SATISFACTION WITH THE HOUSEWIFE ROLE

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June 1973

Being a thesis submitted as partial requirement for the degree of Master of Arts at the Australian National University
This thesis is my own work and all the sources used in its composition have been acknowledged.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role Theory</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine Role</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine Role in Australia</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewife Role</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unresolved Issues and Problems</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 2 - METHODOLOGY</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data Collection</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpretation</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generalization</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 3 - SATISFACTION WITH THE HOUSEWIFE ROLE</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother Role</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work Role</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational Choices</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expectations and Identity Switches</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 4 - FREEDOM AND RESTRICTIONS WITHIN THE HOUSEWIFE ROLE</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effect of Husband</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housekeeper Role</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother Role</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expanding the Housewife Role</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 5 - CONCLUSION</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recommendations</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX I - INTERVIEW SCHEDULE</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX II - DEMOGRAPHIC DATA</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFERENCES</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUPPLEMENTARY BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ABSTRACT

One objective of this study was to find out what kind of women are satisfied with the full-time housewife role. No such research has been done previously in Australia and the findings reported from other countries are contradictory. The integration of results within a theoretical framework was regarded as important. For this purpose, the concepts of role-identity and role-expectations were used extensively. It was also regarded as essential that the housewife role be viewed within the broader context of the feminine role rather than in isolation. A second objective was to examine how the women's interpretations of role-expectations increased or decreased the freedom which they experienced within the housewife role.

The respondents in the study were thirty-six Canberra housewives each having at least one child under five years of age. They were all living with their husbands, were connected with some organized activity, and were not employed full-time. The interview was a semi-structured one utilizing mainly open-ended questions.

In general, it was found that a consideration of mother and work role-identities distinguishes between satisfied and dissatisfied women. The mother role is fairly salient among satisfied women. While, for some dissatisfied women the mother role is also fairly salient, there is more ambivalence among the dissatisfied women towards the mother role. Satisfied housewives tend to reject the work role even if they had enjoyed it while occupying it. Dissatisfied women have a much stronger occupational work role-identity even if they did not enjoy the work role they had occupied.

Such attitudes towards these two roles on the part of dissatisfied women were interpreted as reflecting conflict within the feminine role between expectations that they should achieve as well as display
nurturant behaviour. Dissatisfied housewives had had more education and more prestigious and demanding occupations than satisfied housewives. On the one hand, the educational/occupational experience of the dissatisfied women appears to have influenced the kinds of role support and rewards they expect for themselves. On the other hand, even before finishing their education, the dissatisfied women appear to have been encouraged to expect themselves to achieve while the satisfied women did not have this expectation. It is their acceptance of the traditional feminine role and the accompanying lack of expectation that they should achieve which prevents the satisfied housewives from experiencing conflict within the housewife role.
I would like to thank various people for their contributions towards this thesis. First place must go to Katrin Francine for her cooperativeness and her excellent sense of timing. My husband, Frank, showed extreme patience and helpfulness particularly during the agonies of writing. I was supervised by Dr. R.G. Cushing who helped sort out many confusions. He was very good about encouraging me and not forcing his ideas upon me. His comments on the various drafts were also appreciated. I am grateful to Dorothy Darroch for her many helpful suggestions throughout all stages of the study. Many thanks are due to the women who were interviewed. They submitted most patiently and cheerfully to what must have seemed an endless set of questions. And finally I thank Mrs. Bell for her careful typing.
LIST OF TABLES

3.1 Satisfaction with the Housewife Role by Desire to Have Children  41
3.2 Satisfaction with the Housewife Role by Expectations Towards Motherhood  43
3.3 Satisfaction with the Housewife Role by Length of Time between Marriage and Birth of First Child  45
3.4 Satisfaction with the Housewife Role by Former Occupation  49
3.5 Satisfaction with the Housewife Role by Work History since Birth of Child  51
3.6 Satisfaction with the Housewife Role by Intention to Work  51
3.7 Satisfaction with the Housewife Role by Strength and Persistence of Role-Identity  52
3.8 Satisfaction with the Housewife Role by Education  61
4.1 Satisfaction with the Housewife Role by Husband's Participation in Household Activities  75
4.2 Satisfaction with the Housewife Role by Husband's Attitude to his Wife's Working  75
4.3 Satisfaction with the Housewife Role by Type of Role Extension  90
1. Satisfaction with the Housewife Role by Age  107
2. Satisfaction with the Housewife Role by Number of Children  107
3. Satisfaction with the Housewife Role by Age of Youngest Child  108
4. Satisfaction with the Housewife Role by Age of Oldest Child  108
5. Satisfaction with the Housewife Role by Husband's Occupation  108
6. Satisfaction with the Housewife Role by Family Income  109
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Typically, the term 'housewife' is applied to women occupied with domestic duties to the exclusion of any occupational role. Although the proportion of married women in Australia who fit this definition is declining (87.4% in 1954; 64.7% in 1971), it is still significant. Not only does being a housewife affect a large number of women, but it is also likely to occupy a significant segment of a married woman's life. While there is no data available, it is reasonable to suppose that most mothers would spend, at the very minimum, five years as a full-time housewife, and in many cases this period would be closer to ten years or longer. Nevertheless, the housewife has remained relatively invisible to social scientists, in part, because her situation has been viewed as normal rather than problematic.

Given the number of women who occupy the housewife role, the nature of the long term investment, and the overall consequences of such a role for a woman's identity, the focus of this thesis centres around two simple questions. How does being a housewife affect women? Do they find the role basically satisfying? Special importance is attached to the role satisfaction of housewives, since the housewife role combines one's occupational and familial roles which provide one's most stable sources of identity and satisfaction. Where familial and occupational roles are separated, as is the case with most men, a lack of satisfaction in one role could be compensated for by satisfaction in the other. However, dissatisfaction with the housewife role could have serious consequences for the personality of the woman concerned, since...
she has no readily available alternate source of identity or satisfaction.

The common usage of the word housewife to refer to all women who are not gainfully employed, regardless of whether they live with their husband or whether they have children in the home, was considered too broad to be a useful analytic category. The role of housewife is taken here to include the cluster of roles of housekeeper, wife and mother. In the following analysis, the term housewife refers to a woman who is currently involved in this cluster of roles while not occupying a full-time occupational role.

Role Theory

The term role will be used to apply both to a social position (that is, the housewife role) and the broad cultural expectations attached to that position. Role performance, however, will not be viewed as a blind response to these expectations in order to obtain a reward or avoid a sanction. While others' expectations are important in determining role performance, attention must also be paid to the individual's own expectations. Role expectations are "filtered through one's character or self-conception and are modified to blend with it" (McCall and Simmons, 1966:67). Thus, the way any individual performs a role "is a plausible line of action characteristic and expressive of the particular personality that happens to occupy the given position and represents that person's mode of coming to grips with the general expectations held toward someone in his position" (McCall and Simmons, 1966:67).

Attached to each position one occupies, and the way one behaves as a result of occupying that position, is a role-identity. It is one's "imaginative view of himself as he likes to think of himself being and acting as an occupant of that position" (McCall and Simmons, 1966:67).
It is through one's role-identities that one interprets situations, people and events, and it is role-identities which "serve as perhaps the primary source of plans of action" (McCall and Simmons, 1966:69).\textsuperscript{4} The sum of role-identities attached to roles one remembers occupying, occupies, or imagines oneself occupying is one's identity or self-concept. The combination of these role-identities may vary according to the patterning or cluster, the cohesiveness, and the hierarchy of salience of the role-identities involved. It is the salience hierarchy, or the prominence of various role-identities, which will be of prime concern in this thesis.

Stryker's (1959) description of the gradual evolution of identity and of the influence of others on this process complements the discussion of McCall and Simmons. He suggests that as the individual responds to the labels which others apply to him and to the expectations which accompany these labels, his identity evolves. Eventually, a person comes to categorize himself in a way corresponding to the labels of others and his action becomes directed towards the expectations which both he and others hold. As Stryker acknowledges, and as is indicated below, the process is not as straightforward as such a model might indicate.

In order to maintain one's identity the individual requires role-support from others. According to McCall and Simmons, if a particular role-identity lacks such support its relative salience will be lowered. It is at this point that the theory is in need of some revision. The data collected for this study indicates that role-identities can continue to exist and to form part of one's self-concept, even though the associated roles are not being played out and no role-support is being obtained. Although the individual is cut off from playing the role from which the role-identity derives, the role-identity remains strong enough to interfere with one's absorption into the other roles one occupies.
Perhaps the important point is whether someone actively denies role-support to the individual for a particular role-identity. If this were to happen consistently, the salience of the role-identity might be lowered. If the individual is only prevented from playing the role, the role-identity may retain its salience.

It should be obvious that, because of the many expectations attached to both roles and role-identities, incongruities between these expectations are quite likely to exist. Social factors such as cultural discontinuities and the existence of differentiation and change within society are possible sources of conflicting expectations.

Examples of cultural discontinuities are marital and parental roles which are age-specific and cannot be assumed until a certain stage of development has been reached. In the meantime, however, the individual may have learned behaviour and personality patterns which are incompatible with the performance of the role he is expected to adopt later in life. Such discontinuities are likely to be compounded during a time of social change. If role definitions are changing, then early socialization may not be able to anticipate the content of roles which the individual may later have to perform.

A lack of total consensus within society with regard to role expectations can also produce conflicting expectations. Different classes, regions, religions or ethnic groups may each hold their own set of expectations towards a given role. Where mobility is limited this may not seriously affect any given individual, since his contact is limited to his own group. But, where there is much geographical or social mobility an individual is more likely to encounter conflicting expectations resulting from his exposure to various groups.

Conflicting expectations can create problems for the individual as he selects a course of action or carries out some action to which he may
be committed. The following possible sources of conflict can be specified:

a) between the various role-identities within one's identity;
b) between one's identity and a role one is occupying;
c) between various aspects of the role one is occupying; or
d) between the expectations the individual holds towards a role and those which others hold towards the same role.

Applying such a perspective to the housewife role is complicated. Since the housewife role is viewed as involving a cluster of roles, the possibility of conflict between the parts of this cluster is greater than if the role were unidimensional. Furthermore, a woman occupying the housewife role is also playing a feminine role at the same time. Therefore she may experience conflict between the demands of the feminine and the housewife roles as well as between her perception of these roles and the expectations society attaches to them.

This is not to imply that the experience of facing conflicting expectations is restricted to women. Lifton (1968) suggests that owing to the growing break with traditional symbols and the overwhelming increase in the number of alternatives presented to people, we are witnessing a phenomenon he labels "protean man". This notion emphasizes the continuous psychic recreation of the self and the ability to drastically change the basis for one's identity. Women with a tertiary education have broken, to some extent, with the traditional feminine role and encounter more alternatives as a result. The woman who tries to combine a career and a family is constantly involved in a "revokable" process of choice (Bailyn, 1964:707) as she faces the temptation to give up her career and become a full-time housewife. The difficulty involved in this constant need to "opt in" is increased by the social pressure to take the opposite course of action. In contrast, men are fairly rigidly bound to the occupational sphere despite a greater range of
specific occupational choices. In general then men have a more clearly defined and consistent source of identity. A woman may face the conflict of choosing to devote herself to work, to her family, or to some combination of the two. Having made this choice she may share the problems of "protean man" in coming to terms with a changed source of identity.

The Feminine Role

As the existence of the housewife role is directly related to the division of labour within society according to sex roles, the impact of sex roles on the individual deserves some attention.

Unlike other roles, sex role learning begins very early in life. The influence of sex roles continues throughout one's life, shaping the ways in which other roles are performed. Also important is the subtlety of the influence which sex roles have, thereby making the individual largely unaware of their impact. In fact, Bardwick sees sex roles as so important that she claims that the development of one's identity is "inextricably linked with the development of one's masculinity or femininity" (1971:206). Lynn (1961), in discussing the development of sex role identification, suggests that girls make the original sex role identification earlier and more easily than boys. However, a girl's sex role identification is more likely to weaken as she grows older while a boy's is more likely to increase in strength. This is because of the greater rewards which men have in our society and the lesser punishment which women receive for breaking sex role norms.

The classic analysis of the feminine role is De Beauvoir's The Second Sex, a perceptive and thorough description of many facets of the feminine experience and situation. Grounded in existential philosophy, her theoretical perspective differs from the sociological orientation in
that she assumes the existence of an essential self which has certain basic needs, primarily the need to strive for fulfilment and transcendence as opposed to mere being or immanence. In her view, woman is cut off from such possibilities, since she has been compelled by men "to assume the status of the Other" (1952:xxviii). De Beauvoir delineates the ways in which women are constrained from fulfilling this need and suggests how these constraints may be overcome. "The drama of woman lies in this conflict between the fundamental aspirations of every subject (ego) - who always regards the self as the essential - and the compulsions of a situation in which she is the inessential" (1952:xxviii). For De Beauvoir, problems attached to the female role apply to all women, because the conflict is between the innate and universal demands of being human and the cultural demands related to being feminine.

Bardwick (1971), as a psychologist, shares the view that individuals have basic inner tendencies, namely the need for affiliation and the need for achievement. The salience of these learned needs varies during a woman's life, partially due to the expectations associated with the feminine role. Prior to puberty, it is the achieving need which a girl is encouraged to meet, but, with adolescence, the affiliative need gains priority and retains it until the woman has gratified this need and gained a secure sense of identity through entry into, and successful performance of, the roles of wife and mother. It is only then that the achievement need once more becomes prominent in her identity, and the woman seeks a role to fulfil that need. Thus, what conflict there is in the feminine role is seen to arise from conflicting aspects of the identity. The conflict is controlled to some extent by separating the contradictory needs into distinct phases of the life cycle.
Rather than postulating an internal source of conflict, Komarovsky (1946) looks to external expectations. She describes the conflicting expectations for behaviour which American college girls report experiencing. On the one hand, they are expected to strive hard, do their best and follow a career. On the other hand, they are called upon to limit themselves, appear less competent than men and make sure they get married. Such conflicting expectations are closely related to Bardwick's achievement and affiliative needs. The sources of these contradictory ideals are often relatives or, alternatively, male peers - people to whom these girls are likely to look for role support, and thus who would have an important influence on the girls as they plan their behaviour. The contradictory expectations come not only from the different people with whom they interact but also from the same person at different points of time, even at relatively close intervals.

Steinmann (1963) compares the expectations of women towards the feminine role, their perceptions of the expectations of others and the actual expectations of others. She shares Bardwick's view of the existence of conflicting needs within women: love vs. fulfilment and independence vs. dependence. For her, there are two sets of role expectations attached to the feminine role: the "other-oriented" in which a woman seeks fulfilment through the achievements of others and the "self-oriented" where the woman obtains fulfilment through her own accomplishments. Her study is based on a group of college girls and their parents, thus permitting expectations to be compared across generation and sex. Also the girls' perception of others' expectations can be compared with the actual expectations others hold. The expectations which fathers attach to the ideal woman correspond closely to the girls' expectations of their ideal self, possibly an indication of congruence in socialization. The largest discrepancy in expectations
is between girls' perception of themselves as self-oriented and their perception of men's ideal woman as much more other-oriented. Hence, there is potential for significant conflict between responding to their own expectations or orienting their behaviour to what they perceive to be men's expectations when acting out the feminine role. While this study was conducted a decade after Komarovsky's and uses a very different approach, it too shows girls experiencing discrepancies in the expectations directed towards the feminine role.

Lipman-Blumen (1972) concentrates on the expectations which women attach to the feminine role and attempts to relate them to factors such as family background, educational aspirations, preferred mode of achievement, role preference and satisfaction with the housewife role. She dichotomizes role ideologies into traditional and contemporary categories. The traditional ideology views men and women as having separate responsibilities, while the contemporary ideology regards men and women as ideally sharing responsibilities. She finds that a contemporary ideology tends to be associated with higher educational aspirations as well as a preference for a direct rather than vicarious mode of achievement.

As she assumes that role ideologies are learned relatively early she examines various categories supposedly related to the socialization process. Family characteristics such as socioeconomic status, religion and urban-rural location fail to differentiate between those having contemporary or traditional ideologies. Significant differentiating factors include the girl's perception of her mother's satisfaction with both the feminine role and with homemaking and the girl's separation from or attachment to her family during adolescence. Those with contemporary ideologies are more likely to perceive their mothers as dissatisfied with the feminine role and are more likely to report
themselves as being alienated from their family during adolescence. "Women in the traditional category seemed more willing to accept the frame of reference provided by their parents and to continue to live within it" (Lipman-Blumen, 1972:42). The socialization process appears to have been smoother for the women who ended up with a traditional ideology. Women who hold a contemporary ideology may have been receiving ambivalent messages from their mothers about the female role, since they do report their mothers as having been dissatisfied with it.

Examining the women's satisfaction with the roles they occupy, ideology makes no difference to reported satisfaction with the mother or wife roles, although those with a contemporary ideology are more dissatisfied with the homemaking role. There is no difference between the two groups in their reported sense of self-esteem. The two groups do differ in their role preferences in that many more of the contemporary women see combining family and work roles as ideal, while the traditional women are evenly divided between a preference for supplementing their family role with either a work role or voluntary activities. Lipman-Blumen concludes that while the two ideologies are associated with different patterns of behaviour, "within each ideological position women are able to find fulfilment and meaning in their life" (1972:42).

Sex role expectations, then, are related to experiences while growing up and to adult behaviour but not to role satisfaction. This finding is at odds with the results of the present thesis, and one explanation for the discrepancy may lie in the difficulty of measuring satisfaction. It may be more difficult to differentiate between satisfied and dissatisfied women on the basis of a mail questionnaire using closed-choice alternatives (the method used in Lipman-Blumen's study) than when an open-ended interview is the means of assessment.
The Feminine Role in Australia

Research findings directly based on studies of Australian women are rare. The three major works concerned with Australian women—Rigg’s *In Her Own Right*, Stephenson’s *Women in Australian Society* (1971), and MacKenzie’s *Women in Australia* (1962)—while interesting are not too helpful to the present thesis. While billed as a “research project on the role of women” (1962:xi), MacKenzie’s work consists of a collection of already published statistics intermingled with quotations from newspapers and various people as well as the author’s observations and generalizations about the position of women. What has been written about Australian women, regularly makes the point that they have been very much under the thumb of the male and very much oriented to domestic activities. MacKenzie reports fairly clear-cut expectations, “For nine out of ten Australian women adult life means marriage, and for most of them marriage means motherhood” (1962:79). Wright (1972) in her analysis of the image of women as presented in the *Australian Women's Weekly* from 1934-1950 comes to a similar conclusion. While she finds that both the emancipated woman and the traditional woman have been portrayed, these two images:

were presented as being incompatible. If the image of the 'new' woman was to be accommodated at all it must be as a period of adolescence, through which woman passed on the path to the maturity of motherhood (1972:44).

She concludes that:

Ideological forces—such as sex education, religion, advertising and the mass media—condition women to accept a position in society which constricts their development as self-actualizing, independent people. Chinks exist in the image, but overall it is too strong to permit escape. No viable alternatives are offered (1972:61).

While little data is available on sex role expectations of Australian women, two large-scale surveys of Sydney adolescents supply
some information about the expectations which teenagers perceive.

The earlier study (Connell, 1957) reports that younger girls (13-15 years) have more varied ambitions than boys of that age and that at this stage two-thirds of the girls desire success in a career. The other third of this group want to either travel or marry (1957:80). However, only half the older girls (16-18 years) want a career outside the home and the jobs which they see as most attractive are nursing and modelling, two very sex-typed occupations. One-quarter of these older girls want only money out of a job and "Nearly half want 'to marry the man I love', and 'bring up a happy family'" (1957:89). It seems, then, that as girls grow older they come to accept the expectation that they should follow the traditional feminine role by marrying and their interest in a work role weakens.

Both the earlier and the later studies (Connell, 1972) report adolescent girls as placing more emphasis on companionship and sociability than boys of the same age. By this age girls are aware of the double expectations placed on them. "They generously acknowledge that hard work and study will help them to success in their careers, but they regard, as only slightly less important the development of a winsome personality" (1957:80). Unlike the boys they feel it necessary not only to study but also to develop their social expertise.

The later study finds that girls are more anxious than boys about self-esteem and the stability of their self-concept. This is not surprising in light of the findings related to education. Girls do not differ from boys in intellectual ability, motivation or attitudes to the relevance of education for themselves. In fact, after 14 years of age girls are more interested in intellectual matters than boys are. Nevertheless girls expect to drop out of school earlier than boys, as does happen. During their adolescent years, girls despite their ability
and interests, for some reason reject an achieving role within the educational context.\(^6\)

In discussing the educational and vocational choices of girls, MacKenzie states:

The progressive drop-out in higher forms of schools, and the concentration on arts subjects in the curriculum, are the direct product of the expected adult role of women: they show that the broad choices which determine a girl's future are made quite early, usually at the beginning of adolescence (1962:329).

It is not the difficulty of entering or working in a profession which he sees as deterring girls:

It is the ease with which less demanding alternatives can be achieved; the quicker rewards for less outlay of effort, time and money, that determine their vocational choices (1962:329-330).

As most of the data pertaining to feminine role expectations in Australia is at least ten years old, it is not known whether the fairly strong expectation that women should follow the traditional feminine path of marriage and motherhood has altered recently. However, the conflict reported in the most recent study between the behaviour of adolescent girls and their interests and abilities indicates that girls are aware of alternative expectations although they may not carry them out.

The Housewife Role

Gavron's *The Captive Wife* and Lopata's *Occupation: Housewife* examine the housewife role in some detail.\(^7\) Gavron interviewed ninety-six British housewives who had at least one child under five years of age. Half were classified as working-class and half as middle-class according to whether their husbands were manual or non-manual workers. Perhaps the most serious criticism of this study is the way in which
the data is presented and analyzed. The author claims to have used the focussed interview in order "above all to discover the respondent's own perception of their situation" (Gavron, 1966:153). However, by presenting the data in the form of frequency tabulations and by failing to attempt to draw significance from the data beyond the common-sense level, any single respondent's perception of the situation is lost. Thus, one can conclude only that some women are dissatisfied with particular aspects of the housewife role, but the extent of dissatisfaction and the type of woman most susceptible to dissatisfaction in the housewife role is not considered.

**Occupation: Housewife** does not report the results of any one study but is the amalgamation of several studies carried out over approximately an eight year period. Originally each study had its own purpose. Apparently 870 American housewives of various ages and social status were interviewed. Working from the perspective of role theory, Lopata describes her aim as "to focus on woman's conceptualization of the role she performs and on her contacts and involvements" (1971:8). The result is a detailed and massive but somewhat disjointed analysis of the various roles involved in being a housewife. Both role expectations and role performance are considered. However, at the end one is left wondering what it all means. According to Lopata:

> The basic conclusion ... is that modern women are becoming increasingly competent and creative in their social role of housewife and in the manner in which they combine different roles within their life cycle (1971:362).

She draws this conclusion despite an admission that relatively uneducated and lower-class women are "minimally creative" (1971:369) in the housewife role and that city middle-class women with a bit more education although happier in the role are not able to act consistently or to justify their behaviour with an adequate ideology. It is only the
group of women with increased education and income who are able to cope
with and fully enjoy the housewife role. One reason for this is that:

Most Americans older than twenty-five have not been socialized
into sufficient self-confidence and competence to enable full
expansion of the self into creatively developed roles in the
community and in the society (1971:371).

A second reason is the negative self image which housewives have and
which is attributed, in part, to The Feminine Mystique. Lopata sees it
as her role to demolish the stereotype implied by the phrase, "only a
housewife" and to provide women with a justification for playing the
housewife role.

While Lopata views the housewife role as a viable one simply in
need of some rescue work, Friedan (1963) adopts a diametrically opposed
position. Although some might question her methodology (no systematic
sampling or standardized questionnaire was used), her attempt to offer
an explanation for the widespread dissatisfaction she claims to have
found among housewives is thought-provoking. She sees the housewife's
discontent as indicating that the structure of the housewife role and
the ideology surrounding the role prevents women from achieving an
adequate sense of personal identity. This is related to their being
shut off from a work role-identity. It is not only a job or work role
that is necessary but also a long-term commitment and a concomitant
recognition by society of the value of one's contribution. "Dabbling,
the Sunday painting, the idle ceramics do not bring that needed sense of
self when they are of no value to anyone else" (1965:303). Hence, to
some extent Friedan and Lopata are agreed that one problem with the
housewife role is the failure of society to recognize any importance in
it.

Arnott and Bengston (1970) do not assume either that all women have
an equal desire to feel important or that the housewife role cannot
provide an adequate sense of importance. Rather they ask what
importance women attach to receiving respect and esteem and to being
contributing members of society. Then they inquire whether women
perceive the housewife role as fulfilling these expectations. They find
women do not feel equally deprived of these things within the housewife
role. It is those women who feel deprived of a sense of esteem within
the housewife role who expand their activities beyond the traditional
housewife role. As the sense of deprivation increases the type of
additional role assumed changes, from a volunteer role for those
experiencing the least deprivation, to a work role, to a student role
for those experiencing the most deprivation. One could speculate that
by adding on another role, women are seeking support for a role-identity
which they can not fulfil by occupying only the housewife role.

*Workingman's Wife* (1959) focusses on the working-class housewife,
loosely defined as the wife of a blue-collar worker. Such women appear
to have a fairly consistent and one-dimensional identity centred around
the mother role. In general, they have always wanted children, and, for
many, having children is the best thing that has happened to them.
"These women have always known that their reason for existence is to be
wives and mothers" (*Rainwater et al.*, 1959:68). Compared to a group of
middle-class women they are less likely to expand the roles they play
beyond that of housewife or to participate in activities outside the
home.

While in some ways this study is more successful than others in
portraying the housewife's definition of the situation, the definition
seems to be clouded by the perception and interpretation of the authors.
Thus, it is reported that, "as a group they tend to find the world an
uncomfortable and rather trying place" (*Rainwater et al.*, 1959:51) and
that the working-class wife "characterizes her daily life as 'busy',
'crowded', 'a mess', 'humdrum', 'dull, just dull'\( (1959:32) \). However, she is consoled by the feeling that this is the lot of most women. The authors conclude that working-class women simply accept their role rather than display genuine contentment or satisfaction with it. However, since little effort was made to discover what these women expected out of life or to compare their satisfaction with the housewife role to the satisfaction they had found in other roles, such a conclusion is hardly justified.

**Unresolved Issues and Problems**

In general, studies of housewives have failed to integrate their findings within a larger theoretical framework usually resulting in findings that are disjointed and somewhat lacking in meaning. Friedan's analysis of the housewife situation within the context of the problems she sees attached to the feminine role is the main exception.

Another common feature of the housewife studies is a tendency to draw blanket conclusions. Housewives may be portrayed as dissatisfied and miserable (Gavron, 1966; Rainwater et al., 1959; Friedan, 1963) or the housewife role may be seen as full of potential (Lopata, 1971). Where attempts to distinguish between women occupying the housewife role have been made, conflicting results have been reported. Gavron and Rainwater find middle-class women to be more capable of dealing with the problems associated with being a housewife. Lopata suggests that a woman's ability to be fulfilled in the housewife role increases with her education and social class. Friedan restricts her examination mainly to middle-class, well-educated women and finds them to be quite frustrated with the housewife role. Komarovsky (1962) apparently finds college-trained women to be more dissatisfied with the domestic role than working-class wives. Thus, the question of whether educated women are
more likely to be satisfied or dissatisfied in the housewife role remains open. Most authors have been concerned with whether the housewife role is satisfying or dissatisfying and do not consider the effect which differing expectations can have on a woman’s attitude towards the role.

In approaching this question, an important factor seems to be the expectations which women attach to the feminine role. Generally, studies of the feminine role have reported that women experience conflict between demands that they show nurturing and achieving behaviour. However, these studies have been based almost exclusively on women with tertiary education. Especially in light of Holter’s finding (1970:77) that educational level is correlated with egalitarianism of sex role norms, generalization from such studies to all women must be questioned. Perhaps it is even more unwarranted in Australia where fewer women have a tertiary education than in the United States.

This thesis attempts to correct some of the deficiencies pointed out. The emphasis is on examining the data within a theoretical framework rather than simply reporting a series of findings. One objective is to consider what kind of women are satisfied with the housewife role. Here the concept of role-identity is of central importance. Attention is paid to the salience of the women’s role-identities and the expectations which they attach to the feminine role. A second objective is to examine how women define the housewife role and, more particularly, how their interpretations of the expectations attached to the housewife role contribute to their freedom or restraint.
Footnotes - Chapter 1


3. A recent Australian example of the invisible housewife is the community study, An Australian Newtown (Bryson and Thompson, 1972). As housewives form the group of people spending the most time within any community, one would expect such a study to include them as an important part. Yet, they are almost totally ignored. The only women considered are those in paid employment.

4. This is not unlike Foote's point (1951) that it is one's identity that serves as the motivating force which stimulates role performance.

5. The following analysis is basically a synthesis of the discussions of Brim (1966) and Stryker (1959).

6. Since Connell could find no differences in his data when examining it by class, migrant status or type of school, he suggests that his conclusions about sex roles apply fairly widely within society.

7. Several studies of housewives are not included in this survey, as they have little direct bearing on the present thesis. Hubback's Wives Who Went to College (1958) and Dawson's Graduate and Married (1965) are two such works. Both are relatively descriptive, particularly Dawson's which is a very detailed and thorough study of a group of Australian women with tertiary education. Utilizing the mail questionnaire, both studies are mainly limited to "objective" data, although a few attitudes and opinions are reported. However, this technique did allow them to collect data from a large number of women (Hubback, 1980; Dawson, 1970) and thus they contain an extensive if rather specific data bank. Other specific studies which have not been considered in the text are listed in the supplementary bibliography.

8. One can see why interest has focussed on the educated woman's expectations towards the feminine role. The researchers involved are themselves college-educated women with a strong personal concern in the matter and have likely experienced similar ambivalences. Secondly, women with more education have tried to achieve and therefore will probably experience conflict with the feminine role. Hence, for those interested in role conflict these women would provide a good source of subjects.
CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

Four main methodological issues involved in this study are discussed in turn. Three involve decisions concerning data collection, interpretation of the data, and selection of respondents. Also, consideration is given to the extent to which the results may be generalized.

Data Collection

The manner in which women themselves define and interpret their role-expectations and role-identities is of central importance to the thesis, and this determined the way in which the data was collected. A self-administered questionnaire or an interview using fixed alternative or precisely pre-coded questions was rejected, since the effect would be to impose a frame of reference on the respondents while the objective was to elicit their "definition of the situation". The other extreme would have been an unstructured interview allowing the conversation to follow the respondent's train of thought. This was rejected, since the author did not feel capable of coping comfortably with such an unstructured situation and there was some doubt as to how the respondents would react if the interviewer failed to provide any guidance as to what was expected. It could be anticipated that such a technique would maximize the difference between verbally-oriented respondents and those less able to verbalize their feelings. Further, it was feared that the results would be too chaotic to analyze. Therefore, the middle course of a semi-structured interview consisting largely of open-ended questions was chosen.
The preliminary interview schedule was constructed by combining questions from other studies concerned with role satisfaction and mother's attitudes to children with additional questions the author considered potentially significant for uncovering definitions of, and attitudes toward, the housewife role. The schedule was revised after being pre-tested on eleven housewives, none of whom were in full-time employment. All but two of them had a child under five years of age. As a result of the pre-test the basic patterning of questioning was rearranged in order to put the respondents at ease more quickly and to make the interview flow more smoothly. Some open-ended questions were replaced by pre-coded ones in order to reduce the time required for transcription. Such questions were mainly those related to social interaction where brief answers are fairly adequate. It was also felt that, in this area, some kind of comparable frame of reference had to be imposed on all respondents to permit meaningful analysis later.

The final interview schedule (see Appendix I) provided the basic framework for each interview. Each woman was asked all of the questions and usually in the order indicated. However, if a respondent's answer led naturally to a later question, then the order was revised such that the later question became the next topic of discussion. For example, a woman might mention her interests early in the interview in which case the questions related to her interests would be asked at that point. Throughout, probes were used extensively to clarify the respondent's meaning or to determine the reasons behind an answer.

The decision to use open-ended questions with probes meant that variations in self-awareness and articulateness were reflected in the respondents' answers. However, it seems that it was mainly the length and complexity of response that was affected rather than its substance. The following excerpts from the interviews of two women illustrate the
effect which self-awareness had on the answers offered. They also show the result of not directing each question or set of questions towards making an assessment on a particular category.

At another point in the interview, the first woman had remarked, "First you have to analyze yourself and I'm not very good at that." Let us see how she responds to two questions related to satisfaction with the housewife role.

3. When you first stopped work how did you feel about stopping work and staying home?

"It was beautiful. I enjoyed just being able to do what I wanted to do whenever I wanted to do it."

So you enjoyed being at home then?

"I still do."

4. And how do you find it now?

"I love it. You will never get me back to work."

What things in particular do you like about it?

"Mainly, being able to set my own timetable. I suppose it's because I did not enjoy working and I enjoy housework. Shopping, being able to do what you want to do and not having to be bossed by somebody."

What are the bad things about being a housewife?

"I can't think of any."

The second woman, who was considerably more articulate and self-aware, answers the same questions in this way.

3. -

"Perfectly happy. I was very excited about having a child, never having been through birth, nor rearing, nor fondling. It was just the prospect of an exciting adventure to me. That was going to consume everything for a while and I was quite happy for it to do that. I enjoyed pregnancy and I loved the feeling when I was pregnant. I guess maternal instinct - a term
4. "Frustrating. I find a lot of it very boring. I can't stand the routine. The only aspect I enjoy is being free with time, to have your own time to do what you want to when you want to. For example, if it's a sunny day and you suddenly decide to toss everything and Johnny and I will go out to the meadows and I sit down and write some poetry and he plays around and we have a picnic lunch. You're free to do that if you want to. All the monotony of the mundane chores that have to be done, the piles of washing, the bed-making, the shopping, the fact that you have to do a certain amount and although you can let some of it go the majority of it simply has to be accomplished for the house to function."

From these excerpts it is obvious that the first woman is presently very satisfied with being a housewife while the second woman is not. Furthermore, we can see that for the first woman the satisfaction is due, at least in part, to the freedom she finds in being a housewife which she did not experience in her work role. For the second woman, this freedom is the one redeeming feature of the housewife role. The second woman also reveals her anticipation of the mother role and the nurturant behaviour attached to it in its early stages. While the second woman answers at much more length than the first woman, much of the additional information she gives is simply elaboration rather than new data.

The other point to be observed from these segments is that the way in which the women choose to answer the questions gives us information pertaining to different categories for the two women. In the first case we do not know about her attitude to the mother role while in the second case we do not know about her attitude to her work role. However, for each woman, other parts of the interview fill in the gaps. Thus, it is evident that when using this type of interview one need not rely solely on one particular question to supply data related to a particular category.
There are, of course, problems with this approach, particularly those relating to the interaction between the interviewer and the respondent. The respondent may tailor her answers to please the interviewer, or she may try to present herself in the best possible light according to what she perceives to be socially acceptable. In this case the interviewer's status as an academic and her somewhat young appearance may have been somewhat threatening, thereby increasing the women's need to justify themselves. Four respondents did appear somewhat defensive, although the majority of the women seemed fairly open, relaxed and spontaneous. The one main exception was a person who seemed incapable of expressing herself in other than a very limited way. In an effort to counteract some of these problems the interviewer did her best to put the women at ease and to accept all responses equally. The amount of distortion created by the interview situation despite these attempts is difficult to assess.

Interviewing took place in September and October 1972. Each of the thirty-six interviews was conducted in the woman's home by the author. Interviews lasted from one hour to over three hours, the average taking from one and a half to two hours. In two cases it was necessary to return to complete the interview. In all other cases only one visit was required. In only one instance did the husband come home before the interview was completed. However, due to the nature of the sample, small children were often present during part or all of the interview. In a few cases the children's presence did interfere with the interview by distracting both the mother and the interviewer from the task at hand. This was never such a serious problem that the interview had to be terminated or discarded. However, it did mean that occasionally some answers were not followed up to the extent desired.
Each interview was tape-recorded and transcribed. The transcripts were checked against the tapes by the author shortly after each interview. The presence of a tape recorder did not seem to affect the respondents who relaxed fairly quickly once the interview was under way. Both taping and note-taking were experimented with during the pre-test. It was felt that taping allowed the interview to proceed more smoothly, and, considering the unstructured flow of the discussion, taping was necessary to allow the interviewer to be attentive to what was being said and aware of when elaboration was necessary. Obviously, tape-recording produced a more accurate report of the responses given than could be obtained by written notes for such an open-ended type of interview. This was regarded as particularly important, since the author was interested in not only the answer to the specific questions but also in the context into which the women placed the question and the often seemingly "irrelevant" details they added.

For example, the qualification this respondent makes tells us which of the roles involved in the housewife cluster she identifies with.

How would you compare being a housewife with being a physiotherapist?

"I'd say how do I consider being a mother, because I'd have never been a housewife without children. I'd have worked."

For her the mother role is the most important aspect involved in being a housewife. In another case two responses which a woman made to questions dealing with other topics are quite revealing about her role-identities.

What did you consider doing before you were married?

"I didn't really have long to consider anything. I was married when I was 18 and I knew my husband since 15 so all that time I was planning on getting married. I suppose the only other ambition I ever had would be to travel but I haven't given that one up yet anyway."
If you did go out to work what would you look for in the job itself?

"I think it is a bit late to say 'interest' because anything that would be interesting I've got no training for so if I'd go back to work it will be purely for the money so I would look for the job with the most money."

If these responses had been coded as "marriage", "travel" and "money" respectively during the interview much insight into the woman's motivations and situation would have been lost. Without a tape-recording the fact that at 21 years of age this woman feels it is too late for her to have an interesting job could easily have been omitted from the record of the interview as insignificant. Even given the tape-recording, such information could have been neglected if the analysis had been based on a similar coding process. In either case this detail would not have been taken into account. Yet, it tells us much about her work role-identity and her enforced commitment to the housewife role. Rather than simply comparing coded responses, a fuller analysis involving the comments with which a woman elaborates her answers is necessary so that inferences about role-identities and expectations can be made.

Interpretation

Before dealing with problems involved in interpreting the data, there is the question of reliability of the data; that is, whether the same data could be obtained by another investigator or by the same investigator at a later point in time. As possible interviewer effects have already been discussed, attention here will focus on the effects which passage of time might have.

One of the tenets of the "scientific method", that observations must be repeatable, carries with it the assumption of a much more static situation than does the concept of identity. Since identity is not
considered to be fixed but subject to the vagaries of daily life, it is quite possible that the salience of role-identities may change in the interval between observations. If a multitude of expectations confronts a woman, it is probable that she will respond to different sets of expectations and, in turn, change the role-identities with which she works. If this does happen, a woman might be expected to re-evaluate both past and present events in line with the changes in her identity. This might result in quite different responses to the same questions (particularly those relating to satisfaction and to retrospective resumes) at different points in time. The criterion of reliability then is somewhat ambiguous in the context of the conceptual framework employed in this study. However, it is the respondents' present definition of the situation that is of concern here, and one can only assume that the factors affecting it are constant for all women.

When it comes to interpreting the data itself, the main issue concerns the validity of one's interpretation. Certain questions were kept in mind throughout the analysis. What does this statement really mean? What are these women trying to say? How much can one interpret their remarks without distorting them or without superimposing one's own perceptions over theirs unduly? While the problem of "real" meaning is common to much analysis, especially of "qualitative" data, it was compounded in this case by the interest in the satisfaction housewives experience with their life style.

According to the theory of cognitive dissonance, once one is committed to acting in a certain way, then to be consistent one's attitudes change in order to conform to one's behaviour. One could presume that this would carry over to the notion of satisfaction; that is, people tend to justify their behaviour by claiming to be satisfied. If this were the case, one would expect to find very few expressions of
dissatisfaction. Yet, that is not what happened in this study.

Some women certainly appear to be more dissatisfied than others. But, is this any more than appearance? Could the differences in satisfaction be due to a mis-labelling of the women's responses rather than to any real differences in satisfaction? Some alternative explanations can be considered.

One possibility is that there is no permanent state corresponding to what we call satisfaction. Rather, expressions of satisfaction may depend on ephemeral things, such as a woman's "mood" at the time of the interview, or events directly preceding the interview such as a quarrel with her husband or a difficult morning with a child. One woman did, in fact, report that her attitude to housework varied depending on her relationships with her husband and children. However, it is an assumption of the thesis that an underlying dimension of satisfaction does exist while expressions of it may vary with circumstances. It is felt that moods or other such temporary factors do not interfere too much with assessing satisfaction. One piece of evidence may be offered in support of this view. After interviewing one woman, the author was told by a third person that this particular respondent felt that she had been in a good mood at the time of the interview, and therefore she had replied much more favourably than she would have done on one of her "bad" days. Yet, she clearly comes into the dissatisfied category. It may be, then, that the use of several questions to assess one's state of satisfaction combined with very broad categories of assessment more than compensates for whatever effects moods or other temporary situations may have. Nevertheless, there is no direct evidence from this research for assessing the effects of such factors on the results.

A second alternative explanation for the differences in satisfaction is related to the pressure individuals experience to justify their
behaviour. One could assume that this pressure is greater when one feels one has chosen a role, especially when it is an all-encompassing role. Both these conditions apply to the housewife role, and it could be assumed, therefore, that women experience a fairly high degree of pressure to justify their present situation.

The desire to appear socially acceptable is one aspect of this pressure. Thus, it could be suggested that the differences in satisfaction are actually differences in perception of expectation. Those women who say they are dissatisfied may feel that this is the stance expected of them, while a similar process may be operating for the satisfied women. This is a very difficult explanation to refute. But, if one were to accept it, the question remains as to why women interpret appropriate behaviour in two such opposing ways. In effect, the answer to this question may be similar to the explanation of why some women are satisfied and some are not.

Although related to the way one wants others to see oneself, the pressure to appear satisfied may be more related to one's psychological state; that is, to what a person feels capable of accepting in himself. Allport (1958:464) makes this point in discussing how one goes about deciding whether a person is prejudiced. He suggests that those who are most willing to admit their prejudice are, in fact, less prejudiced than those who vehemently deny any sign of prejudice. According to Allport, the former have acknowledged the situation while the latter have repressed their feelings. A similar process may be operating with dissatisfaction. Some women may repress their feelings of dissatisfaction and refuse to acknowledge them even to themselves, as they are unable to face the consequences for their personal identity in doing so. Alternatively, some women may be aware of their dissatisfaction but may be unwilling to express it in the interview
situation. Following this line of argument, the difference between those judged satisfied and those judged dissatisfied may be simply a difference in their awareness of their feelings and their willingness to express them.

Mainly, the problems of assessing satisfaction were resolved by accepting the respondent's self-assessment based mainly on the answers given to the three questions:

How did you first feel about stopping work and staying home?4

How do you find being a housewife now?

How does being a housewife compare with (former occupation)?

For purposes of analysis, respondents were categorized as either satisfied or dissatisfied with the housewife role. Satisfied women either express little dissatisfaction with the housewife role or they express an awareness that although they are satisfied with it now they might find it somewhat limiting in the future. The dissatisfied women either admit fairly readily to being dissatisfied at present or admit to feeling strong dissatisfaction only rarely now or to experiencing it at some time in the past.

This does not mean that satisfied women are totally satisfied with all aspects of the housewife role. They may dislike one aspect such as cooking or housework but basically they are content with the housewife situation. For instance, one woman described a housewife's job as:

"The same thing day in day out and week in week out admittedly. This is just it unless you get out of the house and make a bit of variety and go somewhere. This is why the majority of people do get thoroughly bored with housework."

You say some people find it boring, do you?

"No. Some days I get disheartened if I find a pile of ironing I've forgotten and it's urgently needed or the kids come in with a hell of a mess and someone knocks on the door
and you think, gee you should have cleaned that up but you sat down with a book instead."

Despite these grumblings, this woman was classified as satisfied because of her repeated claims that she would much rather stay at home than go out and work because of the more leisurely pace involved in being at home. The complaints reported above were treated as normal gripes rather than as indications of a serious dissatisfaction with the housewife role.

Women who admit to feeling strong dissatisfaction only rarely were classified as dissatisfied. Their complaints differ from those of the satisfied women in that they are aimed at the housewife situation rather than at some aspect of it. An example is the woman who reports:

"I get this cut off feeling occasionally, that only comes periodically. I don't think about it everyday and dwell on it."

"Periodically" turns out to mean about once a week. Therefore, despite this woman's repeated assurances that she was not unhappy as a housewife, she was classified as being dissatisfied as it was felt that she was trying to justify her position.

Sample

There were obvious limits to the time, money and energy which could be expended in drawing the sample. No effort was made to obtain a random sample, partly on those grounds. For example, using a random sample of housewives would require a two-stage sampling process. While that might have been practicable if confined to one suburb only, the question of whether any one suburb could be considered representative of Canberra remained. The use of a random sample, then, would provide very few gains as far as making generalizations was concerned.
On the other hand, it was felt that a random sampling procedure would produce losses in the form of less interest from the respondents and the likelihood of a higher refusal rate. Because the information sought in the interview was fairly self-revealing and personal and because the interview was expected to take at least an hour, a more personal introduction than that of a stranger knocking on one's door was considered necessary. This was one reason for the sample being obtained through three groups: coffee clubs for lonely women, the Nursing Mothers Association, and continuing education classes. These particular groups were selected in order to maximize the probability that both satisfied and dissatisfied housewives would be included. Prior to the interview, some kind of contact had been made with all the women, either by letter, by the author in person, or by an intermediary associated with the group concerned. This approach was quite worthwhile as none of the women selected refused to be interviewed.

For the purposes of this study, a housewife is defined as someone currently occupying the roles of housekeeper, wife, and mother and who is not in full-time employment. Selection was further limited to one stage of the family life cycle by including only women who had at least one child under five years of age. There were two reasons for concentrating on this early stage in the family cycle. First, it was felt that this would increase the probability of finding women who were dissatisfied with the housewife role still occupying it, since it is relatively difficult for a woman with young children to avoid the full-time housewife role by going out to work. Second, it was felt that the way in which a woman deals with this early stage will affect her ability to cope with problems associated with later stages in the family cycle. Restrictions in one's physical mobility and in the time one has to do as one pleases can be expected to diminish as the children go off
to school. In the meantime, however, other problems such as deterioration of skills, loss of confidence, and possible submersion in the minutiae of housekeeping and mothering, may have been created so that a woman may be unable to take advantage of her diminishing familial responsibilities when more free time becomes available.

Hence, the thirty-six women who form the sample share the following characteristics: living with their husbands, residents of Canberra, at least one child under five years of age, not in full-time employment, and they are associated with some kind of organized activity. Ages range from 20-36 years with an average age of 28 years. Family size varies from one to four children with one extreme being one child four months old and the other being four children ranging from three to eleven years of age. In general, the women could be described as belonging to the middle class. According to the code developed by Broom, Jones and Zubrzycki (1965) and elaborated in Broom and Jones (1969), four of the families would be categorized as manual and the others as non-manual workers. Further details about the sample are presented in Appendix II.

Generalization

The accepted basis for generalizing from the results of any particular study is the assumption that those studied are representative of the population of interest owing to their random selection from the total population. On those grounds the results of the present study could not possibly be generalized. Certainly no claim could be made regarding the extent of dissatisfaction among housewives as a whole or even among housewives in a closely similar situation. Nor was this the intention of the study. Rather, the aim was to discover why certain women are dissatisfied with the housewife role and what the dynamics of the
situation are. While there is no statistical basis for supposing that the relationship between satisfaction and other factors found among these women would apply to other women, being able to specify such a relationship in this case seems preferable to merely speculating about what is going on. After completing this study, the understanding gained allows the author to suggest that the factors uncovered here apply to other women with the obvious proviso that the explanation is subject to disconfirmation by subsequent studies.

It is necessary to point out one other factor which possibly limits the extent to which the results may be generalized. Although only one of the women interviewed grew up in Canberra, that is the place where they were living at the time of the study. Canberra is commonly assumed to be very different from any other part of Australia. Having lived only in that city, the author finds it rather difficult to evaluate the validity of that assumption. However, it might be best to briefly point out some of the suggested differences.

In contrast to other Australian cities, Canberra is supposed to have: high mobility, isolated nuclear families, a proportionately small working-class, few established community facilities and traditions, poor public transport, and unfriendly people. These factors could have at least two kinds of effects on housewives. They may mean that life is more difficult for the housewife as the lack of relatives and poor public transport may restrict her activities. Secondly, conditions in Canberra may mean that the expectations for women here are different from those elsewhere in Australia. With tradition less strong, there may be less emphasis on the traditional feminine role. It has been suggested that there is more pressure on Canberra wives to work, although the opportunities are fairly restricted, particularly for unskilled and highly trained women. Without attempting to evaluate any of these
suggestions, it is worth noting that owing to these differences a similar study carried out elsewhere in Australia might obtain different results.

Footnotes - Chapter 2

1. According to Cartwright (1953:439) "Under these circumstances (that is, fixed response) if the analysis outline does not fit the respondent’s frame of reference, the only alternatives open to the respondent are to refuse to answer or to indicate a categorization which is not accurate."

2. Cuber and Harroff (1963, 1966) used such a technique. One result, which would have been totally impracticable in the present circumstances, was that the length of interviews ranged from three hours to several days. Furthermore, for such a technique to be productive they suggest (1963) that self-conscious subjects are necessary. If such a limitation had been accepted in the present study, most of the satisfied housewives would not have been included which would undermine the purpose of the investigation.

3. Goldthorpe et al. (1968); Nye and Hoffman (1963); Schaefer and Bell (1958); Tallman (1969).

4. Two of the women had not worked before their marriage. In their cases the questions were altered to refer to "when you stopped studying" and "being a student".

5. Women were selected from these three groups in differing ways. In the case of the Nursing Mothers Association, membership lists formed the basis for selection. First, they were divided according to whether they had one, two or three children and then according to whether they had had professional or non-professional jobs. Two names were selected at random from each category. Where the Coffee Clubs were concerned, two clubs were contacted and then all the eligible women attending the coffee mornings which the author attended were included in the sample. Three Continuing Education classes were chosen and all the eligible women from those classes were interviewed.

6. Originally it was planned that the analysis would involve the dependent variable, satisfaction, and the independent variables, isolation, salience of the mother role and desire for self-fulfilment. Consequently, sampling was to be from these three groups in order to maximize the variability of the independent variables. Subsequently the approach to the analysis altered so that these three concepts were no longer regarded as independent variables. Nevertheless, these variables are still assumed to be related to satisfaction. As the sample does provide considerable variation in satisfaction with the housewife role, the basis for the sample selection does seem to be appropriate.

7. It had originally been intended to interview only women who were not employed. However, during the course of the interviews, five of the women sampled from the selected groups were found to have some type of
employment. Two were employed outside the home on a casual basis: relief teaching and relieving in an office one or two days a month. Two did domestic work in their own homes: child care and ironing. One helped out with her husband's business from home. As none of the women's employment approached a full-time job, it was decided to retain them in the sample.

8. Calculations based on data from the Canberra Mental Health Survey (1971) reveal that 25% of women with children under five years of age were working; 14% part-time and 11% full-time. This survey was based on a probability sample of Canberra households.

9. Thirty-six interviews were conducted since the restrictions on available resources (for transcribing tapes, etc.) meant that between 30 and 40 interviews would be possible. As twelve was the maximum number of respondents available from one group, equal numbers were used from each of the other two groups.

10. It should be pointed out that classifying the respondents according to any class categories is fairly meaningless. For one thing, the categorization is based on characteristics of the husbands rather than of the wives. Secondly, it does not seem to differentiate very satisfactorily between respondents, possibly because of the middle class nature of Canberra. Nor does it seem sensible to lump all public servants together regardless of their status within the Public Service as the code does.

11. Hennessey (1970:168) claims there is a "high growth and mobility rate" and "absence of the extended family" in Canberra.

The Canberra Mental Health Survey 1971, supplies some figures on mobility and the existence of relatives for Canberra although from these figures one can make no comparisons with Australia as a whole. Each of the following tables applies to all married women interviewed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of Time in Canberra</th>
<th>%</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 1 year</td>
<td>8.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>13.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-5 years</td>
<td>21.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>6-10 years</td>
<td>21.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 11 years</td>
<td>28.5</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Moves Made Since Coming to Canberra</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>26.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>34.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 or more</td>
<td>20.9</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Relatives in Canberra</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>55.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 or more</td>
<td>22.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
12. The proportion of the male work force classified as: professional; administrative, executive, managerial; clerical; and sales by the 1971 Census is 30% for Australia as compared to 51% for Canberra.

13. Stretton (1970:61) claims that Canberra's worst social problem is "hopeless public transport".

14. Many of the women interviewed reported they found Canberra people less friendly than in other parts of Australia, although such a comparison may not be very valid.

15. Graham (1972) claims that "In Canberra...there is an army of highly trained women languishing for want of adequate employment". Employment opportunities are difficult to assess in themselves. However, some figures on employment patterns from the 1971 Census are available. In Canberra 42% of married women work as compared to 32% in Australia. This does not take into account differing age structures of the two populations or differences in part-time and full-time work patterns. The comparative proportion of the female work force in specific occupations is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Canberra</th>
<th>Australia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nurses</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>7.0%</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other professionals</td>
<td>7.0%</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative, Executive, Managerial</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>49.6%</td>
<td>31.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
<td>12.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service, Sport &amp; Recreation</td>
<td>12.4%</td>
<td>14.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHAPTER 3

SATISFACTION WITH THE HOUSEWIFE ROLE

What is it that makes a woman satisfied with the housewife role? Since the housewife role is so directly related to the feminine role, one would expect that an important factor would be acceptance of the traditional feminine role. However, the traditional concept of femininity is undergoing change and to some extent there are concurrent expectations that a woman should be achieving as well as nurturant. While these two sets of behaviour need not be mutually exclusive, the housewife role is structured such that it is very heavily loaded towards nurturance and allows very little scope for achievement. It could be postulated that to the extent that a woman has developed role-identities which are not consonant with the behaviour expected in the housewife role, she will feel dissatisfaction and experience difficulties in playing the housewife role.

The aim of this chapter, therefore, is to attempt to make some inferences about the role-identities held by these women. Two major roles, the mother role and the work role, will be examined in order to gauge the strength of the women's relevant role-identities. These roles are basic to the conflict which women are assumed to experience. In fact, it was the mother role which brought these women into the full-time housewife role, and in their minds excluded them from an occupational role. It is assumed that the relative salience of the role-identities attached to these two roles will be important in determining satisfaction with the housewife role.

The educational choices these women made will also be considered as an indication of their expectations towards the feminine role at an earlier point in time. The final section will consist of a short life
history of one woman illustrating how she has reacted to the conflicting expectations attached to the feminine role. It points out the various role-identities she has tried out in her efforts to resolve these expectations and to fashion a suitable life style for herself. All names used throughout the following two chapters are pseudonyms.

Mother Role

An important requirement of the mother role is the ability to behave in a nurturant manner. Therefore, internalization of that aspect of the feminine role is expected to be basic in producing satisfaction with the mother role. In turn, satisfaction with the mother role seems basic to satisfaction with the housewife role.

The assumption that the mother role is of central importance in producing satisfaction with the housewife role need not apply to all housewives but is expected to apply to the women in this sample, since they all have pre-school children and are not employed full-time. Further, for these women, assumption of the housewife role depended on occupation of the mother role. They became full-time housewives only after becoming pregnant or, in a few cases, because they planned to become pregnant.

As a result of the assumed importance of the mother role for satisfaction with the housewife role, a further simple assumption could be made that satisfaction with the housewife role for any given woman depends on the salience of her mother role-identity. Such would be the case, however, only if women with salient mother role-identities did not have other salient role-identities conflicting either with the mother role-identity or with the individual's interpretation of the constraints placed on her by the housewife role. For those with a salient mother role-identity such conflict might be expected to produce ambivalence towards the housewife role. For those
less committed to the mother role the result is more likely to be an outright rejection of the housewife role. Again the situation is complicated, since even though a woman is not committed to the mother role she may not be able to reject the housewife role. Various factors may prevent her from adopting an alternative role, including lack of training or marketable skills, lack of personal confidence, husband's attitudes, lack of suitable child care, or internalization of society's norms concerning the mother role. The selection procedure for this study precludes women who have actually rejected the housewife role. With those women who feel themselves forced to remain in the housewife role, it may not be possible to differentiate between those who are ambivalent towards it and those who reject it.

The salience of the mother role-identity is inferred from various indicators. The attitudes the women recall having towards the mother role before they actually occupied it are examined. The extent of their desire to become mothers and the nature of their expectations about motherhood are of interest.

The women can be classified into three groups on the basis of their desire to have children. The largest group consists of those who have always wanted to have children, and for some of them the desire for children was stronger than the desire for marriage. A second group viewed motherhood as something that was expected of them or something that would naturally accompany marriage. A third group admit they originally did not want to have children but later changed their minds.

For the last group the turning point took various forms. In a couple of cases it was an unplanned pregnancy. For others it was exposure to babies belonging to close friends or relatives. In a few instances the change was described as mysterious and sudden. As Mrs. Johnson explains it:
We suddenly decided we wanted to have some children. None of our friends had any. I don't know. People talk about maternal instinct and I suddenly had one. I just desperately wanted to have some children.

As can be seen in Table 3.1 the satisfied and dissatisfied housewives differ dramatically in their desire to have children. Satisfied housewives are fairly likely to portray themselves as always having wanted to have children while the dissatisfied women are evenly spread among the three categories. This indicates a fairly salient mother role-identity among the satisfied housewives even before they became mothers and much more ambivalence among the dissatisifed women.

| TABLE 3.1 |

Satisfaction with the Housewife Role by Desire to Have Children

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Satisfied</th>
<th>Dissatisfied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Always wanted</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would happen</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not wanted originally</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is a general, but not exact, relationship between the desire to be a mother and expectations held towards the mother role. These expectations can be taken to indicate the congruence between a woman's identity and her perception of the behaviour attached to the mother role. While nearly a quarter of the women report not giving much thought to what being a mother would be like, even while pregnant, most of the women can be classified as having negative or positive expectations, as Table 3.2 shows.
Positive expectations centre around the idea that being a mother will be easy and pleasurable. One woman's anticipation of it as a "big, warm, glowing, rich, rewarding, simple way of life" is a rather extravagant way of summing up the feelings expressed. The expected pleasure appears to be related to the nurturant behaviour involved. The sentiment of several women is reflected in the statement "I didn't think of them so much as children running around but as cuddly little babies". To those with positive expectations motherhood is viewed as an undemanding and natural activity. In general, they seem to have internalized the expectation that women should behave in a nurturant way, and they see motherhood as allowing them to act out such a role-identity.

Negative expectations centre around the hard work, loss of freedom, and the increased responsibility involved in being a mother. The woman with the most outspokenly negative expectations had had an unplanned pregnancy which she considered terminating. She recalls:

When I got pregnant I hated the thought of it. I was so put out because I'd only started a new job. I had no desire to be a mother whatsoever. Kids used to give me the creeps...I got the impression that it was going to be very demanding and that you would have to give up a lot of things so I guess that was what really put me off it. I used to see other women with children clinging to them, changing nappies and feeding it and having to care for it all the time - that didn't interest me. I thought I couldn't bear it.

In general, those with negative expectations towards the mother role reject the thought of being depended upon and see the demands associated with the mother role as conflicting with other important role-identities.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expectations Towards Motherhood</th>
<th>Satisfied</th>
<th>Dissatisfied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No idea</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Table 3.2 indicates the relationship between satisfaction and positive expectations is much stronger than that between dissatisfaction and negative expectations. Furthermore, two of those with negative expectations who are satisfied with the housewife role report that their expectations about motherhood were not fulfilled. They found it more pleasurable at an earlier stage than they had anticipated. Having become involved in playing out the mother role it seems they enjoyed the nurturant relationship more than they had foreseen.

Those dissatisfied with the housewife role did not necessarily approach the mother role with negative expectations. Again, there is evidence of much more ambivalence among the dissatisfied housewives. The tendency among this group to report having no idea as to what being a mother would be like indicates a reluctance to consider the implications that entering the mother role would have for their lives. Many of the dissatisfied women who had positive expectations towards motherhood found it to be more difficult and demanding than they had imagined. They did not seem to expect that it would interfere with the acting out of other role-identities to the extent that it did.
The most unusual dissatisfied housewife is Mrs. Buckland who had both negative expectations towards motherhood and a strong desire to be a mother. While she reports wanting to have a child even when she did not want to get married, she still expected motherhood to be:

Awful because you would always be tired, changing nappies and all this all day and you would not have any time for yourself. That's all you'd spend the rest of your life doing, looking after kids. But it did not worry me a lot because I knew I could cope.

At present, the mother role-identity is all important to Mrs. Buckland as she has no strong alternative role-identity. Being pregnant she married right after completing her education. Having never occupied a work role she cannot see herself in that light. Her remark, "I can't imagine myself being a typist or secretary. I think I was just cut out for housework and being a mother really" indicates her acceptance of a very circumscribed identity.

Further evidence of the ambivalence of the dissatisfied housewives towards the mother role is found in their tendency to postpone child-bearing after marriage. As Table 3.3 shows, half of the satisfied housewives had borne their first child by the end of the second year of their marriage while there is a much greater range for the dissatisfied housewives. The reluctance of the dissatisfied housewives to enter into the mother role may be partly related to an unwillingness to cut themselves off from the role support they receive from their occupational role-identity. But, it is somewhat more than that. Those who had delayed longest before having a child were not particularly enthusiastic about it but regard having a child more as something they would have to do. Mrs. Bell reports, "We decided if you didn't have them now, things would get too settled and too happy and you'd never want to upset it." She doesn't appear to have had a very strong investment in the mother role-identity before she took it on.
TABLE 3.3

Satisfaction with the Housewife Role by Length of
Time between Marriage and Birth of First Child

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year between Marriage and First Child</th>
<th>Satisfied</th>
<th>Dissatisfied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before Marriage</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 1 year</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 years</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 years</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 years</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Heretofore, it has been the salience of the mother role-identity prior to the actual occupation of the mother role which has been under consideration. The birth of the child brings to an end this period of anticipation and initiates a time of transition during which the women learn how to act out the role which they now occupy. Regardless of the prior saliency of the mother role-identity, for the first while at least, the mother role becomes a dominant and controlling feature of all the women's lives. As one woman describes it:

You age over night. I remember it was only a couple of weeks after I had him. I felt like an entirely different person and I felt about 40. That wore off but that was the immediate reaction. The responsibility suddenly crushes down on you and you feel ancient.

The intensity with which the transition period is experienced varies as does its length. For some women it took up to a year for them to feel comfortable with the child while for others it took only a week. Few of the satisfied housewives report experiencing much difficulty at
This contrasts with the dissatisfied housewives who are much more likely to have problems in adjusting.

Learning the mother role encompasses many aspects. One involves simply learning the physical skills of caring for a baby. All the women needed to learn to cope with this aspect. Another facet is the establishment of emotional involvement which does not automatically accompany the birth of the child. Some of the dissatisfied women could recall this process. As one says:

I settled down to trying to do the job efficiently and sometimes I used to think that I was a cold mother, just sort of trying to do the job. But gradually you become attached to it as a person, and you become more interested in the other side.

The process of learning to appreciate the "other side" of being a mother is well illustrated by the comments another woman made:

You have to make yourself aware of what's going on. Otherwise you can be so involved and so tired and so exhausted by just the physical things of it that you just get carried away with that side of it and your eyes become shuttered.... I think there's a lot in making yourself aware of what's going on. This is where you go into groups like the Nursing Mothers... but when you're so engrossed especially when it's your first, it's tremendously rewarding, it opens up your eyes. It just makes you more aware of things to look out for and how other people handle their situations and oh, there's so much that you can just accept and you know, handle without fully appreciating it. It's the same as everything, if you can enjoy things in depth...

Not only must one learn how to perform the mother role, but one must also learn how to cope with what accompanies the mother role. One important facet is the change in the basis for one's role support. Adjustment to this depends heavily on the relative saliency of a woman's mother and work role-identities. Where previously the mother role-identity was salient, occupying the mother role ought to be experienced as relatively easy and fulfilling. Mrs. Lally, the mother of an eight-months old child is a case in point. She thoroughly enjoys the mother and housewife roles and reports that, "I've got what I want - being a
mother". The transition to the mother role is more difficult for those with a strong occupational role-identity as Mrs. Turner, a teacher, describes:

I was pleased to be having a baby but quite miserable at the first day of school the following year (when pregnant). It was the first time for 21 years that I hadn't been back to school, and when I saw the kids going back to school I was a bit miserable. The first year when I had the baby, it was absolutely dreadful. I was so miserable, depressed. I didn't know what to do with myself. It was a very lonely year until I established new contacts.

Her lack of freedom in comparison to her husband:

used to bother me very much when I had just the one baby and I had 18 months of fighting myself and I used to get very cross at my role. Suddenly I was not anybody, I was just a nothing, just sort of a person to keep the house, mind the kids, wash nappies and that bothered me a lot.

She seems to have resolved her conflict by two means. First of all, she has expanded her housewife role to include various organizational activities which give her a "tremendous sense of achievement". Secondly, she has defined her own role as secondary to that of her husband:

Providing that you've got the sort of husband that stands by you and does not thwart you, I think you have a duty back to him to make sure that he's got a comfortable clean home and that you do not place any excessive demands on him particularly if he's got a very demanding job. ...You really play a second fiddle to him. This is my feeling at the moment while the children are little, certainly - almost secretary, mother, housekeeper, mate, sort of thing.

The experience of being a mother is not a unitary, unchanging thing. As we have seen, it changes as the mother adapts to the child. Other changes in the experience of the mother role accompany changes in the child which bring about a different type of interaction, and in turn, different role support.
While the baby is very young, the interaction is of a fairly limited nature, and the main kind of role support seems to be for nurturant behaviour. This may be more or less satisfying as the comments of two women indicate. Mrs. Lally finds satisfaction in:

the fact that you are entirely responsible for somebody.
If you go out of the room that's it, he's had it.
Knowing that he's dependent on you. I suppose it sounds a bit perverted but it's very nice.

On the other hand Mrs. Butcher recalls:

I found the responsibility of looking after a little baby all day, non-stop and all night a bit hard to take at first although I was real happy with it. But you sort of can't go out of the room and read a book or whatever you like because you've got to be there, since the baby needs you all the time. And I think I missed my own freedom and privacy just a little bit at the first, but I did notice I didn't have it.

For some women the baby stage is so satisfying that as one woman puts it:

I don't know how I thought they'd stay babies forever but it's a shame they don't sometimes. I wish they'd stay babies for a bit longer anyway.

While the child is a baby it seems to be more or less under their control. As it gets older conflict is bound to arise, and such women often find this difficult and distressing to handle.

Another group of women tend to enjoy being a mother more once the child gets to be two or three years old and past this extremely dependent stage. At this time the physical demands on the mother lessen. For those who feel this way, the ability to communicate with the child and interact with it more meaningfully is fairly rewarding.

In general, the stage from one to three years of age seems to give mothers the most concrete and daily rewards since the child is learning so much during this time, and the mother can easily see the results of her efforts. As the child gets older, however, the mother's sense of
accomplishment becomes more of a long-term thing and there is a
tendency for mothers to say they will wait to see how the child turns
out before they will be able to say whether bringing up children
brings them a sense of accomplishment.

Work Role

All the women studied had relatively "feminine" occupations with the two least usual being a woman who had worked in a radio station and one who had been an editor. Two of the women have never worked, though one had gone to business school and the other is now a qualified teacher. As Table 3.4 shows there is an inverse relationship between the level of prestige of the women's former occupation and their satisfaction with the housewife role.

TABLE 3.4
Satisfaction with the Housewife Role by Former Occupation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Former Occupation</th>
<th>Satisfied</th>
<th>Dissatisfied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Librarian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physiotherapist, Occupational</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Therapist</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurse</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretary - Stenographer</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical-receptionist</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No employment</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An explanation of this relationship requires an examination of the role-identities which these women attached to their occupational
roles. Not only does one's work role occupy a large segment of one's life while one is involved in it, but it has been assumed to be a major contributor to one's self-definition. The important characteristics of the occupational role-identity are: its salience, its content, and what happens to it after the role is abandoned. The content of the role-identity indicates the kind of role support the woman finds in this role and its importance to her identity as a whole. And, while it has been assumed that role-identities decay when the role is no longer being played out, if the role-identity does persist it can have serious consequences for a woman's acceptance of her new role. One would expect dissatisfaction with the housewife role to arise if an occupational role-identity requiring role support unavailable in the housewife role remained strong after the housewife role had replaced the occupational role.

Determining the salience of an occupational role-identity is not an easy matter. A woman's desire to work is not, in itself, sufficient evidence of a work role-identity, since other factors complicate the issue. On the one hand, a strong desire to work may not indicate a strong work role-identity but simply economic need. On the other hand, a weak desire to work may not indicate a weak work-role identity but one or more restrictive factors such as husband's attitude; too many young children; or lack of suitable job opportunities. Thus, no single factor is used to indicate a salient work role-identity. Instead, several dimensions are included in an attempt to give an over-all picture.

Since it is not easy for a woman to work while her children are young, working during that period is taken as evidence of a fairly strong work role-identity. Nearly half of these women have either worked or made a serious attempt to do so since their children were born.
TABLE 3.5

Satisfaction with the Housewife Role by Work History since Birth of Child

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Satisfied</th>
<th>Dissatisfied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Has worked</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has tried to work</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is about to work</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One can eliminate four of the six satisfied women from this table, since they clearly worked for economic reasons alone. On the basis of this indicator, it is obvious that despite becoming mothers, the work role has retained much more importance for the dissatisfied women than for the satisfied ones.

A second indicator of the salience of a woman's work role-identity is her intention to return to work.

TABLE 3.6

Satisfaction with the Housewife Role by Intention to Work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intention to Work</th>
<th>Satisfied</th>
<th>Dissatisfied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Works now</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Trying to work</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. May before children at School</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Definitely when children at School</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. May when children at School</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. If at all, when children much older</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Ambivalent</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Again, it is necessary to point out that four of the satisfied women (one in category 1, one in category 3 and two in category 4) plan to work at this stage for financial reasons only, while one dissatisfied woman in category 1 may be working for economic reasons. Most women do not intend to take on a full-time occupational role, but to combine a part-time occupational role with a part-time housewife role. As has been pointed out, various factors other than a salient work role-identity may be influencing women's intention to work. Nevertheless, the intention of the dissatisfied housewives to return to work more quickly is some indication of a more salient work role-identity.

The third method of classification considers both the strength of a woman's original work role-identity and the extent to which it persists. It is based on the women's evaluation of their work experience and on their work history before they had children.

TABLE 3.7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Satisfied</th>
<th>Dissatisfied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Strong work role-identity, remains</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Strong work role-identity, devalued</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Conflict about work role-identity</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Medium work role-identity</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Weak work role-identity</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Weak work role-identity, but one wanted</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Two categories may need further explanation. Category 2 means that although the work role-identity appears to have been strong while the woman occupied her work role, she has since devalued its importance to her in comparison to the other roles she now occupies. Category 6 means that while working the women either found very little to identify with in their work role, or they actually rejected the work roles which they occupied. Nevertheless, they acknowledge the importance of a work role-identity for themselves. One of the two dissatisfied women with a weak work role-identity never did occupy an occupational role.

Some illustrations of the various categories might be helpful in understanding how these women view their work role-identities. The pattern of devaluing the work role-identity is most interesting as it reveals the lowering of the salience of one role-identity after another role-identity has been adopted. This is not necessarily connected to an abandonment of the work role. Mrs. Small provides an example.

She worked at her most satisfying and most difficult secretarial job just before being married. Although there was a lot of work involved, she reports that:

after I learned all the ropes and everything it was really terrific. There was just so much about it. It was just so interesting because we followed the work through and there was just so much more to it than the normal secretarial job of just answering letters.

After six months she gave up this job to be married and move to Canberra where the job she took was:

not very exciting. And I think if I hadn't been thinking of having a family fairly soon I might have got a more stimulating job. I would have chopped and changed around a bit more but I felt I couldn't really do a difficult job if I was running a house as well. So I thought it was just fairer on my husband and boss to get something that was not too demanding.
Thus, even before she stopped working she was, in a sense, easing herself out of the work world by accepting a job requiring less commitment.

Mrs. Butcher, on the other hand, did not experience this gradual easing out of the work role-identity. For five years she worked as a clerk and reports that it was "interesting and the longer I was there the more interesting it got". However, she quit working when she got married because her husband did not approve of "working mums". At present she tends to depreciate the work role in comparison to her role as a housewife. She finds that being a housewife:

means much more to you because you're doing things for your husband and for your children. ...I know I was getting paid to but that doesn't make up for the rewards of being a wife and mother.

Though Mrs. Butcher had a fairly strong work role-identity while she was working, the role support from her housewife role has been enough to rearrange the hierarchy of her role-identities such that the mother-wife role-identity is now definitely the most prominent one.

All those who have devalued their work role-identity are satisfied housewives. The counterpart of this group, among the dissatisfied housewives, are those who never had a strong work role-identity but feel they ought to have one. Their failure to have had a satisfactory work role is experienced as a deprivation. Two of these women had been trained as teachers but hated teaching and switched to jobs in libraries. Neither of them has any definite idea of what she wants to do when she returns to work, but they both seem determined to find a fulfilling work role for themselves.

Another woman in this group has a strong work role-identity as a social worker which she has never been able to act out. Her real interest at university was not in the degree which she obtained but in
a diploma of social work which she planned to get afterwards.

Instead, on completing university, she married and took a librarian job because of its convenience and good pay "because I had to be the financial supporter of the two of us at that time". But, she also admits "we could have just made it on George's scholarship" so that her sacrifice of her work role in favour of the wife role involved more than just necessity. Now with two children under two years she sees little chance for pursuing her interest in social work for several years at least. She explains her spell of depression with the housewife role as "it's just that I didn't have a career and I felt quite a drop-out all around, that I hadn't achieved much and so forth". Her method of dealing with this appears to be by consciously putting more emphasis into the mother role.

The satisfied housewives with weak work role-identities express little interest in returning to work. They tend to display very little interest in the jobs they had held. Mrs. Newton's work history illustrates the lack of commitment to a work role which these women felt.

On leaving school she took on a role which she refers to as that of "country daughter" and which involved staying home and enjoying herself. Until her marriage she alternated between that role and an occupational one. The first two years were spent at home teaching herself to type and going to dress-making classes once a week.

Then I just got sick of doing nothing and decided to go to the big city, and then I got sick of that after awhile, too, plus the fact that my father was very ill, and there were younger ones at home - it was an excuse almost to come home again".

The following two years were spent at home helping her mother and then she worked for a year in each of two country towns. Then, home again
for two more years until her father died, and another two and a half years were spent working in a nearby town until she married and moved to Canberra. To her a "job was just a job" and she pictures life before marriage for girls who have no career and are "just working" as:

failing in time, an endless period of running around till you get married. You're sort of pursuing something - you're not achieving anything really. You're just going and going.

Asked if she were achieving something now she replied:

I suppose so, yes. I got what I wanted. I achieved that goal. I'm quite happy now just to be a housewife. As I say I've got a pretty good life now doing what I want.

While Mrs. Newton was not strongly committed to any of the work roles she occupied, she was unable to simply accept the country daughter role as a girl in similar circumstances might have done a decade or so earlier. Despite her expectations of following the traditional feminine path of marriage and a family, the traditional feminine role was inadequate for her before she occupied the wife-mother role, and she was constantly drawn back into a work role. Now she is quite satisfied and does not envisage herself going out to work until her children are at least 14 or 15 years old.

Mrs. Banks is one of the dissatisfied women who has retained a strong work role-identity. Following her Honours degree she worked as an editor and since having her baby she has done some part-time work at home. When not occupying any work role she finds that being a housewife becomes a "constant fight between what you've been trained for and what you're getting a chance to do each day". However, the part-time work compensated for this lack of achievement to some extent, and she enjoyed taking a finished job in to be discussed. Her work role-identity remains strong although she lacks a work role and this creates conflict for her as an occupant of the housewife role.
Mrs. Saha also identifies very strongly with her work role. For about a year prior to her marriage, she had enjoyed a stimulating and exciting job as secretary to a politician. As she describes it:

you don't lead a natural life, virtually work, work. People aren't cut out for it but I loved working there and I'd never regret it.

The advantages certainly seem to outweigh the disadvantages in her mind:

I suppose you're in the middle of it all there and you see a lot of people that you probably would never see and you speak to a lot of politicians, even the prime minister, and you see a lot of things you'd never see and I guess the travelling was great. And being terribly independent. For instance, I'd never have time to go to the bank and I used to carry my pay around with me and I'd have so much money on me and I'd go and buy three frocks and it didn't worry me. It was a tremendous life and no worries at all. I suppose I enjoyed that - being completely and utterly independent.

However, her marriage forced her to give up this job and neither of her two subsequent jobs were an adequate replacement. Being a housewife means considerable conflict and ambivalence for her.

I'm very selfish so I'd like to sort of be out working but yet I wouldn't. I'd like to sort of have the security and happiness that we've got here as well and you can't have both so I guess you've just got to settle for the one that you've got at the moment and try and make the best of it which I suppose we're trying to do.

Mrs. Saha's description of her experience in her work role seems decidedly at odds with traditional feminine role expectations. Her occupation of this role seems to have altered her self-expectations such that it is very difficult for her to accept the passive and limited role which she associates with being a housewife. It should be noted that she is the only non-professional person among those who have a strong and persistent work role-identity. Professional women also seem to have self-expectations which conflict with the behaviour
involved in the housewife role, but in their cases there is probably more of a joint effect created by both the self-expectations which led them to choose a professional work role and the rewards which they experienced in that role.

The greater tendency to work since having a child and the intention to return to work sooner which dissatisfied housewives display is evidence that they have a more salient work role-identity than those who are satisfied with the housewife role. However, as Table 3.7 shows, while actually occupying a work role the two groups of women are equally likely to have either a strong or weak work role-identity. One can differentiate between the two groups only by their attitudes after leaving the work role. Satisfied and dissatisfied women also differ in the nature of the satisfaction they obtained from their work roles. Examining the criteria they used in evaluating their former jobs reveals the kind of role support they valued in their work roles.

One of the most important criteria both groups of women use in evaluating their former jobs is contact with other people. On the one hand, this could be seen as evidence of the importance of the affiliative need for women. On the other hand, contact with people may assume greater importance once a woman is in the housewife role, since a major effect of occupying the housewife role is being cut off from the ready contact with people which the work role almost always provides. It may be that:

Lopata analyzes the relationships that a housewife maintains -- with her husband, children, parents, in-laws, friends, neighbors, repair men, shop clerks, children's teachers, children's friends, doctors, and so forth -- until the mind grows dizzy with the complexity of it all. (Johnson, 1972:33)

The fact remains however, that most of these relationships are of a very superficial nature. Those relationships which are not superficial, such
as with parents or friends, may not provide a very stable source of role support, since interaction may take place infrequently. Thus, the only reliable and non-superficial sources of role support which the housewife has are her husband and children. And, the nature of the role support which she can receive from her children may be very different (depending on their ages) from what she would receive in a work role. Nor is it enough to say that the most important factor for all women in evaluating their work role is contact with people, for the type of contact they value differs for the two groups. What is important to the satisfied women is the chance to meet people and the fact that their co-workers are pleasant. The dissatisfied women mean something more than this when they refer to the contact a job provides. They emphasize the importance of being able to establish communication and meaningful relationships with others. While the different terminology could be dismissed as due to class differences, it is important to note that there may be more opportunity for simply meeting people and chatting to them within the housewife role than there is for developing the deep relationships which the dissatisfied women seem to desire. Nevertheless, for all women the housewife role limits the variety of the sources of role support they receive, and loneliness is one of the most frequent complaints women make about being a housewife.

The women also differ in the type of role support which they see the work itself as providing. To the satisfied women the important things seem to have been whether the work was varied or routine, whether there was enough to keep them busy and whether the boss was fairly easy going. A good job was one which was not too routine and did not involve sitting around pretending to work but which also did not have too much pressure from the boss. Such demands can easily be met by the housewife situation.
The dissatisfied women, however, look for much more in their job. They want to feel that others acknowledge their efforts and they want to see themselves accomplishing something. One woman found that while her work required a lot of effort and left her feeling overtired the "wonderful feedback" and being able to see "positive results" made it all worthwhile. Another woman described teaching as giving a "tremendous feeling of having achieved something" which to her was more "tangible" than the rewards she experienced as a housewife. It seems that the dissatisfied women are more likely to have internalized a need for some kind of achievement than the satisfied women, and the housewife role provides relatively little opportunity for such role support. As one of the dissatisfied women, Mrs. Bourke, replied when asked what teaching gave her that being a housewife did not:

Fulfilment of me, an actualization of myself that is just me and not connected with them. For me it has to be something separate. I have to be a person in my own right and although I suppose I could say I am a person, my husband would say I am...I guess really it is not enough. One needs to have other people see you in this role and to identify you in this other role apart from the one in the home where you are all conglomerated. People see me as Frank's mother and Joe's wife. I want to be me.

Nurturant behaviour does not provide enough role support for her. Independent and achieving action is important to her identity.

From the preceding analysis one might expect that the transition from the work role to the housewife role would be a rather difficult experience. Very rarely, however, was such the case. Among the satisfied women there was a tendency to regard being a housewife as a pleasant haven from work, although some of them did experience loneliness at first. Most of the women did not stop working until about the sixth month of their first pregnancy, and some went on much later into their pregnancy. In many cases they were also involved with moving into a new house. Thus, most women were distracted from the problems one might...
expect them to experience in switching roles by the business of setting up a new home and preparing for the arrival of their babies. Only after the novelty of these events wears off does dissatisfaction with the housewife role begin to set in.

Educational Choices

The negative relationship between education and satisfaction with the housewife role is even more clear-cut than the relationship between occupation and satisfaction. (See Table 3.8)

TABLE 3.8

<table>
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<th>Satisfaction with the Housewife Role by Education</th>
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<td>High Education</td>
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<td>Low Education</td>
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One could base two separate arguments on this data. One would be that something in the experience of obtaining more education produces dissatisfaction with the housewife role; that is, education may change the expectations which a woman has as to how she should behave. In turn these new expectations may be incongruous with the ones attached to the housewife role.

The second approach which could be taken is to ask what is it about these women that caused them to want less or more education? Does this same factor contribute to their satisfaction with the housewife role? Does their educational choice reflect something about their perception of themselves, especially in relation to the feminine role, that could
be affecting their approach to the housewife role? Such questions will frame the analysis in this section.

In general, it seems that the satisfied housewives had already internalized the traditional feminine role, especially the non-achievement aspect, by the time they were involved in deciding whether to continue their education. As a result, for some of these women there did not appear to be any decision required or even possible.

One group of satisfied women picture themselves as conforming to the expectations of others, either parents or the community at large. One example, Mrs. Newton, reports that her sole ambition while at school was to:

> get out of school and stop at home and run around, the country daughter sort of thing. In those days a lot of country girls did this. The thing to do was stop at home and run around.

Not all felt they were expected to stay at home. Some responded to expectations that they follow traditional feminine occupations such as nursing or secretarial work.

The desire to achieve, which is necessary for success in the educational system, appears to be absent in many of the satisfied women. The women express their reasons for not continuing as laziness, dislike of school or studying, and obtaining marks which were too poor to allow them much choice. While an observer might label these women "failures", they do not see themselves in that way. They did not enjoy the academic side of school and were only too glad to get away from it having already rejected achievement-oriented behaviour for themselves.

A few of the satisfied women do report higher educational ambitions for themselves which they had not been able to fulfil. One example is Mrs. Butcher who had wanted to become either a teacher or a nurse. Because of her poor academic record she was unable to become a teacher,
and while waiting for the nursing call-up she took a clerical job with the government. However, on being accepted for nursing training she refused the chance, because it would mean living away from home, although in the same city. In this instance, a family role-identity triumphed over the desire for more education.

While Mrs. Butcher did make a choice to limit her education, other women perceive very few options open to themselves. Mrs. Fielding felt herself limited by a combination of factors. She remembers being interested in becoming a journalist or a lab assistant. Since she did not receive a very good leaving pass, and because she was living with her brother in a country town, there were few vocational opportunities open to her there. A prime motivating factor for her was to escape from this situation. Her brother would agree only if she went to some kind of protective environment.

Nursing was ideal for that because you have to live in a nurses' home. I wanted to do nursing simply because I discovered there wasn't much else to do. If I lived with my parents, I would've had a lot more scope in seeking employment.

By late adolescence many of the satisfied housewives had fully accepted the traditional concept of the feminine role including little interest in achievement. The few who were still interested in continuing their education were prevented from doing so either by themselves or by the definition of others of what was appropriate for a girl. Only two of the satisfied housewives made positive educational decisions and acted in a relatively autonomous way.

Mrs. Jones, although she did not have any clear plans, refused to settle into a traditional feminine role. Brought up overseas but uninterested in putting down roots in her native country, she rejected the possibility of attending university after matriculation. Rather,
she seems to have embarked on an identity search as she studied languages and travelled around. As she reports, "I just sort of felt my way around. I wanted to see where perhaps I could stay put". Instead of allowing herself to be bound by a set role, she opened herself up to various possibilities.

Mrs. Fox is the only satisfied housewife who falls into the high education category. Interestingly, she displayed the most initiative of all the women interviewed in making her educational decision. Before choosing an occupation she organized herself to spend a day with an occupational therapist, a physiotherapist and an almoner respectively. Her school counsellor's disparagement of her final choice only strengthened her determination to stick to her decision. Such initiative and independence is atypical not only of the women interviewed but also of the traditional passive behaviour expected of girls.

While both satisfied and dissatisfied women may under-achieve or conform to the expectations of others, the satisfied women seem much more accepting of what happened. The dissatisfied women may reject the expectations others place on them or, at the very least, resent the pressures to which they succumbed.

Mrs. Irwin, one of the dissatisfied women with low education, presents a classic example of having been subjected to conflicting expectations by the same person. Her father, a scientist, at first encouraged non-feminine behaviour in her but when she wanted to take up a non-feminine career he promptly squashed her ambition.

He did encourage me when I was a child which was probably why I got interested in the first place. He used to take me to the laboratory and show me things and I had crystal gardens growing at home. He was a bacteriologist and I can remember going to the lab and peering down microscopes. Even at secondary school he'd bring a microscope home periodically and we'd look at the local slime from the gutter. So it was really quite odd that when the time came and I was talking about doing it he was rather cold on the
idea. I think he thought – he was brought up to think you got to university and you met someone and you were just trained or half trained and you got married and you left and that was the waste of a career so why do it. Why not get some training that didn't take so long but you could do something with? It was a very Victorian attitude.

She reports that "We were fairly close in the family, and I was the only child but I did not really like fighting. I wish I had". Instead she diverted her ambition into travelling. She decided business college would prepare her for a job that would enable her to get overseas and rejected her father's suggestion that she become a teacher. After working for three and a half years she spent a marvellous time travelling for two years. However, she later regretted not fighting her father's prejudices. "I'd say I was really sorry especially when I returned from my trip overseas. I then found there wasn't anything else to work for."

While Mrs. Irwin was forced to conform to her father's expectations of the feminine role, she certainly seems to have experienced conflict in doing so. Two of the other dissatisfied women also report considerable pressure from their parents to follow proper feminine pursuits. Mrs. Barnes became a physiotherapist, because it was a good thing for a girl of her social standing to do. Mrs. Johnson's mother urged her into teaching rather than medicine because of the practical advantages of being able to combine it with her future roles of wife and mother.

A few of the dissatisfied women did actually reject expectations that they behave in the traditionally feminine way. Mrs. Brett could have married her steady boyfriend at the end of high school but rejected this course in favour of going on to university. For her "it was almost something I had to do to prove myself". In fact she was the only person from her year at a country high school to complete university.
Somehow, then, she had internalized an achieving role-identity although it was not strong enough to allow her to carry out her plans once she entered the wife role.

Mrs. Turner, also, rejected her father's wishes that she leave school after fourth form to do a business course because "there was no sense in educating women. The woman's role was in the home and that was it". She had a "battle and a half" to be able to go to university and perhaps some of it was against herself. She admits that "I was very much caught up in my background. I've never envisaged myself breaking that background". Thus, not only did she experience conflict between herself and her father but also within herself as she rejected the traditional feminine course.

A pattern of under-achievement is also evident among the dissatisfied women. But, for those who did not do well in high school, there was an awareness that others expected them to do so which the satisfied women did not express. Mrs. Graham and Mrs. Morgan were both unable to become teachers as they had planned because of poor performance in school. Mrs. Graham reports:

I was basically lazy I suppose and didn't apply myself to the correct subjects so even though I was capable of better things I didn't.

And Mrs. Morgan remembers:

My report at school was something like 'Mary can do better but doesn't try' and I used to think they were all mad because it seemed to me I couldn't do better.

Furthermore, by going into nursing she was again contradicting expectations others held for her. She remembers her headmaster telling her, "You can't go nursing, its the last card in the pack". Both these women then were aware of expectations that they should achieve and
were aware that they had failed to do so. It seems that this lowered their assessment of their own ability. This is especially obvious with Mrs. Graham who on inquiring about becoming a nurse's aide was accepted into the nursing course instead. She did not seem to realize she was capable of anything more than the menial job of nurse's aide. Both these women went into nursing without any great sense of vocation and were surprised to find themselves enjoying it. For them, their educational experience served to bolster their self-esteem.

One general conclusion can be drawn from an examination of why these women made the educational choices they did. Those who are satisfied to be housewives had accepted a limited definition of the behaviour appropriate to them, in line with feminine role expectations. Therefore, they experienced little difficulty in making their educational/occupational choices. The dissatisfied women, on the other hand, had not internalized a limited feminine role-identity before making a decision about education. In many cases their decision to continue their education reflects an achievement orientation. To do so, some of these women had to reject expectations that they accept a traditional role. Others gave up their achievement orientation under duress and experienced conflict in doing so.

Expectations and Identity Switches

The process of dealing with the expectations directed towards one so that a relatively integrated pattern reconciling these various expectations can be worked out is difficult to portray by presenting snippets from various women. Therefore, this section attempts to illustrate the process by examining the life history of one woman in some detail. Her decisions and the inferences that can be drawn from them are of special interest.
Mrs. Glasner describes her decision to go to university as "a rare thing in those days, particularly for a girl. There were eight men students to every two women students so naturally we'd have a good time". Having gone to a girls' school she describes herself as:

just wanting to get out into the world and have a look at the other sex...I wanted to go because I really thought that it would be a good life more than anything else.

Being the youngest child and having parents over sixty at this time, she felt that she was "very spoilt, very sheltered and knew nothing about anything, terribly naive" so that going to university meant a chance for her to break away from her background. Her father's reaction she reports as:

a little bit sceptical, thinking well you really haven't got the brains or the application to go to the university and I said 'oh well it didn't really matter'. You know I was determined to go. I wanted to do some study. I think I finally had grown to the point where I wanted to do some studying and I couldn't bear the thought of going to secretarial school and working in an office.

However, at the time she had only a short-term motivation. Much by chance she decided to study science.

I really didn't know what I was going to do with this science degree. I had no idea what-so-ever. I didn't really have any vocational plan at all and university just seemed to be a good thing.

It is not surprising, therefore, that being at university did not resolve her dilemma about being a woman. Although she found studying "terribly interesting and I just loved the things I did, but it was such a monumental amount of work for which I wasn't really adequately prepared". She had to work very hard and three times tried to:

break away from it - once to do dental nursing, once to do physiotherapy and once to do some job cutting tissue sections. Each time I couldn't quite break away from it because I really did enjoy this life. ...I had interviews and did all the necessary things but just couldn't bring
myself to take this break away from this university. I think I had perhaps the freedom there that I didn't have before.

She resolved her conflict momentarily at the end of second year by getting married and going overseas with her husband.

At the time I just think I got to the end of my tether as far as the family went. I just wanted to break away from this very smothering existence and this seemed, I think, to be a good way to do it. I was madly in love with this fellow.

Eight years and three children later she enrolled in teachers' college. This she found:

a tremendous breakaway. It was just fabulous, I just loved it. It was such, almost a luxury, to put on something respectable and get into a car and drive to the teachers' college even though you were probably treated like babies. That didn't matter, the fact of just getting out of the house was terrific.

She enjoyed meeting people, doing units she would not have chosen to do and "found it terribly satisfying to sit for exams and get 98% when I'd only ever got 50% for anything in my life". The first year combining housework and studying "just worked out". The second year she "started to get very neurotic and wondered if I had diseases all over me and I was just terribly nervous and very tired, and wasn't coping at all well". Becoming pregnant in the middle of the year "made things even worse. But somehow I finished it off".

Many paradoxes are evident in the story as we have heard it so far. In one sense by going to university she was acting against the traditional expectations for feminine behaviour in that she was pursuing an achieving type of behaviour. However, at the same time a good part of her motivation as she describes it was decidedly feminine in that she was seeking interaction with men. Her three attempts to break away from the university indicate real ambivalence on her part.
towards her desire to achieve. Ultimately, the traditional feminine role won out as she rejected the student role-identity in favour of that of wife. Momentarily, at any rate, the conflict was resolved for her, and she was very quickly plunged into the mother role for which she was scarcely prepared. It was quite some time before she partially broke out of the mother role to turn again towards the student role. Again, the result was conflict as manifest in all sorts of psychosomatic symptoms. The resolution took the form of another pregnancy which again shelved the whole issue for awhile.

Since then she has been unable to find employment, although she is on the relief teaching list. The contradiction in her recent moves is even more striking. In one sense she has irrevocably removed the hold the mother role has on her by being sterilized. This she reports to be "the best thing I've ever done in my whole life". However, the other decision she made involves entering more whole-heartedly into the mother role. Recently she:

made a very definite decision that the up-bringing of the children was mine. It was my responsibility and I would make the decisions that were there. Since I made that decision life has been so much better. It is like you made a decision and therefore you work for that decision all the time. I never ask for help in this way at all. Since I have done that the rewards from the children's attitudes have been very satisfying. It has made a tremendous difference to them and to me and in fact to the whole family.

Although the children are allowed a lot of freedom, she is:

the controller and this is very satisfying. I don't feel 'oh curse, I've got to get home by half past three to do something for someone'. No, I enjoy it because I know if I go into it enjoying it that the response from the child will just be overwhelming, just so terrific compared to what it was before and that's really worthwhile.

Her deliberate shift of emphasis towards the mother role is proving satisfactory at the moment. However, since the youngest child
will be at school full-time within the next year and a half, her solution cannot be a long-term one. While she has a variety of outside interests "I keep telling myself that this isn't enough and I need to have something that's somehow more concrete, perhaps only two and a half days a week". Her situation is not that different from many women in that she wants to work part-time but few appropriate jobs are available. She is very hesitant about taking on a full-time work role lest it interfere with her mother role and create too many pressures for her. "Oh, I just know that my health or something would crack up and I'd just get too emotionally involved".

We have seen to some extent how Mrs. Glasner dealt with the conflicting expectations which she experienced as a woman and how she has vacillated between an achieving role-identity and a nurturant, affiliative one as she has moved through life. While she is in a somewhat settled state at the moment the solution she has found is not totally satisfactory and is not likely to be a permanent one.

In general then, a consideration of mother and work role-identities distinguishes between satisfied and dissatisfied housewives. The mother role is fairly salient among satisfied women while there is more ambivalence towards the mother role among the dissatisfied women. Satisfied housewives tend to reject the work role even if they had enjoyed it while occupying it. The dissatisfied women have a much stronger occupational work role-identity even if they did not enjoy the work role they had occupied. Women who are dissatisfied with the housewife role experience conflict between the expectations that they should achieve as well as display nurturant behaviour.

Such a conflict does not appear to affect satisfied housewives mainly because they do not expect themselves to achieve. Before becoming housewives they had less education and less prestigious and
demanding occupations than the women who are dissatisfied as housewives. On the one hand, the educational/occupational experience of the dissatisfied women appears to have influenced the kinds of role support and rewards they expect for themselves. On the other hand, even before finishing their education, the dissatisfied women appear to have been encouraged to expect themselves to achieve while the satisfied women did not have this expectation. Thus, the satisfied women appear to be more accepting of the traditional feminine role. The process of dealing with the conflicting expectations which dissatisfied women experience in the feminine role is illustrated by a case history.

Footnotes - Chapter 3

1. The prestige rating is according to my own assessment.

2. High education includes those who have done some courses at university or teachers' college. Generally they have received a degree or a diploma. Those who have no post-secondary education or who have gone to business college, technical college or nursing training were included in the low education group.

3. Educational choice refers, in fact, to the woman's educational/occupational choice since the decision she makes about her education is usually closely related to her occupational plans.
CHAPTER 4

FREEDOM AND RESTRICTIONS WITHIN THE HOUSEWIFE ROLE

We have seen the effect women's expectations about themselves have on their satisfaction with the housewife role. This chapter takes a slightly different perspective and examines how the women's interpretations of the housewife role influence the freedom they experience in that role.

The freedom that an individual has to shape his own role performance depends to some extent on the nature of the role. Roles set in rigid organizational structures allow relatively little scope for individual re-definition. The housewife role, on the other hand, seems to offer the potential for the individual to define the role according to her priorities. Among the women interviewed, there was almost universal consensus that one advantage of the housewife role was its "freedom to do what you want". The phrase "it depends what you make of it" was often used to describe the housewife role. Paradoxically, the women also agreed that being a housewife means one is tied down, mainly through the mother role.

It is this paradox which shapes the focus here. How is it that the same role can be seen as providing opportunities for freedom and also experienced as very constraining? Neither freedom nor constraint are necessarily built into a role. It is assumed that all women experience the housewife role differently, and through their interpretations of the role expectations they act to trap or free themselves.

The chapter is essentially descriptive in nature and aims to show what possibilities and restrictions these women find within the housewife
role. Constraints related to the husband are considered first, then the effects of the housekeeper and mother roles are examined. Finally, the ways in which the women expand their behaviour beyond the bare minimum demanded of a wife, mother and housekeeper is discussed.

**Effect of the Husband**

Theoretically, there are several reasons why the husband should serve as an important force in determining the housewife's behaviour. As he is probably the main adult with whom she interacts, he is the one most able to evaluate her role performance. Taking place as it does in the context of the marriage relationship, this interaction is likely to be of great importance to the wife since she needs his emotional support. Therefore, a woman is likely to alter her behaviour, if necessary, in order to continue to receive role support from her husband. The general tendency of women to defer to men makes it even more likely that the husband's standards rather than the wife's will prevail. This would apply both to the way in which the woman performs the housewife role and the way in which she expands her behaviour beyond the housewife role possibly to include a work role.

Her husband's willingness to participate in household activities could contribute much to a woman's sense of freedom in the housewife role. This may depend to some extent on the number and age of children in the family, as these factors may affect the constraint that a woman does experience. However, upon examining the husband's participation, we find there is virtually no difference between the satisfied and dissatisfied groups. While slightly more of the dissatisfied women would like their husbands to do more around the house, this does not seem to be very important to either group of women. Typically, the man is seen as doing enough by providing the family with an income.
TABLE 4.1

Satisfaction with the Housewife Role by Husband's Participation in Household Activities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Satisfied</th>
<th>Dissatisfied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Does very little in house</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limited help only</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generally helpful or regular duties</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A lot of help</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Consideration of the husband's attitude to his wife's working reveals that the husbands of dissatisfied housewives are more likely to encourage their wives to work than are the husbands of satisfied housewives.

TABLE 4.2

Satisfaction with the Housewife Role by Husband's Attitude to his Wife's Working

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Satisfied</th>
<th>Dissatisfied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quite favourable</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does not mind</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not now - okay later</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quite against</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No data</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It seems then that the husbands of the satisfied women are perceived as more restraining than the husbands of dissatisfied women. It is
important to note that this is only the wives' perceptions of their husbands' attitudes. The women may be representing their husbands' attitudes as consistent with their own. Certainly they tend to portray their husbands favourably with only one woman reporting her husband to be fussy about how she keeps house. Others depict their husbands as fairly easy-going, particularly in comparison to the fussier husbands of their friends.

Considering the limitations of the data, it does not seem possible to draw any conclusions about the husband's part in determining his wife's behaviour.

**Housekeeper Role**

Of the many expectations attached to the housewife role, those involved in the housekeeper role are the easiest for the occupant to redefine. Basically it is a support role which, in itself, does not involve emotional interaction with others as do the wife and mother roles. Thus, the duties involved could more easily be defined out of the housewife cluster by assigning them to another person. Alternately, depending on the woman's ability to set her own standards, she may be able to reduce her housework to a minimum. This could happen only if she herself does not have very strict internal standards for housekeeping and if she is able to free herself from worrying about the opinions of others.

Although the minimal amount of effort needed to keep a family functioning may be somewhat greater if there are small children, usually far more than this minimum is actually done. One factor encouraging this may be the efforts of the advertising world to promote new products which, in turn, raises the norms for home cleanliness. For a "house-proud" woman or one who is sensitive to the expectations of others,
housework becomes an unremitting pressure. There is always something that could be cleaner, and housework indeed becomes "an endless struggle without victory over dirt" (DeBeauvoir, 1952:425).

Some of the women interviewed in this study experience housework in this way. In general, however, they appear more able to reject the image of a perfectly immaculate house than that of a perfect mother. Many report being able to let the housework go to some extent since they are not "house-proud". Also, as one spends more time in the housewife role one may become less subject to exterior controls as one woman married nine years reports:

When I was first married, I used to worry because I couldn't keep it the way I wanted it to be and how I thought other people would expect it to be. But it doesn't worry me now... I used to be very conscious of what other people thought about my house when they came in and saw it untidy or saw toys all over the floor. ...Probably I suppose I got a little bit older so I wasn't quite so conscious of making a good impression on everybody.

There is considerable variation among the women in their attitudes to housework and in the amount of time and energy they devote to it. Some, viewing housework as of minimal importance, deliberately limit the time they spend on it and are proud of their efficiency. Others hate housework and therefore limit the demands which they allow it to make. A few enjoy doing housework and derive a sense of accomplishment from it. But, there are many who appear to be partially submerged under the demands of housework. The following comments from various women serve to illustrate the attitudes held towards housework.

All the other jobs (other than mother) I just look at them as jobs to be done. Someone has to do them and I try to do them as efficiently and quickly as possible. There's a sort of cut-off point. I don't go overboard on them. I gather I'm fairly slapdash from conversations with others.

Just the actual looking after a house, the whole paraphernalia there, there's nothing in it for me. ...In
general, in about two hours I can get it all done.

I don't think I really make housework a drudgery but I get things done and don't muck around and Mum thinks that I do a lot more than I should do. ...I enjoy cleaning silver, making it look nice - the joy you get out of doing just that. It's whatever you make of it and personally I don't find housework a drudgery unless you've got something interfering and they're pulling out something you're trying to do. That's when I get really frustrated because you just do something and it's all mucked up again. With a clear go I can get it done very quickly. ...I always think if I die tomorrow they wouldn't find it too frustrating going through and sorting everything out because everything is really in shipshape order.

Even if you didn't have kiddies there is still a full-time job to do around the house but you can't spend your time doing housework all day. There will always be tomorrow and the next day so you go out and leave it.

It's never really finished. ...I do sit down purely because I feel that, you know, I have some rights too... Possibly by 1 o'clock in the day I do have a chance to sit down and read for half an hour but then I know I have to get on with it. Otherwise it's this, that and the other thing won't be done, you know.

Regardless of their satisfaction with the housewife role, nearly all the women describe housework with adjectives such as repetitive, boring or time-consuming. Although the end product may give them some sense of satisfaction, doing housework is usually not seen as enjoyable. The ease with which their work is undone and the fact that it must be re-done the following day are common complaints. Thus, it seems that some of the previous findings of general dissatisfaction with the housewife role may result from a conceptual blurring of the housewife and the housekeeper roles. (Workingman's Wife is an example of this).

While the satisfied housewives do not appear to be any more enthusiastic about housework than the dissatisfied women, they do seem to accept it more and to be less resentful towards it. They "do it because it has to be done". As one woman describes it:
I don't know that there's anything I really dislike about it. I think it's the fact that you're home and that's your part in the marriage to keep it going. You know that it's your part of the bargain and that it's up to you to get it done. You've grown up knowing, right, that's virtually the woman's role.

Some of the dissatisfied women are really caught by their attitudes toward housework. Unlike the previous woman, they do not accept it as woman's role yet they are unable to free themselves from society's expectations that a woman should do housework. Mrs. MacDougal expresses the dilemma. She says she would be much happier if someone else attended to the housework. The only way she feels this could happen would be if she got a job and then "perhaps" she could get somebody in to do the housework. Her husband is "always" telling her she should get someone in now, but:

I don't really feel justified in doing that because I'm not really fully occupied otherwise. I suppose I could spend the time, more time on the children, doing activities with them. If I were working outside the home it seems there'd be more justification in getting somebody else to work in the house.

The only alternative she perceives to spending time on housework is spending more time on the children despite her statement later in the interview that by having children "one gives up a tremendous amount for quite a few years and that I'm doing nothing really for myself at the moment". She also expresses the need "to get away by myself sometimes and just be myself and you can't with a family". Yet, she does not feel capable of flouting the societal norm that everyone should do "useful work". She cannot accept the possibility offered to her by her husband of cutting out the housework aspect of her role and using the time to pursue her own interests or to do something "for herself".
Mrs. Bourke expresses a similar attitude.

When I'm at home I feel I must do it (housework). Otherwise, if that's taken away from me I can't even say I'm capable of doing that. As unrewarding as it is, I feel I must do it if I've got no other job”.

Thus, women trap themselves into doing housework by their need to justify themselves and do something. The pressure of external expectations combined with those they have internalized, place them in this double-bind situation, where they neither enjoy their housework nor feel free to break away from it.

Mother Role

Just as a woman's mother role-identity is important to her satisfaction with the housewife role, so her interpretation of the expectations attached to the mother role is important in determining the constraint she experiences in the housewife role. The mother role is performed with very little direct supervision, and few external sanctions can be applied. Largely, a mother's role performance depends on her internalization of appropriate standards, although other people are not without influence. A child, through its reactions to the mother's behaviour, may exert considerable control, for example, by crying until it is picked up. Neighbours, relatives and the views of 'experts' are other sources of control which may reinforce or alter a mother's standards.

The women interviewed certainly have accepted the importance of the mother role and the responsibility involved in it. The result may be confidence as expressed by Mrs. Barnes:

It was my own choice. I didn't want anybody else to do it. I was breast-feeding and having a natural birth and wouldn't have it any other way. I was very keen on bringing the child up naturally, breastfeeding it as long as I could and not handing it over to anyone else to look
after. It was vanity I suppose - I was too proud. I thought I could do a better job than anybody else could. In the early stages I just feel no one could be as good as me.

Or it may be the anxiety which Mrs. Morgan describes:

Mostly I think I'm an utter failure. I'm constantly comparing myself with other women, thinking, 'oh goodness'. Yesterday a friend met me outside the pre-school and she had had a little girl there for the morning and she said 'I feel awful, I haven't done anything with them this morning. I usually try to do something constructive when my child is at pre-school'. I immediately came home and it's been worrying me ever since. I think I never do anything constructive when I have children in to play. I'm constantly worrying myself and plaguing myself as to whether I'm being as good a mother as I should. I find a constant source of torture in the articles that I read in the Woman's Weekly and the Woman's Day about stop being a nagging mother and I read all of those faithfully and usually find food for a little more self-torture.

The importance and responsibility society attaches to the mother role could be expected to create a certain amount of anxiety. This, in turn, is likely to encourage women to try to conform fairly closely to their perception of the standards for mothers' behaviour.

The interest here is in the ways in which women feel constrained by the mother role. Because roles are created by interaction, they all must involve some degree of restraint. In addition, the mother role involves some particular constraints. Obviously, young children are dependent and require some kind of care, but to separate the biological needs of children from the elaborations which any society adds is not easy. Much of what is regarded by a society as natural and necessary for the child is, in fact, the social construction of that society. One such basic assumption in Australia is that the mother is naturally suited to child care and is the obvious person to accept responsibility for it. This is reflected in the division of labour within the family resulting in the woman being automatically
responsible for the familial role and the man for the occupational role. The result of this social structuring is that the restrictions involved in the parental role fall much more heavily on the woman than on the man. As the following comments indicate, some of the women definitely resent the restrictions they experience as a mother in comparison to those placed on a father.

I hated having the responsibility of children, they really kept you tied down. And it was ghastly because I think men get a great deal. My husband is virtually completely independent really still. I suppose he has responsibilities but he can sort of finish work at 4:30 and then say he'd like to go out and have a drink and of course he's free to go whereas I can't just say to Samuel (her child) 'Right you can go do what you'd like, I'm going out'. I can't do that. That I begrudged terribly and really hated it. It still gets me down, that part - that I can't just walk out whenever I want to and go and do something.

The husbands who relieve their wives of the responsibility for child care at night or on weekends are the exception. In general, the father assumes a very limited responsibility towards the children, consisting mainly of the more pleasurable aspects of interaction such as playing with them. For many women, then, the responsibility of child care is unrelenting, although they do not necessarily experience it as oppressive.

While the allocation to the mother of such total responsibility for the children does not necessarily restrict her to the home, it does mean that any spontaneity of action is forfeited. A woman can still get out if she organizes someone to care for the children or if she takes them with her. For some people such obstacles can become just too much. Others see it as fairly important that they overcome them.

I just think that you have to have the cheek to ask people to have the children. I've never felt that they shouldn't be left with anybody. As long as people are prepared to leave their children with me I'm delighted to have them and sort of swapping arrangements are very much in order.
I think it's good for the children and absolutely essential for me.

Those who solve the problem by taking their children with them find such a solution less than satisfactory, as the children may detract substantially from the pleasure of the outing, as Mrs. Fielding describes:

You've got to get used to not being able to sit down and enjoy a cup of coffee and smoke, or whatever, and you've got to get used to someone scrambling all over you and demanding to have that drink and interrupting you and you've got to be up chasing after the kid, to save someone's ornaments.

According to the way in which society is presently structured there are few ready alternatives to the wife caring for the child full-time. The traditional alternative has been the extended family and the help which it provides. In Canberra not many women have extended families, hence, this support is not available. Institutional child care is the substitute for the extended family towards which contemporary society seems to be moving. And, while more institutional care may be available in Canberra than in other parts of Australia, it appears to be far from adequate and can scarcely cope with the demands of working mothers. Very little structural support is available to the woman at home.

External restraints such as these are embedded in the structure of society and are, therefore, relatively difficult for any one woman to combat. By contrast, the extent to which a woman has internalized a restrictive mother ideology is more dependent on her. If she can become aware of the unnecessary restraints which the ideology imposes on her, she may be able to take steps to reject them. It is, therefore, important to examine various aspects of the mother ideology which these women hold.
Attitudes towards child care centres are the first consideration. These women report using such centres regularly only when working or in a couple of cases to allow the child the company of more children, that is, for the child's own good. They are unable to justify the use of a creche to enable the mother to have some time for herself and her own interests. The women share the belief that once one has a child one must accept the responsibility involved. "Farming out" the child is interpreted as avoiding one's duty. Even those women who might contemplate leaving their child to go to work do not feel justified in doing so simply to allow them some time away from the child, as the comments of the mother of an 18 months old child illustrate.

At this stage I wouldn't really put him in a child care centre. There does not seem to be much point. I can sort of see it later on when it is sort of pre-school and preparation for school but when I'm having another baby and I know I'm going to be here I might as well. Though at the same time you need a break. This is the big thing and I keep thinking I should put him in a centre but it costs money to do it and if you haven't anything specific to go and do it seems a bit pointless. There isn't anything other than work I would need it for unless I did a Continuing Education day-time course. If I had some hobbies that I was committed to, painting or something, then. Any other things I could do, like going to the library - I really can do it in the weekend or the evening.

Without a "good" cause in the form of some structured, and therefore socially acceptable activity, she cannot justify making herself the freedom to do as she pleases. The need for privacy and for some time to oneself is not sufficient justification for the use of child minding facilities.

The use of institutional care on a casual basis is more widespread and acceptable, though here the permissible rationale is usually limited to shopping or a doctor's appointment rather than simply allowing the mother time to herself. No doubt, the expense and
difficulty of obtaining such care contributes to the women's reluctance to use it frivolously.

The general taboo against the nuclear family accepting help from others is another restriction on women's acceptance of substitute child care. The motive underlying the various reasons offered for not asking others to care for the child seems to be a reluctance to become "beholden" to others and an insistence on, and even pride in, managing on one's own.

Another set of restrictions involve the notion of what is "good for the child". In some cases the result for the mother is similar to Gulliver's being bound by the silken cords of the Lilliputians. There are a whole host of things which a baby "must" have, usually concerning eating and sleeping, which can prevent a mother from pursuing her own activities, particularly outside the home.

The increasing popularity of breast-feeding creates one such tie, especially when it is adopted in conjunction with a demand-feed philosophy (feeding the child when hungry rather than on schedule). The result may be that the mother is unwilling to leave the child with anyone else lest it wake up and cry and it could not be fed. On the other hand, breast-feeding should make it much easier for the mother to take the child with her, since there are fewer complications about feeding the baby. The dictates of modesty may make the mother reluctant to be this free.

The other main problem in taking a child along is an unwillingness to disturb its routine, especially with regard to sleeping. Some mothers feel that they cannot take a sleeping child out or that they cannot go out if, during that time, the child will need its afternoon sleep which it can only have in its own bed. Not all the women allow themselves to be tied down in this way. One woman with two children only three months apart still managed to go to tennis. "I put a pram each in the car and
took off". Thus, the obstacles related to the needs of children need not be insurmountable if the woman has the will or the energy to overcome them.

Part of the limitations women attribute to children may be simply due to their inexperience as mothers. The resulting insecurity causes them to "stick to the book" fairly closely. Many mothers report being more relaxed with their second child and being able to devise ways of getting around some of these restrictions. Having gained more confidence in their own ability to judge what is appropriate, they are less concerned that disaster will ensue if a rigid regime is not followed.

The extent of the restrictions which children were allowed to create varied considerably. A few women were willing to employ some casual child-minding help. Others became involved in child-swapping arrangements to allow them some time to themselves, although occasionally this time was spent in getting some housework done in peace. For all women the freedom to participate in extra-housewife activities depends on making some arrangement for child care. The ease with which this is accomplished and the anxiety which accompanies the arrangements varies. As one woman remarked when reporting her family's disapproval of the placing of her three-year-old in a kindergarten every day because she felt he needed social contact, "Quite often you don't know when to feel guilty and when not to".

There are many things about the mother role, then, that can swallow up the freedom these women attribute to the housewife role, including their expectations as to how a mother ought to behave and the actual physical problems involved in arranging for children to be left or in taking them along. Examples of the limitations created by motherhood for two of the women follow.
Because of her children, Mrs. Butcher has sacrificed two of her own interests - pottery and squash. She was "really upset" about having to give up pottery, but she was worried about how the babysitter was treating the children.

I don't think it's any good for me to go and worry if the kids are alright sort of thing.

She gave up squash, since it was at 9:30 in the morning, and she found she was unable to get there at that time.

I have to wake the kids up and the rush you go through it's not worth it or I found it wasn't worth it.

In her case, it is her concern about the well-being of her children and her unwillingness to deal with complications which prevent her from pursuing her own outside interests.

Mrs. Bourke's mother ideology circumscribes her whole life and not just her activities outside the home. She centres most of her day around the children's needs and demands.

They need your attention so constantly that to be able to read is difficult. I wanted to be able to speak to them because they can't learn to communicate unless you can communicate with them, so I always wanted to be ready to talk to them, read to them and help them with anything they needed to when they wanted it. Now as they're older I'm really starting to insist that some things I do I'm doing and they'll just have to wait if they need me. I found that to be ready for them I'd do little bits and pieces that could be dropped.

Of all the women, Mrs. Bourke placed the most emphasis on her self-needs; time to herself and some accomplishment of her own apart from her family. Yet, the demands which she places on herself as to how she ought to behave so the children will get a good up-bringing prevent her from pursuing her own interests. She has become quite hemmed in and says:

When I really want to escape I go down to a toilet we have downstairs for five minutes. No one's caught on to that yet.
Expanding the Housewife Role

What are some of the ways women use whatever freedom they find in the housewife role? In order to make some sense out of the variety of activities reported, they were categorized according to the type of role support which they seem to provide as well as according to their relation to the housewife situation.

Most women had some activity which came into the category of "involvement with people beyond the family circle". The expressed purpose of the involvement included a wide range of activities: contribution to the community (volunteer work or politics), intellectual or creative stimulation (courses, drama, choir), physical stimulation (sports, exercise, yoga), visiting or organizational activities, school or pre-school support activities or bridge. It is very likely that the extent of such extra-familial involvement is inflated for this group of housewives as compared to all housewives, because they were all selected from some kind of organized activity. Those who were selected from a coffee club were the least likely to participate in any other activity outside the home, while nearly all those who had been chosen from a Continuing Education class had another outside activity as well.

A second category is based on expectations attached to the housewife role. These are things which all the women must do, but they were seen as part of this category only if the person mentioned this as something she enjoyed doing or spent a lot of time on. In particular these are activities which are more certain sources of role support. Spending a lot of time with the children is one such activity where role support can be obtained through the interaction. Cooking and entertaining are the other activities included, since a woman could get praise for her talents from them. Since it does not seem to provide an opportunity for similar role support housework is not included in this category, although
a few women did seem to spend most of their time doing housework.

A third category consists of activities which are traditional feminine pursuits but which produce some kind of permanent result in contrast to housework. Sewing, gardening, knitting, crocheting, and interior decorating all come into this category.

The fourth category also consists of activities resulting in permanent creations, but these activities have not been traditionally associated with the housewife role. Included are painting, flower-making, leatherwork and all types of handicrafts. The sense of having created something is the important thing which women gain from these activities.

The final category includes various interest activities such as reading; watching television; listening to the radio; letter writing; attending art exhibits, films or theatre; writing; and listening to or playing music. These are all activities which one can do alone. While some of them may be regarded as time-fillers rather than as sincere interests, they were grouped together as things which the women enjoyed doing and could do on their own.

Table 4.3 compares the way in which satisfied and dissatisfied women choose to extend their roles. The figures represent number of activities chosen in a given category divided by the number of women in that particular group (satisfied or dissatisfied). Satisfied women tend to choose traditional housewife activities to supplement the housewife role, while the dissatisfied women are more likely to choose activities involving contacts outside the home. This appears to reflect the greater acceptance of the feminine role by those who are satisfied to be housewives.

Satisfaction in the housewife role comes mainly from the mother role or from the ways in which the women expand the housewife role. According to
TABLE 4.3

Satisfaction with the Housewife Role by Type

of Role Extension

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Role Extension</th>
<th>Satisfied</th>
<th>Dissatisfied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Involvement</td>
<td>1.56</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rewarding, housewife</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional, housewife</td>
<td>2.01</td>
<td>1.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crafts</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interests</td>
<td>1.56</td>
<td>1.65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

one woman, "the most satisfaction comes from the more creative and lasting things like wall-papering or making a dress for the kids". Another woman enjoys taking a group for creative drama at a local school one afternoon a week.

It's almost the highlight of my week. It's just so enjoyable that they create a bit of life for me.

However, these extra activities are not necessarily experienced as satisfying. Some find themselves coerced into activities and committee work they are not really interested in. Mrs. Irwin finds:

I don't have enough time for all that I should really be doing, especially in a new area with schools and pre-schools wanting help with fund-raising, a lot of meetings, things like that; not things I'm particularly involved with. I think there are things I'd prefer to be doing, even associations I'd prefer working for, but one feels one has to do a certain amount. I seem to be madly involved. It's very hard to say no sometimes.

Another woman is "not altogether happy with the kind of contribution" which an organization she is involved with makes. She feels she would rather have a job than involving herself in volunteer activities. For her it need not be a paid job but:
something more like that than just a 'do on your own' type of job...something outside the home which you go somewhere else to do.

However, some women need the recognition of being paid as well as that of being involved in a structured activity outside the home. As Mrs. Bell sees it:

I don't think voluntary work is a substitute...I feel what I do has got to be a contribution, seeing it in economic terms, to society. I'm not so bothered about making a contribution to the Exchequer in the home. That's not really very important for us, but I've got to be able to feel that what I'm doing is of value to society, and I can't get that feeling if I'm working for the Red Cross or something.

And, while on one level the women may enjoy their outside interests, Mrs. Barnes sees hers as performing a pacifying kind of function.

Really I've followed up interests but they're more forms of escape and I haven't really had the courage of my convictions and that's long ago to put Jack's name down for a child care centre and got out of the house and either found part-time physio work or started this writing in the library in a concentrated, effective effort. It might be a different story. I've really rather hedged and let organizational activities raise me up out of my boredom and help me through.

The freedom which women prize in the housewife role can be difficult to cope with, as Mrs. Bell describes. While she admits that it "should give you a lot more flexibility" she finds that:

being a housewife makes you lazy, makes your mind lazy.... There's no pressure on you to do things and I find it very difficult to settle down now to do any sort of consistent reading or even writing letters. I think, oh well, I'll do it tomorrow. There's always something that doesn't require a lot of effort so it makes you sloppy.

The freedom resulting from the lack of structure in the housewife role can be fully taken advantage of only if the housewife is able to be self-directed and to take the initiative. Mrs. Turner found that she was able to get over her resentment of the housewife role once she was able to take action.
I decided that things have to be done so we started a hobby group. We used to meet once a month and do crafts. I took an adult education class. Things like this. I decided it was no use sitting at home feeling sorry. I would just have to get out and do something. When they started pre-school I got on the committee there and now I am helping my husband with a business venture. It just gradually expanded.

And, as Mrs. Barnes explains:

You have to make a concentrated effort to keep up or find interests outside the house. It's very easy to let it go and to slip and then you find really you're not thinking very deeply about anything. There have been many stages when I went through this, not caring - a feeling of being irrevocably trapped and bogged down.

Her efforts to get out have resulted:

Only because I realized what's happening and I make a concentrated effort and think 'Heavens, this is not living' so I go out and join another group or find another outlet or make one positive move to pull myself out of the doldrums and get out of the house. It's up to you really, nobody can help you. It's very hard if you're not the person whose got the spirit or the strength to do it. Or if your commitments are so great, five children under the age of seven, so you can't really find your way clear to swim out of the morass. I can understand housewives who want to and yet are simply unable to.

Again, it must be emphasized that it is a limited group of women who experience such conflicts and problems with taking the freedom supposed to be associated with the housewife role. Many of the women are content to potter around the home, and as long as they have some friends they find the housewife situation quite satisfying.
1. In this regard it is interesting to note the finding that "Women in roles against their preference were usually supported by their husbands in their wish to change roles as the situation permitted" (Arnott, 1972:682). Further she reports that "The influence of husband's attitudes was unquestionable, yet it did not generally seem to have the impact that self-concept had on role-involvement" (1972:683). In this study the husbands reported their own attitudes.

2. The limited nature of the data available on the husband must be pointed out. Obtaining adequate data on the marital relationship would have involved a considerable extension of the interview schedule. As a result, only a few questions directly concerning the husband were included. Secondly, the husbands themselves were not interviewed. While doing so would have provided much more information on the effect of the husband on the woman's performance of the housewife role, it would also have compounded the complexities of data collection and analysis. Such a strategy seemed beyond the scope of this study.

3. The 36 women had few close relatives in Canberra:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relative</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married brother</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband's parents</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband's sister</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Summary

The basic question motivating this study was "What is it that makes a woman satisfied with the housewife role?" Data was obtained from thirty-six Canberra housewives, each of whom had at least one child under five years of age. It must be emphasized that limitations in sample selection allow no generalizations about the extent of dissatisfaction among housewives from this study to any larger population. However, it is likely that the characteristics of dissatisfied housewives in this study are shared by dissatisfied housewives in general.

Previous studies generally agree that housewives are dissatisfied with their situation. Some of these studies have been concerned particularly with highly educated women (Friedan, 1963) and have revealed much discontent. Where the women studied come from a more heterogeneous background, it has been suggested that more highly educated women are more capable of coping with the housewife role. While Gavron (1966) does not point out any difference between middle and working-class women in their dissatisfaction with the housewife role, she does find middle-class women more able to deal with the problems involved in becoming a mother. Similarly, Rainwater et al. (1959) find middle-class women to be more competent, but not necessarily any happier, in the housewife role.

Lopata (1971) suggests that satisfaction and creativity within the housewife role increase with increasing education. However, a little-known finding of Komarovsky (1962) suggests that college-trained women show more dissatisfaction with the domestic role than working-class wives.

These studies have been concerned simply with the connection between
satisfaction and the housewife role. They have not considered the effect on satisfaction of women's expectations towards either the feminine or housewife roles. Two studies do begin to look at this question. Arnott and Bengston (1970) find that women who experience a sense of being deprived of esteem and respect in the housewife role are more likely to add on another role such as student, volunteer or worker to the housewife cluster. Lipman-Blumen (1972) concentrates on the sex role-ideologies of a group of women and the sources and effects of these ideologies. She relates contemporary sex role-ideologies to alienation from one's parents during adolescence and to a perception of the mother as being dissatisfied with the feminine role. However, she finds that women with a contemporary ideology are as satisfied as women with a traditional ideology with the wife and mother roles, although they are less satisfied with the homemaking role. Thus, there is some evidence that one's expectations towards oneself affect how one will behave in the housewife role. On the other hand, Lipman-Blumen's findings suggest that satisfaction with the housewife role is not related to one's ideology about feminine behaviour.

The results of the present study contradict the suggestion that all housewives are dissatisfied, that satisfaction increases with education or that satisfaction with the housewife role is unrelated to one's self-expectations.

Satisfied and dissatisfied housewives were found to differ in some fairly clear-cut ways. Dissatisfied housewives, in general, have:

- higher education, typically some form of tertiary education;
- relatively prestigious occupations requiring initiative and autonomy;
- a history of working or trying to work since the birth of their child;
- an intention to return to work much sooner than satisfied housewives.
Satisfied housewives share the following characteristics:

- a lower educational level (only one had a tertiary education);
- relatively routine former occupations;
- a rejection of work since they have become mothers unless it is financially necessary;
- a tendency to have their first child soon after marriage.

In general, satisfied women were more positive in their expectations about motherhood and in their desire to have children. A significant number of dissatisfied women could recall not wanting to have children. About half of each group were satisfied with their work experience. However, on leaving work the satisfied housewives who had enjoyed working tended to devalue the importance of the work role. In contrast, the dissatisfied housewives who had not had a satisfactory work experience still regarded obtaining one as an important objective. The dissatisfied housewives who had enjoyed their work experience continued to regard work as important to them while the satisfied housewives who had not enjoyed work had no interest in returning to it.

The results were interpreted within the framework of role theory focussing on the concept of role-identity. The interaction between the feminine and housewife roles was seen as important. It has been suggested that the conflict associated with the feminine role is due to expectations that a woman should display achieving as well as nurturant behaviour. The present structure of society makes it difficult for women to reconcile these two expectations. Two segments of a woman's identity which correspond to these expectations are the work role-identity and the mother role-identity. Women in the housewife role have subordinated the work role to the mother role. However, their hierarchy of role-identities is not necessarily the same. The results of this study have been interpreted as indicating that satisfied women have much more
salient mother role-identities than work role-identities. Dissatisfied women do not necessarily have weak mother role-identities. Some of the dissatisfied women are very involved in the mother role and find it to be important and enjoyable. However, their work role-identity is also salient, in contrast to the satisfied women who tend to have weak work role-identities. Thus, for satisfied women there is a congruence between the expectations society holds towards the housewife role and the expectations which they hold towards themselves. For the dissatisfied women there is an incongruence. One of their salient role-identities is not being supported as they play the role of housewife.

This situation seems to have existed at the time when the women were making their educational/occupational choices. It appears that by that time the satisfied women had internalized a limited identity for themselves which was consistent with traditional feminine role expectations. In contrast, the dissatisfied housewives showed signs of identifying with expectations that they achieve, although their response to such expectations differed. Some were able to conform to achievement expectations without experiencing any opposition. Others could follow achievement-oriented behaviour only after overcoming expectations that they limit themselves. A third group either chose to reject such expectations or perceived themselves as under pressure to reject them.

The view was taken that occupants shape roles rather than simply play them according to a script. With this in mind, the ways in which women interpreted the housewife role were examined. It was found that most women reported the housewife role as giving them freedom while also seeing it as tying them down. Therefore, consideration was given to the extent to which society's norms and structures restrict housewives; the ways in which women "trap" themselves through their role-making; and,
conversely, the ways in which they free themselves by rejecting norms and re-defining roles.

The constraints involved in the housewife role tend to result much more from the women's internalization of society's norms rather than from any explicit controls enforced by society. The norms associated with housework appear to be easier to re-define or to reject than those associated with mothering. The restrictions related to the mother role are due both to social structure and to the ideology which the women have accepted. The social structure produces restrictions in that it places the main, unremitting responsibility for child care on the mother. The restrictions resulting from a mother ideology result from the mother's anxiety about child-rearing and her efforts to comply with her notion of 'what is good for the child'.

The freedom involved in the housewife role allows women to shape it to suit themselves. In general, the way in which the housewife role is extended reflects a woman's concept of the feminine role. Satisfied women are more likely to expand their activities through traditional housewifely activities, while dissatisfied women are more likely to seek involvement outside the home. However, it may not be easy for women to take advantage of the freedom available in the housewife role because of the restrictions involved in being a mother and because of the difficulties involved in initiating activity without the support of a highly structured role.

Here it is interesting to contrast Lopata's conclusion:

Increased education, income, and freedom of lifestyles are facilitating an expansion of role conceptualizations beyond the prior restrictions. The modern housewife is very likely to define homemaking as extending into the community, mothering as utilizing all societal facilities to expand the world of the young, and wifehood as many-leveled involvement in the various social roles of the husband. ...the same woman is the most likely to think of
self-expressive and creative roles for herself and to feel obligations to the society and the community in which she functions. She gives the impression that the role of housewife provides her a base for building a many-faceted life, an opportunity few other vocational roles allow, because they are tied down to single organizational structures and goals (1971:373).

Lopata portrays the housewife as being much more independent of social norms than the women in this study were found to be. Those women who have accepted the expectation that one ought to achieve do not seem to be able to reject this social expectation. They do not feel they can be really satisfied without a socially sanctioned work role. It is only the women who still accept the traditional feminine role expectations that are able to find satisfaction in leisure and/or non-work activities.

While it must be admitted that the housewife role does have the potential for creativity which Lopata suggests, there are obstacles preventing such potential from being fulfilled. One is the difficulty involved in constantly originating behaviour, an ability which society fails to encourage. A second obstacle is the high value which society places on "work", making it difficult for some housewives to justify their non-working status to themselves. Constantly being on the defensive discourages the self-assurance necessary for creative role-making.

The devaluation of the feminine role in society seems to be related to the presently accepted "definition of the situation" requiring women to give precedence to maternity rather than to work. Despite the importance placed on the contribution of maternity towards the continuation of society, work is usually accepted as having greater value. This is reflected in what one is paid to do and the generosity of the payment. The assumptions of those investigating the feminine role reflect both sides of this question.
On the one hand, we find:

My hunch, and it is no more than that, is that there is a phylogenetic inheritance that makes maternity the most fulfilling role for women, at least when children are young (Bardwick, 1971:211).

Alternatively, Friedan suggests that work is "the giver of self...the creator of human identity" (1963:290). Acknowledging that work is not necessarily to be equated with a job, Friedan does propose that women "can find identity only in work that is of real value to society - work for which, usually our society pays" (1963:301). In holding such a position, she fails to consider the scarcity of "work that is of real value" in our society. While the majority of men do not have such work, the number of women to whom it is available is miniscule.

Thus, the attitude of society towards the housewife is closely related to society's attitude towards work. And, of course, women occupying the housewife role cannot remain unaffected by the attitudes of others towards them. The dominance of middle-class values makes it appear that one's worth and one's identity is derived mainly from one's work role. While this may be changing, there are few socially sanctioned alternate sources of identity. Again, this may be a middle-class phenomenon. Nevertheless men are forced to retain an occupational role while women have some element of choice. The process of choosing brings with it conflicts and ambiguities. Housewives, as defined in this thesis, have a subordinate, if existent, work role and while they have young children it is difficult for them to return to the work role without experiencing internal guilt and external social pressure.

This dilemma raises various problems. Can the way be eased so that motherhood can be combined with achievement-oriented behaviour for those who want such a life-style? In such a social climate, can other women
continue in the nurturant and home-centred housewife role without feeling that they are parasitic and unproductive? In short, can the present restrictions on the feminine role be loosened without forcing all women into another mould?

Recommendations

Two changes which would obviously benefit housewives with young children are increased opportunities for part-time jobs and increased facilities for child care. The part-time jobs need to be commensurate with the woman's skills and abilities. For those women who want to work, more child care facilities are needed on a regular basis. For those who do not want to work, more casual child care would be helpful to allow them to pursue their own interests. Re-training would also be helpful for those who want to brush up on old skills or learn new ones. Some women would also welcome an improved calibre of television and radio programs during the day. Such proposals are neither new nor particularly startling though there seems to be no rush to implement them.

Perhaps one new idea is worth considering. The difficulty women experience in taking advantage of their freedom because of inertia has been pointed out. Some women also commented on the lack of information about job opportunities and re-training programs. A structure similar to the Baby Health Centres could be set up. Located in each suburb, possibly sharing the Baby Health Centre facilities, there could be centres concerned about the well-being of women. While there are presently organizations such as the Woden Community Service, the unique and essential thing about this service would be that the people involved would call on all the women in the area as the Baby Health sisters call on mothers of new babies.
The centres could be staffed by local women who are interested in working outside the home. While the administrative staff would probably need to be paid, the visiting staff could consist of volunteers. The objective of these visitors would be to discuss the individual's particular situation with her and to be alert to how it might be improved. For those who express an interest in working, the staff would provide information about job and re-training opportunities, as well as the availability of child care facilities. For those not interested in working, the visitor could concentrate on assessing their interests and putting them in contact with neighbours or organizations having similar interests. Beyond this, the centres could act as sources of further information and support if the women later felt a need for it.

The importance of some such structure whose express purpose is to take the first step and to reach out to the women of Canberra cannot be underestimated.

Footnotes - Chapter 5

1. Rosenkrantz et al. (1968:290) derived a set of stereotypes differentiating men and women according to behaviour, attitude and personality. When these items were rated according to their social desirability, 70% of the male stereotypic items were found to be valued by both male and female respondents while only 30% of the female stereotypic items were so valued.
APPENDIX I

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. Could you tell me about all the jobs you've had since you left school? Do you see yourself as having a career? What made you decide to be a (occupation)?

2. How did you feel about these various jobs? (follow up each one in turn)

3. When you first stopped work how did you feel about stopping work and staying home?

4. How do you find being a housewife now? What are its advantages, disadvantages?

5. What things do you think a housewife is expected to do?

6. What do you think most people think about housewives?

7. How does being a housewife compare with (your former occupation)?

8. What words would you use to describe a housewife's job? Would you say it is: Demanding interesting gives you a sense of accomplishment

9. Would you want to change places with your husband? Why would this be?

10. Would he want to change places with you? Why is this? Who do you think is easier to satisfy - you or your husband?

11. About housework in particular, does anyone help you with it?

12. What do you enjoy about it? What do you dislike about it?

13. What does your husband do around the house? Are there things he won't do? What about changing nappies; getting up in the night When you are both home who disciplines or plays with the children?

14. Would you like your husband to do more things around the house? What kinds of things?

15. How long does it take you most days to finish your housework?

16. Of the things you have done in your life which have you enjoyed most?

17. Do you manage any time during the week that is strictly for yourself and your own interests? Could you tell me about the things you are interested in? Do you have any hobbies?
18. Do you find time for reading? What kinds of things do you read? What have you read lately? About how much reading would you do in a week?

19. Under what conditions would you be willing to work full or part time? What would you look for in the job itself?

20. If you could get a job where you could take your child along would you want it?

21. How would your husband react to your going out to work?

22. What sorts of things did you consider doing before you got married?

23. Have you always wanted to get married? Have you always wanted to have children?

24. Before you had a child what did you think being a mother would be like?

25. Did it turn out the way you expected or is it different?

26. What changes are there in a woman's life once she has children?

27. Does bringing up children give you a sense of accomplishment? In what ways?

28. Could you see being a mother as a career for yourself?

29. Do you think your life will change once all your children are in school? In what ways?

30. Does a pre-school child need its mother to be constantly present? Would you be willing to leave your child with a competent child minder? How frequently do you think would be all right? For how long at a time? At what age did you first leave your child? What kind of child minder are you willing to use? What about a creche or Occasional Care?

Here are some statements. First I would like to know if you agree or disagree with them and then we can discuss them.

31. Being a mother is an important and satisfying activity. What is important about it? What are its satisfying sides? Its unsatisfying sides?

32. One of the worst things about taking care of a home is that a woman feels she can't get out. Have you ever felt this way?

33. Children will get on any woman's nerves if she has to be with them all day.

34. A mother must expect to give up her own happiness for that of her child.

35. Woman's life is a series of compromises. Who has to make more compromises, a woman or a man? What kinds of compromises have you had to make?
36. Do you ever wonder about being a successful mother? What kinds of things do you look for to decide whether you are?

37. Are your children different from what you expected them to be like?

38. Many people would like their children to be different from themselves in some way. How would you like your daughter to be different from you? And your son? What would you like your daughter to be when she grows up? Your son? Is there anything you would not like them to be?

39. Of the people you know who would you say you admire most? What is it about that person that makes you admire him/her? Tell me about him/her.

40. In general do you think single women are happy? In what ways do you think their lives are different from yours?

41. Here is a 5 pt scale which goes from lots of freedom to very little freedom. Could you tell me where you think these people are on this scale? Single woman, married woman without children, married woman with preschool children. Single man, married man without children, married man with preschool children.

42. Married couples arrange financial responsibility in many different ways. What do you and your husband do about this? Does it seem like a satisfactory system to you? Do you have a set amount for housekeeping? How is this amount decided on? What about when you were buying furniture, the car, the house? Who decided how much you should spend and what you should buy?

43. Here are some salary ranges. Could you tell me in what category your family income falls.

44. If you and your husband were not getting on who would you talk to about it?

45. With whom do you spend most of your spare time?

46. Would you like to see more of your relatives? How often do you see them? Do they live nearby? And your husband's relatives?

47. How many of your neighbours have you met?

48. How many do you help i.e. advice, babysitting, lending? What kind of help does this tend to be?

49. How many help you?

50. How many do you know fairly well? Would you like to know more of them?

51. How many of your female neighbours work?

52. How many close friends and acquaintances do you have in Canberra. How did you first meet them? How often do you see them?
53. Would you like more friends? What about closer friends?

54. How often would anyone (friend or neighbour) drop in during the day?

55. How often do you drop in on someone else?

56. How often do you go out alone at nights? Weekends?

57. How often does your husband go out alone at nights? Weekends?

58. How often do you and your husband go out together at nights? Weekends?

59. How often do you find your time at home boring? Lonely?

60. Do you belong to any organizations? Which ones? How often do you attend meetings? Do you have any responsibilities? Which do you most enjoy belonging to? What do you get out of belonging to it?

Now could I get a few details?

61. Age?

62. Length of time in Canberra?

63. Do you have a religious affiliation? How often do you attend services?

64. Schooling and specific training?

65. Husband's occupation?

66. What advice would you give to mothers staying home with young children?

67. Taking all things into consideration about being a housewife, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with it?

68. Have you read any things by Women's Lib people e.g. Greer, Friedan?

69. What do you think of Women's Liberation?

Questions 47 - 51 coded: all, most, some, few, none.
APPENDIX II

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

TABLE 1
Satisfaction with the Housewife Role by Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Satisfied</th>
<th>Dissatisfied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20-21</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-26</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27-28</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29-30</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-32</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33-34</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-36</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean Age</td>
<td>28.88 years</td>
<td>29.25 years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 2
Satisfaction with the Housewife Role by Number of Children

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Children</th>
<th>Satisfied</th>
<th>Dissatisfied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 &amp; pregnant</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 3
**Satisfaction with Housewife Role by Age of Youngest Child**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age, Youngest Child</th>
<th>Satisfied</th>
<th>Dissatisfied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 1 year</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-2 years</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-3 years</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-4 years</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 4 years</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 4
**Satisfaction with Housewife Role by Age of Oldest Child**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oldest Child At</th>
<th>Satisfied</th>
<th>Dissatisfied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-School</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 5
**Satisfaction with Housewife Role by Husband’s Occupation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Satisfied</th>
<th>Dissatisfied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional *</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University teachers or</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>researchers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Servants</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tradesmen</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computing</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* architect, engineer, accountant, lawyer
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Satisfied</th>
<th>Dissatisfied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$3000-$5000</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$5000-$6500</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$6500-$8000</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$8000-$9000</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$9000-$11000</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over $11000</td>
<td>1*</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Not sure - either this category or preceding one.*
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