

WORK AND FAMILY LIFE

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ABSTRACT

The research carried out looks at the interaction within and between four independent variables: Social Class, Organisation in which the subjects worked, Sex and Unconscious Sexual Identity of husbands and wives of stable families. These variables are related to Work, Spouses and Children. The 12 dependent variables are the dimensions which seem the most relevant to coding the individual's identity or subjective character. They are Affiliation, Aggression, Autonomy, Dominance, Identification, Nurturance, Responsibility, Security, Self-Confidence, Sharing and Succourance. Forty couples are divided into four groups: Male/female; Middle-class/working-class; entrepreneurial/bureaucratic; masculine/feminine. Data collection includes a projective semi-structured questionnaire, an unstructured test requiring subjects to draw and a demographic questionnaire.

The results reveal that husbands have significantly higher scores than wives on Achievement, Dominance, Responsibility and Security, and significantly lower scores on Autonomy, Identification, Nurturance and Self-Confidence. Subjects in the Middle class make significantly more references than those in the working class to Achievement, Autonomy, Dominance, Identification, Self-Confidence and Sharing, and significantly less references to Affiliation, Aggression and Security.

Entrepreneurs have significantly higher scores than bureaucrats on Achievement, Autonomy, Dominance, Responsibility and Self-Confidence and significantly lower scores on Affiliation, Security, Nurturance and Succourance. Subjects who come within the

masculine range as measured by the Franck Test, make significantly more references than those who come within the feminine range to Aggression and Dominance, and significantly less references to Affiliation, Nurturance, Self-Confidence, Sharing and Succourance. There is a significant inter-action between Social Class and Organisation on Aggression, Autonomy, Dominance, Nurturance, Self-Confidence and Sharing. There is significant interaction between Sex and Unconscious Sexual Identity on Affiliation, Aggression, Autonomy, Identification and Self-Confidence. There is also a significant interaction between Sex and Social Class on Achievement, Aggression and Security.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The research which was carried out was not to test specific hypotheses but rather to look at the interaction within and between social class, organisation in which the subjects worked, sex and unconscious sexual identity of husbands and wives of stable families. The definitions of these and other terms are provided in Chapters 2 and 3. The four variables were related to Work, Spouse and Children. For instance, did their social class affect the way people behaved towards their spouse? Or, did their sex affect the way they behaved towards colleagues at work? Further, did working in an entrepreneurial or bureaucratic organisation affect the way people interacted with their children? The four variables were chosen because it was thought that they might throw some light on why people see themselves in particular ways, and behave in particular ways. Would the knowledge of someone's social class help us to predict whether he would have a high or low score on, say Achievement at Work? Or, perhaps knowing that a person worked in an entrepreneurial organisation, could we predict that he would have a high score on, say, Autonomy in relation to his wife? Or, would knowledge of their sex help to predict whether a parent would have a high or low score on, say, Aggression towards Children?

Initially, it was felt that the type of work one did may be associated with the way one interacted with colleagues at work, and with the family at home. If people spent half their waking life at work, then it was feasible to suggest that interaction, peculiar to the place of work, would probably generalise into the home. For example,

wanting to make decisions at home would be associated with decision-making activity at work.

However, it seemed naive to suggest that type of work alone would help explain why people behaved in particular ways in their jobs and at home. Sex of the people seemed relevant in explaining their behaviour, primarily due to physical and cultural characteristics. It would be easier for men than for women to show aggression at work for example. Social class would also be relevant in understanding behaviour. For instance, I expected those in the middle class would have a higher score on Achievement in relation to Children, than would those in the working class. Further, the type of organisation they worked in, whether entrepreneurial or bureaucratic, seemed appropriate to consider when understanding people's behaviour. For instance, getting a high score on Security at Work may be related to being in a bureaucratic organisation, whereas making more references to Autonomy at Work may be related to being in an entrepreneurial organisation.

Finally, unconscious sexual identity was considered relevant to help understand why people behaved in particular ways at work, with Spouse and with Children. Perhaps having a high masculine score would help explain why some females had a high score on Dominance in relation to Spouse.

Thus, these four independent variables were considered to be useful in trying to understand people's behaviour at work and at home, the latter being subdivided into Spouse and Children.

Twelve dimensions were the dependent variables which seemed the most relevant to coding the individual's identity, or subjective character. The list had been modified from Murray's original list of needs (Explorations in Personality, 1938), and used by Rossan (unpublished thesis 1976). Each dimension is described more fully in Appendix A. They are Achievement, Affiliation, Aggression, Autonomy, Dominance, Identification, Nurturance, Responsibility, Security, Self-Confidence, Sharing and Succourance.

Thus, the research was mainly an attempt to explore and not just to support or prove any hypotheses.

PLAN OF THE DISSERTATION

Chapter 2 is an outline of the relationships between social class, work, sex and the family. The topics include Bonding, Decision-Making, Conflict, Socialisation and Work and the Family. Chapter 3 is devoted to the Methods of Collecting Data, and is concerned with Selection Criteria, Recruitment of Families, the Home Interviews and Descriptions of Questionnaires which are used. Chapter 4 is a report on the differences between Husbands and Wives in relation to Work, Spouses and Children. Chapter 5 is concerned with differences between subjects in the middle and working class, and Chapter 6 is devoted to the differences between Entrepreneurs and Bureaucrats. Chapter 7 is a report on Masculinity and Femininity. Chapter 8 is a report on the significant interactions between Social Class and Organisation, and Chapter 9 is a report on the significant interactions between Sex and Identity. Chapter 10 is concerned with Future Directions. Finally, there is a summary of Results, Appendices and References Cited.

Chapter 2

THE BACKGROUND

This chapter is an outline of the relationships between social class, work, sex and the family. There is an enormous literature on the family in Western Society - a reflection of its implied importance for the continuation of society, and the happiness, and misery of individuals. The family, one is constantly told, is the "backbone" of society (Fletcher '62, Goode '64). Although there are a number of American studies of families in their natural habitat, the home, (Olson '69, Mishler and Waxler '68, Riskin and Faunce '70) there are fewer studies of families in Britain (Bott '57, Rossan (unpublished thesis), Young and Wilmott ('73). And, more importantly for this study, none that report on the relationships that might exist between the psychological dimensions (Achievement, Security, etc.) mentioned in the previous chapter, and social class, occupation and sex.

Probably no variable developed in the social sciences is as predictive of so many phenomena as is social class (Hollingshead and Redlich '58, Miller and Swanson '60). Social class may be defined in terms of education and occupation. These indices were chosen because they help to classify an individual's power within the system. Miller and Swanson ('60) see power as "the ability to influence markedly the behaviour and future of others and oneself". In British society, for instance, a surgeon's decisions can normally influence the lives of more people than can the decisions made by a butcher.

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Researchers usually assign an individual to a social class in terms of such indices as income, education and power (McKinley '64, Turner '70). Usually these are interrelated. Education provides a means of increasing income when, for instance, an articled clerk earns more when he becomes a chartered accountant. A postgraduate degree frequently enables one to expect a higher salary than someone without that degree in the same job. The higher the education or income, the greater the power. The decisions of an architect can affect more people than can those of a bricklayer.

Moreover, Miller and Swanson ('60) observe that,

"Membership in a social class signifies much more than a particular amount of income, or education, or prestige or power. As a result of his lifelong experience as a member of his class, each person acquires certain characteristic traits. A man of the middle class, for example, can manipulate symbols with ease, speak grammatically, and display the social amenities. His styles of walking, speaking and gesturing are unique. Because he can be optimistic about economic advancement he respects the abilities and qualities that are usually required to accomplish this end".

SOCIAL CLASS DIFFERENCES IN FAMILY BEHAVIOUR

As the research is concerned with dimensions which include Sharing, Autonomy, Dominance, Aggression and Nurturance, the following sub-

section has been divided into Bonding, Decision-Making, Conflict and Socialisation differences between the middle and working classes.

BONDING

The relative importance of different kinds of family bonds appears to vary among social classes (see below). In explaining the existence of a group such as the family, it is useful to think of bonds as bringing the members together, keeping them together, and causing them to interact within the group. A bond, or tie, is "a disposition of two or more people to engage in a specific kind of reciprocal action" (Miller '63). One joins a club because he likes to associate with the members, or because he and the members share a common interest in playing golf, or drinking beer on their night out. Adults marry and remain married for one of many reasons, and that is in their experience the marital relationship offers the realisation of ends they value. The husband, for example, can freely express his femininity by doing all the cooking and housework, whereas the wife makes all the important decisions concerning payment of bills, holidays and children. Bonds between parents and children are the expression of benefits that each experience from the parent-child association. The father may delight in seeing his daughter do well in school because he helped her with homework, the adolescent son derives satisfaction because his mother allows him autonomy.

With relevance to the Sharing dimension used in the research, Joseph Kahl ('73) observes that middle class community life, such as social occasions and entertainments, is primarily open only to married couples. The problem is not so much one of formal exclusion - the

single person is invited to continue attending the church couples' club; it is rather that there is greater emphasis on social and civic participation by married pairs than individuals. By contrast, Kahl shows that the working class social life is more extensively separated along sex lines, with the men together and the women together. The single man in a working class neighbourhood is not prevented from joining the married men at a local tavern or other gathering place; in the middle class neighbourhood he has difficulty finding a place where men congregate except with their wives. As a means of entry into routine neighbourhood social life, marriage has special importance in middle class circles, (see Sharing in relation to Spouse, Chapter 5).

When the continuation of a marriage is based, in part, on the financial status of each partner, that is, whether they both work and how much each one earned, it can be said that there is an economic bond between husband and wife. If a husband refuses to work or the wife starts earning much more than her husband, this would change the financial status of each partner, and creates a breakdown in the previous economic bond that held them together, the economic bond resting on dependence on the other.

In most instances the wife's earnings are supplementary to the husband's, and insufficient for her to live at the level that her husband's earnings permit. Nevertheless, the economic bond operates to make life better for the husband and wife but is not entirely indispensable to either (Katz and Hill '68). There are more working wives in the working class than in the middle class (McKinley '64)

and many of them earn as much as their husbands. Many of those who do not work have neither the skills nor the work habits to enable them to be independent of their husbands (see Autonomy in relation to Spouse, Chapter 4). In a substantial number of working class and lower middle class families, the total financial dependency of wives on their husbands is an important economic bond (Shilo '70). But for the larger number of working class families, in which the wife's earning power equals her husband's, the bond is based on the savings that come from pooling resources (see Sharing in relation to Spouse, Chapter 5). Overhead costs are reduced by maintaining a single household and by insuring against total cessation of income when one or other is laid off from work.

Turner ('70) uses the term "crescive bond" for those that are not present at first and only develop gradually as the marriage progresses. New bonds emerge and old ones become intensified when people have been closely involved with each other over a period of time (see Sharing in relation to Spouse, Chapter 5).

Crescive bonds are also associated with what Turner ('70) refers to as "incomplete action", for example, family life is full of plans for the immediate and distant future. A holiday is planned, a home improvement is considered, education of the children must be anticipated (see Achievement in relation to Children, Chapter 5). The result is that at any moment, family life is full of unfinished actions, which, when completed, tend to bring the members back together (Ryder, '70). Hence, the binding power of incomplete actions is greatly affected by the time perspective in which the

family lives. Members of the middle class tend to organise their lives in terms of longer time perspectives, undertaking plans that carry further into the future than persons in the working class (Tharp '73). Hence living in the present or in the immediate future is distinctive of much working class family life. There is less planning ahead for further education for the children and, even with wage increases, less of a tendency to live economically and to save in order to buy a home in a "better" neighbourhood after a few years. With reference to Sharing (see Ch. 4), there are fewer hopes and plans to create creative bonds.

DECISION MAKING

As the research to be reported is concerned, in part, with differences in Dominance between members of the family and of the social classes, it is appropriate to report some of the literature on decision-making.

Members of the working class and middle class have different views of the legitimacy of parental authority, i.e. power, which they feel is their parental right, and the means by which it should be implemented. Stouffer ('55) finds that over 80% of middle class parents do not use physical punishment to support their authority. In fact, they feel it reflects themselves unfavourably in the eyes of their children. Thus, it appears that in middle class homes, authority is measured by the spontaneity of compliance. They think that Johnny should follow his parents' wishes without their having to use coercive, physical methods. According to Stouffer, however, 73% of families in the working class use coercive, punitive methods to back up parental authority (see Aggression in relation to Children

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Chapters 5 and 8). He cites examples of some working class fathers administering occasional punishments in the absence of serious wrongdoing as a way of reminding their children and even their wives of their authority. The middle class fathers, on the other hand, are reassured that their parental power, which they believe to be their right, is secure, only when an extended period of time has elapsed in which neither threats nor punishments have to be used.

These observations do not apply exclusively to the relationships between fathers and children, but also point to the manner in which the mothers may conceive of their parental authority over the children, and the husbands' understanding of whatever power they believe they hold over their wives (see Dominance, Ch. 5). Elder ('63) observes, "from the middle class point of view many working class husbands exercise this power in extreme ways; that is, 7% of them do not speak to their wives for periods of more than 20 days, and 13% withhold household allowances for more than three days". Further, Elder describes middle class families as putting a high value on egalitarianism that discourages an open display of authoritarianism. The children may help to decide what school they prefer, and can negotiate about the time they return home at night. Important decisions about the household budget and holidays are normally made by both husband and wives. It may be questioned whether the emphasis on egalitarianism enables the middle class to be more egalitarian than working class families, or whether it serves merely to undermine either partner's authority, without supplanting it by other procedures for making orderly decisions.

Thus, there are clearly some differences in the resources available for establishing dominance within different social classes. Park and Miller ('71) report that in the homes of members of the working class where traditional beliefs in absolute male authority are not strong, where the wives are able to work and their incomes equal their husbands', supports for dominance by the husbands are at a minimum. In fact 58% of the wives who combine work with household skills, make all the decisions which they consider important, such as buying furniture, food, clothing, deciding on schooling and holidays.

Because of the weak bargaining position of husbands with working wives, a pattern frequently develops in which they exercise their authority sporadically, followed by withdrawal, (Gottlieb and Ramsay '64). In the study, effective control and direction of the household was maintained by the women, except for the occasional disruptions caused by the husbands' demands. The women learned from personal experience that these periodic demands can be accepted without impairment of their effective and continuing control (see Autonomy in relation to Spouse, Chapter 5). However, not doing "feminine" tasks became the husbands' substitute for wielding real power over their wives and children. The freedom to come and go as they pleased, to accept responsibilities in the home only when it pleased them to do so, was their preferred form of substitute dominance.

In the minority of middle class families, in which the wives have professions or other careers that match their husbands', and in which they have not irreparably damaged their careers, by leaving their jobs for an extended period of child-bearing and child-rearing, neither partner is in a weaker bargaining position, regarding

decision-making, for example (Murray '68). But in other middle class homes, the crucial importance of the husbands' careers, coupled with the fact that they alone bring in the money, gives the husbands more of the bargaining assets. Although their areas of freedom and equality are many, the ultimate submission of the middle class wives to their husbands may be greater than in typical working class families.

In her study Elder ('69) finds that the father is likely to share socialisation responsibilities with the mother, more commonly in middle class than in working class families (see Sharing, Ch. 5). The result is that fathers' direct control over children is more common in middle class than in working class homes. In general, patterns of communication in middle class families, in contrast to working class families, are less frequently characterised by intermediaries. The latter are often members of the same family, for example the eldest son or daughter, who then acquire unofficial dominance because of their centrality (Motz '60). The father communicates directly with the children, rather than conferring indirectly through the mother or the eldest child. This finding is supported by Green ('66) who reports that in 43% of working class homes, it is common to establish the eldest child, or the eldest daughter, as the intermediary between the parents and children, with the result that this child becomes dominant.

CONFLICT

It is appropriate to report some of the literature on conflict related to the study, which is concerned, in part, with differences in Aggression, Dominance and Sharing between husbands and wives in

the middle and working classes. Social conflict arises "whenever two or more persons seek to possess the same object, occupy the same space or the same exclusive position, play incompatible roles, maintain incompatible goals, or undertake mutually incompatible means for achieving their purposes", (North '68).

Since descriptive and analytical studies of the conflict process, in different class settings, are rare, Turner ('70) makes only a few speculative suggestions as to how and why conflict is initiated. He believes that conflict occurs in interaction in which family members are most "ego-involved", for example in decision-making. Also, since people in the higher strata, such as judges, architects and psychiatrists are more involved in the larger community than say boiler engineers or lathe operators, Turner feels it is plausible that disagreements in the community are more likely to be expressed in social conflict. For instance, policy decisions taken by judges may not be in accord with the wishes of the community. In contrast Turner finds that, in the working classes, identities are anchored more firmly in interpersonal relations within the family and a local community setting, like a tenants' association. Thus conflicts are more likely to develop from contests of wills between individuals, and not within the larger community (Kuhn '60). The greater concern, among working class rather than middle class people about sex-role differentiation (Gazmezy et al '60, Hansen '68) means that challenges to one's sex-role more commonly leads to conflict in the working classes (see Aggression, Ch. 5). Husbands are more likely to object to performing the traditional feminine tasks of cooking and buying clothes for the family.

Leik ('73) finds that among the members of the working class, the more passive forms of "accommodation when in conflict", namely, avoidance and submission, are much more common than in the middle class. He shows that it is more common for women to walk away from a conflict, leave the house and go next door, and more common for men to go to the nearest pub. Or the conflict may be continued until one party effectively forces the other to submit (see Dominance and Aggression in relation to Spouse, Ch. 5). However, in the middle class Leik finds the common practice is one of active accommodation by compromise and conciliation (see also Sharing, Ch. 5).

Open bargaining in decision-making is probably more widely practised in the working than in the middle class, where it is regarded as in somewhat bad taste (Marwell and Shmitt, '67).

SOCIALISATION

As the research to be reported includes differences between parents from different social classes, in relation to Affiliation and Nurturance to Children, it is worth looking at some of the literature related to the study.

Much has already been said above about the nature of relationships in families. There are also differences in ways which parents conceive of socialisation, the extent of their responsibility in it, and the sources from which they seek help and guidance.

Turner ('70) describes two functions of the family, the custodial and socialisation function. By custodial function is meant protecting

society from the potentially disruptive behaviour of individuals. The child who has not learned to take responsibility for himself or towards others; the handicapped adult who is an embarrassment and disrupter of groups, and the elderly person who is not able to recognise his own limitations are to be contained by the family members. However, except for restricting the asocial behaviour of the child, many custodial responsibilities are being shifted from the family to the state.

On the other hand, the function of socialisation is served by the family. The view that the personality and the capabilities of the child can be shaped by, for example, extra-curricular school activities is more widely and deeply held in the middle class than in the working class (Rainwater '70). Recruiting subjects from the Midlands, a significantly higher proportion of children from the middle class than from the working class were encouraged to attend classes in swimming, drama, elocution, Brownies, ballet, piano and guitar lessons. Further, the children went more often to the theatre and educational holidays abroad than did those from the working class. However, the view that a child would grow up to be what he is destined to be, and that parents can do relatively little to shape him in one way or another, was evident in the responses given by the working class families. Rainwater sees the relationship with the child in middle class families as being "governed by deliberation, concern with possible consequences of parental behaviour, and suppression of parental impulse." Rainwater also finds that in working class families, it is assumed by the parents that children may get into trouble, fall in with bad companions, and become lazy because of insufficient prodding. The parents in the working class are concerned with the

custodial emphasis of keeping the child out of trouble and warding off laziness. Thus, the parental responsibilities toward the child tend to be defined negatively, as preventing and punishing. By contrast, parents in the middle class are much more encouraging and stimulating (Strauss '68). For example, they expect their children to do more projects during the holidays, and are more likely to take them on day trips to places of general interest, like museums and sites of historic interest. There is more emphasis on widening of interests than on inhibiting behaviour.

This seemingly negative character of child-rearing in the working class does not necessarily mean more friction between the parents and children (see Aggression in Relation to Children, Ch. 5). When asked about parental responsibilities, such as helping with homework and sex, education, 83% of children in the working class agree with their parents' actions (Offenbacher '68).

The Newsons ('68) findings suggest that there are significant class differences in childrens early experience of the social world outside the family. At one extreme, the child is born into an environment which is likely to be described as "a bit rough". There is nowhere to play except the yard or the streets, where supervision is negligible; so that once outside his own home the child encounters a social free-for-all from which he can expect only rough justice. He learns from infancy that when he is 'playing out' he must fend for himself, surviving either by his wits or his fists. Outside the house, his mother's sympathy does not normally extend to active intervention on his behalf, and, when finally goaded into intervening, little attempt is made to apportion blame correctly.

At the other extreme, there is the professional class child whose whole sphere of social interaction is closely supervised by a watchful adult. Whenever there is a quarrel, inside or out, mother is likely to intervene at an early stage, will then want to know exactly what it is about in order to give judgement with careful impartiality according to the findings.

The Newsons ('68) also find that for the middle-class child, supported as he is during the pre-school years by careful supervision and copious verbal explanation of the principles he must follow, the basic training of kindness, consideration, willingness to share and the sacrifice of one's desires to the general good, is reinforced by an environment in which his mother expects to exercise at least remote control at all times. For many working-class children, however, the distinction between the protected atmosphere of the family and the jungle of might-is-right which they find in the outside world is learned early on. He is on his own, adults reluctant to guide and guard him once he goes out to his peers. At home, too, working class mothers in contrast to those in the middle class are apt to use more physical means of aggression.

The Rapaports (1971) find that for men the level of career aspiration tends to rise with time and with the transition into marriage and fatherhood. For women the trend is the reverse. However, they wish as much as the men, and as persistently as the men to have the kind of career in which they can do an interesting job and work relatively autonomously in relation to supervision. Like the men, they value above all the idea of cultivating a reputation for extreme competence in whatever line of work they pursue. They have

a greater interest in "social" values - human contact and of being of help to people.

Though the graduate population in the above study are relatively 'liberal' in their ideas about male and female roles, when they marry and have children, the actual division of labour in the household remains substantially as in traditional homes. Having children, however much this is jointly desired by both partners, does not affect both equally. The arrival of the first child signals the interruption of the work career for all but the most committed women, or those who work for reasons other than commitment to vocation. There are frustrations and irritations as well as satisfactions in the new role. This is indicated by the increase in 'disagreements' between husband and wife following the arrival of children.

WORK AND THE FAMILY

This section is concerned with the influence of the father's occupation on the way members of the family behave, with reference to, for example, decision-making, aggression or nurturance (see Ch. 5).

The study done in the Detroit area by the Ford Project of the University of Michigan (Miller and Swanson '58) related methods of child-rearing to social class and to the type of organisation in which the father worked. The basic division of organisations was between entrepreneurial and bureaucratic. They defined an entrepreneurial organisation as one in which there are only two levels of supervision. By two levels, they meant "a job in which a man either has a superior

or a subordinate. This often occurs in a retail store. If the superior reports to another man above him, then there are three levels of supervision". A bureaucratic organisation was defined as one in which there are three or more levels of supervision (Miller and Swanson '58).

Entrepreneurial organisations were those which demanded initiative, individual action and risk taking; those of a bureaucratic were where ideal behaviour would be conformity to established practices and the decisions of superiors. Occupations like those of solicitor, dentist and taxi-driver attract those who want to be autonomous and take full responsibility at work. In contrast, those persons who prefer to be led, and have fixed rules governing their behaviour at work, are attracted to the occupation of say, traffic warden or labourer.

Persons in an entrepreneurial organisation are instrumental in creating certain attitudes such as decisiveness, individual responsibility and belief in achieved status (McClelland '61). Those in a bureaucratic organisation are oriented towards reliability of response and strict devotion to regulations (see Chapter 6).

Hammond (in Oeser and Hammond '67) reports on various activity and authority patterns in the family, and shows their relationships to the fathers' positions at work. The four patterns found were:

First, the husbands acted and decided on the issues of, say, children's education and family holidays. The wife decides other issues, say, weekly budget, children's clothes and buying furniture.

In the second pattern, the husbands and wives tended to act and decide together.

Third, the husbands decided and acted, or had their wives carry out their decisions. For instance, they decided what electrical equipment the houses needed, and would then expect their wives to go out and buy it.

Fourth, the wives decided and acted or had their husbands carry out their decisions. They decided, for example, what food the family required for the week, and gave their husbands the list and told them to do the shopping.

In general, Hammond found that almost all the employers and the self-employed fitted in the first family pattern, and that two-thirds of the skilled workers fitted in the second, sharing pattern. There was some tendency for the third pattern to predominate in the semi-skilled group (see Chapters 5 and 6: Autonomy, Dominance and Sharing in relation to Spouse).

Hammond listed four explanations of these findings:

1. "Ideological factors". In general, members of the two upper economic groups supported a political ideology of laissez faire. They felt that each spouse should have an area of personal sovereignty.
2. "Educational" and 3. "Cultural lag". The family is a conservative

institution and it seemed likely that some members of society retained traditional patterns, after they have become inappropriate for the urban industrial setting, such as the third pattern where husbands make all decisions even though their wives have an income equal to theirs.

4. "Reciprocal satisfactions in work and family situations".
If the fathers derive satisfactions from their positions at work, then they will not be forced to seek them elsewhere. Hammond refers this primarily to the satisfactions afforded by the exercise of authority, that is, "the power derived from status at work". If it is exercised, and activity is high at work, they are apt to let their wives take control of the family. The connection between satisfaction at work and the behaviour of the family was evidenced by a correlation of 0.51.

The employees who have little authority on the job, must follow detailed specifications of how to use their time and energy. These specifications are written by others, normally those who themselves have a greater degree of freedom and authority (see Chapters 6 and 8: Autonomy and Dominance in relation to Work). Unless the employees are people who enjoy subjecting themselves to such control, they experience deprivation and frustration. These may be discharged at work to a certain degree only, for example, by working slower than usual or taking time off work. But, their controlled positions as subordinates make these responses difficult to carry out frequently (Argyris '57). It is suggested by McKinley ('64) that the aggression built up at work finds outlets elsewhere. "Criminal behaviour,

revolutionary activity and hostile control in the family" are responses to these conditions of work (see Aggression in relation to Spouse and Children in Chapter 5 and 8).

In his book "Social Class and Family Life" McKinley ('64) predicted that, within a given social class, fathers engaged in "organisational" occupations would be less severe in their patterns of child-rearing than those in "technological" occupations. The former he defines as "the group concerned primarily with the organisation and efficient functioning of governmental and commercial enterprises, e.g. postal clerks and executives". He defines "technological" occupations as "the group which includes all the modern industrial occupations except the managerial, clerical, and sales occupation. Technological occupations deal with the production, maintenance, and transportation of commodities and utilities such as engineering, factory work and cement pouring.

In his study, sons were asked to rank their responses, from a list of ten different methods used by parents, from "reason with you calmly" to "spank you or hit you or shake you". The ranking took the form of choosing three, from the most commonly used method to the third most commonly used. The list was a modification of a form used by Miller and Swanson ('60).

McKinley's predictions are supported by the responses of sons and daughters in high school and kindergarten (as reported by mothers). However, he still has doubts about his findings. He thinks that individuals who feel comfortable with others probably choose the organisational occupations, because they enable one to be in touch

with a large number of people. Technological occupations are chosen, he thinks, by people who need to present themselves as, or who are, forceful and 'masculine'. Roe ('56) finds, with social class controlled, technological workers have the highest score on masculinity on the Strong Vocational Interest Blank.

McKinley analysed the data still further to discover whether autonomy at work is related to the severity of child-rearing methods used by fathers (see above). The analysis showed that high autonomy at work was associated with 'mild socialisers', that is, fathers who reason with their sons, act hurt and give warnings. 78% of fathers in the middle class, employed in "organisation occupations" and with high autonomy at work, were mild socialisers. 47% of fathers in the working class, employed in "technological occupations", and with low autonomy at work, were severe socialisers. The results were statistically different at the 0.01 level (see Chapters 5, 6 and 8: Aggression in relation to Children).

As the present study is also concerned with the differences between husbands and wives on dimensions such as autonomy, dominance, nurturance and succourance (see Chapter 4), it would be useful to include the study done by Winch ('58). The methods in the present study also bear some similarity to those used in the Winch study. In 1950 twenty-five young married couples served as test subjects for Winch's theory of complementary needs. At the time of testing one or both members of each couple were undergraduate students. No couple had been married for more than two years; the median couple had been married for one. At the time of being interviewed no couple had children.

The data-gathering procedure employed two interviews and a projective test. The main interview (called a "need interview") was based on nearly fifty open ended questions. Each question was designed to elicit information on the intensity of one of the needs or traits, i.e. to give an indication as to the strength of the need in the person being interviewed and the manner in which that person went about obtaining gratification for the need or expressing the trait. For example, to elicit information about the subject's hostile need he was asked the following: Let us suppose that you have entered a crowded restaurant and presently someone enters and steps in front of you in line. What would you do? Has this ever happened to you? When was the last time this happened? Tell me about it.

A second interview sought to uncover the subject's perceptions concerning the salient relationships in his life, and how he saw these as being related to his psychic and social development. In particular, he was asked to recount from his earliest memories the history of his relationships with his parents and siblings, as well as those in school and peer groups. The third procedure was an abridged version of the TAT, wherein a person is presented with a somewhat ambiguous picture concerning which he is asked to tell a story.

From each of these three sets of information a separate set of ratings was developed. For each instrument at least two raters were employed.

The theory was interpreted as predicting two types of complementariness: Type I; the same need is gratified in both person A and B but at very different levels of intensity. A negative interspoused correlation is hypothesized. For example, it is hypothesized that if one spouse is highly dominant, the other will be very low on that need.

Type II: different needs are gratified in A and B. The intersousal correlation may be hypothesized to be either positive or negative, contingent upon the pairs of needs involved. For example, it is hypothesized that if one spouse is highly nurturant the other will be found to be high on the succourant (or dependent) need.

Statistical analysis of the results came out in the hypothesized direction, and the data were interpreted as providing adequate, though not over-whelming, support for the theory of complementary needs in mate-selection.

Further Comments.

There appears to be much similarity in the findings of the English and American studies reviewed. The first similarity is in relation to Affiliation and Sharing with members of the social classes. Wilmott and Young (1960) report that couples of the middle class whom they interviewed in Woodford were home-centred; the husband shared in the domestic work and did many 'male' household tasks especially of the do-it-yourself variety. The husband/wife relationship, in other words, was more joint than it was in Bethnal Green, a working class area. The activities and relationships were maintained on the initiative of the women, as in Bethnal Green. They also found the suburb unexpectedly friendly. Members of the middle-class, they conclude, have a certain capacity for making friends. Kahl ('73) in his study, gives a similar report of the middle class families in a newly established American suburb.

The second similarity is related to change. Change, whether of values or arising as a result of geographical and social mobility, is of crucial importance to Bott's ('57) hypothesis of conjugal roles. According to her expectations, geographical mobility alone should be enough to disrupt the sort of close-knit networks one finds in homogeneous working-class areas, and such disruptions should be accompanied by greater jointedness in the husband-wife relationships.

On the whole, empirical research confirms this expectation. Young and Wilmott's initial study ('57) reports the disruption of the wife's kin relationships when the family moved away from Bethnal Green to a housing estate. Relations with the new neighbours were hostile.

However, in a later study ('73) they show that eventually (forty years after the establishment of the estate) close-knit networks of kin can grow up again. Rainwater ('70) reports very similar findings for American working-class families. He stresses the break-up of close-knit networks by geographical mobility, an increase in home-centredness and more joint relations between husband and wife. There was also more mutuality in the sexual relationship, more marital tension as a result of the new expectations and isolation from old networks, and finally, the report of increased nurturance by parents towards their children.

Differences in findings of the American and English studies, frequently stem from conceptual, terminological and methodological differences.

For instance, Blood and Wolfe ('60) report an analysis of marital solidarity and contact with kin for 731 married women constituting a representative sample of intact households in Detroit. They report that the results support the hypothesis of Bott ('57) referred to above. I suggest that they somewhat distort her rendering of it.

They say that "role segregation" is the same thing as lack of solidarity, whereas Bott would say it is a different sort of solidarity. In her view segregation is sometimes solidary, sometimes not. Her point is that it is a different type of solidarity (of whatever degree) from that which arises in a joint relationship (Bott '57).

The second difference is concerned with Blood and Wolfe's notion of network 'closure' which is different from that of Bott's. Networks, in the sense she uses the term, cannot be closed except conceptually, when one draws a mental boundary around all the people a given individual and/or couple knows, and says this is their network. But

this is evidently not what Blood and Wolfe means, because they appear to speak of 'closed' network where Bott would say 'close-knit' network. There are other similarities and differences, but the above examples would seem to be good illustrations of them.

With reference to signs that family relations have changed over the past few decades, several authors (Bott '57; Goldthorpe et al '69; and Turner '70) raise this question. Is there a permanent trend among working-class families in the direction of greater 'family-centredness'? Are there more joint husband-wife relationships, at the expense of the collective solidarity of the working class; and, on a more limited level, at the expense of families' close-knit networks?

Goldthorpe et al ('69) put it most succinctly when they conclude that there is a trend towards 'normative convergence' by certain sections of the working class and the middle class, convergence on what they call 'instrumental collectivism' and 'family-centredness'. The working class are becoming less collective, with family centredness as a byproduct. Certain sections of the middle-class are becoming less individualistic, with instrumental collectivism as a byproduct. Affluence alone does not diminish the solidarity of the working class; it must be accompanied by changes in work, community, and family life which are in turn related to prosperity, advances in industrial organisation, demographic trends, and mass communication.

It is also relevant to consider the advantages and disadvantages of studies using methods similar to the present study, compared to others which have used different types of methods.

Semi-structured and Projective techniques:

The first major advantage of studies using similar data collection is the use of semi-structured interviewing, where the respondent is given the opportunity to develop his own theme as in the Miller and Swanson ('60) and Winch ('68) studies. Consequently, he is less likely to give responses biased towards the expectations of the interviewer. The subject is allowed to report the situation as he sees it, not as the interviewer sees it. Secondly, the respondent is usually unaware of how the interviewer will score and interpret the responses. Thus he may be less likely to give 'desirable' responses.

The third advantage is, that, being normally well trained to establish the required rapport, the interviewer can get more personal information. This includes attitudes and feelings about other members of the family, the subjects themselves, sexual relations and financial arrangements, to give but a few examples.

Fourthly, faced with a relatively unstructured situation, as responding to TAT pictures in the Winch study, the task breaks the ice and is invariably seen as interesting. Fifthly, there is little or no threat to the subject's prestige, as all answers he gives are 'right'.

With reference to the disadvantages, the subject, when faced with relatively unstructured stimuli, makes use of all sorts of cues from the interviewer and interviewing situation, in order to formulate what he considers acceptable responses. The methods of administration, personality of the interviewer and the subject's moods and attitudes are all important variables.

Another disadvantage is the possible lack of objectivity in scoring. Even when objective scoring systems have been developed they may reflect the researcher's bias, and the final steps in the evaluation and integration of the raw data depend on the skill and experience of the examiner.

Further, interpretation of the responses is often as projective for the interviewer as for the subject. In other words, the final interpretation may reveal more about the theoretical orientation, favourite hypotheses and personality idiosyncrasies of the interviewer, than anything about the subject. To modify these disadvantages then, it is of the utmost importance that the interviewer is well-trained in interviewing and scoring techniques.

Objective Techniques:

Studies using 'objective' methods of interviewing like the McKinly study ('64) and Blood and Wolfe ('60) have one major advantage, and that is, subjects can fill in questionnaires themselves and thus less interviewers are needed, and more subjects can be used.

Secondly the results can be readily normed or standardised, so that the person can be compared with others of his kind. Thirdly, the scores can be treated statistically and correlated with other variables or factorised. Fourthly, the questionnaire may also

contain a considerable number of items which have been shown by item analysis to be relevant to the central concept or attitude. Hence, they tend to give a fairly reliable indication of the concept.

The principal disadvantage of structured and multiple choice tests are that they are especially subject to faking, because, despite introductory statements to the contrary, most items on such inventories have one answer that is recognisable as socially more desirable and acceptable than the others. Secondly, some subjects have a tendency to be 'Yeasayers' or 'Naysayers'; and thirdly, some subjects have a tendency to choose unusual responses. The fourth disadvantage is that subjects are forced to choose one answer, even though he might interpret the question idiosyncratically and/or no answer is appropriate to him.

In short, then, one can consider the appropriateness of comparing findings of studies using similar and dissimilar methods. In comparing studies one must also bear in mind the sex of subjects (Blood and Wolfe had only women; Miller and Swanson only high school boys); number of subjects (Blood and Wolfe had 731 wives, whereas Winch had only 25 married couples); mean age of subjects (the present study has a mean age of 37 years, whereas McKinley only interviewed boys in school). These variables may exclude fruitful comparisons. However, it should be acknowledged that despite these differences, the results are normally consistent with each other. One can only speculate, then, that social class, which is but one example of an independent variable, transcends other differences of the samples.

SUMMARY

This chapter is an outline of the relationships between social class, work, sex and the family. Bonding is described and discussed. There are bonds between couples, such as economic and creative bonds, and there are different ones for those in the middle and working class. In middle class homes authority is measured by the spontaneity of compliance. They think that Johnny should follow his parents' wishes without their having to use coercive, physical methods. Families in the working class normally use coercive, punitive methods to back up parental authority.

In homes where wives are able to work and their incomes equal their husbands', supports for dominance by the husbands are at a minimum. Generally, patterns of communication in middle class families, in contrast to working class families, are less frequently characterised by intermediaries. The latter are often members of the same family, for example, the eldest son or daughter, who then acquire unofficial dominance because of their centrality. Studies show that in the middle class conflict is expressed in the larger community, in contrast to the working class, where conflict is expressed within the family. The view that the personality and the capabilities of the child can be shaped by, for example, extra-curricular school activities is more widely and deeply held in the middle class than in the working class. Respondents in the latter class feel that a child would grow up to be what he is destined to be, and that parents can do relatively little to shape him in one way or another. There is evidence to suggest that there is some influence of the fathers' occupations on the way members of the families behave. A relationship is also made between the type of organisation in which the breadwinner of the family is employed, and the behaviour of the members of the family.

Chapter 3

METHODS

This chapter is concerned with the methods used in the recruitment of families interviewed in the study to be reported. There are descriptions of the variables that are kept constant and the reasoning behind this. The dependent variables are described in Appendix A. Further, it will be reported how the families were found, and finally, a description of the interviewing techniques used to collect data.

SELECTION CRITERIA

Certain variables were controlled in selecting families. This was done in order to cut down the number of variables to be taken into account in analysing the results. Also, the latter might have been affected by variables such as religion and race, if they had not been controlled. For instance, some results concerning, say, Achievement in relation to Children might have been the consequence of a Jewish or Catholic family upbringing. The results might not have been related to social class or organisation, but rather to the families having different religious backgrounds. Thus it was necessary to control for variables that would affect the data.

First, it was necessary that all families be stable. This meant that the couple were living together, and that neither spouse had been separated or was considering separation.

Second, that there was no known evidence of personal problems which

might affect the interactions between each spouse.

Third, it was necessary that the families were white; fourth, born in England; and fifth, had a Protestant background. Only by obtaining subjects from the same cultural background, could one be confident that most of them within a particular social class, probably experienced similar family lives. For example, couples born in the West Indies might have different patterns of child-rearing than did English people. Or, Irish couples might interact differently with each other, in contrast to those born in England.

Sixth, the families had to have at least one child of either sex, of any age, who was still in school. This was because there were several questions in the interview pertaining to the children being in School. Children in the recruited families varied in number from one to four, the mode being two.

Seventh, equal numbers of families were selected in the middle and working class categories. They were classified on the basis of the data derived from the demographic questionnaire on husbands' occupations and education.

Hollingshead and Myers ('51) found a high multiple correlation, .92, between social class ratings and the variables of occupational status and level of education.

Their categories of occupational status (in Miller and Swanson '60) which were used in the study to be reported were: (1) higher executive, professional or proprietor, (2) lesser executive, professional

or proprietor, (3) small independent businessman, (4) clerical worker, (5) skilled worker, (6) semi-skilled worker, and (7) unskilled worker. The educational categories were: (1) graduate work or professional school, (2) university graduate, (3) 1 to 3 years of university, (4) secondary school graduate, (5) 10 - 11 years of school, (6) 7 - 9 years of school, and (7) less than 7 years of school. The respective multiple regression weights for occupation and education were .36 and .22. Even allowing for a small difference in the figures so that they might be more appropriate for England, the scores were still the most useful way of categorising the families.

The application of these weights can be illustrated by the case of a father with a clerical job and a university degree. The job has a rank of 4 in the occupational scale, and a rank of 2 in the educational one. Thus the family would obtain a score of $(4) (.36) + (2) (.22)$ or 1.88. An alternative procedure, using the Registrar-Generals index for categorising the subjects' social class was also used. No differences were found in categorising the subjects' social class.

Eighth, families were required to be divided according to organisation in each of the two social classes. The type of organisation he was in was either entrepreneurial or bureaucratic (for definitions see above, Chapter 2). Miller and Swanson ('60) classify a family as entrepreneurial if the husband met any one of three criteria: if he was self-employed; if he obtained at least half of his income in the form of profits, fees or commissions; or if he worked in an organisation having only two levels of supervision. By two levels is meant a job in which a man has either a superior or a subordinate, for instance, a Chartered Accountant who is a partner in a small firm; or, an assistant to a grocer. If the superior reports to another man above him, then there are three levels of supervision. Further, Miller and Swanson

Table 3:1 Relevant information of subjects

	Middle Class Entrepreneur	Working Class Entrepreneur	Middle Class Bureaucrat	Working Class Bureaucrat	Mean Total
Number of Subjects	18	16	22	24	20
Mean Age of Husbands (in years)	38.5	40.7	41.2	40.4	40.2
Mean age of Wives (in years)	33.6	34.5	34.8	35.1	34.5
Husbands' mean earnings	£5,200	£4,100	£4,300	£3,200	£4,200
Mean duration of marriage (in years)	10.1	11.4	10.7	12.3	11.1
Mean number of children	1.9	2.7	2.5	3.3	2.4

felt that the self-employed and those whose incomes depended in great part on the fortunes of their businesses were more likely to be taking the risks typical of an entrepreneur.

It was more difficult finding suitable entrepreneurial families.

This fact must be associated with the higher proportion of bureaucratic families found in North London. The proportion of 23 bureaucratic families to 17 entrepreneurial families in the study may reflect the ratio of families working in different organisations.

All the families lived in various districts in London, and did not form a group, although some couples knew each other because they went to the same church. All the people in my study had been married between seven and sixteen years. Their mean age was 38. The incomes of the husbands before deduction of taxes varied between £2,100 to slightly over £11,000 per year.

It is difficult to know how representative the families are, of the general population at large. It would appear that they are not truly representative of the general population. Firstly, in the present study, there are 23 families employed in bureaucratic organisations, whereas there are only 17 entrepreneurial families. There would undoubtedly be a greater proportion of bureaucratic families generally. Secondly, the families are divided equally into middle and working classes. In the general population this would not be so. Thirdly, all the families lived in North London, hardly representing the whole of Britain. Thus, it must be emphasised that the results of the present study are only true for the present sample, and any generalisation should be treated with extreme caution.

Recruitment

It was hard finding families who satisfied the criteria for selection. One was prepared for many families to be unwilling to take part in the research. What one was not prepared for was the more difficult initial task of getting in touch with them. The reasons for this difficulty seem obvious in retrospect, but at the time I thought it would be easy to find 75 or more families. It was felt by my supervisor and me that one would be turned down if one approached them by knocking on doors, partly because one was asking for hours of co-operation, and partly because one needed to know beforehand whether the family fitted the criteria.

I felt confident that general practitioners would supply most of the subjects. The research was discussed with my doctor who promised to present it to his colleagues in their group practice. However, this, and other connections with doctors, was unproductive. Although none of the doctors plainly said so, most felt that introducing me might complicate their own relationships with patients.

Head teachers were more helpful, and some agreed to send a note to families. Of 95 families so addressed, 14 replied and only 10 agreed to take part in the study.

The most productive contacts were with clergymen, each of whom thought of at least two families who would fit the criteria. After the vicar had briefly discussed the research with couples who might be interested, he sent their names to me, and I telephoned them saying I should like to come for an explanatory interview.

This method was used after finding that many families did not reply to letters. Only 30% of families contacted through vicars agreed to be interviewed. Other agencies, such as Child Clinics, Health Visitors and Arts Societies were contacted, but they were either not interested or sent no referrals. It should be noted, then, that 25% of families were recruited with the help of head-teachers; the rest were recruited with the help of vicars.

THE HOME INTERVIEWS

At the first interview which took place with husband and wife, it was explained to them who one was, and what one was trying to find out. They were told that although a lot of information was available on problem families, almost no research had been done on stable families. Further, the research was associated with interaction and concerns of husbands and wives with their spouse, children and colleagues at work. Depending on the family, one elaborated more or less on specific concepts when asked. For instance, some families wanted to know what stable meant. They were told that it meant that the couple

had not separated and were not separating. If questioned further, it was pointed out that it did not necessarily mean that the couple were happy or normal, just that they continued to live together. All families were satisfied with the explanations, some of them appearing pleased that they were regarded as stable.

After the preliminary interview one was almost always able to see one of the couple immediately in a separate room. Some couples wanted to be interviewed together, but they were told that this was not possible, as I was concerned to have as objective a research as possible. For example, the presence of a third person might influence the responses of the interviewee, and also, the responses would be treated in strictest confidence, and that only one's supervisor would have access to them. Moreover, they were assured that no names would be included in the report, and that it would be appreciated if neither discussed the questions or responses with each other, until after both of them had been interviewed. All families were satisfied with these explanations and were then quite willing to be interviewed separately.

Each interview lasted about three hours. This usually meant that a person was seen twice, as one found three consecutive hours -- exhausting. The interview began with a short summary of reiterating what had been explained previously, and an encouragement to ask questions. Few of the interviewees did; they seemed more concerned to begin the actual "interview" which consisted of:

1. A projective semi-structured questionnaire.
2. An objective structured questionnaire.

3. An unstructured questionnaire requiring them to draw.
4. A demographic questionnaire.

A copy of the projective questionnaire is found in Appendix B.

Questions were devoted to three primary kinds of interactions. The topics were interaction with Spouse, Children and at Work, and each consisted of seven questions, some derived from a similar questionnaire used by Rossan ('76). The questions were deliberately vague, enabling the person to discuss any area that concerned him. For example, the responses to:

"Suppose you had to go into hospital for some months. What would happen to your family?"

would vary tremendously. For instance, anxiety over family's welfare, to relief of getting away from the home environment, to concerns about anger at being helpless in contrast to their need to lead at work were common responses. There were also a few probes, if it seemed that the response was too short, or if it was felt that the person found it difficult to express himself.

Their position at work was covered in detail. One was interested to discover how they saw themselves at work, for example, whether they saw themselves as liking their colleagues; whether they liked making their own decisions, taking risks or wanted security at work; how they responded to any frustrations they could think of, and any aggressive behaviour from colleagues.

Similarly, one was interested in housework, child rearing, how they budgeted and the family's forms of recreation. There were questions on which partner did certain activities, such as shopping, budgeting,

paying bills, deciding on holidays. One wanted to discover who did which activity, who was responsible for seeing that it was done, how decisions were made, and what disagreements there were about it and how these were handled. (These questions were frequently asked by probes - see Appendix B). One also attempted to find out how the relationship had changed throughout the course of their marriage.

The interviewees were also asked about how they related to their children, and their concerns with discipline, scholastic achievement, nurturance and recreational activities.

Every sentence which could be coded, was coded later, according to the guidelines set out in Appendix A. The coding system was originally employed by Rossan ('76) and was taught to the present author by Rossan. In turn, this was taught to the independent coder for the present study. Each of the two coders analysed the responses of a random selection of 50 questionnaires. The independent coder had no knowledge of the sex, class or employing organisation of the subjects.

The scores assigned by the two coders on each dependent variable for each subject were summed and correlated,¹ using the spearman rank correlation coefficient.

The correlation between sums assigned by the two coders on the dependent variables were as shown on Table 3.

¹ The scores were summed, ignoring the positive and negative signs. In discussion with the supervisor, it was felt that referring to a particular variable constituted a need, despite it being positive or negative.

Table 3

Spearman Rank correlations between sums of scores assigned to 50 subjects by two coders on each dependent variable:

Dependent Variables	r_s
Achievement	.95
Affiliation	.90
Aggression	.93
Autonomy	.90
Dominance	.89
Identification	.89
Nurturance	.85
Responsibility	.86
Security	.88
Self-Confidence	.85
Sharing	.92
Succourance	.94

All correlations were found to be satisfactorily high. The means of scores used in the tables from Chapter 4 onwards were calculated as follows: The sum total score, irrespective of signs on Achievement for husbands was, say, 500. This figure was divided by 40 (the number of husbands), thus obtaining a figure of 12.5.

There was 100% agreement on the object of the coded behaviour, that is, whether the subject was referring to Spouse, Children or Colleagues at Work.

The scores of each subject were then put through a computer programme MANOVA, that is, Multivariate Analysis of Variance. This test was considered the most useful for the purpose of the present study, which was to explore the effects of, and the interactions between independent variables such as sex, social class, organisation and sexual identity on dependent variables such as Achievement, Affiliation, Aggression, Autonomy, Dominance, Identification, Nurturance, Security, Self-Confidence, Sharing and Succourance.

After this section of the interview, the person was required to complete the Gough Test on Femininity (Gough 1952), which indicates conscious sexual identity, whether masculine or feminine. As almost all the subjects got scores within the consciously feminine range,

it was felt that however useful this test might be in America where it was devised, it was not culture-free, insofar as it did not distinguish between conscious masculinity and femininity in Britain. Thus, the data of the test were not included in the results or discussion.

The subjects were then requested to complete the Franck Drawing Completion Test ('49), an assessment of unconscious sexual identity (see Appendix B). The test consists of thirty-six simple geometric figures which the subject fills in or elaborates in any way he chooses. Franck devised criteria for analysing both style and content of drawing.

In her pretests of style she found that men are most likely to expand the area of the original figure, to close objects that are open, to draw angular shapes, protrusions, and unsupported lines and to unify the figure. In contrast, women are more inclined to elaborate internal spaces, and to draw open objects, rounded and blunted shapes, and supported lines.

Franck also found marked sex differences in the objects that people draw. Her indicators of masculinity included "active containers", such as automobiles and fountains, faces that fill most of the drawing space, tools and "engineered structures", such as bridges, tunnels and sky-scrapers. Among feminine indicators were furniture and interiors of homes, fruit or flowers, and passive containers such as bowls and rowboats. In her scoring manual Franck shows that in all her samples men differ significantly from the groups of women.

Independent ratings of drawings by three judges yielded inter-correlations that were all above .90.

Miller and Swanson ('60) found the Franck Test particularly useful because it did not correlate with the popular, verbal tests of masculinity - femininity such as the Terman-Miles Attitude Interest Analysis test, the M-F Scale of the Strong Vocational Interest Blank and the M-F Scale of the MMPI. Each of these tests called for reports of attitudes and interests. They felt, therefore, that Franck's test must measure something other than conscious sex-identity - something which also discriminates between males and females. Another virtue of the test, they felt, was its relative lack of relationship to the experiences of the two sexes. They point out that it would be hard, for example, to argue that men have less experience than women with sailboats and canoes, objects that are drawn more frequently by women. Further, experience alone cannot be used to explain that men exceed women in the drawing of such domestic objects as candles and kitchen knives.

The fourth questionnaire pertained to demographic details. The subjects were asked to supply data about their date of birth, occupation, father's occupation, level of education, status of work, how many persons were below or above them in the job hierarchy, how long they had lived in London and finally, their social class.

SUMMARY

This chapter is concerned with the methods used in the recruitment of families interviewed in the study to be reported. Certain variables

were controlled in selecting families. The families were expected to be stable, white, English, with a Protestant background, and with a child of either sex who was still in school. The families were divided into middle and working class categories; they were also divided according to organisation, entrepreneurial or bureaucratic, in each social class. Finding families who satisfied the criteria for selection proved unexpectedly difficult. The most productive contacts were with clergymen. Data collection consisted of a projective semi-structured questionnaire, an objective structured questionnaire, an unstructured questionnaire requiring subjects to draw, and a demographic questionnaire. These questionnaires are described more fully.

HUSBANDS AND WIVES

In this chapter, the significant differences between husbands and wives in the present study are reported. The differences are in interactions with colleagues at work, spouses and children. All the husbands are employed, and 85% of wives are working. Of those wives who are working, 70% are in part-time employment. The minority of wives (six) who are not working, chose to regard housework as equivalent to having a job. A solicitor's wife says, "Just because I stay at home doesn't mean I don't have a job. I regard my housework every bit as important as J---'s work". A taxi-driver's wife says, "I see housework as a job. I don't know what these Women's Libbers are about. There is so much one can do in the home. I've decorated the whole house from top to bottom, and if I can, I'm going to build an extension. I'd call that a job, wouldn't you?" A sales manager's wife says, "You wouldn't see me going out to work. When I got married I said goodbye to working outside. I'm quite satisfied with what I do at home. I really enjoy it. It's a full time job to look after my husband and the children. It's like having a nurse's job at home!"

The six wives who are not in employment, then, see housework as equivalent to having jobs. Thus one felt justified including the housework on par with full-time and part-time work carried out outside the home by the other wives.

WORK

Table 4-1 shows that, at work, husbands have higher scores than wives on Achievement ($p < .001$), Dominance ($p < .004$) and Security ($p < .001$).

Table 4-1:

Significant Differences Between Husbands
and Wives, at Work:

Dimension	Means of Spouses		N	F	Probability
	Husband	Wife			
Achievement	11.7	2.1	80	16.49	< .001
Dominance	35.2	22.3	80	8.85	< .004
Security	13.3	3.2	80	13.83	< .001

Achievement

At work, husbands make more references to Achievement than wives ($p < .001$). There are a number of reasons that help explain this result. The husband is the person expected to take an outside job. As in primitive societies where the wife stayed at home to tend the house and care for the children, so today the wife is still responsible, during much of her life, for household tasks such as cooking, cleaning, shopping and caring for the children, too (McKinley '64).

Most men go through changes in their rates of pay - if nothing else - during their careers. Men who start as apprentices when they are young acquire seniority when enables them to be upgraded into better-paying jobs. The stockroom clerk sometimes becomes a buyer, the man on the line a foreman.

At the beginning of their work histories most men hope for more senior jobs. In their study Lunneborg and Rosenwood (1972) used

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questions including "What makes you happy? What makes you sad? what makes you angry?" with college subjects of both sexes.

Points were given towards an achievement score if the individual said, for example, that "success", "a rewarding career", or "getting through University" would bring happiness, or that "doing badly on an exam", "inability to explain", or "losing something I should have had a chance at" would make him (her) sad. There was a significant difference between the men and women, with men giving more achievement responses. It would appear then that this need for achievement continues at work as well as the data suggests. To get senior posts is to be able to increase the standard of living for one's family. Hence, the mobility aspirations of husbands symbolise both his own and his dependents economic goals.

Mobility aspirations are inspired by reference groups of husbands. Different reference groups can be seen where husbands have already moved from their father's occupational level or where they have married wives from a different level. In his study Freedman ('56) shows that young husbands who have already reached a higher occupational level than their fathers, tend to establish themselves in white-collar occupations where they felt they could rely on promotions for further advancement. Freedman also observes that, by contrast, men who have slipped downward are more interested in changing to completely new lines of work, perhaps to regain the success their father had.

Blood and Wolfe ('60) report that where the wives' social class is higher than their husbands', the latter have frequent aspirations to get into new lines of work. Is this because ambitious men seek wives with higher status, or because such wives put pressure on their husbands to measure up to their fathers' achievements? In either case, the wives occupational backgrounds seem to set the standard for the husbands (Whyte, '71).

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Only one wife in the present sample made frequent references to achievement aspirations at work. This may reflect the fact that most of the working wives took jobs to supplement their husbands' incomes. The evidence that economic pressure is the primary motive for married women seeking employment is that there are three times as many working wives in the working class, than in the middle class (McKinley '64). However, this trend may not continue if working class people begin to earn as much as, if not more than, those in the middle class, a recent phenomenon.

Another reason why the wives in the sample made less references than husbands to Achievement at work, may be explained by the "motive to avoid success" (Horner, '68, '70). Horner argues that "traditional measures of achievement motivation do not reflect the conflict situation that particularly affects women, namely that they feel it is acceptable (indeed, expected) to do well at school, but that it is at the same time unladylike to beat men at almost any task. This conflict produces a situation in which women want ~~to~~ success but not too much". Horner devised an ingenious method for identifying this conflict. She asked subjects to write stories about highly successful members of their own sex, and scored the stories for all the unpleasant things that were described about ensuing events, or the personal characteristics of the successful person. She found that 65% of college women described unpleasant events and attributes in discussing successful women, whereas only 10% of college men gave such descriptions of successful men. More recently, in a more complete design (Monahan et al '74), both sexes gave more negative responses to stories about successful girls, and were equally positive about male success.

Dominance

Table 4-1 shows that husbands make significantly more references than their wives on Dominance at work ($p < .004$). It could be suggested that this result is associated with the evidence (McKinley '64) that men in western society frequently occupy higher positions at work than do women. This sometimes leads to the former having more power over a larger number of subordinates (Maccoby and Jacklin '75). For instance, when an articled clerk becomes a Chartered Accountant, he is legitimately able to tell other article clerks what to do. His orders carry weight owing to his new position at work.

The majority of wives in the present sample held part-time jobs in which they mainly assisted other full time workers. For example, they were 'dinner-ladies' at school, or assisted teachers in the classroom, and some were sales-assistants a few hours per week. Thus they were hardly in a position to tell others what to do. Moreover, unlike their husbands, they made very few references to Dominance at work, and it was rarely an issue they mentioned spontaneously. More often than not, when it did emerge, 85% of them stated that they would prefer not to be in a position of authority where they give orders. This was in contrast to their husbands, of whom only 47% said they would not like to tell others what to do.

Experiments on dominance by Omark and Edelman ('73) reveal that:-

- 1 Boys congregated in larger groups than girls. Girls played together in twos and threes.
- 2 The play groups were largely sex-segregated, but a few girls were found in the largest boys' play groups, and these tended to be the girls who were at the top of the girls' toughness hierarchy.
- 3 Boys were rated "tougher" than girls as early as nursery school age.

Omark and Edelman ('74) then have shown a remarkable degree of consistency between the dominance relations found among young human beings, when dominance is defined as toughness, which appears to be a synonym for aggressiveness. Thus, one should ask, does the toughest child also dominate others in circumstances where aggression is not especially relevant? Whiting and Pope ('74) make a useful distinction between what they refer to as "egoistic dominance" and "suggesting responsibility". They give as an example of the former: a child attempting to make another run an errand for him. "Suggesting responsibility" is seen as an older child warning a younger one to stay away from the fire. In five of the six societies reported, boys showed more 'egoistic dominance', and in all the societies girls 'suggested' more responsibility.

Many studies have been made of leadership in small adult groups, but because most of the groups studied have been homogeneous as regards sex, cross-sex dominance patterns have not been revealed. However, some of the major findings of leadership studies may be relevant to cross-sex dominance. Leadership studies have shown that very few individuals seem to be endowed with a general personal quality of leadership such that they can assume leadership on different groups having different objectives.

Collins and Raven ('68) summarize research on dominance within groups; they make the point that, whereas among animals there seems to be a simple rank-ordering of power that generalises across situations, this becomes progressively less true the older the members of the human group, and the more complex the social setting in which they function. Collins and Raven say (p. 160): "In the analysis of husband-wife interaction, the power structure shows even greater variability and multidimensionality than in other

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groups, with dominance varying according to task domain, and changing with time".

Maccoby and Jacklin ('75) report that "in many interactions between adult men and women outside marriage, dominance relations are dictated by formal status, as in the case of male employer and his female secretary. Judging from the work on leadership, it would be likely that, even when formal status requirements are not present, a man's generally higher status would lead him to adopt a dominant role, and a woman to accept or even encourage this".

When asked whether she would like giving orders at work, I was told by one wife "... this would not be a natural state of affairs.

Anyhow, no man would listen to me."

This statement might clarify the reason why most women avoided positions of power and leadership. Were they conforming to traditionally expected behaviour at work, where they were expected to take orders, not give them? They are expected by colleagues to assist, not direct others. It would seem 'unnatural' if they deviated from their expected behaviour.

Further, some of the women believed that their orders would not be taken seriously. In response to probes, 70% of the women stated emphatically that they prefer to take orders from men rather than women. "I'd hate it if someone of my own sex told me what to do", was one response. Thus some women themselves reinforced the traditional belief that only men can legitimately give orders or make final decisions at work.

Security

Table 4-1 shows that in relation to work, husbands make significantly more references to security, than did their wives ($p < .001$). This is

possibly because in western society it is well-nigh unthinkable for a man not to seek a job, and one is judged in terms of the nature of the occupation and the success with which it is pursued.

Morse and Weiss ('65) offer a general statement of the place of work in our society:

"To the typical man in a middle-class occupation, working means having a sense of purpose, gaining a sense of accomplishment, expressing himself. He feels that not working would leave him aimless and without opportunities to contribute. To the typical man in a working class occupation, working means having something to do. He feels that not working would leave him no adequate outlet for physical activity; he would just be sitting or lying around."

A man is judged a useful citizen if he is succeeding at a respected occupation. A labourer is seen as being more useful to society than an out-of-work artist. Similarly, at first sight a man is seen to have performed an important responsibility as husband and father if he has a good record at work. It is only with great effort that society is able to consider a man a good husband and father if he does not take his work responsibilities seriously. These responsibilities include keeping a job and not change jobs frequently, so that he can be assured of economic security.

Without the security that the weekly or monthly pay packet brings, families are liable to experience considerable stress. Bills cannot be paid, eating and paying the rent become sources of anxiety. Thus it is no wonder that security of work is of importance to men, the traditional breadwinners.

SPOUSES

Table 4-2 shows that in relation to spouses, husbands make more references to Responsibility ($p < .05$), and less references to Autonomy ($p < .002$) and Nurturance ($p < .008$) than wives.

Table 4-2:

Significant Differences Between Husbands and Wives,
in Relation to Spouses:

Dimensions	Means of spouses		N	F	Probability
	Husband	Wife			
Responsibility	8.4	5.1	80	5.30	$< .05$
Autonomy	2.3	16.2	80	9.62	$< .002$
Nurturance	13.1	23.4	80	7.14	$< .008$

Responsibility

It is surprising that husbands make more references than wives on Responsibility in relation to Spouses ($p < .05$). It is not clear why they feel a greater responsibility towards their wives than vice versa. Thus one can only speculate the reasons for this phenomenon.

Is it because they are the breadwinners in the household and thus feel obliged to take their financial responsibilities seriously? Certainly, this is consistent with husbands' concern with wanting security at work. Since they are the main contributors to the family's income, they would be under societal, family and internal pressures to act in a responsible way towards both wife and children. For example, society would hardly condone men who would deliberately not seek jobs when they have families to support. These pressures are typified by one husband who said, "I don't like my job very much, but I owe it to my family to stick at it, and keep the money coming in".

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Another reason why husbands have a higher score than wives on Responsibility may be that being at work all day may make the husbands feel more obliged to spend their evenings and weekends with their wives and children. One husband stated that "It is the duty of men to spend their leisure hours with their wives. Much as I'd like to go out with the boys to the pub, it's not fair on the wife". Thus, a combination of being the breadwinner and spending hours away from the family, may help in some way to understand why husbands have higher scores on Responsibility than the wives.

Autonomy

Table 4-2 shows that wives made more references than husbands to Autonomy in relation to Spouses ($p < .002$). This was made very clear in connection with household duties.

Most of the wives, especially those who did not go out to work, jealously guarded their right to have total autonomy over household duties. A typical response in connection with household tasks was, "I like doing things my own way. I couldn't stand it if he nagged me about the work around the house". They felt that this was their way of showing some independence from their husbands. For example, they would decide how to order their day, when to go shopping, when and what to cook, when they would meet friends for a coffee and a chat. They did not like their husbands telling them how they should do during the day. One wife said, "I don't bother him about his work, and I don't want him bothering me about my work (household tasks)". Another wife said, "I don't want my husband interfering, like other husbands I know. I think I'd leave him if he told me what to do in the home". Another put it simply, "I wouldn't give up the freedom of being queen in my house. I do as I please".

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Thus, it can be seen that contrary to recent thoughts (Gavron '68), about the drudgery of being a housewife, most women in the sample viewed the role positively, especially the freedom it bestowed. They could decide independently of their husbands how to run their homes. Even the working wives, who were mainly assisting others at work and thus had little independence, enjoyed the feeling of freedom at home.

There is no evidence to support the hypothesis that they could be using this freedom to compensate for their dependence at work, but this is not unlikely in some instances. A teacher's assistant said, "I'm always being told what to do at work. I like it like that. But at home I do things my own way. That's how it should be. I wouldn't have it any other way".

Nurturance

Table 4-2 shows that wives made more reference to Nurturance in relation to Spouses than did husbands ($p < .008$). Whereas the men felt it much more a responsibility to look after their wives, the women in the sample tended not to see their concern for their husbands as a duty. In contrast to husbands responses, the wives showed much more anxiety over, for example, leaving their spouses to manage the household when they themselves were in hospital. They would be worried in case their husbands couldn't cope with going to work, looking after the children and coming to see their wives in hospital. The differences can be best understood by illustration. When describing what would happen to their spouse if they themselves were in hospital for a few months, a wife said, "I'd worry about him a great deal. I think he'd manage alright with the children if his mum came to help. But I'd want to get out of hospital soon, because I'd be worried about him". A typical response made by a

husband was, "I'd miss her a lot, but I wouldn't worry too much over her as she manages alright when I'm at work. I've made sure with my firm that she wouldn't have to worry over the money". Thus, nurturant feelings towards the husbands came across more as anxiety over their welfare, whereas this was a much less common response by husbands. One could speculate that since the anxiety of wives pertained to their husbands ability to perform household tasks on their own, this could be linked with the wives' concern with autonomy (see sub-section above). That is, if the women have so jealously guarded their rights to decide how to run their homes, then it would not be surprising if they felt that their husbands would not be able to cope with tasks they have rarely performed.

CHILDREN

Table 4-3 shows that in relation to Children, wives make more references than husbands to Nurturance ($p < .02$), Identification ($p < .01$) and Self Confidence ($p < .01$).

Table 4-3:

Significant Differences Between Husbands and Wives,
in Relation to Children:

Dimension	Means of Spouses		N	F	Probability
	Husband	Wife			
Nurturance	108.2	127.4	80	5.69	< .02
Identification	17.2	25.3	80	6.17	< .01
Self-Confidence	12.4	20.5	80	6.28	< .01

Nurturance

It was not unexpected that mothers would make more references to Nurturance of Children, than fathers ($p < .02$). Usually the first relationship an infant has is with his mother, who hopefully provides him with all the care, love and protection he needs. He looks to her for love and support, and she responds to his succourance by surrounding him as far as possible with a caring environment (Winnicott '64).

As the mother is usually the parent who stays at home to bring up the child, especially when young, she is the one who satisfies his needs when she is required to do so. She takes him around with her, plays with him, feeds him, baths him, puts him to sleep. The husband, on the other hand, spends most of his day at work, and is usually only able to see his family in the evenings and at weekends. However, most young children before the age of 5 do not spend much time with their father in the evening, as they go to sleep soon after

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the father returns from work (Hartup and Keller '60). It is "mummy" most children cry for when in distress. The expected behaviour of the mother is that of a caring, helping, protecting figure.

In relation to Nurturance, Maccoby and Jacklin ('75) derive the following important points from the behaviour of mammalian species other than man:

- 1 "Maternal" behaviour is to some degree hormonally controlled. Hormonal factors are more powerful during the period immediately following the birth of the young.
- 2 In the males of some species, aggression interferes with responsiveness to the young.
- 3 Among sub-human primates, there is great variability from one species to another in the degree of male participation in caring for the young."

Extrapolating from what is known about animals much lower than man, it would appear possible that the hormones associated with pregnancy, childbirth and lactation may contribute to a "readiness" to care for a young child on the part of a woman.

Even with little experience with infants, however, the human male may have more potential for nurturant reactions than he is given credit for. In a recent study by S L Benn ('74) there was no statistical difference between the interest shown to an 8-week-old kitten, by male and female college students.

Further, in recent observations made by Parke and O'Leary ('74), the level of interest in newborn infants were significantly higher for fathers than for mothers.

Although there is no other experimental evidence of differences in Nurturance between human parents for their children, a study by Whiting and Pope ('75) might help explain why the mothers in my research had high scores on Nurturance. In their observational study of children in six cultures; they report on the frequency of offering help and emotional support. In the age range 3-6, there is only a tendency for girls to show more help-giving behaviour than boys. However, from age 7 onwards, girls emerge strongly as the helpful sex at the .001 level.

The findings of the present research are consistent with this result, as women have higher scores than men on Nurturance in relation to Spouses and Children.

Even when the children are older mothers continue to have more time than fathers to devote to their needs. In our society, it is not likely that the fathers give up their jobs to look after the home and children, so that their wives may go to work. As mothers spend more time with their children, they are more aware than fathers of their needs, which is consistent with the result in the next subsection on Identification.

Identification

Table 4-3 shows that in relation to Children, mothers made more references to Identification than fathers ($p < .01$). It has been shown above that mothers, being almost constantly with their babies in their formative early years, are more aware than fathers of their special needs and requirements. Usually, each separate crying sound means something different to them. They soon know whether their babies are hungry, crying or in pain. This may be a phenomenon that is more associated with females than males. Simner ('71) found that there was a trend for newborn girls to cry longer in response to a tape of a newborn crying.

Also, Solomon and Ali (1972) report that girls and women (ages 5 - 25) are more sensitive to tones of voice (pleasant, indifferent, displeased) than are males, at the 0.001 level. This, it would seem that mothers' responses to their children crying and making sounds may stem from a sex difference, which has been supported experimentally.

Mothers are also more likely than fathers to identify expressions on their childrens faces, quite possibly because they spend more time with them or because they are more sensitive to facial expressions. Buck et al ('72) found that women had higher heart rates than men in a study on communication of affect through facial expressions in humans. One subject (sender) in each pair of like-sex subjects watched slides designed to elicit fear, while the other subject (observer) viewed the sender subject's face over television.

Most mothers devote a lot of time and energy to becoming aware of their childrens individual needs and demands. In this way they can be sure that they will respond adequately to their feelings, whether they are of distress, happiness or hunger. Craig and Lowery ('69) found that women rated watching confederates receiving a shock as more painful than did men, at the 0.01 level. They also expressed more liking for the confederate than men did ($p < .05$). Thus mothers make more references than do fathers on Identification with children probably because they spend more time with them and probably there is some evidence to show that women are more empathic and sensitive to social cues.

Self-Confidence

Table 4-3 shows that mothers made more reference than fathers to self-confidence in relation to children ($p < .01$). However, it was rare indeed for men or women in the study to express confidence about the sort of father or mother they were or had been. If self-confidence was brought up it was mainly in connection with the lack of it, in relation of how they, the mothers, had brought up their children. In a typical example, a mother commenting on her daughter's school report said, "She hasn't done very well this term and I blame myself for not encouraging her to work harder. Even when she was a child I didn't bother with her homework. I feel guilty because I know it's my fault".

The mothers saw it as their actions or lack of them, that was the cause of the children's present predicament. This might be linked up with what has already been reported in the two previous subsections on Nurturance and Identification with Children. If, for instance, the women saw themselves as being the influential socialising agents, then it seems natural that they would blame themselves for the children's later behaviour. This might not be so in reality, but this is how the women saw themselves. Typical responses were, "I feel awful when I think I didn't stop him from the first from keeping late nights", and, "If I knew then what I know now, I'd never have given in to his worrying me. Now I just don't know what to do". So, much of the mothers' lack of self-confidence stem from seeing themselves as the influential socialisers of their children. Furthermore because they have a higher score than do fathers on Identification with Children, they are more likely than fathers to blame themselves, if they feel their children haven't been understood by them. One mother said, "I feel guilty about not understanding

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why she was crying. My mother didn't help me either. It's a vicious circle, isn't it?"

Thus, one could suggest that there is some pattern between mothers' references to Nurturance, Identification and Self-Confidence in relation to their children.

SUMMARY

The significant differences between husbands and wives in the present study are reported. The differences are in interactions with colleagues at work, spouses and children. Housework is included, on par with full-time and part-time work carried out by other wives. The major findings are that at work, husbands have higher scores than wives on Achievement, Dominance and Security. On the dimensions of Achievement, it is shown that most men hope for more senior jobs, partly to increase the standard of living for the family and are partly inspired by their reference groups. Experimental evidence supports the finding that women are not expected to achieve at work. On Dominance, it is shown that from childhood onwards, males behave dominantly, either because they are physically "tougher" or because they frequently occupy higher positions at work than women. Also, most women do not like to see themselves as dominant. As men are the traditional breadwinners in the family, they are expected to seek and keep a job, thus taking their responsibilities as husbands and fathers seriously.

In relation to spouses, husbands have higher scores than wives on Responsibility and lower scores on Autonomy and Nurturance. It is suggested that going to work is experienced as a duty by some husbands. They also feel obliged to spend their leisure hours with their families because they are at work all day. On Autonomy, one found that wives jealously guard their right to have total independence over household tasks, and view the housewives role positively.

Wives, in contrast to husbands, are more anxious over the welfare of spouses. In relation to children, mothers have higher scores than fathers on Nurturance, Identification and Self-Confidence. It is shown that in our society women are expected to be nurturant towards their young children, and experimental evidence supports the finding

that women are generally more nurturant than men. Studies show that the former are also more empathic and sensitive to social cues than the latter. Because they see themselves as the main socialisers of their children, mothers praise or blame themselves for their childrens behaviour.

MIDDLE CLASS AND WORKING CLASS

In this chapter, the significant differences between subjects in the middle class and subjects in the working class are reported, in relation to work, spouses and children. It has been shown in Chapter 2 that there are many studies exploring the differences between the social classes. McKinley ('64) and Turner ('70) find that social class is related to behaviour with spouses and to patterns of child rearing. Goldthorpe and Lockwood ('69) observe that attitudes at work are related to social class. Thus it seemed reasonable to expect differences between subjects in the middle- and working-class in relation to Work, Spouses and Children in the present study.

WORK

Table 5-1 shows that in relation to work, subjects in the middle-class, in contrast to those in the working-class, make more references to Achievement ($p < .009$), Autonomy ($p < .02$), Dominance ($p < .007$), Identification ($p < .05$) and Self-confidence ($p < .02$), and less reference to Security ($p < .05$).

Table 5-1:

Significant Differences between Subjects in the Middle and Working Class, at Work:

Dimension	Means of Social Class		N	F	Probability
	MC	WC			
Achievement	18.2	10.3	80	7.34	< .009
Autonomy	49.4	36.8	80	5.66	< .02
Dominance	36.4	25.1	80	7.64	< .007
Identification	2.8	1.4	80	4.14	< .05
Self-Confidence	18.2	11.5	80	5.20	< .02
Security	5.2	12.6	80	4.12	< .05

Achievement

As shown in Table 5-1, in relation to work, those subjects in the middle-class made more reference to Achievement than those in the working-class ($p < .009$). Moss and Kagan ('61) find that professional and white collar workers in several countries tend to have higher need for Achievement if they come from families in the middle class than if they come from working class backgrounds.

Some insight into how their family backgrounds influence their motivational level is given by Donovan ('58). She finds that both failure and possible loss of money are necessary to mobilise the need for Achievement in working class children the same amount that failure alone produced in children of the middle class. In her opinion children in the middle class are more willing to work for a delayed reward than are children in the working class (Mischel '60). The time perspective of individuals with high need for Achievement being longer, may account for their superior ability to delay gratification. In a study on delayed reward Mischel ('60) presents children with the choice between a small reward now (a candy bar) and a larger one a week later. Children in the middle class consistently choose the larger but delayed rewards. When asked what they want to be if a 'magic man' could change them into anything they wanted, in contrast to children in the working class, children in the middle class more frequently mentioned achievement-related occupations and traits. For example, occupations like pilot, doctor, priest and traits such as important, bright, successful are mentioned more frequently than answers not related to achievement such as nice, same, a baby, honest. In other words, they are thinking in terms of long range occupational goals, rather than other more immediate gratifications. The results of the present study suggest that this way of thinking continues into adult life.

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Occupations in the middle class such as lecturer, solicitor and foreman require more planning ahead than occupations in the working class, like a car deliverer, postman and bricklayer. The former, in contrast with the latter, require a longer period of education before substantial financial rewards begin to be available, as in the minor professions like secondary school teaching. Even the pay for such occupations is available only once a month, as compared with weekly pay in occupations in the working class, so that household expenditures need to be budgeted with care.

Other investigations concerned with achievement at work are agreed that among workers in the middle-class, the desire for promotion is almost universal. Of the rail and other clerks studied by Dufty ('63), 90% stated that they would like promotion ('White collar contrasts', p 69); in an Acton Society Trust ('56) study of attitudes to promotion in five industrial firms, 85% of the male office workers were "very interested" in promotion and a further 11% "slightly interested". Among the clerks in the sales office of a Scottish iron and steel firm studied by Sykes ('65), 100% said that they wanted promotion.

In studies by Walker and Dale ('61, '62), the authors take it as being beyond question that the employees in white collar occupations, in contrast to blue collar occupations, thought promotion desirable. Dale adds that, "Advancement tends to be sought not merely for the extra money involved - this is often little enough - but for the prestige it carries, and for the opportunity to display initiative and to exercise authority which it brings". (see next subsection on Dominance). Finally, Goldthorpe and Lockwood ('69) record that in their own middle class sample, 87% of the workers interviewed said that they would like the idea of achievement "very much" or "quite a lot". All the findings of the studies above are consistent with the results of the present study.

Dominance

Table 5-1 shows that, at Work, those subjects in the middle class have a higher score on Dominance than those in the working class ($p < .007$). A probable reason for this result may be associated with the need for Achievement of those in the middle class (see previous sub-section). Mizrochi ('65) suggests that individuals who are more orientated towards achievement inevitably strive toward rising in the hierarchy at work, which frequently gives them more power to lead and direct their subordinates (Dale '62; Walker '61). This becomes clearer with the two illustrations below.

A director of a firm when asked in the interview whether he told others at work what to do, replies, "All the time. I'm very self-opinionated and I use my arrogance to try and achieve positive results. It's taken me hard work and a long time to get to my position so I make the fullest use of my power. I will continue to push my ideas and tell others what to do. One reason for being a director of ----- is to exert influence".

In response to the same question a post-man replies, "No. I never tell anyone what to do. I like it this way. That's why I chose to be a postman. I also don't encourage my son at school because we have enough leaders in this country and not enough workers".

The former went to a public school as did 12% of subjects in the middle class. It could be suggested that leadership qualities have been inculcated in public and private schools, which are noted for their emphasis on taking responsibility and leadership (Cotgrove '68).

The results are also a reflection of the occupations of the subjects. 70% of those in the middle-class are in a supervisory capacity in their jobs, whereas only 38% of subjects in the working class tell others what to do at work. These figures may indicate that, in

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contrast to most occupations in the working class, those in the middle class are of a more supervisory nature. Goldthorpe and Lockwood ('69) show that one clear-cut difference between members of the middle and working class lies in the fact that among the ~~former~~ ^{latter}, serious aspirations for promotion were held by only a small minority, with the most important reason for this being the view that promotion - to supervisory level at least - was simply not worth while. The advantages and disadvantages of a supervisory position tended to be assessed in a "highly calculative way", such that the demands and strains of a job, like responsibility and leadership, were felt to outweigh its "pay off" in economic terms. In addition, though, even where workers favoured the idea of promotion, it was clear from the interview data that aspirations in this direction could often be dulled by recognition of the lower chances of this being fulfilled. For example, Goldthorpe and Lockwood found that those men who were attracted to the possibility of becoming a foreman, had only rarely taken any steps to help realise this ambition. They state that "this must be set alongside the further findings that among this same group not a single man was prepared to rate his chances of promotion as 'very good'". In explaining their pessimism, the men most often referred to their lack of education, training and leadership qualities.

Identification

Table 5-1 shows that, at work, subjects in the middle class make more references to identification with colleagues, than those in the working class ($p < .05$). It is not altogether clear why this is so, although it is possible to speculate a couple of reasons to help explain this phenomenon.

First, the Newsoms ('68) show that from a very early age, children in the middle class are given the reasons for their parents' requirements. For example, a parent tells the child, "Be quiet! Daddy has just come home and wants a bit of peace", or "Could you stop making that row? Mummy's got a headache and she's trying to get some sleep." However the Newsoms study indicates that children in the working class are not normally given the reason for their parents' commands. They are simply ordered, "Be quiet!" or "Stop that row." They may also be threatened with physical punishment if they do not obey the command immediately.

As the Newsoms study of families in Nottingham shows, children in the middle class are frequently given the reason behind parental commands. From childhood on they are taught to expect to understand why their parents require them to behave in certain ways. They are told what the parents are doing and/or feeling, which gives rise to the requirement. So, from their earliest years most children in this social class are expected to empathise with the adults feelings and commands.

In contrast, children in the working class do not normally know why they are told to behave in certain ways (Newsoms '68). In comparison with children in the middle class, they are less likely to identify with the feelings and/or motives behind the parents requirements. When they do obey the command, more likely than not it is because they have been told to, and not because they understand the reasoning behind it. One could suggest that this mode of behaviour, that is, of empathy (or not) with another person's feelings or actions continues in later life. It may be revealed in one's attitudes towards colleagues at work, as the results indicate.

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The second reason why subjects in the middle class have higher scores than those in the working class on identification, is related to their position in the hierarchy at work. It has been shown earlier, and supported by various studies already mentioned, most occupations in the middle class confer power in forms such as having autonomy, the authority to tell others what to do, taking responsibility and making decisions which affect subordinates, usually those in the working class.

It could be argued that working class entrepreneurs in the present study have autonomy and make decisions which affect colleagues at work. However, in the present study 70% of subjects in the middle class have supervisory roles, in contrast to 38% of subjects in the working class. It is in the interest of middle class supervisors to try and understand the feelings and expectations of those they supervise, if relations between them are to go smoothly. Hence it is not particularly surprising to discover that the subjects in the middle class make more references to Identification at work. It should be noted that the national newspapers indicate that this state of affairs is hardly realistic. Those in the working class complain that their needs are rarely considered or understood by their superiors. However, the present study results are not primarily indications of what people in the study actually do, but rather how they see themselves, and what their concerns are, in interaction with others.

Self-Confidence

At work, members of the middle class make more references to this variable than members of the working class, as shown in Table 5-1 ($p < .02$).

Rainwater ('70, see also Chapter 2) observed that members of the middle class are more likely than those in the working class to encourage their children to take up extra-curricular school activities. He reasoned that the former felt they could shape their own personalities and capabilities by widening their activities. That is, they felt they could become more responsible for their development. Those in the working class however felt less able to change themselves, and widen their capabilities. Hence, those in the middle class, taking responsibility for widening their interests, and, in a wider sense their development, are likely to praise or blame themselves for their actions. This affects their attitude at work (Henry and Short '64).

When asked how much their actions at work affected the firm, 50% of working class men in the study replied they couldn't really affect the firm one way or another. 75% of middle class men, however, stated that their decisions and actions would affect the firm, mostly financially. This may be another reason why the latter have higher scores on the self-confidence dimension, in contrast to the former in the study. Hogart ('62) also observes that those in the middle class feel they can affect their lives by their actions more than those in the working class.

When things go wrong in his school, one of the subjects, a headmaster, is inclined to blame himself, "I should never have allowed that teacher to take that class. On hindsight I can see that I made the wrong choice. I'll make sure I never do that again. I feel rotten about the effect on those pupils".

A labourer says, "Look, it's not my fault if things go wrong at work. I'm told what to do and I do it. It's not up to me, so I don't feel bad if there are complaints. Let's face it, what influence does a bricky have?"

Thus, at work, self-confidence or the lack of it, appears to be related to the belief that one can influence others in the job.

Security

Table 5-1 shows that at work, people in the working class made more references to security than those in the middle class ($p < .05$).

There are several reasons why this might be so.

Zweig ('61) finds that in times of economic recession it is more likely for manual workers to be made redundant than those involved in administration (also 'Daily Mail', 17 November 1976). He states that those in the middle class are affected as well, but comparatively less. It is usually those in manual labour that are first affected.

He suggests that it is more probable that in times of economic and social crisis, such as a war, 50% of the workers on the shop floor could do twice as much work, as happened during the last war.

However, those employed in a supervisory capacity, and who already number fewer than the manual, semi-skilled workers, would not be reduced by as much as 50%, as it is less probable that a man could satisfactorily do the work of two administrators (Hoggart '62).

Also, it can be seen that unemployment hits hardest at those in the working class, indicated by the massive retraining schemes at the present, which are planned predominantly for them.

Those subjects in the working class make more references to security at work, in contrast to those in the middle class because, having larger families (Young and Wilmott '73; Goldthorpe and Lockwood '69), they have more to worry about if their jobs are not permanent. A gas meter collector says, "I do this job because I like my mates, but it really offers me my security. I don't save. The wife keeps the accounts. I leave it up to her. I don't save^{ve}. I never have. So I like a secure job, at least it feeds the kids!"

This respondent provides another clue about the concern with security at work. Not only do those in the working class have more children to feed and clothe, but in comparison with subjects in the middle class, they are less likely to save for future eventualities, such as holidays, children's school or further education. They are more concerned with living in the present. Goldthorpe and Lockwood ('69) observe:

"Complementary to the idea of 'putting up' with life is that of 'making the best of it', that is of living in and for the present. Working class life puts a premium on the taking of pleasure now, discourages planning for some future good. This emphasis on the present and the lack of concern for 'planning ahead' are moreover encouraged by the view that there is in fact little to be done about the future, that it is not to any major extent under the individual's control. Fatalism, acceptance and an orientation to the present thus hold together as a mutually reinforcing set of attitudes."

The respondents in the working class are still worried about the future, as their scores on security indicate, but unlikely to take preventive action like saving. In the middle-class, however, families tend to save, in preparation for any eventuality (see above). Further, they could sometimes ultimately rely on the financial capital of the extended family (like grandparents), if there is a very severe financial crisis such as an economic recession. It could be argued that although members of the middle class have a smaller family to worry over, they have other commitments, like a mortgage. However, in the event of extreme hardship, it is easier to get rid of their house, than it is for them to get rid of their children.

SPOUSES

Table 5-2 shows that, in relation to spouses, subjects in the middle class, in contrast to those in the working class, make less references to Affiliation ($p < .01$) and Dominance ($p < .05$), and more to Sharing ($p < .004$).

Table 5-2:

Significant Differences between Subjects in the Middle and Working Classes in Relation to Spouses

Dimension	Means of Social Class		N	F	Probability
	MC	WC			
Affiliation	30.5	43.2	80	6.67	$< .01$
Dominance	30.1	32.3	80	3.88	$< .05$
Sharing	56.1	34.3	80	8.81	$< .004$

Affiliation

Table 5-2 shows that, in relation to spouse, subjects in the working class have higher scores on Affiliation, than those in the middle class ($p < .01$). One reason that could help explain this finding is that the Affiliation dimension is related to physical communications such as doing things together and wanting to be in physical contact with the other. For instance, a subject in the middle class says, "I like talking with my wife. We always decide on issues together, discuss the household budget and schooling, for instance. I wouldn't do it without her" (Coded Sharing).

In comparison, one working class wife says, "We don't do as much together, but I'd miss him dreadfully if he was away from home. I like knowing he's around" (Coded Affiliation). From these typical examples, it appears that comfort is drawn, in the middle class,

from joint discussions and interdependence, and in the working class, from the others' physical presence.

Further Goldthorpe and Lockwood ('69) refer to "privatisation", that is, "a process, (in the working class family) manifested in a pattern of social life which is centred on, and indeed largely restricted to the home and the conjugal family". They show that men in the working class are now more affluent than before because of increased incomes. However, to earn these increased wages, frequently necessitates being physically removed from the centres of the extended kinship networks. Couples no doubt often approach the move with misgivings about its effects upon their social lives. But generally, Goldthorpe and Lockwood infer, staying near their kin is not compatible with achieving the "material standards" to which they aspire. To break away from "their existing pattern of sociability has been, in other words, a prerequisite of their becoming affluent; this, despite the possibility of social isolation, is the course of action that they choose to follow".

Goldthorpe and Lockwood find that working class couples, in contrast to middle class couples, are more "privatised" in all indices, such as, reporting spare time activities in and around the house, not entertaining associates, and reporting no more than two regular spare-time companions. Their findings, then, are consistent with the results of the present study, that families in the working class have a higher score on Affiliation to spouse, than families in the middle class.

Dominance

Table 5-2 shows that in relations to spouses, subjects in the working class made more reference to Dominance, than those in the middle class ($p < .05$). At first glance, it appears that subjects in the working

class, who may be deprived of making decisions and directing others at work, can relieve their frustrations at home by having high scores on Dominance and Aggression (which is explored below). But, at a second consideration of the data from which the results are obtained, it is clear that husbands in the working class have high scores on "negative Dominance", that is, they have high scores on relinquishing Dominance in favour of their wives. A postman says, "I give my wife my wage and she decides what to do with the money. It's always been like that and it suits me." A showroom custodian says, "In the home the wife is boss. It's easier that way because then we don't quarrel. Also, I'm not as fussy as she is, so she gets her way more often than I do".

In contrast, wives in the working class have high scores on "positive-Dominance", that is, they see themselves as dominating their husbands. A builder's wife says, "I suppose I make all the major decisions in the home. My husband leaves it up to me. It's better like that as I've got a good idea what the family needs. My sister and I decide what we'll have for this house." A gas collector's wife says, "I try very hard to get my own way. I'll nag him and if that doesn't work, I'll get sulky, and sometimes I won't speak to him. That always works!"

Two reasons could be advanced why those in the working class make more references to dominance with their spouses, than those in the middle class. First, it is not because the husbands are endeavouring to redress the balance of being dominated at work, and therefore dominating their spouses. Rather, used to being directed at work, the husbands let their wives dominate them at home. They encourage their wives to have the same style of interaction with them, as they

have at work. It may be that, not being used to making frequent decisions and directing others at work, they prefer to leave the direction of behaviour, that is dominance to their wives. The wives' high scores on Dominance may only be partly in response to the roles given them by their husbands, that is, being expected to behave dominantly. The other reason suggested is that since most working class wives in the present study go to work, they are not as financially dependent on their husbands as the middle class housewives are. The former have more autonomy at home and make more decisions that affect their families, mainly because of their financial status. They are thus in more powerful positions, having a bargaining asset, that is, financial independence which the middle class housewife does not possess.

Sharing

As table 5-2 shows, in relation to spouse, subjects in the middle class made more references to sharing than those in the working class ($p < .004$). This phenomenon may be explained, firstly, by the fact that members of the middle class are less physical in communicating with each other. Miller and Swanson ('60) show that those in the middle class have an expressive style which is conceptual, and those in the working class have an expressive style which is motoric. The two styles - the conceptual and the motoric orientations - "describe the relative extent to which a person employs his mind and his muscles in resolving problems. Some people feel comfortable if they can get a picture of a task and then solve it in their heads. Other people can think through a problem only if they can work on it with their hands". (Miller and Swanson, '60).

Sharing is a symbolic, verbal form of communication, styles mostly favoured by those in the middle class. Sharing is concerned with

the verbal aspects of communication such as joint discussions and deciding together, which as the data indicates, is more prevalent in the middle class.

Goldthorpe and Lockwood ('69); Hoggart ('62), and Feather, Turner ('70), show that people in the middle class are more concerned with plans for the distant future than those in the working class. A holiday is planned, a home improvement is considered, education of the children must be anticipated, plans for the following year when there will be more free time are constantly offered. In deciding to go to Spain rather than Greece on this year's holiday, the family is likely to agree that some other year they will go to Greece. The result is, that at any moment, life in the middle class family is a tangled skein of unfinished actions, that all tend to bring the members back together. As shown in Chapter 2, Turner ('70) calls these "investments in incomplete actions", which form crecive bonds. These bonds are not present initially in the marital relationship and develop only gradually, when the couple have been closely involved in their lives, together, sharing decisions and plans with one another, over a period of time. According to Turner, these bonds are associated particularly with the capacity to plan ahead together, and to defer gratification for a reward that benefits both partners at a later date. Goldthorpe and Lockwood ('69) find that of those in the middle class, ~~29%~~^{29%} do not plan family finances other than payment of bills. This contrasts with 55% of those in the working class. Further, 42% of the former have long-term plans usually with a number of possible purchases or commitments in mind, with time-perspectives longer than 3-4 months. Only 13% of couples in the working class came within this category.

Aggression

The data shows that, in relation to Children, the only variable on which subjects in the working class differ significantly from subjects in the middle class is Aggression, with the former making more references to it than the latter ($p < .02$). One could suggest that this finding reflects the differences in power (see Chapter 2) that divide the two social classes. For instance, as has been shown earlier, subjects in the middle class tend to be in positions of control and power in occupational, community, church and political activities (Walker, '61; Dale '62). Subjects in the working class are controlled to a considerable extent by those of higher status, either by having subordinate roles in common activities, or by not participating in decision-making activities (Sykes '65).

Hence, one could speculate that subjects in the middle class, because they are in a more powerful position, are able to express with greater security some aggression toward extrafamilial individuals at lower levels at work. This aggression takes the form of dominance at work (McKinley '64), as the data indicates in a previous subsection. Goldthorpe and Lockwood ('69) show, in contrast, that those in the working class are unable to express aggression at work against those of higher status in any direct way, because of their subordinate roles (they may, however, go collectively on strike). They experience anxiety or feelings of frustration and deprivation, owing largely to their feelings that those of higher status at work control their lives to a large degree, by being in a more dominant and autonomous position. Henry and Short ('64) find that this leads to a condition that fosters the external expression of aggression. They show that if individuals are subjected to a system of strong external restraint in the form of subordinate status, aggression is

seen as legitimate. For it is possible and relatively easy to hold others responsible when frustrations occur. In contrast, those individuals of higher status are likely to interpret their failures as consequences of their own free decisions, and behaviour (see previous subsection on self-confidence).

When subjects in the working class experience frustrations at work, they are unlikely to take it out on their superiors, but are most likely to take it out at home, in relation to Children. The Newsoms study ('68) also confirms the data, finding that mothers in the working class are more physically aggressive to their children, than mothers in the middle class.

SUMMARY

The significant differences between subjects in the middle class and subjects in the working class are reported, in relation to Work, Spouses and Children. The major findings are that at work, subjects in the middle class make more references to Achievement, Autonomy, Dominance, Identification and Self-confidence, and less references to Security than those in the working class. Experiments show that children and adults in the middle class are achievement-orientated and think in terms of delayed gratification. Investigators find that the majority of white collar workers want promotion, frequently giving them more power to direct subordinates. It is speculated that empathy with others may be a result of patterns of child-rearing in the middle class, and that most occupations in this social class confer power in the form of telling others what to do. It is suggested that it is in the interest of those supervisors in the middle class to understand the feelings and expectations of those they supervise. Self confidence and the lack of it appears to be related to the belief that one can influence others in the job. Subjects in the working class make most reference to security, probably because they normally risk being unemployed sooner than subjects in the middle class. The former also frequently have larger families than the latter which may account for their needing greater security at work. In relation to spouses, subjects in the middle class, in contrast to those in the working class, make less references to Affiliation and Dominance and more to Sharing. It is suggested that families in the working class are more "privatised" than those in the middle class, their pattern of social life largely restricted to the conjugal family. Husbands in the working class frequently used to being directed at work let their wives dominate them at home. Their wives, not being financially dependent on the husbands, because they too go

to work, make important decisions at home. Sharing is more prevalent among subjects in the middle class, probably because their expressive style is conceptual. Also they are more concerned with plans for the distant future, than subjects in the working class, thus forming creative bonds. The latter make more references than the former to Aggression with Children and it is speculated that this is displacement, due to having a subordinate position at work.

Chapter 6

ENTREPRENEURS AND BUREAUCRATS

In this chapter, the significant differences between entrepreneurs and bureaucrats in relation to Work, Spouses and Children are reported. In a related study Miller ('75) finds that "the ways in which the father learns to work with others are consistent with his relationships in the family and in extra-familial social networks". His results suggest that, "in many cases, a man who conforms blindly to a foreman's instructions for 40 hours a week begins to establish similar relationships in the home, even if he was raised to question others' decisions and to take initiative. Even if his wife is inclined to show a traditional deference to her husband, she may have to take initiative in organising an increasing number of familial activities as he gradually abdicates his roles". The present chapter, then, is concerned not only with how people behave at work, but also whether the type of organisation in which they are employed affects the way they relate to their families.

WORK

Table 6-1 shows that at work, entrepreneurs have higher scores than bureaucrats on Autonomy ($p < .001$), Dominance ($p < .04$), Responsibility ($p < .02$) and Self-confidence ($p < .01$). They have lower scores than bureaucrats on Affiliation ($p < .01$) and Security ($p < .04$).

Table 6-1:

Significant Differences Between Entrepreneurs
and Bureaucrats, at Work:

Dimension	Means of Organisations		N	F	Probability
	E	B			
Autonomy	12.7	3.1	80	15.32	$< .001$
Dominance	40.3	32.4	80	4.33	$< .04$
Responsibility	19.2	12.5	80	5.67	$< .02$
Self-confidence	26.7	18.2	80	6.32	$< .01$
Affiliation	33.5	46.2	80	6.53	$< .01$
Security	7.6	10.8	80	4.11	$< .04$

Autonomy

As shown in Table 6-1, at work, entrepreneurs have significantly higher scores than bureaucrats on Autonomy ($p < .005$). This result is hardly surprising, considering that entrepreneurial organisations by their very nature attract people who show a willingness to value independence and make decisions alone (McClelland '61).

For instance, a solicitor in the study says, "I make the ultimate decisions and I carry the can. Sometimes I'm just not sure if they are the right decisions, but I like the element of the unknown. It's entirely up to me, and I work best that way".

A self-employed gardener says, "Half the attraction for me is to do your own thing. You can look at your work and say, 'It's mine! Entirely mine', whether it comes out good or bad. I never know in the beginning what the end result will be".

In contrast, people in bureaucratic organisations say, "I am quite content as I am. If I had to make the decisions, and sort out work problems and think for myself I'd go to pieces. I wouldn't know how to. I wouldn't want to" (control room operator). A clerk says, "I'm no good at thinking out plans. I leave that for the boss. I don't mind being told what to do. I prefer it that way".

These four typical responses indicate why entrepreneurs are more concerned with Autonomy, and bureaucrats less so. Most bureaucrats do not even volunteer any material that expresses autonomy at work. They prefer to talk about other aspects of work such as Affiliation and Security. This may be because they do not have many opportunities to behave autonomously so they are unconcerned about it (Goldthorpe and Lockwood '69). It is also possible that issues relating to independence, and making decisions alone do not concern them enough.

for them to talk about it, probably due to years of working within prescribed limits. Dimock ('59) reports that in his interviews, many criticisms of bureaucracy centred on its tendency to create "security-mindedness and to decrease autonomy" as in these comments:

"Excessive red tape created by complicated and often obsolete rules and regulations"

and

"A feeling of security in a situation devoid of challenges and independent thought and action. There is timidity due to an urge to play it safe."

Dominance

As Table 6-1 shows, at work entrepreneurs have significantly higher scores than bureaucrats on Dominance ($p < .04$). This result is consistent with the finding reported in the previous subsection. Entrepreneurs not only have to make decisions but are also expected to see that they are carried out. For example, in a greengrocer's store, one is either a superior or a subordinate. Thus, one is either telling another or being told by another what to do.

A chartered accountant says, "I co-ordinate and encourage my juniors to do their work efficiently. I sometimes tell them you will do this or not. I usually suggest, encourage, advise. It's more effective this way." A piano restorer says, "I work for my brother. He's the gov'nor. He tells me what to do. If it was someone else telling me what to do I don't think I'd like it. But I'm learning the trade you see, so I don't really mind being given orders. I'd like to set up for myself one day."

However, responses from members of bureaucratic organisations indicate that there is less concern with Dominance at work. A clerk in the GLC says, "I'm not really given any orders. It doesn't work that way. I know what I'm supposed to do and I get on with it". A postman says, "No! You don't give orders in my line of work. It's not that sort of job. Maybe if I was a supervisor. But then I don't like giving orders."

In contrast, a solicitor says, "I like getting my own way. I go in a circuitous route to avoid a head-on. So I concentrate on persuading people." What emerges in these and other responses is the finding that, when entrepreneurs are concerned with controlling others, they are aware of the possible damage it causes relationships at work. So, they avoid orders, and use encouragement, advice and suggestions.

Responsibility

Table 6-1 shows that at work, entrepreneurs made more references to Responsibility than bureaucrats ($p < .02$). This finding is probably related to the fact that in an entrepreneurial organisation there are no more than two levels of supervision. Hence those employed in the organisation are more intimately involved in the running of the firm than bureaucrats. Their behaviour, whether making decisions or carrying them out would directly affect the firm. A building contractor says, "If I don't do the job well I will get no more customers. It is in my own interests to see that they are satisfied". A plumber says, "In a small firm that I'm in you can't get away with doing a lousy job. The boss will lose business and drop me. If I was working for the water authority, well, that's different. Some of my mates work there. It's a cushy number, I can tell you!"

It is not only being in an organisation with two levels of supervision that makes one more concerned with Responsibility at Work. It is also because one's behaviour affects the fortunes of the firm. For example, a chartered accountant says, "I can greatly affect the finance of the firm by my decisions. And as I'm a partner in the firm I can suffer badly. It's a great responsibility to have".

A building contractor says, "It's up to me if the work isn't completed in time because I gave the wrong orders in the first place. It does happen, you know, and it sometimes weighs heavily on my mind. You stand to lose a lot."

In contrast, a clerk in a bureaucratic organisation says, "I'm only a cog in a large wheel. I can't affect the firm in any real way. I'm not really involved in the job."

Thus it seems that Responsibility at work, is related to levels of supervision and whether one's behaviour can affect the firm, for example, financially (Brown, 1970).

Further, those who are self-employed might feel a moral responsibility to carry out their tasks in a satisfactory manner, because they are not supervised. This is experienced in the comments of a self-employed taxi driver, "I could really fleece the tourists or some nobs. But they trust me and I have a duty to myself not to cheat them. But it's a temptation all the same".

McClelland ('61) also agrees that "the entrepreneurial role has generally been assumed to imply individual responsibility. In fact some people would define an entrepreneur as he who is ultimately responsible for making a decision". As Sutton ('54) puts it, "The key definitions for the entrepreneur seem to centre around the concept of responsibility. Responsibility implies individualism.

It is not tolerable unless it embraces both credit for success and blame for failures, and leaves the individual free to claim or accept the consequences, whatever they may be".

Self-Confidence

As shown in Table 6-1, entrepreneurs at work make more references to self-confidence than bureaucrats ($p < .01$). This suggests that the results are simply an extension of the results in the immediately preceding subsections. That is, if entrepreneurs, in contrast to bureaucrats, have higher scores on wanting to make their own decisions at work, and take responsibility for their actions, then it is perfectly reasonable that they feel good or bad about the outcomes of their decisions. They can assess the outcomes and feel confident (or not) about their abilities that lead to the successful (or not) completion of the tasks (Hoggart '62).

A self-employed gardener says, "They leave the layout of the gardens up to me. I know I'm good at my job or they wouldn't hire me". An electrician says, "I cope with the problems pretty well. I feel confident enough to tell all to come in and inspect at any time. After all, most of the changes are due to me."

Miller and Swanson (60) feel that, "the self-employed and those whose incomes depended in great part on the fortunes of their businesses were most likely to be taking the risks typical of an entrepreneurial style of life." Thus, they would have to be confident of their abilities to take risks at work with successful outcomes. A dentist says, "I feel there isn't anyone who can tell me how to run it, because no one knows the job like I do." A book-binder says, "I am justified in telling them what to do. I have been in the business many years, and I know what goes on. I know what you can and can't do, the risks you take and the risk you don't."

I know I'm capable of doing the right thing." These responses are not atypical of most of the entrepreneurs in the present study, when probed about their valuations of themselves. McClelland ('61) shows that people are hardly going to be attracted to an entrepreneurial organisation if they are not confident in their ability to take risks that would affect "the fortunes of their businesses".

Affiliation

The results in Table 6-1 show that at work, bureaucrats make more references than entrepreneurs on Affiliation ($p < .01$). The reasons for this result are not entirely clear, hence one can only speculate why ^{the} data reveal this finding.

A reason that could be advanced may be related to levels of supervision. In entrepreneurial organisations such as firms of solicitors, chartered accountants and plumbers, there are less people employed than in large bureaucratic organisations like the GLC, Courts of the Post Office. Thus the latter organisations may be more attractive, than the former, to people who like other people, being with them and importantly, working with large numbers of people. Few entrepreneurs in the present study mention Affiliation at work, whereas most bureaucrats regard liking and working with many people an important aspect of their job. A postman says, "You meet so many people on my rounds. I like to stop and chat when I have the time. And it's very matey in the post room. I look forward to that after trudging a long way." A union official says, "The best part of my work is meeting other people. I see a lot of them in my work and I like it. You wouldn't catch me in a small office. Oh! No! What I enjoy about my job are the people, and being in contact with them." A youth leader says, "I like the friendly atmosphere of working with a large group of young people. I'm happy in my work and I know it's largely because it's like a big family."

In comparison to bureaucrats, entrepreneurs in the present study have fewer colleagues at work, primarily due to the fact that they are either self employed, or employed in relatively smaller firms. Thus, one can only speculate that bureaucratic organisations attract people who like working with a large number of colleagues, who probably give some satisfactions to compensate for the routine of job specialisation, and conformity.

Security.

Table 6-1 shows that at work, bureaucrats make more references to Security than entrepreneurs ($p < .04$). As has been reported in previous subsections, entrepreneurial organisations are more likely to attract people who are willing to take risks at work, than bureaucratic organisations. For example, a self-employed photographer says, "I thrive on the excitement of uncertainty. I play for the big time. If I lose, I lose. But if I win, the sky is the limit as to how much money I make." A landscape gardener says, "Gardening is a risky business. If the weather is bad, or if people don't have money like now, no one wants to know you. You shouldn't really put all your eggs in one basket. But what to do? That's the nature of the job."

Entrepreneurs, then, are people who take risks, that is, either by investing all their capital and assets into the job. Or, if they make decisions at work, they themselves stand to gain or lose by the consequences.

In contrast, the majority of bureaucrats do not normally affect the fortunes of their organisations when they make decisions and are thus more likely to keep their jobs (Sutton '54). A postman is less likely to affect his organisation by his behaviour towards the

public, than a solicitor. What the postman does at work involves less risk to himself or the organisation than what a solicitor does. The latter may lose all business, and his firm may have to close down. The GPO is hardly likely to close down because of the actions of an employee.

In the civil service there is always security of tenure (Brown '68). 40% of bureaucrats in the present study were employed in the organisation, the other 60% were employed in similar organisations. Thus, one could suggest that the security at work offered by these organisations was an important attraction to the subjects. A gas meter collector says, "I know it's not a very exciting job. But at least I meet people and I know I can always feed my family. It suits me to have a job like this with the security. A wages clerk says, "I certainly feel safe in my job. The economic recession is a great threat for many people. But if they had no need of me here they'd just transfer me to another department."

The present economic recession then is a factor related to security at work. Small shopkeepers are being edged out of business partly by large firms like supermarkets and partly by increased taxation. It is a more risky and less secure venture to be an entrepreneur than a bureaucrat. Thus, those wanting security at work are attracted to bureaucratic organisations.

The findings on Security at Work are consistent with Sutton's ('54) observations. He says, "Characteristically, the factors determining the outcome of business efforts are numerous, and difficult both to assess and control. The sale of goods on a more or less free market is, of course, one major source of these difficulties; the disposition of buyers are subject to only limited control and prediction. They in turn are influenced by those diffuse but important factors which go under the label of general business conditions. Even within the context of a given

firm there may be conditions and possible courses of action (such as personal appointments, or the performance of certain equipment) which may be beyond ready prediction and control. A great part of the efforts of entrepreneurs is directed towards minimising uncertainties." McClelland ('61) agrees that entrepreneurship involves taking risks of some kind, and states that "the entrepreneurial role appears to call for decision-making under uncertainty".

SPOUSES

Table 6-2 shows that, in relation to spouses, entrepreneurs make more references than bureaucrats to Autonomy ($p < .002$), and less references to Nurturance ($p < .04$) and Succourance ($p < .04$).

Table 6-2: Significant Differences between
Entrepreneurs and Bureaucrats, in Relation
to Spouses.

Dimension	Means of Organisations				Probability
	E	B	N	F	
Autonomy	15.4	3.2	80	10.47	<.002
Nurturance	30.5	38.4	80	4.26	<.04
Succourance	8.3	11.5	80	4.17	<.04

Autonomy

As Table 6-2 shows, entrepreneurs make more references than bureaucrats to Autonomy in relation to Spouse ($p < .002$). This result suggests that the way people behave at work generalises into the home. If people spend most of their day working in an organisation where independence of thought and freedom of action are valued, then these modes of behaviour will carry over into the home. The very fact of spending most of the day behaving in certain ways, is bound to affect one's behaviour away from work. If people value their freedom in their occupations, they will value their freedom at home, as the data suggests.

The evidence suggests that, preferring the freedom to do tasks in their own way at work, people will also continue to behave in the same way in relation to their spouses. A solicitor says, "I do things my way at work, and I know I'd resent my wife if she didn't

allow me to do things my way at home." A landscape gardener says, "One gets used to having a free hand in what you do. I couldn't work otherwise, and it's second nature to me now. In the same way, I wouldn't let my wife interfere with me having a free hand at home". This does not necessarily mean that there is no sharing at home. Rather, there is an emphasis on Autonomy. A taxi driver says, "We decide most things together. We do the shopping together, discuss our childrens future and talk over our problems together. But on our family car or on my share of the money I go about it on my own. I like doing things for myself without always having to go to her."

Close examination of the data also suggests that wives of entrepreneurs, in turn, also do not like interference with household tasks, by their husbands. They feel their tasks are their province and they prefer to keep it that way. A plumber's wife says, "He's got freedom at work and I think I deserve to have freedom at home, don't you think? It's fairer that way, and anyway I don't like anyone stepping on my toes."

Nurturance and Succourance

Table 6-2 shows that in relation to Spouse, bureaucrats have higher scores on Nurturance ($p < .04$) and Succourance ($p < .04$) than entrepreneurs. It is worth considering both these dimensions together, because they complement each other. Nurturance means giving help and Succourance means asking for help.

As in the previous subsection, it is suggested that the pattern of interaction at home is related to the pattern of interaction at work, where working people spend most of their day, thus affecting the way they behave, both in their jobs and away from them.

Bureaucrats are less likely than entrepreneurs to have freedom at work, and more likely to work within a given structure. Hence they ask for guidance, and are expected to follow rules and regulations, and are thus more likely than entrepreneurs to seek help in carrying out their duties (McClelland '61)."

One could suggest, then, that a pattern of asking for help at work generalises into the home. Unlike entrepreneurs who make significantly more references to Autonomy with Spouse, bureaucrats make more references to asking for help and advice. A teacher's assistant says, "I'm always asking for help. At school, from my husband and friends - it doesn't bother me at all. That's what they are for". A boiler engineer says, "I find it easy to talk to her when I'm worried. I've got two mates at work too, to whom I talk. I suppose you can call me lucky!"

Nurturance can be seen as the appropriate response when asked for help, especially by one's spouse. It would be surprising indeed if the help was withheld. A designer in a large company says, "I'm always turning to my colleagues at work and asking their advice about some of the designs I create. And in the same way I'd always help them if they needed me. Mind you, I only listen but that's sufficient I find! It's the same at home. I've never hidden my worries from my wife, and I'd be terribly upset if she didn't turn to me in times of trouble."

CHILDREN

Table 6-3: Significant Differences between
Entrepreneurs and Bureaucrats in Relation to Children

Dimensions	Means of Organisations		N	F	Probability
	E	B			
Achievement	23.4	10.2	80	5.59	<.02

Achievement

As Table 6-3 shows, in relation to Children, the only variable on which entrepreneurs differ significantly from bureaucrats is Achievement, with the former making more references to it than the latter ($p < .02$). That is, they want their children to do well in school and in all other activities, and also to pursue and be successful in high status occupations, or to be self-employed. One could suggest that entrepreneurs themselves are normally high achievers. This is confirmed by McClelland ('60), who states that, on average, most entrepreneurs have moved from job to job, each one being of higher status than the last, invariably ending in a job where they themselves feel they cannot go any higher. He concludes this pattern of behaviour to be evidence of nAch, in contrast to those in bureaucratic organisations, who on average, remain in the same job for the rest of their working lives.

In contrast to bureaucrats, there are fewer entrepreneurs in this country and fewer opportunities to become one. It is much easier to become and find work as a lathe operator or a wages clerk than it is to become a solicitor or a taxi-driver. Thus, to reach these latter positions, it is necessary though not sufficient, to have

high achievement aspirations.

Hence, it is not unreasonable to assume that those in an entrepreneurial organisation have a higher nAch, and would therefore be more likely than bureaucrats to inculcate achievement aspirations in their children, as the data suggests. One is reminded of an earlier example, where a postman says he would prefer his son to be a worker like himself, as there are "too many leaders in this country." Entrepreneurs on the other hand, want their children to do well in school and follow in their footsteps or go higher. A chartered accountant's wife says, "I praise my daughter lavishly when she does well in class. I go to all her sporting events and we have promised her a typewriter if she continues with her present standard". A building contractor says, "We want him to excel when he leaves school. We want him to go to University and then join my firm. That's my greatest wish". It is not particularly surprising, then, that entrepreneurs being high achievers, socialise their children to have high achievement aspirations, too.

SUMMARY

The significant differences between entrepreneurs and bureaucrats in relation to Work, Spouses and Children are reported. In a related study Miller ('75) finds that "the ways in which the father learns to work with others are consistent with his relationships in the family and extra-familial social networks." At work, entrepreneurs have higher scores than bureaucrats on Autonomy, Dominance, Responsibility and Self-Confidence, and lower scores on Affiliation and Security. Entrepreneurial organisations attract people who show a willingness to value independence and make decisions alone. They are expected not only to make decisions but also to see that they are carried out. They make more references than bureaucrats to Responsibility at Work. It is speculated that because there are no more than two levels of supervision, they are intimately involved in the running of the firm. Their behaviour, whether making decisions or carrying them out would directly affect the firm. Also, some self-employed entrepreneurs might feel a moral responsibility to carry out their tasks in a satisfactory manner, because they are not supervised. It seems perfectly reasonable that they feel good or bad about the outcomes of their decisions, as they, in contrast to bureaucrats, want to make their own decisions and take responsibility for their actions. It is suggested that bureaucratic organisations attract people who like working with a large number of colleagues, who probably give some satisfactions to compensate for the routine of job specialisation, and conformity. In contrast to entrepreneurs, bureaucrats do not normally affect the fortunes of their organisations when they make decisions and are thus more likely to keep their jobs.

In relation to Spouses, entrepreneurs make more references than bureaucrats to Autonomy, and less references to Nurturance and Succourance. The evidence suggests that, preferring the freedom to do tasks in their own way at work, people will also continue to behave in the same way in relation to their Spouses. It is speculated that the bureaucratic pattern of asking for help generalises into the home, and Nurturance is viewed as the appropriate response when asked for help, especially by one's spouse. In relation to Children, entrepreneurs in contrast to bureaucrats, make more references to Achievement. The evidence suggests that, the former normally being high achievers, socialise their children to have high achievement aspirations, too.

Chapter 7

MASCULINITY AND FEMININITY

This chapter is concerned with the significant differences between those subjects, who, on the Franck Test of unconscious sexual identity (see Chapter 3 for a full report on the test), come in either the masculine or feminine range. The differences are in relation to Work, Spouses or Children.

The data reveals that 89% of men in the study come within the masculine range, and 85% of women are in the feminine range. The figures confirm Franck's expectations that men differ significantly from women on the test, and between 10% and 20% of each sex have scores similar to those of the opposite sex. Thus, masculinity as defined by Franck, is a property of most males, and femininity a property of most females in the study. The results also indicate that the significant differences between husbands and wives (see Chapter 4) are similar to the significant differences between those in the masculine range and feminine range as reported below.

WORK

As Table 7-1 shows, in relation to Work, subjects who come within the masculine range, make more references to Dominance ($p < .009$) and less references to Nurturance ($p < .005$), than subjects who come within the feminine range.

Table 7-1: Significant Differences Between Subjects in the Masculine Range and Subjects in the Feminine Range, in Relation to Work.

Dimension	Means of Sexual Identity		N	F	Probability
	Masc	Fem			
Dominance	30.4	20.2	80	7.26	< .009
Nurturance	15.8	20.4	80	8.35	< .005

Dominance

The results in Table 7-1 show that those who come within the masculine range, made more references to Dominance at Work, in contrast to those who come within the feminine range ($p < .009$). This could be because Dominance is associated with masculinity in our culture (Rainwater '70). That is, it is expected of males to show initiative and lead. Sutton-Smith and Savasta ('72) showed that boys engaged in more attempts to influence other children's behaviour than did girls. Video tapes were made of school activities, which either subjects or their peers initiated. They found that boys engaged in more episodes of social testing, defined as "an attempt by subject to get other players in a game to do what he wanted them to do", and spent more time in such activity than girls did.

Omark and Edelman ('73) wanted to test whether the position an individual establishes in the "toughness hierarchy", that is through his fighting ability, forms the basis for a more generalised dominance status, so that the toughest child also dominates others in situations where aggression is not especially relevant. As a

test of this question, Omark and Edelman set pairs of children to work on a "Draw a picture together" task, in which each child was given a crayon of distinctive colour and the pair were asked to make a joint picture. Dominance could be measured by seeing which child's colour occupied more of the available space (territorial dominance), and which child's colour established the main outline of the resulting picture. In mixed-sex pairs boys dominated girls at every stage.

Further, Christie ('70) found that men had higher scores than women, on the Likert-type and forced-choice versions of the Machiavellianism scale, showing that it is a masculine, rather than a feminine, trait to try to control and dominate. This finding is consistent with those of Baltes and Nessel-Wade ('72) who report that, on Cattell's Personality Questionnaire, males have higher scores on dominance than females. The evidence, then, supports the results of the present study.

Nurturance

Table 7-1 shows that at work, those in the feminine range make more references to Nurturance, in contrast to those who come within the masculine range ($p < .005$).

It is in keeping with femininity to be employed in a helping capacity as in the jobs of teaching and nursing (Maccoby and Jacklin '75). It is expected of women that they be associated more than men with helping professions, because nurturance is traditionally ascribed to women by western society. It is possible that this view is held because of the women's role, i.e. expected behaviour, of caring for and helping their families, especially their young children (Ehrhardt and Baker '73).

Schwartz and Clauseu ('70) found that women were more helpful in an emergency than men. Subjects were exposed to the tape recorded sounds of a victim (in an adjoining room) experiencing a seizure. Subjects were led to believe that no other bystanders were present, and the response measures were the speed and nature of the victim's cries for help. Women responded more quickly than men ($p < .05$).

In an interesting study by Thalhoffer ('71) he reported that women were more helpful than men to a fictitious boy (in a story read out by experimenter). They were given the opportunity to be nurturant to the fictitious boy, and there were no differences between the sexes, when each thought they were alone. But, when they were told others were reading about the boy, the women were more helpful. One could suggest that they were, in fact, responding to expected behaviour; that femininity is associated with Nurturance.

SPOUSES

Table 7-2 shows that, in relation to Spouses, subjects who come within the feminine range make more references than those who come within the masculine range on Self-confidence ($p < .05$), Sharing ($p < .01$) and Succourance ($p < .05$).

Table 7-2: Significant Differences Between Subjects in the Masculine Range and Subjects in the Feminine Range, in Relation to Spouses.

Dimension	Means of Sexual Identity		N	F	Probability
	Masc	Fem			
Self-confidence	27.2	30.8	80	3.78	$< .05$
Sharing	38.8	47.2	80	7.04	$< .01$
Succourance	24.4	33.2	80	3.87	$< .05$

Self-confidence

In relation to Spouse, those who come within the feminine range, make more references to self-confidence than those who come within the masculine range ($p < .05$, see Table 7-2). On looking more closely at the data, it is revealed that these high scores refer to a lack of self-confidence. One possible reason is that it is not considered masculine to be unsure of oneself and to lack confidence. Masculinity is associated with strength, knowledge and certainty, whereas femininity, rightly or wrongly, is associated more with self-doubt and uncertainty, (Maccoby and Jacklin '75).

There is plenty of evidence to support the findings of the present study. For instance, Feather ('69) found that more men than women were confident that they would succeed in passing a test of solving five or more anagrams ($p < .005$). Also, Jacobson et al ('70)

report that men, in contrast to women, expect to success on the Digit Symbol Test ($P < .001$).

Further, Schwartz and Clausen ('70) found that men express less uncertainty than women about what to do in helping with a simulated seizure.

In relation to Spouse, then, it is the feminine partners who may display uncertainty, in contrast to the expected masculine behaviour, which is associated with society and the family putting pressure on the Spouse to maintain a degree of self-assuredness.

Walker ('67) found when 406 adolescents rated themselves on 96 self-descriptive statements, girls rated themselves more fearful than boys. This finding was supported by teachers' ratings.

Also, Hannah et al ('65) administered the Fear Survey Schedule to 2,000 men and women, and women received higher total fear scores than men.

Furthermore, Turner ('70) suggests that little girls have a harsher super-ego in that they are expected to be more controlled, better behaved and less impulsive than little boys. He feels this may lead in later years to a stricter code of behaviour, in which there is more of a likelihood to blame oneself or to feel uncertain and unsure about one's actions. There is less confidence in one's intentions and actions.

Sharing

The results in Table 7-2 show that in relation to Spouse, those within the feminine range make more references to sharing than those within the masculine range ($p < .01$).

This is probably because masculinity is regarded more with independence and 'going it alone', whereas femininity is related

more to interdependence and sharing. Kahn ('72) in a test of 'Equity theory in a direct exchange relationship' reported that women shared more money in an underpay condition than men. Same-sex pairs of subjects earned money after working on two proofreading tasks. Each subject initially received either more (overpay), or less (underpay) from their partner. The result was that men kept more money for themselves than women did, when distributing earnings in the underpay condition ($p < .01$).

Other research also confirms the findings that femininity is related to sharing behaviour. Lane and Missé ('71) report that when subjects were given unilateral power to determine their rewards and those of one other person, men more often than women chose distributions more favourable to themselves than to other partners. Also, Leventhal and Lane ('70) tested equity behaviour, and showed that women shared a monetary reward more equally than did men ($p < .01$). Thus, it would appear from the evidence that an important trait of femininity is sharing behaviour.

Succourance

As shown in Table 7-2, in relation to Spouse, those within the feminine range make more references to succourance than those who come within the masculine range ($p < .05$). To my knowledge there is no other empirical evidence published that is related to Succourance between the sexes, thus one can only speculate on why the data revealed this phenomenon.

The evidence indicates that it is not considered masculine to ask for help or to admit to having problems. The masculine partners in marriages, it appears, are expected to be strong, secure and self-assured. They are not encouraged to display any form of helplessness or insecurity. Instead they are expected to be pillars of strength

at all times. In contrast, it is permissible for the feminine partners to show their feelings as is evident in the data, to display anxiety and to admit to having problems, and to seek help from their spouse in resolving them.

CHILDREN

Table 7-3 shows that in relation to Children, those within the feminine range make more references to Affiliation ($p < .03$) and less references to Aggression ($p < .007$), than those subjects who come within the masculine range.

Table 7-3: Significant Differences Between Subjects in the Masculine Range and Subjects in the Feminine Range, in Relation to Children

Dimension	Means of Sexual Identity		N	F	Probability
	Masc	Fem			
Affiliation	34.0	44.6	80	4.75	$< .03$
Aggression	31.3	17.4	80	7.66	$< .007$

Affiliation

As shown in Table 7-3, in relation to Children, those within the feminine range make more references to Affiliation than did those who come within the masculine range ($p < .03$).

One reason that could be advanced for this phenomenon is that femininity is associated more with being with one's children, doing things with them and enjoying their company. Masculinity, on the other hand, is concerned more with providing them, for instance, with financial security such as going to work and keeping a job. There is less time to be with one's children if one spends part of the day pursuing one's career. In this instance, then, masculinity and femininity are culturally defined.

However, Lunneborg and Rosenwood ('72) report that women showed more need for affiliation than men did ($p < .01$), when asked (a) "What makes you happy?" (b) "What makes you sad?" and (c) "What makes you angry?" Wagman ('67) found that when subjects reported

their daydreams in 24 content categories, men reported a lower frequency of affiliative daydreams than women.

Further, displaying affection and love for one's children may be regarded as more feminine than masculine behaviour, the latter being more constrained and less overtly emotional. In an experiment by Lott et al ('70) women described friends in more effusive and laudatory terms in an adjective checklist than men. Rosenfeld ('66) reports that women, in contrast to men, liked a same-sex partner after a contrived interaction. One member of each same-sex dyad was secretly instructed to either gain or avoid the disapproval of his partner.. Dyads were then observed in free interaction. The naive subjects were then asked to rate their partners and women rated their partners more positively than men did. Thus the literature supports the findings that femininity more than masculinity is associated with affiliation.

Aggression

In relation to Children, those who came within the masculine range made more reference to Aggression than those who came within the feminine range ($p < .007$).

This may be because, in our society, aggression is regarded more as a masculine trait rather than a feminine trait. Bluxton-Jones ('72), McIntyre ('72) and Serbin ('73) all report that boys engage in much more aggressive behaviour than girls. Boys are allowed to be more rough, whereas girls are encouraged to be gentler.

Boys games which continue into manhood invariably display aggressive qualities, for instance boxing, rugby and wrestling. This is not solely because of the difference in physique between men and women, because there are some women wrestlers and footballers. In part

then, it must be due to the permission granted to men to display their aggressiveness, a permission not granted to women in our society.

Buss ('66), Epstein ('65) and Larsen et al ('72) all report that men delivered longer and more intense shocks to victims, confederates and learners. These findings were also confirmed by Youssef ('68).

Interestingly, Paolino ('64) found that when subjects recorded their dreams on awakening, men had more aggressive contents in their dreams than did women. The dreams were analysed for aggressive material and showed that men, in contrast to women, involved more of their characters in aggressive actions ($p < .01$); initiated more aggression ($p < .01$); intensity of aggression was higher for men than for women ($p < .01$). Thus, if dreams are related to the unconscious, it is possible to postulate that aggressive behaviour may not simply be related to specific cultural norms.

Another reason why aggressiveness is related to masculinity might well be because of the differences in physique between men and women. The average size of men must make it easier for them to feel and show aggression, without the same degree of fear of retaliation that women might experience if they displayed aggression. However, it is misleading to think that men only display aggression and not women. Rather, it is more likely that aggression is associated with males, and thus, masculine behaviour. Barclay ('70) reports that after being angered by a hostile female experimenter, men expressed more aggressive imagery on the TAT than women did.

Brissett and Nowicki ('73) showed that men rated themselves more aggressive than did women ($p < .05$). Further, Wagman ('67) found that men had a higher frequency of aggressive and hostile daydreams than women.

These experiments and observations then support the result on Aggression in Table 7-3. It would appear that it is more common for the masculine partner to display aggression towards the children, than it is for the feminine partner. Is this because it is the expected behaviour of the masculine partner, whereas the feminine partner is more concerned with nurturance and affiliation?

SUMMARY

This chapter is concerned with the significant differences between those, who, on the Franck Test of unconscious sexual identity come in either the masculine or feminine range. The differences are in relation to Work, Spouses and Children. At Work, subjects who come within the masculine range, make more references to Dominance and less references to Nurturance, than subjects who come within the feminine range. Studies suggest that Dominance is associated with masculinity. From childhood onwards dominance is a feature of males in observational studies. It is in keeping with femininity to be employed in a helping capacity as in the jobs of teaching and nursing. It is possible that this view is held because of the womens' role, i.e. expected behaviour, of caring for and helping their families, especially their young children.

Studies show women being more nurturant than men, especially when being observed.

With Spouses, subjects who come within the feminine range make mere references than those who come within the masculine range on (lack of) Self-confidence, Sharing and Succourance. Experiments show that femininity is related to uncertainty in times of problem-solving and to fearfulness and a strong super-ego. Women share rewards more equally than men, and are more likely to be inter-dependent. It is considered feminine to ask for help and to admit to having problems.

In relation to Children, subjects within the feminine range make more references to Affiliation and less references to Aggression than those subjects who come within the masculine range. Femininity is related to being with one's children, doing things with them, and enjoying their company. Observations show that women are more

affiliative than men. Aggression is regarded more as a masculine than feminine trait. This may be due to cultural expectations, games people play and physique.

SIGNIFICANT INTERACTIONS:

SOCIAL CLASS AND ORGANISATION

This chapter is a report on the significant interaction between subjects in the middle- and working-class and those in entrepreneurial or bureaucratic organisations, in relation either to Work, Spouse or Children. There are more significant interactions between these particular variables than are expected by chance alone. Thus, it seems appropriate to help explain the findings.

WORK

Table 8-1 shows that in relation to work, there is a significant interaction between social class and organisation on Aggression ($p < .04$), Autonomy ($p < .02$) and Self-confidence ($P < .04$).

Table 8-1: Significant Interactions Between
Social Class and Organisation in Relation to Work

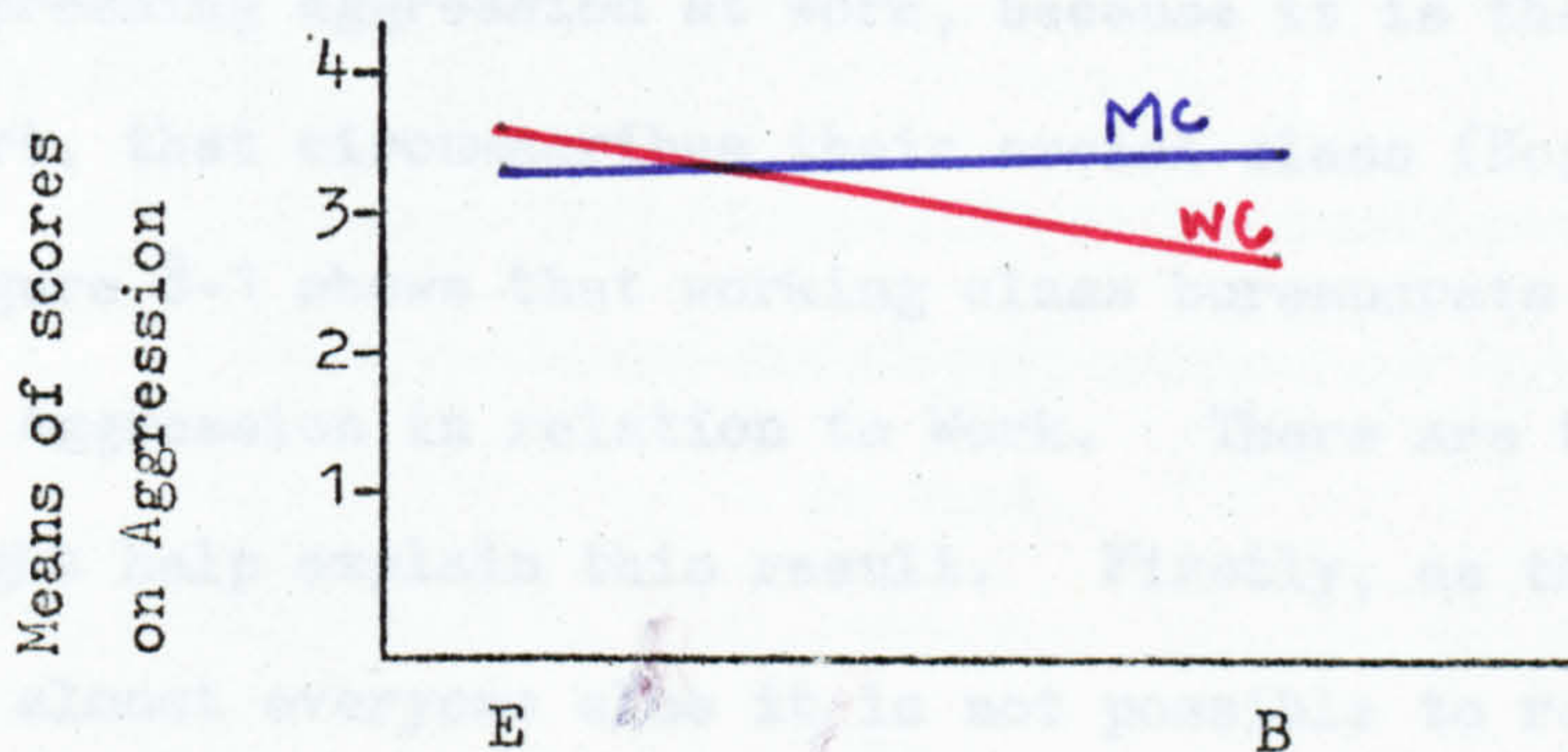
Dimension	Means of				N	F	Probability
	MC		WC				
	E	B	E	B			
Aggression	3.2	3.5	3.6	2.6	80	4.03	< .04
Autonomy	2.0	1.4	1.6	1.7	80	5.16	< .02
Self-Confidence	3.1	1.4	1.2	1.4	80	4.26	< .04

Aggression

At Work, the results show a significant interaction between class and organisation such that middle class bureaucrats and working class entrepreneurs clearly make more references to Aggression than do

the working class bureaucrats ($p < .03$) (See Table 8-1 and Figure 8-1).

Figure 8-1: Significant Interactions Between Social Class and Organisation on Aggression at Work



The reason why middle class bureaucrats have a high score on Aggression in relation to Work may be explained by the fact that a typical middle class trait is that of Achievement (See Table 4-1), and this trait is most self-evident in middle-class entrepreneurs (McClelland, '61). It is suggested that the frustrations of either, not having the opportunity to rise in the bureaucratic hierarchy quickly enough, and/or there are too many rungs in a bureaucratic hierarchy to climb, could lead to feelings of aggression at work by middle class bureaucrats (Goldthorpe and Lockwood, '69).

Working class entrepreneurs have a high score on Aggression, too. Could this be because they strive for achievement and responsibility (see Chapter 5), they favour middle-class values without actually being middle-class. Thus, even though they have similar values at work, their occupational status, for example, self-employed gardener or taxi-driver, does not enable them to see themselves as middle-class. Goldthorpe and Lockwood ('69) find that achieving

middle-class status is the aspiration of a large number of members of the working class, especially entrepreneurs. Then, to be working class entrepreneurs may prove frustrating in terms of not achieving middle class status. As with middle class bureaucrats, working class entrepreneurs may react to the frustration by expressing aggression at work, because it is their occupation, in part, that circumscribes their social class (Hoggart '62).

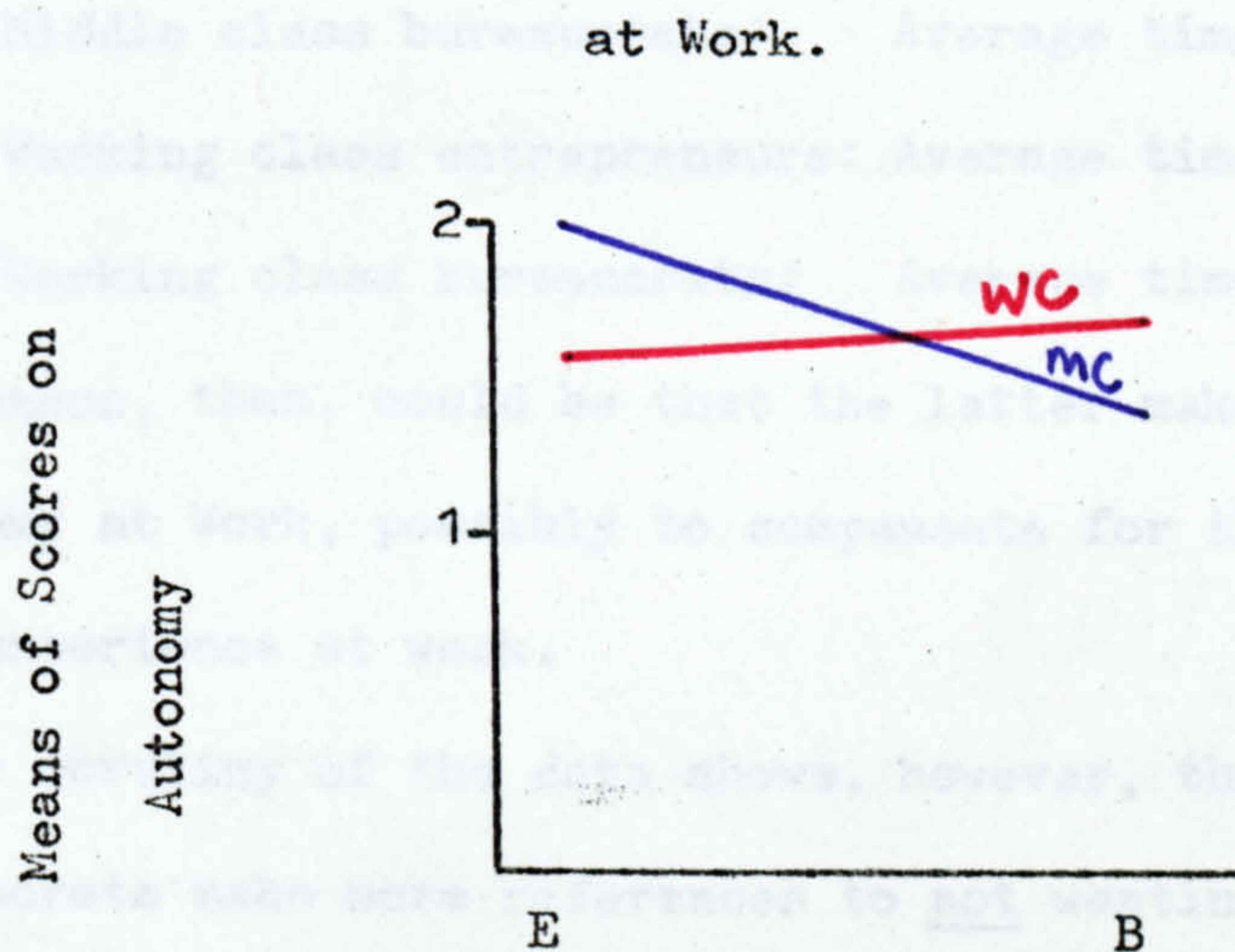
Figure 8-1 shows that working class bureaucrats make least references to Aggression in relation to Work. There are two reasons that might help explain this result. Firstly, as they are subordinate to almost everyone else it is not possible to release their aggression towards others at work. It could jeopardise their job security (Zweig '61). On the other hand, it could be agreed that as they make few decisions and have little or no autonomy this could lead to frustration at work, resulting in aggressive feelings. But, as has been pointed out above, showing aggression at work might result in unemployment, and hence be inappropriate for subordinates, so they would have to release it elsewhere (see Table 8-2). The results show them expressing aggression towards Children.

Another reason why working class bureaucrats make least references to Aggression in relation to Work, is possibly because, unlike working class entrepreneurs or middle class bureaucrats, they may have no frustrating ambitions to be either middle class or entrepreneurs, a class and an organisation they are not accustomed to, and would, in any case, seem out of reach. Thus it is not surprising if they do not show any evidence of aspiring in either direction.

Autonomy

At Work, the results show a significant interaction between Class and Organisation, such that middle class entrepreneurs clearly make more references to Autonomy than any other group. There is little difference between organisations in the working class, and middle class bureaucrats have the lowest score ($p < .04$, see Table 8-1 and Fig. 8-2).

Figure 8-2: Significant Interactions Between Social Class and Organisations on Autonomy



As seen in Fig. 8-2 it is not surprising that middle class entrepreneurs make most references to Autonomy at Work (see Tables 5-1 and 6-1). The data indicates that in comparison to the other groups, middle class entrepreneurs such as solicitors, dentists and self-employed photographers make more references to making decisions on their own, taking risks and wanting independence from colleagues at work.

It is not particularly surprising either, that working class entrepreneurs have a tendency to have a higher score than middle class bureaucrats, as needing Autonomy may be seen as primarily related to entrepreneurs whatever the class (McClelland '61).

However, this explanation is not consistent with the result of working class bureaucrats, who are second in making most references to Autonomy at Work.

At first it seems odd that working class bureaucrats who rarely make decisions at work, and have little freedom to do what they want and are constantly being watched at work, should make so many references to Autonomy. Responses to probes on how long was their longest task, revealed (using an 8 hour day):

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1 Middle class entrepreneurs: | Average time | 22.7 months; |
| 2 Middle class bureaucrats: | Average time | 65.2 days; |
| 3 Working class entrepreneurs: | Average time | 21.6 days; |
| 4 Working class bureaucrats: | Average time | 6.4 hours; |

One reason, then, could be that the latter make many references to Autonomy at Work, possibly to compensate for the lack of Autonomy they experience at work.

Closer scrutiny of the data shows, however, that working class bureaucrats make more references to not wanting Autonomy at work than wanting it. This may be, of course, because they know they are unlikely to achieve it in the near future, and thus compensate by saying they don't want it (Goldthorpe and Lockwood, '69).

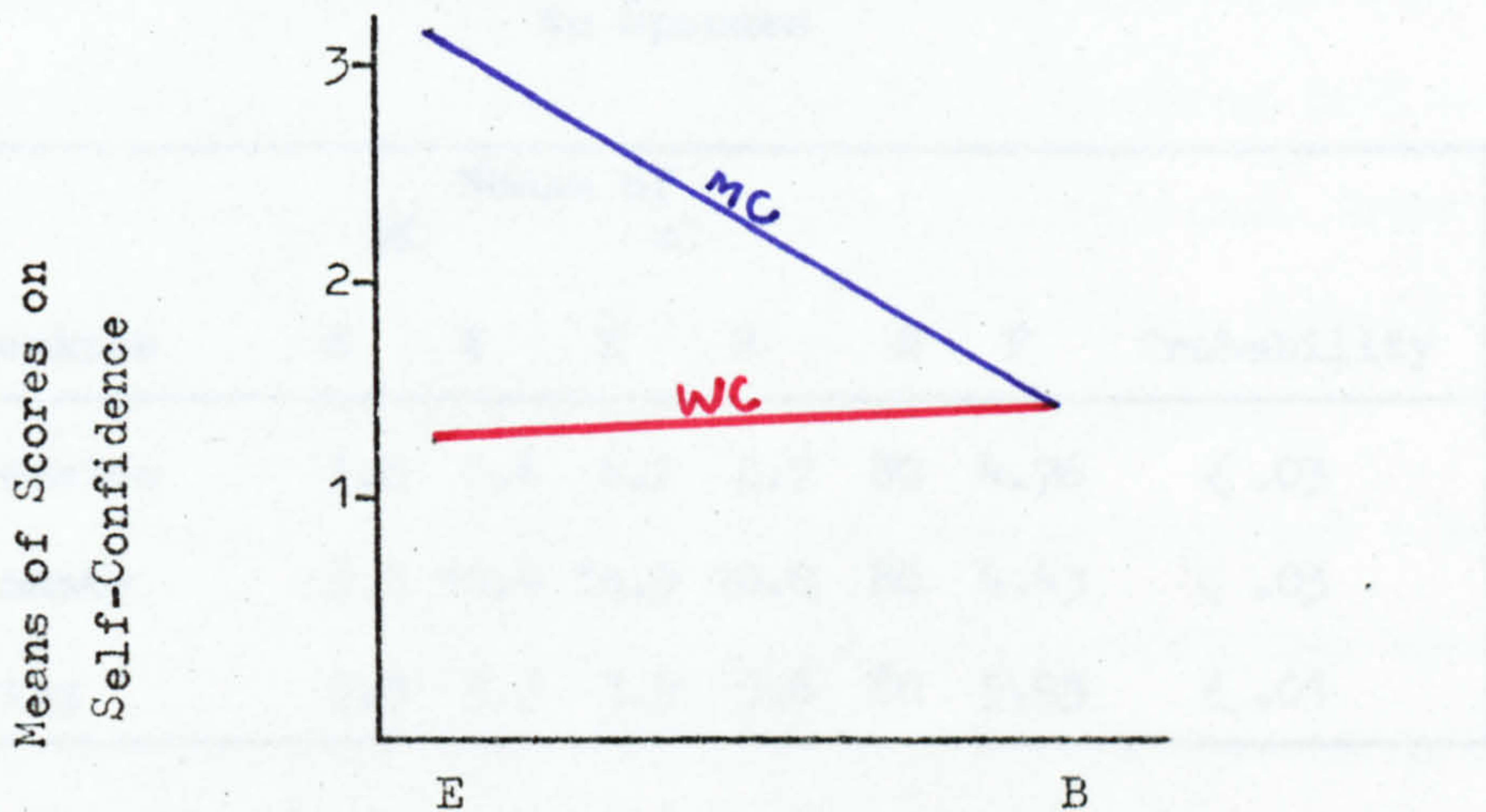
Whatever the explanation, working class bureaucrats seem satisfied with the little or no autonomy they have at work, most of them responding that they "like the way things are and would not like to see it changed".

Self-Confidence

In relation to Work, the results show a significant interaction between Class and Organisation on the Self-confidence dimension, indicating that the main effects of Class and Organisation for

this dimension are due to middle class entrepreneurs having higher scores than the other three categories ($p < .04$, see Table 8-1, and Fig. 8-3).

Figure 8-3: Significant Interactions Between Social Class and Organisation on Self-confidence at Work:



It is pointed out (see Chapters 5 and 6) that middle class entrepreneurs make the important decisions at work, and take risks that can seriously affect the firm. Also they prefer working on their own initiative, and seek positions where they lead and tell others what to do (Zweig, '61). Given this data, plus the evidence that they have higher scores on Self-confidence than bureaucrats or those in the working class, it seems fairly clear why they make more references to feeling good or bad about decisions or actions they had taken at work. If they feel totally responsible for the effect their decision-making has on the firm, then it is not unlikely that they should either praise or blame themselves for the consequences (Sutton, '54).

SPOUSES

Table 8-2 shows that in relation to Spouses, there is a significant interaction between social class and organisation on Aggression ($p < .03$), Dominance ($p < .03$) and Sharing ($p < .01$).

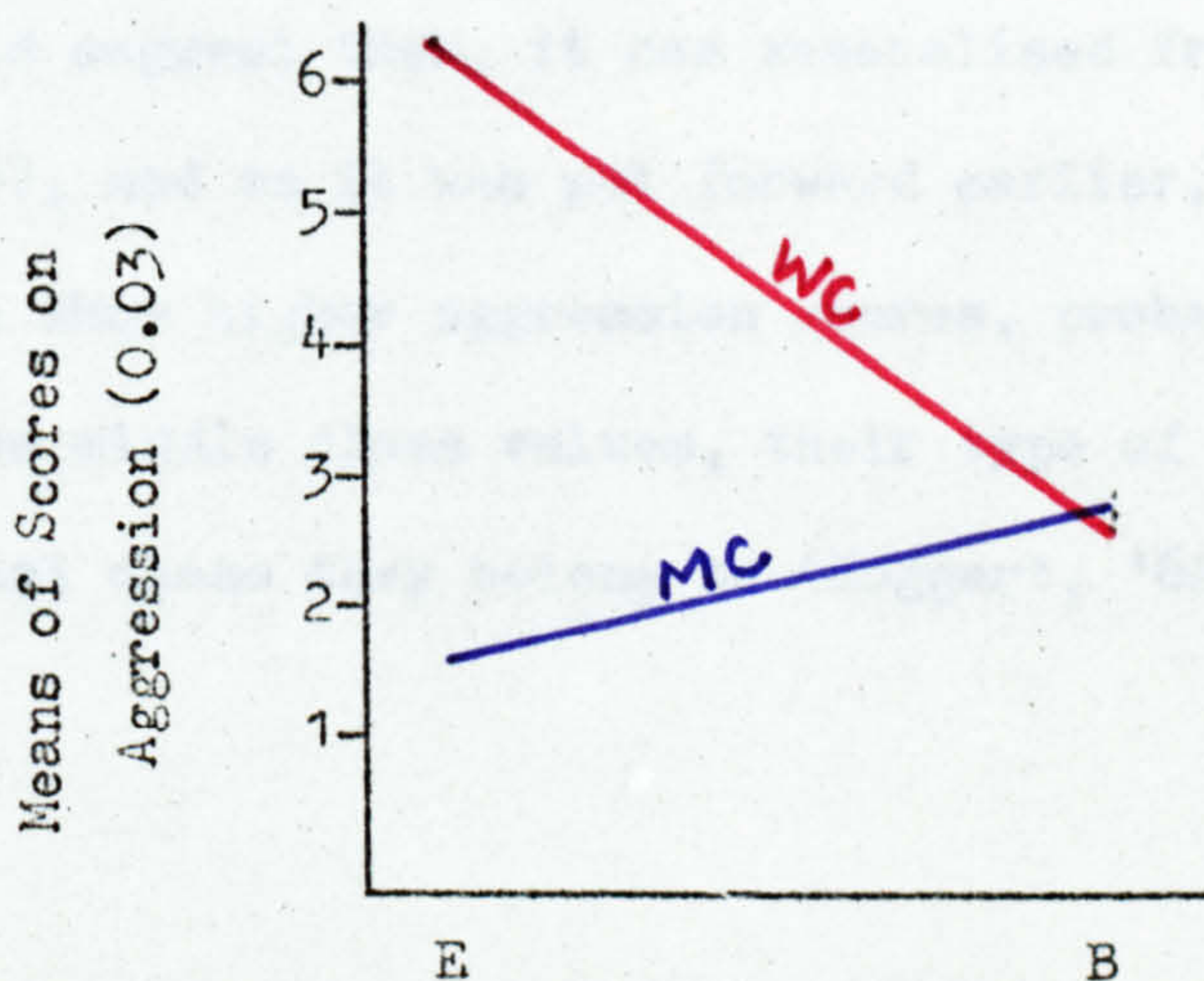
Table 8-2: Significant Interactions Between Social Class and Organisations in Relation to Spouses

Dimension	Means of				N	F	Probability
	MC		WC				
	E	B	E	B			
Aggression	1.6	2.6	6.2	2.7	80	4.76	$< .03$
Dominance	8.5	10.4	14.9	10.0	80	4.43	$< .03$
Sharing	7.3	5.3	3.9	5.6	80	5.95	$< .01$

Aggression

In relation to Spouse, the results show a significant interaction between Class and Organisation on the Aggression dimension, indicating that the main effects of Class and Organisation for this dimension are due to working class entrepreneurs having higher scores than the other three categories ($p < .03$, see Table 8-2 and Fig. 8-4).

Figure 8-4: Significant Interactions Between Social Class and Organisation on Aggression to Spouses.



One reason that could be suggested for middle class entrepreneurs having the lowest scores on Aggression in relation to Spouses is that hostile, angry feelings in this social class may be suppressed more than in the working class, where it may be more normal to give vent to aggressive feelings at home (Newson and Newson '68). However, if suppressing aggression is a middle class trait why do working class bureaucrats (see Fig. 8-4) have only a slightly higher score? This, then, suggests that working class bureaucrats vent their aggressive feelings onto their children (see Table 8-3 and Fig. 8-7), whereas the working class entrepreneurs vent these feelings onto their spouses.

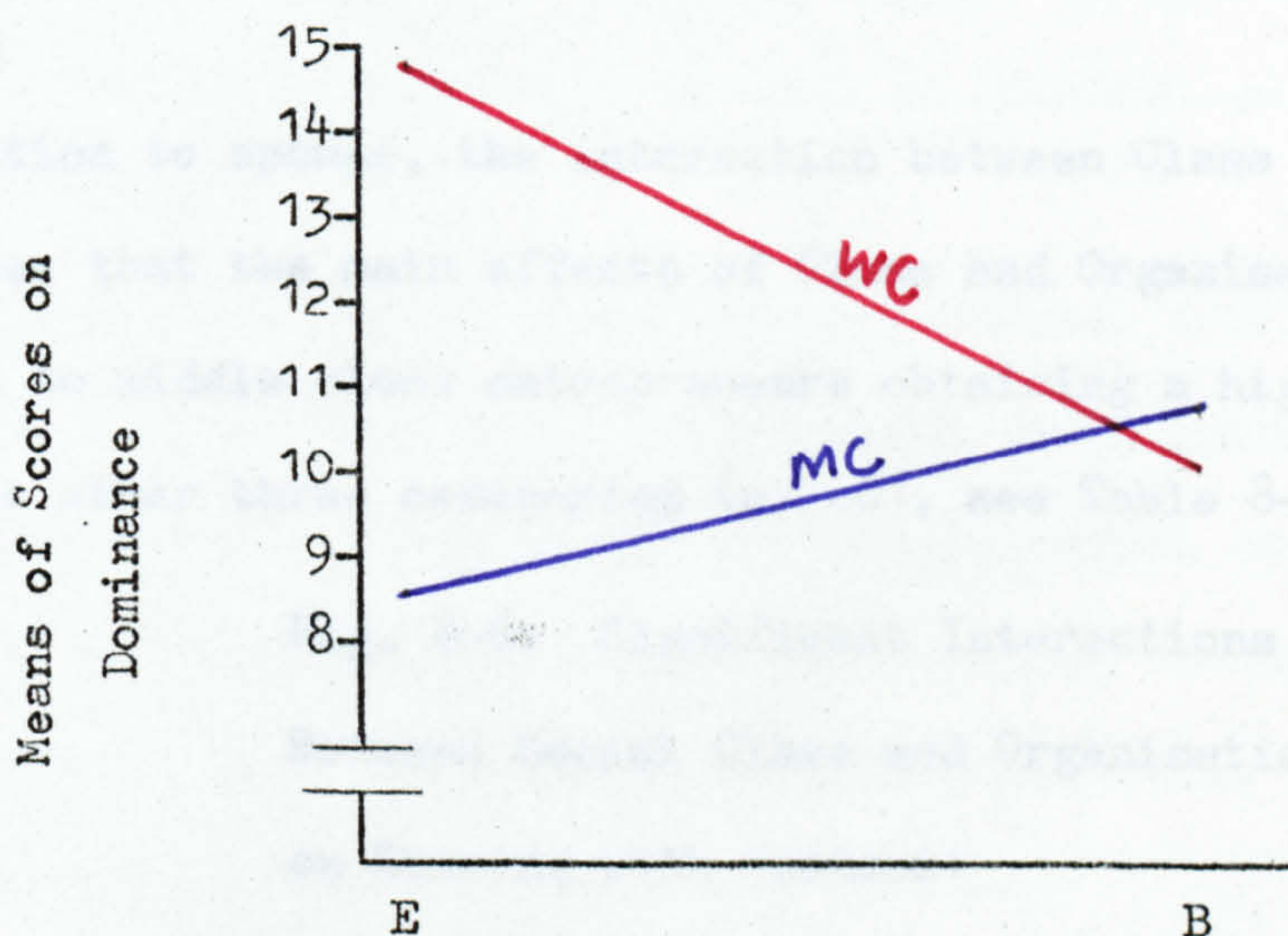
Another reason why middle class entrepreneurs have such a low score on Aggression to Spouses may be that at work they are more likely to make decisions, lead, and tell others what to do and have a considerable degree of Autonomy. All these opportunities alleviate most of the frustrations they could experience at work if they had no independence and did not influence others. However, Fig. 8-4 shows that working class entrepreneurs, who have autonomy and lead, have a high aggressive score. Thus the 'frustration' reason is not sufficient, neither is the 'suppressed' middle class reason (see above).

It is then obviously a combination of working class plus entrepreneur that gives rise to the high aggressive score phenomena. One could suggest then, it has generalised from work to spouse (see Fig. 8-1), and as it was put forward earlier, working class entrepreneurs show higher aggression scores, probably because although they have middle class values, their type of occupation circumscribes the social class they belong to (Hoggart, '62).

Dominance

The interaction between Class and Organisation for Dominance indicates that the main effects of Class and Organisation for this dimension in relation to spouses are due to working class entrepreneurs being higher than the other three categories ($p < .03$, see Table 8-2 and Fig. 8-5).

Figure 8-5: Significant Interactions Between Social Class and Organisation on Dominance with Spouses.



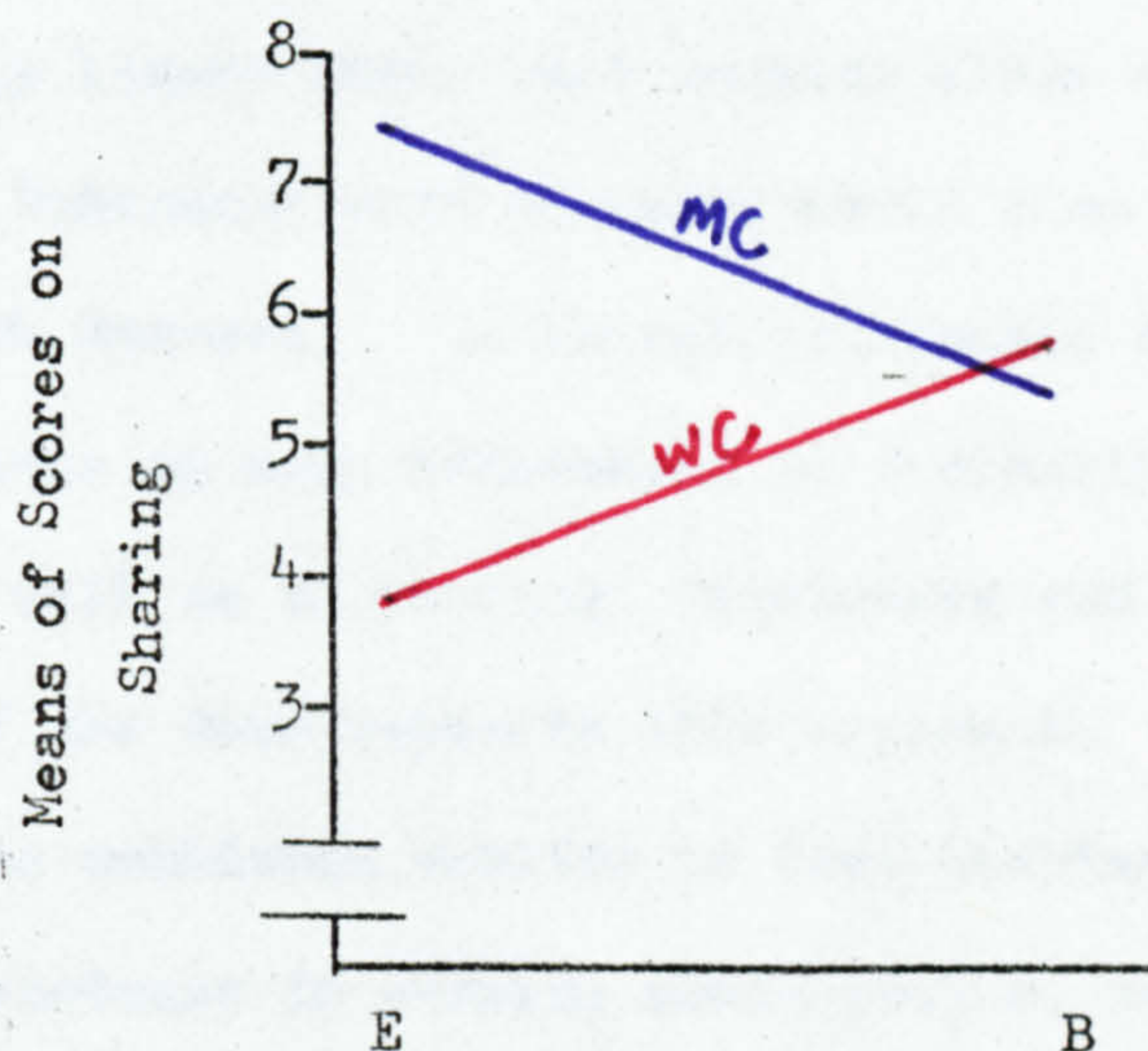
Entrepreneurs have a dramatically lower score on Dominance towards Spouses if they come from the middle class rather than the working class. To explain this result, then both (entrepreneurial) organisation and working class must be taken into account. An Argument could be put forward to the effect that middle class entrepreneurs have a low score on Dominance towards Spouses, because at work they make significantly more references on that dimension (see Tables 4-1 and 5-1). That is, affecting, influencing and directing people at work could result in a reduction of that behaviour at home.

However, working class entrepreneurs then should also reduce dominance behaviour at home. But the results indicate that they have the highest scores of the four categories. Closer examinations of the data reveals that in the present study, most working class entrepreneurs are in one-person businesses, such as self-employed gardener, taxi-driver and car deliverer. In contrast, most middle class entrepreneurs in the study have subordinates, such as solicitors, chartered accountants, dentist. Thus, the middle class entrepreneurs, in contrast to working class entrepreneurs, may satisfy their wish to lead and influence others at work.

Sharing

In relation to spouse, the interaction between Class and Organisation indicates that the main effects of Class and Organisation on Sharing are due to middle class entrepreneurs obtaining a higher score than the other three categories ($p < .01$, see Table 8-2 and Fig 8-6).

Fig. 8-6: Significant Interactions
Between Social Class and Organisation
on Sharing with Spouses:



Bureaucrats of either social class do not differ in their references to Sharing in relation to Spouse, neither do they have much higher scores than working class entrepreneurs. The main difference is clearly between the relatively high scores of the middle class entrepreneurs and the low scores of the working class entrepreneurs, a reversal of the scores obtained on Dominance in the previous subsection.

This is not entirely surprising as Dominance has been defined earlier as leading, influencing people and telling others what to do, whereas Sharing is associated with interdependence, co-operation and teamwork. It is perfectly compatible to be high on Sharing and low on Dominance and vice versa.

As has been shown in the preceding subsections, working class entrepreneurs obtained the highest scores on Aggression and Dominance towards Spouses. It is suggested that Dominance could be viewed as a way of expressing aggression. And further, because working class entrepreneurs have few, if any, subordinates, it is agreed that their wish to dominate is satisfied at home.

It is hardly likely then, that working class entrepreneurs who score highest on Dominance with Spouses, would also score highest on Sharing with Spouses. It is not reasonable to expect a group of people to make as many references to dominating, leading and giving orders, as well as to sharing, discussing and teamwork. The evidence of the data supports this argument.

Moreover, as mentioned earlier on (see Chapter 5), middle class people in contrast to working class people, are more likely to form creative bonds with their spouses. That is, bonds that link couples together, because they both plan ahead for the distant future, say, for children's education or a holiday in three years

time. Turner ('70) states that when these acts that are incomplete involve the collaboration of others, they create crecive bonds. And, as mentioned in an earlier chapter (Chapter 5), middle class people act within a longer time span than do working class people. Thus planning far ahead is associated with them, leading to crecive bonds and sharing. This may be another reason why middle class entrepreneurs refer to sharing more than working class entrepreneurs.

CHILDREN

Table 8-3 shows that in relation to Children, there is a significant interaction between class and organisation on Aggression ($p < .01$), Nurturance ($p < .04$) and Self-confidence ($p < .03$).

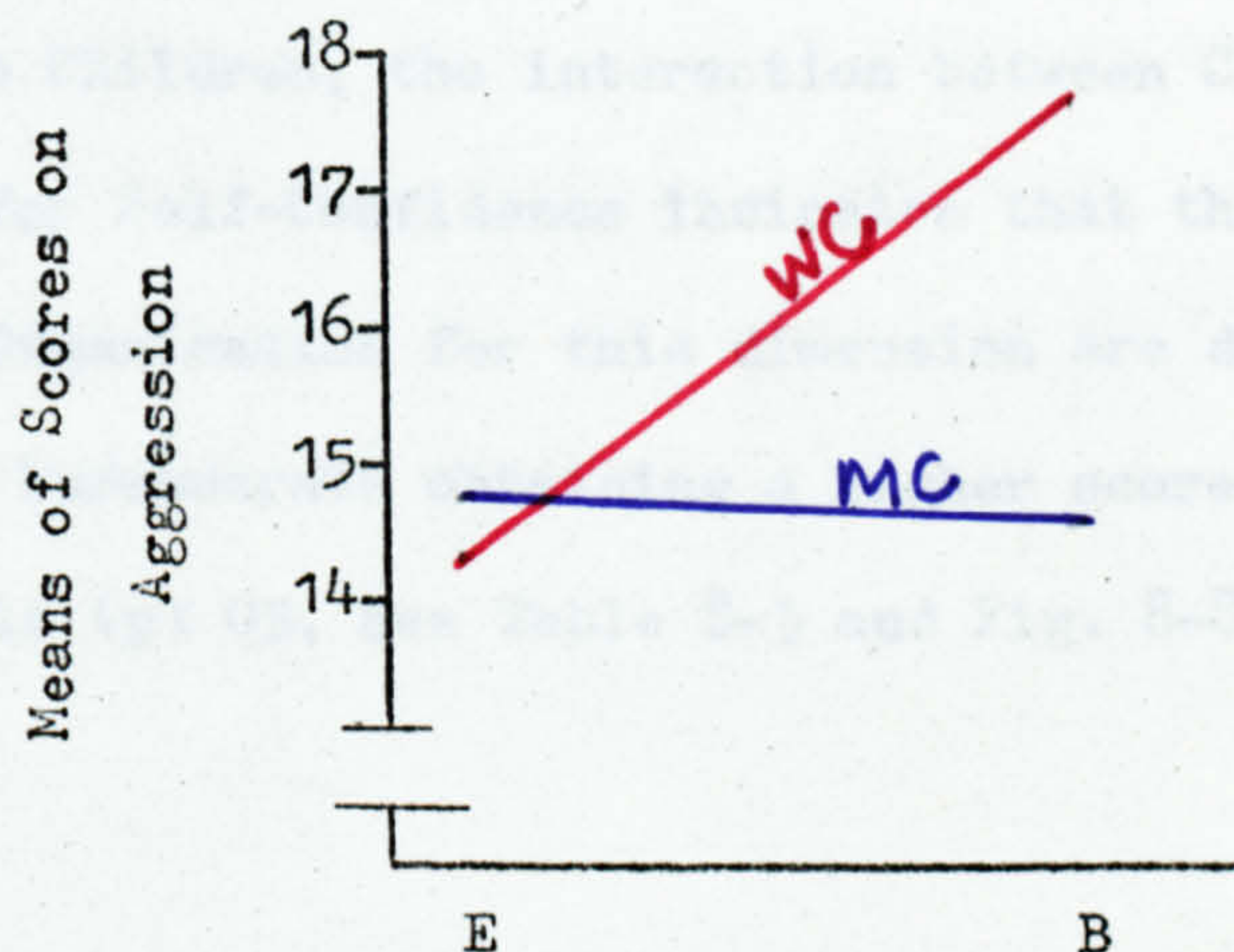
Table 8-3: Significant Interactions Between
Social Class and Organisation in Relation to
Children:

Dimension	Means of				N	F	Probability
	MC		WC				
	E	B	E	B			
Aggression	14.7	14.5	14.3	17.5	80	6.33	$< .01$
Nurturance	14.8	14.8	14.0	17.6	80	4.27	$< .04$
Self-Confidence	1.8	1.6	1.6	2.4	80	4.79	$< .03$

Aggression

In relation to Children, the interaction between Class and Organisation for Aggression indicates that the main effects of Class and Organisation for this dimension are due to working class bureaucrats obtaining a higher score than the other three categories ($p < .01$, see Table 8-3 and Fig. 8-7).

Figure 8-7: Significant Interactions Between
Social Class and Organisation on Aggression
towards Children:



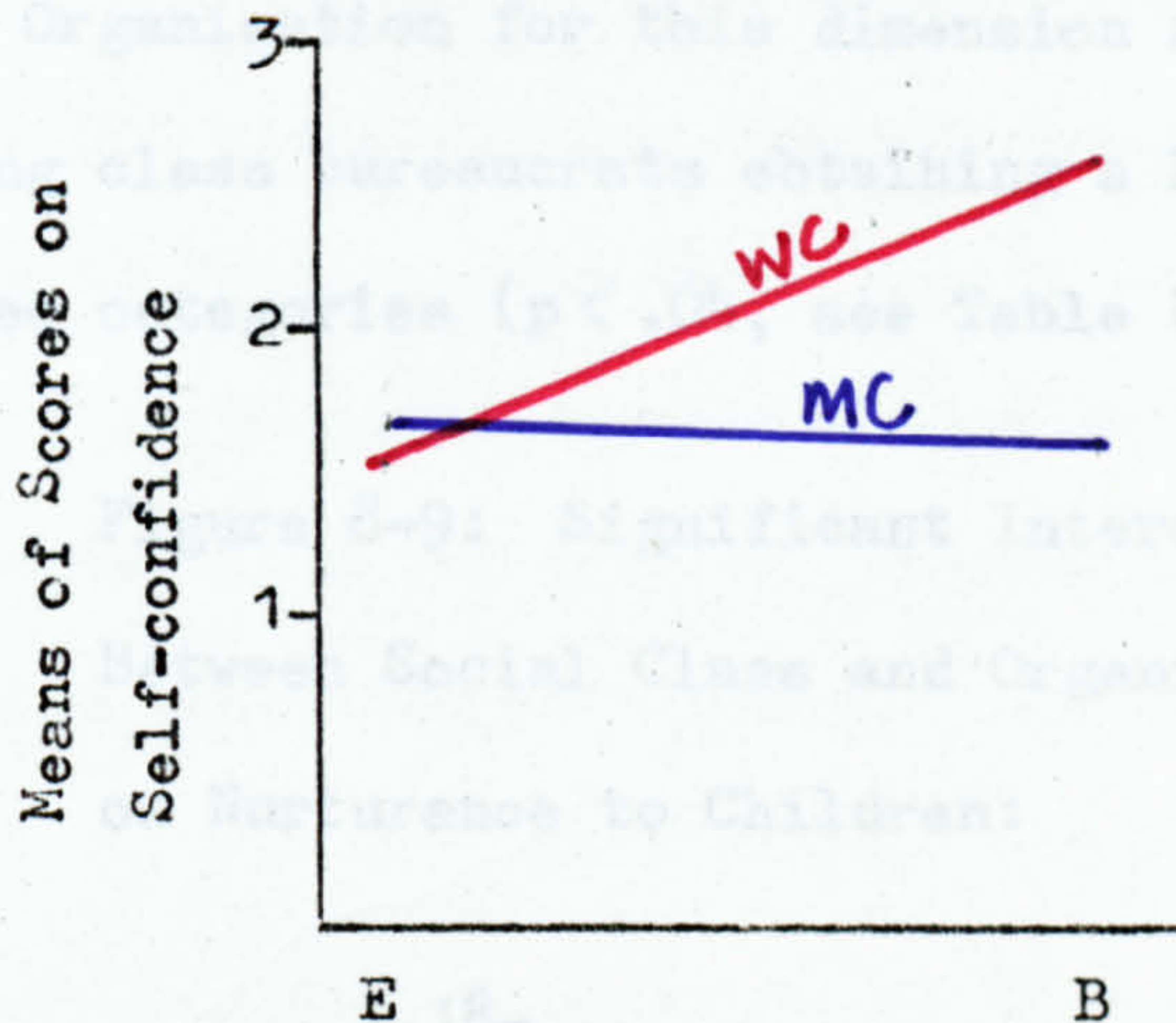
One could suggest that the high score on Aggression towards Children by working class bureaucrats may be related to their low score on Aggression at Work (Fig. 8-1). As mentioned earlier, it is difficult for working class bureaucrats to express their aggression at work, because they are usually subordinate to others in their jobs. Thus there is a very real risk of unemployment (Hoggart, '62) if they allow negative feelings to become overt. These hostile feelings may be the result of rarely making decisions and frequently being told what to do.

One could speculate that if both parents have jobs in bureaucratic organisations, it is less likely that they will vent angry feelings towards each other, if these feelings are a consequence of their work environment. It seems more reasonable to suggest that they would express these feelings towards their children, as the data confirms. The results may be likened to Freud's ideas of displacement, for example, where the employee who cannot be angry with his superior comes home and hits his child. The Newsons ('68) also find that parents who are working class bureaucrats are significantly more aggressive towards their children than those in the middle class. One could also suggest that as in the working class the expressive style is motoric (Miller and Swanson '60), physical punishment is common.

Self-Confidence

In relation to Children, the interaction between Class and Organisation for Self-Confidence indicates that the main effects of Class and Organisation for this dimension are due to the working class bureaucrats obtaining a higher score than the other three categories ($p < 0.05$, see Table 8-3 and Fig. 8-8).

Figure 8-8: Significant Interaction
 Between Social Class and Organisation
 on Self-Confidence with Children:



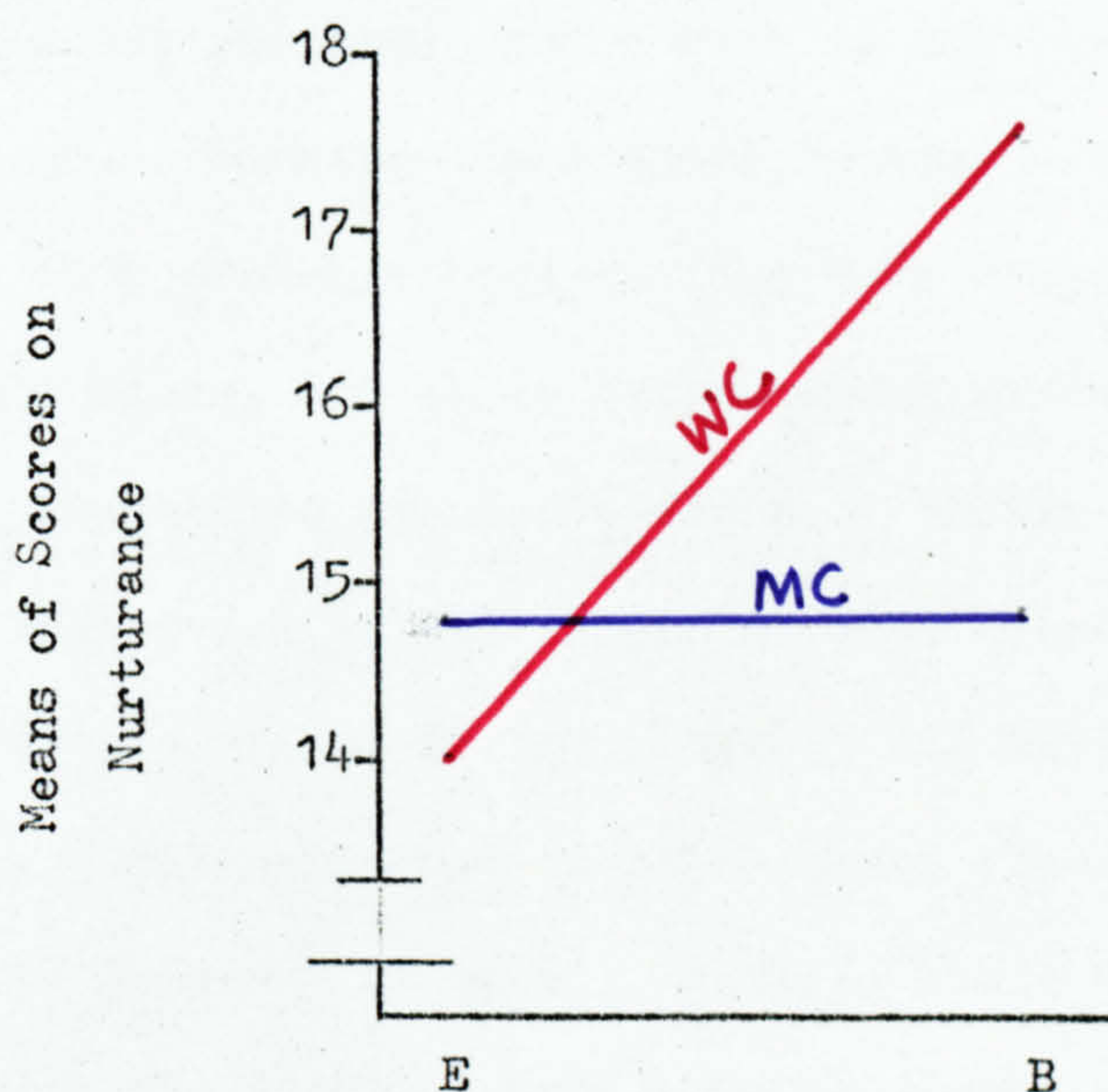
Working class bureaucrats make most references to self-confidence in relation to Children. Close scrutiny of the data shows that the majority (85%) of these references are to do with feeling bad or guilty about how they had behaved towards their children in the past. Typical examples are, "I've always smacked my children. I know it's wrong but that is the way I was brought up"; or "I should have helped Susan with her homework, but come home so tired from work I just can't be bothered. I feel guilty when I think of it"; and "I give him a beating if he's too cheeky. I dearly wish I didn't have to but it's the only language he understands."

These responses indicate that the high score on self-confidence is closely linked to the high score on Aggression. The more aggressive the working class bureaucrats were, the more references they make to feeling bad and guilty about their behaviour.

Nurturance

In relation to Children, the interaction between Class and Organisation for Nurturance indicates that the main effects of Class and Organisation for this dimension are due, once again, to the working class bureaucrats obtaining a higher score than the other three categories ($p < .04$, see Table 8-3 and Fig 8-9).

Figure 8-9: Significant Interaction
Between Social Class and Organisation
on Nurturance to Children:



As in the two preceding subsections, working class bureaucrats make more references than the other three categories, this time to Nurturance in relation to Children.

An argument may be made for an emerging pattern: high scores on Aggression are associated with most references being made about self confidence, i.e. feeling guilty, and blaming themselves for aggressive behaviour. This, too, may be linked to reparation, in the form of Nurturance, for which working class bureaucrats have the highest scores.

It is conceivable that working class bureaucrats may be aggressive towards their children, feel bad about it and then make up for it by trying to be caring and helpful. Although this argument is consistent with the results in Table 8-3 and Figs, 8-7, 8-8, and 8-9, it is not clear why the respondents do not make more references to feeling good about caring and helping their children. It could be suggested that this latter aspect of parenthood is taken for granted, whereas being aggressive is not the expected behaviour of parents.

SUMMARY

This chapter is a report on the significant interactions between subjects in the middle- and working-class and those in entrepreneurial organisations, in relation either to Work, Spouse or Children. There are more significant interactions between these particular variables than are expected by chance alone.

In relation to Work, there is a significant interaction between social class and organisation on Aggression, Autonomy and Self-Confidence. Middle class bureaucrats have aggressive feelings at work probably because they cannot rise in the bureaucratic hierarchy quickly enough. Working class entrepreneurs experience these feelings at work probably because they have values similar to those of the middle class, but their occupational status does not enable them to see themselves as middle class. Working class bureaucrats make least references to Aggression at work because of their subordinate position, fears of unemployment and having least need for Achievement. Entrepreneurs in both social classes make most references to Autonomy at work. Working class bureaucrats seem satisfied with the little or no Autonomy they have at work. Middle class entrepreneurs make most references to Self-confidence at work. It is speculated that if they feel totally responsible for the effect their decision-making has on the firm, then it is not unlikely that they should either praise or blame themselves for the consequences.

In relation to Spouses, there is a significant interaction between social class and organisation on Aggression, Dominance and Sharing. Middle class subjects have lowest scores on Aggression, probably because it is a middle class trait to suppress overt aggression.

Also, working class bureaucrats express it towards Children, whereas working class entrepreneurs express Aggression towards Spouses. The latter probably have highest scores because, although they have middle class values, their type of occupation circumscribes the social class they belong in. Middle class entrepreneurs have a low score on Dominance towards Spouses because at work they make significantly more references on that dimension. Working class entrepreneurs in the study have few, if any, subordinates and thus the wish to influence others can only be satisfied at home. It is hardly likely, then, that working class entrepreneurs who score highest on Dominance with Spouses would also score highest on Sharing with Spouses. It is not reasonable to expect a group of people to make as many references to dominating, leading and giving orders, as well as to sharing, discussing and teamwork. The evidence of data supports this argument. Also, middle class people are more likely than subjects in the working class to form creative bonds with their spouses.

In relation to Children, there is a significant interaction between social class and organisation on Aggression, Nurturance and Self-Confidence. It is speculated that Aggression towards Children by working class bureaucrats is a consequence of displacement of aggression at work. Studies also show that working-class bureaucrats use physical methods to punish probably because their expressive style is motoric. It is suggested that because they show more aggression than the other 3 groups, they are also more likely to feel bad about their behaviour towards Children. They have highest scores on Nurturance, probably to make reparation for their aggressive behaviour.

Chapter 9

SIGNIFICANT INTERACTIONS:

SEX, UNCONSCIOUS SEXUAL IDENTITY AND SOCIAL CLASS.

This chapter is a report on the significant interactions between Sex and Unconscious Sexual Identity, and between Sex and Social Class, in relation to Work, Spouse and Children. There are more significant interactions between these particular variables than are expected by chance alone. Thus it seems appropriate to help explain the findings.

WORK

Table 9-1 shows that, in relation to work, there is a significant interaction between Sex and Unconscious Sexual Identity on Affiliation ($p < .05$), Aggression ($p < .04$) and Self-confidence ($p < .03$).

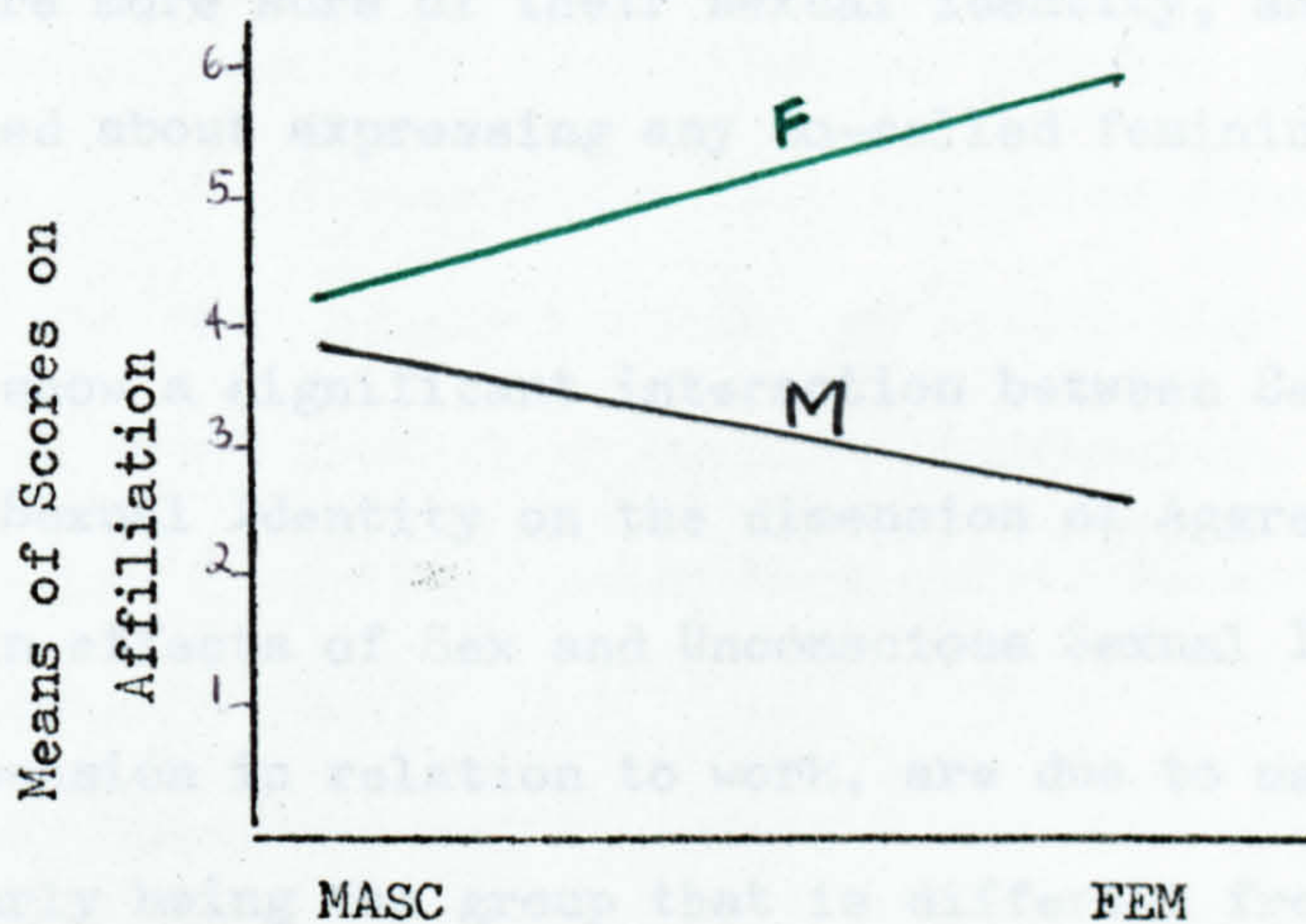
Table 9-1: Significant Interactions Between
Sex and Unconscious Sexual Identity in
Relation to Work:

Dimension	Means of				N	F	Probability
	M		F				
	Masc	Fem	Masc	Fem			
Affiliation	3.9	2.5	4.1	5.9	80	4.13	< .04
Aggression	14.2	14.6	17.9	13.5	80	5.28	< .02
Self-Confidence	2.5	1.6	1.7	1.7	80	4.96	< .03

Affiliation

The results show a significant interaction between Sex and Unconscious Sexual Identity on the dimension of Affiliation in relation to Work, such that Feminine Females clearly make more references to Affiliation than do Masculine Females. Masculine Males make almost as many references as the latter, but clearly more than Feminine Males ($p < .05$, see Table 9-1 and Figure 9-1).

Figure 9-1: Significant Interactions
Between Sex and Unconscious Sexual
Identity on Affiliation at Work:



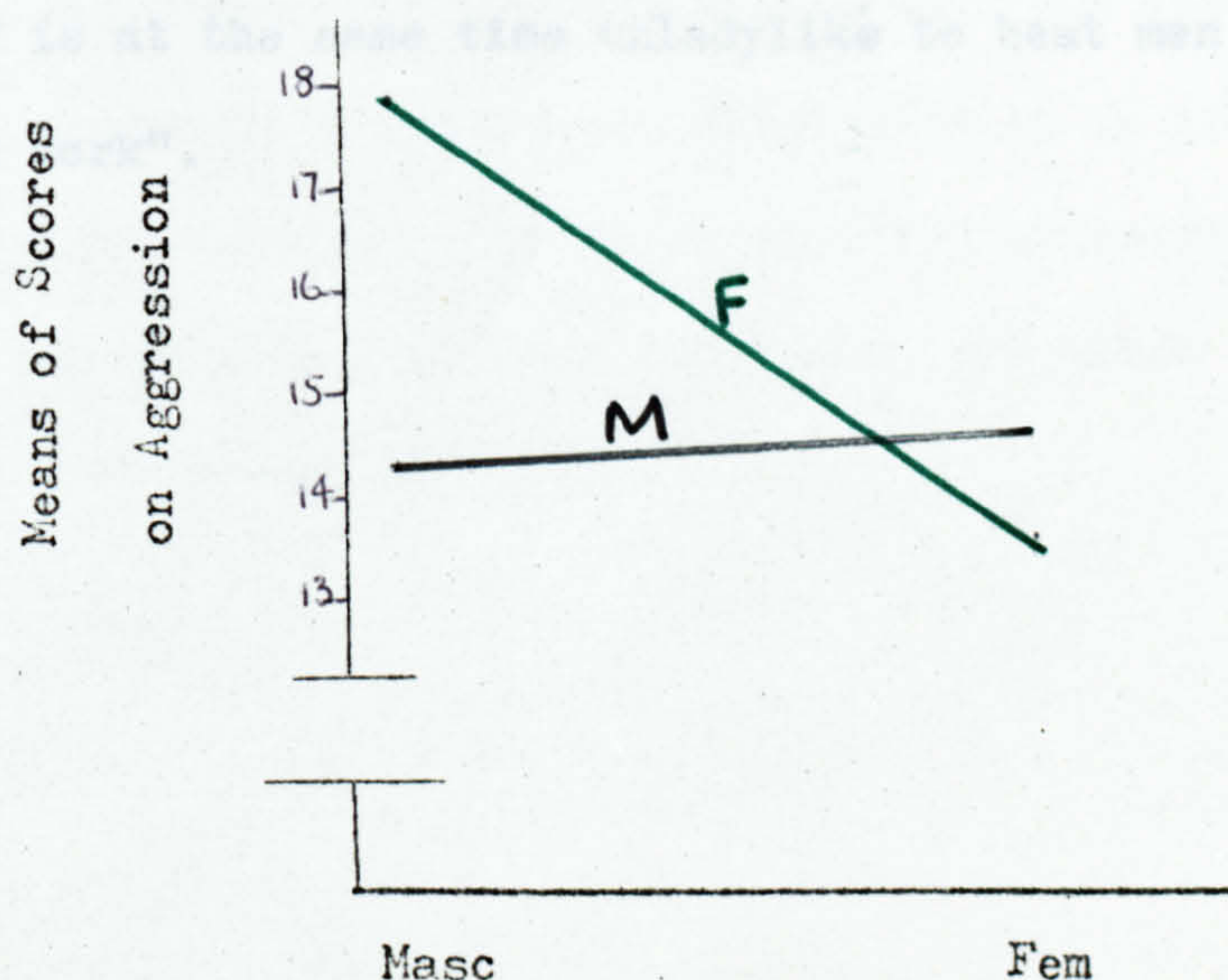
It would seem from the results that Unconscious Femininity has a dramatic effect on sex. Feminine females have a much higher score on Affiliation in relation to Work than do feminine males (see Table 7-3). It is suggested that whereas it is more permissible in our culture for feminine females to show liking towards their colleagues at work, it is less permissible for feminine males to show the same degree of affection towards their colleagues. Lott et al ('70) finds that women described friends in more effusive and laudatory terms in an adjective checklist than men.

Further, even if their femininity is in no way overt, males may themselves want to suppress any feminine characteristics at work, of which liking being close to others is one. Rosenfeld ('66) reports that women, in contrast to men, like a same-sex partner after a continued inter-action, during a problem-solving task. Women rate their partners more positively than do men. One can speculate that, because of the stigma of homosexuality, it is less likely for men in western society to show affiliation for colleagues of the same sex, than it is for women. Thus, feminine males make less references to Affiliation than do masculine males, who are more sure of their sexual identity, and hence less concerned about expressing any so-called feminine traits.

Aggression

The results show a significant interaction between Sex and Unconscious Sexual Identity on the dimension of Aggression, such that the main effects of Sex and Unconscious Sexual Identity, for this dimension in relation to work, are due to masculine females clearly being the group that is different from all the others ($p < .02$, see Table 9-1 and Figure 9-2).

Figure 9-2: Significant Interactions Between Sex and Unconscious Sexual Identity on Aggression at Work:



It could be reasoned that western society does not expect or reinforce feminine females to show Aggression at Work, which may account for their low scores. However, neither does our society reinforce females in general to show Aggression at Work, because it is considered a masculine trait (see Table 7-3).

Blurton-Jones ('72) and Serbin ('73) report that boys engage in much more aggressive behaviour than girls. The former are allowed to be more rough, whereas girls are encouraged to be gentler.

Youssef ('68) finds that men deliver longer and more intense shocks to victims, confederates and learners. Then why is it that masculine females make most references to Aggression at Work?

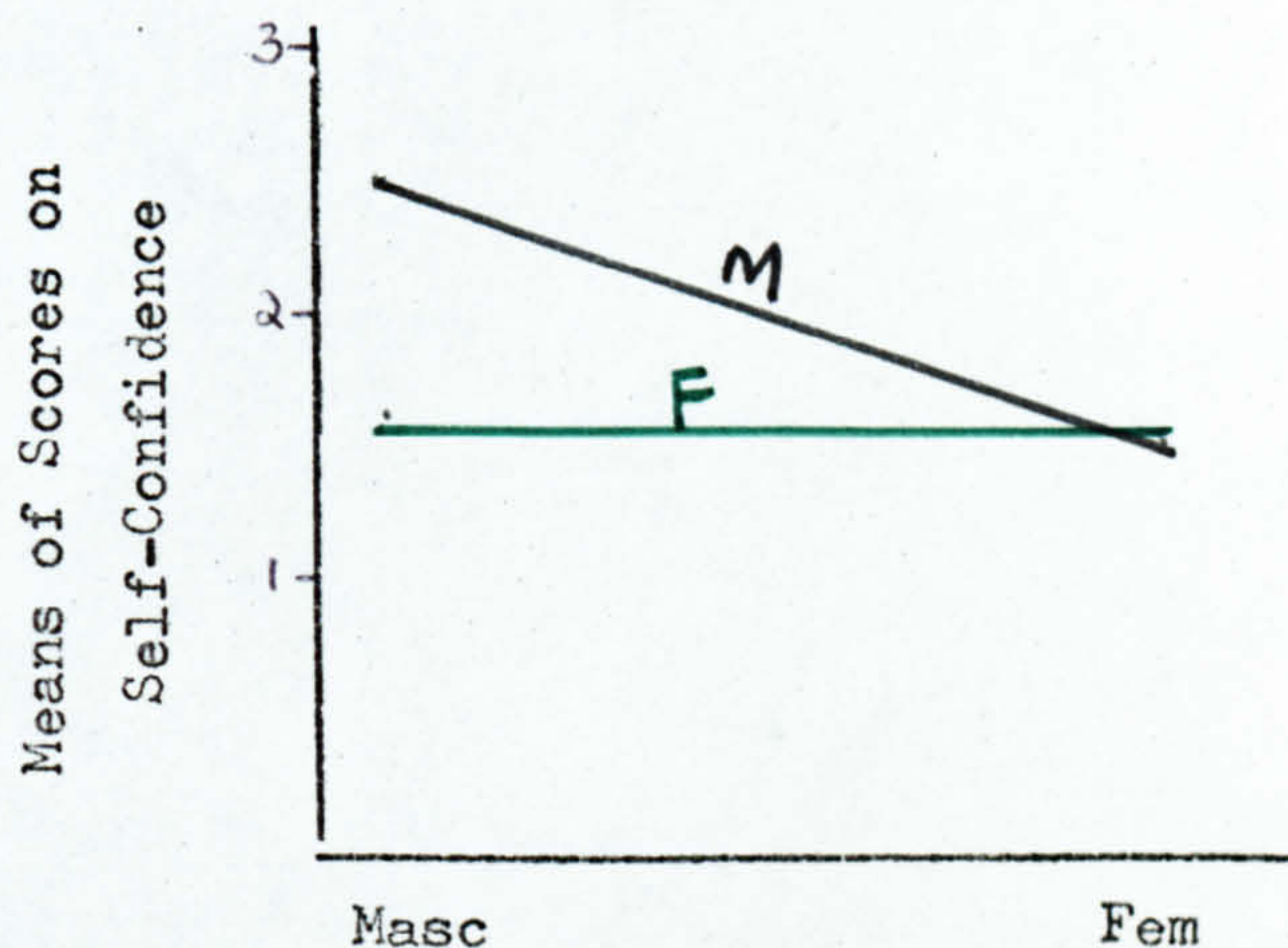
Their unconscious masculine identities may provide the answer to this question. It is speculated that masculine females, who because of their sex are less likely than men to obtain high positions at work, may feel frustrated which leads to Aggression. It is their unconscious masculinity that makes them strive towards high positions (see Table 4-1).

In their study Lunneborg and Rosenwood ('72) find that men give more achievement responses than do women - Horner ('68) argues that "traditional measures of achievement motivation do not reflect the conflict situation that particularly affects women, namely that they feel it is acceptable (indeed expected) to do well at school, but that it is at the same time unladylike to beat men at almost any task at work".

Self-Confidence

The interaction between Sex and Unconscious Sexual Identity indicates that the main effects of Sex and Unconscious Sexual Identity for Self-confidence in relation to Work, are due to masculine males as the group that stands out ($p < .03$, see Table 9-1 and Fig. 9-3).

Figure 9-3: Significant Interactions
Between Sex and Unconscious Sexual
Identity on Self-confidence at Work:



It is not clear why masculines make most references to Self-confidence at Work. One can only suppose that the way they see themselves, as both masculine and male, is associated with wanting to appear confident and able to cope with any eventuality that may arise at work. Feather ('69) found that more men than women were confident that they would succeed in passing a test of solving five or more anagrams. Schwartz and Clauseu ('70) find that men express less uncertainty than women about what to do in helping with a simulated seizure. Hannah et al ('65) administered the fear survey schedule to 2,000 men and women, and women received higher total fear scores than men.

Also, Jacobson et al ('70) report that men, in contrast to women, expect to succeed on the Digit Symbol Test ($p < .001$). Then, it is less permissible for males than for females to express a lack of confidence in relation to their work. It is also suggested that masculine males, having no internal sexual confusion (Miller and Swanson, '60) would also cope better and feel more confident at work.

SPOUSES

Table 9-2 shows that in relation to Spouses there is a significant interaction between Sex and Unconscious Sexual Identity on Autonomy ($p < .05$) and Identification ($p < .05$).

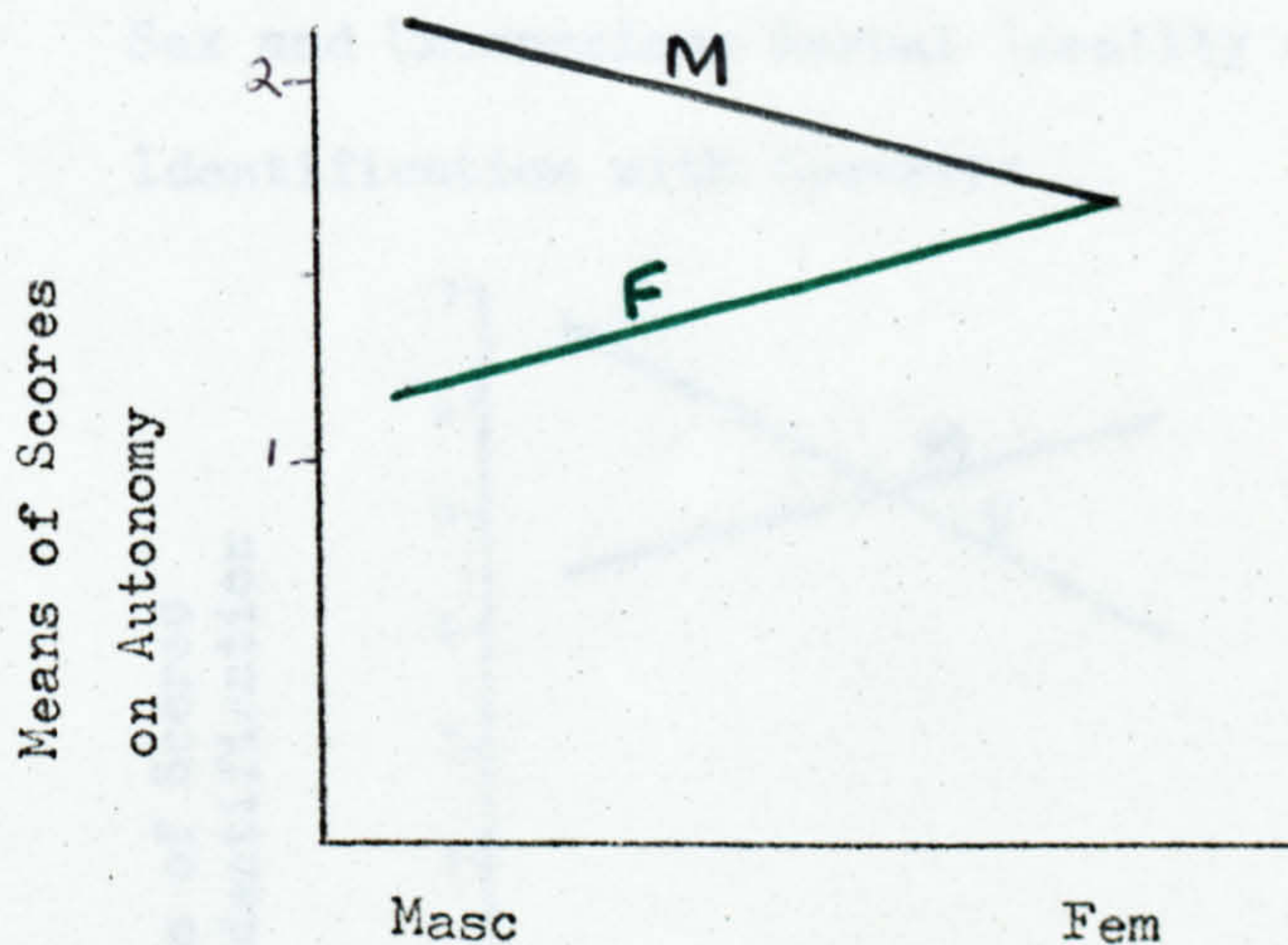
Table 9-2: Significant Interactions Between Sex and Unconscious Sexual Identity in Relation to Spouses:

Dimension	Means of				N	F	Probability
	M		F				
	Masc	Fem	Masc	Fem			
Autonomy	2.2	1.7	1.2	1.7	80	3.96	$< .05$
Identification	4.5	6.0	6.7	4.0	80	3.88	$< .05$

Autonomy

The results in Table 9-2 show a significant interaction between Sex and Unconscious Sexual Identity on Autonomy such that masculine males make more references to Autonomy than any other group ($p < .05$, see Table 9-2 and Fig. 9-4).

Figure 9-4: Significant Interactions Between Sex and Unconscious Sexual Identity on Autonomy with Spouses:

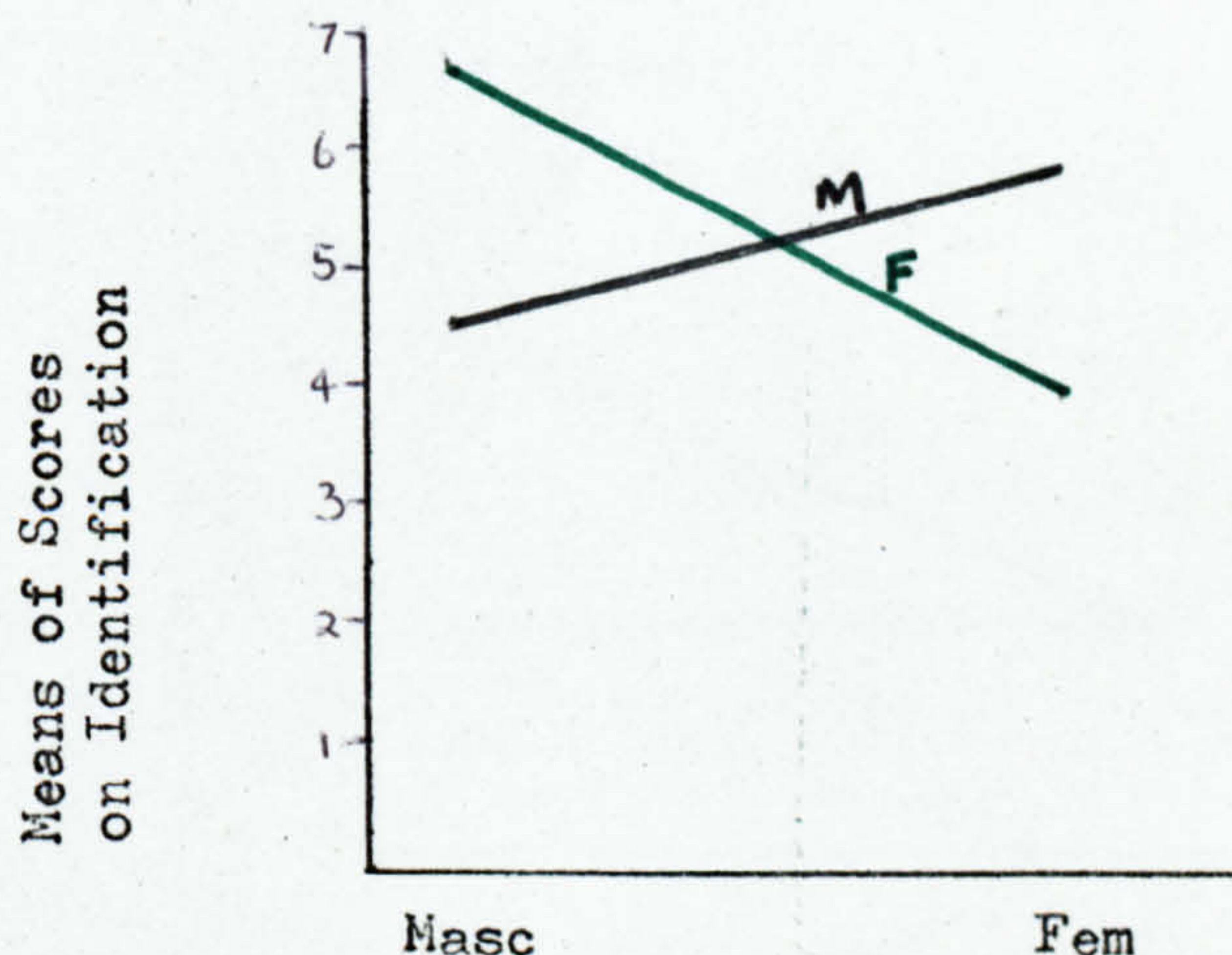


It is not clear why masculine males make most references to Autonomy with Spouses. To the author's knowledge there are no experimental findings that are published, to support this result. Thus one can only speculate reasons to explain this phenomenon. Table 4-2 shows that women make more references than men to Autonomy in relation to Spouses. This is made very clear in connection with household tasks. However, when sexual identity is also considered masculines males make most references to Autonomy. Thus, one could suggest that unconscious masculinity is related to wanting independence from one's partner. Whereas femininity is related to sharing and interdependence (Kahn '72, Leventhal and Lane '70, and Lane and Misse '71) it is speculated that masculinity is related to making decisions alone and to defy authority (Murray '38).

Identification

The results in Table 9-2 show a significant interaction between Sex and Unconscious Sexual Identity, such that on Identification in relation to Spouses, masculine females and feminine males have similar scores. They also clearly make more references to Identification than do masculine males and feminine females who both have similar scores ($p < .05$, see Table 9-2 and Figure 9-5).

Figure 9-5: Significant Interactions Between Sex and Unconscious Sexual Identity on Identification with Spouses:



This result is unclear. It does not seem reasonable that, people with confused sexual identities should be able to empathise better than those who have no sexual confusion. However, one can make a few tentative speculations that may help explain the finding. It could be argued that males who have an unconscious feminine identity are more able than masculine males to identify and empathise with the needs and experiences of their wives. They may identify with their wives' possible irritation and impatient at doing household tasks, and make special efforts to relieve their loads by taking on tasks at home, like cooking or using the washing machine. Or, for example, if their wives are pregnant, they may empathise with their needs for succourance and reassurance, and hence be more nurturant. Wives with unconscious masculine strivings may empathise with their husbands' needs to achieve at work (see section on Aggression, Fig. 9-2), and understand if they worked overtime, paving the way for future promotion.

The remainder of this chapter is a report on the significant interactions between Sex and Social Class in relation to Work and Children. There are no significant interactions in relation to Spouses.

WORK

Table 9-3 shows, that in relation to Work, there is a significant interaction between Sex and Social Class on Achievement ($p < .04$) and Security ($p < .03$).

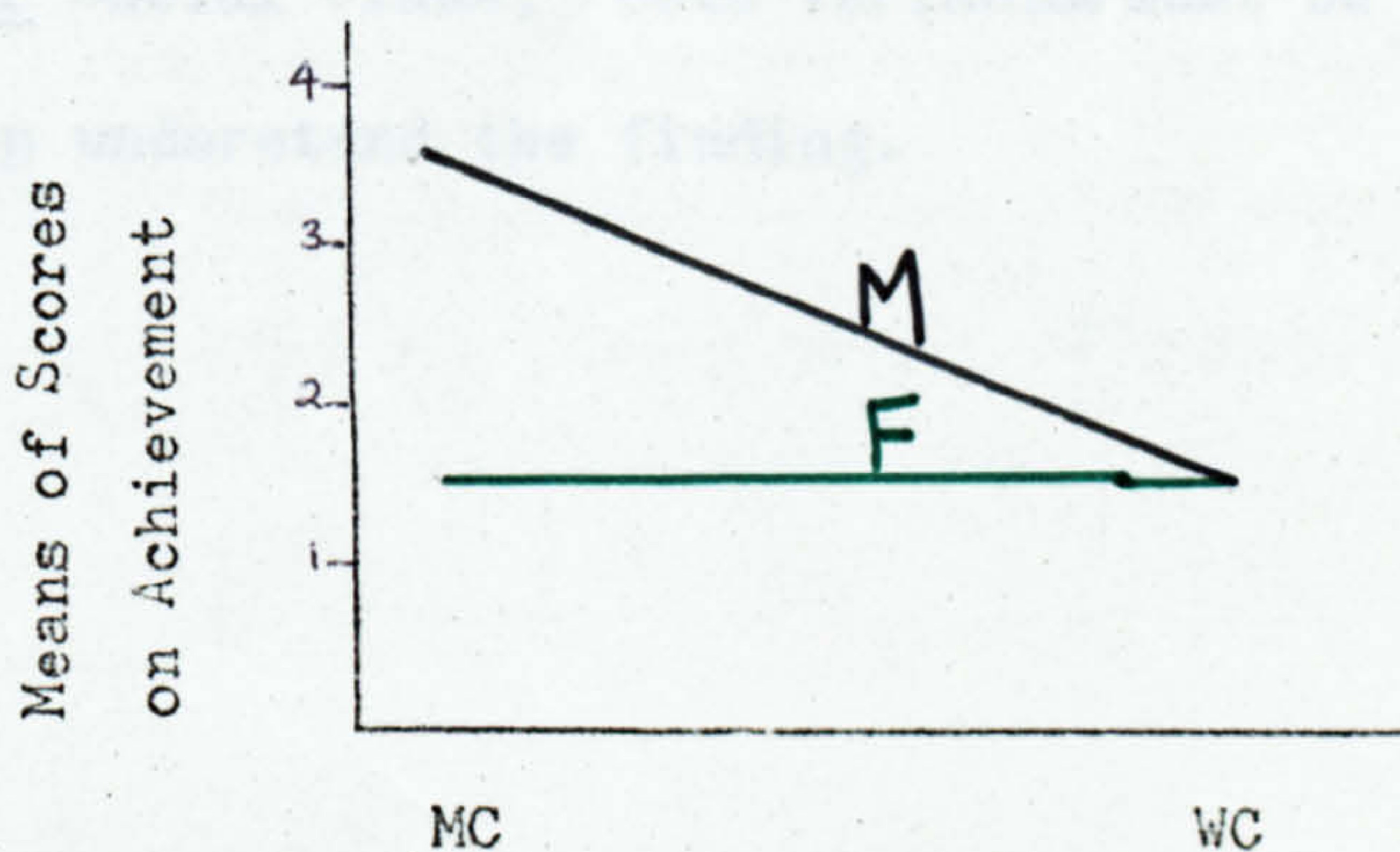
Table 9-3: Significant Interaction Between Sex and Social Class in Relation to Work:

Dimension	Means of				N	F	Probability
	M		F				
	MC	WC	MC	WC			
Achievement	3.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	80	4.30	< .04
Security	0.9	2.3	0.2	0.2	80	4.60	< .03

Achievement

The results in Table 9-3 show that the interaction between Sex and Social Class for Achievement is significant, and indicates that the main effects of Sex and Social Class for this dimension are due to middle class males having higher scores than the other three categories in relation to Work ($p < .04$).

Figure 9-6: Significant Interactions Between Sex and Social Class in Relation to Work:



It is not surprising that middle class males make more references to Achievement at Work than middle class females or working class males. In our society it is the husbands who are expected to go to work (McKinley '64) and to aspire for promotion (Blood and Wolfe '60, see also Chapter 4, Table 4-1). Horner ('70) finds that 65% of college women describe unpleasant events and attributes in discussing successful women, whereas only 10% of college men give such descriptions of successful men. More recently, in a more complete design (Monahan et al '74) both sexes give more negative than positive responses to stories about successful women, and are equally positive about male success. However, in the present study, why do working class males have similar scores on Achievement as females?

Social Class then, must help provide the answer (see Table 5-1). In studies by Walker and Dale ('61, '62), the authors take it as being beyond question that the employees in occupations in the middle-class, in contrast to occupations in the working class, thought promotion desirable. Dale adds that, "Advancement tends to be sought not merely for the extra money involved - this is often little enough - but for the prestige it carries, and for the opportunity to display initiative and to exercise authority which it brings". Thus, these studies reported above are consistent with the finding that middle class males, (of the four groups analysed), are most achievement orientated. It is not enough to consider sex or Social Class; both variables must be taken into account to help understand the finding.

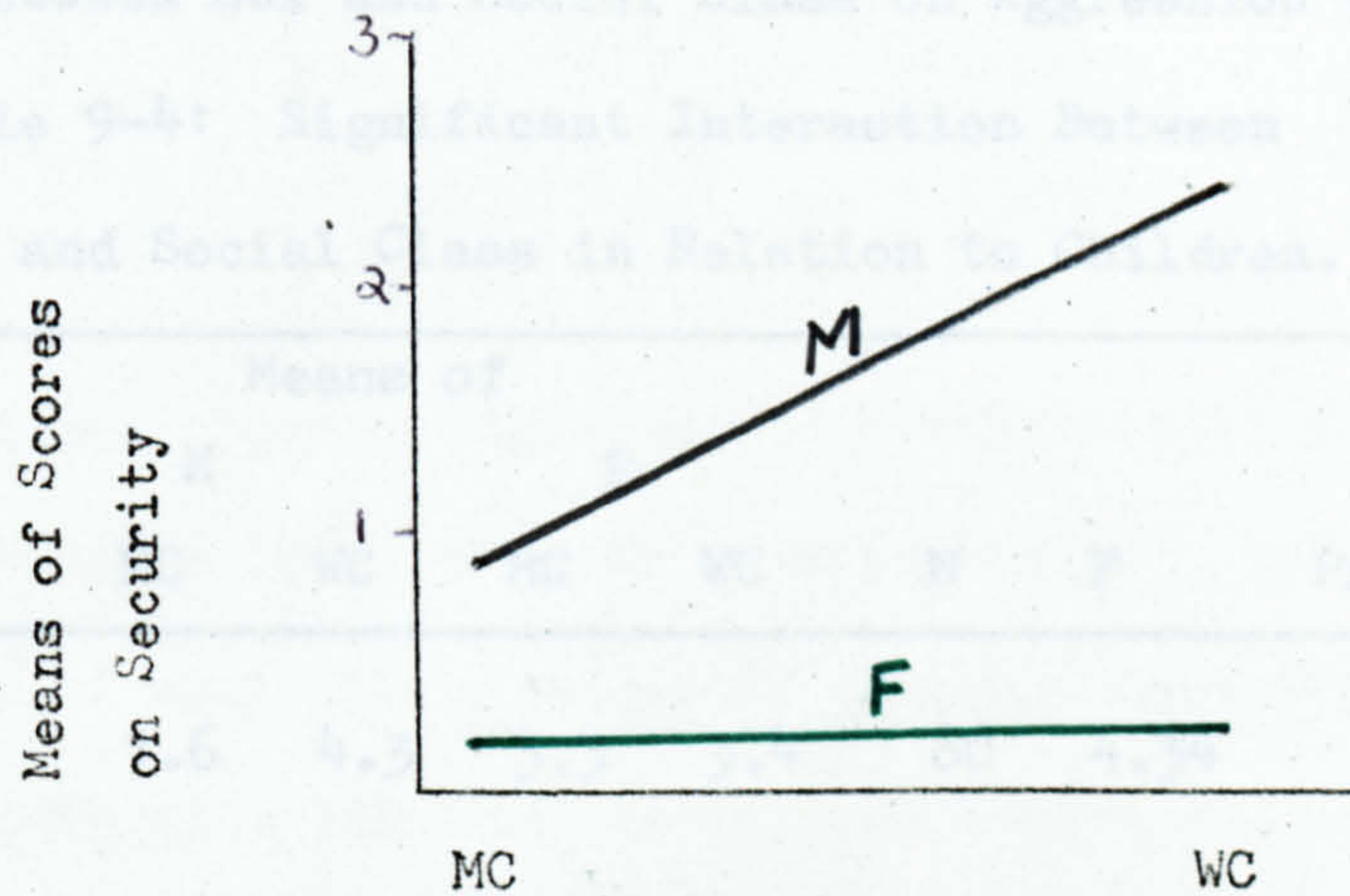
Security

The interaction between Sex and Social Class for Security in relation to Work, indicates that the main effects of Sex and Social Class for this dimension are due to working class males clearly having the highest score ($p < .03$, see Table 9-3 and Fig. 9-7).

Figure 9-7: Significant Interactions

Between Sex and Social Class in

Relation to Work:



It seems reasonable that men make more references to security at work than women, since the former are traditionally the breadwinners. They are expected to go to work, and to keep their jobs so they can support their families. Women of both social classes are traditionally expected to tend the home and to look after young children (Oakley '74). Thus, it is not particularly surprising that they make less references to Security at Work, than their husbands.

Also, middle-class men make less references to Security at Work than do working class men. This may effect the fact that in time of economic stress it is the working class who are affected first when men are laid off (Zweig '61). Further, families are

smaller in the middle class (Goldthorpe and Lockwood '69) and hence fathers have less to worry about than those in the working class, if their jobs are not permanent. It can be seen, then, that both social class and sex are important variables that must be considered in relation to Security at Work.

CHILDREN

Table 9-4 shows that in relation to Children, there is a significant interaction between Sex and Social Class on Aggression ($p < .04$).

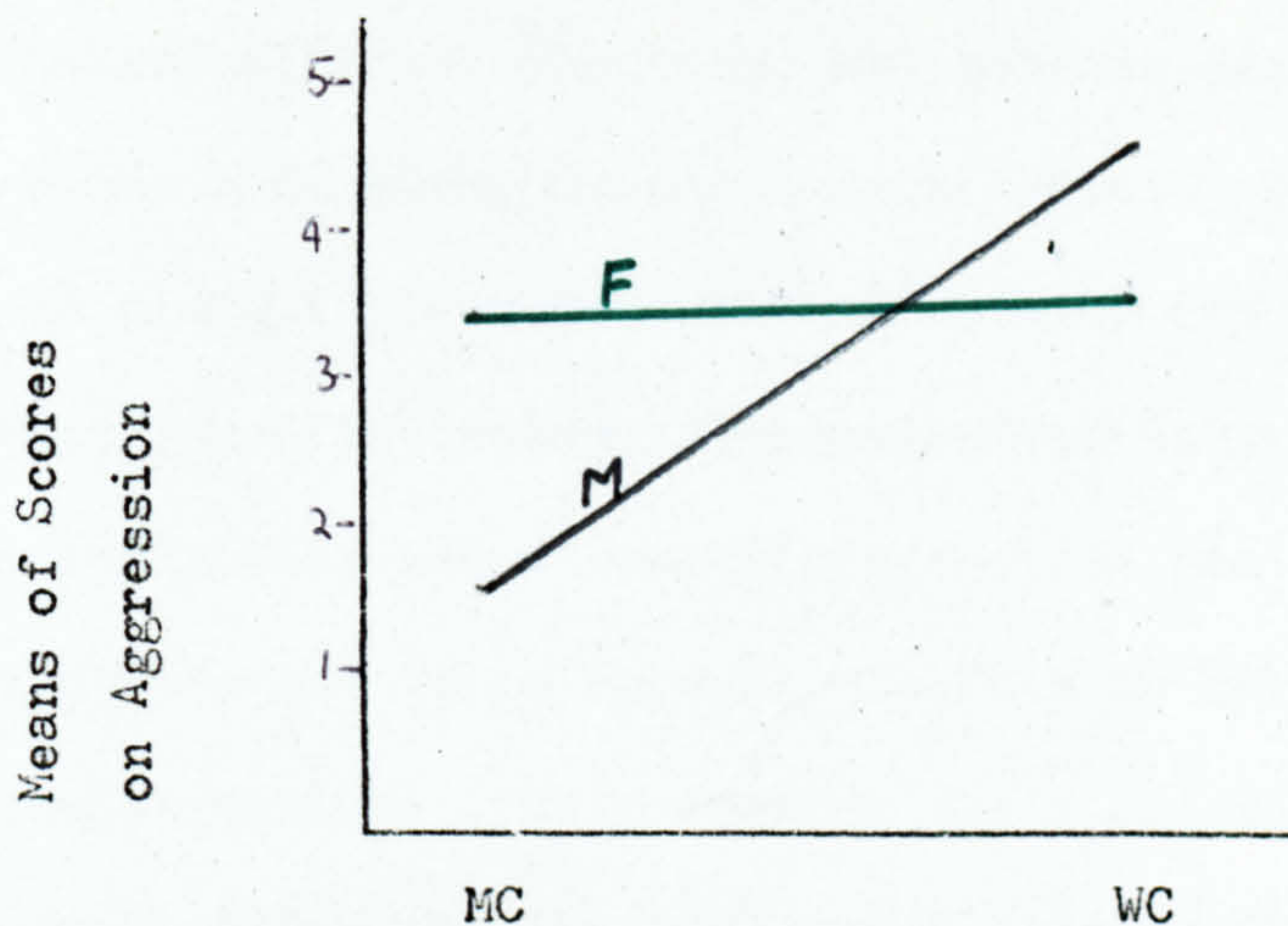
Table 9-4: Significant Interaction Between Sex and Social Class in Relation to Children.

Dimension	Means of				N	F	Probability
	M		F				
	MC	WC	MC	WC			
Aggression	1.6	4.3	3.3	3.4	80	4.34	$< .04$

Aggression

The results in Table 9-4 shows a significant interaction between Sex and Social Class on Aggression in relation to Children, such that working class fathers clearly make more references to it than do fathers in the middle class. They also have higher scores than mothers in the working class, who have similar scores to middle class mothers. Both have slightly higher scores than do middle class fathers ($p < .04$).

Figure 9-8: Significant Interactions Between Sex and Social Class in Relation to Children:



The result is not clear. Rothaus and Worchel ('64) find that men are more aggressive than women to an experimenter, before and after arousal of hostility. Wyer et al ('65) show that men express their anger more directly than women, and Bennet and Cohen ('59) find that men are more overtly aggressive than women. Yet, the present finding indicates that 50% of men make less reference to Aggression than women. It is, then, the interaction between Sex and Social Class that gives this result.

It is suggested that showing aggression towards Children is more common in the working class (see Chapter 5, section on Children), than in the middle class (Newsons '68). As individual members of the working class are unable to express aggression at work against those of higher status in any direct way because of their subordinate roles, they can only do it collectively by going on strike. Short ('64) finds that if members of the working class experience frustrations at work "aggression is seen as legitimate." It is

unlikely to be expressed at work, but it is most likely to be shown towards Children (McKinley '64).

SUMMARY

This chapter is a report on the significant interactions between Sex and Unconscious Sexual Identity, and between Sex and Social Class, in relation to Work, Spouse and Children. In relation to Work there is a significant interaction between Sex and Unconscious Sexual Identity on Affiliation, Aggression and Self-Confidence. Unconscious femininity has a dramatic effect on sex. It is suggested that whereas it is more permissible in our culture for feminine females to show liking towards their colleagues at work, it is less permissible for feminine males to show the same degree of affection towards their colleagues. The high scores on Aggression of masculine females is related to their frustration of not achieving high position at Work. Studies are consistent with the findings that masculine males have highest scores on Self-confidence. In relation to Spouses there is a significant interaction between Sex and Unconscious Sexual Identity on Autonomy and Identification. It is not clear why masculine males make most references to Autonomy with Spouses. It is speculated that unconscious masculinity is related to wanting independence from one's partner, whereas femininity is related to sharing and interdependence. It is unclear why those with a confused sexual identity make more references to Identification. It is suggested that having the unconscious sexual identity of one's partner, enables one to empathise with the person.

In relation to Work, there is a significant interaction between Sex and Social Class on Achievement and Security. On Achievement, the results suggest that social class helps provide the answer; it is middle class males, not just males, who make most references on

this dimension. Men, being the traditional breadwinner make most references to Security; and those in working class families have larger families than those in the middle class and thus have a greater responsibility to keep a job. It is suggested that it is the effect of Social Class on Sex, that results in working class males showing most aggression towards Children.

Future Directions

The most significant general finding of the present study is that social class and type of organisation are independent variables which are central to the origins of personality. They appear to transcend the differences between ethnic groups, and of people of various countries of origin. This is borne out by the findings of the present study which support those of similar studies in America (Kahl, '73; McKinley '64; Miller and Swanson '60) relating to social class. Studies on entrepreneurs and bureaucrats of Italian, Japanese and American origin (McClelland '61; Sutton-Smith '54;) report findings that are similar to those in the present study. It is, indeed, difficult to highlight some results from 53 significant ones, out of a total of 144 results, to illustrate the above general finding. However, there are some results that are worth looking at, in the context of other relevant studies. Findings of studies on social class will be illustrated first and then those on types of organisation.

McKinley ('64) finds that parents tend to be more severe and hostile socialisers at the lower level of society. The present study supports this finding. One could suggest that this finding reflects the differences in power that divide the middle- from the working class. For instance, subjects in the middle class tend to be in positions of control and power, whereas subjects in the working class are controlled to a considerable extent by those of higher status, either by having subordinate roles in common activities, or by not participating in decision making activities. Henry and Short ('64) find that this leads

to a condition that fosters the external expression of aggression. They show that if individuals are subjected to a system of strong external restraint in the form of subordinate status, aggression is seen as legitimate. For it is possible and relatively easy to hold others responsible when frustrations occur. Where subjects in the working class experience frustrations at work, they are unlikely to take it out on their superiors, but are most likely to take it out at home, in relation to Children.

The Newsoms' study ('68) also confirms the data, finding that mothers in the working class are more physically aggressive to their children than mothers in the middle class. The Miller and Swanson ('60) study does not lend itself to comparison with the present study because (a) the dependent variables were different, and (b) the subjects were high school boys. However, their results show, too, that working class subjects make more references to aggression in contrast to middle class subjects. It could be suggested that historically the upsurge of the trade union movement is a consequence of the inability of individual members of the working class to display their frustrations at work.

The second relevant finding is that subjects in the middle class have a greater need for achievement. This may help explain why members of the middle class occupy more jobs with power, than members of the working class, besides the fact that they may have greater opportunities to do so. Moss and Kagan ('61) find that professional and white collar workers in several countries tend to have a higher need for achievement

If they come from families in the middle class than if they come from working class backgrounds. Other investigations concerned with achievement are agreed that among workers in the middle class, the desire for promotion is almost universal. Walker and Dale ('61, '62), take it as being beyond question that the employees in white collar occupations, in contrast to blue collar occupations, thought promotion desirable. Dale adds that, 'advancement tends to be sought not merely for the extra money involved - this is often little enough - but for the prestige it carries, and for the opportunity to display initiative and to exercise authority which it brings'.

The time perspective for individuals with high need for Achievement being longer, may account for their superior ability to delay gratification (Mischel '60). In other words, they think in terms of long range occupational goals, rather than other more immediate gratifications. Occupations in the middle class such as lecturer, solicitor and foreman require more planning ahead than occupations in the working class, like a car deliverer, postman and bricklayer. The former, in contrast with the latter, require a longer period of education before substantial financial rewards begin to be available. Even the pay for such occupations is available only once a month, as compared with weekly pay in occupations in the working class, so that household expenditures need to be budgeted with care.

A third important finding is related to dominance. In her study Rossan ('76) states, 'The behavioural expression of low status is deference.... It is thought that one concomitant of deference might be a hesitancy to exert control of others. People in the working class are likely to be most deferent to people in the middle class. Such contact between people of different social classes is most likely to occur at work and in casual encounters". The present study reveals that members of the middle class have a greater need for dominance than those in the working class. Goldthorpe et al ('69) show that one clearcut difference between members of the middle class and working class lies in the fact that among the latter, serious aspirations for promotion were held by only a small minority, with the most important reason for this being the view that promotion - to supervisory level at least - was simply not worthwhile. The demands and strains of a job, like responsibility and leadership, were felt to outweigh its "pay off" in economic terms. In explaining their pessimism, the men most often referred to their lack of education, training and leadership qualities.

A fourth interesting finding reveals that people in the working class made more references to security than did those in the middle class. Zweig ('61) finds that in times of economic recession it is more likely for manual workers to be made redundant than those involved in administration. He states that those in the middle class are affected as well, but comparatively less. It is usually those in manual labour that are first affected. Goldthorpe et al ('69) and Young and Wilmott ('73) argue that as working class families are larger than middle class families they have more to worry about if their jobs are not permanent. Not only do those in the working class have more children to feed and clothe, but in comparison with subjects in the

middle class, they are less likely to save for future eventualities, such as holidays, children's school, or further education. Even though they may be worried about the future, as their scores on security indicate, they are unlikely to take preventive action like saving.

Another finding shows that members of the working class, in contrast with those in the middle class, make more references to Affiliation to Spouses. This is a significant finding because it is associated with the recent and increasing trend of geographical mobility among those in the working class. Goldthorpe et al ('69) refer to "privatisation", that is, "a process, (in the working class family) manifested in a pattern of social life which is centred on, and indeed largely restricted to the home and conjugal family". They show that men in the working class are now more affluent than before because of increased incomes. However, to earn these increased wages frequently necessitates being physically removed from the centres of the extended kinship networks. This leads to a possibility of social isolation and consequently working class couples are more "privatised" in all indices, such as reporting spare time activities in and around the house, not entertaining associates, and reporting no more than two regular spare-time companions.

With reference to the independent variable of organisation, Miller and Swanson ('60) felt that the self-employed and those whose incomes depended in greater part on the fortunes of their businesses were more likely to be taking the risks typical of an entrepreneur. Three dimensions come to mind when discussing entrepreneurs vs bureaucrats. They are Autonomy, Responsibility and Security. Thus it is fruitful to highlight these results.

Entrepreneurs have significantly higher scores than bureaucrats on Autonomy. This result is consistent with the finding that entrepreneurial organisations, by their very nature attract people who show a willingness to value independence and make decisions alone (McClelland '61). Most bureaucrats do not even volunteer any material that expresses autonomy at work. This may be because they do not have many opportunities to behave autonomously so they are unconcerned about it (Goldthorpe et al '69). It is also possible that issues relating to independence and making decisions alone do not concern them enough for them to talk about it, probably due to years of working within prescribed limits. Dimock ('59) reports that in his interviews, many criticisms of bureaucracy centred on its tendency to create security-mindedness and to decrease autonomy.

Entrepreneurs also make more references to Responsibility than bureaucrats. This finding is probably related to the fact that in an entrepreneurial organisation there are no more than two levels of supervision (Miller and Swanson '60). Hence those employed in the organisation are more intimately involved in the running of the firm than bureaucrats. Their behaviour, whether making decisions or carrying them out, would directly affect the firm. Further, those who are self-employed might feel a moral responsibility to carry out their tasks in a satisfactory manner, because they are not supervised. McClelland ('61) also agrees that "the entrepreneurial role has generally been assumed to imply individual responsibility. In fact, some people would define an entrepreneur as he who is ultimately responsible for making a decision". As Sutton ('54) puts it, "The key definitions for the entrepreneur seem to centre around the concept of responsibility. Responsibility implies individualism. It is not tolerable unless it embraces both credit for success and blame for failure, and leaves the individual free to claim or accept the consequences, whatever they may be."

Another important finding is that bureaucrats make more references to Security than entrepreneurs. The latter are those who take risks either by investing all their capital and assets into the job. Or, if they make decisions at work, they themselves stand to gain or lose by the consequences. In contrast, the majority of bureaucrats do not normally affect the fortunes of their organisations when they make decisions and are thus more likely to keep their jobs (Sutton '54).

The present economic recession is a factor related to security. Small shopkeepers are being edged out of business partly by large firms like supermarkets and partly by increased taxation. It is a more risky and less secure venture to be an entrepreneur than a bureaucrat. Thus, those wanting security at work are attracted to bureaucratic organisations. The finding on Security is consistent with Sutton's ('54) observation that a great part of the efforts of entrepreneurs is directed towards minimising uncertainties. McClelland ('61) agrees that entrepreneurship involves taking risks of some kind, and states that the entrepreneurial role appears to call for decision-making under uncertainty.

Highlighting some specific findings reveals a short sketch of members of different classes and organisations. In brief then, members of the middle class in contrast to those of the working class have a greater need for Achievement and Dominance, and a lesser need for Affiliation, Aggression and Security. Entrepreneurs, in contrast to bureaucrats, have a greater need for Autonomy and Responsibility, and a lesser need for Security. One could speculate, then, that both social class and type of organisation have a greater impact than country of origin, and that they set limits upon one's style of life.

Although the results of sex differences in the present study are unremarkable, they are worth mentioning, very briefly, in relation to Bem's ('75) study on androgyny. Sandra Bem qualified a personality characteristic as masculine if it was independently judged by both males and females to be significantly more desirable for a man than a woman ($p < .05$). The masculine characteristics were leadership, aggressive, ambitious, dominant, forceful, independent, and self-reliant. These results are consistent with the present findings.

Similarly, a personality characteristic qualified as feminine is it was independently judged by both males and females to be significantly more desirable for a woman than a man ($p < .05$). The feminine characteristics were affectionate, sensitive to the needs of others, sympathetic, and understanding. These results, too, are entirely consistent with the present findings.

It would be interesting to discover how representative the present sample of subjects is. For instance, how similar would the results be if couples in the North of England were interviewed?

Also, how would the results differ if Jewish or Catholic families were interviewed? It could also be interesting to carry out a cross-cultural study to compare the behaviour of other couples with those in the present research.

Different methods of recruiting subjects could also be considered. For example, there are some doctors who are sympathetic towards research, and a procedure could be set up, in which they refer suitable people to a research worker in a room in the GP's clinic. It could then be up to the research worker to enlist the help of the couples.

Further, only couples who both work in either entrepreneurial or bureaucratic organisations could be enlisted. However, this suggestion could prove impractical, considering the evidence that the majority of working wives have jobs in bureaucratic organisations.

Additional data could also be gained about the different ways parents behave towards different children in the families. In the present study, interaction at home is divided into Spouses and Children. There is no reason why Children could not be divided, say, by sex or age or position in the family. It could be shown that boys are treated very differently from girls, and that adolescents are treated differently from young children.

In comparison to the present study, another study could be designed in which spouses could be questioned about how their partners actually behaved at home. One would have to bear in mind that their responses may not be totally objective either. However, one could then compare these responses to those given by their partners, on how the latter actually see themselves behaving. Or, detailed observations could be made with the help of a portable videotape on how people behave at work and with their Spouses and Children.

There could also be a further demarcation between members of an organisation, whether entrepreneurial or bureaucratic. For example, self-employed farmers take more risks, are more autonomous and have higher status than their labourers, although they all belong to an entrepreneurial organisation. Or, some bureaucrats such as directors of firms and headmasters have more freedom, decision-making and responsibility in their jobs than clerks. They may, in fact, behave more like entrepreneurs than bureaucrats.

A longitudinal study could be designed, in which one could be more certain than at present that it is the organisation that influences the way people behave. People could be interviewed just before they start work in their late teens or twenties.

A follow-up interview after five or ten years could reveal whether, all other variables remaining the same, employment in a particular organisation has changed the behaviour of the subject. Until a study of this kind is carried out one could not be certain that it is the organisation and not, say, patterns of child-rearing

that influences behaviour towards colleagues at Work, Spouses and Children.

If, however, further research supports the finding of the present study that interaction with colleagues at Work, Spouses and Children is related to organisation, then some implications can be drawn from the results. The type of organisations in which they work could be considered when analysing patients in psychotherapy, who, for instance, complain that their earlier wishes for autonomy, decision making and responsibility have disappeared. It may be useful to know that although their parents are entrepreneurs, they themselves work in bureaucratic organisations.

Also, with increasing bureaucratisation of industry, western society may be turning out people who do not want autonomy, cannot cope with insecurities nor take on responsibilities.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

53 out of 144 results are significant. Chapter 4: In relation to work, husbands have higher scores than wives on Achievement, Dominance and Security. With Spouses, the former have higher scores than the latter on Responsibility and lower scores on Autonomy and Nurturance. With children, mother have higher scores than fathers on Nurturance, Identification and Self-Confidence.

Chapter 5: In relation to work, subjects in the middle class make more references to Achievement, Autonomy, Dominance, Identification and Self-Confidence, and less references to Security than those in the working class. With Spouse, subjects in the middle class, in contrast to those in the working class, make less references to Affiliation and Dominance and more to Sharing. The latter make more references than the former to Aggression towards Children.

Chapter 6: In relation to work, entrepreneurs have higher scores than bureaucrats on Autonomy, Dominance, Responsibility and Self-Confidence, and lower scores on Affiliation and Security. With Spouses, entrepreneurs make more references than bureaucrats to Autonomy, and less references to Nurturance and Succourance. In relation to Children, the former, in contrast to the latter, make more reference on Achievement.

Chapter 7: At work, subjects who come within the masculine range, make more references to Dominance and less references to Nurturance, than subjects who come within the feminine range. With Spouses,

subjects who come within the feminine range make more references than those who come within the masculine range on Self-Confidence, Sharing and Succourance. With Children, the former make more references to Affiliation and less references to Aggression than the latter.

Chapter 8: In relation to work, there is a significant interaction between Social Class and Organisation on Aggression, Autonomy and Self-Confidence. With Spouses, there is a significant interaction between Social Class and Organisation on Aggression, Dominance and Sharing; and with Children there is a significant interaction on Aggression, Nurturance and Self-Confidence.

Chapter 9: In relation to work, there is a significant interaction between Sex and Unconscious Sexual Identity on Affiliation, Aggression and Self-Confidence. In relation to Spouses there is a significant interaction between Sex and Unconscious Sexual Identity on Autonomy and Identification. In relation to work, there is a significant interaction between Sex and Social Class on Achievement and Security. In relation to Children, there is a significant interaction between Sex and Social Class on Aggression.

SEMI-STRUCTURED IDENTITY
QUESTIONNAIRE CODING PLAN

In the 12 dimensions analysed in the next few pages are the dependent variables used to express an individual's identity, or subjective character. The coding includes both needs and action (behaviour), as both are taken to indicate the individual's expression of his underlying character structure. (There is a separate code for expressed values).

The list has been modified from Murray's original list of needs (Explorations in Personality, '38). Each dimension is described more fully following the dimension's name. Col. 1 gives examples taken directly from the respondents' protocols.

Each dimension has been scored from +3 (very strong, very intense, very critical) to -3 (going out of one's way to avoid, very intense in the opposite direction). The way in which the statement is scored appears in Col. 2. Each meaning phrase has been coded, providing it met the above criteria. Therefore, a sentence, if it contained more than one meaning phrase, was coded for each meaning.

In addition, the object of the behaviour/need is noted. (In Freudian terms, the "object-cathexis"; in grammatical terms, the "direct object" or "indirect object".) Thus, Col. 3 lists the people towards whom respondents direct needs and behaviour. The roles listed in this column are not related directly to the quotations in Col. 2, but are, rather, those role objects which

have appeared in all of the protocols.

Different types of quantitative, as well as qualitative, analyses will be made of this data: (1) Total for each dimension IGNORING SIGNS, thus obtaining a "salience" score; (2) Subtotal for each dimension as directed towards a particular person or group of persons. In addition, interrelationships and patterns among dimensions will be noted.

DIMENSION I: ACHIEVEMENT (To overcome obstacles, to exercise power, to strive to do something difficult as well as and as quickly as possible).

I'm a great believer in praising any attempts to achieve something, if it's only combing hair neatly ... in this sense, I reward a great deal with comment	+3	Self Spouse Children
When you've done something good you feel marvellous. The end product is worth all the grind.	+2	
If they've achieved something, I will tell them how super they are.	+1	
I don't think they'll (Children) go to a higher school. It's a way of filling a childs' time.	-1	
I have no desire to make for the top - it has its problems - you have to go higher still or fall. I go slowly and work for what I get	-2	
Everything (that one might want) has advantages and disadvantages. It would be nice to have a house out in the country. But that would bring its own wants, for example, a job to go with it.	-3	

DIMENSION 2: AFFILIATION (To form friendships and associations, To greet, join and live with others. To co-operate and converse sociably with others. To love. To join groups).

To know that my husband and I will have a long, well, safe, happy life together. I fear one of us dying, constantly afraid. One's been so happy and lucky. I get into a terrible flap if he's late. +3

We're going to Majorca with friends for our holiday this year. We usually go with other people. +2

I've made many quite close acquaintances but they stop at the level of acquaintances; never good friends. +1 Spouse children friends, relations, workmates unspecified

(What do you do with your wife?) Something catches my attention (on TV) and I look. She often accuses me of not talking to her. Often (I talk) little. -1 or generalised

(I'd like a semi-detached house because)-you can ignore your neighbours. If you leave them alone, they'll leave you alone. -2

We (spouse) really do nothing together. We each do what we want. One doesn't impose conditions on the other in this house --- we go our separate ways. -3

DIMENSION 3: AGGRESSION (To assault or injure an object. To murder. To belittle, harm, blame, accuse or maliciously ridicule a person. To punish severely. Sadism.

I usually end up having a row ... I lose +3

complete control and don't know what I'm doing. I pushed a whole teatable over on J.

We just aren't one of those "Darby & Joan" +2

amicable couples who get along without a cross word.

I gave way somewhat grudgingly. +1

We usually try to compromise. -1

I don't as a rule let off steam, I swallow it. I just let it go and do nothing. -2

In all our years of marriage, we've never had a cross word or argument. -3

DIMENSION 4: AUTONOMY (To resist influence or coercion. To defy authority or seek freedom in a new place. To strive for independence).

(If I were away) the business would go to pot; +3

I've got uncles in the trade, but they wouldn't buy like I do. I suppose the wife would close the shop.

You could do the things you wanted to do in the way you believed they could best be done. +2

I find it restricting and therefore I get bored. +1
I admire his pluck. -1
If I can pass the buck, I will -2
Eventually I agreed that he should get what -3
he wanted. It's a man's world, isn't it?

DIMENSION 5: DOMINANCE (To influence or control others. To persuade, prohibit, dictate. To lead and direct. To restrain. To organise the behaviour of a group.)

I would prefer to be president because I could +3
control things. I would enjoy doing that. I
have been president of

I don't always get my own way, but I usually +2
do.

I'll hint I'd like a sweater and then my wife +1
will knit one for my birthday.

My husband suggests our trips to the sea; he's -1
the one that pays.

He gives me an allowance. If he refuses, that's -2
it. But with domestic things, he relies very
much on me.

I would only be an ordinary member (in a club). -3

I don't want to lead the others. I don't like
authority.

DIMENSION 6: IDENTIFICATION (Empathy, an involuntary process whereby an observer experiences the feelings or emotions which in his personality are associated (1) with the situation in which he is place, or (2) with the forms of behaviour that the subject exhibits).

(About my daughters it's) very worrying. I +3

would hate the thought of her living in an institution.

A close friend has just been struck with cancer. +2

We heard today, and we were both very shaken.

I am sympathetic and understanding of other +1
people.

The wife thinks I ought to give her extra money. -1

Can't see why she needs it:

A friend asked for comfort. I'm used to these -2
people and their crises. I think, oh no, not
again; they're all nutty!

I don't know what she feels (Talking about -3
spouse).

DIMENSION 7: NURTURANCE (To nourish, aid or protect a helpless object. To express sympathy. To 'mother' a child.)

If I had to leave the children with strangers, I +3
would be desperately worried and very unhappy
about it The quicker I'm out of hospital,
the happier I'd be.

If she (spouse) became ill, I'd be quite happy +2
to look after her and do my best to make her
life as full as possible.

I worry whether the food I cook is being +1
enjoyed by the children.

If I give them 6p (children), it's a big -1
thing.

I don't have the patience to teach. I mix -2
him up or tell him to go away.

I've never given help to anyone. It depends -3
on what they want you to do. I don't have
lots of time to mind other people's business ..
I don't like to get involved.

DIMENSION 8: RESPONSIBILITY (Sense of duty. Involvement. Does
because "one must".

I worry about the things I'm responsible for. +3
For example, the cooking demonstration next
week. For the unmarried mothers. To raise funds.

Eventually, I'll get to the stage where I'm going to be a little higher in the hierarchy and then my headaches will be considerable.	+2	
I like taking part (i.e. working)(in clubs) if possible.	+1	
I rush into things (i.e. doesn't sort them out carefully beforehand).	-1	Spouse children family in general relations at work generalised
I wouldn't like to be secretary or treasurer.	-2	
I don't have that sort of social conscience or duty: work with no reward.		
I thought kids were what each marriage needed, but they're a dread tie.	-3	

DIMENSION 9: SECURITY (Status quo, no change, fear of risks.
Search for sameness. Steadiness).

I don't worry about money, for being a public servant, I know things would be looked after, that I'd be on full pay (if) I was on the sick list.	+3	
I want to get a place independent from any job and know that my family would be secure no matter what job I had or how many jobs I had.	+2	
I've never had a flat of my own. I'd like a place of my own -- you'd be that much more secure.	+1	
If I had £40,000 I'd invest it in blue chip stuff mostly and $\frac{1}{4}$ in riskier stuff.	-1	

(I'd like to do) free flying --- parachuting. -2

I'd like it for the excitement and danger.

It (meeting new people) continually happens on -1

new jobs. I have to prove who I am and what I

can do. I enjoy being thrust into someone I

don't know and getting to know them.

DIMENSION 10: SELF-CONFIDENCE (High self esteem. Valuation.
Feeling bad or good).

There's certainly no-one else capable of doing +3

my job, let alone doing it as well as I.

Can't think of (having made) any (mistakes). +2

Whatever I tell them, I always believe I'm

right.

It doesn't worry me at all (not knowing people +1

in new surroundings). I'm quite satisfied. I

can come back with an answer if somebody's

joking, etc.

I'd always be guilty about spending any money. -1

Most women feel guilty about spending their

husband's money.

I've nothing to talk about (with others). I'm -2

only a domestic. There's nothing I really

know about.

(When I'm with people I don't know) I go all -3

dumb and can't mix. I don't know what so

say to people.

DIMENSION 11: SHARING (Mutual trust, interdependence. Joint discussions, decisions.)

The good thing about being married is you have somebody to share your life and problems .. the companionship.	+3	
We do everything (together). We decorate, garden, talk over P's education.	+2	
We trust each other.	+1	Spouse
I get on best with my elder brother. If I go round his place, I don't get his troubles and I don't tell him mine and this is good.	-1	friends relations others
I never had much in common with my father. I don't know if I would have liked him to (do things with me). I didn't miss it or worry about it.	-2	
G (spouse) and I aren't interested in the things. The other girl (whom he could have married but didn't) and I had more in common.	-3	

DIMENSION 12: Succourance (Needing or asking for help).

I needed her to point out their good points to me.. She's helped me ... She gave me ... without her. I wouldn't have been stimulated to do this.	+3	
I always talk to Doreen (when I have worries).	+2	

13. What kinds of things do you do with your spouse in the home? Outside the home? Who usually initiates it? What kinds of things do you do with your children in the home? Outside the home? Who usually initiates it?

14. At work one sometimes needs to ask the help of others. Has this happened to you? How do you feel about it? Has anyone asked you for help? How did you react?

14. In connection with family and home... (for housewife)

15. What kind of a spouse do you most admire? What traits or qualities should they have? How similar or different are you? What kind of a mother/father do you most admire? etc..

16. All marriages require adjustments, changes and making compromises. For example, most of us have some very different ideas about marriage than what we believed before we got married. Have any major changes like this occurred in your marriage? How did it come about? What were your feelings while this change was taking place? How do you feel about it now? What do you see as some of the good things about your marriage?

17. I'd like to ask you some questions about your relationship with your Husband/wife that we haven't talked about yet. It is not really possible to understand any marital relationship without learning about the sexual areas. I have a few questions about sex that most people find easy to answer. Of course, if you have any reservations about answering them I will understand.

a) Have you or your spouse told your child anything about sex? If you haven't told your children anything, have you thought about what you or your spouse will tell them. What would be left up to you?

b) How often do you have sexual relations? Would you like to have them more often, less often or is this just about right. How do you think your spouse feels about this? Who usually initiates it (lets the other person know first). Do you ever talk about sex or physical problems with your spouse? What do you discuss?

18. If you could choose any job that you wanted, what would you choose, on the sole basis of its interest to you? Imagine you have the necessary skills. Why? What kind of traits or qualities should one have? How similar or different are you?

19. What do you think your life will be like 10 years from now? Do you look forward to it? Why or why not?

20. Could you tell me of a time when someone at work did something to you personally that you saw as very unfair? How did you feel? What did you do? Are you able to express yourself in a situation like this?

20. In connection with family and home eg tradesman, daily help, storekeeper? FOR HOUSEWIFE.

IDENTITY QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Suppose you had to go to hospital for some months. What would happen to your family? How would they cope? How would you feel about it?

2. Families have some way of deciding how much money to spend on their needs. How does your family decide on this? How does the topic come up? What things are left up to you? To your spouse? Do you like this arrangement?

3. Occasionally you want one thing and your spouse wants another. Can you tell me of a time when this happened to you? How was it finally settled? How did you feel during it? How do you feel about the way you handled this problem together?

4. All children do things you like or dislike. What do you do about it? How do you react? What kinds of rewards and punishments do you use? ...and for what?

5. Almost everybody has trouble with their homework or in school sometimes. Can you remember the last time your child had trouble? With what? What did you do?

6. What work do you do? Can you explain that? Who else is involved? How much say does he have? How do you react to that? How much freedom do you have? Who do you have to report to? Can he change your procedure? How seriously can you affect the firm by correct decisions or mistakes? Almost everyone has their work reviewed by someone else. What is the longest task you have before it is reviewed by someone else? How long is this task?

7. What are the good things about your work? Why? What are the bad things about your work? Why? Can you change anything?

8. Sometimes a child gets upset about things parents cannot see as very important? Would you tell me of a time when something like this happened to your child? How did the child react? What did you do?

9. All parents make mistakes with their children, some little and some big. Can you think of a mistake that you have made in recent years? What did you do? Why? What did the child do? What would you do in the same circumstances today, knowing what you know now?

10. Who do you meet during the work-day? Are they connected with your work? When do you see them? For what purposes? Do you meet them outside work?

11. In connection with work, to what extent do you tell people what to do? To what extent are you told what to do? Is this arrangement satisfactory? Why?

12. Can you briefly describe to me how you happened to decide on the furnishings for this house/flat? Who made the decisions as to what to buy? Who went shopping for them? Do you like this arrangement? Why or why not?

I don't mind being pampered by my wife --- coming home and putting my feet up.	+1	Spouse friends relations professional
J doesn't think I should worry about him, so I can't talk to him so easily.	-1	helpers others
I don't like to impose on my mother-in-law	-2	
I can't talk to him; to him they seem like silly things you shouldn't worry about.	-1	



FRANCK DRAWING COMPLETION TEST

by Kate Franck, A.B., M.A.
(University of California)

Name..... Age.....

Date..... Sex.....

Place.....

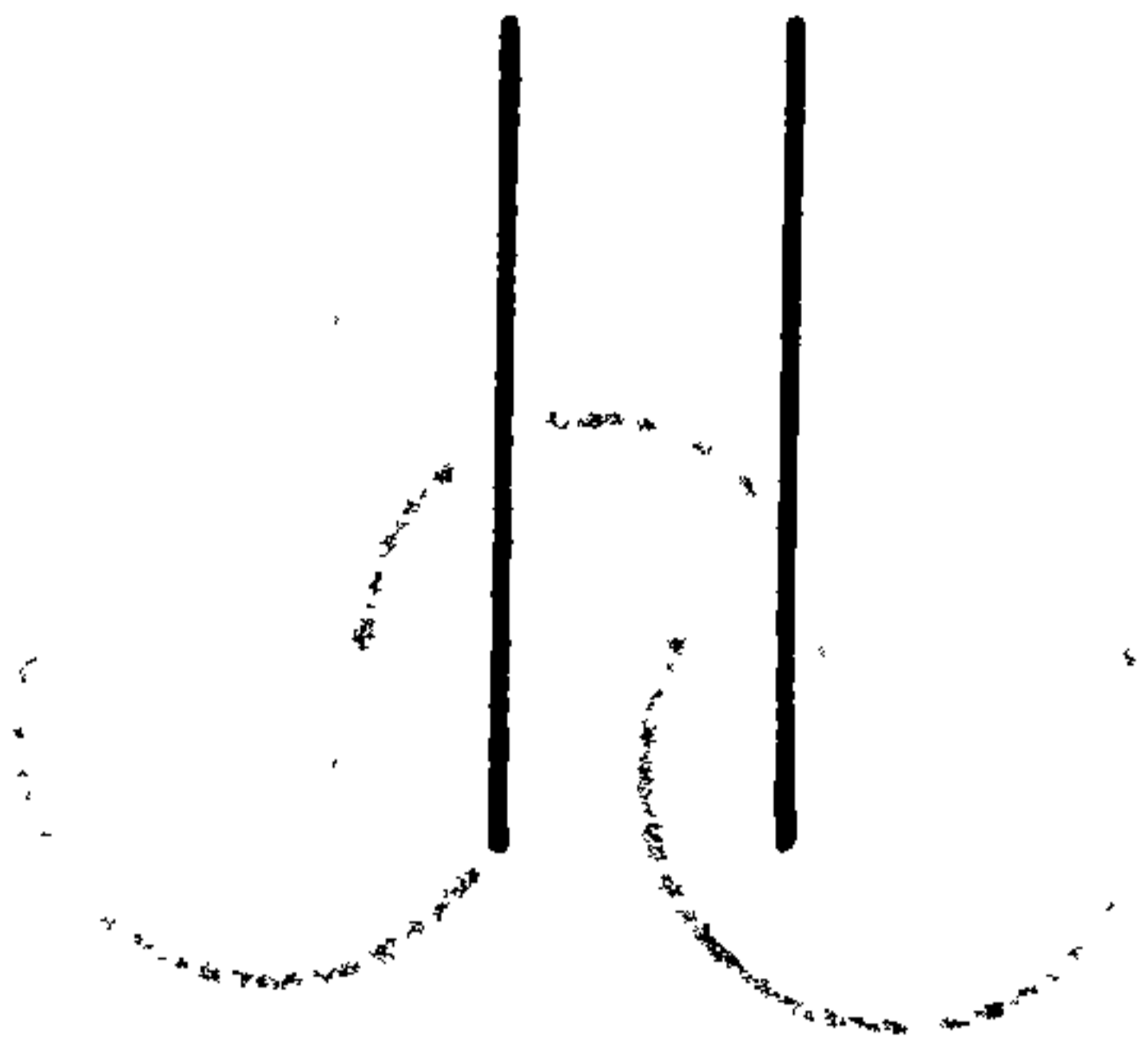
In the following pages you will find a number of incomplete drawings; please complete them. Do it any way you like; use as many lines as you wish; do it the way it seems most fun. There is no right or wrong way of doing this.

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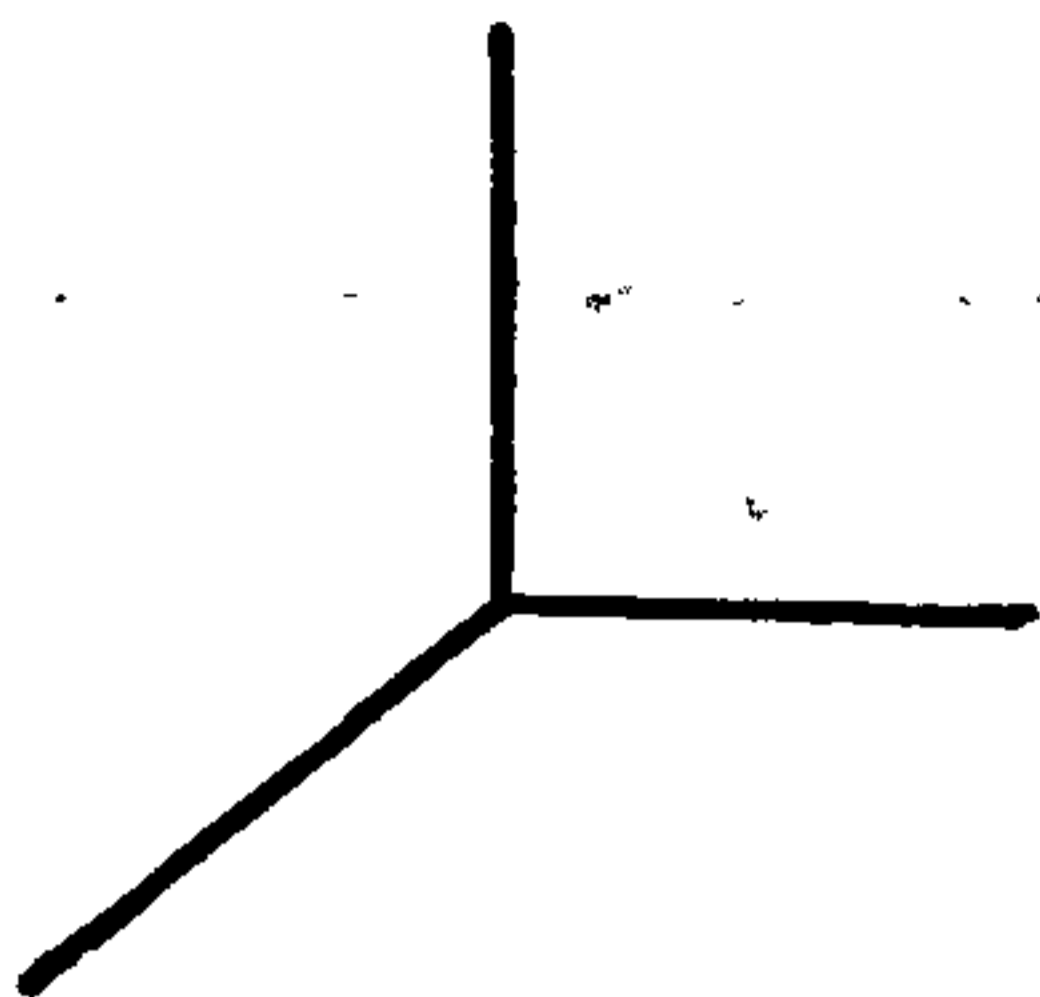
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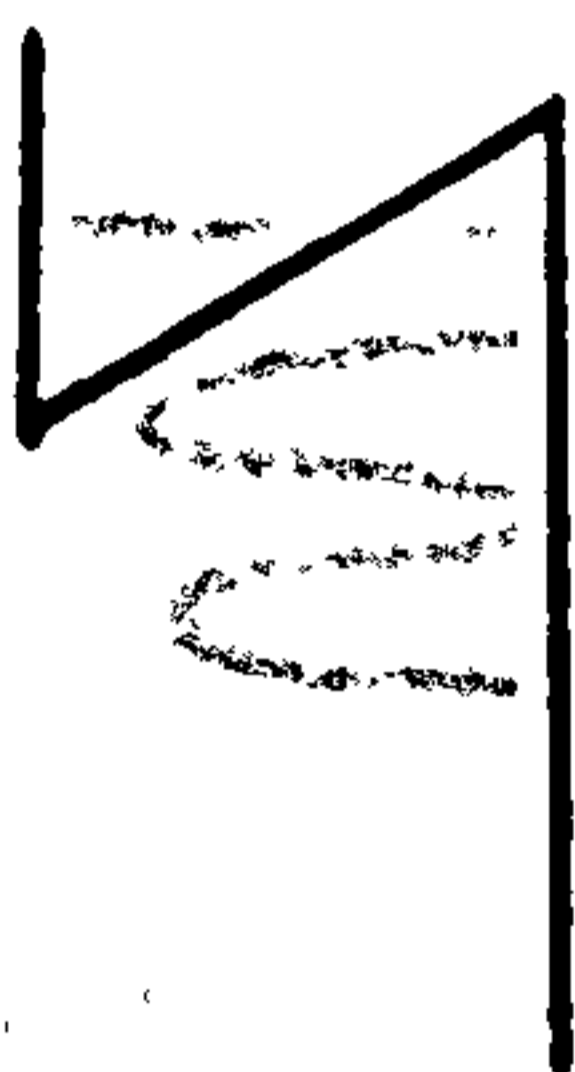
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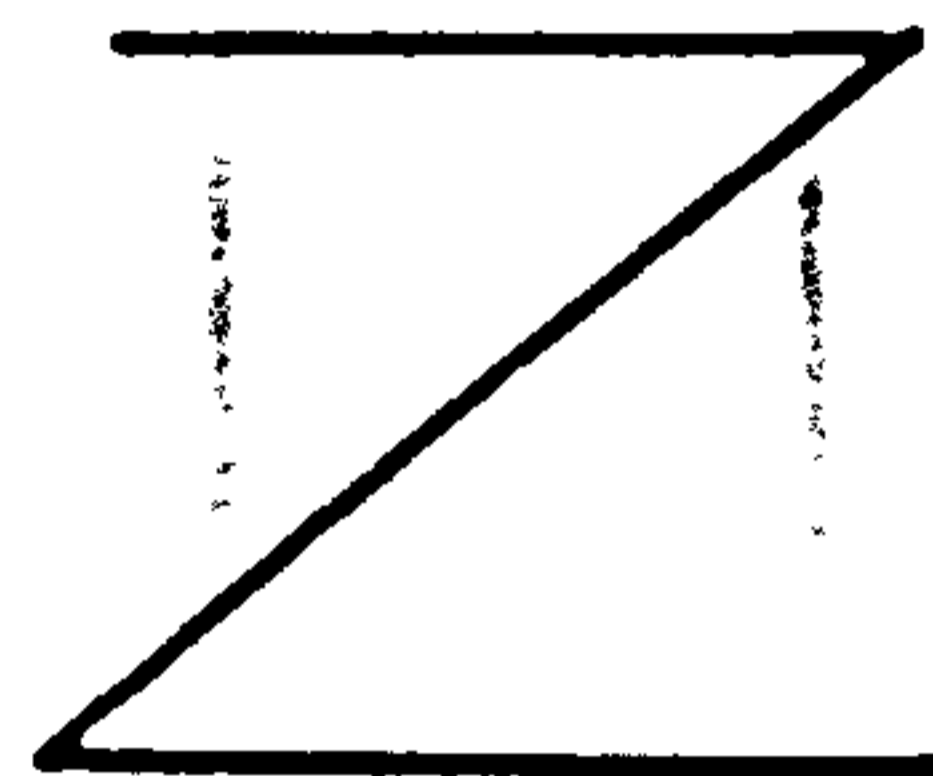
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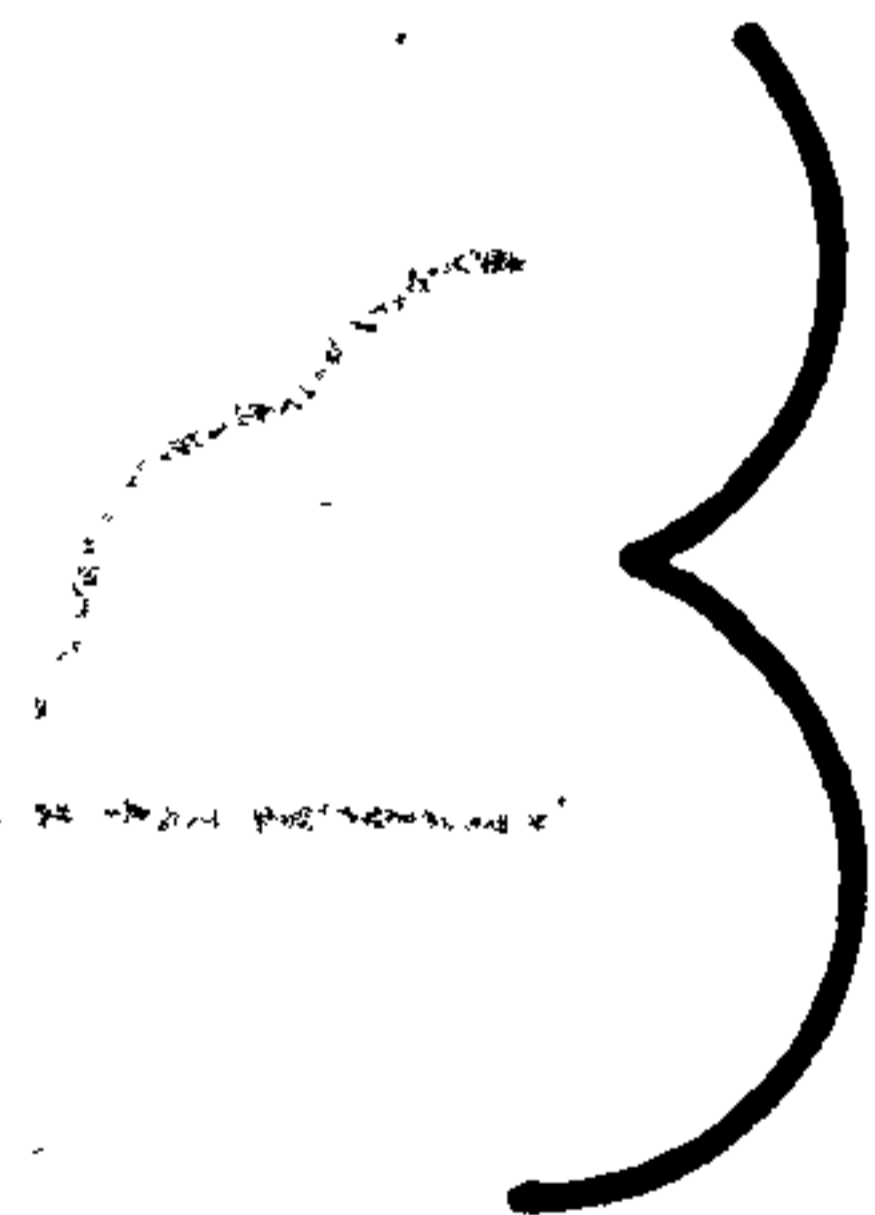
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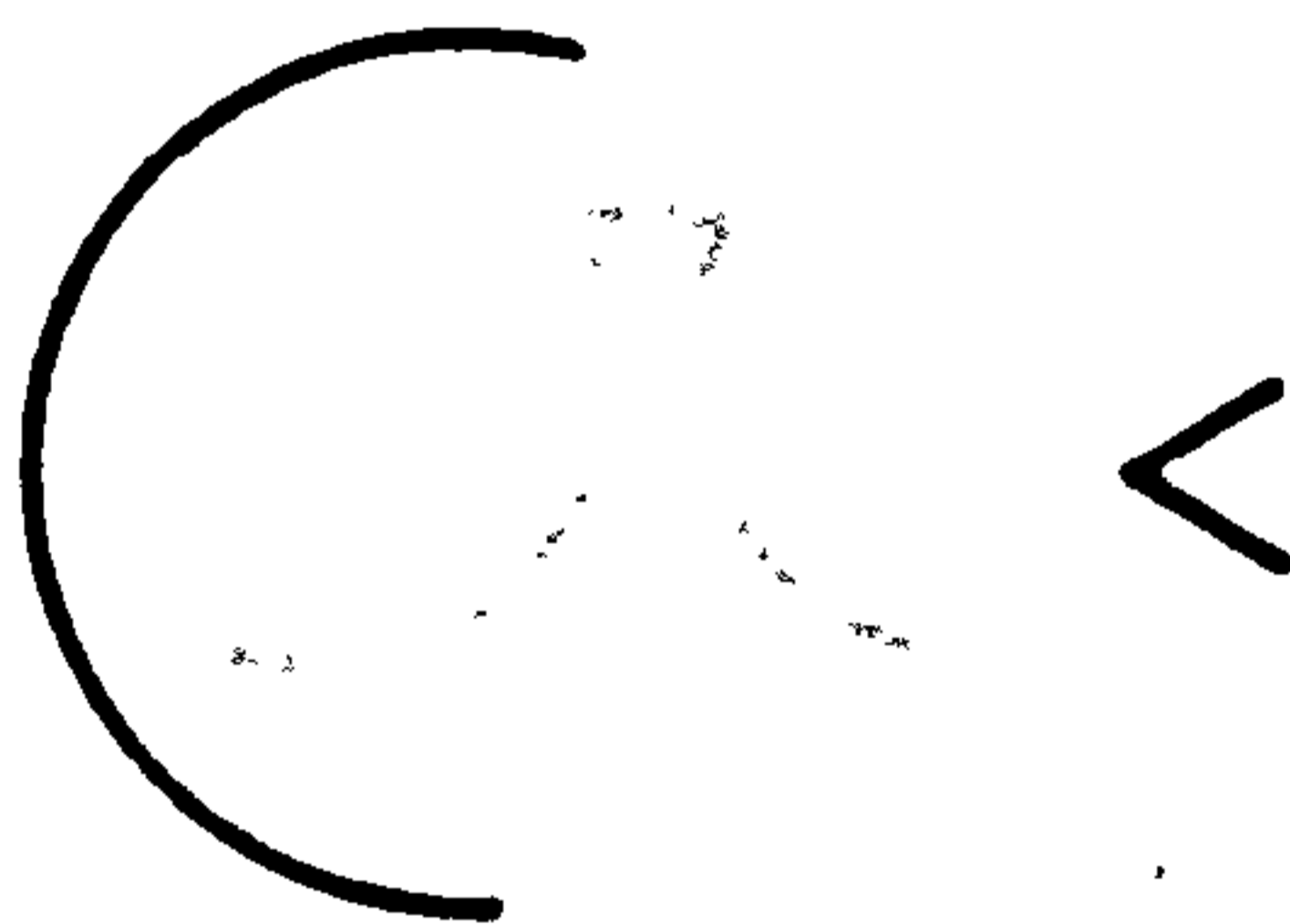
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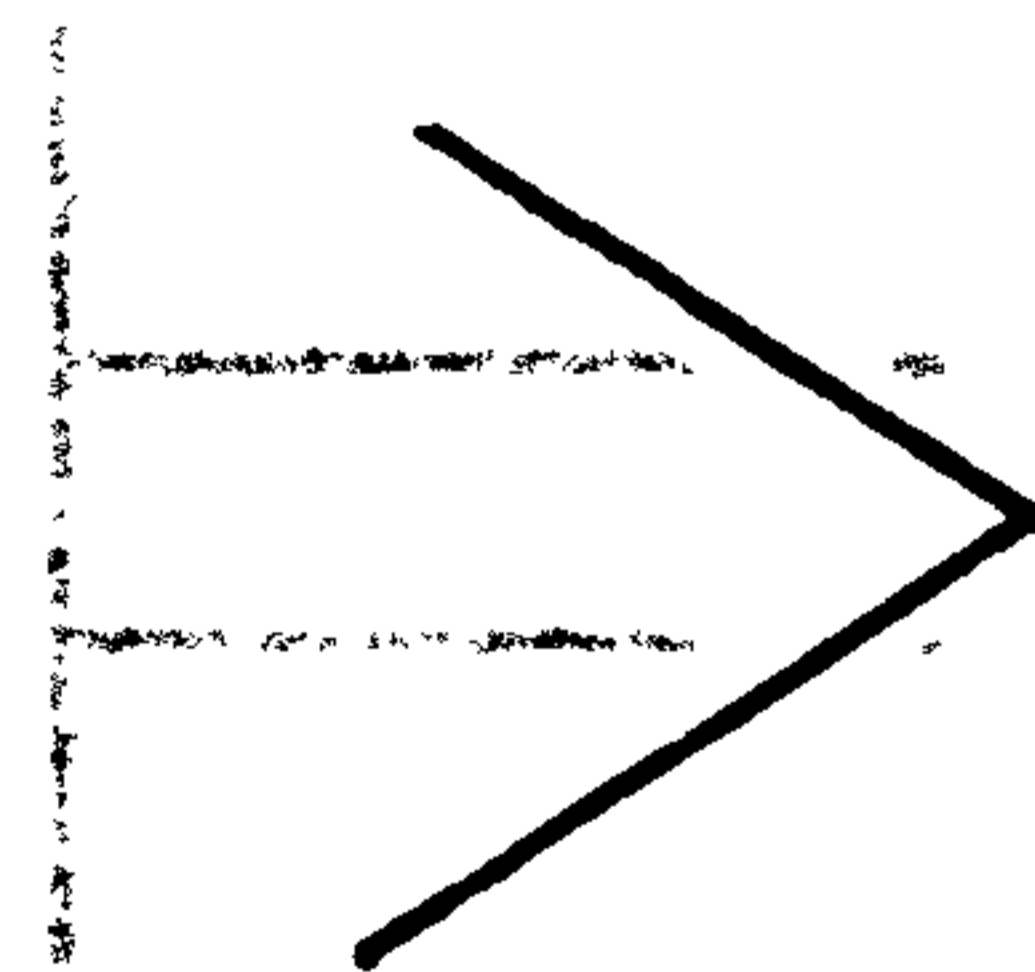
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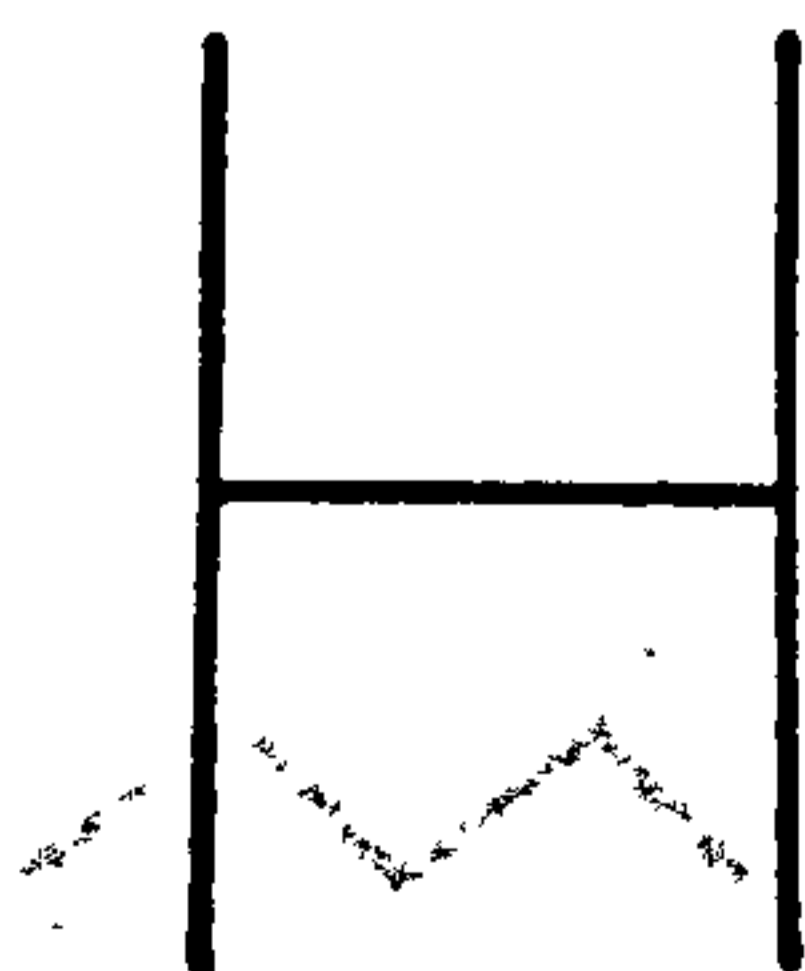
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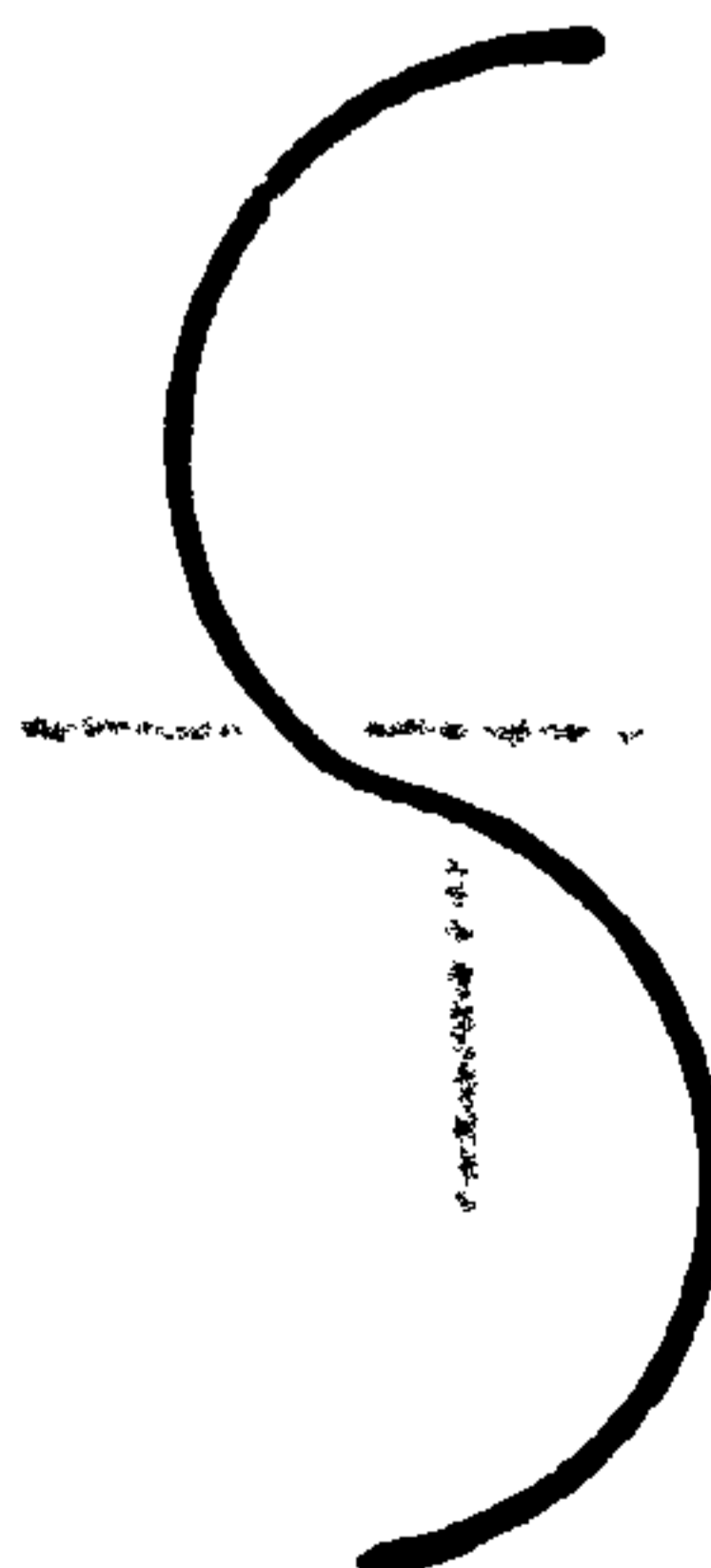
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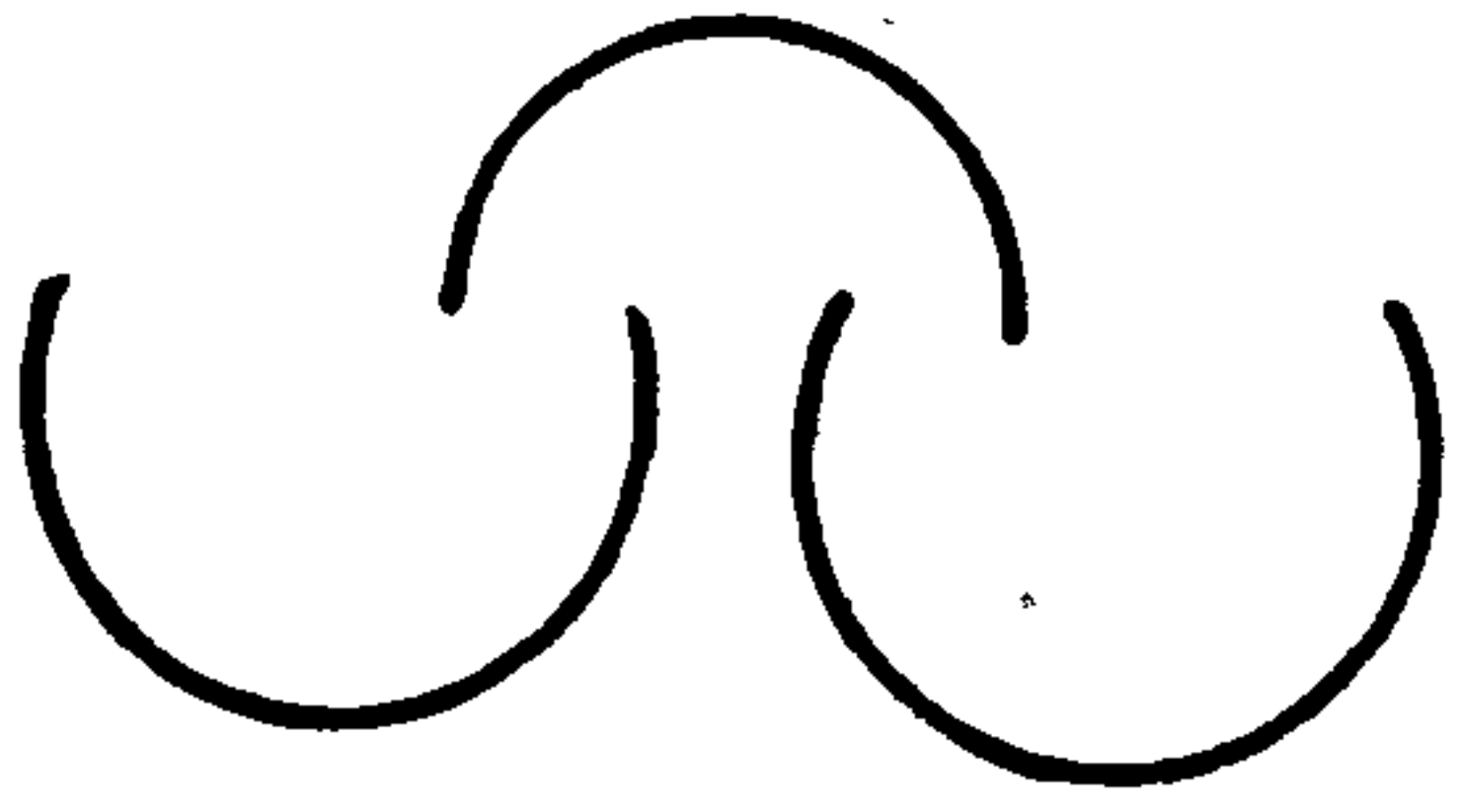


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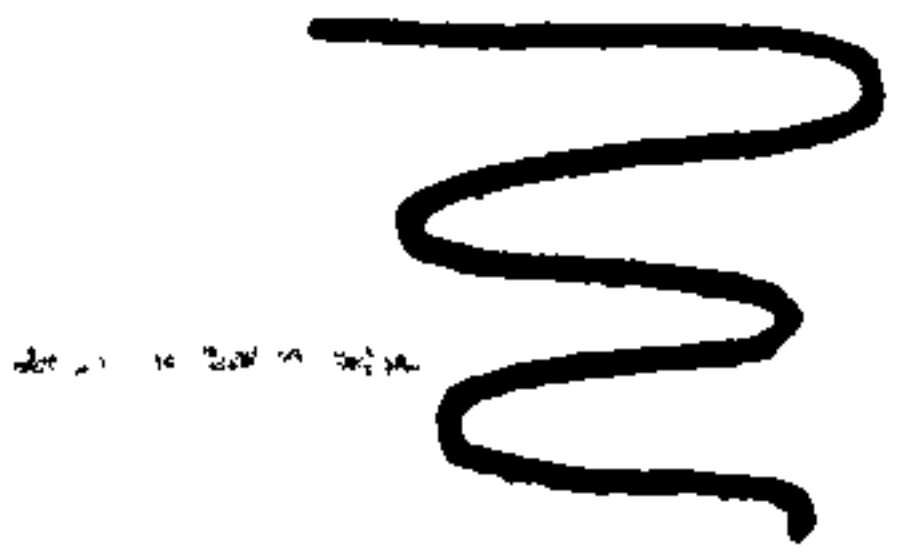
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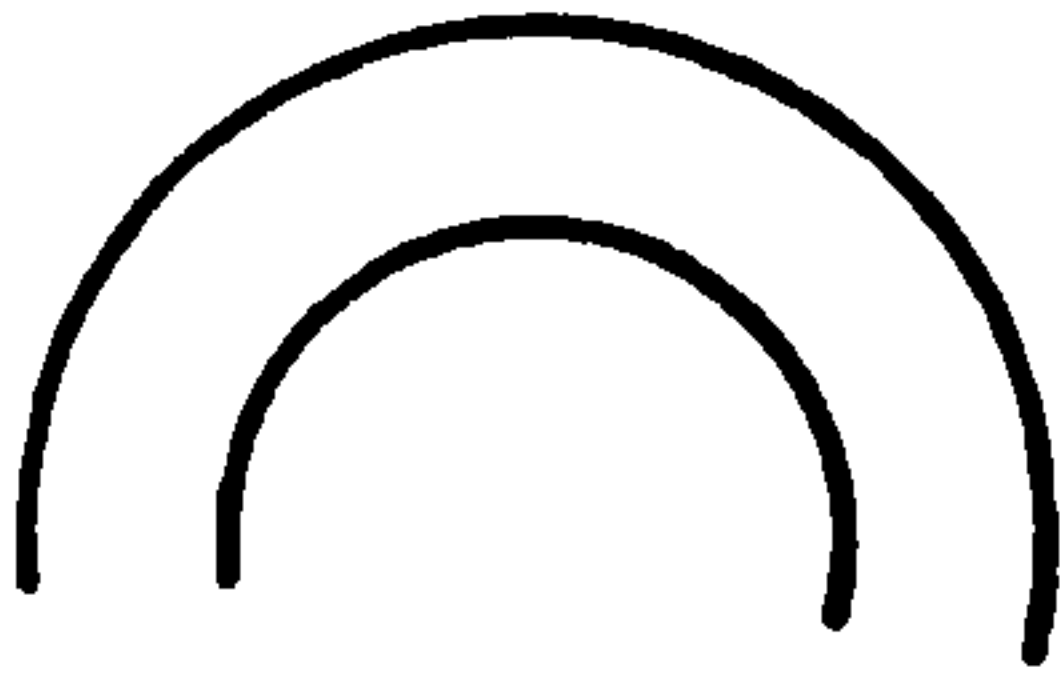
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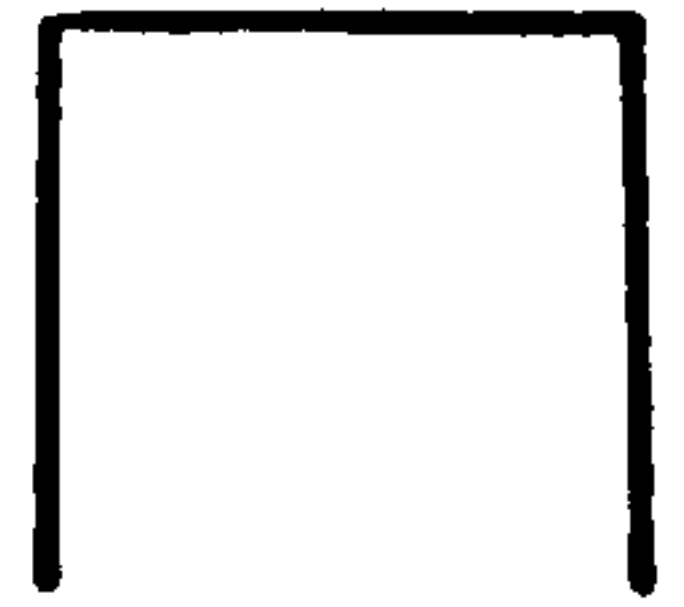
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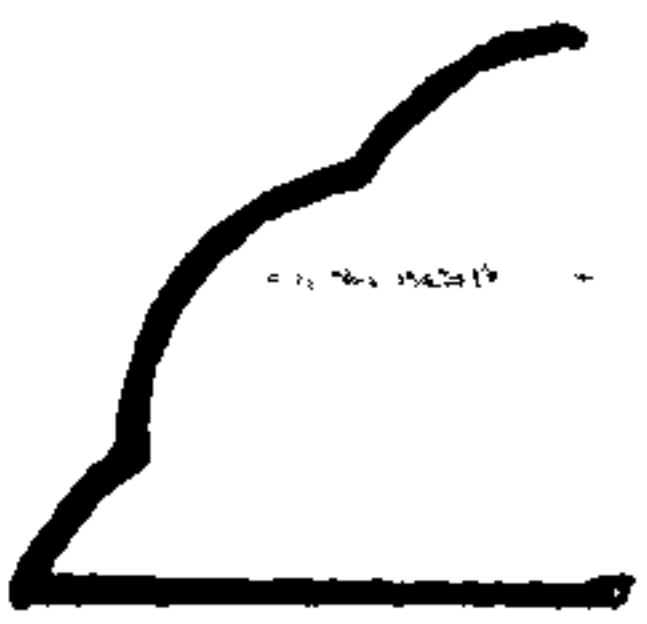
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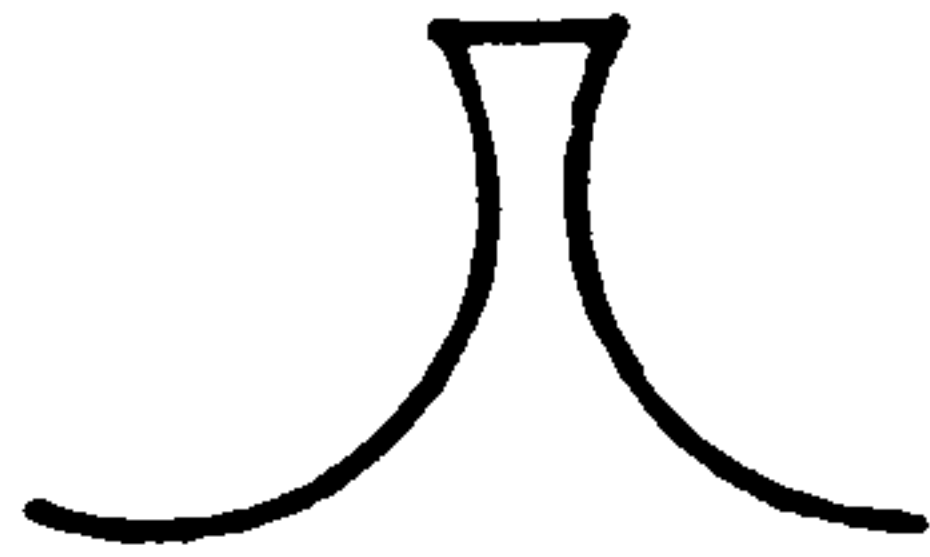
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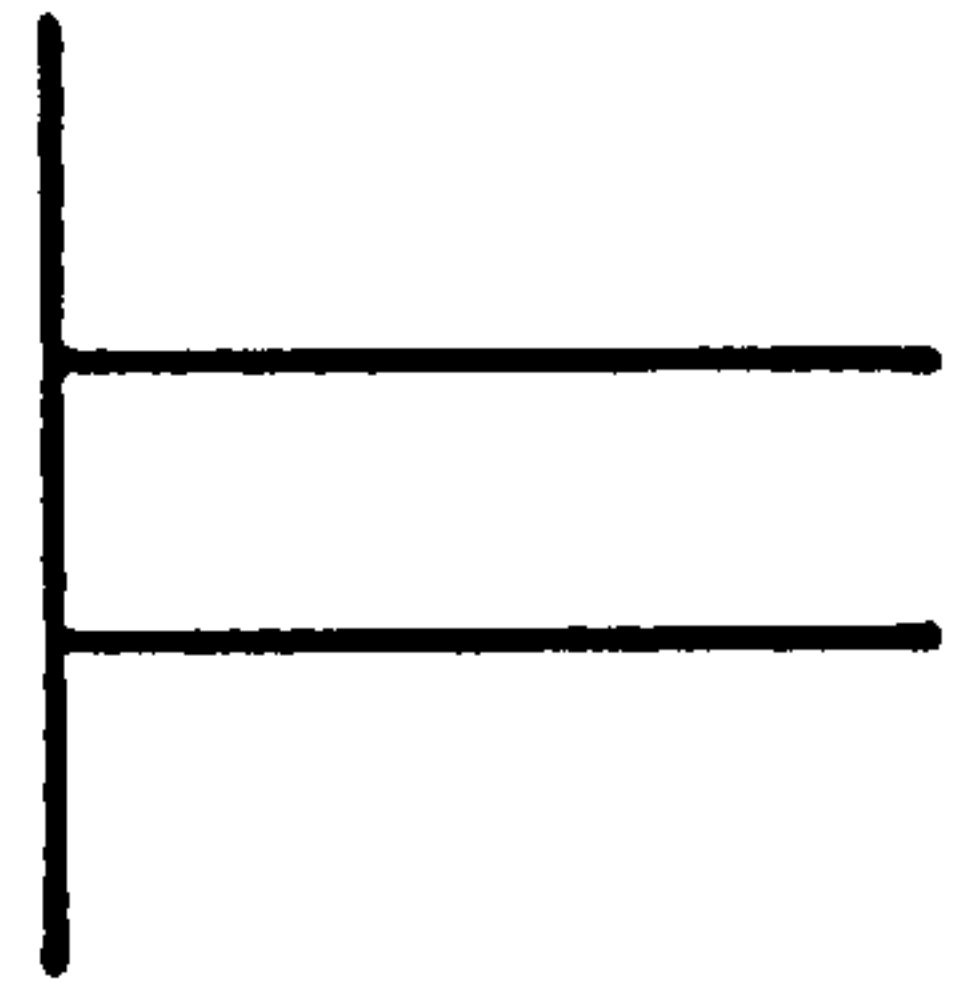
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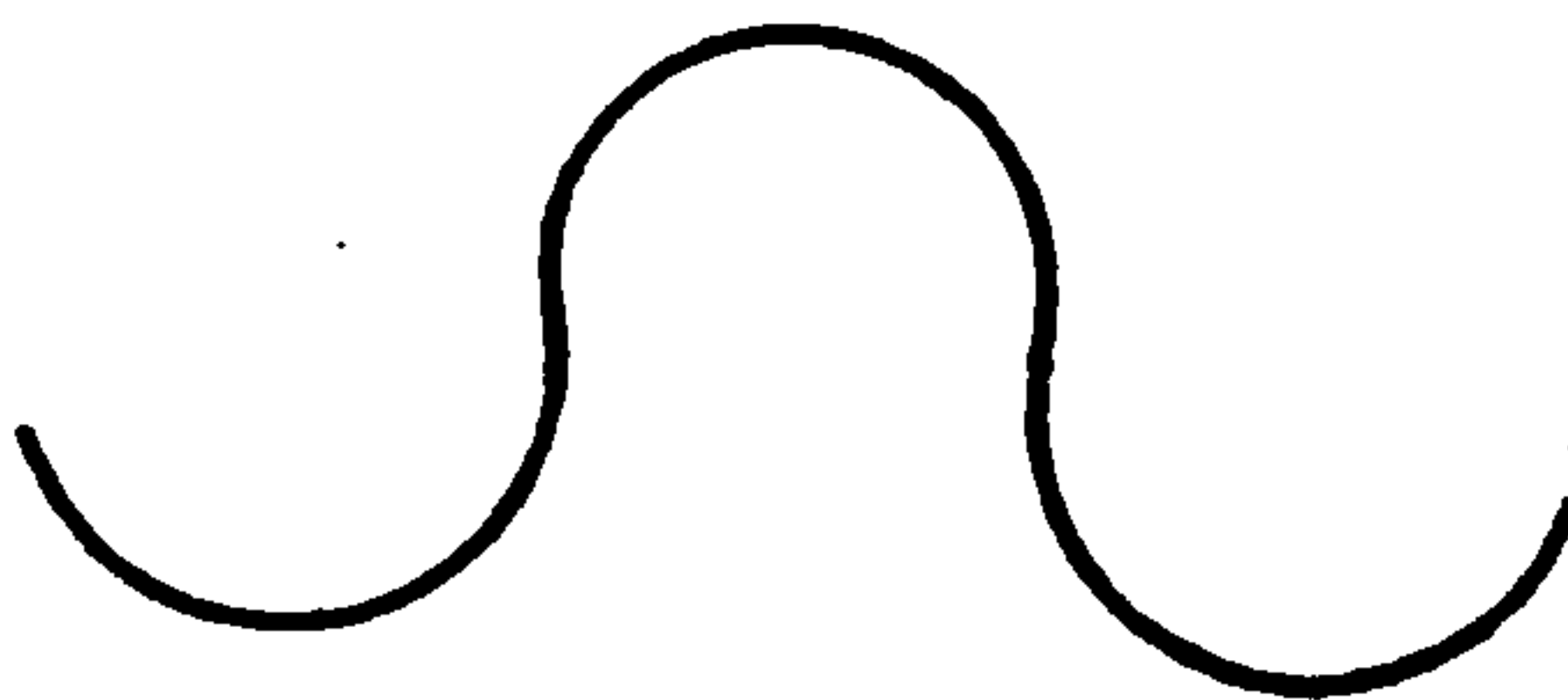
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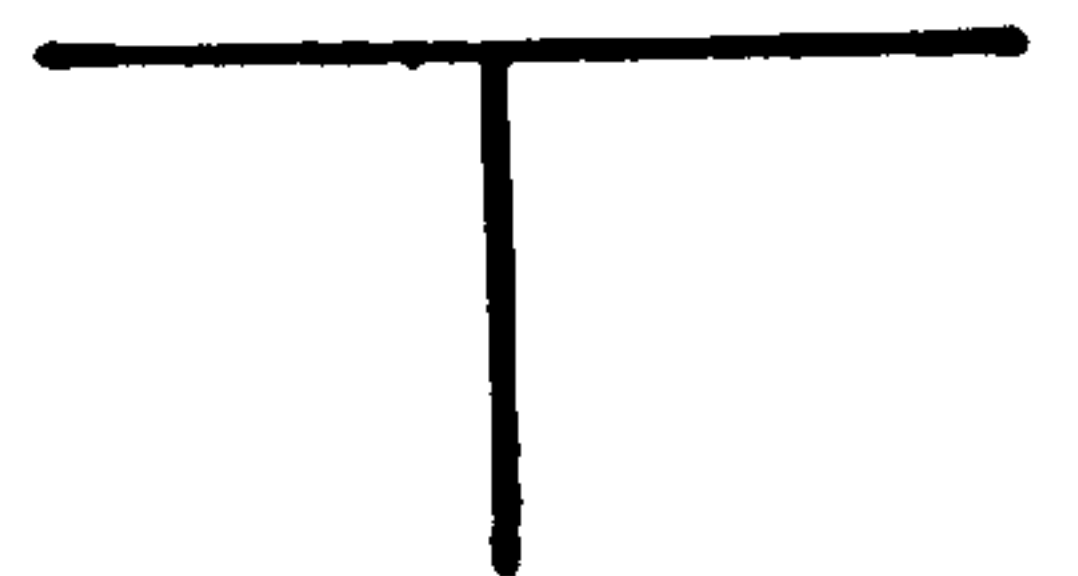
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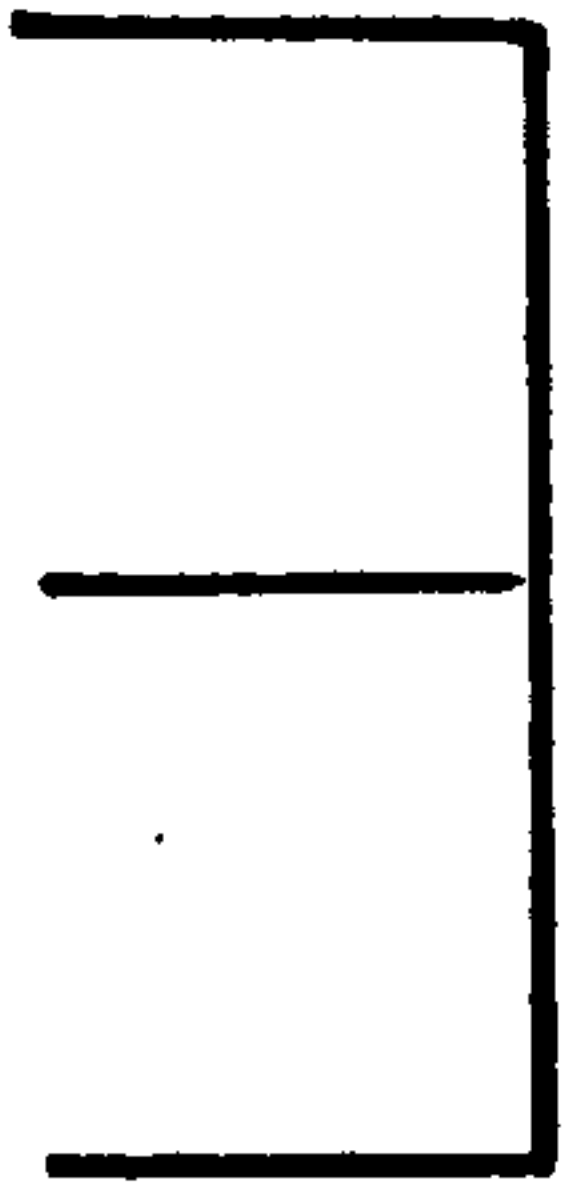


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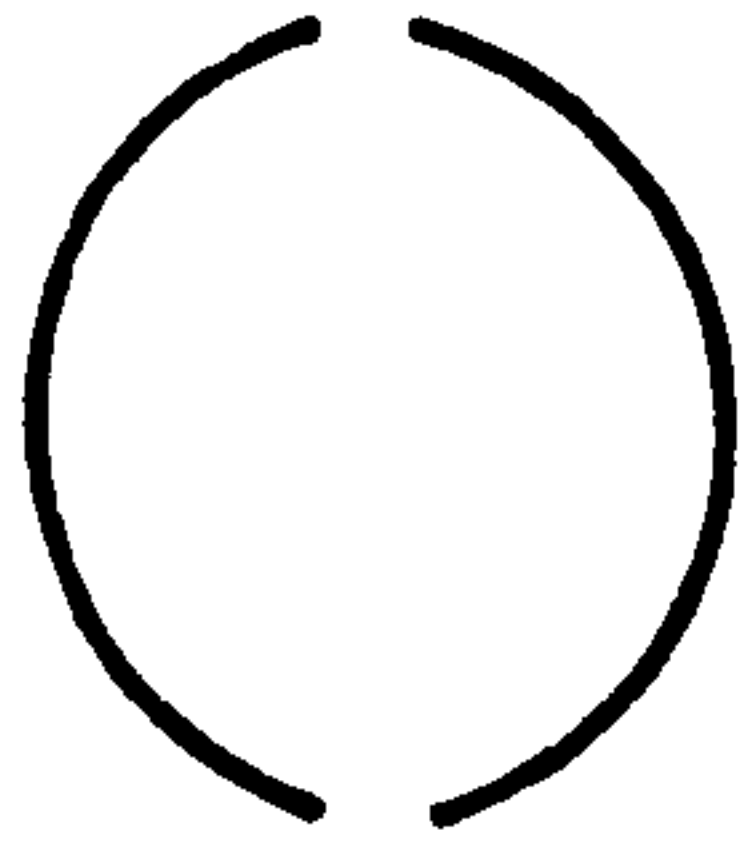


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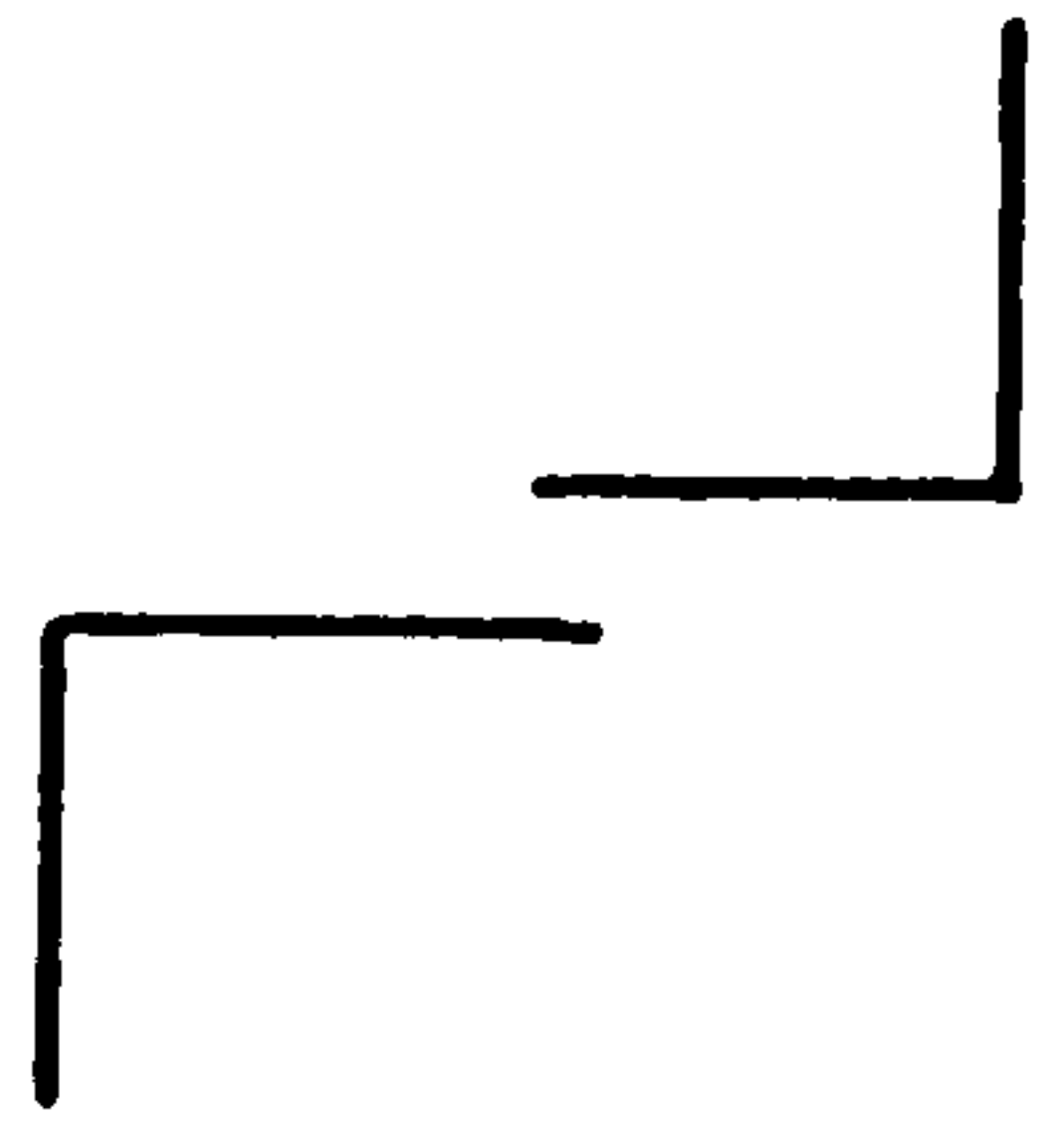
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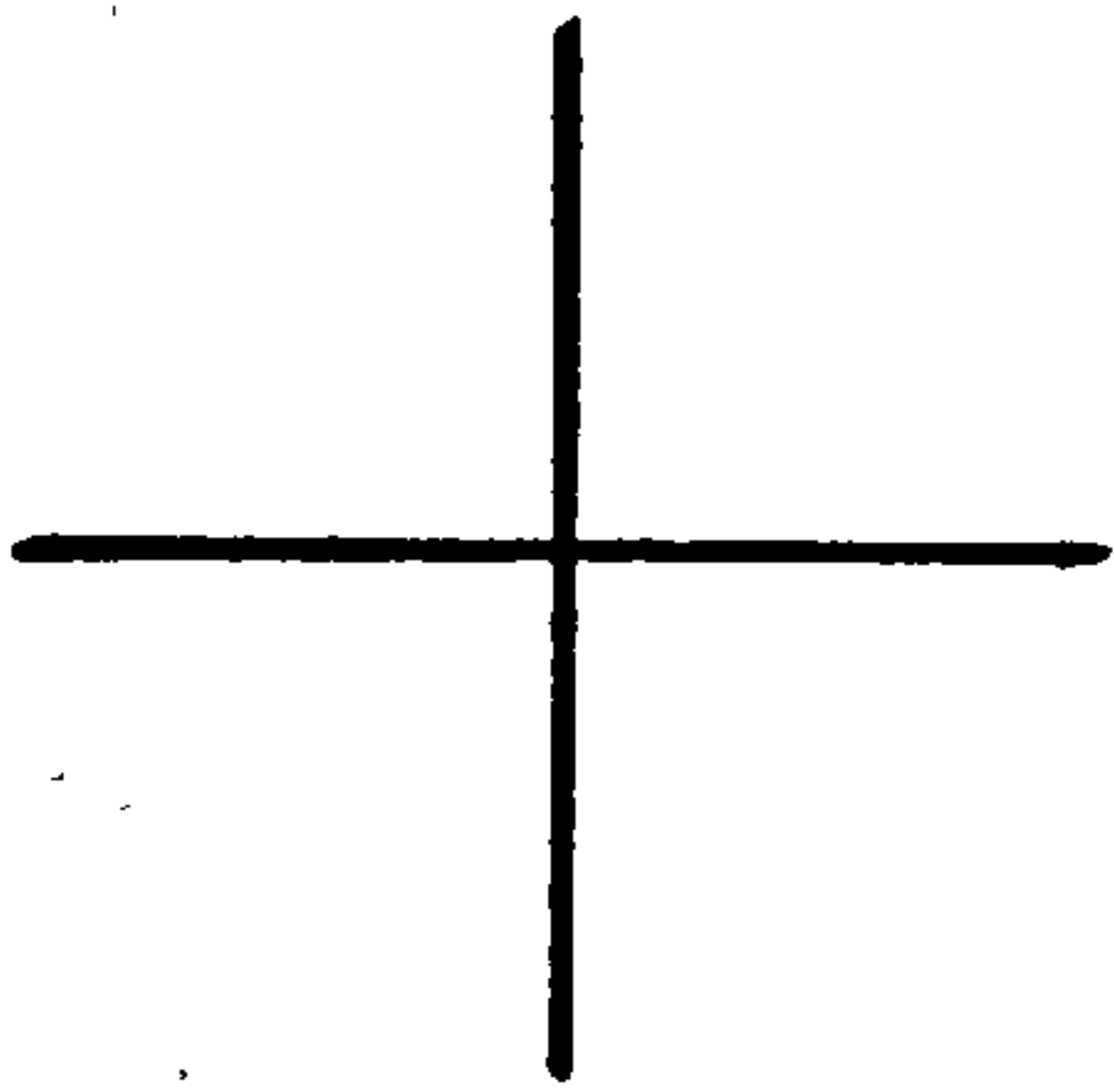
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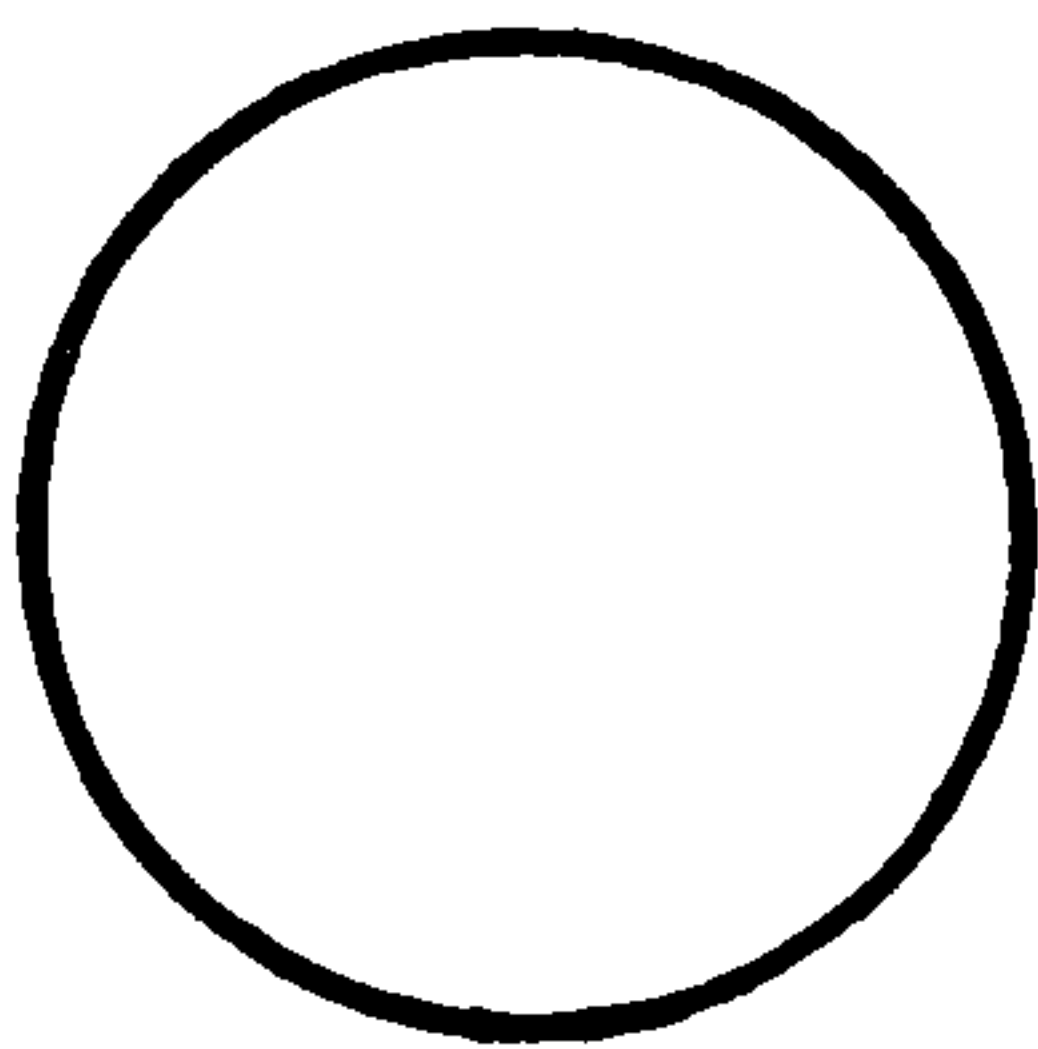
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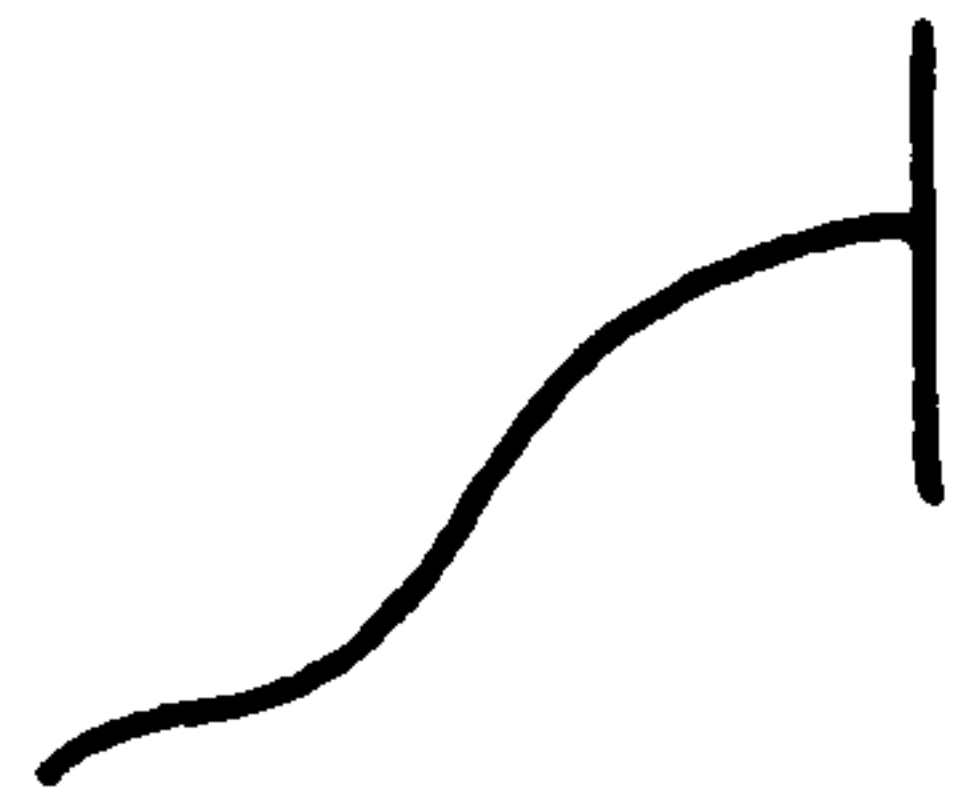
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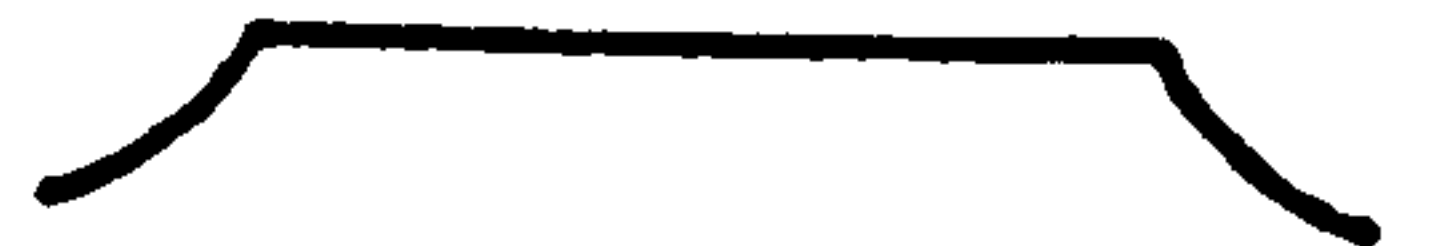
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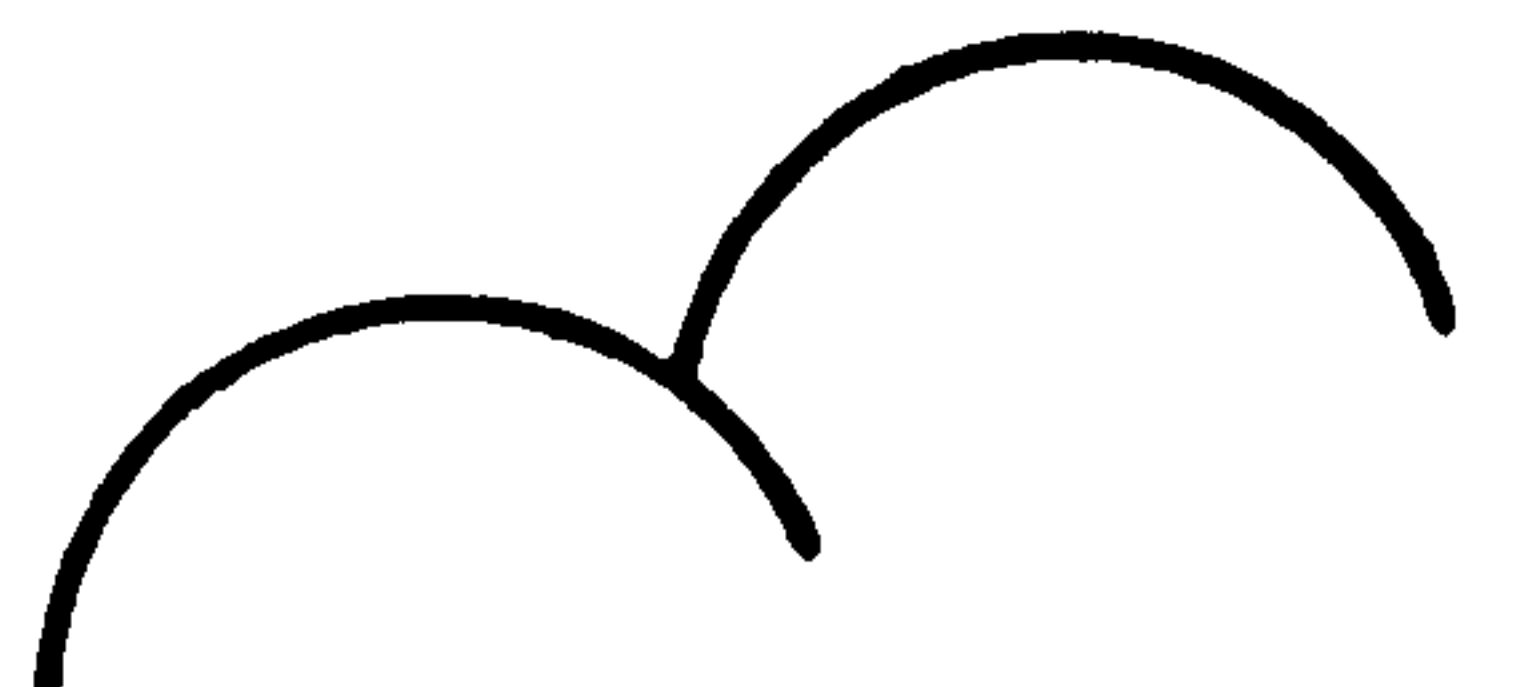
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Appendix D

TABLE I

Instruction: Please tick under 'true' or 'false' against each question.	TRUE	FALSE
1. I want to be an important person in the community.		
2. I'm not the type to be a political leader.		
3. When someone talks against certain groups or nationalities I always speak up against such talk even though it makes me unpopular.		
4. I like mechanics magazines.		
5. I think I would like the work of a librarian.		
6. I'm pretty sure I know how we can settle the international problems we face today.		
7. I would never feel right if I thought I wasn't doing my share of the hard work of any group I belonged to.		
8. People seem naturally to turn to me when decisions have to be made.		
9. I must admit I feel sort of scared when I move to a strange place.		
10. I like to go to parties and other affairs where there is lots of loud fun.		
11. If I were a reporter I would like very much to report news of the theatre.		
12. I would like to be a nurse.		
13. It is hard for me to "bawl out" someone who is not doing his job properly.		
14. If I get too much change in a store I always give it back.		
15. I very much like hunting.		
16. Some of my family have habits that bother and annoy me very much.		
17. I would like to be a soldier.		
18. I think I could do better than most of the present politicians if I were in office.		
19. I like to be with a crowd who play jokes on one another.		
20. It is hard for me to start a conversation with strangers.		
21. I often get feelings like crawling, burning, tingling, or "going to sleep" in different parts of my body.		
22. I hate to have a rush when working.		
23. In school I was sometimes sent to the principal for misbehaving.		
24. I think I would like the work of a building contractor.		
25. When I work at something I like to read and study about it.		
26. I think that I am stricter about right and wrong than most people.		
27. I am somewhat afraid of the dark.		
28. I am very slow in making up my mind.		
29. I am hardly ever bothered by a skin condition, such as athlete's foot, rash, etc.		

CONTD.

30. I like to boast about my achievements every now and then.
31. Sometimes I cross the street just to avoid meeting someone.
32. I would do almost anything on a dare.
33. I think I would like to drive a racing car.
34. I must admit that I enjoy playing practical jokes on people.
35. I always tried to make the best school grades that I could.
36. I am inclined to take things hard.
37. At times I feel like picking a fist fight with someone.
38. I am apt to hide my feelings in some things, to the point that people may hurt me without their knowing about it.
39. Sometimes I have the same dream over and over.
40. The thought of being in an automobile accident is very frightening to me.
41. The average person is not able to appreciate art and music very well.
42. I prefer a shower to a bath tub.
43. I am often a little uneasy about handling knives and other sharp bladed instruments.
44. Sometimes I feel that I am about to go to pieces.
45. I like adventure stories better than romantic stories.
46. I like to be in many social activities.
47. I was hardly ever spanked or whipped as a child.
48. I think I would like the work of a garage mechanic.
49. A windstorm terrifies me.
50. I get excited very easily.
51. I become quite irritated when I see someone spit on the sidewalk.
52. I think I would like the work of a dress designer.
53. I have a certain talent for understanding the other person, and for sympathising with his problems.
54. It makes me very nervous when I get blamed for making a mistake.
55. I often get disgusted with myself.
56. I always like to keep my things neat and tidy and in good order.
57. I think I would like the work of a clerk in a large department store.
58. I get very tense and anxious when I think other people are disapproving of me.

Appendix E

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

Name.....

- 1. Date of birth.....
- 2 a) Form reached in school:.....
- b) Kind of school finished at :.....
- c) Certificate obtained :YESWHAT KIND:.....
 NO
- d) Years of further education: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 ...
- e) Advanced degrees: YES...WHAT KIND:.....
 NO

- 3 a) Occupation(What work do you do?).....
- b) Kind of business.....
- c) Do you work for yourself or for others?.....

IF SELF EMPLOYED

- d) How many people do you normally employ?.....

- 4 a) Does anyone work under you? YES/NO
- b) Does anyone work under those people? YES/NO
- c) Do you work under anyone?
- d) Does your boss have a boss?

- 5 a) Occupation of Father(What work did he do?)
- b) Kind of business.....
- c) Did he work for himself or for others?.....

IF FATHER WAS SELF EMPLOYED

- d) How many people did he normally employ?.....

- 6 a) Did anyone work under him? YES/NO
- b) Did anyone work under those people? YES/NO
- c) Did he work under anyone?
- d) Did his boss have a boss?

7 IF PART TIME WORKER

- a) How many hours per week do you normally work?.....

8 Number of years lived in London.....

- 9 a) Would you say that you were in the Middle Class;
 Working Class; Upper Class; or Lower Class?

- b) Would you say that you were in the Upper Half or the
 Lower Half of this Class?.....

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