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Fathers and Children

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A Thesis

in

The Department

of

Sociology and Anthropology

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the attitudes of 28 middle class fathers in Montreal, in 1984, with respect to the socialization of their sons and daughters, and in particular to their differential socialization by gender. The three principal findings of my research are that fathers believe they differentiate very little between their sons and daughters, that is, their attitudes are egalitarian. Secondly, there is a considerable discrepancy between what they say and what they do. Thirdly, a comparison with a similar study conducted by Aberle and Naegele in a suburb of Boston in 1952 suggests that the attitudes of middle class fathers have changed substantially over the last one-third of a century.

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INTRODUCTION

The idea for this thesis germinated from a 1952 study by David Aberle and Kaspar Naegele entitled "Middle Class Fathers Occupational Role and Attitudes Toward Children". The focus of this paper was the relationship between the male adult middle class occupational role and the father's orientation in socializing his children. In this thesis, therefore, we are comparing fathers' attitudes in Canada in 1984 with fathers' attitudes in the United States over thirty-five years earlier. Although the original study was based on American data, I feel that a comparison is legitimate as there are so many similar socialization practices in our two countries.

Socialization may be defined, following Aberle and Naegele as "the process of inculcating in individuals the skills, traits, and value attitudes associated with the performance of present or anticipated roles" (Aberle & Naegele, 1952: 366). Parents in every society aim to raise their children to become adults conforming to typical adult roles, which facilitates integration into the social system. Thus child rearing to a large extent is future-oriented (Ibid).

This 1952 study of 20 middle class fathers' attitudes towards their children found a large differentiation between their expectations for their sons and daughters. Without exception, for example, fathers desired college training for their sons. Although the majority also planned a

college education for their daughters, it was always recognized that because of her unwillingness or an early marriage these plans may not materialize. They expected that their sons' future occupational position would be middle class. Those fathers who even discussed their expectations for their daughter's future occupational position, viewed a career "only as a possibility". Most preferred that they marry or expected them to, and for the rest a career was outrightly rejected. Only two of the twenty fathers interviewed had working wives. These fathers felt that it was important for their daughters to know how to earn a livelihood. However the character traits focused on in a son are the symbolic manifestations of those traits conducive to their future success in their occupational positions. This calls for an athletic aptitude symbolizing the ability to be "properly aggressive and competitive", a sound school performance, and a display of initiative and emotional stability. For daughters "marriage is the primary hope and expectation" and an "occupational career is not taken seriously" (Ibid: 373-4). Thus, the character traits fathers viewed as desirable included being "nice", "sweet", pretty, affectionate and well-liked. Paternal satisfaction was also derived from good school performance and moral sexual behaviour. Qualities possessed by daughters in lesser amounts than sons, such as athletic ability and aggressiveness, and greater amounts such as "more tearful and emotional" did not bother fathers. On the contrary, these would enhance rather than hinder the expected feminine role.

Aberle and Naegele thought that there was reason to believe that

shifts in socialization patterns would occur, (though not necessarily immediately) when adult experiences came under the impact of major change (Ibid: 367). It will be shown that a major change in socialization patterns has occurred between 1952 and the present, and that middle class fathers' attitudes towards their children have concomitantly changed.

This research shows that changes have indeed occurred in the dominant sex role ideology as well as in the economic and social structures. These transformations have produced greater equality and less sex differentiation in fathers' expectations and aspirations for their sons and daughters. However, this research also reveals that behaviour is not always consistent with ideology and expectations.

Chapter one introduces the research procedure, the methods of data collection, and the operationalization of the major concepts.

The second chapter sets the stage for changes in fathers' attitudes based upon the demands for a change in the existing social and economic structures. The element for modifying the existing social order was the Woman's Liberation Movement (WLM). The chapter defines the WLM as a social movement, and describes its middle class origins and goals. The impact of this movement has dramatically affected women's participation in the labour force, higher education, and non-traditional occupations. The ubiquitous changes sought initially by middle class women have had an effect on the ideology, and altered the attitudes of middle class fathers.

Chapter three reviews the existing literature on the effect of middle class women's increased labour force participation on fathers' household

participation. Several predictors and determinants of middle class fathers participation in housework are investigated.

The fourth chapter shows how the structural- functionalist approach of Parsons reflected in Aberle and Naegele's study no longer is in accord with current social values regarding "fathering". Included in this chapter is a review of the literature on fathers' sex role differentiation in the 1970's and 1980's and how aspirations have changed since Aberle and Naegele.

Chapter five presents and analyzes the variables which are set by the 1952 study in order to ascertain the changes in attitude, if any, from Aberle and Naegele's findings. Also evident in the analysis is one of the major findings in this research which demonstrates the discrepancy between what fathers say and what they actually do.

The final chapter, six, contains the summary and conclusions of the thesis.

Chapter I

RESEARCH DESIGN

The basic purposes of the present study are to examine how fathers socialize their children; secondly, how they differentiate between their sons and daughters, if they do so; and thirdly to compare these findings with earlier research by Aberle and Naegele in 1952. The study investigates the changes in fathers' attitudes, roles and aspirations towards their offspring, at least one of whom is presently of nursery school age. Since many changes in social attitude have occurred during the past three decades, this research explores the extent of the 'liberation' of middle class fathers.

This study only involved middle class fathers as this was the target population of Aberle and Naegele's study. I sent a letter to Professor Aberle requesting the use of the original questionnaire; however, he replied that it was unavailable. Not having the original questionnaire, the variables used in this study were related to the results of the compared study.

The interviews dealt with fathers' family background, their attitude towards the rights and roles of women, childrens' sex role stereotypes, the intrafamilial division of labour and childcare, and fathers' educational, social and cultural aspirations and expectations for their children. The purpose of asking ideological questions on womens' issues (not asked in the original study) was to ascertain whether their attitudes were traditional, contemporary, or confused. Since Aberle and Naegele thought

that changed socialization could only take place following a change in attitude, this variable provided an indicator of how comprehensive a change, if any, has occurred not only in their fathers' behaviour in the home but also in their attitudes (Questionnaire, Appendix A).

Subject Recruitment

The subjects were identified as middle class owing to their affiliation with two private nursery schools. The fee structure for their two day, three day and five day a week (all half days) programs could be considered affordable only by the middle class although some scholarships were available (see Demographic description of sample).

The directors of each school were contacted and asked for their cooperation in screening the subjects. The prerequisite for eligibility was that their students have at least one sibling of the opposite sex either older or younger. A letter was then given to each eligible candidate to carry home and give to their fathers (Appendix B). If the father was interested he was to return the letter to the school. After ten days no negative response was received. The directors then provided me with a list of all the eligible fathers with their addresses and telephone numbers so that appointments could be made at their homes or places of work.

When contacted, three declined to be included in the study. Thirty fathers consented; however, only twenty-eight were incorporated into the study. One of the two not included had scheduled an appointment but apparently had forgotten, and was uncooperative furnishing monosyllabic

answers. The other was working class and interestingly his responses were generally different from the remainder of the group (Kohn, 1963).

Demographic Description of the Sample

The mean age of the twenty-eight fathers interviewed was 38.5 years old with a range from 32-54 years. Five had been divorced and had remarried. One was a widower who had remarried. Seventeen were professionals including 3 university professors, 5 lawyers, 3 doctors, 2 social workers, 1 accountant, 1 dentist, 1 pharmacist, 1 engineer, and 10 businessmen. The wives of nine of these fathers worked part-time, and six had wives who worked full-time. One was married to a student, which was significant to the results as she spent many hours studying. Twelve wives did not work. The total number of children in the study is seventy-four. Thirty-nine were males, and thirty-five were females. The oldest at the time of interviewing the fathers was thirty-two, and the youngest two weeks old, but all fathers had one nursery school aged child in common.

Research Method

The interviews were conducted with a tape recorder. A pre-test of three middle class fathers independent from the intended sample was conducted. These interviews proved to be too lengthy, so only the most relevant variables, set by the content of the 1952 study, were investigated with the designated sample. The use of a tape-recorder, with permission,

allowed for a flowing, conversational interview. At three points during these sessions fathers were asked to deviate from this format and rank a given list in hierarchical order on a card. The recorder was kept on in order to tape their comments while completing the cards. Two particularly useful strategies employed when interviewing related to the order of asking questions. If the daughter was asked about first it was more difficult for the father to reply "the same" for sons than if the order were reversed. For that reason the daughter was generally asked about first, but this was changed occasionally so as not to be predictable. The other strategy employed related to the listing of the characteristics on the two separate cards given to the respondents. The sequence on the second card was not the same as on the first so that the respondents could not memorize the geography of the answer, perhaps in trying to be egalitarian without giving much thought to the response.

Measurement

The data were collected as open-ended narration which included direct quotations from fathers about their experiences, attitudes, beliefs, and thoughts. The qualitative method of analysis was employed, which is largely descriptive of situations and interactions. The analysis does not attempt to fit people's attitudes into pre-determined standardized categories. In this respect it is an "inductive" method in that the evaluation attempts to make sense of the situation without imposing pre-existing expectations on the research setting (Patton, 1986). The

responses provided their own categories, and thus patterns were clustered for classification.

Discrepancies in studies measuring the time husbands contribute to household tasks and childcare result from the methodological complications of relative versus absolute measurement. If the husband's absolute time in the family tasks remains constant when his wife is employed, and if his wife spends less time in family tasks, which is generally the case, then the husband's relative share of family work increases. This pattern has been found in studies conducted in three countries - Australia (Russell, 1979), the United Kingdom (Young & Willmott, 1974), and the United States (Ericksen, Yansey, & Ericksen, 1979). It is the relative measurement that I have used in this study. This measurement can only provide a crude indication of the distribution of family work.

The non-random homogeneity of this sample of fathers must be kept in mind. As such, the results cannot be generalized to a wider social context.

A copy of the questionnaire is included as Appendix A.

Chapter II

WOMEN IN CANADIAN SOCIETY

The first section of this chapter identifies the impact of the Women's Liberation Movement (WLM). It traces the related social, cultural, political, and ideological changes that have taken place since its emergence as a social movement. Also discussed, is the formation and goals of the National Action Committee, which facilitates the values and ideals of the movement in Canada. The new ideologies which have developed on the personal and systemic levels are interdependent, each strengthening the process of social change.

The second part of the chapter relates to how the changes brought about by the Women's Liberation Movement have impacted on middle class women's participation in the labour force, and their increased participation in higher education, traditionally male prestige occupations, and the political process. The consequences of these changes have affected their interactions with their spouses in particular, and society in general.

The Women's Liberation Movement (WLM)

The WLM has been, and still is, a strong instrument for social change. Social movements are fundamentally concerned with social change signalling an indictment of part or all of the existing social values and structures (Ash, 1972). Liberty and equality are generally central to the demands put forth by social movements (Heberle, 1968) as well as

some redistribution of societal resources based on an alternative set of norms, values, and ideas.

Muzafer Sherif (Doyle, 1983: 285) typified six common traits of a social movement. Each of these six characteristics can be applied to the Women's Liberation Movement: (1) a conscious collective voice focusing on perceived deprivation of social rewards to which they are justly due (Voice of Women), (2) support from others than those directly affected (Men's consciousness raising groups, Men's Liberation groups, New Democratic Party), (3) an ideology and a structured organization that is identified with the ideology (National Action Committee, Canadian Union of Public Employees, Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women), (4) the achievement of institutional and structured change (increase in post-graduate education, involvement in social, cultural and political causes), (5) a planned method to bring about the desired changes over time (Recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women), and (6) ubiquitous and steady publicity of the organization's perceived injustices and their activities, ideas and most effective methods to effect change (Ms. Magazine, Working Women, newsletters and journals).

The social and political climate in the late 1950's and early 1960's was ripe for the social, economic, and political awakening of women. The ideal of egalitarianism reawakened women to realize that they did not enjoy an equal status with men. Simultaneously, the predominant ideology also asserted the rights of all individuals to personal fulfilment.

Women were more educated than at any previous time, had a lower fertility rate, had a growing participation in the labour force, even though this participation was as sex stratified as before (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1978). Most women however, were no longer accepting the existing situation that inhibited both the opportunities and rewards available to a group with certain biologically rooted characteristics - femaleness. They developed a growing sense of moral indignation at their exploitation or victimization (Fulenwider, 1980: 23). A clear sense of the unequal sex based distribution of power and other societal resources increased the group cohesion, and attracted increasing recognition of the legitimacy of the movement's demands.

The Women's Liberation Movement also had the required characteristic of an organization and structure responsible for the planning of strategies and goals and facilitating movement in the desired direction. In the United States the most distinguished group is the National Organization for Women (NOW). While their goals covered a wide spectrum their involvements were directed mainly on the legal and economic issues (Freeman, 1973: 34). In Canada, a parallel, though more opaque organization existed. The Committee for Equality for Women was formed in 1966, and lobbied the government to initiate the now famous Royal Commission on the Status of Women. The formation of the Commission provided a recognized platform for womens' complaints and established a network for dealing with inequalities perpetuated within the existing social institutions. In 1972, the 'Strategy for Change'

conference was held which gave birth to an umbrella organization called the National Action Committee. It represents more than 320 women's organizations across the country pressuring for reform (Wilson, 1986: 143). The overall values and goals of the WLM are the eradication of sexism in attitude and practice in order to equalize the opportunities and social rewards available to each sex (Fulenwider, 1980: 25, 32). Although an array of womens' groups developed in both countries, their basic commitments are shared. These include expanding individual's options in all areas of society, a halt to gender role stereotyping, and equal rights.

The social position of the founders of the WLM has often been identified as being middle class, since its membership came predominantly from a white and college educated group. In a country where education was highly valued, middle class females wanted to have equal opportunity and choice (Mitchel, 1971: 36). They claimed a new feminine personality type characterized by high aspirations, a strong self identity and assertiveness (Mandel, 1979: 162). The social homogeneity of the founders of the WLM and a lack of support from their working class counterparts can be accounted for by the interaction of several variables. Working class women have a significantly longer history of labour force participation in predominantly unskilled or low paying occupations. Generally they worked as a result of inadequate family income. With the new political and social consciousness of the 60's as well as employment requiring skill and education, women demanded a substantive equality to which they were entitled. Owing to their relative

affluence and relative freedom from the burdens of domesticity, middle class women were able to perceive work as a positive and fulfilling experience for development, whereas many working class women perceived work as an obligation and burden. Thus, working class women could not relate to these middle class women who wanted increased female labour force participation in lucrative careers and professions which were perceived as being closed to them or even opposed to their needs (Mandel, 1979: 176).

Essentially the WLM offered a new ideology articulating a changed order and a new paradigm of experience at the personal and systemic levels. Changes in self-perception and in attitude allow individuals to pursue change and growth in their own lives as well as to alter values embodied in institutional, social, structural and political conditions. The existing conditions inhibited womens' efforts to achieve the tangible benefits of recognition, power, status and ultimately satisfaction. If the change is achieved at the personal level, it will contribute to an alteration in the systemic and vice versa, each encouraging and strengthening the process of social change (Fulenwider, 1980: 18).

Changes in the Expectations and Social Structure

The set of ideas and social, legal, and economic policies known as the Women's Liberation Movement has left visible marks on countless aspects of life in Canada: Women's Studies programs in colleges and universities, abortion reform, cohabiting couples, and anti-discrimination

laws, to name a few.

Traditionally females were discouraged from looking outside the traditional maternal role for fulfilment, and it was argued that maternal deprivation incurred by working mothers would cause irreparable damage to the child's emotional development. The effect of the Women's Movement on attitudes, priorities, and choices, is reflected in a study by Cross between 1964 and 1970 on female college freshman in one college. The women were responding to the question of what their life plans would be like fifteen years hence. In 1964, 65% said they wanted to be exclusively a housewife and mother. This figure declined steadily until 1970 when 31% expressed this desire. At the same time, those who wanted to combine a career and motherhood doubled from 20% in 1964 to 40% in 1970 (Weitzman, 1979: 58). Studies by Reagan and Roland (1982), and Parelius (1975) confirm these findings.

Labour Force Participation: These expectations appear to have become a reality. Statistics reflect a steady increase in the proportion of married women of child bearing age entering the work-force (see Table 1) as well as the traditionally male high prestige occupations (medicine, law, business) in which they are competing. It seems evident from Table 1 that the traditional relationship between child bearing and the participation rates of women in the prime child bearing age groups has changed very dramatically. Despite the fact that women in child bearing years continued to have children, their labour force participation steadily grew so that in 1983, 64.3% of those in the 20-44 age bracket were in

TABLE 1

LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES FOR
MARRIED WOMEN, CANADA: 1975-83

YEAR	30 - 44	45 - 64
1975	49.9	35.4
1976	50.9	37.2
1977	52.9	37.9
1978	56.0	39.2
1979	57.2	40.1
1980	59.4	41.2
1981	61.8	42.4
1982	62.6	42.7
1983	64.3	44.0

Note: Due to changes in age group classification data after 1983 is not comparable.

Source: Statistics Canada (1984). Labour Force Annual Averages 1975-1983, Cat. 71-529, Occasional Table 3.

the labour force. At the same time, the proportion of women in the 45-64 age bracket also increased from 35.4% in 1975 to 44.4% in 1983. It can be concluded finally that there was a significant increase in the rate of participation for women generally in the work force.

The relationship between the labour force participation of married women, and the income of their husbands has increased dramatically even with the presence of small children. In 1976, Canadian wives whose husbands earned \$25,000 or more, and had children six and under, maintained a 6.3% participation rate in the labour force; in 1977 it was 8.4%, and in 1981 it was 33.5%. For those whose husbands' income were \$25,000 and over and who did not have children under six, the participation rate was 9.2% in 1976, 10.8% in 1977, and 37.2% in 1981 (Statistics Canada, 1976: cat. 13-207, table 17; 1977a: table 25; 1981: table 25). Unlike women whose husbands were low income salary earners and who worked out of compelling and urgent economic necessity, middle class women whose husbands earned more than \$25,000 (not allowing for inflation since 1981) joined the labour force for other reasons. Their reasons were not necessarily affected by the presence or absence of children but perhaps were motivated by a desire for an improvement in lifestyle (private schools, holidays, a second car) or self-actualization and self-satisfaction.

In a study conducted by an economist at the University of Wisconsin the participation rate of wives of "well-to-do" husbands grew faster than the rate of other wives. The participation

rate of those whose husbands earned more than \$30,000 increased by 38% between 1967 and 1974 compared to wives whose husbands earned \$2,000 - \$6,000 and whose participation rate increased by only 11%. In 1978 in the United States, a family whose income was \$22,200 or more was designated into the top 20% of all families in earnings. In 1978, 54% of these families had working wives whereas in 1965 only 44% had wives in the labour market. Although those data are based on U.S. Statistics this does serve as an indicator of the directional trend of middle class wives labour force participation (Wall Street Journal, 1978).

Paul Ryscavage, an economist with the United States Bureau of Labour Statistics, conducted a study of American wives in March 1960 and March 1977 which included cross-tabulations of wife/husband income (1979). The results indicated absolute increases in the labour force rates for wives whose husbands' incomes were in the upper-middle and upper range. In terms of relative changes the rate increased much more rapidly for this upper income group than for poorer populations. For older women (age 35 and over) "absolute changes provided solid evidence that rates of labour force activity increased by larger amounts and more rapidly for those whose husbands' income falls into the top half" (divided into quartiles) (Ryscavage, 1979: 40). Once again, it is evident that it is no longer the traditional statistical link between a wife's decision to work and her family's financial needs that accounts for her labour force participation.

Education: A concern of middle class women in the labour force is

to expand career horizons in professional and senior status occupational positions. A bachelor's degree, once considered a credential is now a minimum requirement for a female to achieve economic independence and a position of status and influence. In 1965, females received 30.4% of the bachelor degrees; in 1981 they received 50.3% (Statistics Canada, 1983a: cat. 81-X-502, table 18). At the masters level in 1975, 28% were awarded to females compared to 37.4% in 1980 (Statistics Canada, 1977b: cat. 81-211, table 4). There has been a significant trend toward females studying in traditionally masculine occupational fields, where the increase has been marked. The academic orientation of women toward traditionally male career paths has resulted in a significant increase between 1970 and 1980, in some cases more than quadrupling, but not as dramatic an increase as the percentage changes indicated. Before 1970 the number of females receiving degrees in most of these fields was meager, so relatively any increase appears as a large percentage change (See Table 2). By the mid 70's, females had begun to show an increase in numerical representation among graduate students and increasingly transcended the psychological and attitudinal barriers to graduate school. Much of the change is ascribed to broader social influence through media coverage, publications and political activity of the women's movement. More females are graduating in career oriented sectors than ever before.

The number of females at the doctorate level reached a high in 1930 and declined from that level for the next 45 years as Table 3 demonstrates. In 1975-1976, the rate was double that of 1970-1971, and

TABLE 2

RANK ORDER OF BACHELOR'S & FIRST PROFESSIONAL DEGREES AWARDED BY
DEGREE GRANTING INSTITUTIONS BY FIELD OF SPECIALIZATION
FOR FEMALES, SHOWING WOMEN AS PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL
CANADA, 1970-1971, 1980

=====

PERCENTAGE OF DEGREES RECEIVED BY FEMALES

=====

Field of Study	<u>1970-71</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>Percentage Change</u>
Pharmacy	38.3	60.5	58.0
Mathematics & Physical Sciences	19.4	28.4	46.4
Medicine	12.8	32.5	154.0
Law & Jurisprudence	9.3	35.0	276.3
Economics	7.5	24.6	228.0
Commerce & Business Management	6.2	27.9	350.0
Dentistry	4.3	16.2	276.7
Engineering	1.2	7.6	533.3

=====

Source: Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination
 Against Women, Secretary of State, 1983: 146.

TABLE 3DOCTORATES EARNED IN CANADA,SELECTED YEARS1930-31, 1940-41, 1950-51, 1960-61, 1970-71, 1975-76, 1980-81, 1985-86

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>FEMALES</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL</u>
1930-1931	46	7	15.0%
1940-1941	75	5	7.0%
1950-1951	202	11	5.0%
1960-1961	305	26	8.5%
1970-1971	1625	151	9.3%
1975-1976	1840	296	16.1%
1980-1981	1738	399	22.9%
1985-1986	2000	528	26.4%

Vickers & Adam, 1977: 113. Statistics Canada, 1983a: cat. 81-X-502, table 18. Statistics Canada, 1987: cat. 81-204, table 21.

continued to rise in 1980-1981.

The fact that increasing numbers of females are earning advanced degrees indicates that some part of the attrition problem previously experienced in graduate school has been reduced in recent years. It also serves as a sensitive index to the potential pool of highly qualified females in academia, government, business, and the professions.

Occupations: Contributing to the much publicized success of women in the past decades are the number of women enrolled in medical schools and the number of practicing physicians. In 1960, 9.4% of the entrants were female; in 1975, the number rose to 26.1% (Canadian Medical Association Journal, 1975), and by 1979-1980, 34% of the enrollment was female (Bird, 1981). In actual practice, the 1971 census shows that female physicians and surgeons were 10% (2885) of the total compared to 17.1% (6,925) in the 1981 census, and 21.1% (9,840) in 1986, thus doubling in 15 years (Statistics Canada, 1988: cat. 93-151). Popular specialties verified by a Quebec study in 1975 were anaesthesiology, pediatrics, public health, research, and psychiatry (Canadian Medical Association Journal, 1975: 1000).

Women are rapidly enlarging their foothold in another field also long dominated by men in Canada - law. In every facet of the profession, from law schools and government offices to the highest court in the nation, females are gaining in numbers and in influence. In 1970-1971, females were 9.3% of the law graduates, whereas in

1980 they were 35% (Lee, 1980: 176). In 1971, 5% (785) of lawyers and notaries were women; in the 1981 census the number had soared to 15.1% (5,150), and by 1986 the proportion had risen to 21.8%. Within this same period the proportion of judges and magistrates has increased from 6% in 1971 to 15.1% in 1981, and 21.8% in 1986 (Statistics Canada, 1988: cat. 93-151). By 1989 three of the nine justices on the Supreme Court were women. In the field of law, females appear to be headed towards a more equitable representation.

Engineering in particular has always been regarded as a "machismo" bastion, but statistics show that females are venturing into this field. Under-graduate degrees awarded to women have steadily risen from 4.2% (1491) in 1977-1978 to 7.1% (2816) in 1981-1982 (Hawley, 1982). Female engineers are beginning to enter the public eye as is apparent in the election of Danielle Zaikoff in 1975 as President of the Order of Engineers of Quebec, the first woman to hold that position (Engineering Journal, 1975). A survey conducted among female engineers in Quebec in 1979 indicated that 78% reported that their employment status satisfied their professional aspirations (Hawley, 1982). Of the different branches of engineering, females are most numerous in industrial engineering (12.2% [3,205] in the 1981 census), and since the 1971 census they have made the most significant change in the field of petroleum engineering, from 0.7% (15) in 1971 to 4.8% (210) in 1981 to 6.5% (275) in 1986 (Statistics Canada, 1988: cat. 93-151).

Banks are notoriously characterized as conservative and uninnovative institutions, a fact which was reflected in the few females who were in positions other than low clerical and teller jobs. The Equal Employment Opportunity Coordinator of the Royal Bank, Anne Lockie, reported that in 1968, 7% (700) of the people in management and supervising positions were women while in 1980 women occupied 37% (4,400) of these positions, which represents over a 500% increase (personal communication). Robert Laverdure, manager of the head office of the Toronto Dominion Bank in Montreal, reported that females represent 28% of the total in management and 21% of credit positions (personal communication). With the expansion of banking services, there has also been an expansion of jobs in which women have made substantial gains in their representation. Statistics Canada lists a percentage change of 92.6% between the 1971 and 1981 census for female financial management occupations; 8.2% (635) to 23.3% (12,660) (Statistics Canada, 1988: cat. 93-151).

Each of the major Canadian banks has 2 females directors among their 40-50 directors (except Toronto Dominion, which has one) whereas ten years ago there were none. As is evident, more females are occupying non-traditional positions which are invested with power. Thus the opportunity for securing females who have the expertise, experience, financial or political clout necessary for the status and connections a position of director endows, is increasing at a fast rate

(Gray, 1981: 89).

Female enrollment in business related university courses is also increasing. Ten years ago, females comprised 3.2% of the post-graduate commerce and business administration students in Canadian universities. In 1979, they accounted for 22.3% (Gray, 1981).

Women are also venturing into small businesses at three times the rate of men, and succeeding at twice the rate of men. In 1978, the chartered accountancy firm of Thorne Riddell conducted a random sampling of 2000 small business starts. Seventy-four percent of these turned out to be owned by women, and 26% by men. In a follow-up study, three years later, the researchers discovered that 47% of the women were still in business, compared to 25% of the men (Interest Magazine, 1983: 1).

Income: There is a considerable disparity between the incomes of women and men in Canada. In 1987 the incomes of women (full-time workers, full-year) were, on average, 65.9% of the income of men. This is an increase from 58.4% in 1967 (Statistics Canada, 1987b: cat. 13-217, table 11).

Gender discrimination is a major factor in explaining these income differentials. However analysis is complicated by the existence of many other factors. Apart from differences in the number of days and hours worked per annum, they also include age, years in the labour market, educational attainment, sector of labour market, type of degree, and level of unionization.

Education is problematic. For instance, a woman with eight years or less of schooling earned on average in 1987 \$15,077, whereas a man earned \$25,454, with exactly similar educational attainment. Therefore, men earned 69% more than women. Similarly women with university degrees earned on average \$31,259, whereas men earned \$44,891, 44% more. Some of this differential can be explained in terms of the slow rate of women earning university degrees of higher market value rather than degrees in historically female occupations (see table 2).

Again, in 1987, 28% of men who had university degrees earned \$50,000 and over whereas only 7% of women earned the same. However, 7% of men with only some post secondary education and 9% with a post secondary certificate or diploma earned \$50,000 and over. Thus men with secondary education tended to earn about the same as women who have a university degree. Another example of the unequal effect of education on womens' wages: men with 0-8 years of education have higher average earnings than all women with higher education, except university graduates. The gap between womens' education and "appropriate" financial remuneration is very slowly being reduced. In 1971 male university graduates earned 63% more than female university graduates whereas in 1984 this difference had been reduced to 46% (Statistics Canada, 1987c: cat. 71-534, table E-2).

In Canada there have been laws in the books calling for equal

pay for work of equal value since 1956. Both the public and private sectors have been guilty of gender discrimination. Lack of progress on the difficulty in identifying which jobs are of equal value, coupled with correcting a situation that will require the disbursement of large amounts of funds, has fortified the status quo. However, ground breaking legislation recently passed under the Ontario Pay Equity Act covering both the public and private sectors will be effective January, 1990. This law requires that the pay in jobs historically held by women match the pay for jobs of comparable skill that are usually held by men. Under the law, employers with more than ten workers must assess the job in which at least 60% of the employees are women. Each job is rated on such factors as education, experience, complexity, supervision of others, independence of action, consequence of errors, confidentiality, contacts, physical skill, effort and working conditions (Freudenheim, 1989: 1, 18). In other words a receptionist can now be compared to a ware-house worker. Ontario, the most populated province in Canada with 1.7 million working women has set the cumbersome machinery for equal pay for work of equal value in motion.

The present focus on wage parity between women and men prefigured in the upcoming Ontario legislation will probably do much to reduce the inequalities between females and males.

Political Participation: On the basis of a head count and status rank, the situation of women in Canadian politics has improved over

previous decades. With the present situation of increased female participation in law and business, more female candidates in the future will be likely to have the almost mandatory prerequisites for election. Since Canadian women had the right to vote in federal elections, 21 general elections have been held and a total of 113 seats have been held by women, 66 of these in the last two elections (until December 1988) (Kohn, 1980: 118; Finestone, personal communication, 1989).

The number of female candidates is steadily increasing. In the 1974 federal elections, 137 candidates were fielded. In 1980, 217 women ran in the 282 seat House, and 6.4% of them were victorious, in 1984 214 ran and 12.6% were victorious, and in 1989, 302 ran and 12.9% were victorious. Seventeen women have held cabinet positions since 1867, out of whom 10 were appointed since 1984. (Michel Lèger, personal communication) The position of Governor General of Canada is presently held by a woman.

This small number of electoral victories is not necessarily a reflection of their unwillingness to run. In many cases, they have been sacrificial candidates chosen to run in constituencies where their party's chances were slight. For example, the Liberal party ran a female against John Diefenbacker in Prince Albert in 1965, and the same was done by the Progressive Conservatives in 1968 in Mount Royal against Pierre Trudeau.

These profound cultural changes have affected women and men

in all spheres of Canadian life. However, two other trends have to be discussed. First, the number of females in the female job ghetto has increased. General office clerks have increased from over 960,000 (68.4%) (1971 census), to over 1 1/2 million (77.7%) (1981 census); females in service jobs have escalated from 447,985 (46.2%) to 748,260 (52.3%), and similar escalations have been experienced in sales, food and beverage preparation and related service occupations (64.1% to 67.7%). This trend has, on the one hand, increased jobs for women; on the other hand it has ghettoized women into the relatively low-paying and low-mobility occupations of the "pink collar" or the "lace collar" sectors of the economy.

The second trend, the particular concern of this section, has been the occupational changes of middle class women. These women are the social equals of the target group of this study, namely middle class fathers. Because the relationship of these men to these women is sometimes complementary but most often super-ordinated in the personal and formal settings, the significant changes which have occurred in middle class women's status should have a definite effect on middle class men in their behaviour, expectations, and interactions with women. These interactions, so different now than thirty years ago, inevitably affect the traditional attitudes of sex differentiation which fathers have harboured in socializing their children.

This chapter described the demands for social change with the formation of the WLM as the vehicle for this change. The impact of

this movement has dramatically affected three main phenomena - middle class labour force participation, higher education, and upwardly mobile non-traditional occupations. The next question is to examine the micro-structure of the family, specifically, fathers' attitudes towards housework.

Chapter III

FATHERS AND HOUSEWORK

This chapter on fathers' participation in household tasks assesses whether the effects of the WLM are reflected in the division of household labour. There are many factors involved which influence fathers' participation. These include the occupational structure of the family, be it a "one-career" or 'dual career" marriage, as well as the interrelationship between husband's and wife's income, education and socialization. Since this paper concerns the fathers' differential socialization of their sons and daughters, the fathers' contribution to household tasks must be researched. Traditionally housework has been a female domain. However, with the advent of the women's movement and the changes in sex role attitudes which lean toward a more egalitarian role definition, (Beckman and Bosak-Houser, 1979: 160) it is expected that a concomitant shift in both attitude and behaviour would occur in the husband's participation in routine household chores traditionally assigned to women.

Whether fathers do or do not participate, the role model presented to the children is significant. It would seem that children who witness their fathers' contributions will tend not to develop the established rigid stereotyped concept of men and housework. This chapter discusses the salient factors which influence middle class men's participation, the significance of which is its effect on the children.

Although sex role attitudes towards a more egalitarian position have changed for both sexes, females more so than males (Helmreich et

al., 1982: 656; Scanzoni, 1976), the degree of liberality is not uniform (e.g. working women deserve the same job opportunities as men; maternal employment harms pre-school children). Research has revealed that endorsement of the equality of occupational opportunity is greater than the endorsement of equality in the division of household labour (Mason & Bumpass, 1975: 1213), but movement in an egalitarian direction was found (Helmreich *et al.*, 1982: 656). Fox and Nickols (1983: 79), suggested that with the passing of time, the contemporary attitude held toward husbands participating in housework may change in a manner reminiscent of the change in attitude which took place toward married women who chose to go to work during the 60's.

Wives participating in the labour force receive somewhat more help in domestic chores from their husbands than those women who are not employed, that is, housewives (Blood & Wolfe, 1960: 65; Slocum & Nye, 1976: 92; Walker & Woods, 1976: 257; Meissner, Humphreys, Meis & Scheu, 1975: 434). However just as wives' participation in the labour force is seen as "helping out" so is the husbands' participation in the home. He is "helping out" his also employed wife in her "primary" role. The division of these chores also tends to be sex typed, with the husband doing traditionally masculine tasks such as yardwork, garbage, home and car repairs, errands, and barbecuing (Stafford, Backman, & Dibona, 1977: 44).

Other studies have found wives' employment to have no influence on husbands' domestic participation (Ferber, 1982: 462; Moore & Sawhill,

1978: 208; Vanek, 1974: 118; Geerken & Gove, 1983: 90). The discrepancies and inconsistencies documenting the variation in the family division of labour are grounded in methodological problems; small and highly restricted samples, divergent grouping of tasks, divergent reports from husbands and wives, from relying exclusively on the wives' response to including the husbands' as well, from measuring only task performance and/or responsibility, the respondent summary estimate approach/time diary approach, measurement in relative or absolute terms (Coverman, 1985: 95; Johnson & Firebaugh, 1985: 101; Ericksen et al., 1979: 304; Pleck, 1977: 420; Miller & Garison, 1982: 239).

Middle Class Participation

Oakley (1974: 140) established that middle class husbands do more around the house than do working class husbands. Men and women from middle class backgrounds would appear to support from an emotional and attudinal perspective the rights of women to achieve personal fulfillment and economic remuneration through paid employment. This employment is viewed as a means of self-definition and a source of self esteem (Lamb, 1981: 50).

"One career" middle class families in which the wife is employed in a job rather than a career will have an effect on the wife's and husband's attitudes and expectations regarding his household performance and responsibilities. A career is distinct from a job in that it indicates a high level of personal commitment, a generally higher education, and a series

of promotional stages (Rapport & Rapport, 1971: 18). Ericksen *et al.* (1979: 304) suggested that a career oriented husband whose wife is not required to work out of necessity, but whose wife is "job" employed, will not allow her employment to cause him any inconvenience (that is, in the form of housework).

"Dual career" middle class marriages have produced conflicting results. Wives in careers integrate and juggle family and work commitments similar to that of their career husbands. In order to synchronize the demands of their careers and allocate time and energy, the division of the household tasks is critical. The husband's sex role orientation significantly influences their adapting interchangeable rather than specialized roles. They accept more responsibility for the time consuming tasks of childcare, meal preparation, and cleaning. His degree of sharing may reflect a sensitivity to her employment responsibilities. Similarly, the wives in "unghettoized" jobs may have more liberal expectations in the gender linked division of labour and more skills to negotiate increased sharing (Perrucci, Potter, & Rhoads, 1978: 64; Bird, Bird, & Scruggs, 1984: 352). Thus the wife's career is facilitated by altering the allocation of responsibilities within the family. The husband's participation and responsibility for tasks that traditionally were executed by the wife is increased.

Conversely, there is documented research which supports the traditional and conventional division of family labour in dual career families. Poloma and Garland (1971) found that in 38% of the 53 dual

career couples, the husband did virtually no housework and in 50% the husband "helped" in varying degrees, leaving the responsibility to the wives and hired help. Safilios-Rothchild (1970: 689) and Beckman and Houser (1979: 172), also reported this phenomenon amongst the majority of dual career middle class families. Epstein (1971: 554, 560) studied 12 wives, ranging from 40 to 60 years of age, who were law partners with their husbands. She found that not only was the division of labour in their law practice divided along traditional male-female lines but also their home and family responsibilities. She noted that younger men did somewhat more housework than older men.

Holmstrom (1972) observed that the wives of the 27 professional couples she studied had the primary responsibility for household work. Twenty of these wives who maintained their professional careers received considerable "help" from their husbands but many relied on hired help.

the tasks most likely to be done by the husband were emptying garbage and trash, repair work and heavy yard work. Tasks most likely to be shared equally between husband and wife were cooking breakfast and washing dishes. Financial tasks tended to be randomly allocated; e.g., keeping track of the money and paying monthly bills were two tasks as likely to be assigned to one spouse as the other. Tasks most likely to be hired out were ironing, vacuuming, and general cleaning. (Holmstrom-Lytle, 1972: 68)

She noted extensive interchangeability of tasks. Availability, skill, interest and enjoyment were the major reasons for the division of labour.

Role sharing is different to that experienced by dual career couples. Haas (1982) in her study of 31 role sharing couples in Madison, Wisconsin defines role sharing as "the equal sharing by husband and wife of each of

the traditionally segregated family roles". The areas investigated were breadwinner, domestic, handyman, kinship, childcare, and major/minor decision maker role. Several factors appear to be related to their adopting a role sharing marriage:

- (1) Two-thirds had mothers who were employed outside the home.
- (2) 86% had continued their education beyond a bachelor's degree. The majority studied liberal arts rather than business or technical fields as most aspired to jobs in the humanities and social services. Some attributed their liberal arts education to their role sharing by teaching them that standards change and that new ways of doing things are possible and can be an improvement over traditional patterns.
- (3) The average age of husbands was 30 and wives 28.7. They had grown up during the 1960's and early 1970's and were influenced by the debate over Vietnam and the rhetoric of the civil rights movement. They accepted "certain egalitarian and humanistic values", and questioned tradition.
- (4) Both husband and wife had an unusual orientation towards employment. The wives were highly interested in employment and three-quarters claimed this preference over housekeeping since they were children. Complementing this was their husbands' lack of interest in work as a source of self esteem.
- (5) Most husbands had done "feminine" chores when they were growing up whereas fewer wives had done traditionally "masculine" ones.

Aside from these background and personality characteristics which these couples enjoyed, there were factors in their social environment which facilitated role sharing such as social support from parents, a tolerant atmosphere in Madison, wives' earning potential and job opportunities similar to husbands', flex time jobs, subsidized day care and pre-school, baby sitters, and the impact of the Womens' Movement (Haas, 1982).

Equitable Participation

In our patriarchal society, men are accorded a higher status than women and this is reflected in the home division of labour. Man's traditional position as breadwinner has allowed him to use his power, derived from his possession of greater resources, to escape from doing an equal share of undesired activities. Housework, regarded as being dull, repetitive, unrewarding, devalued and demeaning falls into the category of undesired activities (Stafford et al., 1977: 45). Depending upon the study examined, women perform from four to eight times more domestic tasks than their husbands (Robinson, 1977: 63; Walker & Woods, 1976: 51; Fox & Nickols, 1983: 75; Geerken & Gove, 1983: 91).

Income: It has been suggested that income has the most powerful impact and is the best predictor on the sharing of housework (Ericksen et al., 1979: 310). Income, education and occupational prestige comprise power resources. Relative resource theory argues that the more of these power resources a woman possesses, the more she will be able to draw on

to persuade her mate to contribute to a more equal sharing of domestic tasks. The greater the discrepancy of power resources of the couple, the greater the discrepancy of domestic task performance of the husband (Haas, 1981: 96; Model, 1981: 226). This discrepancy between resources and power is illustrated in Hawkes *et al.* (1980: 89). In two of the fifteen cases studied, both partners pursued full-time careers and shared household and childcare responsibilities. The two wives had graduate educations which they translated into high paying status positions. Some wives, who had given up their own professional careers in order to be full-time mothers, but were married to high salaried career husbands, were expected to assume the majority of the housework and childcare. Others, who were college educated, but did not have the skills to translate into careers, had less bargaining power through their lack of power resources, to convince their husbands' to become involved in household chores. The operationalization of such a relative resource balance between mates has varied. The higher the husband's income, in general, the less likely the wife is to be employed outside the home (Clark, Nye, & Gecas, 1978: 18). Although people select mates of similar education and social background, this does not necessarily translate into similar career paths. Thus, if the educated wife of a successful professional or career husband does not seek employment outside the home, she is less likely to receive help from her husband (Hawkes, 1980: 89). This difference in marital performance can be attributed to ascribing to traditional middle class exchange of roles. In previous studies it was

noted that nonemployed wives of successful high status career men described their chief role in the exchange as providing a support system for "their husband's career as integral aspects of their own marital roles" (Papanek, 1973; Mortimer, Hall, & Hill, 1978: 291; Bird et al., 1984: 347). She assumes primary responsibility for housework and childcare, for entertaining or other social obligations, and for providing "empathetic and intellectual stimulation" (Bird et al., 1984: 347).

In return, the husband's contribution to this reciprocal partnership is his financial support, economic security, status, and prestige (Mortimer et al., 1978: 290). It is possible that the operational mechanism for this trade-off process is one of bargaining relative resource power. Clark, Ney, and Gecas (1978: 18) have found this to be a potent variable in determining a husband's household participation.

Employed wives of men in careers or professions are more likely to contribute a smaller percentage of the total family income (Ericksen et al., 1979: 303). Since high paying positions are overwhelmingly held by males, this differential is larger in more affluent families. Thus the husband's position in the role bargaining is stronger and he would feel justified in hiring services rather than doing it himself (Safilios-Rothchild, 1970: 689).

When husband's and wife's resources are more on a par, equality in the household division of labour is perhaps more likely. Petersen and Maynard (1981: 87) studied the relative incomes of spouses. The aim was to determine the effect of wives' perceptions on their husbands' share of

housekeeping. Multiple regression analysis revealed that wives became more egalitarian in their perceptions as their incomes became more equal to their husbands. The authors saw that this was consistent with the equity notion (Ibid). Simply stated, "actors expect differences in outcomes to correspond with differences in inputs". The more of these power resources the wife commands in relation to her husband, the better is her bargaining position to obtain his equal participation in traditionally prescribed household chores. Her worth in the market place that is esteemed and rewarded by relatively high wages is an important factor in breaking down the traditionally gender-linked home responsibilities.

Closer equality between the sexes is not only related to perception. Model (1981: 234) also observed that high income men contribute more to housework when they are married to wives who also have high incomes. In the study of Bird et al. (1984: 353, 354) and Ericksen et al. (1979: 311), it is the income and job status of wives that appears to be the most influential variable on husband task sharing. Wives employed in occupations similar in status and earning power with their husbands seemed to expect and received a more equitable division of household tasks. A similar finding was confirmed by Weingarten (1978: 48), where husbands and wives have similar employment histories in full-time professional occupations. Here too, husbands did a greater proportion of housekeeping tasks than couples whose employment histories differ. Maret and Finlay (1984: 362) report that "wife's wages is the most salient factor in the model and its effect increases with the control of other

factors". Hence, these factors lend support to the theory that it is the wife's relative economic contribution that determines her (and consequently her mate's) power and responsibilities.

Education: It has also been suggested that education is an important variable. Highly educated men are more likely than less educated men to be married to women of relatively high education who in turn are more likely to endorse an egalitarian ideology (Perrucci et al., 1978: 64). This hypothesized link between education and egalitarian beliefs argues that the well educated, especially those who have completed a college education, are less supportive of traditional norms as they are more likely to question current beliefs, and thus more prone to embrace egalitarian attitudes. Accepting this argument, educated men would be expected to perform more household work (Lopata, Barnewolt, & Norr, 1980: 128; Mortimer et al., 1978: 289).

Higher education levels of husbands and wives are positively correlated with nontraditional egalitarian attitudes to children. Thornton et al. (1983: 223) suggest in their study of attitudes in 1962, that the total effect of the father's education may be more important than that of the mother's.

Education is a component of socioeconomic status. However, it is different from income or occupational prestige in that even if the wife is not working outside the home, education can be measured. Farkas (1976) finds that the greatest effects on the husbands' hours of housework are due to the absolute educational level. The data reveals a strong increase

in sharing as the level of educational attainment increases, especially in couples in which the wife is thirty-five years old or younger. In contradiction to the relative educational resources theory, evidence that for poorly educated wives the increases in their husbands' education seem to increase his inclination to participate in housework. This however is in keeping with the hypothesized link between education and egalitarian attitudes. Increased education of the husband has also been shown to be positively related to the sharing of housework (Farkas, 1976: 481; Huber and Spitz (1983); Slocum and Nye (1976).

Socialization: Socialization is the third variable thought to have an impact on fathers' participation. The content of socialization is induced by the ambiance of the home and the role models provided by the parents (Nye, 1976; Scanzoni & Fox, 1980; Thornton et al., 1983). Thus, the extent of such socialization influences is very powerful, pervasive and nonconscious, and is used as a paradigm for the new family procreation setting.

Unlike other changes which may be occurring in the society and culture, appropriate sex role performance is learned in near isolation within a single family unit and at a very early age. (Condran & Bode, 1982: 424)

Komarovsky (1973: 884) found that most college males in her study, while mouthing the rhetoric of the Womens' Movement, expected their future wives to place primary emphasis on the traditional wife-mother role and pursue a career if any time remained. Thus, the strength of this socialized nonconscious ideology overpowers the newly acquired "trendy"

dialogue.

The sharing of household tasks depends upon the character of sex role ideology people acquired as children (or adults). Traditionally housework and childcare have been the primary responsibilities of women, not men. Such a framework has tended to socialize children into similar sex role structures. On the other hand, an increased egalitarianism has housework and childcare shared between husband and wife regardless of power, life cycle, ages and number of children. In Perrucci *et al.* (1978: 53), of the three competing hypotheses tested, the socialization hypothesis received the strongest support. The two statistically most significant variables in the entire study are disagreement with the attitude "a stable family must have a dominant father" and "in case of disagreement within the marriage, the husband should have the final say". The greater the husband's disagreement the more household/childcare activities he participates in. Stafford, like Perrucci, used unidimensional measures of orientation and household task performance. Both focused directly on the relationship between socialization/sex role orientation and the division of family tasks. A study by Stafford *et al.* (1977) of married college students, indicated that husband's traditional ideology appears to have developed from parental modeling that preserves traditional sex roles.

The study by Bird *et al.* (1984) of 166 couples, of whom 42% were two career family members, undertook to assess the joint effect of sex role orientation, role salience, income and family type on the sharing of family tasks. The results suggest that there are different explanatory

motivations for husbands' and wives' behaviour in the sharing of family chores. For wives, it is income (increased income results in increased husband participation) and family type (career orientated) which reflected the expectation of an equitable distribution of work at home. For husbands, the significant variables were sex role orientation, and role salience which appear to have the greatest effect on husband's sharing behaviour. Haas' study (1981) of 128 couples confirmed the significance of the socialization variable in the sharing of housework; in particular, the wife having had a working mother, been exposed to the sex role debate and the husband having had prior experience with housework. In cases where husband's experience with housework is limited, this factor may account for his general unresponsiveness to his wife's labour market participation. Even though the husband may perceive that family work needs doing, "he will not perceive the kind of work that needs to be done as appropriate or suitable to him" (Pleck, 1977: 423). On top of this, he may never have developed the skills to perform household chores.

The socialization hypothesis found in many studies of professional women is based on the postulation of Sandra and Daryl Bem (1970), that "women have a nonconscious ideology that keeps them in their place". The study of 53 professional married women by Poloma and Garland (1971: 534), is one of several studies that demonstrates this nonconscious ideology. In 38% of the dual career couples, the husbands did virtually no housekeeping, leaving it entirely to the wife and hired help. Women are socialized from an early age to embrace the belief that their prime

function is that of homemaker, wife, and mother. In order to successfully accomplish this primary life goal they

must sacrifice their own personal development in the interests of 'catching' a male, 'holding onto' him, promoting his occupational success, bearing and rearing children and doing all of this in a spotlessly clean, nutritionally sound, efficiently run, warm, happy household. (Parelius, 1975: 420)

The effects of this socialization are evident in the studies of Poloma and Garland (1971), Holmstrom (1972), Stafford (1977: 46), Kieran (1978: 111), Yogev (1981: 686), and Bryson et al. (1978: 76). These studies have found that even when wives are employed in high level professional positions they still bear the major responsibility for domestic chores. Because of their early socialization patterns (supported by the existing social structure) married career women may change their family style very little. Their basic family responsibilities remain intact along with their career commitment. If there is a conflict between home and career or husband's career and their own, they compromise their own career plans.

Bearing in mind that a higher education was equated with a questioning of traditional patterns, there are many possible explanations directly related to the socialization hypothesis which may account for some professional women's behaviour. Three possible explanations follow.

The first is based on a Canadian study by Kierans (1978) of professionally educated women which comprised three groups - homemakers, working women with no children, and working women with children. She found that all three groups describe their attitudes toward female equality as highly favorable and yet still do most of the household

tasks whether working or not and are highly satisfied with this pattern. This can result in "cognitive dissonance." What this means is that the cognitive balance between what they see as their self-image (professional and equal) and their domestic role is overturned (Kierans, 1978).

The second explanation, accounting for some professional women's traditional behaviour in the home, is predicted on the socialization hypothesis identified in the study by Warner and Stafford (1977). They noted the strategy used by professional women in their study. In order to justify pursuing a career while having prime responsibility for the home, they claimed that to devote themselves completely to their families would negate their education and abilities while to devote themselves completely to their careers would be "unfeminine". Warner and Stafford presumed that the origins of this nonconscious ideology began with an imitation of the parental marital role.

The third explanation is provided by the research of Yogeve (1981), who studied the marital dynamics of 106 faculty women at Northwestern University. The focus of the study was on a division of domestic chores and childcare that objectively denotes a traditional pattern, although the wives perceive an egalitarian pattern. The wives reported that their husbands devoted more weekly hours to their careers while wives with children and those without children spent 40 and 12.1 more hours respectively than their husbands on housework and childcare (where applicable). In spite of this big difference, 59% (with children) and 64.5% (without children) of the women felt that their husbands were doing their

share and even more than required. These results do not suggest an egalitarian pattern and the subjects did not expect an egalitarian pattern. In spite of their success in music, medicine, law, social and basic sciences, these women adopted a traditionally conventional female role.

The majority of these wives perceived themselves as having equal intelligence and ability to "handle things" with their husbands. However, only 41.8% felt that their potential professional success and recognition was equal to their husbands, even though they were highly educated. They did not feel that their husbands were "superior" to them as was found in earlier studies of professional women (Yogev, 1981: 869). These findings suggest that although their attitudes towards equality may be highly favorable, in actual practice it is contrary to their perhaps "non-conscious" expectations, resulting in the immense unequal division of household labour.

Yogev's explanation for this gap between perceptions and actuality is the accelerated rate of social change. Even though there has been a proliferation of liberalized sex role ideology, studies during the 1970's suggested that traditional sex typing with respect to routine domestic tasks continued to be practical (Walker & Woods, 1976; Meissner et al., 1975; Yogev, 1981; Beckman & Houser, 1979). Rapoport and Rapoport (1971) suggest that a "psychosocial lag" exists between changes that occur in the macrosocial world of work and changes in the microsocial world of family. Thus a discrepancy occurs between attitudes/perceptions and behaviour. In Yogev's study of professionally trained women with careers

who still assumed the traditional gender-linked female role exemplified this psychosocial lag. Yogeve borrows the term "identity tension line" from Rapoport and Rapoport to describe

how far individuals are able to go toward establishing that ideal new definition of sex roles [equal sharing of household responsibilities] before reaching the point of discomfort when these new behaviours threaten individual notions of self esteem. (Yogeve, 1981: 869)

In order not to cross the "identity tension lines" and to be happily married, these women needed to accept the traditionally unequal patterns of being primarily responsible for the household and childcare. Their education and careers are recognized and legitimized as well as their traditional roles and obligations.

This holds true for the husbands as well. Men's resistance to increase family work is compatible with their socialization, but incompatible with liberal sex role ideology. They also need to avoid crossing their masculine "identity tension line" (Yogeve, 1981: 870), as it risks giving up inherent masculine privileges.

Socialization influences expectations. In the study by Hiller and Philliber (1986), the strongest variable in determining the sharing of housework is that of the wife's perceptions of husband's expectations. The husband's attitude about housework appear to be more important than the wife's. Considering that men seem to be more traditional, and the husband's expectations were the most important factors in allocation of household tasks, these allocations will tend to be traditional.

Husbands of working wives share more housekeeping chores than

husbands of housewives. As the number of women entering the labour force in "unghettoized" positions increases, the larger the increase in husband participation in the home. Meier has documented the positive influence of having a working wife and mother especially one with a college education and an achieved social status through a high prestige occupation. The influence is reflected upon offspring especially females, in their favorable attitudes toward sexual equality as compared to spouses and children of traditional marriages (Meier, 1972). When the paternal role model enjoys a more egalitarian partnership, the offsprings future expectations will tend to be untraditional. Young people are more responsive than their parents to social change and each new generation will in turn carry with it more progressive attitudes.

This chapter began with a review of the literature documenting women's increased labour force participation, and its effect on father's household participation. Three components of the relative resource theory were examined as predictors of middle class fathers' participation with inconclusive results.

Chapter IV

GENDER SOCIALIZATION

This chapter discusses the Parsonian structural-functionalist approach to the family unit, and how fathers' concerns with sex typed behaviour has been altered in accord with social changes in the family. A literature review is presented of fathers' involvement and sex differentiation in traditional and non traditional families. The results of Aberle and Naegele's study and a later study in the 1980's are also presented to ascertain whether traditional paternal attitudes toward sex differentiation are still in evidence.

During the Industrial Revolution the work place was separated from the home, and wage economy replaced family centered production. Men worked in factories and so did women and children of the lower classes. Middle class women stayed at home to take care of the children as husbands did not want their wives to work (Chafe, 1977: 22). After the Industrial Revolution when economic opportunities arose for men to improve their position and status, an indicator of this newly achieved success was having a dutiful full time wife and homemaker (Matthaei, 1982: 121). These prescriptive attitudes of the "ideal family" were analogous to Parson's, and Freud's theories of sexual specialization within the family.

A key concept of the Parsonian structural-functionalist approach to the family unit is that of 'role differentiation'. This approach voices the middle class ideology of the 1950's. Parsons differentiates the father's

"instrumental" role from the mothers "expressive" role. This "instrumental" role involves 'universalistic norms' of various kinds in which the father is society's representative within the family and the family's representative within society. Because fathers tend to work outside the home, they are more involved in the concerns and activities of the "real world", and are in a strategic position to promote their views of the values, rules, morals and principles of society and, within the family, to be regarded as the symbol of authority. It is from the father's position in the outside world that the wife-mother and children derive their status.

The mother's "expressive role" involves 'particularistic norms' and is concerned with the family functioning smoothly and harmoniously as a unit. Expressiveness requires sensitivity and responsiveness to others' needs, conforming to her integrative and supportive roles with family members. Her concentration on childcare usually precludes her achieving outside the home. If she does pursue economic activity outside the home, stratification of roles persists (Parsons & Bales, 1955).

Absolute equality of opportunity is, as Plato clearly said, incompatible with any positive solidarity of the family... If both were equally in competition for occupational status, there might indeed be a very serious strain on the solidarity of the family unit... One mechanism which can serve to prevent the kind of "invidious comparison" between husband and wife which might be disruptive of family solidarity is a clear separation of the sex roles such as to insure that they do not come into competition with each other... Where married women are employed outside the home, it is, for the great majority, in occupations which are not in direct competition for status with those of men of their own class... Women's interests, and the standards of judgement applied to them, run in our society far more in the direction of personal adornment and the related qualities of personal charm than is the case

with men. (Parsons, 1949: 174-175)

Until the 1950's, according to the Parsonian model, sex roles were differentiated along these lines, with the middle class male role being predominantly but not exclusively "instrumental" and the female role being predominantly and more exclusively "expressive". The "instrumental" father may, within the family play an expressive role with his children when they are young. This expressive type of behaviour continues in his relating to daughters in such a way that to reciprocate in the relationship she must react with affection and gentleness and not aggression. As soon as the son gets older the father increasingly behaves in an instrumental manner to elicit aggression. Their rewards are contingent upon their respective behaviours; and this socialization prepares them for their respective adult roles. Thus the father, according to the Parsonian viewpoint, is the principal transmitter of the culturally based conceptions of sex roles. He emphasized the functional necessity of these role relationships as essential to the maintenance of the social system (Parsons, 1955).

However, with the massive increase in women's representation in the labour force during the past three decades, particularly middle class women with pre-school aged children, the traditional "instrumental expressive" division of marital roles was altered. Women in increasing numbers were claiming equality to entitlement, obligations and rewards. They were gaining instrumental experience and direct access to external

resources that reduced the relative power of their husbands (Bahr & Stephen, 1978). Parsonian theory became increasingly outdated. Educated middle class women believed this new lifestyle had significant advantages over the traditional model. These include self-fulfillment through a pursuit of their own aspirations and a vicarious gratification for the husbands through their wives' accomplishments. Their attitude to work is different from those who are forced to work out of direct economic necessity who most often have no choice about working. The greater women's resources are relative to their husbands', the more liberated a role model they may provide. The earlier theory of parental division of labour and subsequent socialization devised for a traditional society are no longer in accord with the current social system.

This structural change has been a result and a cause of a major change in values: "the idealized goals set by a culture" (Kluckhohn, 1959: 195). These changes have occurred more rapidly and pervasively in the lives of women than men, and the degree of change is not uniform in all content areas.

A New York Times poll conducted in 1983, showed that women and men are growing much closer in their attitudes about work outside the home, with women seen to be moving toward viewing their place as on the job (Dowd, 1983: 166). Lein et al. (1983: 294) concluded from their study of 142 lower and middle class males with pre-school children, that "men in contemporary industrial cultures seek their primary emotional

and personal and spiritual gratification from the family setting". Similarly, two studies of college males (who could be expected to be more involved in work and less in family) revealed that they believed their greatest life satisfaction to come from "family relationships" rather than from work (Adam & Goudy, 1983; Rosenberg, 1983). Veroff *et al.* (1983: 294) also report that men from a 1976 national survey are far more involved in the family than in paid work. This involvement has not been evident in housekeeping tasks, but it has been in childcare. Research on parental roles has noted that middle class families have become increasingly child centered. Changes in parental behaviour reported over the previous twenty-five year period have noted trends toward "greater permissiveness toward the child's spontaneous desires", "freer expression of affection", and the increased use of indirect "psychological" methods of discipline (reasoning, guilt) as opposed to the direct methods (physical punishment, threats) (Bronfenbrenner, 1961: 74). This is coupled with a shift in the values of the economic subsystem altering the balance of power in middle class parental roles. Fathers are taking on some of the nurturant and affectional functions and at the same time yielding more parental authority to mothers.

Fathering

The "traditional perspective" on fathering generally conformed to the social values and realities of the late 1940's and 1950's. The traditional aloof "instrumental" breadwinning father was the norm both in

a statistical sense and in the social ideals of the time. Paternal influences were deemed trivial to children's development.

The 1960's ushered in the "modern perspective" on fathering. This era witnessed a major change from the "traditional perspective". The "modern perspective" emphasized the idea that fathers are capable of influencing the psychosocial development of their children, especially in the areas of sex role identity, academic achievement and moral development. It is through contact between father and child that these developmental outcomes are facilitated.

A third perspective, the "emergent" emphasized that fathers are capable of participating in all aspects of childcare and childrearing. This perspective seeks to deal with the realities of the increased numbers of women in the work force (Fein, 1978).

Recognition of the new meaning of fatherhood is reflected in the scores of books finding their way into popular consciousness. This diverse literature includes Kramer vs. Kramer (Corman, 1977), Tenderness is Strength: From Machismo to Manhood (Lyon, 1978), How to Father (Dodson, 1974), Father Feelings (Daley, 1974), and writings of the Men's Liberation Movement like The New Male: From Self Destruction to Self Care (Goldberg, 1979).

Fatherhood and the concept of "bonding" is even practiced before birth. Fathers from all social classes are attending pre-natal classes and reports from most western industrialized nations indicate that most fathers attend the births of their children (Russell and Radin, 1983).

Courts are now recognizing the competency and paternal involvement in the family. A series of breakthrough cases since 1970 has challenged the judicial presumptions that the mother is automatically the "appropriate custodian" for young children. Most states now prohibit courts from considering the parents' gender so that both parents are to be judged on an equal basis in determining the custody of the child (Newsweek, 1978). In Canada similar recommendations were advocated by the Law Reform Commission of Canada to Parliament for legislation (Statistics Canada, 1983b: cat. 89-502).

Paternal leave is becoming more common although still not well accepted (Sagi & Sharon, 1983: 225). Ten percent of companies included in "The Forbes Market Value" list formally permit male employees leave when their wives give birth. Many others have no formal policy but usually honour the request rather than risk sex discriminations suits (Forbes, 1983: 174).

Fathers' Influence

Parson conceptualized the father as the instrumental leader of the family and the link to the demands and norms of the outside world. In this instrumental function the father is involved in launching his children into society, in keeping with the kind of future he would expect the child to have which is not too dissimilar from his own current position. As instrumental player, like an executive in an organization, his orientation involves a disciplined pursuit of goals (Lynn, 1974: 104). The more

instrumental parent (father, according to Parsons) would be more concerned with their children's sex role behaviours and more keenly aware of the adverse consequences of deviating too far from society's general role prescriptions. Therefore fathers are less likely to encourage in their daughters the development and behaviours and attitudes consistent with the traditional instrumental male roles. Accordingly, they cling to rigid sex role stereotypes in their zeal to protect gender appropriate behaviour. As the representative of society in the family, the father feels compelled to enforce the sex role demands that the world outside the family will make upon his children. He has a greater interest in sex typing than the mother and hence has a stronger influence in instilling beliefs that persist through adulthood (Johnson, 1963: 330; Goodenough, 1957: 311).

Parsonian role theory calls attention to the reciprocity inherent in the interactions between parents and children. These interactions involve learning between parents and children. These interactions involve learning not only by modeling and imitation but also from sensing the intentions and expectations of the significant other. The concept of reciprocity is recognized as being important in the sense of internalizing a reciprocal role relationship with the father and acquiring the attitudes of the other toward his/her own performance. Thus, if roles are to be differentiated and the girl is to become "feminine" and the boy is to become "masculine" the type of relationship must be different for each sex. By playing the male role, or the reciprocal role to the female role,

fathers teach daughters the female role and female sex typed behaviour. In view of the greater concern of the father with sex typed behaviour and his generally greater power than the mother, Parsons suggests that the father is the key figure in determining sex typed behaviour in boys and girls (Johnson, 1963: 320, 321). I think Parsons' theory is valid when interpreting Aberle and Naegele's study.

The middle class fathers interviewed by Aberle and Naegele in 1952 were concerned about launching their children into society with the "appropriate" gender linked characteristics and behaviours which were considered important and expected for their future middle class occupational roles. They anticipated that their daughters would become middle class wives and mothers. As a result their own standards were less exacting in regards to shaping the girls' behaviour for their future roles. They simply did not seem to be as clear about girls as they were for boys.

In contemporary society, this theory for middle class families with working wives most often does not apply. If a husband-father is married to a woman who commands almost or equal resource bargaining power by virtue of her income, education and occupational status, his sex role orientation for his children will be contrary to the traditional approach in order for his children to function successfully, as does his wife, in the contemporary world (Vanfossen, 1977: 572).

This better bargaining position for women is associated with greater sharing of family roles (Mortimer *et al.*, 1978: 289; Model, 1981: 234;

Ericksen et al., 1979: 311). These patterns of the power balance between mother and father may have great impact on the socialization of the children. It is here that sex roles are evident and provide the basis of sex role value formation, development and orientation - what children view as appropriate for themselves and for others. These values reflect the microcosmic structure which in turn is based on the parental access to status resources (Vanfossen, 1977: 568).

Differentiation in the 1970's and 1980's

By presenting parenthood as a learned role that fathers are just as competent to master given the opportunity, many sociologists refute the justification of exclusive maternal childrearing. Fathers are not less efficient when given the caretaker role (Russell, 1982; Sawin & Parke, 1979). There are a growing number of studies which focus on traditional and non-traditional families in which fathers are as involved or more involved than mothers (Russell, 1982, 1983; Radin, 1982; Sagi, 1982; Levine, 1976; Beer, 1983).

The socialization of women with a high education and status occupation may be an indicator of being socialized in a less traditional way (Baruch, 1972; Almquist & Angrist, 1969; Hennig & Jardim, 1977). Both Radin (1982) and Sagi (1982), report findings that early socialization experiences are linked with father participation. Radin (1981: 508) reports that a woman having grown up in a family in which the mother had positive feelings of her father's involvement might be critical whereas

Sagi (1982) and Manion (1977) further report that fathers are more highly participant when their own fathers have been actively involved in childcare. Conversely, in Barnett and Baruch's study (1986), fathers were more highly involved when they had less favorable attitudes or less favorable fathering experiences from their own childhood.

Socialization therefore has a major effect on how children develop, what they view as appropriate for themselves and others, and on what values, beliefs and aspirations they may possess. Fathers alone, or through the dynamics of their relationship with their wives, may have a considerable influence on the development and socialization of children and sex role expectations (Lamb, 1975; Lamb, 1979; Lamb, 1981; Lewis & Pleck, 1979; Lynn, 1974; Lynn, 1976). When fathers hold different expectations for sons than daughters it is reasonable to assume that this viewpoint will influence the methods of socializing their children (Hoffman, 1977; Lamb, Owen, & Chase-Lansdale, 1979).

Highly involved fathers are relevant to children's sex role development. According to Hoffman (1977) and Lamb (1979), increased performance by fathers ought to influence children away from traditional sex role differentiation. As a result of this blending of sex roles, the child's concept of traditional male and female roles is less differentiated. Men who do become involved in childcare may be changed themselves by the experience in such a way that they do not treat sons and daughters differently.

However involved fathers may be, they do differentiate between

sons and daughters albeit in a way dissimilar to traditional fathers (Radin, 1981). The fathers of these pre-schoolers in Radin's study spent a considerable amount of time in stimulating the children's cognitive growth, particularly the daughters. The difference to traditional fathers is that these caregiving fathers made great efforts to foster their daughter's intellectual growth by exposing the child to educational materials (e.g., crayons, paper, small scissors). However, even though they encouraged growth in children of both sexes, their direct teaching activities were focused on their sons.

Hoffman (1977) described a number of studies suggesting that fathers still aspire differentially for achievement and careers for sons. Twenty-one percent of the fathers mentioned career or occupational success for sons while only 14% responded this way for daughters. This same bias was revealed in a study by Block (1978), in which achievement was emphasized for sons but not for daughters. Other studies, however, do not support this conclusion (Lueptow, 1975; Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974).

A study in Salt Lake City (Peterson, Rollins, & Heaps, 1982) examined whether a change had occurred from the functionalist perspective regarding family career orientation for their teenagers. Career goals for males were favoured by fathers by a 4 to 1 ratio over female adolescents. However, it is interesting to note that females chose this orientation much less than did their families. There was no correlation between the father's income and his education and the

delaying of his daughter's occupational goals whereas families with highly educated mothers tended not to delay their daughter's career goals. The significance of the "sex of adolescent" variable seemed to indicate that traditional sex role expectations were still quite strong for fathers within these families. Similar results from a study in Wisconsin from 1964-1975 of high school seniors echoed Parsons' role taking processes based on expectations. Father's influence was related to traditional orientations for both sexes. This study revealed that there was no evidence of change in sex related "instrumental expressive" patterns of influence between 1964-1975 (Leuptow, 1980).

Barnett (1981) conducted a study of 252 pre-school aged girls and boys of highly educated white middle class families in which the fathers were employed in high level professional and managerial positions. Among the parents of girls, but not of boys, sex role attitudes were significantly related to earlier independence granting and a greater emphasis on achievement. The achievement items included the following seven items: (1) to be a leader of other children, (2) to excel in school work, (3) to stand up for self, (4) to be tops in games or sports, (5) to complete a college education, (6) to be eager to compete, and (7) to earn a living. In contrast to Parsons' traditional fathers, these fathers' childrearing values were found to be relatively unaffected by the sex of the children.

Have Fathers' Aspirations Changed Since Aberle & Naegele?

Aberle and Naegele's 1952 fathers were more concerned with the goals of their sons than with those of their daughters and were distressed when their sons behaviour did not conform with their own high aspirations for them such as to go to college, and to enter business or a profession. The father's standards for their daughters were less exacting, in keeping with their aspirations for them to become wives and mothers. However, they did expect them to do well in school as well as to be pretty, affectionate, and behave morally (Aberle & Naegele, 1952). Some of the behaviours that bothered fathers most concerning their sons in this study was their lack of responsibility, athletic inadequacy, tearfulness, and homosexual play. Many of these same behaviours were mentioned by fathers in regard to girls, but much less frequently.

The central purpose of a later study by Intons-Peterson replicating Aberle and Naegele's research was to ascertain whether similar paternal attitudes prevalent in 1952 were reflected in 1982. She interviewed 102 white fathers from different socio-economic backgrounds who may have had only sons, daughters, or both (Intons-Peterson, 1985). However, this was different from Aberle and Naegele's and my study where only middle class fathers were interviewed.

The most striking result in the Intons-Peterson study, was that 86 of the 94 adjectives spontaneously used by fathers to describe their children did not show gender differences. The remaining 8 traits were likely to characterize daughters as nice, sweet, peppy-energetic, and

humourless, and sons as level headed, having better athletic ability, and being bright and well behaved. These 8 conformed to gender differences as described by Aberle and Naegele. Only 3 of 56 "worrisome" behaviours showed dependable sex differences. Fathers were more concerned with excessive excitability of their daughters and rebelliousness and tempers of their sons. Thus, when gender differences did appear, they conform to gender stereotypes. Overall, a most noticeable difference between the two studies was the fairly strong similarity in the description of daughters and sons in the second study.

Intons-Peterson found that educational aspirations did not reliably differ for daughters and sons. The well educated professional-managerial fathers assumed that college training was important for both daughters and sons. College was important for their son's successful careers, whereas for daughters it was important for the options it provided that may or may not include a career. Thus, as in 1952, career implications are stronger for a son than daughter (but not to the same extent as 1952). The fathers in 1982 had a casual attitude toward a daughter's lifetime goals that she "do whatever she wants to do". The educational and occupational levels of fathers and the family composition qualified a few of the results. For example, fathers with less education had a more favorable view of their daughters than their sons while those with more education identified more positive attributes to sons than daughters.

The author felt that her study revealed that there was a substantial similarity between sons and daughters in gender stereotyping,

expectations, aspirations, characteristics, worries, and beliefs. The gender stereotyping, expectations and aspirations found in Aberle and Naegele's study were in accord with the traditional roles of male and females during the 1950's. One can speculate that when fathers perceived different roles for their sons and daughters, their socialization practices would be different (Hoffman, 1977).

This chapter showed how the Parsonian structural-functionalist approach, which was reflected in Aberle and Naegele's study, is no longer relevant in contemporary society. Massive increases in middle class women with pre-school children entering the labour force has altered the traditional "instrumental expressive" division of roles. Fathers can no longer cling to rigid sex role stereotypes as their children, particularly ydaughters, will be ill-prepared for their future roles. A review of the literature on fathers' sex role differentiation revealed inconsistent results. In comparing a study conducted in the 1980's to that of Aberle and Naegele, it was found that contemporary paternal sex role differentiation was marginal.

Chapter V

FATHERS' AND CHILDREN

My study was inspired on the intellectual level by the ideological and structural sex role changes that have taken place in the western world during the past thirty years. My inspiration on the visceral level was that fathers seem to be more visible in the levels of participation (strollers, papooses) and amounts of time that they spend with their children. This research was designed to investigate whether these changes have been accompanied by alterations in fathers' attitudes towards sex differentiation and socialization of their children.

Working Mothers

The variables I have used as indicators of fathers' general ideology towards the role of women in the 1980's, relate to womens' role in the home, and their own activities with and aspirations for their sons and daughters. This coincides with the literature review of the previous chapters. The hypothesis of this research is that the general liberalizing of attitudes attributed to the Womens' Movement will mitigate the sex differentiation witnessed three decades earlier, when Aberle and Naegele did their research.

One of the dependent variables employed is fathers' attitudes towards mothers of young children working. In the 1950's the general belief was that a mother's place was in the home and that children would be permanently emotionally damaged if this was not the case. Empirical

studies have failed to substantiate these pessimistic conclusions (Etaugh, 1974; Hoffman, 1974). Etaugh concluded that

mothers who are satisfied with their lives have the best adjusted children, regardless of their employment status..... (Lamb, 1982: 57)

it is not maternal employment per se, but rather the attitudes, values, and circumstances of the employed women that are pathogenic. (Ibid: 63)

In this study, 6 of the 28 fathers interviewed had wives who worked full-time, and 9 who worked part-time (less than 25 hours a week). In all cases the wife of the interviewee had his full support for her working outside the home according to the husbands interviewed. In no case was the wife of the interviewed father working against his wishes. Where the wife of the interviewed father was not working, it complied in almost all cases with the father's strong wishes that his wife not work at the present time. However, there were several fathers who responded positively in the abstract sense to women with young children working and yet their own wives were not working at the present time.

I have divided father's response and level of support or non-support into 3 categories - those who support it, who support conditionally, and who are opposed to her working (see Table 4). The reasons for their full or conditional support in most cases had little bearing on recognizing or respecting the inherent rights, needs, and satisfactions which women may derive from the freedom to choose gainful employment. Typical responses were, as one father said, "there's nothing wrong with that at all. I don't mind, she's not home much anyway"; another said, "fine as long as they

are comfortable that the children are not lacking in anything and that the trade-off is not too great"; or "I think it's terrific if they are happy", "if you have the choice I think it's a wonderful thing if a woman can bring up a family and work doing something she likes". Note the implications that the family is her responsibility even when she works.

As stated earlier, fathers who unconditionally supported the idea of mothers with young children working, did not necessarily have wives who were working at that time (leave of absence, studying). Seventeen of the twenty-eight interviewed offered unconditional support; 15 of the 28 presently had wives working full or part-time. Their positive and unconditional support is seen in the following statements. A lawyer father explained that "I never considered that I would be married to

TABLE 4

FATHERS' ATTITUDE TO WOMEN WITH SMALL CHILDREN WORKING

	Number	Percent
Unconditional Support	17	60.7
Conditional Support	3	10.7
Non-Support	8	28.6
TOTALS	28	100.0

someone who doesn't work. It is important for her self identification". Three fathers looked at the strengthening of the marital relationship when the wife worked. In one of these cases the wife had stopped working briefly and he felt that their levels of communication and excitement were not the same as when she was working and that it was imperative to their relationship that she return to teach nursing. The most comprehensive response was a professor in the Arts Faculty of a local university. He thought it was terrible if wives don't work if they wish to because of pressures in the community or friends. He believed that talented and very bright women became

awfully bored just taking care of the house and children... Not enough to stimulate these women. Moreover, a tremendous gap can grow between husband and wife decreasingly having something to talk about... in fact if all there is between husband and wife is non-professional conversation then I think that the wife winds up with less than the husband to fulfill her life because the husband doesn't need a lot more from the wife because he's got a lot more. But the wife needs it from the husband because she doesn't have a lot more and that's not fair. Often the husband doesn't perceive this because he's okay and he doesn't feel the pressure and doesn't understand why she does.

This father doesn't feel that work is a "must" for every woman as "some wouldn't benefit because of the kind of work they would have to do. It would be more of the same - drudgery, boring, and repetitive". As such he feels their lives would not be enriched. However when a wife does not have to work for economic necessity, but wants to work, "I certainly think that the husband has to be a partner in helping the wife to do whatever will fulfill her". This response showed an uncharacteristic sensitivity

towards women.

The number of fathers (3) who conditionally supported working mothers are much fewer than those who support it unconditionally, or those that do not support it (8). One of the fathers favouring conditional support said, "wife working was fine provided it doesn't have a toll on the children or on the house in general". This particular father is actively encouraging his wife to return to work part-time as "you get rusty" by staying at home, so long as "it doesn't jeopardize bringing up the children". He cited an example of a friend whose wife is a chartered accountant and works late hours, which he finds unacceptable.

The eight who do not support the idea of mothers of young children working feel that it's detrimental to their children's well being. As one father said "it's important that one parent be home most of the time when the children are at home". Another thinks that "the first 5 years of a child's life are the formative years and that a child needs a mother most during those years". He has three older children from a first marriage and maintains this position with his second wife vis-a-vis their four year old. He does go on to state that a mother can work part-time if it's important for her well-being and welfare, in which case "both parents are prepared to devote the time at night to fill the vacuum left during the day. If parents come home at six o'clock, and the child goes to bed at seven, that's a disaster". He proposes adapting specific remedies such as a nap during the day so that the child can stay up later. A third father was "totally against it" unless for financial reasons. He himself works 80

hours per week (for financial reasons) and rather than have his wife work and help out financially, which would also reduce his hours, he insists that a "mother should be with a child".

Overall, if one adds together "unconditional" and "conditional" support, fathers have a strong acceptance of mothers' working outside the home. These findings show that more than twice as many middle class fathers accept and support the idea of mothers with small children working.

Financial Independence

Fathers were asked if they felt it was important for a woman to be financially independent. The largest group (unconditional) felt that this was important for a host of reasons. The second grouping (conditional) believed that in view of the high divorce rate it might be important "in marriages which are not good". In the third group only 2 of the 6 fathers admitted to being chauvinistic or traditional and therefore did not consider it important, whereas 2 others did not consider it important because everything is "ours" (see Table 5).

The response of those who favoured the importance of a woman being financially independent varied. One response was that "it's chauvinistic for a woman not to be financially independent". Another was that it was important for self esteem, if financial independence is perceived as being a component of self esteem. A third acknowledgement was that he "doesn't see why these days a woman should have any

TABLE 5
FATHERS' ATTITUDE TO WOMEN BEING
FINANCIALLY INDEPENDENT

	Number	Percent
Unconditional Support	16	57.2
Conditional Support	6	21.4
Non-Support	6	21.4
TOTALS	28	100.0

different role than a man in any sphere of life". He accepts that some men can't deal with that and only feel comfortable in giving a fixed 'allowance' to their wives. "A situation such as this creates two levels of people - a master-servant relationship in which he would not want to be superior to somebody in that way". He feels it's an insult to the male if he wishes to be associated with a "parent-child relationship. It's probably a higher level of relationship when two people are really equal and independent at the same time".

Four of the six fathers with "conditional" responses towards women being financially independent based their attitude on the current high

divorce rate. "If the marriage is good then it is not necessary".

Two of the fathers who stated that this was not important claimed to be "old-fashioned" and "chauvinistic" in the sense that "I like the feeling when a wife is dependent on a husband". Two others who denied the importance of financial independence felt that it "doesn't matter who contributes to the common pot as it is ours". The wife is not forced into the position where she is obliged to ask for money from her husband but is free to withdraw at will.

A unique response revealed the underlying fear of a woman being financially independent. This interviewee explored the possibility that "it would cause family problems if the wife was financially independent". He was concerned as he needed his wife to "take care of me and my family and she needs me to take care of her". If she were financially independent he would still need her but she wouldn't need him and this would create an imbalance.

He recognized that it would work the same way if he stayed at home and "took care of the kids and let her go out to work. At that point she'd be financially independent and I wouldn't".

Overall, from this variable, the "unconditional" group (16) is more than twice the "conditional" (6) or the "non-supportive" (6). These fathers tend to accept and support a woman being financially independent.

Housework

The questions asked were "Do you think that men should do

housework? What in particular do you do? And what percentage does this constitute compared to your wife?"

In this study as in previous studies, the quality and quantity of their time tended to be related to the employment status of their wife, that is, whether she worked or not and the status of her position. In more cases than not the higher the status, the more help she received from her husband. In other cases, if the husband's income was very high and there was hired live-in help in the home, the husband felt officially excused from participating. In one case the husband expressed the opinion that if it was not necessary for the wife to work than she should not ask for help from her husband. Other attitudes from earlier studies are also mirrored in this study such as that which views housekeeping as the wife's main responsibility. If men do participate it is in the capacity of "helping out" or "pitching in". The tasks are not divided by arrangement. One husband may cook for several months if he "happens to be in a cooking mode". Even some husbands who were more involved than most and would for example, polish furniture, "did not do so without being asked".

The control variable of "husbands' help" was determined subjectively from the respondents when asked the question "what housework do you do"? (see Table 6) If he was limited in his response I asked specific questions (vacuuming, laundry, etc.) to give him more of a chance, in case he had forgotten to mention a contribution.

When men did participate this generally included taking out the

garbage, vacuuming, tidying up in general and more specifically after dinner, washing pots and pans, cleaning floors, gardening, snow removal, maintaining and repairing equipment, laundry, window washing, furniture polishing, errands, specialty shopping and regular food shopping, and cooking apart from barbecuing. One father summed up his participation by saying his "wife does the skilled labour and I do the grunt labour".

The most common unsolicited explanation from husbands for not doing more than they were presently doing and feeling uncomfortable about it was the lack of time available. In this category are a businessman who works ninety hours a week out of necessity, a physician who already has reduced his fixed salary by cancelling a clinic in order to babysit early one evening a week, and an academic who at one time had custody of his children and learned to cook, sew and clean, but now blames his "irregular" hours so that he "cannot be counted on". This lack of time accounts for the others who have positive attitudes but lack the time.

Another three husbands excused themselves for not doing much in the house by saying that they "spend more time with the children" the implication being that while other fathers are helping in the house, they are spending this time with their children.

Others who did not feel uncomfortable did little because "I detest housework" or "my wife is so good at it". They excused themselves from participating because they had "hired help", and even if they did not have such help would "probably not" help.

TABLE 6

HUSBANDS' SELF REPORTED CONTRIBUTION
TO THE HOUSEHOLD TASKS

Paid Help	Live-in Help			Day Help			No Help			Totals	
	Husbands' Help *	L	M	H	L	M	H	L	M		H
Wife Works	4	2	1		5	1			1	1	15
Wife doesn't Work	6			4				3			13
TOTALS	10	2	1	4	5	1	3	1	1	28	

* L=low
M=medium
H=high

Several interesting negative attitudes emerged. One father replied that men should not do housework. He felt that "men should not be expected to do it and not asked to do it as it just adds to the demands of his work. He considered it "unfair for a man to be subject to housework." He did realize that he was creating a double standard, if the wife worked as well, as his next statement was "now don't ask me about a woman". As was seen earlier in the chapter on Housework, he too felt that if a woman works and does not do so out of economic necessity, then she should not ask her husband for help. However, he did concede that if there was no live-in help then it's fair for men to "help but it does not come easy for men to do housework". His other engaging point was that men who are "fantastic cooks infringe on a woman's territory and that's one territory that a man should absolutely leave alone". He feels the man is robbing the woman of "some of the glory that doesn't belong to a man, although men make better cooks". Another father dealt with housework by not dealing with it at all. He does not have anything to do with the house, not even to take out the garbage. His wife is totally responsible for the house and he doesn't even pay the bills. If a pipe breaks, then she phones the plumber, as he does not want any involvement. He feels that he has enough to contend with at work and when he is at home he wants to relax and play with his child. Since his wife does not work she has all day to take care of events related to the house.

What was most evident, definite and conclusive in this study was

the total lack of participation on the part of the husband when there was live-in help and the wife did not have a job outside the home. In this category, one father whose wife did not work in the labour force said that since they have live-in help his wife "doesn't do all that much during the course of the day so there are certain things he takes for granted she should be able to get done". Another felt that his "chauvinism was emerging" as he did not see the need for husbands to help when the woman was a full-time housewife. He moderated his position by saying he was aware that situations did vary depending on the number of children and "when there are a lot of children the amount of work is really more than one person wants to do and it's also spread out over very long hours".

This study has reaffirmed previous findings that husbands of unemployed wives, whether there is paid help or not, do less than husbands of employed wives. Of the thirteen wives who didn't work, all received "little" help from their husbands. Of the fifteen wives who did work, only four received "little" help and eight received a "medium" amount from their husbands. Of the three husbands in the "much" classification, two are married to women who are self employed. One is married to a woman whose success he is very proud of. Previous studies have also supported increased help from husbands of successful women. The attitude of the other husband in the "much" category is 'if both parties are working more or less equal time then it's a 50 - 50 proposition. I don't see why one should do more than the other. It's a

matter of being responsible or not and if you are then you know that somebody has got to do it". The third husband is married to a student who takes evening courses, summer courses, and "hibernates to study".

Socialized Traits

Sex roles are social roles dictated by the biological sex of the actor at birth (Eisenstein, 1983; 11). A study done by Rubin, Provenzano, and Luria (1974) showed that parents intervene at birth in order to obtain the culturally and socially shaped cluster of expectations, attributions, and behaviours assigned to the category of human being into which the child was born.

Part of what this present study has investigated is whether the culturally and socially acquired traditional instrumental characteristics such as tenacity, aggressiveness, competitiveness, responsibility, curiosity, and the traditional expressive characteristics such as affection, friendliness, kindness, caring, and approval were linked by fathers with biological sex. How different was the thinking of contemporary fathers to those during the 1950's when Aberle and Naegele wrote? Was the appropriate cluster of traits still matched to fulfill the 'befitting' social function of breadwinner for the male and homemaker for the female?

This general question asked was, "What characteristics or traits do you think are important for a daughter/son to possess?" Thirty-three characteristics or traits were freely and spontaneously mentioned for sons, and 27 for daughters. Twenty were the same for both sons and

daughters. Of the 27 mentioned for daughters, 7 were not traditionally gender linked (tough, independent), and 8 of the 33 mentioned for males were not traditionally gender linked (sensitive, affectionate). Ten of the respondents did not see any difference between the characteristics desired for their boys or girls. This was shown by remarks such as not having "any special feelings about males or femaleness" or not seeing "any difference between boys and girls and don't know why it is differentiated" and not having "ever stopped to think that I want a daughter to possess different characteristics than a son". One father confessed that he would be sorry if he raised "a daughter who only wanted to be a housewife simply because I'm so far from that myself that I would feel a gulf".

One father did differentiate in this open-ended question. He replied that the traits he would like in a son are "probably a lot of the ones that I say are least important for my wife to possess" (e.g. aggressive, competitive).

A card with 17 characteristics was given to each respondent, asking them to rank in hierarchical order the 5 most important characteristics firstly for their daughters. A subsequent card with the same characteristics but different sequence was given for sons. They were also asked to indicate if there were any traits they might feel uncomfortable with.

Aberle and Naegele's study showed that fathers preferred their sons to possess the "instrumental" (competency-cluster) characteristics, and daughters the "expressive" (warmth) characteristics. Table 7

TABLE 7
RANK ORDER OF DESIRABLE CHARACTERISTICS
FOR SONS AND DAUGHTERS

<u>Rank Order for Sons</u>			<u>Rank Order for Daughters</u>		
	<u># of</u>			<u># of</u>	
	<u>Fathers</u>	<u>Rank</u>		<u>Fathers</u>	<u>Rank</u>
Intelligent (I)	28	1	Intelligent (I)	28	1
Initiative (I)	17	2	Initiative (I)	14	2
Sensitive (E)	14	3	Sensitive (E)	14	2
Ambitious (I)	14	3	Affectionate (E)	14	2
Assertive (I)	8	5	Ambitious (I)	11	5
Affectionate (E)	8	5	Friendly (E)	11	5
Adventurous (I)	6	7	Assertive (I)	9	7
Competitive (I)	6	7	Phys. Attrac. (E)	8	8
Friendly (E)	6	7	Loyal (E)	7	9
Curious (I)	5	10	Well-Liked (E)	6	10
Loyal (E)	5	10	Curious (I)	5	12
Phys. Attrac. (E)	5	10	Outgoing (I)	5	12
Aggressive (I)	4	13	Competitive (I)	4	14
Well-Liked (E)	4	13	Obedient (E)	4	14
Popular (E)	2	15	Adventurous (I)	3	15
Outgoing (I)	2	15	Aggressive (I)	1	16
Obedient (E)	1	16	Popular (E)	1	16

Type of characteristic: Expressive = "E"

Instrumental = "I"

demonstrates a significant change in the preference of contemporary fathers from those of 30 years ago. The most highly ranked desirable characteristic for daughters and sons are not qualitatively different, as was found in Aberle and Naegele's research. Now the difference is one of degree. Fathers ranked "intelligent", "initiative", and "sensitive" as their top choices for both sons and daughters. However, the proceeding concentration of choices for daughters remains mostly expressive with instrumental characteristics such as "adventurous", and "competitive" ranking humbly. Such is not the case for sons where instrumental and expressive are interspersed throughout the remainder of the ranking.

Although the similarity in the ranking changes after the top four, the largest degree of variance for the instrumental characteristics between sons and daughters, is three. For the expressive characteristics, the largest degree of variance is six. This smaller difference in the instrumental characteristic, between sons and daughters, can be explained by fathers feeling more comfortable with their daughters sharing the same "competency" characteristics as their sons, rather than the sons sharing the same "warmth" characteristics as their daughters.

An answer to the question "Are there any characteristics that you feel uncomfortable with?" Some fathers felt uncomfortable in two areas in the "instrumental" category - adventurous, aggressive, and in three areas in the "expressive" category - loyal, popular, and obedient. "Obedient" received the largest and an equal amount of disdain for both sons and daughters. This study reaffirms the findings by Kohn on social class

determinants of fathers' position on obedience (1963). After completing the issued cards one father commented that he was not really uncomfortable with his daughter being aggressive, ambitious, and competitive although "I probably listed them more for a boy as desirable, but wouldn't be uncomfortable with any of these for my daughter." These same sentiments were restated by another father who felt

competitive and aggressive are things that are probably more important for a son..... the world is still the way it is in terms of males and females, and although there is enormous amounts of change going on I think in terms of survival, it may be more important still for those particular traits in a male than a female, although I guess that's arguable completely.

Another father was much more adamant and less uncertain between the differences in characteristics between sons and daughters. "We're like the animals. You don't see a father lion taking care of the cubs, you see a mother lion. It's nature.... The man has to go out in the jungle and make a living."

As expected, eight fathers listed physically attractive as being more important for daughters, compared to five for sons. However, this characteristic provoked comments. One father felt that chances of "growing up happier are there if you're O.K. looking". He remembers when he was in high school and "boys and girls having a pretty bad time because they were the opposite of physically attractive". He however did not rank this characteristic as being important for either of his children. An awareness of a double-standard was referred to by another father who

said, "whether it's fair or not, and whether it's sexist for it to exist, men have it easier than a woman - a lot easier. Men can get away with a lot more." He rated physically attractive as number one for his daughter and as number six for his son (this is an honorable mention as they were only asked to rank five).

To summarize, it has been shown that the characteristics fathers desire for their sons and daughters are no longer polarized in the highest ranking, that is, the most important and valued. Three of the top four characteristics were identical in ranking. However, after sharing the ranking for the top three characteristics, this research indicates that fathers prefer their daughters to possess the competency-cluster traits rather than for their sons to possess the warmth-expressive cluster. Another impressive result signifying a difference from 30 years ago, relates to "this changing world", in which fathers ranked "sensitive" as being highly and equally important for sons and daughters. Thus fathers of the eighties want their sons to be "tough and tender", and their daughters to be "tough and more tender". Their middle class paternal values tend to be extensions of the nature of behaviours that are functional for them in their occupational structures, and are transferred to their children through socialization.

School Performance

Aberle and Naegele's study demonstrated that middle class fathers' believed that it was more important that their sons do well in school than

their daughters. When this variable was tested in the 1980's, it provoked the least discussion. There was almost complete unanimity towards an equal and fair attitude that both sons and daughters do well, and not one more than the other. The question asked was, "Do you think it is more important for your son or daughter to do well in school?" Only one father perhaps favoured his daughter. He began his response by saying "probably to be fairest I would say equal. I was going to say my daughter, but I think it's equal". Questioned further he said,

my son is competitive... so I think his competitiveness will stand him in good stead..... I don't think my daughter is as competitive so it may be more important for her to do well at school..... to have the same opportunities. So in that respect I could choose my daughter, but you can't tell at three or five years old how they'll be later necessarily so that I think that it's equally important for them both to do well.

Only three of the 28 fathers indicated that it was more important for their sons to do well. Two of these felt that their sons would be "judged by their achievements in school a lot more", and that these achievements will play a role in their future options. "Society is still structured on the premise that the husband is primarily the breadwinner", and "the options are always there for her to be a housewife, and the options are less for him to be a househusband so her options are greater as she can be a doctor too". The third father in this category stated, "I'm ashamed to say that I think it's more important for my sons".

Overall, out of 28 fathers, 24 (85.7%) felt that it was equally

important for their both daughters and sons to do well in school, 3 (10.7%) felt it was more important for sons, and 1 (3.6%) oscillated between daughter and both. Thus, doing well in school is no longer a domain favoured for sons alone.

Higher Education

There is a decidedly different attitude toward a university education for middle class fathers of the 1980's compared to those interviewed by Aberle and Naegele in the 1950's. The fathers interviewed more than 30 years ago expected their sons to get a university education. For daughters the majority planned a university education but showed more readiness to admit that they might not go. These contemporary middle class fathers do not differentiate between daughters and sons. One father who fell into the majority category of a university education being equally important stated "if it's important for him to go, it's important for her to go". Another said, "I think there's a lot to be learned at university and my daughter is as important as my son". A third father said "my mother was totally dependent. I don't want this for my daughter."

Of the 28 fathers interviewed, 22 had completed university, and 17 had done post-graduate studies. University education was important for these fathers because - "it would enhance their childrens' lives" and make "them well rounded", "give them a more fulfilling existence", and "would allow them to be more employable as one needs that piece of paper just to open the door", and lastly it "generally creates more options".

Of the six fathers who did not attend or complete university, three considered university important for their children. The three remaining fathers without university education did not feel that university was important. One didn't believe in "passive education but in active education. The only real education exists out in the world". He didn't consider education as a stepping stone to the "real world". Another who was not a good student himself, and consequently was made to feel like a failure, did not want the same thing to happen to his children. The third believed that "university was not important unless you wanted to be a professional. It's more important that you should get smart." By this he meant street smart, as opposed to educated.

In answer to the question of encouraging either their sons or daughters more if neither wanted to attend, 17 out of 25 (since 3 did not think university was important they are not included) would encourage both. One father responded that "it's just as important for her to be self sufficient as my son". Another reported that "I would not concentrate my efforts on one if all three said no. You can't do that, that's not fair. If I felt that it was right for one, I felt it was right for all of them. However, if one was not capable of succeeding, I wouldn't push them only to have them fail."

Those who did differentiate in their encouragement did so in favour of their sons. One father whose daughters were a lawyer and a doctoral candidate stated that "I don't see any difference between males and females basically.... not in our society today". However when asked about

encouraging one sex more than the other he said if he could only afford to send one child "it's preferable for a boy to go to college than a girl". The response from a second father to differential encouragement was that he would "encourage them both very strongly and if I had to decide one against the other probably I would say my son but I would be very disappointed if my daughter didn't go also". He would encourage his son more as he thinks "it's more likely he will be in a position where he will be the financial foundation for this family, and that it would prepare him best for opportunity in the job market or whatever".

A father with a unique stance felt that he would encourage them all; but he thought that his son could be an achiever independent of university, whereas it would be more difficult for his daughters. In other words, his daughter would need to be better educated for society in order to have the same chances as his son.

Overall, twenty-five (89.3%) of the 28 middle class fathers considered university equally important for both daughters and sons. When asked which offspring they would encourage more, if neither wanted to go 7 (28%) said they would encourage sons, 1 (4%) daughter, and 17 (68%) would encourage both.

Athleticism

The findings in the study reported by Aberle and Naegele were that it was more important for fathers that their sons be athletic than their daughters. Present attitudes are bound to be unlike those of the 1950's

due to the recent boom in physical fitness resulting in the increased number of individuals and families involved in recreational sport activities. In this present study fathers did not want their children to excel or to be champions. Athletics had a different importance for them. One significant benefit of their children participating in sports was that it "positively affects the physical and mental well-being" and "helps you concentrate on your mental work". The second advantage mentioned most frequently was that it provided "socializing experience" as well as a "team-building kind of relationship with others". This second point was mentioned as being just as important for their daughters as for their sons, thus recognizing a new dimension to womens' lives since the 1950's.

Each father was asked to rate, on a scale of 1 - 10 (one being the highest) the importance of their child being athletic. Whether fathers gave athletics a high or low rating was not of significance. What was significant was whether there was a difference in their attitudes for their daughters and sons.

Twenty-two of the twenty-eight fathers interviewed, found it of equal importance for their daughters and sons to be athletic and only 6 believed it was more important for their sons to be athletic. Two of these six attributed their difference to "societal norms". One father disclosed that he didn't "think it would be as important for her to have friends and get along with a peer group as it would probably be for my son because of the nature of the society that we live in but that may change". For example, he said that "girls don't go out that much and play squash with

a friend as a pastime" although a few in his medical class did. Also included in this category was a father who felt being athletic was more important for his son "because I want to do things with him. It would hurt me more if he couldn't." He then realized the significance of what he said and quickly added "no, I will with her too". A father with a similar bias who had sons older than nursery school age was disappointed that they did not treat sports as seriously as he did when he was growing up. He admitted that he would be less disappointed if his daughter had the same attitude as her brothers.

Overall, fathers' attitudes towards the importance of their daughters and sons being athletic has changed dramatically since Aberle and Naegele's study, who reported that athletic inadequacy was a concern for sons but not for daughters. Twenty-two of the fathers in my study rated it equally important and only 6 found it more important for a son. One father summed up the change by saying, "I'm not totally old-fashioned".

Ballet; Hockey

The news media has brought to the general public's attention the fact that girls are interested in playing hockey. Several of the fathers interviewed knew about existing girls' leagues and one had a daughter who presently plays on a girls' team. Another had a female billet stay at his home who played on a boys' team. The concept of daughters playing in a masculine activity or being a "tomboy" does not disturb middle class

fathers (Lynn, 1976; 80). The concept of sons participating in a feminine activity has traditionally been more disturbing among all classes.

Table 8, which follows, shows fathers' continuing support for their daughters in an uncharacteristic female activity. This study showed that 75% of these middle class fathers supported the idea of their daughters playing hockey, 7.1% did not support it and 17.9% straddle the traditional and contemporary positions. Fifty percent of the fathers supported the idea of their sons participating in ballet, 32.1% objected and 17.9% were in a process of oscillation. The amount of support for their sons to participate in ballet was not as great as for their daughters to play hockey. However, their positive responses of more than marginal support show the general change in social attitudes over the last 30 years. The column titled ambivalence represents fathers who are in the process of transition from traditional to contemporary. These fathers show awareness of the prevailing non-sexist social currents, and therefore do not wish to acknowledge (to themselves perhaps) that they are still traditional. Their reasoning is varied. One father commenting on how he would feel if his son wanted to take ballet said,

wonderful, wonderful training... .. I mean... I would try and discourage it to some degree for reasons that may be obvious. I think there could be problems for him in terms of his peers. If he was really mature and could really understand he might get kidded a lot about this. He might get alienated from some of his friends because they might not understand and they might associate this with a non-masculine thing and a female kind of thing.

When it was suggested that he might meet new friends at ballet, he

TABLE 8

FATHERS ATTITUDE TO GIRLS IN HOCKEY & BOYS IN BALLET

	Hockey	Ballet
Yes	21 (75%)	14 (50%)
No	2 (7.1%)	9 (32.1%)
Ambivalent	5 (17.9%)	5 (17.9%)
Totals	28 (100%)	28 (100%)

agreed and then said,

I would actually be proud of him if he was committed to do something like that because I think that the physical training would be marvelous and I'm very keen on that and if that was something he chose to do well, that's great.

Another "mixed message" reported was that this father would "be very happy if his son would take ballet.... it would be very good for him and I wouldn't mind at all.... but he wouldn't want to. He's a real boy in the sense that he wouldn't want to do anything that's associated with girls' things."

The "mixed message" regarding girls playing hockey exhibited more of a concern towards safety. They regarded their daughters as 'small' or 'sensitive' and not 'big and tough as some girls are'. A physician's first thought was that "it's fine". Upon further deliberation he said "maybe I'm a little bit more reluctant for her to do body contact sports". He wouldn't want her to have "her teeth knocked out" or.... acquire a "big ugly scar across her face.... but if she really insisted I'd say fine. There are girls that play in our league."

Those fathers who supported their sons taking ballet generally felt that there was "no problem. Things like that don't bother me". Others expressed the same sentiment in a positive manner. "I think that personally I would be very pleased". Another said he thought "it's as athletic as catching a football. I'm sure there are as many homosexuals who play professional football as there are in the New York City Ballet, so I don't see any difference". Another supportive father said,

having feminine behaviour in a son wouldn't bother me.....
those kinds of feelings come from within and you're born that
way and you can't change what a person is.

More support came from a father who said that his son enjoys watching ballet and has gone to ballet performances. He thinks the idea of his son participating is "tremendous". Another father encouraged the thought as he himself was very much interested in ballet at one time and thinks it's "super for boys".

An unsupportive position taken by a father who was against his son taking ballet says that he has "friendly arguments with his wife all the time and she laughs" at him. He said that he is

also against boys having dolls, period. I don't like it. When I say dolls I mean real dolls, and not the Spiderman dolls. I just don't like it, I don't know why. If my son wanted to take ballet I would discourage it. No reason other than I don't like it. I have nothing against ballet per se by I would not like him to take it, that's all.

He did not give credence to the idea that this might mean a "loss of masculinity" as he said "that seems silly because there's lots of male ballet dancers that are very masculine. I don't know. I just would not like it and I would certainly try to talk him out of it". A more extreme position was the father who "couldn't stand watching ballet, even watching women doing it".

A father with a more well thought-out approach explained it this way.

A lot of things we say are very traditional and you know that maybe it's not the modern way of thinking about things, but deep down inside you know that the traditional thing is the

thing that your children will be less likely to have great internal conflicts.... I mean that there are different pressures. And certainly there are enough pressures on people in life that there is something to be said for being conventional in certain respects and if you talk about male ballet dancers and stuff like that..... male ballet dancers may feel certain types of peer pressure that will just be an extra burden for them to handle as they evolve.... I still think that there is more opportunity and less internal conflicts if you fit in with some norm for society rather than being extreme in one respect or the other.

Overall, this study showed that three-quarters of these fathers supported the idea of their daughters playing hockey and one half supported the idea of sons participating in ballet.

Careers

These results are based on the answer to the question "What job, career, profession would you like your daughter/son to have in 20 years?" The assumption made was that fathers' vocational expectations for their sons would have remained constant since Aberle and Naegele's study, but that significant changes would have taken place in their expectations for their daughters. The fathers in Aberle and Naegele's study expected their sons, not their daughters, to have a higher education and middle class jobs similar to their own or higher. Fathers who would even discuss their daughters' future occupational position viewed a career "only as a possibility." Only two fathers, whose wives both worked, thought it was important for their daughters to know how to earn a livelihood (Aberle and Naegele, 1952: 371).

The daughters in this present study ranged in age from 8 months

to 34 years old. The younger the child, the more the response was based on pure conjecture. The older the child, the more realistic the father could be, based on the child's interests and abilities. It was not important that the answer be reality based. The answer was to indicate the extent, if any, of father's liberalization as compared to fathers' attitudes 30 years ago. If fathers responded that it was unnecessary for their daughters to learn or train for a vocation, as they considered marriage to be their vocation, this would be defined as traditional and in keeping with Aberle and Naegele's findings. If the father mentioned traditionally female jobs, such as a nursery school teacher, nurse, dental hygienist, this would also be considered to be traditional.

The data is divided into three general responses - traditional, liberal, and transitional. The traditional for sons would be doctor, lawyer, engineer, architect, businessman, professor, computer programmer. The untraditional would be a dancer, actor, teacher, writer. Transitional would be a combination of traditional and untraditional responses in the same answer (doctor, teacher). This would indicate the state of fluctuation and evolving social changes that have been taking place over the past three decades. As Table 9 shows, there was little variety or change in their responses for their sons.

This table shows that there was little change in the past thirty years in fathers' vocational aspirations for their sons. The major and expected change occurred in fathers' expanded and liberalized attitudes towards the nature of their daughters' vocation. Only six remained traditional, seven were transitional, twelve liberal, and two uncommitted.

TABLE 9

FATHERS' ATTITUDE FOR SONS AND DAUGHTERS TOWARDS
TRADITIONAL, LIBERAL, & TRANSITIONAL VOCATIONS

	Sons	Daughters
Traditional	23 (88.5%)	6 (23.1%)
Liberal	3 (11.5%)	13 (50%)
Transitional	0	7 (26.9%)
TOTALS	26 (100%)	26 (100%)

** 2 are uncommitted and therefore the total is 26.

One of the liberal fathers mentioned that he wanted both his daughter and son to find something which gave them a "sense of fulfillment.... something they didn't mind getting up in the morning and going to the office or getting up and taking care of the kids if it happened to be daughters or my son becoming a houseparent". A second liberal father felt his 4 year old son should be a writer as "he is a very sensitive soul and he has this kind of introspection".

Several fathers (5) did mention the differences between their vocational aspirations for their sons and daughters. These included the principle that fathers might "encourage their sons to climb a little higher" than they would "push" their daughters as it is more important for them. "They don't have an option of taking it or leaving it. She might have that option." Some of these fathers felt that they exerted more pressure on sons than daughters because the "son will have to, the way the world is today, keep the show on the road. My daughter won't."

Other fathers were more specific in direction for their daughters - "not a school teacher or a secretary; not a nurse; I'd like her to be a doctor". A second father was more specific for both son and daughter, showing vestiges of traditional stereotyping. "Whether she's a nurse or a doctor, I wouldn't want Ron (son) to be a nurse, she could be the nurse. Either of them could be doctors. As far as accountants... I'd rather see my son become an accountant more than my daughter. When it comes to figures I lean towards the male first." A father who was brought up during the 30's and 40's said, "it's funny, I don't think of business for my daughter, but I think of my sons for business".

The changes that have occurred in fathers' attitudes towards their aspirations for their daughters has been profound. This new breed of fathers appears to want both career, job, profession, and marriage. "I don't believe that a person is whole without both." A second father confessed that "I'm not one that wants my daughter to become a nurse or

dental assistant.... I would be happy if she wanted to be a surgeon, if she wants something very high on a technical level.... I'm not one to say that it's enough school, quit, time for you to go out and marry and settle down, and raise a family". At the same time this father mentioned that being a physician and having a family were not mutually exclusive. Another example of contemporary thinking was from a father who stated, "I'd like her to be financially independent. I don't want her to be dependent upon anybody, but to have her own profession or career. But I'd like her to also participate in family." This belief was reiterated by a father who admitted that his daughter "doesn't have to get married and be a housewife type of thing. If she wants to work and have a career of some sort that's her choice. If she wants to have kids.... the two are compatible." He did go on to stress one of the basic platforms of the Women's Liberation Movement that all options were viable, and that now the element of choice was possible. The opinions of these liberal fathers of daughters can be summed up by the father who claimed, "I certainly wouldn't say that I wouldn't want her to go to university, and I would want her to get married to a rich man and be a happy housewife. I couldn't say that at all. I think if she had the aptitude and the interest I would like her to be a professional. I think that she would find that much more fulfilling in her own life."

Overall, the most noteworthy and significant change compared to thirty years ago occurred in fathers' liberalized attitudes toward the nature of their daughters' vocations. There was little change in fathers'

vocational aspirations for their sons.

Involvement

The data contained in this forth-coming section deal exclusively with behaviour whereas the other sections dealt exclusively with attitudes. This is extremely relevant to the overall findings of this research as it reveals a discrepancy in the outcome between this section and the others.

Fathers' leisure time with their families on weekends and holidays was extensive, and it appeared to me that the fathers' involvement was more comprehensive and time consuming than it was 30 years ago. Previous analysis has indicated that fathers' style of interaction is more likely to be outdoor and physical and rough-and-tumble which conforms by and large to traditional stereotypes of fathers (Pogrebin, 1981). Fathers' involvement may have changed but has their style of interaction changed as well?

This research supports previous findings that fathers take responsibility on a regular basis for interacting with their children in sports and rough play and more so with sons than with daughters. It was immaterial whether the son was older or younger than the daughter, it was the son with whom they played "pitch and catch" or wrestled. Daughters were involved in physical activities with their fathers only when it was a family activity involving all members of the family such as skiing, skating, bicycling and so on, but not on a one-to-one basis as with

sons.

The character of the quiet type of activity such as model building, computer games, reading, talking, music, and homework, is different than that of the active 'event' type of undertakings. The quiet type need not take much time or preparation and is not seasonal. These characteristics make quiet activities easier to pursue than the outdoor activities because they can be done more often and on a regular basis. Despite this facility, fathers had difficulty, particularly with sons answering the question "what type of quiet activities do you do with your daughter/son?" The response for sons was often something active in nature such as "we go jogging", or "we go to the Y to swim". Only when questioned further did activities more quiet in nature become apparent. This was not the case with daughters as it was easier for them to relate to their daughters in quiet type of activities, predominantly reading, talking and watching television.

They attributed this difference to a function of personality. One father said he did less with his daughter because "she's more comfortable just being around. She just sort of likes to hang around and smile and laugh and giggle and he's sort of more energetic and active and so he likes and needs more direct involvement in something. He's restless and active and you can't sit around and talk with him and do nothing with him whereas you can with her". A second father whose son was also older said he did more sport things with his son "because he's older and because he's very sports oriented". His daughter can "listen to records and dance all day long". Their most interactive activity alone is reading.

He claims that the difference between the active kinds of things he does with his son and the passive kinds of things he does with his daughter are "partly because of their age differences and partly because of their differences in their own interests and in their sex, I guess". When the issue regarding the difference in their sex was pursued, he claimed that the "major and most important discrepancy is the difference in personality". He claimed that his son is more action-oriented, and his daughter "can sit better" and is more content to listen to music or watch a movie. He would not commit himself as to whether the differences in sex accounted for the differences in personality. A third father who claims to have a different relationship with his daughter (who is two years older than his son) because "my son wants that more than my daughter".

A unique explanation by one father for spending more time with his son was the "middle child syndrome" and he doesn't want his son to feel that way. He professes that his daughter is "the best student in her class and is outstanding in everything she does" and as a result he "tries harder with him. She doesn't need it".

Only one father whose children were very close in age, and did everything together from learning to skate to riding a bicycle at the same time, did not differentiate. He said that he continued "not to be doing special things with her or him because she's a girl and he's a boy even as they advance from babyhood". He implies that he did not expect any differences when they were both babies, but discovered that even as they

advanced from "babyhood" when one might expect differentiation, he still did not differentiate.

Overall, the general responses to the question of how fathers spend their recreational time with their children (not including skiing, toboggoning, and skating) showed that if they didn't spend an equal amount of time doing traditionally gender linked activities, then they spent more active time with their sons than their daughter and more quiet time with their daughter than their sons. These fathers revealed that their behaviour is less egalitarian than their attitude.

Caretaking

Fathers' interaction with their children has traditionally been more play oriented than childcare oriented. Childcare (feeding, dressing, bathing) is an area where fathers' contributions had in the past been most lacking (Parke and O'Leary, 1976). Any increase could be considered more than they had traditionally performed. Like in housekeeping tasks, he "helps out" but does not have the main responsibility unless when babysitting.

This study demonstrated that wife's employment outside the home plays a significant role in the level of the fathers' childcare participation. Those who were minimally involved (32.1%) generally had non-working wives, although there were two exceptions. In ascending order, from the least to the most involved, eight fathers (28.6%) did less on a daily basis and on weekends than their wives, and their wives were usually not

employed outside the home. The remaining two groups (21.4% and 17.95%) had greater father childcare participation, and a higher proportion of the mothers were employed.

For 11 of the fathers in the present study, bathing the children was their job, 9 would get up during the night and change diapers, and 11 have or would take full responsibility for taking care of the children for a weekend if the wife were to leave town. An example of extreme involvement which is more common than the 1950's, but hardly plentiful, is the father who had custody of his children. He assumed total household and childcare responsibility without any assistance or support. With his second marriage and additional children, his commitment to caregiving did not diminish. Three times a week his two week old baby was in his office while his wife took courses. He had a bassinet in the office and he fed and changed the baby.

Long Term Expectations

This question regarding fathers' long term expectations for their daughters and sons was asked at the end of the interview. Their immediate response in nearly all cases was for them to be "happy and healthy". The answer anticipated in the 1980's as compared to the 1950's was a multiple combination of vocation and marriage; a vocation and possibly marriage for sons and marriage and possibly a vocation for daughters.

The anticipated orientation was observed for 13 daughters and 15

sons. Six fathers were vague and general, however; their responses were the same for both daughters and sons, and the fathers hoped that their children would "set and achieve goals", "be content with themselves", and "be happy and successful". Four mentioned careers only for daughters with no mention of marriage, and 7 mentioned careers only for sons with no mention of marriage. Three fathers mentioned marriage only, and this only for their daughters (See Table 10). Two fathers were difficult to label as they showed an acceptance of both the traditional and contemporary world and are identified as "other". One replied "anything that gave her a sense of security, be it married with 25 children, or the Prime Minister of Canada", whereas the other responded "successful in the artistic field of just a housewife".

The majority of these middle class fathers thus had expectations which were a combination of vocation and marriage for their daughters and sons. Three in this category, although they did mention both, placed a different emphasis however on vocations for their sons than daughters. One said for his son "business and a nice family", and for his daughter commented "well it would be the reverse, a nice family and a business or an occupation that she'd be interested in". A second felt it was important that his daughter have some interests outside of her family and that his son "have a family that's successful and a career that will give him security and keep him happy". The third father in this category expected his daughter to "go to university and get a good education and have an occupation". He expected his son to be the "main breadwinner in his

TABLE 10

FATHERS' LONG TERM EXPECTATIONS FOR
SONS AND DAUGHTERS

	Sons	Daughters
Marriage Only	0	3 (10.7%)
Career Only	7 (25%)	4 (14.3%)
Marriage & Career	15 (53.6%)	13 (46.4%)
General	6 (21.4%)	6 (21.4%)
Other	0	2 (7.1%)
Totals	28 (100%)	28 (100%)

family", and claimed to be "very conventional in that sense". Reciprocally his daughter's occupation and income would be secondary.

In the remaining cases vocation and marriage were mentioned both for daughters and sons without a difference in emphasis. One remarked that "I keep getting the impression that I should be having different desires for one than for the other, and I don't. I would like them to have satisfaction with work and I think that marriage is important for both of them." A second expected his daughter to be "married, and to be I suppose professional and successful in her field. I don't want her to be just a housewife." One particular father declared that he's "kind of enlightened in that respect that girls don't go and have babies and stay home, and boys don't go out and work. They can both do these things." A respondent who is a lawyer spontaneously acknowledged that times have changed during the last 30 years when "most fathers would probably have said they wanted their daughters to get married." He attributed his equal aspirations for his daughter and sons to the fact that in his profession

there has been such an influx of women that it's really expected and accepted and it's good.... because society has in fact changed. I think that my expectations for my daughter are a lot more than they would have been had I been a parent 20 to 30 years ago."

Overall, the majority of fathers were much more enlightened in varying degrees regarding the expectations for their offspring, particularly daughters. In Aberle and Naegele's study the expectations were traditional. All wanted their sons to have middle class jobs, but preferred and

expected their daughters to get married and be housewives. Ten of the 20 fathers rejected career "out of hand" and only two wanted their daughters to know how to earn a livelihood. However, in the present study, there is evidence of changing times with increased female labour force participation reflected in the expectations of these middle class fathers for their daughters to combine work and marriage (13). The two were not seen as being mutually exclusive.

Chapter VI

CONCLUSION

The Women's Liberation Movement has raised society's consciousness to the perceived inequality of economic, social, and political rewards between the sexes. The goal of the movement is to change this inequality. The means to the goal is to change attitudes and subsequent behaviour. With the continuing lower birth rate and increased labour force participation, women will likely continue to change their personal rewards, power relationships and role expectations. The Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) has had an enormous impact on male-female relationships and the male sex role, marriages, and thus on children.

The majority of the twenty-eight fathers whom I interviewed were shown to have a less traditional sex role ideology than fathers of 30 years ago regarding working women's economic independence and the socialization of children. However change, as stated earlier in the body of the text, does not occur uniformly. There is no unitary trend. Whether or not there has been a "liberalization" of role definitions and behaviours depends upon the specific role or attitude to be considered. Societal change can be a slow process especially when such change involves basic values. The values underlying the expectations of men's behaviour constitute part of the ideology of our society.

This study suggests that middle class men are beginning to increase their family work when their wives are employed. This is an important social indicator which recognizes that men's attitudes and

behaviours are changing, however slowly. As a result of the WLM there has been a shift for a few fathers' towards increased participation within the home. However, the descriptive data from this study provides little evidence that the attitude changes have been accompanied by change in actual practice. As long as the market place continues to reward men's labour higher than women's labour, families will most likely assign primary responsibility to the man as bread-winner and the women as housekeeper. Traditional socialization has encouraged men's greater investment of time in their jobs than in their families.

The current combination of familial changes, particularly among the middle class and attributable to the WLM has exerted considerable pressure on traditional socialization practices. Changes in the family include declining birth rates, rising divorce rates, decreasing satisfaction with the exclusive wife-mother role and the increasing approval for self-development, fulfillment and actualization. Socialization is viewed as the mechanism to prepare children for the future by transmitting the dominant norms to fulfill their "appropriate" adult roles. The socialization of a young girl during the time of Aberle and Naegele's study would ill-prepare her for a fulfilling role in today's society. The traditional assumption that her only goal to fulfillment was through housewifery, including a large family, or a permanent husband on whom to depend are indeed outdated. Structural and ideological changes helped erode the legitimacy of traditional goals of female socialization and accommodate the reality of the new adult roles. Because of smaller families, women are

able to spend much of their adult lives working and vice versa: because adult women are working more, they are having smaller families.

Of major importance in this study was the identical ranking of the most highly valued top three characteristics for sons and daughters. There is now more similarity than dissimilarity between the genders. Fathers no longer valued the traditional "expressive" cluster of personality characteristics only for their daughters as they did in Aberle and Naegele's study. They recognized that they are less functional in today's circumstances. They ranked "ambitious" almost as highly for daughters as sons, which indicated a distinct shift from the dependent, adaptive type of characteristics which satisfied Aberle and Naegele's fathers. I have given much attention to the changes in female socialization, but changes have also occurred in father's attitudes towards their sons. Fathers rated the characteristic "sensitive" highly and equally for their sons and daughters. Instead of incisive gender-linked characteristics typical of Aberle and Naegele, the fathers in this study embrace a meshing of traditionally masculine and feminine characteristics for their sons and daughters. One can speculate that the male child may have more latitude to develop in ways consistent with his own talents and interests, rather than as an extension of his father's. The present values of childrearing seem to be embedded in a network of changed attitudes towards sex roles in general.

Fathers in Aberle and Naegele's study felt it was important that their daughters, and of course their sons, do well at school. Nor was

there any diversity in the educational goals at this level for sons and daughters in this study whereas, at the university level, gender differences clearly emerged in Aberle and Naegele's study. The utility of a university education was important for sons in Aberle and Naegele's study but not daughters. It was not seen as necessary to prepare them for the life goal of marriage. Fathers in the present study assumed a university education was important for both daughters and sons to prepare them for their adult lives which now includes a working career as well as marriage. It will be interesting to observe whether the importance for their daughters to attend university will be reflected in their daughters academic performance in high school. Earlier girls' interest in school and marks diminished towards the completion of high school as it was not of value for their future life plans (Maclean, 1976: 27).

Another striking difference between the respective studies appears in the attitude towards a vocation for their daughter, whereas the expectations for the son are just as pronounced as they were in 1952. Only a few of the fathers in the present study were as traditional as their counterpart in the 1950's. The remainder recognized the necessity of a job, career or profession which was seen as compatible with marriage. This was also reinforced in the data which indicated that their "long term expectations" for their sons and daughters were similar in terms of combining marriage and an occupation. The gender differences which did emerge pertained to the view of daughters having more of an option since

it is assumed that they will not be the main bread-winner, whereas this is still the assumed future of sons.

The sex of the child seems to have no influence in the present study regarding their concern about athletic ability. In Aberle and Naegele's study, on the other hand, being athletic was a concern for sons only. Further, in this study cross-sexed activities such as hockey for daughters and ballet for sons, both received positive support. Surprisingly, 50% of the fathers said they approved of their sons participating in this traditionally considered "sissy, effeminate activity".

For 22 of the contemporary fathers there seems to be a paradox concerning athletic ability. This paradox is reflected in how fathers spend their time with their children. Although they claim that it is equally important for both, they tend to only be involved with their sons. I think that with society's roles and values and expectations changing, fathers are more unsure about their interactions with their daughters. This is evident surely, in the discrepancy between their attitudes and their behaviour. Fathers tend not to interact with their daughters in an "active" way. When they are active with them it is in a family setting such as a bicycle ride, skiing, skating, and canoeing. Activities with their sons are athletic in nature, while activities with their daughters are "quiet" in nature, such as reading.

The ideology, attitudes, and expectations of these contemporary middle class fathers portray a "democratization" regarding attitudes towards their sons and daughters in keeping with their future status.

The behaviour differences in this one area however, showed gender-stereotypic trends in the type Aberle and Naegele described. Here is an example of the "psychosocial lag" referred to earlier regarding attitude and behaviour. This is the only variable that shows major differentiation between sons and daughters. I believe it to be a very significant finding as it suggests that fathers have intellectually accepted a liberalization from their traditionally rigid sex role definitions, but in practice do not know how to execute these egalitarian concepts. The daughters are bound to be receiving a mixed message. One can only speculate that with continuing increased participation with childrearing, fathers will be more knowledgeable and comfortable in their interactions with their daughters, thus diminishing the "lag".

The data presented in this study have shown that overall fathers had substantial similarity in their social, educational, vocational, and long term expectations and aspirations for their daughters and sons, in contrast to the differences reported by Aberle and Naegele thirty years ago. As fathers are more involved, the children will grow up in a home with different role models from those which obtained thirty years ago. As such, sex differences may be expected to diminish and some to even disappear. However, fathers' expectations for nursery school aged girls appears to be closer to that of their brothers than it is to the girls in Aberle and Naegele's sample. Thus the main change has been in the direction of girls' socialization being closer to that of boys rather than each being socialized towards an androgynous model. This is a significant

change in attitude from 30 years ago towards females adopting male characteristics. In a study by Broverman et al (1972; 59, 78) a clinically "healthy adult person" was totally different from a clinically "healthy adult female". For a female to adopt these "healthy" male or "healthy" adult characteristics would be considered "unhealthy" and inappropriate. Thus enormous progress has been made whereby adoption of male 'competency cluster' characteristics is encouraged as desirable.

Notwithstanding that the change has been greater for females than male, there also has been a marked inclination to encourage characteristics such as "sensitive" and "affectionate" among sons. At least for the fathers in this study the "macho" image is no longer perceived as desirable. The implication of this finding is that males are also being socialized to acquire some female 'warmth-expressive' characteristics. With similar life expectations for their daughters and sons, it is reasonable to assume that fathers' methods of socialization will become more homogeneous and accommodate the reality of the new adult roles.

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APPENDIX A
QUESTIONNAIRE

1. How many brothers and sisters do you have? Birth order and age differences.
2. Did you and your brother(s) and sister(s) do the same thing during the summer-time after the age of 16?
3. Does your sister work now?
4. Did your mother work outside the home? Was she involved in organizational or community work?
5. Did you and your Dad spend time together? What did you do?
6. Do you remember times when you were alone together?
7. When you think back to your family life when you were growing up, do you consider your family pretty conventional or different to your friends' family life?
8. Were you particularly close to any of your brothers and/or sisters?
9. Do you recall playing any sports when you were younger?
10. Did you have any household tasks when you were young?
11. At what age or stage in your life did you decide to do what you are presently doing for a livelihood? (probe for influences)
12. What's your age?
13. Did your wife go to university?
14. Did she work before you got married?
15. Does she work now?
16. A lot of mothers work today. What do you think of mothers with small children working?
17. Is your wife considering going back to work (if not working; probe)?

18. Do you think it is important for a woman to be financially independent?
19. Was she or is she interested in sports as a spectator or a participant?
20. Do you have any paid help in the house? (including babysitters)
21. Do you think men should do housework? What in particular do you do? (probe) What percentage does this constitute compared to your wife?
22. Is there any routine on the weekends? (making breakfast, shopping, activities with the children, etc.) Winter? Summer?
23. What kinds of things do you do and did you do with your children (e.g., diapering, dressing, feeding, bathing, getting up during the night, bedtime, reading stories, etc.)?
24. Have you or would you take complete responsibility for the house and children if your wife left for the weekend?
25. What characteristics do you think are important for a wife?
26. How many children do you have? Names? Ages?
27. What quiet time indoor activities do you do with your daughter? Son? (probe for a sex differentiation)
28. What outdoor activities do you do with your daughter? Son?
29. What are your daughters' favorite toys?
30. What are your sons' favorite toys?
31. It is becoming more common today for girls to play hockey at the atom, bantam, and mosquito levels. How would you feel if your daughter wanted to play on a girls' team? What if there were no girls' team in you area but she could play on a boys' team?
32. How would you feel if your sons' best friend was taking ballet and he wanted to as well?
33. Is it important for you that your daughter be athletic? On a scale of 1-10? Your son? On a scale of 1-10?

34. In your opinion what characteristics would you like your daughter to possess (give card)? Your son (give card)? Are there any you would feel uncomfortable with?

CARD "A"

From this list, which 5 characteristics in order of importance are what you would desire in a daughter?

Affectionate	Aggressiv
Displays initiate	Loyal
Obedient	Competitive
Physically attractive	Popular
Ambitious	Intelligent
Friendly	Well-liked
Adventurous	Curious
Sensitive	Assertive
Outgoing	

CARD "B"

From this list, which 5 characteristics in order of importance are what you would desire in a son?

Curious	Well-Liked
Loyal	Intelligent
Adventurous	Outgoing
Affectionate	Friendly
Ambitious	Assertive
Popular	Sensitive
Physically Attractive	Aggressive
Obedient	Displays Initiative
Competitive	

35. Do you think that it is more important for your son or daughter to do well at school?

36. Do you consider it important for your daughter to go to university? Son? To go to graduate school? Daughter? Son?
37. If one really wanted to go and the other one did not, how would you feel?
38. If both did not want to go, would you encourage on or the other?
39. Let's assume that your son is (or will be) a good student. Would it be a cause for concern that your daughter is not as good a student as your son? (ask question in reverse)
40. If we could advance the calendar about 20 years, what kind of job, career, profession would you want for your daughter? Son?
41. Is it as important that your daughter have the same type of job, career, profession as your son?
42. How would you feel if your daughter chose a career over marriage? Marriage over a career?
43. How would you feel if your son did not get married?
44. What would you think if your daughter and her husband decided not to have children?
45. What are your long range expectations for your daughter? For your son?
46. Do you have any female confreres in your office? Are there any females in your position in other companies that you associate with? (try to establish if he has contact with females on a business or professional level.)

APPENDIX B

Dear Father,

I need your help! All it would take is 1 hour. I am presently in the masters program, in Sociology at Concordia University, trying to gather data to write my thesis. My subject requires that I interview fathers of nursery school aged children and learn your opinion on "fathering". When it is completed, I would be more than happy to share the results of my findings with you.

If you do wish to help, please return the attached form to Eva Shizgal, or Barbara Baum, your respective Nursery School Director, by the end of this week. I will then get in touch with you to discuss the time and place at your convenience.

Many thanks,

Soryl S. Rosenberg

Name: _____

Tel.# (residence): _____

(business): _____