations (Edgar, 1992(c), p.53). Inadequate financial resources, and associated pressures are found to impact negatively on family relationships, and may be associated with divorce (Edgar, 1991(g), p.2).

Whereas favourable material conditions cannot, in themselves give rise to new attitudes, where the latter have evolved in one or both partners, these (conditions) may permit them the time and emotional energy necessary to negotiate new arrangements and engage in the challenging task of establishing new work patterns (that is, social change). This study suggests that it is mainly women who have developed new equity attitudes (see also Baxter, et al., 1990; Basow, 1992, p. 344; Edgar and Glezer (1992(b)). This new-found cultural freedom enables them to plan and implement simple everyday strategies designed to change the balance of work in their households (see Chapter 8, Stage 2, Section 6.2.3). Whether or not a male partner has achieved a change in attitudes, prior to increasing his involvement in this work cannot be determined from the study. It could be, then, that his greater participation may be an outcome of, say, his sense of fairness or a desire to cooperate with a partner - as may exist where a relationship is valued and there is a strong commitment to its quality and continuation. The psychological theory of cognitive dissonance would suggest that in instances where behaviour precedes attitude change, then the latter may follow (Festinger, 1957). This perspective is based on findings - also

consistent with those from this study - which indicate that people are motivated to attain consistency between their attitudes, feelings and actions. The theory assumes that individuals have a drive toward cognitive consistency. Accordingly, where dissonance (discomfort) is created by their

> ...[engaging] in behavior [which] is counter to [their] attitudes, [this] creates pressure to reduce the dissonance by changing [their] attitudes so that they are consistent with the behavior (Atkinson et al., 1983, p.548).

Irrespective of whether the above may be a possible outcome - and the special (cultural) nature of the attitudes of interest does not permit any predictions to be made - any change in gender-divided work patterns is, nonetheless, significant. This is so not only in terms of its possible importance for a couple relationship, but also in regard to the new meanings conveyed via such activities and which are transmitted to the next generation. Thus, while Gaylin was not optimistic about the ability of "today's adult male" to achieve significant personal change, he did see the potential - through men's consciousness-raising with respect to problems arising for them from their own socialization experience - for men, for example, to "encourage [their sons] to be warm and loving". As he observed,

> Children want approval. If we reward a child, male or female, for being gentle, we will be moving towards change(Gaylin, 1993, p.90).

The above perspective on social change may be seen as similar to that advanced in the current study. Here it is argued that any challenge to the traditional ideology may take place only through couples reaching new agreements in their conversations regarding the performance of family work; and most importantly, their translating these into practice: into new, corresponding behaviours (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927). Such a view seems far removed from the enormity and complexity of change to the ideological norm - to the extent that this even may be conceptualized. Here we are talking about "a complete overhaul of societal structure and practice" (Basow, 1992, p.350). Yet, it is at the level of households, I suggest - through the work of individuals, couples, and parents and children in family settings - that change emanates. When new agreements are reached about family responsibilities and these are manifested in the behaviour of those involved, then this is an indication of social change. This is to say that

> ...new schemes of behavior and new institutions [are produced which are] better adapted to the changed demands of the group(Thomas & Znaniecki, 1927, p.1130).

The family, it has been observed, is particularly well-equipped when it comes to handling matters to do with change (Boulding, 1983, p.262). This derives importantly from the fact that the "reality of the family" is ever-changing: it is "an unfinished world". A consequence is that there are plenty of opportunities for this group and its members, over their respective life times, to develop the skills for dealing with change. As Boulding expressed it: "

> *Family members have ample opportunities...to develop skills of culture creation that build up the family world in which they live and to help structure the world outside (Boulding, 1983, p. 262).*

Yet, a tendency persists for the family to be seen as the victim, or product, of change occurring at the macrolevel - rather than, as is suggested here, it being an *agent* for change. An outcome of this, as Boulding asserted, has been a blindness "to some key dynamics of macrochange processes that are based at the microlevel of the household." That author used the concept *familia faber* - the family as *maker* - to focus on the active part played by the family in shaping its environment and future, under conditions of rapid social change (Boulding, 1983, pp.257-8).

This study confirms the family's central involvement in such processes. It has examined how some members of family households in this society think, feel and act in relation to the gendered breadwinner/homemaker norm, in the light of changes occurring over recent decades. Findings suggest that individuals, through their ongoing everyday activities and the meanings they accord to these, may sustain, modify and challenge ideological values corresponding to this norm. Factors operating at both group and individual levels are influential in relation to such outcomes. It is through such processes also, that family members shape each other, evolve an individual identity, as well as construct the social reality of the family itself. The study thus supports a notion of the family as being

> *...both individual and societal at one and the same time. It is not a passive vehicle for ideological or social forces, though it can work in that way. Rather, the family is an active crucible in which personality and society are forged, in which we hammer out in constructive real life action how our lives will be led, given the resources and constraints that limit our control, and given the wider sources of change that compel us to accept, adapt or resist (Edgar, 1991(b),p.2).*

Any theory that deals with ideology must have some kind of explanation as to how that ideology comes to be challenged, to be seen through or substituted (Morgan, 1985, p.297).

APPENDIX I

QUESTIONNAIRE

The purpose of this questionnaire is to obtain information regarding the division of family work (domestic chores and child care) in families.

The information gathered will be used for research purposes only and individual responses will be entirely confidential. Your name is not required.

Please note that questions appear on both sides of the page.

Would you please complete all sections of the form which apply to you, either by providing information in the spaces provided, or by placing a tick (✔) in the appropriate box.

The completed form should be returned in the envelope provided so as to reach me by 7th November, 1988.

****

PART A

1. Which of the following types of marital status most accurately describes your <u>present</u> life situation.

    (a) Married   (b) Divorced &   (c) Living with
         living with   remarried   defacto
         spouse   living with
                            spouse
         ☐   ☐   ☐

    (d) Living alone (e) Sole parent   (f) Single
         (Divorced,   (Living with
         separated,   parent/s or
         widowed)   alone)
         ☐   ☐   ☐

    If your response to the above question is either (d), (e) or (f) please <u>DO NOT</u> continue with the questionnaire. Thank you for your co-operation.

    If your answer was either (a), (b) or (c), please continue.

2. How many years have you lived in this present life situation?
    ☐   ☐   ☐   ☐
    Under 5   5-10   11-20   Over 20

3. In which age category do you fit?
    ☐   ☐   ☐   ☐
    Under 20   21-30   31-45   46+

4. Gender:
                   ☐   ☐
                   Male   Female

5. In which country did you spend most of your childhood life?

    _____

6. In which suburb or town do you currently live?

    _____

7. Are you engaged in paid employment outside the home?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If "yes":

(a) What is your usual occupation or profession?

_____

(b) How many hours per week does this normally take of your time?

_____

(c) What is your usual salary or income level?

☐ Under $20,000 ☐ $20,000 - $30,000 ☐ Over $30,000

8. Is your partner engaged in paid employment outside the home?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If "yes":

(a) What is his/her usual occupation or profession?

_____

(b) How many hours per week does this normally take of his/her time?

_____

(c) What is your partner's usual salary or income level?

☐ Under $20,000 ☐ $20,000 - $30,000 ☐ Over $30,000

9. Which of the following educational levels most accurately describes your academic achievements to date?

☐ Secondary ☐ Post-secondary certificate ☐ Tertiary degree/ diploma ☐ Higher degree

10. If you are presently engaged in further study, please indicate:-

(a) Name of course _____

(b) Hours involved: Class contact _____ hrs/week

Home study _____ hrs/week

11. (a) How many children do you have living in your family? _____

(b) What are their ages? _____

12. If you have a child in "child care", please indicate:

(a) Number of hours/week _____

(b) At whose initiative "child care" was organised.

☐ your's ☐ your partner's ☐ both

13. How do you feel about engaging someone for "child care" purposes?

☐ guilty ☐ disappointed ☐ neutral ☐ relieved ☐ delighted

Any comment? _____

14. Approximately how many hours per week do you spend doing:

(a) Household chores?

☐ None ☐ 1-5 hrs ☐ 6-10 hrs ☐ 11-20 hrs ☐ 21-30 hrs ☐ 31+ hrs

(b) Baby/child care?

☐ None ☐ 1-5 hrs ☐ 6-10 hrs ☐ 11-20 hrs ☐ 21-30 hrs ☐ 31+ hrs

15. If you have children, to what extent are they involved in family work?

<u>Male child(ren)</u>

General chores

☐ None ☐ 1-5 hrs ☐ 6-10 hrs ☐ 11-20 hrs

Baby/child care

☐ None ☐ 1-5 hrs ☐ 6-10 hrs ☐ 11-20 hrs

<u>Female child(ren)</u>

General chores

☐ None ☐ 1-5 hrs ☐ 6-10 hrs ☐ 11-20 hrs

Baby/child care

☐ None ☐ 1-5 hrs ☐ 6-10 hrs ☐ 11-20 hrs

16. If you have "home help" (paid or external volunteer), please indicate:

(a) Number of hours per week _____

(b) At whose initiative "home help" was organised.

☐ your's ☐ your partner's ☐ both

17. How many hours would you estimate that you spend in relaxation and recreational activities, in an average week?

☐ None ☐ 1-5 hrs ☐ 6-10 hrs ☐ 11-15 hrs ☐ More than 15 hours

Any comment? _____

****

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PART B

Listed below are tasks/chores frequently associated with family living. Would you please rate yourself with respect to the frequency with which you engage in a particular task, by placing a tick (✔) in the appropriate box. Then, would you identify the feelings which you most often experience when doing this task (eg. annoyed, happy, satisfied, relieved, angry, resentful, fulfilled, inadequate, inferior, content, neutral, valued, enjoyment, grudging, used-up, superior).

Household Task	Very infrequently/ never	Infrequently	Frequently	Very frequently/ always	Feelings ("When I do this task, I feel...")
Meal preparation	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
Meal clean-up	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
Sweep/vacuum-clean floors	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
Wash floors	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
Clean bathroom	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
Clean toilet	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____

Household Task	Very infrequently/ never	Infrequently	Frequently	Very frequently/ always	Feelings ("When I do this task, I feel...")
Dust furniture etc.	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
Make beds	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
Wash clothes	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
Iron clothes	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
Food shopping	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
Stack cupboards	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
Dealing with household rubbish	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
General repairs/ maintenance (house)	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
Yard work/ gardening	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
Mow lawns	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
Car repairs	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
Pay accounts/bills	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
Manage/organise household	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____

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Baby/child care	How often you do this task				Feelings ("When I do this task, I feel...")
	Very infrequently/ never	Infrequently	Frequently	Very frequently/ always	
Baby care (feed, bath, change nappies, etc.)	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
Medical care (take to doctor, etc.)	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
Help/teach (toileting, home task, school, work, etc.)	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
Reading/talking	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
Indoor play	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
Outdoor play	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
Baby-sit	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
Stay home when baby/child sick, needs comfort, on holidays	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
Take children to sport, recreational activities	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____
Get up to baby/ child at night	☐	☐	☐	☐	_____

Any comments? _____

_____

_____

****

PART C

1.   How much do you agree or disagree with this statement? "A woman should not take on "outside work" if it affects her ability to take care of her home and family".

☐ Strongly disagree   ☐ Disagree   ☐ Agree   ☐ Strongly agree

2.   Please react to the following statement: "Child-rearing is a mother's natural job".

Your reaction: _____

_____

3.   Do you think that when both partners have paid work outside the home, family work should be shared equally between them?

☐ Yes   ☐ No

Any comment? _____

_____

4. Do you see your role in family work as being one of "helping out" your partner?

☐ Yes ☐ No

5. Does your partner engage in family work only when you ask or tell him/her what to do?

☐ Yes ☐ No

Any comment? _____

_____

6. Do you see your partner as being less involved than yourself in:

(a) Baby/child care?

☐ less involved ☐ equally involved ☐ more involved

What are your feelings about this? _____

_____

(b) Domestic chores?

☐ less involved ☐ equally involved ☐ more involved

What are your feelings about this? _____

_____

7. If you see your partner as being less involved than yourself in family work (domestic chores and baby/child care), do you think this is because of:

(a) the greater demands of his/her work role?

☐ Yes ☐ No

other reasons (please comment): _____

_____

8. When a task is unfamiliar to your partner, do you do it yourself rather than take the time to explain how to do it, to him/her?

☐ Yes ☐ No

Comment: _____

_____

9. From your partner's reactions, how do you think he/she feels about participating in:

(a) Baby/child care? _____

_____

(b) Domestic chores? _____

_____

10. How do you perceive your partner's income?

☐ Enables family holidays ☐ "Helps out" ☐ Upkeep of family & home ☐ Contributes to home maintenance ☐ Enables higher standard of living

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11. Do you see yourself as having the main responsibility for organising and overall managing the activities of home and family?

☐ Yes   ☐ No   ☐ Equal with partners

How do you feel about this? _____

_____

12. When you have done a particular family task:

   (a) What is your partner's most frequent response?

   ☐ Re-does task   ☐ Criticism   ☐ Says/does nothing   ☐ Gives advice   ☐ Expresses appreciation

   (b) How do you feel about this response? _____

   _____

13. How often do you and your partner argue or disagree about:

   (a) **who** does/does not do a particular task?

   ☐ Never   ☐ Infrequently   ☐ Half the time   ☐ Frequently   ☐ Very frequently

   Comment: _____

   _____

   (b) how the task was done?

   ☐ Never   ☐ Infrequently   ☐ Half the time   ☐ Frequently   ☐ Very frequently

   Comment: _____

   _____

14. How often do you and your spouse take time to sort out and negotiate which of you will do which tasks or chores and when, etc.?

   ☐ Never   ☐ Infrequently   ☐ Half the time   ☐ Frequently   ☐ Very frequently

   Comment: _____

   _____

15. Do you ever find that:

   (a) your work intrudes on your family life?

   ☐ Yes   ☐ No

   If "yes", how do you feel about this? _____

   _____

   (b) your family intrudes on your work life?

   ☐ Yes   ☐ No

   If "yes", how do you feel about this? _____

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16. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement? "An individual's status is not enhanced by engaging in routine family work".

☐ Strongly disagree ☐ Disagree ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly agree

Comment: _____

_____

_____

17. To what extent do you experience feelings of self-fulfilment from doing family work (domestic chores/child care)?

☐ Not at all ☐ Very little ☐ Some ☐ A great deal

Comment: _____

_____

_____

18. Consider the five (5) roles listed below. Alongside each one, please comment on the degree to which your self esteem is affected by performing that role.

☐ Parent _____

_____

_____

☐ Spouse/partner _____

_____

_____

☐ Occupation/career _____

_____

_____

☐ Student _____

_____

_____

☐ Community participant (church work, voluntary/community work, etc)

_____

_____

_____

Level 1, Room 50
Margaret Graham Building

12 October, 1988

Dear Student,

I am conducting research in the area of the division of household work (general chores and child care) in families.

The enclosed questionnaire is designed to collect data in this area. Information collected will be used only for my research purposes and no personal identification is required.

If your life situation satisfies the criteria for my research (See Part A, Question 1), I would be grateful if you would complete the questionnaire and forward it in the enclosed envelope, so as to reach me by 31st October, 1988.

Thank you for your assistance.

Yours faithfully,

GLENYS RUSSELL,
Lecturer,
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL STUDIES.

GR.jf

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APPENDIX II

Concrete Facts: Respondents' Backgrounds

N=55 (100%)
(Information compiled from participants' completion of Part A of the questionnaire)

	Number	*%*
Gender		
. Women	44	80
. Men	11	20
Marital Status		
. Married living with spouse	42	77
. Divorced and remarried living with spouse	4	7
. Living with de facto	9	16
Age category		
. 21 - 30	13	24
. 31 - 45	37	67
. 46 +	4	7
. No answer	1	2
Years in present life situation (marital/de facto)		
. Less than 5 years	18	31
. 5 - 10 years	12	22
. 11 - 20 years	18	33
. More than 20 years	7	14
Country in which most of childhood spent		
. Australia	42	76
. Country other than Australia - Britain, Canada, New Zealand	13	20
- Malaysia	2	4
Educational Level		
. Post secondary/certificate	14	26
. Tertiary degree/diploma	26	47
. Higher degree	14	25
. No answer	1	2
Occupational area		
. Education (eg teacher, school principal, student counsellor, lecturer)	24	44
. Health (eg nursing sister, nurse educator, speech pathologist, doctor, community health nurse, midwife, occupational therapist)	22	40
. Other (eg priest, personnel manager, human resource manager)	6	11
. Full time student/not employed	3	5
Average hours worked per week (respondents)		
. 40 hours or more	30	55
. 35 - 39 hours	13	24
. less than 35 hours	8	4
. not employed	3	5
. no answer	1	2

	Number	*%*
Average hours worked per week (respondents' partners)		
. 40 hours or more	34	62
. 35 - 39 hours	10	18
. less than 35 hours	6	11
. not employed	5	9
Income level (Respondents')		
. Under $20,000	8	14
. $20,000 - $30,000	29	53
. Over $30,000	14	26
. Not employed (includes full-time student)	3	5
. No answer	1	2
Partner's income level		
. Under $20,000	6	11
. $20,000 - $30,000	21	38
. Over $30,000	23	42
. Not employed	4	7
. No answer	1	2
Socio-economic status (as indicated by place of residence)		
. High	15	29
. Mid-range	26	47
. Low	12	22
. Rural	1	2
Number of children living in family	(Families)	
. 0 children	31	56
. 1 child	3	5
. 2 children	13	24
. 3 children	6	11
. 4 children	2	4
Ages of children		
. Under 5 years		
- 1 child	5	9
- 2 children	1	2
- 3 children	1	2
. 5 - 10 years		
- 1 child	5	9
- 2 children	4	7
. 11 - 15 years		
- 1 child	5	9
- 2 children	4	7
. Over 15 years		
- 1 child	6	11
- 2 children	6	11
- 4 children	1	2

APPENDIX III

Concrete Facts: Performance and Organisation of Family Tasks

(N=55 - 11 men, 44 women)

(1)   Frequency with which specific tasks are performed by respondents (relative to partner). (Part B of questionnaire)

Household Task	Respondents' sex	Infrequently performed	Frequently performed
Meal preparation	M	5 (46%)	6 (54%)
	F	5 (11%)	39 (89%)
Meal clean-up	M	2 (18%)	9 (82%)
	F	10 (22%)	34 (78%)
Sweep/vacuum - clean floors	M	7 (70%)	3 (20%)
	F	18 (42%)	25 (58%)
Wash floors	M	9 (100%)	
	F	28 (65%)	15 (35%)
Clean bathroom	M	8 (80%)	2 (20%)
	F	20 (47%)	23 (53%)
Clean toilet	M	8 (80%)	2 (20%)
	F	16 (47%)	27 (53%)
Dust furniture, etc.	M	9 (90%)	1 (10%)
	F	27 (54%)	16 (46%)
Make beds	M	3 (30%)	7 (70%)
	F	11 (25%)	33 (75%)
Wash clothes	M	4 (40%)	6 (60%)
	F	3 (7%)	40 (93%)
Iron clothes	M	8 (80%)	2 (20%)
	F	22 (51%)	21 (49%)
Food shopping	M	4 (36%)	7 (64%)
	F	4 (9%)	40 (91%)
Stack cupboards	M	5 (45%)	6 (55%)
	F	14 (27%)	70 (73%)
Dealing with household rubbish	M	4 (36%)	7 (64%)
	F	20 (44%)	24 (56%)
General repairs/maintenance (house)	M	3 (27%)	8 (73%)
	F	36 (82%)	8 (18%)
Yard work/gardening	M	1 (10%)	9 (90%)
	F	21 (48%)	23 (52%)
Mow lawns	M	1 (10%)	9 (90%)
	F	35 (79%)	9 (21%)
Car repairs	M	5 (50%)	5 (50%)
	F	42 (96%)	2 (4%)
Pay accounts/bills	M	6 (60%)	4 (40%)
	F	7 (16%)	37 (84%)
Manage/organise household	M	6 (55%)	5 (45%)
	F	1 (2%)	42 (98%)

Household Task	Respondents' sex	Infrequently performed	Frequently performed
Baby/Child Care			
Baby care/ feed, bath, change nappies, etc.	M	3	1
	F	7	4
Medical care (take to doctor, etc.)	M	3	3
	F	6	11
Help/teach (toileting, home task, school work, etc.)	M	3	3
	F	6	11
Reading/talking	M	2	5
	F	2	12
Indoor play	M	0	7
	F	6	7
Outdoor play	M	3	3
	F	7	6
Baby-sit	M	3	1
	F	6	6
Stay home when baby/child sick, needs comfort, on holidays	M	4	1
	F	7	6
Take children to sport, recreational activities	M	1	6
	F	6	9
Get up to baby/child at night	M	3	2
	F	8	6

(2) Time spent in:

Hours per week (estimated)		Number of respondents	
		Men	Women
(a)	Household tasks		
	Under 6 hours	5 (46%)	12 (27%)
	6 - 10 hours	4 (36%)	13 (30%)
	11 - 20 hours	2 (18%)	11 (25%)
	21 - 30 hours	0	6 (14%)
	Missing	0	2 (4%)
(b)	Child Care		
	Under 6 hours	3	2
	6 - 10 hours	1	1
	11 - 20 hours	2	4
	21 - 30 hours	0	4

(3) Organisation of 'home help'

Person organising	Self	Partner	Both	partners
Male respondent	-	-	1	1
Female respondent	9	1	6	16
Total	9	1	7	17

(4) Subjects using paid 'home help'

2 hours/week	6	
3 hours/week	6	
4 hours/week	5	
Total	17 (31%)	

APPENDIX IV

RESPONDENTS' COMMENTS RE DIVISION OF FAMILY WORK

	HOUSEHOLD WORK INVOLVEMENT RELATIVE TO PARTNER							
	CHILD CARE			DOMESTIC TASKS			HOME MANAGEMENT	
Respondent	Involved	Comment		Involved	Comment		Involved	Comment
M01	Equal	"Completely at ease"		Less	"O.K."		Equal	"It's the way it should be"
M02	-	-		Equal	"Grateful"		Equal	"Happy"
M03	Equal	-		Less	-		Less	-
M04	Less	-		Less	-		Less	-
M05	Less	"I think I should like the opportunity to be more involved"		Less	"I think our 'work' evens out, my wife might not agree"		Less	-
M06	Less	"I feel I let her down a bit, but I feel she is more comfortable with the tasks"		Less	"She spends more time at home, I feel a little guilty"		Less	"She generally organises the household more than I"
M07	Less	"I am more prepared to let things go their own way"		Less	"Guilty"		Equal	"It took years getting to this point - I feel confident"
M08	Less	-		More	"I'm just more domestic - comfortable"		Equal	"Comfortable"
M09	-	-		Equal	"Satisfied with present arrangement"		Equal	-
M10	-	-		Equal	"That's how it should be"		Equal	"It should be equal"
M11	-	-		More	"Dissatisfied"		Equal	"Arguments occasionally about value of work done/to do"
F12	More	"Resentful"		More	"I need to feel less responsible and share more"		More	"Sometimes annoyed with self for taking this on"

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HOUSEHOLD WORK INVOLVEMENT RELATIVE TO PARTNER						
	CHILD CARE		DOMESTIC TASKS		HOME MANAGEMENT	
Respondent	Involved	Comment	Involved	Comment	Involved	Comment
F13	More	"Limited only by hours of work; happy"	More	"Happy"	More	"Comfortable and content"
F14	-	-	Equal	"I feel quite satisfied now, but it has taken time to become equally involved"	Equal	"Happy"
F15	-	-	More	"Why not? He shoulders responsibilities I prefer not to"	Equal	-
F16	Less	"O.K. He wants the involvement with his children"	More	"Often I would like more sharing of chores, or even just some understanding re not making more work than necessary"	More	"O.K. But responsibility for shortcomings in management is heavy"
F17	-	-	More	"Sometimes anger and I explode and he changes for a while. However, he is so great in so many ways I often think it's not worth arguing about, so I compromise"	More	"I don't mind doing this if it is balanced with something my partner does"
F18	-	-	More	"He's away all week"	Equal	"Great"
F19	More	"Necessary"	Equal	"Wonderful. Let's me off the hook when I feel lazy"	More	"Fine. I've learnt to take responsibility the hard way"
F20	-	-	More	"I am comfortable with our set-up"	More	"Comfortable since I am more skilled"
F21	-	-	Equal	-	Equal	-
F22	-	-	More	"As he is 50 and I met him 15 years ago, I accept this"	More	"I don't mind, gives me free range"
F23	-	-	Less	"I need to get more involved. He does hard stuff, I organise and initiate social responsibilities"	Equal	"This is how it should be"

HOUSEHOLD WORK INVOLVEMENT RELATIVE TO PARTNER						
	CHILD CARE		DOMESTIC TASKS		HOME MANAGEMENT	
Respondent	Involved	Comment	Involved	Comment	Involved	Comment
F24	-	-	Equal	"Happy"	Equal	"Happy and content"
F25	-	-	More	"He has certain chores which are his responsibilities"	Equal	"Some aspects I'm more involved in managing, and others he is"
F26	-	-	Equal	"Great"	Equal	"Great"
F27	-	-	More	"Sometimes I resent it"	More	"Fine. I was doing it long before he arrived"
F28	-	-	Equal	"We both contribute to the mess"	Equal	"Depends on own personal priorities - 60:40, 40:60"
F29	-	-	Equal	"Comfortable - sometimes I feel taken for granted"	Equal	"Happy"
F30	More	"Resigned/sad"	More	"I should be more assertive and make more demands"	More	"Unsupported and unappreciated"
F31	-	-	Equal	"I think it needs to be shared rationally by load, not sex role"	Equal	"Both need a sense of what needs to be done"
F32	More	"O.K."	Equal	"Good"	More	"Mostly good, sometimes it gets too much"
F33	More	"Makes me sad/angry/ worried/annoyed - depends on situation"	More	-	More	"O.K."
F34	-	-	More	"Sometimes I wish he'd do more, but as my standards are higher than his, I will do more by choice, as well as more by knowledge of needs"	More	"Generally happy"
F35	More	-	More	"Disappointment, sometimes frustration"	More	"Somewhat annoyed that it's mainly left to me"
F36	Equal	"Fine"	Less	"Excellent"	Equal	"Fine"

	HOUSEHOLD WORK INVOLVEMENT RELATIVE TO PARTNER					
	CHILD CARE		DOMESTIC TASKS		HOME MANAGEMENT	
Respondent	Involved	Comment	Involved	Comment	Involved	Comment
F37	-	-	More	"Pissed off"	More	"Resentful"
F38	Equal	"He is interested, especially in the intellectual things"	More	"I feel resentful and put-upon"	More	"Resigned, but a bit irritated too"
F39	-	-	More	"Fine. I work fewer hours than him"	Equal	"Fine"
F40	-	-	Equal	"It is important that we work together"	Equal	"Excellent"
F41	-	-	Equal	"Very happy"	Equal	"I should become more involved in financial matters"
F42	-	-	Equal	"Happy - it is a partnership"	Equal	-
F43	-	-	Equal	-	Equal	"Good"
F44	Equal	"Great. I get good back-up support"	Equal	"He has more time during the day"	Equal	"It can fluctuate between us"
F45	-	-	More	-	Equal	"Fine. We make joint decisions although I seem to organise social events"
F46	-	-	More	"His work is more stressful to him; he can't cope with more"	More	"It's a decision I've made so it's not a problem"
F47	-	-	Less	-	Equal	-
F48	More	"Because of time and work commitments"	More	"If he had more time at home it would be equal"	More	"Good. He doesn't mind and nor do I"
F49	-	-	Equal	-	Equal	"Satisfied"
F50	More	-	More	-	More	"Resentful at times and tired"
F51	More	"They aren't his kids - I find it hard to relinquish respon- sibility, he finds it hard to take up"	More	"Partner is limited, due to wheelchair - but has limited perceptions. He doesn't see the mess in the kitchen"	More	"Resentful but also reluctant to forgo my 'power base' (my problem)"

HOUSEHOLD WORK INVOLVEMENT RELATIVE TO PARTNER						
	CHILD CARE		DOMESTIC TASKS		HOME MANAGEMENT	
Respondent	Involved	Comment	Involved	Comment	Involved	Comment
F52	Equal	"Extremely happy and content"	More	"I guess I've become more resigned to it, but I won't totally give up the struggle for equal involvement"	More	"It can become burdensome, but usually I don't bother thinking about it much"
F53	-	-	More	-	Equal	"We organise our own lives"
F54	-	-	More	"Sometimes anger, sometimes doesn't bother me - depends on pressure"	More	"Sometimes O.K., other times frustrated"
F55	-	-	More	"Usually happy about situation. I have more time at home"	More	"O.K. I like to organise. If I get fed-up with it, I hand it over"

APPENDIX V

Respondents' Comments: Equal Sharing of Work when Both Partners have Outside Work

(N=33 - 3 men, 30 women)

Question 3 - Part C

"Do you think that when both partners have paid work outside the home, family work should be shared equally between them?

☐	☐
Yes	No

Any comment? _ _____."

Comments: respondents answering "NO" (N=2 - 1 man, 1 woman)

Both respondents answering the above question in the negative provide comments, namely:

"Only the jobs no-one wants need to be negotiated, or perhaps the jobs even one wants as well" (M08)

"I don't think it has to be a rigid 50/50 split, but it has to be a mutually agreed balance" (F25)

Comments: respondents answering "YES" (N=31 - 2 men, 29 women)

Comments here have been grouped into the following categories:

(1)   Those generally supportive of sharing family work.

(2)   Those supportive of equal sharing, but which acknowledge difficulties/effort required in achieving this.

Respondents' comments are presented under the above categories

(1) Comments supportive of sharing family work
(N=18 - 2 men, 16 women)

"(Yes should be equally shared) ... or agreed on" (M01)

"Definitely, if there's to be equity in the home" (M10)

"If each partner works equal time, then it should be shared equally" (F13)

"But not necessarily equally - suggest shared" (F15)

"More or less" (F18)

"Depending on each person's time commitments to job, eg who gets home first cooks tea" (F21)

"Definitely. I can't ever conceive of myself being someone's slave. I wouldn't survive" (F23)

"If both partners have equal work hours" (F29)

"If the level of outside work is equal. Commitments should be balanced" (F31)

"If working the same hours and have come to that decision together" (F32)

"If work is equally demanding" (F34)

"In total agreement" (F36)

"Both working partners need to work together in the home to ensure happy co-habitation" (F40)

"It's a partnership. One should not have to take on a heavier load" (F42)

"It works out even. There are some jobs he likes doing and some I like doing" (F43)

"I do all the material work but my husband does the planning" (F46)

"Depending on the equality of time - ie if husband full-time and wife part-time then wife has more hours to give" (F48)

"Sharing chores would be an optional situation. Depends on attitudes" (F49)

(2) Comments supportive of equal sharing of family work but which acknowledge difficulties/effort required in achieving this
(N=13 - all women)

"Ideally, begin with this arrangement - changing the 'rules' takes a lot of energy and persistence" (F12)

"The traditional roles are difficult to break as we tend to have skills in traditional chores. It takes a lot of energy to negotiate, then reinforce behaviour" (F16)

"I think it's a question of skills and willingness of others to learn new skills. All people benefit from learning to share" (F20)

"It happens more with my children than in my generation" (F22: age category 31-45, 'grown-up' family)

"Needs to be carefully negotiated and the patterns there, before children arrive" (F28)

"It never is!" (F30

"In theory, it sounds fine, but with all good intentions, it just doesn't seem to work" (F35)
"Yes - but [it's] hard to lose the managing role" (F37)

"Definitely, but it's much easier said than done" (F38)

"In many houses/families, the woman has more than one job - eg paid work and unpaid work" (F45)

"Perceptions of equal sharing differ when (as a woman) you have been socialised to see what needs to be done; it seems as if you are always doing more" (F51)

"Yes - however, reality often differs from theory" (F52)

"Yes. Often not the case though. Women tend to take on more family work than men do" (F55)

APPENDIX VI

Explanations given by Respondents for their Partner's Lesser Involvement in Family Work

Question 7 - Part C

"If you see your partner as being less involved than yourself in family work (domestic chores and baby/child care), do you think this is because of:

(a)   the greater demands of his/her work role?

<p style="text-align:center">□   □
Yes   No</p>

(b)   other reasons (please comment)? _____."

Respondents' replies to above question

Part (a)   Concrete facts (N=32 - 3 males, 29 females)

"YES"	14	(1 man, 13 women)
"NO"	18	(2 men, 16 women)

Part (b)   Comments (N=23 - 2 men, 21 women)

Twenty-three respondents provide comments. Comments have been grouped into the following categories:

(1) **Partner's work demands**

(2) **Traditional gender expectations**

(3) **Greater skills and higher standards**

(4) **Other reasons**

(1)   **Partner's work demands** (N=3 - 1 man, 2 women)

"Her work is less flexible - and she is less domestically inclined" (M08)

"He's away all week" (F18)

"His time at work is far greater. I can bring work home" (F33)

(2)   **Traditional gender expectations** (N=14 - all women)

"Traditional expectations" (F12)

"Why not? He shoulders responsibilities I prefer not to" (F15. Same reply given to question 6(b))

"He has a hobby which makes him very happy and he prefers to spend time on this" (F17)

"Yes (his work) - but even if this wasn't so he would not be involved in domestic duties" (F22)

"Tired and lazy" (F24)

"Usually (his lesser involvement) is over a disagreement - or he chooses to watch a programme on TV" (F27)

"Church commitments which I don't have" (F39)

"During winter he has football commitments" (F45)

"One partner may choose to let the other think that they have more responsibility at work" (F49)

"Laziness and enjoyment in the garden" (F53)

"Ingrained expectations" (F37)

"He just wouldn't think he wasn't doing enough" (F42)

"'Male role' - committed at times - when convenient" (F50)

"Due to social pressure - history. Change is a slow process" (F52)

(3) **Greater skills and higher standards** (N=4 - all women)

"I do things better than he does" (F29)

"Sometimes I wish he'd do more, but my standards are higher so I do more by choice, as well as more by knowledge of needs" (F34). (Some comment given in response to question 6 (b))

"My partner is confined to a wheel chair, but also I find it hard to relinquish my responsibility - my 'power-base'; and resent it when things aren't done the way I like" (F51)

"I am more obsessional about the cleaning than he is" (F55)

(4) **Other reasons** (N=2 - 1 man, 1 woman)

"Spoilt background, slack" (M11)

"There is a sharing of the overall load" (F16)

APPENDIX VII

Comments by Respondents: Explaining Unfamiliar Tasks to Partners

Here the interest is in cultural facts which may be derived from respondents' comments in replying to the following question:

Question 8 - Part C

"When a task is unfamiliar to your partner, do you do it yourself rather than take the time to explain how to do it to him/her?

☐ Yes   ☐ No

Comment: _____."

Comments given in response to the above question by 39 respondents (32 women and 7 men) are categorised as follows:

(1)   **Respondents do tasks themselves rather than take time to explain to partner how to do these.**

(2)   **Respondents sometimes take time to explain tasks to partner.**

(3)   **Respondents usually take time to explain tasks to partner.**

Respondents' comments are quoted below and presented under the categories described above.

(1)   **Respondents do tasks themselves rather than take time to explain to partner how to do these** (N=10 - 3 men, 7 women)

"I feel she has enough work to do without being shown how to do more"   (M06)

"She is not an idiot"   (M07)

"Rather get the job done than listen to procrastination"   (M11)

" ... and I end up doing it forever"   (F22)

"Often this is more time-effective"   (F25)

"Unless he asks for assistance"   (F27)

"Partly my fault because I like things done my way, eg when he irons he leaves my clothes at my request"   (F30)

"It works both ways - I don't like looking after car repairs so I don't"   (F43)

"He does want to learn how to make custard - but it's simpler for me to do it - and I enjoy feeling useful"   (F46)

" ... time factor and to avoid hassles"   (F50)

(2) Respondents sometimes take time to explain tasks to partner
(N=16 - 4 men, 12 women)

"If the opportunity is there (I explain task)" (M01)

"Sometimes" (M02)

"Except in major financial matters" (M08)

"If she is interested, I explain and we share the task" (M10)

" ... unless I need him to do it [Yes I do it myself] ... " (F15)

"Maybe. Depends if I think it will be useful for him to know" (F18)

"Sometimes - depends on task and time resources and mood" (F19)

"Try to take time to explain" (F24)

"Sometimes - although if time permits I try to explain how I would like it done" (F28)

"Depends on how much I like/dislike the task and how hard it would be to explain" (F29)

"Depends on whether I enjoy the task or not" (F31)

"Sometimes yes; but when I think he needs to know I'll show him" (F34)

"Sometimes I would explain how to do it, but would probably end up doing things myself" (F42)

"I do the job myself only if rushed" (F45)

" ... unless it's an emergency. I refuse to do his ironing - he chooses to pay someone to do it rather than learn how, but he won't pay me! I should do it for love! We agree to differ" (F51)

"Sometimes, depending on time demands" (F55)

(3) Respondents usually take time to explain tasks to partners (N=13 - all women)

"I'm committed to non-stereotyped roles" (F12)

"I did in the past but in the last year I have taken the time to explain and I accept the way he does things" (F14)

"I often explain, or do it with him to help him learn. Sometimes I have to do this a number of times for the same tasks" (F16)

"We operate well with good communication" (F20)

"(Not to do so) would be defeatist!" (F21)

"I usually explain. But I have to demand if I want explanation of 'handy-man' chores - ie air in tyres, use of jack, using weed-killer" (F23)

"I take time to explain it" (F36)

"I try to teach him in a non-patronising way" (F38)

"I make a point of explaining even if it is something I do routinely, so he can do it if he needs to" (F39)

"I will not do the task. I will take time to explain, supervise, reinforce the action" (F40)

"(I explain) He should be as competent as me at jobs - he is willing to try" (F48)

"I used to do it myself and I found I was doing more. Now I take time to explain" (F49)

"I used to, but quickly learnt that this left me doing everything myself. Now I take time to show him, and that saves me time in the long run" (F52)

APPENDIX VIII

Examples of Sanctions: Letters Reproduced from 'Mere Male' (MM) Column, *"New Idea"*

The poor thing
I was exhausted after a disturbed night with our baby and three-year-old. However, I was flabbergasted when MM said the next morning: "Gosh, I'm tired. You were up and down to the boys about five times last night."

"New Idea", 6 June 1992, p.73.

Waffling on
Dad was hurriedly making his favorite dessert - waffles - for the evening meal. He grabbed the spray to grease the waffle iron. The iron sizzled and crackled ... and then MM realised he had used fly spray instead of non-stick spray!

"New Idea", 6 June 1992, p.73.

Where there's smoke
City friends had offered us their new home for a week. The first morning, as usual, MM got up to put on the kettle. Then he went outside to collect the paper. I waited, then suddenly, I could smell acrid smoke. I rushed to the empty kitchen. MM had put the plastic kettle on a hotplate, creating a molten mass!

"New Idea", 6 June 1992, p.73.

Sweet cuisine
As I cleaned up after MM's dinner, I noticed the icing sugar container was empty. I asked MM what he had used it for and he replied: "I thought it was flour". The rissoles certainly had a distinctive taste that night!

"New Idea", 13 February 1993, p.56.

How wet!
I had just finished washing a load of towels and facewashers and placed them in the dryer. Just then MM came in, ready for his shower. He came out of the bathroom and asked for a facewasher. I told him they were in the dryer. So MM went to get one and returned to me, saying: "I can't use these facewashers - they're still wet!" Strange ... I thought you had to wet a facewasher before you could use it.

"New Idea", 13 February 1993, p.56.

The brush-off
After several months of living with my soon-to-be-husband, I couldn't understand why my toothbrush wore out much faster than his. I suspected he was using mine, so one night I reiterated to MM that the blue toothbrush was mine and the red one was his. "I always get confused because yours is a boy's color", said MM. I now use a pink toothbrush and MM's is blue.

"New Idea", 19 December 1992, p.52.

Unsalted
MM had a mouth ulcer and he rinsed his mouth with salt water every night before bed. On the third night he commented: "Hey, this water doesn't taste all that salty." An investigation revealed that MM had used not salt but castor sugar, which was kept in a similar container.

"New Idea", 19 December 1992, p.52.

He's no cook!
My wife and I were invited to MM's home for dinner. He was going to cook three large steaks in an electric frypan, but they wouldn't fit. So my wife suggested: "Put two on the bottom, one on top and rotate them." A short while later, my wife went into the kitchen ... to find two steaks in the pan and the third on the lid!

"New Idea", 19 December 1992, p.52.

Polished act
My naked husband came rushing from the bathroom to rescue me from a large wasp. He sprayed it with a can of furniture polish, knocking it dead quicker than any can of insect spray could have done. MM refused my offer of a cloth to buff up the victim.

"New Idea", 19 December 1992, p.52.

Given a rubbishing!

MM offered to take the plastic bag of rubbish out to the bin on his way to the bus-stop. Swinging it jauntily on his finger, MM called out to our neighbor, who was also bus-stop bound. They set off together ... and MM had one foot on the bus step before he realised what was still hanging from his finger. Luckily, there was a council bin nearby. So, while the busload of interested passengers watched, MM sprinted to the bin and disposed of the bag.

"New Idea", 19 December 1992, p.52.

Switched off

Our family had gathered at my parents' home for a holiday celebration, and a severe storm overnight had cut the power. My elder brother arose last and listened sympathetically as my mother said she wouldn't be able to cook the turkey dinner if the power was not restored soon. However, MM suggested: "Can't you cut the turkey into small pieces and cook it in the microwave?"

"New Idea", 19 December 1992, p.52.

Anniversary dunce

MM had apparently forgotten yet another wedding anniversary, but when I got home there was a chorus of: "Surprise!" MM had arranged a party. "All these years I was waiting for the important 10th," he explained. He handed me a ruby ring and brought out a cake with Happy 10th Anniversary scrolled on top. There was only one flaw in the celebrations ... it was our 13th anniversary. Just ask our 12-year-old son!

"New Idea", 19 December 1992, p.52.

He's got it covered

I asked my husband to hang out the clothes while I was at work. It poured with rain all day and when I returned home in the evening, I asked: "You didn't put the washing on the line did you, darling?" "Oh, yes," MM replied, "but it's okay. I covered it with the car cover." And would you believe the washing was almost dry?

"New Idea", 19 December 1992, p.52.

Hot indeed!

After finding he couldn't sleep, MM decided to make himself a hot drink. On returning to bed MM complained that the milk was "a tad too hot". It was not until next morning that we discovered he had flavoured his milk with Tabasco sauce instead of vanilla essence!

"New Idea", 19 December 1992, p.52.

Now he's protective

Not long after MM and I were married I decided to visit my mother, who lives 400 km away. MM said he would put the CB radio in my car in case of emergencies. I commented to MM that he had never worried like this on my previous trips. "Well, you weren't my wife before", he replied.

"New Idea", 19 December 1992, p.52.

Next best thing

My birthday approached and MM asked what I would like. Being chained to the kitchen sink at the time, I replied: "A dishwasher would be great". The day came and MM's birthday card said: "It's the next best thing. With love ... " I opened the present: it was one dozen pairs of rubber gloves.

"New Idea", 19 December 1992, p.52.

Houseproud

"Of course I help with the housework", said MM when challenged on that subject. Next day, it was: "Where do you keep your dust pan and broom?"

"New Idea", 2 April 1994, p.98.

Two's trouble

Mother left MM, father of two-year-old identical twins, to mind them for a few hours. When she returned MM said: "Well, I've fed them - but I don't know whether I fed one twice or if they both got fed".

"New Idea", 2 April 1994, p.98.

APPENDIX IX

Personal System Identification (N=55)

(Pattern of cultival activation/Personal system type)	Number (and identification) of respondents
Type 1 - Predominantly traditional attitudes held and activated	N=6 (11%) (MO4, F13, F20, F22, F46, F48)
Type 2 - Traditional attitudes held, activating predominantly traditional	N=9 (16%) (MO5, MO6, F17, F27, F33, F34, F51, F54, F55)
Type 3 -Predominantly new attitudes held, activating predominantly traditional	N=5 (9%) (F12, F30, F36, F37, F50)
Type 4 - New and Traditional attitudes held, activating both N=15 (33%)	
Type 4A - Structured (modified ideological attitude)	N=10 (18%) (MO1, MO3, MO8, F15, F18, F19, F20, F39,F45, F53)
Type 4B – Unstructured	N=5 (9%) (MO7, F16, F32, F38, F52)
Type 5 - Predominantly new attitudes held and activated	N=20 (37%) (MO2, MO9, M10, F14, F21, F23, F24, F26, F28, F29, F31, F36, F40, F41, F42, F43, F44, F47, F49)
Total:	**N=55 (100%)**

APPENDIX X

PERSONAL SYSTEMS OF RESPONDENTS
(Family Household Work Involvement)

TYPE 1 - PREDOMINANTLY TRADITIONAL ATTITUDES HELD AND ACTIVATED (N=6)

	HOUSEHOLD WORK INVOLVEMENT RELATIVE TO PARTNER						
	CHILD CARE		DOMESTIC TASKS		HOME MANAGEMENT		
Respondent	Involved	Comment	Involved	Comment	Involved	Comment	
M04	Less	-	Less	-	Less	-	
F13	More	"Limited only by hours of work; happy"	More	"Happy"	More	"Comfortable and content"	
F20	-	-	More	"I am comfortable with our set-up"	More	"Comfortable since I am more skilled"	
F22	-	-	More	"As he is 50 and I met him 15 years ago, I accept this"	More	"I don't mind, gives me free range"	
F46	-	-	More	"His work is more stressful to him; he can't cope with more"	More	"It's a decision I've made so it's not a problem"	
F48	More	"Because of time and work commitments"	More	"If he had more time at home it would be equal"	More	"Good. He doesn't mind and nor do I"	

TYPE 2 - NEW AND TRADITIONAL ATTITUDES HELD - ACTIVATING PREDOMINANTLY TRADITIONAL (N=9)

	HOUSEHOLD WORK INVOLVEMENT RELATIVE TO PARTNER					
	CHILD CARE		DOMESTIC TASKS		HOME MANAGEMENT	
Respondent	Involved	Comment	Involved	Comment	Involved	Comment
M05	Less	"I think I should like the opportunity to be more involved"	Less	"I think our 'work' evens out, my wife might not agree"	Less	-
M06	Less	"I feel I let her down a bit, but I feel she is more comfortable with the tasks"	Less	"She spends more time at home, I feel a little guilty"	Less	"She generally organises the household more than I"
F17	-	-	More	"Sometimes anger and I explode and he changes for a while. However, he is so great in so many ways I often think it's not worth arguing about, so I compromise"	More	"I don't mind doing this if it is balanced with something my partner does"
F27	-	-	More	"Sometimes I resent it"	More	"Fine. I was doing it long before he arrived"
F33	More	"Makes me sad/angry/worried/ annoyed - depends on situation"	More	-	More	"O.K."
F34	-	-	More	"Sometimes I wish he'd do more, but as my standards are higher than his, I will do more by choice, as well as more by knowledge of needs"	More	"Generally happy"
F51	More	"They aren't his kids - I find it hard to relinquish respon- sibility, he finds it hard to take up"	More	"Partner is limited, due to wheelchair - but has limited perceptions. He doesn't see the mess in the kitchen"	More	"Resentful but also reluctant to forgo my 'power base' (my problem)"
F54	-	-	More	"Sometimes anger, sometimes doesn't bother me - depends on pressure"	More	"Sometimes O.K., other times frustrated"
F55	-	-	More	"Usually happy about situation. I have more time at home"	More	"O.K. I like to organise. If I get fed-up with it, I hand it over"

TYPE 3 - PREDOMINANTLY NEW ATTITUDES HELD - ACTIVATING PREDOMINANTLY TRADITIONAL (N=5)

	HOUSEHOLD WORK INVOLVEMENT RELATIVE TO PARTNER					
	CHILD CARE		DOMESTIC TASKS		HOME MANAGEMENT	
Respondent	Involved	Comment	Involved	Comment	Involved	Comment
F12	More	"Resentful"	More	"I need to feel less responsible and share more"	More	"Sometimes annoyed with self for taking this on"
F30	More	"Resigned/sad"	More	"I should be more assertive and make more demands"	More	"Unsupported and unappreciated"
F35	More	-	More	"Disappointment, sometimes frustration"	More	"Somewhat annoyed that it's mainly left to me"
F37	-	-	More	"Pissed off"	More	"Resentful"
F50	More	-	More	-	More	"Resentful at times and tired"

TYPE 4 - NEW AND TRADITIONAL ATTITUDES HELD - ACTIVATING BOTH (N=15)

	HOUSEHOLD WORK INVOLVEMENT RELATIVE TO PARTNER						
	CHILD CARE		DOMESTIC TASKS		HOME MANAGEMENT		
Respondent	Involved	Comment	Involved	Comment	Involved	Comment	
Type 4A - Structured (modified ideological attitude) (N=10)							
M01	Equal	"Completely at ease"	Less	"O.K."	Equal	"It's the way it should be"	
M03	Equal	-	Less	-	Less	-	
M08	Less	-	More	"I'm just more domestic - comfortable"	Equal	"Comfortable"	
F15	-	-	More	"Why not? He shoulders responsibilities I prefer not to"	Equal	-	
F18	-	-	More	"He's away all week"	Equal	"Great"	
F19	More	"Necessary"	Equal	"Wonderful. Let's me off the hook when I feel lazy"	More	"Fine. I've learnt to take responsibility the hard way"	
F25	-	-	More	"He has certain chores which are his responsibilities"	Equal	"Some aspects I'm more involved in managing, and others he is"	
F39	-	-	More	"Fine. I work fewer hours than him"	Equal	"Fine"	
F45	-	-	More	-	Equal	"Fine. We make joint decisions although I seem to organise social events"	
F53	-	-	More	-	Equal	"We organise our own lives"	

NEW AND TRADITIONAL ATTITUDES HELD - ACTIVATING BOTH (continued)

FAMILY HOUSEHOLD INVOLVEMENT OF RESPONDENTS, RELATIVE TO PARTNER						
	CHILD CARE		DOMESTIC TASKS		HOME MANAGEMENT	
Respondent	Involved	Comment	Involved	Comment	Involved	Comment
Type 4B - Unstructured (N=5)						
M07	Less	"I am more prepared to let things go their own way"	Less	"Guilty"	Equal	"It took years getting to this point - I feel confident"
F16	Less	"O.K. He wants the involvement with his children"	More	"Often I would like more sharing of chores, or even just some understanding re not making more work than necessary"	More	"O.K. But responsibility for short-comings in management is heavy"
F32	More	"O.K."	Equal	"Good"	More	"Mostly good, sometimes it gets too much"
F38	Equal	"He is interested, especially in the intellectual things"	More	"I feel resentful and put-upon"	More	"Resigned, but a bit irritated too"
F52	Equal	"Extremely happy and content"	More	"I guess I've become more resigned to it, but I won't totally give up the struggle for equal involvement"	More	"It can become burdensome, but usually I don't bother thinking about it much"

TYPE 5 - PREDOMINANTLY NEW ATTITUDES HELD AND ACTIVATED (N=20)

HOUSEHOLD WORK INVOLVEMENT RELATIVE TO PARTNER						
	CHILD CARE		DOMESTIC TASKS		HOME MANAGEMENT	
Respondent	Involved	Comment	Involved	Comment	Involved	Comment
M02	-	-	Equal	"Grateful"	Equal	"Happy"
M09	-	-	Equal	"Satisfied with present arrangement"	Equal	-
M10	-	-	Equal	"That's how it should be"	Equal	"It should be equal"
M11	-	-	More	"Dissatisfied"	Equal	"Arguments occasionally about value of work done/to do"
F14	-	-	Equal	"I feel quite satisfied now, but it has taken time to become equally involved"	Equal	"Happy"
F21	-	-	Equal	-	Equal	-
F23	-	-	Less	"I need to get more involved. He does hard stuff, I organise and initiate social responsibilities"	Equal	"This is how it should be"
F24	-	-	Equal	"Happy"	Equal	"Happy and content"
F26	-	-	Equal	"Great"	Equal	"Great"
F28	-	-	Equal	"We both contribute to the mess"	Equal	"Depends on own personal priorities - 60:40, 40:60"
F29	-	-	Equal	"Comfortable - sometimes I feel taken for granted"	Equal	"Happy"
F31	-	-	Equal	"I think it needs to be shared rationally by load, not sex role"	Equal	"Both need a sense of what needs to be done"
F36	Equal	"Fine"	Less	"Excellent"	Equal	"Fine"
F40	-	-	Equal	"It is important that we work together"	Equal	"Excellent"
F41	-	-	Equal	"Very happy"	Equal	"I should become more involved in financial matters"

PREDOMINANTLY NEW ATTITUDES HELD AND ACTIVATED (continued)

HOUSEHOLD WORK INVOLVEMENT RELATIVE TO PARTNER							
	CHILD CARE			DOMESTIC TASKS		HOME MANAGEMENT	
Respondent	Involved	Comment	Involved	Comment	Involved	Comment	
F42	-	-	Equal	"Happy - it is a partnership"	Equal	-	
F43	-	-	Equal	-	Equal	"Good"	
F44	Equal	"Great. I get good back-up support"	Equal	"He has more time during the day"	Equal	"It can fluctuate between us"	
F47	-	-	Less	-	Equal	-	
F49	-	-	Equal	-	Equal	"Satisfied"	

APPENDIX XI

"'Streetwise' Survey* - Child care payments and Superannuation"

Question: Should Australia's stay-at-home mothers and spouses be provided with benefits, such as child-care payments and superannuation?

1. Julian Schubert, Age 20, North Adelaide:
    It's an interesting question with a lot of pros and cons. I think it's probably fair that women should get those benefits. A lot of people around, including people on the dole, burn around and do nothing and still get benefits. But at least women are doing something - so they should get paid for it. But where's the money going to come from? I guess if there was money to go around, why not (give them the benefits).

2. Natalie Lilburn, Age 24, Blair Athol:
    I guess you need to weigh up the social cost of women being at home - whether or not having women out of the workforce and bringing up their children is better for the community than having them working. When I see what mothers go through I think I would like to see them get benefits for it. The benefits could pay for child care. People have got to have children and raise families, but their children shouldn't be a cost which prevents them from working.

3. Robert Kulenicz, Age 29, Norwood:
    It all depends if the husband is bringing in enough money. If the couple is in need of further assistance, like if they are going to lose the house or the child is suffering, the Government should step in. But not unless that's happening (because) otherwise everyone would jump on the bandwagon and it would be an incentive for women not to work and just have children. But there's a very good argument for people to be paid for looking after children in cases of need.

4. Jennifer McKay, Age 33, Findon:
    I think it's probably reasonable that they should expect to get something, but it's very hard to quantify how much. We have to consider some sort of payment or benefits because if women choose to stay home and look after the kids they should not be penalised for doing that. (Working spouses laying aside superannuation for their child-rearing partner) is a good idea, but it gets difficult. If they get divorced what happens to the superannuation?

5. Dawn Brophy, Age 56, Semaphore:
    Don't they get benefits from their husbands, who are already supporting them? The two jobs (of worker and child-carer) are complementary. It's up to the husband to provide the money. Is it really up to the community to provide these benefits? We can't even get the money to pay for essential services, such as health services. Mothers do get paid - they get housekeeping money. Husbands should provide money instead of benefits.

6. Hannah Chandler, Age 68, England:
    I don't think women should get benefits for looking after their own children in their own home. The husband does his job going out to work and the wife does her job and looks after the children. After the children are grown up, then she goes out and does whatever she wants. It depends on the people, (whether) they are happily married. But a woman has children with her husband because they want them and presumably because they love them, so why should they be paid for it?

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APPENDIX XII

The family household system: No rest for the (woman) afflicted

The segment reproduced below presents a woman columnist's account of the impact of her brief illness on their family household and its individual members. Her overall experience, research suggests, would appear to be common to many women (although may not necessarily be recounted with the degree of humour this person manages to muster).

No rest for the afflicted

Ruff Red, just home from school and ready to throw himself enthusiastically onto my stomach for a cuddle, demanded: "Why are you lying down with your eyes closed?"

I always know it's him, even with my eyes shut, because the pungent aroma of a small boy after a long, hot school day precedes him - the scent of sweat, inky fingers and Vegemite.

"I'm lying down with my eyes closed because I feel sick. I don't think you should bounce on my stomach," I said warningly.

"Why not? What's to eat? You know Sam, that boy in Year 2?" he chattered on.

"What?" I said feebly.

"That boy in Year 2, the one who broke his toe kicking the gate at the front of the school?" he continued. "I'm not sure," I croaked.

"Well, he got in trouble today. And do you know the park? (Nod) Yeah, and the post at the front? (Nod) Yeah, and the part where the bark is and the cross thing? (Sigh and nod) Well, we had to run three times all around that and the girls only had to do it twice ("Oh, really?") and I came fourth ("That's wonderful"), no sixth ("That's wonderful, too"). Well, I came something, anyway ("Good for you").

That said, he ran off down the hall in search of food, ricocheting off the walls as he went. I was alone with my throbbing head and my watery eyes. I dozed.

"Oh, Mummy, what's wrong? Why are you in bed?" asked Courtenay, worriedly. She dropped her school bag and placed her experienced nine-year-old hand, very professionally, on my forehead.

"I don't feel very well," I confided.

"I'll be right back," she said, and raced out the door. I was alone again, with my throbbing head and watery eyes. I dozed.

Soon, more than my eyes felt watery.

There seemed to be tiny rivulets of water running down my neck; the pillow felt damp, my shirt felt damp. I opened my eyes to find Courtenay placing a cold, wet (very wet) cloth on my fevered brow. After a bit of negotiation, she agreed to wring it out tightly. I was alone again. Just me and my headache. I dozed.

The next time I woke, she was standing beside the bed with a cold drink. It was a pinky yellow colour and looked exactly the sort of drink travel writers generally advise against.

"I made you a special drink with lemonade and food colouring," Courtenay said chirpily. "You'll feel much better after you have it."

I promised to have a go and she left me alone with the drink, a bendy straw and my headache. I tipped half the concoction into a pot plant. It looked all right, so I emptied the rest of the glass into the pot and, my duty done, dozed off again.

"Hi, Mum, what's wrong with you?" asked Patrick, standing at the foot of the bed, tossing a football repeatedly at the ceiling.

"Actually, I'm not very well," I said grimly.

"What about dinner?" he said.

"What about dinner?" I said.

"Who's going to get it?" he said slowly and patiently.

"I don't know yet. We'll worry about that later."

"Well, not too much later," he groaned, looking at his watch and graphically clutching his stomach.

The door shut and I climbed slowly out of bed to peer at the pot plant. It looked much better than me. I climbed slowly back into bed. Alone again.

By the time the older girls and the Man of the House (MOTH) arrived, things had taken several turns for the worse. Hunger had apparently driven Ruff Red to load the blender with milk, ice-cream, Milo and a banana and turn it on high. From a distance, I could hear screams and shrieks.

"I told you to put the lid on!" somebody shouted.

"Turn it off! Turn it off!" screeched somebody else. The door flew open and Ruff Red buried himself under the quilt, shaking with sobs and indignation. Almost everyone else came in next to lay the blame squarely on his small shoulders. Ruff Red and I sobbed together.

The MOTH strolled in, dabbing milkshake off his shirt, and said a lot of comforting things about taking charge and cooking dinner and when did I think I'd feel well again because he could give me until tomorrow morning, at the latest.

Mothers everywhere know it's much easier to stay on your feet, despite broken bones, flu, pleurisy, bronchitis or migraine, than to take to your bed and lie there, listening to the family disintegrate. The sound of the inept dragging the unwilling through dinner, dishes, homework and laundry identification is more than most women can stand, punctuated, as it always is, by breaking glass, shouting and weeping and the very much quieter, but more ominous, gnashing of teeth.

In any case, if you stay in bed long enough, they bring their complaints to you. Where is the sticky tape? How long do you cook minute steak? Where are all the socks? Who ate all the cheesecake? Do we have oregano? Can I make a chocolate cake? Do we have information on Ghandi? Bolivia? The lifecycle of the blowfly? Did you take my tennis racquet? Where's the tomato sauce? Have you seen my spelling list? Can I watch the "creature feature" if I close my eyes in the bad bits? When are you getting up? There's a man at the door about guttering or something. Should I bring him in? Mum, this is Joel. He lives up the street. Joel, this is my mum. She usually looks better.

After two or three days of this, most women give in and get up.

"Feeling better?"

"Much."

"What's wrong with that plant?"

"No idea."

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