

**Some pages of this thesis may have been removed for copyright restrictions.**

If you have discovered material in Aston Research Explorer which is unlawful e.g. breaches copyright, (either yours or that of a third party) or any other law, including but not limited to those relating to patent, trademark, confidentiality, data protection, obscenity, defamation, libel, then please read our [Takedown policy](#) and contact the service immediately (openaccess@aston.ac.uk)

A CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE ROLES OF MEN IN  
CONTEMPORARY FRANCE AND BRITAIN

MARGARET ELIZABETH FERGUSON

Doctor of Philosophy

THE UNIVERSITY OF ASTON IN BIRMINGHAM

September 1988

This copy of the thesis has been supplied on condition that anyone who consults it is understood to recognise that its copyright rests with its author and that no quotation from the thesis and no information derived from it may be published without the author's prior, written consent.

A CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE ROLES OF MEN IN  
CONTEMPORARY FRANCE AND BRITAIN

Margaret Elizabeth Ferguson

Doctor of Philosophy  
1988

THESIS SUMMARY

The purpose of this thesis is to increase understanding of the attitudes and behaviour of men in contemporary France and Britain. The thesis has three main aims: firstly, to provide the first cross-national comparison of French and British writing and research on the place of men in contemporary society; secondly, to identify similarities and differences in the roles of men in France and Britain; and thirdly, to determine to what extent such similarities and differences are linked to the social structures and cultural background of each country.

The thesis focuses on two facets of the male experience: the relationship between men and women and the interaction between fathers and their children. Men's attitudes are examined in relation to the division of household tasks and child care within the family, parental roles, female employment, role reversal, gender stereotyping and changes towards a new image of masculinity in society. Particular consideration is given to differences in governmental attitudes in France and Britain towards the introduction of family policy measures for fathers.

The data examined in the thesis are derived from a questionnaire-based empirical study involving 101 men in Britain and seventy-five men in France. The results show that the male-female relationship is more salient to an understanding of men's roles in Britain, while the father-child relationship is more important in France. While men in both countries, most notably in the young and highly educated sectors of the population, are becoming increasingly aware of the theory of gender equality, there is little evidence of change in male behaviour at a practical level. Particularly in the French sample, many men appear to feel threatened by the increase in women's rights which has taken place since the 1960s, and attempt through their attitudes and behaviour to reassert their traditional role within the family and society as a whole.

KEY WORDS:

Men            Fatherhood            Cross-national            France            Britain

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost I should like to thank my supervisor, Dr Linda Hantrais, for her constant advice, help and encouragement during the course of this research.

I am indebted to Mr J. Skinner and Mrs M. Fielden in Leamington Spa for sparing time to talk to their pupils about my research and permitting me to distribute the British questionnaire via the pupils in their schools. Their help is greatly appreciated.

I am most grateful to Madame Nicole Samuel of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, for enabling me to find initial contacts for the French fieldwork in Annecy. I would also like to thank Monsieur Pierre Jacquier, Mademoiselle Nathalie Rosaz and Mademoiselle Catherine Brochard for their invaluable help in gaining access to the organizations in Annecy through which the questionnaire was distributed.

Many members of men's groups in both Britain and France have been extremely helpful in providing me with information and literature which is otherwise not generally available. In particular, I would like to thank "Five" in Cardiff, Raymond in Birmingham and Patrick in Paris for the interest which they have taken in this study.

Finally, I should like to thank Professor K. Hon, Department of Manufacturing Processing, University of Dundee, for kindly allowing me to use his departmental facilities for the printing of this thesis.

## LIST OF CONTENTS

	Page
List of Tables	7
Introduction	11
Chapter 1 Men and Women: Developments in Writing on Male and Female Roles in the Twentieth Century	26
Chapter 2 Men and Children: Developments in Writing on the Father-Child Relationship in the Twentieth Century	56
Chapter 3 The Aims and Methodology of the Field Study	86
Reasons for the Choice of Methodology	88
The Selection of a Geographical Sample Area in France and Britain	90
Details of the Data Collection Method used in Leamington Spa and Annecy	94
The Design and Content of the Research Questionnaire	100
The Pilot Testing of the French and British Questionnaires	106
Findings of the Pilot Study which provide a Frame of Reference for the Main Fieldwork	107
From the Pilot Study to the Main Fieldwork: Revision of the Questionnaire	113
Profile Data of the French and British Respondents in the Main Field Study	118
Chapter 4 The Attitudes of the French and British Respondents towards Changes in Gender Roles	135
Men's Lack of Familiarity with the Subject of Gender Roles	136
Men's Views on Changes in Women's Roles since the Late 1960s	139
Men's Views on Changes in Male Roles since the Late 1960s	144
Men's Views on Future Changes in Gender Roles	146
The Influence of Personal and Family Characteristics on Men's Attitudes towards Male and Female Roles	159

## LIST OF CONTENTS

	Page
Chapter 5 The Views of French and British Men on Male and Female Roles within the Couple	192
Male Involvement in Household Tasks	193
Men's Views on Patterns of Leisure Activities within the Couple	211
Men's Attitudes towards Female Employment	218
Men's Views on why Married Women might wish to Work outside the Home	226
Men's Attitudes towards Role Reversal	231
Chapter 6 The Views of French and British Men on Gender Stereotyping within Society	242
Men's Attitudes towards Statements concerning the Role of each Sex in Society	243
Men's Attitudes towards the Gender-Differentiation of Personality Traits and Qualities	250
Men's Views on the Gender-Specificity of Employment Occupations	259
The Influence of Personal Status on Men's Views about Gender Roles: Stereotyping as an Expression of Male Vulnerability within Society and the Family	275
Chapter 7 The Views of French and British Men on the Division of Parental Tasks and Responsibilities within the Couple	298
Paternal Involvement in Child Care Tasks	299
The Division of Parental Responsibilities	314
The Changing Role of Men within the Family: Similarities and Differences in the 'New Father' Model in France and Britain	321
The Influence of Men's Attendance at the Birth of their Children on Paternal Involvement in Child Rearing	339
Chapter 8 The Views of French and British Men on Fatherhood and on Legislative Measures for Men as Parents	346
Men's Evaluation and Experience of the Paternal Role	347
The Views of Men on Child Rearing in Comparison with Those of Their own Fathers	356

## LIST OF CONTENTS

	Page
Chapter 8      The Views of French and British Men on Fatherhood and on Legislative Measures for Men as Parents C'td.	
Official Attitudes Towards Social Policy Provision for Fathers in Contemporary France and Britain: Paternity Leave, Parental Leave and Leave for Family Reasons	375
The Views of Men on Social Policy Measures for Fathers	383
Chapter 9      Changing Men: The Future for Male Roles in France and Britain	392
A Three-Level Strategy for the Promotion of Flexibility in Male Roles in France and Britain	396
The Introduction of Legislative Measures to Provide a Framework for the Growth of Flexibility in Gender Roles	398
The Development of Social Measures to Promote Anti-Sexist Attitudes	407
The Implementation of Educational Measures to Facilitate Future Flexibility in Gender Roles	428
Conclusion	437
APPENDIX I	459
(a) Copy of the letter sent to potential respondents in Britain	460
(b) British questionnaire	461
(c) Copy of the letter sent to potential respondents in France	469
(d) French questionnaire	470
APPENDIX II      A Historical Outline of Some Major Social and Legislative Developments in Women's Rights in Britain and France from the Late Eighteenth Century to the Early 1980s.	
(a) Britain	478
(b) France	482
Bibliography	486

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table No.</u>	<u>Page</u>
3.1: Age of the Respondent	120
3.2: Age of the Respondent's Partner	120
3.3: Educational Level of the Respondent	122
3.4: Educational Level of the Respondent's Partner	122
3.5: Professional Level of the Respondent	124
3.6: Professional Level of the Respondent's Partner	124
3.7: Employment Status of the Respondent	126
3.8: Employment Status of the Respondent's Partner	126
3.9: Average Weekly Total of Hours Worked by the Respondent	128
3.10: Average Weekly Total of Hours Worked by the Respondent's Partner	128
3.11: Time at which the Respondent Normally Arrives Home from Work	130
3.12: Time at which the Respondent's Partner Normally Arrives Home from Work	130
3.13: Number of Children in the Respondent's Family	131
3.14: Age of Eldest Child in the Respondent's Family	133
3.15: Sex of Children in the Respondent's Family	133
4.1: Rates of Non-Response to Questions on General Changes in Male and Female Roles	137
4.2: Men's Views on Changes in Women's Roles since the Late 1960s	137
4.3: Men's Approval of Changes in Women's Roles since the Late 1960s	142
4.4: Men's Views on Changes in Male Roles since the Late 1960s	142
4.5: Men's Views on Future Changes in Gender Roles	147
4.6: The Historical Effect of Age: Views of Men Aged Under and Over Forty on Future Changes in Gender Roles	162
4.7: The Stage of Life-Cycle Effect: Men's Views on Future Changes in Gender Roles According to Detailed Age-Group	164
4.8: Men's Views on Changes in Male Roles - According to the Educational Level of the Respondent	169
4.9: Men's Views on Future Changes in Gender Roles - According to the Educational Level of the Respondent	170
4.10: Men's Views on Future Changes in Gender Roles - According to the Occupational Status of the Respondent	173
4.11: Men's Attitudes towards Changes in Women's Roles - According to the Gender-Typing of the Respondent	176



LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table No.</u>	<u>Page</u>
4.12: Men's Attitudes towards Changes in Male Roles - According to the Gender-Typing of the Respondent	178
4.13: Men's Attitudes towards Changes in Women's Roles - According to the Employment Status of the Respondent's Partner	181
4.14: Men's Views on Future Changes in Gender Roles - According to the Employment Status of the Respondent's Partner	184
4.15: Men's Attitudes towards Changes in Women's Roles - According to the Number of Children in the Respondent's Family	186
4.16: Men's Views on Future Changes in Gender Roles - According to the Number of Children in the Respondent's Family	188
5.1: Division of Household Tasks in the Respondent's Family	196
5.2: Percentage of Respondents who Believe that Leisure Activities should only be carried out by a Couple Together	213
5.3: Men's Views on the Paid Employment of Married Women	220
5.4: Men's Perception of Reasons why a Married Woman might wish to Work outside the Home	228
5.5: Men's Views on the Principle of Role Reversal	233
5.6: Men's Attitudes towards Participating in Role Reversal	234
6.1: Men's Views on the Gender-Specificity of Personality Characteristics	253
6.2: Men's Views on the Gender-Specificity of Occupations	262
6.3: Percentage of Men who State that Both Sexes are Equally Likely to Possess Particular Qualities - According to the Age of the Respondent	277
6.4: Percentage of Men who State that Both Sexes are Equally Suited to Carrying out a Particular Occupation - According to the Age of the Respondent	278
6.5: Percentage of Men who State that Both Sexes are Equally Suited to Carrying Out a Particular Occupation - According to the Educational Level of the Respondent	283

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table No.</u>	<u>Page</u>
6.6: Percentage of Men who State that Both Sexes are Equally Likely to Possess Particular Qualities - According to the Gender-Typing of the Respondent	286
6.7: Percentage of Men who State that Both Sexes are Equally Suited to Carrying Out a Particular Occupation - According to the Gender-Typing of the Respondent	287
6.8: Percentage of Men who State that Both Sexes are Equally Suited to Carrying Out a Particular Occupation - According to the Sex of the Respondent's Children	290
6.9: Percentage of Men who State that Both Sexes are Equally Suited to Carrying Out a Particular Occupation - According to the Employment Status of the Respondent's Partner	293
7.1: Division of Child Care Tasks in the Respondent's Family	306
7.2: Men's Views on the Division of Parental Responsibilities	316
7.3: The Relationship between the Age of the Respondent and the Degree of Mother-Centredness of Child Care Activities in Each Family	323
7.4: Percentage of Men who Believe that Parental Responsibilities should be Shared Equally between Mothers and Fathers - According to the Age of the Respondent	325
7.5: Percentage of Fathers who Participate in Child Care Activities - According to the Number of Children in each Family	332
7.6: Percentage of Fathers who Participate in Child Care Activities - According to the Sex of the Children in each Family	335
7.7: Percentage of Fathers who Participate in Child Care Activities - According to the Weekly Number of Hours Worked by each Respondent	338
7.8: Percentage of Fathers who Participate in Child Care Activities - According to Paternal Attendance at Birth	340

## LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table No.</u>	<u>Page</u>
8.1: Rate of Attendance of Respondents at the Birth of their Children	368
8.2a: Provisions made for Paternity Leave by Employers in Britain	372
8.2b: Provisions made for Paternity Leave by Employers in France	372
8.3: Amount of Leave taken by Respondents at the Time of the Birth of their Children	373
8.4a: Views of the British Respondents on the Possible Introduction of a Statutory Paternity Leave Scheme in Britain	385
8.4b: Views of the French Respondents on the Statutory Paternity Leave Scheme Currently Available in France	385
8.5a: Views of the British Respondents on the Possible Provision of Leave for Family Reasons in Britain	387
8.5b: Take-up Rates for Limited Leave for Family Reasons Scheme which is Currently Available in France	389

## Introduction

The purpose of this study is to examine and compare the roles of men in French and British society in the 1980s. At the time when the study was begun (October 1984), men, as a sex, were rarely the focus of sociological research: the April 1983 - March 1984 edition of the Social Sciences Index, for example, contains only five entries under the heading "men" as opposed to 366 under "women" and nine under "father and child" as against sixty-eight under "mother and child". The major reason for this relative lack of interest in male roles is linked to the traditional hierarchy of the place of men and women within society. The French writer Simone de Beauvoir aptly summarized the situation in 1949 when she stated that men in Western cultures have occupied throughout history a position of dominance over women. This social reality of male superiority has created a situation in which men's roles have come to be accepted as the norm, as beyond question or analysis:

Un homme n'aurait pas idée d'écrire un livre sur la situation singulière qu'occupent dans l'humanité les mâles...il est entendu que le fait d'être un homme n'est pas une singularité. (de Beauvoir, 1949: 14)

A man would never think of writing a book about the remarkable position which men have in human society ...it is taken for granted that being a man is not remarkable.

It appears that little attention has been paid to the subject of masculinity because men themselves, who have occupied the most influential positions in the research world, have not

thought it necessary to scrutinize their own attitudes and behaviour.

As women in Western society, particularly since the 1960s, have gradually gained greater equality with men, the supposed immutability of male roles has begun to be questioned. Women have been encouraged to take on new functions outside the home and many feminist writers have challenged the conventional division of male and female roles within the family and society as a whole. The American feminist Betty Friedan (1983) was one of the first writers to state that new developments in gender roles in the 1980s may be likely to take the form of changes in men's place in society:

Women changing their own lives forced men or made it possible for men to change theirs.... Where women seem to be moving out of the home to fulfil themselves in men's world of work, men seem to be disentangling themselves from definition by success in the work world and shifting toward a new definition of themselves in the family and other new dimensions of self-fulfilment. (Friedan, 1983: 126, 133)

It is evident, in the post-feminist era, that many women have taken on new roles in the traditionally masculine areas of employment and public life. The focus of research on gender roles, in the 1980s, has turned more to the subject of men's attitudes and behaviour in order to establish if a new definition of men's place in society is also emerging.

In spite of the recent growth of interest in the subject of male roles, the relative scarcity, within a historical perspective, of information dealing with the male

experience can cause difficulties of orientation for the researcher. The American writer Kenneth Solomon (1982) points out that researchers studying male roles in the United States are confronted with the problem that:

There is no frame of reference to use for an introduction. There is no history of a men's liberation movement to review. There are no spokespersons known to the public to quote. There are no dramatic research findings to cite. Most men and women do not even acknowledge that there are men's issues worthy of examination. There is not even consensus that the traditional male role is changing to any appreciable degree. (Solomon, 1982: in Solomon and Levy, 1982: 45)

The above difficulties are faced to an even greater extent by researchers in the field of male roles in both France and Britain in the late 1980s. In contrast to the current position in America, where 'men's studies' programmes have been introduced by a number of universities, no independent discipline of research on male roles has emerged fully in either Britain or France. In both countries, research on men still tends to be spread across a number of academic fields such as sociology, psychology, biology, anthropology and women's studies, and to represent only a minority interest within each of these more traditional disciplines.

In view of the discrepancy in the state of development of research on men's roles in Europe and America, it is not surprising that both France and Britain, slower in the area of change in gender roles than the United States (Valabrègue, 1976; Oakley, 1981), have relied to a considerable extent on the importation of American research findings about masculinity. Even in the late 1980s, when men's roles are

slowly becoming a more common topic for academic study in Europe, the majority of books to be found on this subject in French and British libraries are, in fact, American. This raises an important point: should a comparison of men's roles in France and Britain include reference to works by writers from the United States? The answer, for three main reasons, would seem to be that such an inclusion is inevitable. Firstly, and most crucially, many of the works concerned were published in Europe either simultaneously to or shortly after their appearing in America, in the French case often in translation. Secondly, any analysis of men's roles would be inadequate if it did not take account of American influences, since the whole gender role discipline originated, and is still centred, in the United States. Thirdly, as the aim of this study is to contribute to, rather than deviate from, the general debate on men's roles, it appears logical to follow the tradition of almost all British and French researchers in the field of male roles by referring to American findings.

As will be reflected in the present study, knowledge about masculinity was heavily dominated by American research findings until the late 1970s. During the 1980s, an increasing number of studies of men's place in society have been carried out independently in France and Britain. This emergence of academic research on male roles in the two countries has been most noticeable in the field of psychology, which has witnessed a rapid growth in the number of works dealing with the father-child relationship. In a

book which reassesses the role of the father in modern society, the British writers Charlie Lewis and Margaret O'Brien (1987) noted that by the mid-1980s a large body of research on fathers had developed. Similarly, in a study of fatherhood in France, Jacqueline Kelen (1987) highlights the new popularity of the image of fathers in contemporary French society, which has resulted in the appearance of books, research articles and conferences about the paternal role.

Although an interest in men's place in society has recently emerged in both France and Britain, no studies of male roles other than the present one have as yet been conducted from a Franco-British cross-national perspective. There are, however, a number of reasons why the use of the cross-national approach may be considered to be appropriate for the examination of men's roles in Britain and France in the 1980s. As noted by the French researcher Nicole Samuel (1985) in an article which examines the methodology of comparative sociology, it is important, in the first place, that the frame of reference for cross-national analyses should be comparable. In addition to the fact that Britain and France have reached a similar stage of economic and social progress, they also demonstrate a relatively comparable profile in terms of the development of the roles of women within society. A similar proportion of women in each country have taken on the traditionally masculine role of paid employment: in the early 1980s, 37% of French and 40% of British women were reported to be working outside the



home (Women of Europe, 1984b). As it appears that developments in gender roles in each country may be likely to have evolved to a relatively similar extent, the use of the cross-national approach to study men's roles in France and Britain would appear to be justified.

In the present study, the cross-national analysis takes place on three general levels. Firstly, a comparison of previous research and literature relating to men's roles in France and Britain is carried out. Secondly, new empirical data from a French and British field study of male roles are collected and examined. Thirdly, in accordance with the 'societal' approach (Maurice, 1979) to the study of social structures, the findings of the fieldwork are interpreted in the light of knowledge about French and British society and are discussed in relation to the wider socio-cultural framework of the two countries.

Knowledge about the nature of any developments which have taken place in male roles in France and Britain, which even in the 1980s is a relatively undocumented area, can be furthered through the use of the cross-national methodology in a number of ways. Firstly, the identification of similarities in the roles of men in the two countries is likely to highlight common aspects of male behaviour and attitudes which may exist universally. Secondly, the examination of differences which emerge in the roles of men in Britain and France may indicate aspects of the male

experience which are culturally conditioned and is consequently likely to facilitate the understanding of the specific socialization process undergone by men in the two countries. Thirdly, the use of the cross-national comparative methodology may highlight points of contrast between men's roles in France and Britain which will be fruitful for further analysis of the meaning of masculinity as a whole. As noted by Linda Hantrais (1988) in a Franco-British study of female employment patterns, issues which are pinpointed by cross-national research in this way may have been taken for granted by researchers working within the context of one country only and may therefore have been neglected in previous studies. As maintained by the American fatherhood researchers Michael Lamb and Abraham Sagi (1983) in the introduction to their comparative study of social policy provision for men within the family:

Multicultural analyses are valuable even when one is interested only in the policies of an individual country because they force one to attend to issues that are so often ignored... (Lamb and Sagi, 1983: 6)

In the 1980s, official attitudes towards social policy concerning men's role within the family are markedly different in France and Britain. Through a juxtaposition of the attitudes and behaviour of men in the two countries, a Franco-British analysis can provide an assessment of the effect of national governmental and social policies which could not be achieved in a single-nation study, while at the same time enabling a deeper level of analysis to be carried out than would be possible in a larger multi-national survey.

Through the detailed analysis which may be carried out in a dual-national study, the examination and comparison of men's roles in France and Britain can help to provide suggestions for future social policies which are relevant not only to the two countries studied, but also to other societies which have reached a similar of economic and social development.

On the basis of a detailed review of research concerning the nature of masculinity and an empirical analysis of the attitudes and behaviour of a sample of men in Britain and France, the present study aims to contribute to contemporary thinking about the way in which men experience their gender roles in the society of the 1980s. Within the context of this research, the term 'role' is taken to signify a set of behavioural expectations related to a particular status, for example, that of being a man. The term 'gender', as defined by Sara Delamont (1980) and subsequently by most researchers in the field of male roles in the late 1980s, refers to the non-biological aspects of differences between the sexes which are linked to social conditioning and stereotyping.

In contrast to the majority of previous examinations of men, which have tended to focus predominantly on one facet of men's roles, such as the male-female or the father-child relationship, the study adopts an approach which encompasses both men's attitudes towards women and men's relationship with their children. The justification for this approach is based on the hypothesis that the above two areas of men's experience are closely interlinked. If, for example, a man

were to give up full-time employment and take on a job-sharing position in order to have more time with his children, this adoption of more nurturant behaviour would affect not only the man's role as a father, but also his relationship with his partner within the couple. An emphasis on the inter-connected nature of the various facets of male experience has increasingly been reflected in research on male roles (Russell, 1978; Barnhill et al., 1979; Hanson and Bozett, 1985; Lewis and Salt, 1986; Castelain-Meunier, 1987). Within the British context, the invitation to Vic Seidler of the London University (Goldsmith's College) Masculinity Research Group to speak at the Fatherhood Research Group (Summer 1985) also indicates that the current trend in research on male roles is towards a more integrated rather than a separatist approach. The present study forms part of this development and aims to contribute to the establishment of a comprehensive picture of men's position in contemporary society by providing an insight into several aspects of the lives of a sample of French and British men in the 1980s.

In view of the fact that little previous research had been carried out on the inter-related roles of French and British men as concerns women and children, this study was designed as an exploratory analysis of the mechanisms of the male experience in the two countries. It aimed to test a number of broad-based hypotheses about both the development of male roles in general and the specific experience of men in France and Britain. In relation to the general development of men's

place in society, it was hypothesized that, in view of the fact that an increasing number of French and British women are taking on the traditionally masculine role of paid employment, men in the 1980s may be obliged to share, to a relatively larger extent, in family responsibilities which were previously considered to be exclusively feminine. Some families in which the woman is in paid employment may of course make use of outside child care or home cleaning services in order to ease the total burden of family and employment responsibilities upon the couple. In general, the new role of women in dual-earner couples might nevertheless be expected to result in an internal redistribution of family tasks which would necessitate the definition of new roles for men within the household. Male involvement in family responsibilities is likely to be more apparent among younger couples, who have grown up in an environment in which the employment of women has become increasingly common. Men's participation may also be related to the educational level of the couple: couples who are have experienced a high level of education may be more attuned to contemporary developments in thinking about masculinity and less influenced by traditionally gender-specific views about the appropriate roles for each sex in society.

In addition to the developments mentioned above, which might be expected to occur in both France and Britain, some potential trends specific to male roles in each country were

also hypothesized at the outset of the study. On the one hand, the fact that women in Britain had obtained a greater degree of independence at an earlier stage than their French counterparts, as measured by issues such as women gaining the right to vote and control over their reproductive processes, indicated that British men might have internalized changes in female roles to a greater extent and might consequently hold more egalitarian attitudes towards women than French men. On the other hand, the more family-oriented focus of French society, and in particular the provision of a basic framework of policy measures enabling French fathers in the 1980s to take a more active role in child rearing, demonstrated that French men might be more likely to be involved in bringing up their children. In view of the above two factors, a dichotomy of emphasis in any areas of change in male roles in Britain and France was anticipated. It was hypothesized that the male-female relationship in Britain and the father-child relationship in France might represent the areas of male roles most susceptible to development.

In the aim of providing a comprehensive framework for the examination of the above hypotheses and the exploration of previously unresearched aspects of men's roles in contemporary France and Britain, this study opens with a detailed review of the development of knowledge about male roles since the beginning of the twentieth century, the point in time when writings specifically related to masculinity began to emerge. In Chapter 1, literature dealing with men's

relationship to women is examined, while writings concerning the father-child relationship are analysed in Chapter 2. The approach adopted in these two chapters, which review previous research dealing with male roles, is primarily a chronological one. The choice of a chronological approach is necessitated by the subject matter of the research itself: as noted by the American researcher Joseph Pleck (1979), men's studies is not an area in which established conflicting ideologies co-exist, but one in which "...the later viewpoints successively reject the conclusions of the earlier ones" (Pleck, 1979: 481).

Following on from the examination of developments in recent thinking about men's roles in relation to women and children, Chapter 3 represents a link between the theoretical findings examined in the first two chapters and the practical results of the Franco-British study which are discussed in Chapters 4 to 8. In Chapter 3, the aims and methodological approach of the cross-national field study, which are based on the findings of previous research on male roles, are presented. Firstly, the preparatory process of selecting comparable areas for study in Britain and France, of gaining access to a sample of men in each country and of devising culturally and linguistically compatible questionnaires in French and English is discussed. Secondly, details of the Franco-British pilot study designed to test the validity of the questionnaires are given, and findings from this smaller-scale analysis which relate directly to the main empirical

study are examined. In the final section of Chapter 3, the response rates achieved in the main field study are analysed and the profile data relating to the sample of respondents obtained in Britain and France are discussed.

In Chapters 4 to 8, the attitudes and behaviour of the French and British men who participated in the main field study are analysed. Chapter 4 focuses on the underlying conceptions which are held by the British and French respondents in relation to male and female roles in society. The views of the respondents in each country about recent developments in women's and men's place in society are discussed and compared. The opinions of the French and British men about future changes in gender roles are also analysed. The way in which men in each country structure their ideas about male and female roles provides a clear indication of what they consider their own place within society and the family to be, and determines the framework on which their attitudes and behaviour, analysed in Chapters 5 to 8, are based.

In Chapters 5 to 8 a range of aspects of the day-to-day roles of men in contemporary French and British society is discussed. Chapters 5 and 6 deal with the relationship between men and women. In Chapter 5 the male-female relationship within the couple is analysed: the nature and degree of participation of the French and British respondents in household tasks and the views of men in each country about issues such as the gender division of leisure activities, female employment and role reversal are examined. The scope



of analysis is broadened in Chapter 6, which focuses on the attitudes of men towards women in society as a whole. In this chapter the opinions of the French and British men about the stereotyping of characteristics and attitudes according to sex are explored, as are the views of the respondents about stereotyping within the field of paid employment.

In the light of the discussion of men's relationship with and attitudes towards women within the couple and society as a whole, Chapters 7 and 8 focus on the relationship between French and British men and their children. In Chapter 7, the practical involvement of the respondents in the rearing of their children is discussed and the attitudes of men in each country to the division of parental responsibilities are explored. In Chapter 8, wider aspects of men's role as fathers are introduced: the views of the French and British respondents about child rearing practices and social policy issues regarding men as fathers are examined. In the final section of this chapter, the effectiveness of the very different approaches to family policy measures for fathers, which are prevalent in France and Britain in the 1980s, are discussed.

On the basis of the findings of the empirical Franco-British study examined in Chapters 4 to 8, the final chapter of the thesis, Chapter 9, looks at the the question of the future for men's roles in relation to women and children in French and British society. Following on from the analysis of

social policy for fathers which was carried out in Chapter 8, the issue of legislative, social and educational measures which may be relevant to the future development of men's roles is considered in Chapter 9. Comparisons are made about the specific position of men in relation to the above three types of measures in France and Britain in the 1980s and conclusions are drawn from the Franco-British cross-national perspective so as to indicate how, in view of the dysfunctionality of the traditional male role, men's place within the couple and society could change in the future. Chapter 9 leads into the Conclusion of the thesis, which assesses the findings of the study as a whole and suggests new directions in which research on male roles could fruitfully develop in Britain and France.

## Chapter 1

### Men and Women: Developments in Writing on Male Roles in the Twentieth Century

In order to be able to appreciate the attitudes and behaviour of French and British men in the 1980s in relation to their historical and social context, it is important to outline first of all the developments in writing and research which have influenced thinking about men's roles in Britain and France over the past few decades. In the present study, the starting point selected for this analysis of literature is the beginning of the twentieth century, a time when the first writings on men's place in society were beginning to emerge. As noted in the Introduction, much of the writing on men's roles, particularly in earlier decades, has focused predominantly on one specific facet of the male experience, that of either male-female or father-child interaction, rather than the relationship between the two. The literature review takes account of this divergence of emphasis: writing on men's roles in relation to women, the first area of men's studies to develop, will be examined in this chapter, while research dealing with men's roles as parents will be discussed in Chapter 2.

Until the beginning of the twentieth century very little was written about the role of men in society. Up to this point in time it was generally accepted that gender roles were

biologically determined and consequently sex-specific: men were expected to occupy the public, and women the private, sphere of society. In accordance with the specificity of the social function of the sexes, men and women were encouraged to cultivate very different characteristics. The basic elements of what was traditionally considered to be acceptable behaviour for men of this time are reflected in the earliest publications dealing with the nature of masculinity in society, which appeared in the United States from the 1850s onwards. The aim of these works, written within what Joseph Pleck (1979) terms the "traditional perspective", was principally to encourage young boys to develop qualities which would categorize them as definitively masculine. The didactic function of the publications is evident from their titles: The Young Man's Guide (Alcott, 1864); The Formation of a Manly Character (Peck, 1853); The Young Man Setting Out in Life (Guest, 1868); A Few Thoughts for a Young Man (Mann, 1870); Lectures to Young Men (Eliot, 1882) and Twelve Lectures to Young Men (Beecher, 1890) (cited in Petras, 1975). The socially approved masculine model of the late nineteenth century, as portrayed in these handbooks for young men, comprised the attributes of physical strength, courage, spirit, productiveness, self-control and a sense of honour. In their relationships with women, young males were encouraged to demonstrate gallantry by emulating the heroes of medieval courtly romances. This stereotype of men as brave and gallant continued to be actively reinforced in the

early decades of the twentieth century: in a later American handbook for boys (Shannon, 1913), readers were urged to develop a protective and chivalrous role towards women:

A true young knight is a boy, or young man, who is strong, brave, intelligent, gallant and pure. The knights of the Middle Ages were strong men. They practised athletics, took their outdoor sports seriously and were proud of their physical strength .... They were very gallant toward women. They would offer every courtesy and respect to girlhood, womanhood, wifehood and motherhood .... The purpose of this chapter is to inspire you to become a true knight in your social relations with girls and ladies. (Shannon, 1913; in Petras, 1975: 23)

Although the description of this male role model dates from 1913 and originates in American society, the basic traits of character which are classified as masculine have continued to be upheld by men throughout Western society as the twentieth century has progressed. In the analysis of the field study (Chapters 4 to 8), the model of behaviour and attitudes adhered to by the French and British respondents will be examined in order to determine if it is still based on this traditional stereotype of men as courageous, strong and protective towards women.

Although the earliest works which relate specifically to masculinity serve to reinforce in men a pattern of behaviour which stems from the Middle Ages, some suggestions about the need for new developments in the traditional male role also began to be voiced by writers in the first few decades of the twentieth century. Charlotte Perkins-Gilman (1911) was one of the first writers to state that society, traditionally dominated by men, should question its aggressive 'masculine'

values, re-examine 'feminine' values, and try to develop new human values common to both men and women. Perkins-Gilman's suggestions are remarkable for their time in that they prefigure the modern theory of androgyny (Bem, 1974) which holds that both men and women are capable of displaying similar attributes. The trend of thought initiated by Perkins-Gilman represents the emergence of the "exploitation perspective" (Pleck, 1979) on male roles, which argues for the need for change in men's behaviour on the basis that men are oppressors of women in society.

The early challenging of masculine values by writers such as Perkins-Gilman found little immediate support either in the United States or in Europe. The advent of the First and Second World Wars, while providing an opportunity for women to take on non-traditional roles, served from a male perspective to validate the aggressive masculine image. As soldiers, men were required to become fearless and heroic, following once again the example of the knights of the Middle Ages. Within all-male organizations such as the armies of the First and Second World Wars, the conventional stereotype of masculinity is internally reinforced among members of the group (Tiger, 1969). In the masculine environment of the battlefield, cultivation of the traditional male attributes of physical strength, aggression and competitiveness flourished.

In the post-war years, belief in the gender-specificity of

capabilities prevailed within Western society. Definitions of the roles of men and women began to be established: in an influential work on interaction within the family, for example, Talcott Parsons and Robert Bales (1956) emphasize the importance of role differentiation whereby the 'instrumental' father interacts with the external world, while the 'expressive' mother caters for the internal needs of the household.

It was only in the late 1950s that men's roles once again began to be questioned. This development was initially most marked in the United States, where, due to the growing influence of the feminist movement, academics from various disciplines were beginning to pay serious attention not only to the constraints of femininity but also to the problems of masculinity. Through her identification of the oppressive side of the masculine stereotype, the psychologist Ruth Hartley (1959) was one of the first researchers to produce empirical evidence for the desirability of change in male roles. In a study of child socialization, she demonstrates that more pressure is exerted on young boys to be masculine than on young girls to be feminine. This may lead to severe anxiety in men, particularly in those who are physically weak, small, or in some other way unable to live up to the conventionally aggressive male model. Hartley concludes that greater flexibility will require to be achieved in gender roles if stresses of this type are to be avoided.

During the 1960s, a decade which witnessed the popularization

of the ideology of the women's movement first in America and then in Europe, attention was focused on the female experience. Changes in women's role in society nevertheless brought about a gradual awareness that traditional concepts of masculinity would also have to be reviewed. Myron Brenton (1967) was one of the first American writers to suggest that the model of the aggressive and gallant medieval knight is no longer valid for most twentieth century men, who are likely to have a sedentary office-based occupation and an independent female partner who works outside the home. Brenton believes that if men are to resolve the conflict between their traditional conditioning and social reality, a new and more flexible model of male roles within the family and society must be developed:

There is a new way to masculinity, a new concept of what it means to be a man. It has little to do with how strong the male is physically, how adept he is at ordering people around, how versatile he is with a set of tools, or how closely he identifies with all the other stereotyped attitudes and acts.... It simply requires a man to be more fully human, more fully responsive, and more fully functioning than he has ever before allowed himself to be. This is the freedom that equality of the sexes offers him. (Brenton, 1967: 232-3)

The dilemma faced by men in attempting to reconcile new social patterns with traditional concepts of masculinity was also highlighted by a small number of European writers towards the end of the 1960s (for example: Bednarik, 1970). The awakening of interest in men's place in society was particularly evident in France, where the student uprisings of May 1968 had not only violently defied the accepted



economic and academic order, but also engendered strong criticism of the conventional hierarchy of the sexes in society. Unlike their American counterparts, European writers had at this stage not yet begun to voice the need for any true restructuring of male attitudes and behaviour. The principal message conveyed by French and British literature of the time is simply one of the panic and fear experienced by many men in the face of undeniable and irrevocable changes taking place in the role of women within society. Catherine Valabrègue (1968) captures this feeling of male uncertainty in a book which analyses the reactions of French men to the social developments brought about by the women's movement. While concluding that French men in the 1960s acknowledge that women's place in society is changing, Valabrègue notes that these men are not ready to modify their lifestyle in any tangible way in order to adapt to the new roles carried out by women. Valabrègue is the first writer on male roles to identify the important difference between theoretical views and practical behaviour, which will be shown in the analysis of the field study (Chapters 4 to 8) to represent a significant obstacle, particularly in France, to the development of greater flexibility in gender roles.

Whatever their precise ideological standpoint, the majority of books on male roles which appeared in the late 1960s and early 1970s depicted women as the oppressed sex and men as the dominators in Western culture. As noted earlier, this trend represents the 'exploitation' perspective (Pleck 1979)

which portrays the male role as essentially self-seeking and manipulative. One writer of the period who puts forward the opposite view is Esther Vilar (1971), who maintains that it is the female sex which constitutes the ruling class in society. Describing the ways in which men can be regarded as providing material, financial and social support for women, Vilar claims that men may not be in such a position of undisputed advantage and dominance as is suggested by supporters of the women's liberation movement. While Vilar's theory has, over time, attracted much less popular support than that depicting women as the oppressed sex, it does represent the initial manifestation of a current of thinking which was adhered to by a small but significant number of 'male liberationists' in the later 1970s and 1980s.

By the early 1970s the feminist movement, as it gained widespread influence, was encouraging not only women but also men to give new consideration to the whole problem of male-female relations. During this period, the new ability of women to express their demands and aspirations appears to have made it easier for men to describe their personal views about the male condition. Men's consciousness-raising groups, modelled on the all-female groups which had enabled many women to come to terms with their femininity, began to be set up during this period. Their aim was to enable men to write about problematic aspects of their male identity. American collective publications such as Unbecoming Men: A Men's Consciousness Raising Group Writes on Oppression and

Themselves (1971) and the journal Brother: A Forum for Men Against Sexism (founded in 1971), precursors of material published by organizations such as the French and British men's groups, which will be discussed in Chapter 9, permitted men for the first time to explore the pressures of the male experience. As men became more accustomed to writing about their own feelings, a number of intensely personal articles dealing with subjects such as male aggression, emotions and sexuality were published (Julty, 1972; Roache, 1972; Lester, 1973; Candell, 1973; Litewka, 1973). This demonstrates the way in which American research on male roles had begun to internalize, by the first few years of the 1970s, the rejection of conventional masculine values such as objectivity and the lack of emotion.

As knowledge about the nature of masculinity increased, some disadvantages of the traditional male role began to be exposed. Sidney Jourard (1971) and Jack Balswick and Charles Peek (1971) were among the first writers in the United States to demonstrate that many aspects of the male stereotype, such as the suppression of emotions and the relentless drive for success, are detrimental to human health. These findings were echoed by the French academic Ferdinand Bartholomé (1972) in his study of the intense mental and physical pressures facing American male executives. Some traditionally masculine characteristics, in particular the tendency to deal aggressively with other people, have even

wider negative implications in that they may discourage international cooperation within the field of foreign affairs (Steinem, 1972).

Once dysfunctional aspects of the male role had begun to be identified, the volume of research on men's place in society increased rapidly as writers began to suggest and evaluate possible new modes of male behaviour. The first American empirical studies to examine the attitudes of male college students (Komarovsky, 1973; Olstad, 1973) demonstrate that, while many men in the early 1970s harboured an emotional allegiance to traditional gender roles, some were seeking freedom to express their masculinity in new ways. This perceptible change in men's views about their place in society heralded an important development in research on male roles, the beginning of the male liberationist field of thought.

The male liberationist tradition holds that men, although irrevocably defined by their biological sex, need not necessarily conform to the stereotype of their traditional masculine gender role. The ideas of the liberationists, both male and female, were given academic support in the mid-1970s through the establishment of the concept of psychological androgyny (Bem, 1974). In her analysis of the gender-role traits of college students, Sandra Bem concludes that, on a psychological level, no human being is completely masculine or feminine, but exhibits a mixture of traits conventionally attributed to each of the two genders. As

demonstrated by writers who support the view that the theory of androgyny is the key to achievement of greater flexibility in male roles (Steinmann and Fox, 1974; Money and Tucker, 1976; Lyon, 1977), men may be liberated from the constraints of their biological sex role by developing interests and activities which are traditionally considered to be feminine.

The very first American works which belong to the male liberationist tradition (Tiger, 1969; Korda, 1972; Gould, 1973) simply serve to identify the need for change in male roles, but do not provide guidelines as to how greater flexibility in the male stereotype can be achieved. From 1974 onwards a more cohesive discipline of research on male roles began to develop through the publication, first in America and then in Europe, of a series of anthologies which examine different aspects of men's place in society (Pleck and Sawyer, 1974; Petras, 1975; Snodgrass, 1977). Writers from many different academic traditions, in addition to completely non-academic walks of life, join together in these works to examine male roles and suggest possible solutions for the liberation of men from the constraints of traditional masculinity.

Developing in greater depth the ideas presented in the above anthologies about male roles, a number of books which are specifically concerned with male liberation were published in the mid-1970s. Some of these works deal with the need for greater flexibility in the traditional model of masculinity

to be achieved in particular areas of society, such the portrayal of men in advertising (Falconnet and Lefaucheur, 1975), sexist behaviour in office life (Goodman and Walby, 1975) and discriminatory practices in the legal system (Sachs and Hoff Wilson, 1978). Others are general male liberation treatises, which hold that men are pressurized by society in every respect just as much as women and consequently require a similar liberation from gender stereotyping to that sought by feminists (Fasteau, 1975; Farrell, 1975; Goldberg, 1976; Dubbert, 1979). The male liberation trend of thought represents a significant development in attitudes towards masculinity. Following the unease felt by many men in both the United States and Europe about their role in society in the early 1970s (Steinmann and Fox, 1974; Valabrègue, 1976), it bears witness to a new spirit of optimism which maintained that it was perfectly possible for men to develop new, more nurturant modes of behaviour and that this change would undoubtedly be for the better. The euphoric mood typical of many of the male liberation works is illustrated by the promise of Warren Farrell (1975) to his male readers:

Becoming a liberated man... is achieving new freedoms - freedom beyond proving oneself; beyond worrying about appearances, on the playing field or in the office; in earned degrees or in job titles, in clothes, status or swagger.... Becoming a liberated man... is never underestimating the complexity, the joy or the pain of getting in touch with one's humanity. (Farrell, 1975: 313-4)

The belief of writers such as Farrell that their books could change men's behaviour is evident in the fact that they frequently contained a questionnaire or other self-assessment

measure designed to be completed both before and after the work was read.

Although the group of male liberationist writers mentioned above advocate strongly that change should take place in male roles, none of them truly address the question of how this change should be achieved. Many of the early male liberation writers, basing their arguments on the ideas of the women's movement, simply assumed that developments in male roles would occur as a logical result of the change which had been effected in female roles. Writers who held this assumption failed to appreciate the discrepancy between men and women as a social and political group. The American writer Jack Nichols (1975) is one of the first writers within the male liberationist tradition to point out the difference in the ways in which changes in women's and men's roles must be brought about. On the one hand, the changes introduced by the women's movement occurred largely on an economic level, involving the entry of the female sex into the public domain. On the other hand, new developments in male roles must take place in the area of men's personal and family experience. The British writer Andrew Tolson (1977) pursues in greater detail the important question of how men can be liberated from the constraints of their social conditioning. Inspired by the socialist dimension of women's struggle against male-dominated capitalist society, Tolson describes how he was initially convinced that men, by following the example of the women's liberation movement, could raise their own

consciousness and bring about a new stage of the debate on gender politics. Through his experiences as a member of a men's liberation group, Tolson subsequently discovered that men are too rigidly enshrined in the structure of male domination to experience any social discrimination which would bring them together as a cohesive group:

The very notion of 'men's politics' was paradoxical. We had no experience of sexual oppression, violence, jokes at our expense. And to assume that men can, unproblematically, experience 'men's liberation' - that there are any analogies with gay or feminist politics - is, in the end, an illusion. (Tolson, 1977: 143-4)

Tolson's book marks a significant stage in the development of literature on masculinity. Unlike previous writers within the male liberationist tradition, who in general express an optimistic outlook on the possibility of increased flexibility in male roles, Tolson takes account of the fact that the majority of men lack any common grievance which would motivate them to campaign collectively for social change. Men are likely to wish to remain in the position of social privilege which has always been an inherent part of the traditional male role.

In contrast to the above series of works, which focus on the need for change in men's individual experience of the male role, a second strand of research which developed from the mid-1970s onwards concerns the meaning of masculinity in its widest sense. The American writer Phyllis Chesler (1978), whose book was also published in Britain, is one of the first researchers to devote attention to masculinity as portrayed



in mythology, art and literature. Through examples such as the glorification of the patriarchal tradition which permeates the Bible, the depiction of male heroism in war of Goya's paintings, or the tyrannical power of the father as symbolized in Kafka's writings, Chesler makes the important point that much of male creative genius has served to reinforce men's aggressive supremacy in society. Ross Firestone (1979) is another American writer who, in a study of masculinity, as depicted in the autobiographies, journals, letters and diaries of famous men of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, applies a literary approach to the analysis of male roles. Writers such as Chesler and Firestone were the first to contribute to the under-researched area of knowledge about the influence of cultural images of masculinity on men's attitudes and behaviour, an important field which was subsequently to be neglected both in the American and European contexts.

A broadening of scope in the area of research on male roles, visible in the United States towards the end of the 1970s, was also gradually becoming evident in both France and Britain during this period. In France in particular, the emergence of an independent discipline of research on male roles was marked by the publication of a number of collections of essays on men's place in French society. The first of these anthologies, entitled L'Homme au masculin (1978), was published by the organization "L'Ecole des parents et des éducateurs" as a special issue of their

journal Le Groupe Familial. It contains essays both on the public image of men in politics and society and on the private image of men in relation to sexuality and personal affairs. A number of the contributions to this work add little to the general debate on men's roles, as they examine issues which had already been fully documented by American writers, such as the disadvantages of the masculine stereotype (Képès, 1978; Waynberg, 1978) and the call for male liberation (Falconnet, 1978). From a cross-cultural perspective, it is nevertheless significant to note that these French writers on male roles put forward similar ideas to those expressed earlier by their American counterparts. In the absence of empirical data about the male experience, European writers were perhaps likely to rely on the findings of early research on men's roles in the United States. The similarity between the views of writers in America and France also indicates that the path towards the growth of flexibility in men's roles, although occurring at different rates, may be fundamentally the same in different Western cultures.

The most interesting articles in L'Homme au Masculin are those which deal specifically with men's place in French society in the late 1970s. There is evidence that some French men are trying to achieve greater flexibility of behaviour. Martine Frech (1978) describes the experiences of men trying to enter traditionally feminine professions, while André Pérot (1978) examines the demands of some men who wish

to play a greater part in contraception and family roles. Men who seek to develop a more androgynous lifestyle are nevertheless the exception: as noted by Laura Prémat (1978) male oppression of women is still prevalent in French society of this period. The tenacity of the traditional male stereotype is also emphasized in a second collection of articles on men's place in society, an issue entitled "Masculinités" of the journal Recherches. In a particularly interesting essay on the response of French men to changes in women's roles, Pierre Lascoumes (1978) states that dominance is such an integral part of the male identity that it passes unnoticed by most men. According to Lascoumes, French men of the post-feminist era have not sufficiently internalized the gravity of the patriarchal oppression of women, and are therefore unable to negotiate a more egalitarian sharing of power between the sexes.

As is evident from the viewpoints presented in the above works on male roles, the optimism of the early male liberationists was followed by a period of pessimism as regards the future of masculinity. Towards the start of the 1980s, research began to indicate that the effects of male conditioning were much more difficult to break down than had previously been thought. According to a number of researchers (Tognoli, 1979; Hunt, 1980), one of the principal stumbling-blocks to changes in male-female relations is the way in which men are brought up to believe that they are incapable of carrying out household tasks. Males are

oriented 'outwardly' and women 'inwardly' from childhood onwards: boys tend to play outside the home or far away from it, whereas girls are encouraged to remain in or near it. This creates in adult males a fear of the home, which is regarded as a feminine domain. In the late twentieth century, when more and more women are working outside the home, it might be helpful for men to undergo a more androgynous socialization process which would enable them to overcome their sense of inadequacy towards home-centred activities such as childrearing and household tasks.

A sense of alienation towards the home is not the only psychological problem suffered by men in modern society. Herb Goldberg (1979), in a book examining the 'liberation crunch' in which men are entrapped, notes that the traditional stereotype of each sex is changing at a different pace: while men still feel compelled to live up to the pressures of the masculine role, they cannot find women who will be prepared to play the opposite feminine role. As explained by the American writer William Goode (1980), men in the post-feminist era are likely to feel puzzled and hurt, believing that women have rejected their protection and guidance. In addition to their psychological lack of acceptance of changes in gender roles, men may also experience practical difficulties which hinder their acceptance of greater equality between the sexes. As noted by the French writers Marie-Rose Roussier and André Durandea (1980), men may be unable to cope with the new burden of family responsibilities

which a deviation from the traditional masculine stereotype would entail. Appearing as a reaction to the initial wave of men's liberation literature, the works of writers such as those mentioned above testify to the idea that male liberation is not as simple to carry out in practice as it is in theory.

In response to the series of works highlighting the problems involved in attempting to transform men's ideas, the early 1980s witnessed, in both the United States and Europe, a growth in publications which analysed the conditioning experienced by men in modern society. From 1980 onwards, three major trends begin to emerge in the field of literature dealing with men's roles in society: men's gender role development and the nature-nurture debate; male practical involvement in household labour; and the meaning of masculinity and male sexuality in Western society. In order to acquire an overview of the state of research on men's roles in contemporary France and Britain, it is worth looking at each of these three areas individually.

The first of the three areas of research on men's roles which has developed during the 1980s is that of male gender-role development. In response to the finding of researchers in the late 1970s that widespread change in male roles, such as that advocated by the male liberationists, has not been achieved, a number of studies have been carried out in both the United States and Europe in the 1980s in an attempt to determine whether male and female stereotyped behaviour is

governed by biology (nature) or social conditioning (nurture). Gender differences have been investigated in a wide variety of areas of human experience, including: the use of language (Berryman-Fink and Wilcox, 1983); friendship patterns (Bell, 1981); attitudes towards success (Cano et al., 1984) and career aspirations (Danziger, 1983). The majority of works published in the 1980s which analyse the origins of stereotyped behaviour conclude that cultural and social influences exercise a greater effect than biology on the development of the masculinity or femininity of an individual (Ortner and Whitehead, 1981; Reid and Wormald, 1982). This finding is of particular relevance to the present study, since it suggests that the behaviour of the French and British respondents may be culturally conditioned and that male roles are consequently likely to be affected by social and educational measures concerning gender which could potentially be introduced in each country (see Chapter 9).

The book by the British writer John Nicholson (1984) on differences between the sexes throws lights on the process of early gender role conditioning undergone by men. While demonstrating that biology creates undeniable physical differences between men and women as regards body structure, strength, and life span, Nicholson shows that cultural forces, such as television, advertising, children's books and parental toy choices exert a greater influence on early gender role development. According to Nicholson, cultural pressure to conform to traditional gender role behaviour is

exerted more forcefully on the male sex, since young boys are obliged to learn that the development of conventional masculinity entails an active effort to be different from their mothers, the parent with whom they are likely to have had most contact in early childhood.

The power of social conditioning over men's gender role development is also analysed by Joseph Pleck (1981), who offers a new insight into how males are socialized and conditioned through his rejection of the conventional male gender role identity paradigm. This model, previously dominating the theory of psychological development, holds that men's sense of identity derives from their relationship with their fathers. Pleck puts forward an alternative paradigm, the gender role strain model, which is based on the belief that men are conditioned by society as a whole to take on stereotyped personality characteristics. This view is supported by the French writer Emmanuel Reynaud (1983), who notes in addition that many of the culturally conditioned characteristics instilled in men, such as aggressivity and the desire to dominate, can be harmful and unhealthy for society as a whole. French and British works of the 1980s which examine male gender-role development represent a general consensus that men's behaviour is not biologically determined, but influenced by society: men's roles are not static and should consequently be able to develop in accordance with changing cultural patterns.

If, as indicated by the studies mentioned above, men's behaviour is culturally conditioned, it is logical to expect that male roles may be changing as society evolves. The second trend in current research on male roles is that of the empirical study designed to assess how far men are actually developing in their day-to-day involvement in practical tasks about the home. A number of recent works carried out in this category are discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, where their detailed findings about male and female roles are compared with those of the present study. In this chapter, only a brief outline of the overall development of research in this area will therefore be provided.

The majority of empirical studies of male participation in household labour which have been carried out in the 1980s indicate that most men in both Britain and France play only a very minor role in the running of the home. Evidence of this is particularly common within the French context. Even men whose partners work outside the home tend only, at best, to provide occasional help with household tasks (Pitrou, 1980). Men are extremely selective about the tasks which they are prepared to carry out, rejecting chores which are heavily time-consuming (Rousse and Roy, 1981; Grimler and Roy, 1987). They also take little account of family characteristics which may place a very heavy burden on their partner: even men who have a large number of children are reluctant to participate in tasks such as cooking or cleaning unless their partner is actually ill or absent from the home (Chabaud-Rychter et al.,



1985). Two possible reasons are suggested by researchers in the 1980s for the failure of male roles to adapt to changing social patterns in which more and more women are working outside the home and therefore have less time to devote to household labour. In the first place, women themselves may sometimes discourage men from participating in household tasks, since they are used to defining the home as a field of female authority and expertise (Pitrou, 1980; Yogev, 1981). More commonly, however, men may be unable or unwilling to participate in household tasks due to the fact that society expects them to demonstrate total commitment to their traditional role in the employment world. As noted by the British social psychologist Margaret O'Brien (1984), many men in the 1980s experience severe "work-home" conflict due to the lack of time which they have available to share between their employment and family responsibilities. The small minority of men who do participate in the running of the home are shown by research in the 1980s (for example: Haas, 1982) to have been socialized to conform to a non-traditional model of masculinity: as children, they are likely to have had a mother in paid employment and to have been permitted to demonstrate non-masculine behaviour.

As indicated by research on male involvement in household tasks, men's conceptions about the nature of masculinity, themselves socially conditioned, are important in that they influence male behaviour patterns in society. The third and most rapidly expanding area of research on male roles in the

1980s attempts to explore the nature and meaning of contemporary masculinity. Writers from a variety of backgrounds in the United States, France and Britain have addressed the general issue of the male experience in relation to women in the 1980s (Brothers, 1981; Friedman and Sarah, 1982; de Ridder, 1982; Solomon and Levy, 1982; Franklin, 1984; Ingham, 1984; Cline and Spender, 1987). Many of these works widen the exploration of the meaning of masculinity to include sections of the male population to whom little attention had previously been paid, such as members of men's groups (de Ridder, 1982), elderly men (Solomon and Levy, 1982) and black men (Franklin, 1984). Over and above these works which provide a broad-based examination of masculinity, a number of individual trends have developed in this field. Firstly, in an attempt to understand various elements of contemporary male behaviour, some researchers have examined the historical development of the role of men in society. The psychological marginalization of women by the male sex, as expressed in the caricatured and often cruel representation of women in contemporary male humour, is shown to have its roots in a male portrayal of women in ancient folklore as fools, devils or sexual objects (Ranelagh, 1985). Similarly, the dominance of the male sex within the modern education system, as exemplified by boys' monopoly of physical, linguistic and visual space within schools, originates from the traditional notion that women are unsuited to being educated (Mahony, 1985). As in the case of the above two writers, the

majority of researchers state that some of the fundamental aspects of masculinity have remained unchanged over the centuries. The American writer J. Thomas Isherwood (1983) puts forward a conceptual framework suggesting that men have always been conditioned to operate in four behavioural modes only: they are traditionally constrained to be functional, objective, dominant and femiphobic. In contrast, it is also suggested in some studies of masculinity that men, in the past, have shown that they are capable of overthrowing the oppression of the traditional male role. According to Barbara Ehrenreich (1983), even before the social upheaval caused by the flourishing of the women's movement in the 1960s, young men had demonstrated their rebellion against the limits of stereotyped masculine behaviour by creating the Beat era of the 1950s as a means of refusing to submit to the breadwinner ethic. Taken as a whole, contemporary research on the historical development of masculinity indicates that, while many aspects of male roles are slow to change, men may be perfectly capable of developing new modes of behaviour if they really wish to do so.

In addition to research on the history of male roles, a second approach to the study of masculinity in the 1980s is represented by a group of books which are based on in-depth and normally unstructured interviews with men (Collange, 1981; Roberts, 1984; Franks, 1984; Ford, 1985). Most of these books are written by researchers with a background in journalism and are symptomatic of the fact that men's roles

have become a best-selling subject for investigation in contemporary society. The methodological approach of writers in this category tends to be less rigorous than that employed in more academic research on male roles. Of this group of works, the book about French men by Christiane Collange (1981) is based on the most homogeneous and structured sample: all of the men analysed are aged between twenty and sixty, employed, heterosexual and members of social classes A-C. As regards the interview methods used in the other books, the statement of Anna Ford that "There was no formal questionnaire demanding that each man talk about exactly the same things, just as there was no theory or thesis about men waiting to be proved" (Ford, 1985: 9) is typical. The innovatory feature of these books lies in the fact that they allow men to express their feelings at length and to explore the areas of masculinity which are most salient to them. They also throw light on some types of men whose opinions are traditionally considered taboo or unpopular, such as criminals and rapists (Ford, 1985) or sadomasochists and unrepentant chauvinists (Roberts, 1984). Through the portrayal of the attitudes of a wide range of men, including some on the margins of conventional society, the interview studies published in the 1980s break down the barriers of traditional masculine objectivity and lack of emotion to provide insight into the way in which individuals experience and live out their male identity.

Linked to the intensely personal aspects of masculinity, the

third and most radical type of book on male roles which has appeared in the 1980s examines the subject of male sexuality. Breaking new ground, the American writer Nancy Friday progressed from her earlier analysis of female sexuality (1976) to a comprehensive exploration of male sexual experiences and fantasies (1980). Published in Great Britain as well as in the United States, Friday's (1980) work, while demonstrating that many male fantasies involve violence towards women, conveys a generally indulgent view of male sexuality in which "love" is portrayed as the motivation for men's desire to dominate and overpower the female sex. A harsher and more empirically based viewpoint is presented by the British writers Andy Metcalf and Martin Humphries (1985), who edit a collection of essays on male sexuality in the 1980s. The stated aim of Metcalf and Humphries is to go beyond the purely personal or confessional stance adopted by the small number of writers who had previously tackled the subject and to examine the general mechanisms and theory on which men's sexuality is based. The most important point to emerge from the book is that men's experience of their sexuality is much more precarious and fraught with problems than is commonly thought to be the case. From childhood onwards, men are subjected to intense pressure to demonstrate that they are masculine. This anxiety to conform to the traditional stereotype is increased by media symbolism, comedy and fiction plots portraying men's sexual roles as hard, tough and aggressive (Dyer, 1978). Men who fear that

they cannot live up to this image with real women may seek comfort in pornographic material depicting substitute women over which they can exercise control (Moye, 1978). It is this male need to have power over women which poisons male-female relations in all areas of society and leads to male abuse of women, which ranges from harassment in the workplace to assault and rape. The only way to improve relationships between men and women is for men to recognise that masculine strength is a false idea and to strive to create a more egalitarian, tender and loving model of male sexuality (Seidler, 1978).

As is evident from the above overview of developments in writing on men's relationship with women, the depiction of the role of men within Western society has changed radically since the beginning of the twentieth century. The idealized masculine model of behaviour, as portrayed in literature on male roles, has developed over the past eighty years from the gallant and courageous protector of women to the role-sharing home-maker who has an egalitarian relationship with his female partner and strives to develop the more feminine side of his personality. This transition in the image of masculinity, motivated to a large extent by changes in women's role in society, has occurred at a particularly fast pace since the 1960s. It has taken place in tandem with developments in gender roles at a social level in each particular culture: writing on masculinity in the United States, where gains in women's rights were achieved at an

earlier stage than in Europe (Valabrègue, 1976; Oakley, 1981), has consistently influenced and prefigured research on male roles in Britain and France. From a Franco-British comparative perspective, the social uprisings of the late 1960s in France motivated a more immediate and thorough questioning of men's traditional roles than was evident in the British context. As is apparent from the above review of literature, thinking about men in France and Britain, two countries which are at roughly the same stage of social and economic development, has nevertheless evolved by the late 1980s to approximately the same degree and in a similar ideological direction.

Although writing on men's roles in the 1980s may portray a very different model of masculinity from that evident at the start of the twentieth century, public attitudes, and in particular the views of men themselves, may not have developed to the same extent. As shown in the section of this chapter dealing with studies of male involvement in household tasks, men in real life do not seem to have internalized the model of flexible and egalitarian gender roles advocated in writing on masculinity as early as the 1970s. The rapid consecutive changes in outlook of writers on male roles, from the elation of the male liberationists of the early 1970s through the disillusionment of the late 1970s to the renewed but sober optimism of the 1980s, appear to have had little immediate effect on the attitudes and behaviour of men as individuals. Personal attitudes towards

male roles, and to an even greater extent behavioural patterns, are likely to evolve at a much slower rate than writing about men's place in society. Men's practical experience of and attitudes towards male and female roles in contemporary Britain and France will be analysed, in the section of the field study analysis covered by Chapters 5 and 6, in relation to the background of developments in research which have been outlined in this chapter.



Men and Children: Developments in Writing on the Father-Child Relationship in the Twentieth Century

As was demonstrated in the previous chapter, the model of men's roles portrayed in writings about the male-female relationship has changed radically over the course of the twentieth century. Following the developments brought about by the women's movement, which enabled women to enter previously male-dominated areas of society, research on male roles has increasingly suggested that men should be freed from the constraints of their traditional gender stereotype in order to develop more nurturant qualities. The way in which a more expressive image of masculinity could be achieved is consistently shown, in research on male roles, to involve the participation of men in the traditionally feminine domain of child rearing (Delaisi de Parseval, 1984; Kelen, 1987). The discipline of research which deals with father-child interaction can therefore be seen to have developed out of the initial tradition of writing on the male-female relationship which was examined in Chapter 1. As will be demonstrated in this chapter, research on the father-child relationship is an area of writing on male roles which has expanded particularly since the 1970s and seems likely to represent the major focus for the future development of men's studies as a whole in both the United

States and Europe in the 1980s.

Although some questioning of men's traditional place in society was evident in writing on male and female roles during the first few decades of the twentieth century, little mention was made of any developments in the father's place within the family at this time. During the first half of the twentieth century, research on the roles of mothers and fathers towards their children was dominated by the "traditional" paradigm (Fein, 1978) based on the theories of Sigmund Freud, who supported a gender-specific division of parental responsibilities. In his work on infantile sexuality, Freud (1905) claims that the oral zone and related activities such as sucking or swallowing are crucial to young children. The mother, who traditionally feeds and cares for the child, is consequently regarded as occupying the most prominent position in the life of a young baby. Freud assumes that fathers play no real part in the development of their infants until the children grow older and begin to experience the conflicts of the Oedipus complex. The Freudian view of the mother-child bond as paramount influenced research on parental roles in the United States and Europe until the beginning of the 1960s. This can be seen from an analysis of early infant care handbooks aimed at parents. The American writer Benjamin Spock (1957), in the first edition of his child care manual, describes the father as "a complete outsider" (Spock, 1957: 41) at the time of the birth of his child. Similarly, the British child care expert

John Bowlby (1953) emphasizes the view that the mother, as the first object of infant attachment, must necessarily be the parent of primary significance in the life of the child. Fathers in the 1950s were largely ignored by writers on child care: the paternal role was regarded as consisting predominantly of providing financial security for the family and, at most, of supporting the mother through the transition to parenthood and the early years of caring for the child.

The possibility that men, as well as women, might have a role to play in the rearing of their children began to be suggested by researchers from the mid-1960s onwards, at a time when the traditional relationship between the sexes had been brought into question by the ideas of the women's movement. This gradual change in attitudes represents the emergence of the "modern" paradigm of research on fatherhood (Fein, 1978). Although their intention was not specifically to examine the paternal role, the British psychologists John and Elizabeth Newson (1965), in their book about infant care patterns in an urban community, were among the first writers to indicate that the increasing emancipation of women appeared to be bringing about the emergence of the domestication of men. Analysing the labour divisions in families from a range of social backgrounds, the Newsons claim that approximately half of the fathers taking part in their study could be classified as participant in child care.

In the wake of studies such as the above, which provided

empirical evidence that parental roles within the family were beginning to change, a number of researchers in the late 1960s turned their attention to the question of the involvement of men in child rearing. The first works which deal exclusively with father-child interaction originated in the United States and were followed by the publication of European books on fatherhood. Both the American and European writers who examine the father-child relationship identify the motivation for a review of the traditional paternal role as arising from changes taking place in the relationship between men and women at a social level.

The American sociologist Leonard Benson (1968), in one of the first books to be published on fatherhood, states that just as women have entered the previously masculine world of employment, so too should men become involved in the conventionally feminine area of child rearing. This argument is presented in more urgent terms in the first French works to deal specifically with fatherhood, which were published in the early 1970s. The events which took place in France in the late 1960s, representing a brusque rupture with the traditional acceptance of authority in society, are viewed by French writers on fatherhood as necessitating changes in the authoritarian patriarchal model of fatherhood behaviour. The French psychiatrist Bernard Muldworf (1972), in a book about the significance of the paternal role within society, stresses the direct causal link between the student uprisings of 1968 and the need for a new definition of

parental roles:

C'est l'évolution des rôles masculins et féminins, la modification des images socio-culturelles de l'homme et de la femme qui font poser en termes nouveaux, la définition des rôles paternels et maternels. Depuis la grande fracture historique de mai-juin 1968, nous sommes entrés dans une «crise de civilisation».... Les rôles féminins et masculins évoluent, les rôles maternels et paternels sont appelés à évoluer. (Muldworf, 1972: 170)

A new definition of paternal and maternal roles is made necessary by the development of male and female roles and the change in socio-cultural images of men and women. We have entered into a "crisis of civilisation" since the great historic watershed of May and June 1968.... Male and female roles are changing; the roles of mothers and fathers must change too.

This view of social changes as bringing about the necessity for a transformation in the paternal role is also expressed by the French writer André Le Gall (1974) in a book about the new role of fathers within the family. Le Gall pays particular attention to the way in which the challenging of the structure of French society through the events of 1968 created an environment which has stripped the role of the father within the family and society of its traditional importance. Whereas in the first half of the twentieth century paternal authority was socially affirmed and respected, fathers in the 1970s have been divested of their power both by their wives, who have gained greater equality with men and by their children, who are no longer willing to obey parental authority. Despite this apparent decrease in the validity of the paternal role, Le Gall points out that the changes which have taken place in the structure of French society, while apparently detrimental to men as a group, are

beneficial to fathers as individuals since they free them from stereotyped patterns of behaviour and provide encouragement for a closer and more flexible father-child relationship to develop.

The socially-motivated need for change in men's role within the family, as expressed by writers in the early 1970s, encouraged researchers to examine for the first time the nature and meaning of the father-child relationship. As in the case of research on the relationship between men and women, writers in the United States were the first to develop new theories in this area. While a number of French studies which were published in the early 1970s on the theory of fatherhood remain heavily influenced by the traditional Freudian perspective on family interaction (Lebovici and Crémieux, 1970; Mauco, 1971), the findings of early American studies of the father-child relationship indicate that men are capable of experiencing a close bond even with very young children (Kotelchuck, 1972; Dodson, 1975). The relationship between a father and his young child is two-way. Children have a greater effect on their fathers than was traditionally thought to be the case: the birth of a baby, for example, is likely to have an enormous impact on a man and often results in his becoming completely preoccupied with the child (Greenberg and Morris, 1974). In the same way, fathers appear to influence their children in a number of ways, such as in the development of a secure gender role identity (Biller, 1971).

Individual studies such as the above, which provide evidence for the importance of the father-child relationship within the family, paved the way for the publication of a series of broader based American works on fatherhood in the mid-1970s (Lynn, 1974; Lamb, 1976; special edition of The Family Coordinator, 1976). The appearance of these works, which cover a wide range of social, anthropological and historical issues concerning the paternal role, was significant since it demonstrated for the first time that the subject of fatherhood is not simply a branch of psychological research deriving from work carried out on the mother-child relationship, but a multi-faceted topic of interest in its own right. Two particular trends which broaden the scope of fatherhood research are evident in the groups of works noted above. Firstly, American research on fatherhood in the mid-1970s began to encompass not only the role of the father in modern Western society, but also the development of the institution of fatherhood since Greek and Roman times (Lynn, 1974). Secondly, information was collected, particularly in a special issue of The Family Coordinator devoted to fatherhood, on the changing experience of fathers at various points in the family life-cycle, including: the birth of a child (Coley and Evans, 1976; Fein, 1976), middle-age (Maxwell, 1976) and the role of being a grandfather (Watson and Kivett, 1976). These new trends in research on fatherhood broaden the base of knowledge about men as parents historically, cross-culturally and from the human

developmental perspective. They are important in that they demonstrate the existence of a nucleus of academics from different backgrounds working together with the aim of establishing the role of the father within society as a valid and meaningful subject of investigation.

The development of research on the paternal role into a multi-faceted discipline in the United States was accompanied by the publication of a number of studies representing the new "androgynous" paradigm (Fein, 1978) in writing on fathers, which indicated that the new participant role of men within the family was becoming more widespread at a practical level in society. The paediatrician Jo Manion (1977) states that many of the fathers interviewed in her study of infant care patterns were competent at looking after their newborn baby. Similarly, James Levine (1976), in a book about new models of caring for children, shows that men, whether as shared child rearers in the nuclear family, infant teachers, divorced custodial fathers or even single adoptive parents, are able to care for children as efficiently as women and are likely to find this experience personally enriching. By the mid-1970s, traditional biologically-determined conceptions about the gender specificity of parental roles were beginning to be broken down in the United States, to the extent that men were increasingly considered capable of rearing children single-handedly without the help of women.

In contrast to the position of fatherhood research in America



in the mid-1970s, where men are depicted as becoming more participant in child rearing in a variety of family types, writing on men's roles as parents progressed at a relatively slower rate in France and Britain. This is likely to be due in part to the availability of American works on fatherhood in Europe: Fitzhugh Dodson's book How to Father, for example, which was published in the United States and available in Britain in 1974, appeared as Le Père et son enfant in France as early as 1975. The transfer of American books to the European context, which has taken place in all areas of men's studies, is a factor which has contributed significantly to the slower development of an independent research discipline of writing on fatherhood in Britain and France.

Over and above this discrepancy between the rate of development of research in American and Europe, differences between the progress of writing on fatherhood in France and Britain were also evident in the mid-1970s. Studies of the paternal role carried out in France emphasize the fact that changes had already taken place in men's role within the family: many young French couples are depicted as having found a new sense of equality and freedom through the rejection of traditional gender-specific parental roles (Jacquey, 1977) and fathers are shown to have become more participant in the care and education of their young children (Bouchart-Godard, 1976). In contrast, writing on the role of the father in Britain at this time shows little evidence of increased paternal involvement in child rearing. The British

writer Maureen Green (1976), while noting that fathers in Britain in the mid-1970s were beginning to question the validity of their traditional role in society, depicts the reaction of British men to developments in the paternal role as markedly different from that of their French counterparts. Instead of cultivating a closer relationship with their children, British men, faced with the uncertainty of changes in their conventional place in the family, appear to be opting out of the paternal role completely:

Father's role has shrunk so drastically that it is no longer obvious how it can be worn with confidence. And in many cases it has become quite invisible.... Father, for the moment, is an endangered species. (Green, 1976: 7; 11)

The main reason for the difference in the progress of writing on fatherhood in Britain and France would seem to be linked to the overall development of the roles of men and women in each country. This issue will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4, which analyses the views of the French and British field study respondents about changes in male and female roles since the 1960s.

In summary, the political upheaval which took place in French society in the late 1960s appears to have motivated a more immediate and high-profile questioning of the traditional roles of men and women than that which was evident in Britain. In a family-oriented culture such as France (Questiaux and Fournier, 1978), the attention of researchers, alerted to the issue of gender roles, has focused most specifically on the roles of parents and has consequently

produced a more marked tradition of writing on fatherhood.

The more advanced development of research on fatherhood in France than in Britain became particularly evident towards the end of the 1970s: a comparison of the state of writing on the paternal role in the two countries reveals that by 1979 French researchers were claiming that the era of the nurturant "new father" had already arrived, whereas British writers were still urging men to take even a basic interest in child rearing. In the British context, the most common type of publication on the paternal role to appear towards the end of the 1970s was the manual of advice for prospective fathers. Books of this type provided an impetus for increased public knowledge about fatherhood by introducing British men to the idea that parenting is a responsibility which involves not only mothers, but also fathers. Peter and Elizabeth Fenwick's (1979) baby care manual is written specifically for men whose partner is expecting their first child and aims to encourage fathers to develop a close relationship with their baby during their partner's pregnancy, at the birth, and afterwards. Peter Little's (1980) handbook for fathers focuses more on the involvement of the father in caregiving activities during the first few months of his child's life. Both of these books take account of the sense of personal futility felt by many men in the post-feminist era and seek to convince fathers that they have a vital and challenging function to fulfil towards their partner and children. The authors of both works use a

number of stylistic devices, such as pictures, cartoon figures or typically masculine comradeship language (for example: "Have a go at changing his nappies..." Little, 1980: 58) in an attempt to make their male readers feel at home with subjects from which men have traditionally been excluded. The attention given to the presentation of the material indicates the great effort being made by British writers on fatherhood at this time to encourage men from all social groups to become involved in the previously female-dominated topics of childbirth and child care.

In contrast to the situation in Britain in the late 1970s and early 1980s, where writing on fatherhood consisted mainly of the single trend of manuals urging fathers to become involved in child rearing, research on the paternal role in France at this time was developing at three levels. Firstly, the theory of paternal roles was explored by writers such as Joël Clerget (1979) and Bernard This (1980), who examine the symbolic validity of the psychoanalytical ideology of parenthood for men in modern society. Secondly, changes taking place in the respective roles of parents in society as a whole were analysed: French men in the late 1970s are shown, in particular, to be seeking to take a more active part in family planning decisions (Langevin, 1979; Marbeau-Cleirens, 1979) and in the preparation for parenthood during pregnancy (Orr, 1981). Lastly, the behaviour of fathers as individuals was examined. In 1979, a number of French studies were published which depict men as definitively

liberated from the image of the stern and dictatorial father. French writers on fatherhood describe the newly-found child care abilities of many young men in enthusiastic terms: the overall findings of a two-part survey conducted by Anne-Marie Naud et al. (1979) are exemplified in its title "Les Jeunes Pères sont Révolutionnaires" (Young Fathers are Revolutionary). Naud et al. are convinced that French men, by the end of the 1970s, had become much more competent in caring for their young children. They state that the majority of the young French fathers interviewed in the first part of their survey claim to have participated fully in the decision to have a baby, in the pregnancy of their partner, in the actual birth process, and in the subsequent care of their child. In the second part of the survey, Naud et al. note that the responses provided by the mothers of the infants confirm those given by the young fathers. They therefore conclude that:

Les nouveaux pères existent... une nouvelle image du couple se dessine... Nous assistons à une révolution dans la famille. (Naud et al., 1979: 37)

New fathers exist... a new image of fatherhood is emerging... We are witnessing a revolution in the family.

Other French writers on fatherhood in the late 1970s were equally convinced that the role of the father in France had undergone a radical transformation. The June 1979 issue of Enfants Magazine, displaying significantly, and as an exception, the picture of a father and child on its cover, is comprised of a collection of articles on fatherhood which indicate that the traditional image of the men within the

family has changed. These articles examine some of the new demands made by nurturant fathers in modern society, such as the desire of divorced men to remain in close contact with their children. As stated in the introductory article, which sums up the views of the group of contributors, French fathers in the late 1970s had developed a more feminine mode of parenting which included the qualities of tenderness and affection.

Towards the beginning of the 1980s, writing on fatherhood, which up to this point had tended to concentrate on changes in the paternal role in the social and personal domain, focused more specifically on the theory behind the new, closer father-child relationship in modern society. Traditional Freudian theories about the superfluity of the father's role in the early life of his children held little relevance in a cultural context where men were being encouraged to develop a close bond with their children from as early as their partner's pregnancy onwards. One of the first new theoretical frameworks for the fatherhood experience was designed by the American clinicians Laurence Barnhill et al. (1979) on the basis of their work with prospective fathers taking part in a prepared parenthood programme. Barnhill et al. classify the process of transition to fatherhood in terms of six developmental tasks which must be carried out if the father is to succeed in his new family role. The initial task for the prospective father is to actively decide, with his partner, to have a child.

Once the child has been conceived he must accept the loss of personal freedom which his role as a father will entail and respond with empathy to the needs of his partner during her pregnancy and labour. After the birth he should help to integrate the child into the life of the family, redefine family boundaries by differentiating the new unit from the extended social network, and finally develop a sense of trust in the adequacy of the child and of himself. In contrast to the conventional Freudian view of parenting roles, which excludes men from the privileged relationship of the mother-baby dyad, the fatherhood model put forward by Barnhill et al. represents men as playing an independent and responsible role in the early development and rearing of their children.

The development of new ideologies of fatherhood such as the above provided a theoretical foundation for observational studies of the practical interaction of fathers with their children to be carried out. The findings of a number of observational studies conducted in the United States in the late 1970s and early 1980s support the view of theoreticians such as Barnhill et al. (1979) that fathers, like mothers, can play a significant role in the lives of their children. Some researchers note that men interact with their children in different ways to women: they may be more likely than mothers to demonstrate a rough-and-tumble style of play (Clarke-Stewart, 1978) or to encourage their children to carry out traditionally gender-stereotyped play activities (Tauber, 1979; Snow et al., 1983). These possible

differences do not mean that men are less capable of caring for children than women: evidence is also provided, from the observational setting, to indicate that fathers can be just as efficient at child rearing as mothers. In a study of infant feeding practices, the psychologists Douglas Sawin and Ross Parke (1979) indicate that fathers are as competent as mothers at bottle-feeding their young babies and that they are just as responsive as women to the behaviour of the children during the feeding session. Similarly, Behnaz Pakizegi (1978) describes how college-educated men and women interact with their toddler sons in ways which are qualitatively and quantitatively alike. When the amount of time available to spend with their young children is taken into consideration, father's involvement can also be regarded as equal in quality to that of mothers (Booth and Edwards, 1980). Analysed collectively, the large number of observational studies carried out on parent-child interaction in the United States in the late 1970s and early 1980s indicate that, while aspects of the rigid gender-stereotyped social conditioning instilled in many men may still emerge in the relationship of fathers with their children, the parenting practices of fathers may well be fundamentally similar, and therefore equally satisfactory, to those of mothers.

By the beginning of the 1980s, fatherhood was becoming established as an increasingly popular topic for research and analysis in both the United States and Europe.



Considerable advances had been made in knowledge about men's role as parents since the 1960s, when the first writings about fatherhood had emerged. The extent of these developments is highlighted by the change, over time, in the views of two well-known writers on men's role within the family. The first of these is Benjamin Spock, the American parent educator whose opinions, in 1957, about the lack of function of the father in the rearing of his children were mentioned at the start of this chapter. When publishing an updated edition of his child care handbook in 1976, Spock added an introductory section in which he explains that the development of the role of men within the family was one of the major motivatory factors which prompted the revised version of his manual:

I always assumed that the parent taking the greater share in the care of young children (and the home) would be the mother, whether or not she wanted an outside career.... Now I recognize that the father's responsibility is as great as the mother's. (Spock, 1976: 17)

In addition to the considerable social change which occurred in fatherhood roles during the period of almost twenty years between the publication of Spock's two manuals, marked developments also took place in research on men's role within the family between the mid-1970s and the early 1980s. This is reflected in the opinions of the American fatherhood researcher Michael Lamb at each of these two points in time. In the preface to the first edition (1976) of his book about the father's role in child development, Lamb stated that the issue of fatherhood was "a vastly underworked, poorly

researched field" (Lamb, 1976: x). By 1981, when Lamb published a second edition of the same work, he found it necessary to add a number of extra chapters on issues which had emerged since 1976, such as the relationship between parental and spousal interaction, or the non-traditional caring functions carried out by some fathers. Jonathan Bloom-Feshbach, contributing to Lamb's second edition, summarizes the developments which had taken place since the first edition in his statement that "There has been a virtual explosion of interest in fathers during the last decade" (Bloom-Feshbach, 1981: 71; in Lamb).

Through the changes in opinion of first Spock and then Lamb, writers at the forefront of research on men's roles within the family, the vast increase in interest in fatherhood from the late 1950s to the early 1980s is clearly evident. In his book about the paternal role at various stages of the family life-cycle, the American writer Ross Parke (1981) also makes note of "the new popularity of fathering" (Parke, 1981: 12). By the beginning of the 1980s, in the United States, the role of the father within the family was a high-profile subject of both academic and popular interest. In general, writings on the topic proclaimed optimistically the view that men were becoming closely involved in the rearing of their children and the hope that the traditional inequity of the burden of parental responsibilities would consequently be resolved.

Enthusiasm about men's new roles within the family was also

evident in Europe at the start of the 1980s. In France, the relatively strong tradition of research on fatherhood was consolidated by the appearance of two important anthologies, similar to those already published in the United States, which analyse a variety of new issues concerning the father-child relationship. Firstly, a collection of papers presented and initially circulated at an international conference entitled "Les Pères aujourd'hui", which was held in Paris in February 1981, were published in book form in France in 1982. Many of the contributors at this meeting deal with the previously under-researched area of clinical aspects concerning fatherhood. A variety of medical issues connected with paternity are examined, including: the couvade syndrome whereby prospective fathers experience phantom pregnancy symptoms (Trethowan, 1982); the reactions of fathers to the pregnancy of their partner (This, 1982); the feelings of fathers during the birth of their child (Philipp, 1982; Morris, 1982); and the advancement of new scientific techniques, such as artificial insemination and sperm conservation, which alter traditional ideas about what it means to be a father (Janaud and de Parseval, 1982; da Lage et al., 1982). The attention devoted, for the first time, to the biological and physical processes of fatherhood underlined the previous findings of sociological and psychological researchers in France that parenting is a process which involves men as well as women.

The second anthology of writings about the paternal role also

demonstrated new advances in research on fatherhood which were developing in France in the 1980s. A wide range of articles about men's role as fathers are brought together in a special edition of the journal Le Groupe Familial (1981) entitled "Modèles de Pères, Pères Modèles". Two of the topics analysed in this special edition, the father-child relationship and the symbolic significance of the paternal role, had already represented the focus of work on fatherhood in France during the 1970s. The other subjects examined demonstrate the new directions in which research on fathers in France was moving at the start of the 1980s. Firstly, analysis was being carried out on the historical background of the paternal role in order to determine if human paternal behaviour may have evolved biologically from the male reproductive role of various animal species. Fatherhood research was also broadened through the investigation of men's interaction with children outside the nuclear family. While the above two developments in the breadth of research follow trends of analysis which had originated in the United States, French writers on fatherhood were also beginning to pursue independently some new aspects of the role of fathers in modern society. Particular attention is given to the changing cultural definition of fatherhood as expressed through the image of the participant father projected by television programmes (Dumas and Blum, 1981; Chalvon, 1981) and in films such as "Kramer vs Kramer", which achieved great popularity in France in 1980 (L'Hôte, 1981). The consequences of this evolution of the image of fatherhood in

French society is another new topic which is examined in detail in this anthology: the contributor Paul Elkaïm (1981) is one of the first French writers to highlight the need for greater equality for nurturant fathers as regards child custody decisions in divorce cases. As is evident from the range of topics outlined above, the 1981 special edition of Le Groupe Familial represents a watershed in the history of writing on the paternal role in France. While French literature on fatherhood had been heavily influenced by the more advanced findings of American writers until the beginning of the 1980s, from this point onwards it began to develop into an independent discipline of research which applied more specifically to the situation of fathers in contemporary French society.

The progress being made in fatherhood research in France in the early 1980s was paralleled, in Great Britain, by an increased interest in the father's place within the family in both popular and academic circles. The publication, in 1982, of two anthologies about the role of fathers in Britain represents the first, although comparatively late, emergence of British writing on the specific subject of the paternal role. Firstly, in a book examining the findings of psychological research on fatherhood, Nigel Beail and Jacqueline McGuire (1982) present a comprehensive overview of the role of the father in the life of his children at various points of the family life-cycle, from the birth of a child (Beail, 1982: in Beail and McGuire; Lewis, C., 1982: *ibid.*)

through early childhood (McGuire, 1982: *ibid.*) to adolescence (Lewis, C. et al., 1982: *ibid.*). One particularly interesting theory put forward in this volume is the possible danger of going too far in encouraging fathers to encroach upon the birth process. As noted by Charlie Lewis (1982), the increase in male participation in childbirth may eventually result in the growth of male power in one of the few areas of human experience which has traditionally involved female expertise. This viewpoint, which was not in evidence in French writing on fatherhood in the early 1980s, demonstrates the difference in emphasis of attitudes towards changes in male roles in each country and is therefore of particular relevance within the Franco-British comparative perspective. As will also be explored throughout the analysis of the field study (see Chapters 4 to 8), interest in developments in men's roles in Britain tends to be more concerned with the male-female axis of men's relationships, while in France it is concentrated predominantly on the interaction between fathers and their children.

The second book on men's roles within the family to be published in 1982, which is edited by Lorna McKee and Margaret O'Brien, includes articles which cover three main aspects of fatherhood: the history and theory of the father's role, the experience of becoming a father, and non-traditional paternal roles within the family structure. McKee and O'Brien suggest, in contrast to the descriptive trend in much psychological research on the father's role,

that more attention should be paid to the historical and theoretical context of paternity. Their volume brings a new dimension to British research on fatherhood by providing theoretical frameworks which conceptualize knowledge about various aspects of the paternal experience, such as the reaction of men to the pregnancy of their partner (Richman, 1982: in McKee and O'Brien), divisions of labour in child care (McKee, 1982: *ibid.*) and single parenthood (Hipgrave, 1982: *ibid.*)

As illustrated earlier in this chapter, the areas of the fatherhood experience examined by Beail and McGuire (1982) and McKee and O'Brien (1982) had already been documented by French researchers on fatherhood in the late 1970s. The study of men's roles within the family appears to have evolved in the same direction in both countries, despite the fact that it developed at an earlier point in time in the French context. The progress of fatherhood research up to the early 1980s took place in three broadly-defined stages in both Britain and France: firstly, changes in the father-child relationship and increases in paternal involvement in child rearing were examined; secondly, the new role of men not only within the nuclear family, but also in non-traditional family units was investigated; and thirdly, the scope of study was broadened to include the historical, theoretical and cultural context of the paternal role.

After the broadening of scope of research on men's new role

within the family had occurred, the period from 1982 onwards witnessed a shift in emphasis in the field of fatherhood studies. While research was still being carried out on the practical involvement of men in the rearing of their children, as exemplified by Kathleen Backett's (1982) study of Scottish couples or Graeme Russell's (1983) book on fatherhood patterns in Australia, many writers in both the United States and Europe were turning their attention to the social policy implications of the changing role of the father within the family. At this point in time it was becoming increasingly evident that men's greater participation in the rearing of their children might be likely to involve a re-evaluation of the traditional male commitment to paid employment. If men were to be enabled to be present at the birth and to participate to a significant extent in the early care of their children, they would need to have recourse to policy measures which would permit them to have access to paternity and parental leave from the workplace (Winborn, 1983).

The first and most comprehensive examination of the effects of changing paternal roles on social policy provision was carried out by the American fatherhood researchers Michael Lamb and Abraham Sagi (1983). Within this collection of essays the analysis is multicultural and the approach interdisciplinary: official attitudes towards fathers in France and Britain are included in a comparative analysis of family policy in Western countries by Sheila Kamerman (1983:



in Lamb and Sagi). Particular attention is devoted to the parental leave entitlements which had been introduced for fathers in Sweden as early as 1974 (Lamb and Levine, 1983: *ibid*): this scheme is regarded as an example in social engineering which other countries should follow. As a whole, Lamb and Sagi's volume demonstrates the inadequacy, in the society of the 1980s, of the traditional notion that family policy is concerned solely with the protection of women and children.

As in the United States, the question of social policy provision for fathers also became a subject for discussion in Europe as the 1980s progressed. Traditionally, the official approach towards family policy in France and Britain has been very different, as will be shown in detail in Chapter 8. While French fathers in the 1980s have had access to a scheme of paternity and parental leave, no social policy measures for fathers have been introduced in Britain. The issue of the necessity for the introduction of family policy measures has therefore figured only in the writing of British fatherhood researchers.

The call for the introduction of family policy for fathers in Britain became increasingly more urgent from 1982 onwards. In one of the first studies of the problems faced by British fathers in attempting to obtain leave from work around the time of the birth of their baby, Colin Bell et al. (1983) state that the vast majority of men interviewed firmly support the introduction of a family policy scheme in Britain

which would enable fathers to take a greater part in the important life events of their family. Similarly, in a book which highlights the difficulties faced by fathers in a society where there are no social measures to facilitate the interaction between men and children, Brian Jackson (1983) demonstrates the need for educational services, hospitals and society in general to provide practical help so that men can more easily become nurturant parents. An even more urgent call for family policy measures for fathers is expressed by Tony Bradman (1985) in a parenting handbook which aims to encourage men to become more involved in the care of their children. In the absence of policy provision for fathers in Britain, Bradman urges his male readers to disregard employment responsibilities which would prevent them from participating in the lives of their children. In the majority of cases in Britain where employers do not provide paternity leave arrangements, for example, Bradman advises men to take sick leave in order to be present at and after the birth of their baby. Bradman's book marks a new stage in the development of British literature on family policy for men: in the face of a government which does not believe in the application of legislation to family issues (see Chapter 8), it encourages fathers to take the initiative by simply insisting on their right to be involved parents.

Although still influenced to some extent by recent developments in research in the United States, which include the publication of books dealing with the fatherhood

experience at all stages of the life cycle (Hanson and Bozett, 1985) and in various types of family unit (Lewis and Salt, 1986), writing on the paternal role has evolved independently and in directions specific to each national context in both Britain and France during the 1980s. In general, the development of research in each country has been in accordance with the ideological differences in attitudes towards social policy which were outlined above. In France, the provision of family policy measures for men has been paralleled by the findings of research outlining the need for fathers to be involved in the family and emphasizing the positive aspects of the paternal role (Naouri, 1985). The image of the nurturant father who is closely involved in the rearing of his children appears to have become firmly established in writing on fatherhood in France. In Britain, on the other hand, where no support for men's family roles has been available at a social policy level, writing which confirms that developments have taken place in fatherhood roles is much less in evidence. In a book which reassesses the position of fathers in the 1980s, the researchers Charlie Lewis and Margaret O'Brien (1987) suggest that men's roles within the family in Britain have changed less than has been claimed in many previous studies.

A cross-national comparison of writing on fatherhood in the mid-1980s indicates that the role of French men within the family appears to have changed, at least on a theoretical level, to a greater extent than that of their British

counterparts. Developments towards a more nurturant and involved model of fatherhood have been welcomed enthusiastically by most French writers on fatherhood up to this point. In contemporary France and Britain, a significant change of attitude towards these developments is nevertheless becoming apparent. As a result of the generally greater involvement of fathers in family life, the problem raised previously by Charlie Lewis (1982) of the increase of male power in traditionally feminine domains is now attracting attention. Concern about this issue is particularly evident in contemporary French research on fatherhood. In a book which analyses the social phenomenon of "new" fatherhood in France, Jacqueline Kelen (1987) claims that fathers who are highly involved in the rearing of their children may simply be seeking a new area in which to demonstrate their masculine superiority, which has been shaken by the developments in women's public role in society. The attempt of French men to cultivate a closer relationship with their children may represent their wish to replace the "femme-objet" (women as objects) stereotype of the pre-feminist era with a new "enfant-propriété" (children as possessions) (Kelen, 1987: 256) model of the 1980s. While believing that fathers should not revert to their traditionally uninvolved role within the home, Kelen states that men, in their participation in child rearing, should not model their behaviour on the traditional maternal image of parenting, but should cultivate their own new role, nurturant

but still involving elements of masculine instrumentality, within the family.

The stance of writers like Kelen, which upholds the need for a new gender-specificity of parental roles, underlies much of contemporary French writing on fatherhood, as exemplified by Jacques Dupuis' (1987) anthropological study of the paternal role or François Hurstel's (1987) examination of the psychoanalytic function of the father within the family. In contrast, contemporary British research on fatherhood still supports, to a large extent, the ideal of the interchangeability of parental roles. In a handbook advocating the sharing of parenthood roles between men and women, Joanna Roeber (1987) maintains that "All men have the ability to care for their baby single-handedly - men can 'mother' as well as women...." (Roeber, 1987: 5). This difference in attitude will be reflected in the responses of the French and British men taking part in the field study, in which gender-specificity is shown to be particularly salient within the French context.

Despite overall differences in French and British attitudes towards the gender-specificity of parental roles, there are some signs that the views of French writers such as Kelen (1987) may represent a new stage in research on parental roles which will also develop in Britain. In a book which sets out to examine the uncertainty of identity experienced by many contemporary British fathers, Richard Seel (1987) states that the key to parental roles in the future may be

the cultivation of separate functions for mothers and fathers within the family. In short, contemporary research on the role of men within the family not only in France, but also in and Britain, appears to be in the process of reverting to the support of a separatist model of parental responsibilities. Men are encouraged to develop a close relationship with their children, while at the same time maintaining elements of their traditional instrumental role as the principle link between the family and society as a whole.

In the 1980s, the desire for change in the traditional gender-specific roles of men and women within the family is still evident. Fatherhood researchers in contemporary Britain and France, however, are now abandoning the idea, popular in the late 1970s, that change in traditional parental roles must necessarily be synonymous with the total interchangeability of men's and women's function within the family. The goal of interchangeability in parental roles within the couple may be unrealistic in view of the high commitment to the employment world which is still expected of men in modern French and British society: this issue will be examined in relation to the analysis of the responses of the French and British men carried out in Chapters 7 and 8.

## Chapter 3

### Aims and Methodology of the Field Study

As is evident from the literature review carried out in Chapters 1 and 2, much of the previous work which has been undertaken on the subject of men's roles in France and Britain concentrates predominantly on one sole facet of the male experience, that of either the male-female or the father-child relationship. As more knowledge is gained about the way in which men think and behave, it nevertheless appears that neither of these aspects of male experience can adequately be studied in isolation from the other. The decision of a father to become involved in the rearing of his children may be linked to the views of his partner: in a study of the division of family responsibilities in the United States and Sweden, Linda Haas (1982) states that men may be more likely to become involved in child care if their partners hold egalitarian opinions about gender roles, are well-educated and have a high level of income. Men's experiences as fathers may, in turn, influence other aspects of their lives: if a father becomes actively involved in the care of his newborn child, this development may affect profoundly his relationship not only with his partner, but also with his male friends and colleagues. In accordance with the above hypotheses, the present study was undertaken with the basic aim of exploring the largely unresearched

interface between masculinity and paternity through the collection of the opinions of a sample of French and British men about their roles both as partners and as fathers.

The choice of a method to gain access to potential respondents posed some initial problems: as has been noted by previous researchers in the field of male roles (McKee and O'Brien, 1983; Lewis and O'Brien, 1987), men in contemporary society do not represent a readily accessible group of research subjects. There are two main reasons for this. The first is related to men's traditional role in society. Even in the mid-1980s, where high unemployment and new technology have brought about a change in work patterns, the majority of men adhere to the conventional masculine role of primary breadwinner for the family: they may thus spend a large part of each weekday, and sometimes evenings or weekends as well, at the workplace. It is consequently difficult for a researcher to find a suitable time when potential respondents will be at home and, more crucially, will be prepared to give up some of their limited leisure time in order to participate in a study.

Even if the above initial obstacle is overcome, a second and arguably more serious difficulty presents itself to the researcher wishing to investigate male roles within the family: men's traditional unwillingness to talk about themselves, their personal experiences and their emotions. Collange (1981) pinpoints this problem in the introduction to her interview study of French men from a wide range of age-



groups and social classes:

Voilà bien le plus grand écueil que j'aie rencontré au cours de mon année d'enquête: le silence masculin (Collange, 1981:12)

The silence of men is definitely the greatest obstacle which I encountered during my year of research.

As a result of their early socialization experiences, men from certain socio-economic backgrounds may find it particularly difficult to feel comfortable in the interview situation: Collange notes that men in manual occupations, brought up to conform to the strong, silent model of masculinity, were even less ready to talk about themselves than respondents from other social groups. Even when male respondents are willing to share their views with a researcher, their unfamiliarity with being considered as subjects for investigation may provoke some unexpected reactions: as stated by Chesler (1978) in the preface to her interview study of male roles in America:

Most of all, men find it startling, absurd, insulting - humorous - to be interviewed as men: as part of the "male" condition, as representatives of only one half of the "human" condition (Chesler, 1978: xiv).

### Reasons for the Choice of Methodology

The findings of previous researchers in the field of male roles were taken into consideration in the selection of the methodology to be used for the collection of the views of the British and French men. It was hypothesized that a study based on questionnaire data, rather than on interviews, might

be less affected by the two problems mentioned above which are commonly experienced in research on men. Firstly, while a questionnaire-based study still necessitates the relatively time-consuming process of making contact with potential respondents, it does not involve the organization of a second meeting at which an interview is carried out. Research of this type consequently intrudes less overtly on the schedule of the respondent, as he is able to complete the questionnaire as and when he wishes. It was hoped that this factor might encourage more men to be willing to take part in the study. In view of the fact that the fieldwork was to be conducted in two countries, resources of time and, more crucially, finance, were limited. It was therefore important that the research strategy selected would enable the maximum number of responses to be obtained within a reasonably short time.

The second reason for the choice of questionnaires as the research instrument is the anonymity afforded to the respondent by the use of this method. The completed questionnaires included no form of identification with any particular respondent, other than in the case of those men who voluntarily provided personal details by replying in the affirmative to a final question which concerned inclusion in a possible follow-up study of male roles. Men, who are often unused to expressing their views on family matters, may fear being branded as ignorant in the traditionally feminine domain of child rearing. It was therefore thought to be

likely that the anonymity of a questionnaire might reassure potential respondents that they could express whatever views they held without the threat of identification and possible ridicule. This hypothesis subsequently appears to have been borne out by the information provided by the questionnaires which were returned. Although all of the respondents who completed questionnaires are by definition not averse to participating in an anonymous study of male roles, a majority (68% in the British and 55% in the French sample) declined to provide personal details which would enable them to be interviewed. It is not possible, from the information received, to discover whether this was due to a personal lack of time, the fear of identification or simply the conviction of having contributed sufficiently to research on male roles. What does emerge from these findings is the likelihood that an interview study of men in the chosen two areas would have achieved a lower response rate than the questionnaire-based study which was in fact carried out.

#### The Selection of a Geographical Sample Area in France and Britain

The major factor which determined the choice of a target sample area in Britain and France was that the regions selected should be culturally, geographically and economically as similar as possible. As noted by Samuel (1985), this criterion is of utmost importance in a cross-national study; if the subjects under examination are not

comparable, then conclusions as to any existing similarities and differences between them are of little worth. Within the context of a PhD research study, which, unlike many larger-scale multi-national projects, is often severely restricted by constraints of finance and time, additional factors must nevertheless be taken into consideration. From the outset of the present study one particular condition was imposed on the choice of sample area: limitations in the finance available for travel meant that the strategy to gain access to potential respondents would necessarily have to be focused on a relatively compact and easily accessible geographical area in each country.

On the basis of the above requirements, the towns of Leamington Spa in Britain and Annecy in France were selected as target areas in which the study would be conducted. These towns are similar in size, the population of Leamington Spa being 56,500 and that of Annecy 55,000. Although situated in the region of the second largest city in the country concerned, each has a relatively rural setting, Leamington Spa in the fields of Warwickshire and Annecy in the hilly region of Haute-Savoie in south-eastern France. Leamington Spa and Annecy also play a comparable role in the life of Britain and France respectively. Both towns are a centre for the tourist industry and attract predominantly middle-class visitors who gather around similar focal points, the Pump Rooms and river in Leamington Spa and the lakeside area in Annecy. Although the popular image of these towns is one of

privilege, the inhabitants of both Leamington Spa and Annecy belong to a broad range of socio-economic groups. In addition to the many exclusive houses or flats which are clustered around the historic town centres and in the outlying areas, Leamington Spa and Annecy possess both more modest private housing estates and also some rather run-down areas of private or public-sector rented accommodation. Each town also has a significant immigrant population, centred in the eastern districts of Leamington Spa and in the suburb of Cran-Gevrier in Annecy. In addition to satisfying the basic requirement of comparability, Leamington Spa and Annecy thus provided the opportunity, which is of interest in an under-researched area such as that of male roles, of making contact with potential respondents from a variety of social and educational backgrounds.

Once the target areas of Leamington Spa and Annecy had been chosen, the sampling method for the study was considered in relation to the possibilities for contact available in each town. Gaining access to a sample of men with children is notoriously difficult. Unlike women, whose personal details are recorded at numerous points in their career as mothers, from the first visit to an ante-natal clinic onwards, men are rarely classified by society in their capacity as fathers. Having excluded possible sampling-frames such as male social, sports or professional clubs, which would doubtless contain many fathers but would generate a group of the male population biased towards one particular interest, it proved

difficult to identify a satisfactory source of direct access to a random sample of men. Although the method of approaching all householders in selected cluster areas of the towns was considered, as this process would eventually be likely to result in a varied sample, it was rejected on the grounds of the excessive time which would be entailed. As the possible modes of direct access to a sample of men appeared unsatisfactory, it was decided that an indirect approach to potential respondents might prove more fruitful.

The obvious method of approaching men with children indirectly, used by a number of previous researchers on male roles (for example: Bell et al., 1983), is to gain access to potential respondents through the data collected about their wives at the time of the birth of their children. The main aim of this study, as detailed earlier in this chapter, was from the outset to enable men to express their own feelings, not those of their partners, about the traditionally feminine area of family and child rearing. In view of this aim, it would have been ideologically unsound to contact male respondents by way of their female partners. Such a method would also have restricted the sample in a several respects: for example, it would have eliminated single fathers from the study and would have been likely to result in a relative uniformity of family life cycle stage of the respondents. It was decided that, while it would be inadvisable for men to be contacted via their partners, there was little methodological or ideological objection to the contact being achieved by

means of their children. The education system, as represented by nursery, primary and secondary schools, was therefore chosen as the initial access point for the sample of men in Leamington Spa and Annecy. The age range of the target children was from four years to eighteen years old: as many of these children also had older or younger siblings, the final age range of children represented in the families of the respondents incorporated young babies of a few months old up to adults in their twenties. As will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter, the strategy of targeting children of a variety of ages enabled a sample of men who were at different stages of the family life-cycle to be obtained: the fathers studied ranged from men in their early twenties to men in their sixties.

#### Details of the Data Collection Method used in Leamington Spa and Annecy

With a view to obtaining the greatest possible degree of cultural compatibility, and hence validity for the findings of the project, it was decided that the two individual fieldwork studies would be carried out consecutively, the first study to be completed serving as a basis on which potential respondents to the second study could be matched. The British study was the first to be carried out, during January to April 1986. In January, a letter describing the aims of the study and requesting the possibility of contacting fathers via pupils were sent out to the

headteachers of the four Leamington Spa secondary schools. In response to this letter, one refusal (on the grounds of lack of time) and three acceptances to consider the request were received. On the basis of individual discussions with the three headteachers, one school, with approximately 1,000 pupils, was selected as a suitable starting point for the study. With the help of the headteacher of this school, contact was made with the headteacher of a primary/nursery school in the area, who also accepted to participate in the project.

In February 1986, a copy of the questionnaire plus an accompanying letter (see Appendix I) which explained the purpose of the study was distributed by the schools selected to 150 pupils. For reasons of confidentiality, no contacts with the pupils or direct control over the distribution methods were permitted by the headteachers. It was agreed that the questionnaires would be distributed by the school staff to a random sample of pupils aged from four to eleven in the nursery/primary school and from twelve to eighteen in the secondary school. In the case of the primary school children, an additional letter from the headteacher to the fathers provided instructions about the completion and return of the questionnaires. The secondary school pupils, who had been briefed on the aims of the study, were requested by their headteacher to pass on the questionnaire to their father or to a father of their acquaintance living in the Leamington Spa area. In both cases, the fathers had the



choice of returning the questionnaire to the school in a sealed envelope or posting it directly to Aston University. After a period of one month, during which one reminder was given by the schools to the children, 101 completed questionnaires was collected. This represents a response rate of 67% for the British sample.

The French side of the fieldwork was planned and carried out from April to June 1986. As finance for only one month's residence in France was available, the pressure to make contact with potential respondents within a short period of time was very much greater than had been the case for the British fieldwork. In view of this pressure, it was initially intended that data collected on families in Annecy during early 1986, within the framework of the interview study "L'Enquête sur le changement culturel 1956-1986" conducted by the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, might be used in order to help identify some possible matches for the British respondents, in terms of the similarity of the personal and family characteristics of the fathers, as speedily as possible. In reality, the data collected by the CNRS study provided very few links to suitable respondents, as the refusal rate of men with children to participate in the CNRS interviews had been relatively high, possibly due to the problems inherent in carrying out research on men which were mentioned earlier in this chapter. The main method used to contact potential respondents was therefore, as in Britain, by way of the

education system.

At the time when the French fieldwork was carried out (late May to June 1986), most schools in Annecy were closed, so access to respondents had to be achieved through the vacation child care and social network provided by institutions such as nursery schools and the local Annecy branches of the Maison de l'Enfance and the Maison de la Culture. In so far as possible, an attempt was made to target French fathers who were of a similar age and educational level as the British respondents and whose families were of a similar size and composition. In view of the very limited time available for the completion of the French fieldwork, it nevertheless proved difficult to match each French respondent individually with a father who had taken part in the British side of the study. Due to the relative difficulty experienced by previous researchers in obtaining a representative sample of fathers even within one country, it had in fact been anticipated at the outset of the study that it might prove impossible to hold variables such as the age and education of the fathers or the composition of the family completely constant in both Britain and France. It is evident that the lack of total compatibility between the individual characteristics of the French and British respondents may introduce some bias into the results of the study which will have to be taken into consideration in the analysis of the findings. In view of the constraints of time and finance which were imposed in particular on the French fieldwork, it

is nevertheless difficult to see how the complete comparability of variables could have been achieved within the context of the present study.

As had been the case in Leamington Spa, a copy of the questionnaire and an explanatory letter (see Appendix I) were distributed to 150 potential respondents in Annecy, who were asked to return the questionnaire either to the organization through which they had received it or by post to Aston University in the stamped addressed envelope provided. Seventy-five completed questionnaires were returned after approximately one month, during which one reminder letter had been sent out to all potential respondents who had not yet returned their questionnaire. The final response rate achieved within this time was 50%, a total which is comparatively low in relation to the response obtained from the British sample. The lower response rate obtained in France is doubtless due, as least in part, to the time of year at which the French side of the fieldwork was carried out. It was obvious during the distribution of the questionnaires that many of the inhabitants of Annecy were preoccupied with preparations for imminent departure on holiday. A considerable proportion of the men targeted by the study appeared to have already left on holiday when the questionnaires were given out, since all contact in the form of reminders was fruitless in relation to twelve of the 150 questionnaires distributed. Unlike the British men, who

appeared either to return the questionnaire fairly promptly or to discard it altogether, the French respondents also demonstrated a tendency to ignore the questionnaire for a long period and then suddenly return it. Seven French questionnaires, in addition to the original seventy-five, were returned during the period between three and twelve months after the fieldwork had taken place. It was not possible for these responses to be included in the SPSS computer analysis, which was undertaken during July to October 1986. The views expressed in these additional questionnaires do not, however, differ significantly from those analysed in the study as a whole.

As is apparent from the details of the sample methodology given above, the analysis to be carried out in Chapters 4 to 8 is based on the views expressed in the questionnaires completed by 101 men in Britain and seventy-five men in France. Although the size of this sample is relatively large for a cross-national study conducted by one researcher, it is still too small to be representative of French and British men as a whole. It must be acknowledged at this point that, while the results of the present analysis are not invalidated by the size of the sample, the implications which can be drawn from studies of this size are limited. As the present study is the first cross-national comparative analysis to be carried out on men in France and Britain, its aim is nevertheless not to provide a definitive examination of male roles in general in each country. On the basis of a

discussion of the views of a small group of British and French respondents, it seeks to highlight national similarities and differences in male roles and to provide some indications of areas which could fruitfully be explored in larger-scale cross-national studies in the future. As the aim of this study is to identify trends in male behaviour and attitudes in France and Britain rather than to provide a rigorous statistical analysis of the male experience, the emphasis is not primarily on levels of statistical significance, but on a comparison of the responses of men in each country. As will be apparent from the tables included in the thesis, the analysis of the findings is therefore organized on the basis of the identification of differences and similarities between the views of the respondents in each country, and on the cross-tabulation of the results with the personal and family characteristics of the French and British men. The rationale for the presentation of the empirical results in tables is as follows: data is organized in tabular form in cases where sets of information were requested from the respondents, and individual percentages are used within the text when these refer to individual or more detailed findings.

#### The Design and Content of the Research Questionnaire

Even in a small-scale study such as this, the design of a cross-national questionnaire is complex and involves three stages of preparation. Firstly, the subject area which the

questionnaire is to cover must be established and a draft of possible questions and layout drawn up. Secondly, questionnaires must be prepared in the languages of the countries under investigation, and must be checked for linguistic comparability and authenticity. Thirdly, the cultural comparability of what is being asked must be verified in order to ensure that the reactions of respondents in each country to a particular question will have a meaningful significance within each national context.

At the first of these three levels of preparation, the fundamental aim of the questionnaire was to provide information about the behaviour and attitudes of French and British men within the family and in society as a whole. As the point of contact with respondents was the child, it was considered that a basic set of questions dealing with paternal involvement in child care should be placed at the beginning of the questionnaire in order to orientate the respondent more quickly with the subject matter of the study. From this starting point, the questionnaire leads into the analysis of the views of the respondents about issues such as the division of household tasks, parental roles, female employment, role reversal, gender stereotyping, changes in gender roles and social policy for men as fathers. In most sections of the questionnaire, the layout takes the form of a grid of questions to which responses are given by ticking the relevant box. There are three reasons for the predominant use of this format. Firstly, it is likely to encourage even

those respondents who have little time at their disposal to continue filling out the questionnaire in the belief that this will be simple and relatively quick. Secondly, as the present study is the first Franco-British analysis to be carried out on male roles, the use of a grid of closed questions helps to establish the necessary basic information of an easily comparable overview of men's roles in each country. Thirdly, the grid method provides instantly codable material for computer processing using the SPSS package, a method of analysis which is practical in view of the number of respondents targeted from the outset by the present study.

A disadvantage of the grid method is that it affords little opportunity for respondents to make comments or to qualify their answers. Some variations on the use of a grid, such as the ordering of items according to preference, were therefore employed in order to allow the respondents a slightly greater degree of freedom in their manipulation of the material presented. In the aim of further permitting the respondents to express their views in an unstructured way, a number of open questions are also included. For the most part, these items are placed towards the end of the questionnaire so that the respondents should not be immediately deterred, by the greater effort of thought required by open questions, from accepting to take part in the study. The open questions concern topics such as men's views on role reversal and recent changes in gender roles, areas of male attitudes which cover a broad range of issues and which could not be

satisfactorily analysed through the use of closed questions.

The second stage of the preparation of the questionnaire involved the simultaneous compilation of an English and a French version of the questions to be asked. The French questionnaire was checked for linguistic validity by two native speakers and comments on the format of the instructions and presentation were received from three French sociologists from the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. As is commonly found in cross-national research (Hantrais and Ager, 1985), a number of problems of linguistic compatibility arose during the preparation of the French and British versions of the questionnaire. Firstly, within the section dealing with gender stereotyping in employment, it proved difficult to find gender-neutral French terms to express some of the occupations which required to be listed. Often the choice was to select either a commonly used French gender-biased term or a circumlocution which, although gender-neutral, tended to appear clumsy. In view of the fact that the acceptance of gender-biased terms would have undermined the basic principles on which the whole study is based, the second of the two approaches was used. Instead of selecting the gender-stereotyped 'femme de ménage' as the equivalent of the term 'cleaner', for example, the phrase 'personne chargée du nettoyage' had to be used.

A second group of problems concerning linguistic comparability arose in the section dealing with the gender division of leisure activities. Although broadly similar



categories of leisure activities may exist across different cultures, activities are likely to have acquired specific characteristics within each particular society. This means that there may be no directly equivalent linguistic descriptions which are applicable to two or more countries. The British institution of the 'pub', for instance, has no direct equivalent in France and at best has to be rendered by the term 'café' in French. Similarly, the English expression 'attending church', which has no specific link with any one religion, has no commonly used neutral equivalent in French and therefore had to be expressed by the phrase 'aller à la messe', which, strictly speaking, is meaningful only within the Catholic tradition.

In addition to the problems which arose in the above two sections, some of the greatest difficulties in achieving linguistic comparability were experienced in the translation of the Bem Sex Role Inventory which is included at the end of the questionnaire. The use of this Inventory is fundamental to the study as it provides an indication of similarities and differences in the nature of masculinity as it is experienced in France and Britain. Since the Inventory is an established psychological scale, the sixty adjectives on which it is based could not be altered and required to be translated into French as accurately as possible. This process presented problems, particularly as it proved difficult in French to find a sufficient number of synonyms to distinguish between items such as: 'self-reliant, independent, assertive, willing

to take a stand, strong personality, forceful, takes decisions easily'. Circumlocution often had to be used in these instances in order to convey the full meaning in French.

During the third stage of the design of the questionnaire, the cultural compatibility of each version was established. Firstly, questions dealing with current social policy legislation for men had to be phrased in a form which was directly relevant to each specific national situation. This affected the wording of items which concern issues such as paternity leave: these questions could be asked directly in the French context, but had to refer to a hypothetical state of affairs in the British questionnaire, as such provisions do not yet exist in Britain. Secondly, within sections such as those dealing with gender stereotyping, care had to be taken in order to ensure that the items listed were equally meaningful in both France and Britain. A question regarding gender bias in education, for example, could not be conceptualized with reference to subjects such as home economics and metalwork, as this would not take account of the less practical syllabus of the French education system. Instead, a question of this type has to be related to disciplines which are equally salient within both France and Britain. Finally, in relation to the establishment of cultural compatibility, a cross-national coding system had to be devised in preparation for the SPSS analysis to be carried out on the results. As factors such as educational

qualifications and working patterns are specific to particular cultures, broad coding categories were drawn up (on the basis of years of higher education completed, number of hours worked etc) in order to standardize the assessment of the characteristics of respondents from both countries.

#### The Pilot Testing of the French and British Questionnaires

Once prepared, the initial versions of the French and British questionnaire were tested in a small pilot study. The aim of this test was to assess the clarity, comprehensiveness and linguistic viability of the questionnaire and to make any adjustments which appeared necessary. For reasons of accessibility, the sample population used in the pilot study was a group of French and British students studying in the Faculty of Management and Modern Languages at Aston University. This sample differed in three obvious respects from the target population of the main fieldwork study. Firstly, a number of the students were female. Secondly, none of the students had children. Thirdly, all of the students belonged, by definition, to a highly educated group of society. As the purpose of the pilot study was to test the design of each version of the research instrument rather than, at this stage, to specifically provide information about male roles, the particular characteristics of the sample were not of fundamental importance. In addition, it was hypothesized from the outset of the pilot study that the use of students, who are familiar with the process of criticism and evaluation, would represent a stringent and

consequently fruitful test of the questionnaire.

The questionnaire was distributed, in English or French as appropriate, to twenty-four British and twenty French students in the age range eighteen to twenty-nine. The response rate for the British group was 83% and for the French group 65%. Although basically the same questions as those devised for the main fieldwork were used in the pilot study, some alterations in the format of a number of sections had to be carried out due to the fact that the students themselves did not yet have any children of their own. Instead of describing the division of labour which operated between themselves and their partner, for example, the pilot study respondents were asked to give their views about the ideal division of labour within a hypothetical family. The students were also requested to describe the division of labour which existed within their own family when they were children: this section of the questionnaire, while generating information directly relevant to the main study, obviously had to approach the issue from the standpoint of the children's perception of parental roles rather than from the perspective of the parents themselves.

#### Findings of the Pilot Study which provide a Frame of Reference for the Main Fieldwork

As noted above, the aim of conducting a pilot study was to test and consequently be able to improve the research

questionnaire rather than to specifically collect information about gender roles in society. As the sample population of the pilot study differs in a number of respects from the final target population of men with children, the results of the pilot study are not directly comparable to those of the main fieldwork. The experiences and views of the students are nevertheless significant since they highlight the way in which men's role as fathers has been perceived, from the viewpoint of their children, within British and French society from the late 1950s onwards. In this section a number of findings from the pilot study which helped to define the parameters of the main empirical study are examined.

Within the pilot study, two main aspects of the relationship between the British and French students and their fathers were investigated. The first of these concerns the degree to which the fathers are perceived as having participated in the practical rearing of their children and in tasks around the home. An examination of the division of labour which existed in the families of the student respondents shows that in all cases, in both the British and the French groups, the mother was regarded as responsible for the major burden of child care and household tasks. Fathers appeared only on the periphery of the childhood experience: while they may have participated in activities such as taking the children to school, helping them with homework or playing with them, they took little part in assuring the daily physical and emotional

well-being of their children.

The second aspect of the father-child relationship was analysed on the basis of a set of open questions concerning the parent-child relationship. These open questions were included in the pilot study in order to provide detailed information about children's perception of their fathers in modern French and British society. This set of questions generated an almost identical response from all students in both countries: it was consequently considered to have uncovered a universal element of the parent-child relationship which would be likely to underlie the findings of the main empirical study. In view of the universality of the responses of the British and the French students, the set of items was not included in the revised questionnaire and will therefore be dealt with in this chapter rather than in relation to the main field study.

In the set of questions mentioned above, the students were requested to describe which of their parents they had felt closest to during three stages of their lives (primary school stage, teenage years, adulthood). The responses provided to these items reiterate very clearly the finding of the section on household labour that over the past thirty years French and British fathers, in comparison with mothers, have tended to play a role of only marginal importance in the lives of their children. All of both the British and the French students state that, throughout every stage of their development, they have experienced a closer relationship with

their mothers than with their fathers. The fundamental reason for this is the traditional gender-specific division of family and employment roles adhered to by most of the parents of the pilot study respondents. Only 10% of the mothers of the British respondents and 23% of the mothers of the French students were in full-time paid employment outside the home when their children were aged 0-14 years. Mothers are consequently depicted as having been much more available in the home to spend time with their children and help with any problems which they might experience:

I felt closest to my mother because she used to spend more time with me. (PS-GB/10, female, 19 years old)

I had a closer relationship with my mother because she was always there. (PS-GB/12, female, 21)

J'avais un meilleur rapport avec ma mère car elle était beaucoup plus en contact avec nous.

(I got on better with my mother because she had much more contact with us) (PS-F/07, male, 21)

J'étais beaucoup plus en relation avec ma mère, sans doute parce qu'elle était femme au foyer et donc toujours présente.

(I had a much closer relationship with my mother, doubtless because she was a housewife and so was always there) (PS-F/01, female, 20)

Fathers are perceived by the students as having been excluded from the close mother-child relationship by their demanding responsibilities in the employment world. All of the fathers of both the British and the French students were in full-time employment outside the home when their children were aged 0-14 years. Respondents in both groups make specific reference to the fact that their father was too

preoccupied with his career to have much interaction with his children:

My father was too busy with his job. (PS-GB/10, female, 19)

My father was often away on business. (PS-GB/17, male, 21)

My father didn't return home until quite late most weekdays. (PS-GB/20, female, 22)

Mon père n'était à la maison que vers 7 du soir, soit une heure avant que nous ne nous couchions.

(My father only arrived home at about 7pm, which was an hour before we went to bed) (PS-F/13, female, 23)

Je ne sentais pas tellement mon père, toujours dans son travail.

(My father never made much of an impression on me, as he was always wrapped up in his work) (PS-F/11, male, 20)

Mon père travaille beaucoup et cela le rend un peu indifférent à la sphère familiale.

(As my father spends a lot of time working, he is not very interested in family matters) (PS-F/12, female, 23)

Having developed a much less close relationship with their fathers than with their mothers, a number of both the British and the French students describe how, as children, they viewed their fathers as very distant, authoritarian and severe:

Father always seemed so strict when I was younger, and distant. (PS-GB/06, female, 22)

Mon père était très et trop sévère, presque inabordable.

(My father was very strict, too strict in fact, almost unapproachable) (PS-F/12, female, 23)

Je craignais beaucoup mon père et j'ai mis



longtemps à réaliser que sous une apparence sévère se cachait quelqu'un de très sensible et timide.

(I was very afraid of my father and it took me a long time to realize that under his stern exterior he is very sensitive and shy) (PS-F/08, female, 28)

Mon père était très sévère et il y avait des moments où nous le haïssions.

(My father was very strict and there were times when we hated him) (PS-F/09, male, 24)

This rigid hierarchy of relations between fathers and their children has persisted, in some cases, into adulthood:

I am closest to my mother. I feel as though we're on the same wavelength - our relationship is more like one of friends than a mother and a daughter. I have less opportunity to sit down and talk with my father. We get on quite well, but I still feel very much a 'daughter'. (PS-GB/09, female, 21)

I feel closest to my mother. I treat her as an equal, whereas I still see my father only as a father, less of a friend. (PS-GB/02, male, 22)

From the above quotations, it can be seen that a number of the pilot study respondents of both sexes feel, or have felt in the past, distant, indifferent or even hostile towards their fathers. It is a universal finding in both the British and the French pilot samples that respondents have had a closer relationship with their mothers than their fathers during childhood and adolescence. The responses obtained in relation to this set of pilot study questions serve to provide an important point of comparison for the main fieldwork by highlighting the fact that, over the past thirty years, many men in both Britain and France are likely to have demonstrated little involvement in the traditionally feminine domain of the rearing of their children. The relationship

between fathers and their children in the 1980s will be examined from the father's viewpoint in Chapter 8, and will be viewed in the light of the responses of the French and British students examined in this section in order to illustrate whether or not it seems likely that changes have taken place in the father-child relationship over the past few decades.

#### From the Pilot Study to the Main Fieldwork: Revision of the Questionnaire

Within the pilot questionnaire, the final section was devoted specifically to eliciting the reaction of the respondents to the research instrument. The students were asked to state if they had found any of the questions confusing or difficult to understand, and to note any comments on the subject matter which they might have. Of the total number of students who took part in the study, 76% (85% of the British and 62% of the French group) made use of the opportunity to comment about the questionnaire and the issues it raised. This figure was much higher than that achieved in the main fieldwork study, in which only 20% of the respondents (19% of the British and 23% of the French sample) added comments in the section provided for this purpose. This discrepancy in the degree of willingness of the pilot sample students and the main study respondents to comment on the questionnaire demonstrated the validity of the initial hypothesis about the benefit of using students in order to provide a rigorous test

of the research instrument.

Of the total number of students who commented on the questionnaire, the majority (72%) stated that both the questions and the format in which they were presented were clear and logical. The remaining students (28%) suggested some improvements which could be made to the questionnaire. These possible improvements fell into three main categories. Firstly, a number of students pointed out that, in the set of questions dealing with attitudes towards female employment (page 3 of the questionnaire), the pilot study instruction ("Which of the following is, according to you, the most likely reason for a married woman wishing to take on paid employment outside the home?) was too restrictive. These students tended to circle several responses rather than one only and therefore defeated the purpose of the question, which was to assess whether or not men evaluate the major motivation for male and female employment differently. The problems caused by the limitations of the initial formulation of this section were solved in the revised questionnaire by asking respondents to list the possible reasons given in what they considered to be their order of importance.

The second alteration which was suggested by the students concerned the section of the questionnaire which deals with changes in male and female roles over the past twenty years (page 6). Within this section, a question was originally included with the formulation "Do you feel that there is any way in which you correspond to the 'typical male/typical

female stereotype'? (e.g in dress, temperament, behaviour) If so, how?". Although this question generated, in a minority of cases, some interesting information about how gender stereotyping operates, some students stated that it was puzzling, and a few respondents omitted to answer it. As it was considered that this question, if found difficult by the students, might produce little response from a sample of the male population as a whole, the item was deleted from the revised questionnaire. It was replaced by a question about changes in methods of bringing up children, which in any case was more salient to the target population of the main study.

The last aspect of the questionnaire in relation to which adjustments were suggested proved the most difficult to revise. A number of students requested that more space should be provided for the respondents to add their own comments about gender roles. In practical terms this problem was not easy to rectify, in view of the necessity for the questionnaire to remain of a manageable length which would neither deter busy respondents from filling it in nor incur high postal costs which would cause difficulties for the return of the French questionnaires. Within the layout of the revised questionnaire, as much space as realistically possible was allocated to the open questions and a blank section was provided at the end in order to cater for any additional comments which the respondents might have. In fact, as noted above, this space was utilised by only a minority of respondents in the main study: it therefore

appears that the wish of some students for a large amount of space to be provided was irrelevant to the main fieldwork study.

In addition to the above three areas of revision, which were motivated by the comments of the pilot study respondents, a number of minor adjustments were made in view of the general range of responses obtained. Firstly, the format of the grid-style questions in the sections dealing with child care and household tasks (pages 1 and 2) was changed slightly. The original range of responses used to express the division of these tasks included the categories of 'always mother/always father' and 'always wife/always husband' in addition to those of 'usually mother/usually father' etc. The categories of 'always mother/always father' were almost never selected, which indicates that the possible model of absolute divisions of labour may not be relevant to the practical context of modern family roles, in which one partner may at times have to take over a task which is normally considered to be the domain of the other. As the categories of 'always mother/always father' appeared to add little to the study, they were deleted from the revised questionnaire.

A second section of the questionnaire which was adapted on the basis of the responses obtained was the item dealing with attitudes towards role reversal (page 3). In the pilot study version, this item took the form of an open question in which

no sample responses were provided. As the responses given by the students in the pilot study tended to fall neatly into a number of broad categories (suggesting that the arrangement is either unnatural, logical if the woman earns more than her partner or sensible if it is what the couple wish), it was considered that these categories might also reflect the range of views expressed by the main study respondents. The open question on role reversal was therefore converted into a semi-closed question in the revised questionnaire, with the above categories of possible response being supplemented by the category "other (please specify)" which was designed to cater for any views not covered by the preceding alternatives.

The third section of the questionnaire which was adjusted for the main study was the set of items which concern the respondent's personal and family circumstances. The revision of this section took the form of expansion: detailed questions about family size and composition were added, as were items dealing with men's views on social policy for fathers and personal experiences at the time of the birth of their children. None of these questions were relevant to the student population examined in the pilot study. The section on profile data held much greater importance for the main study, as number of personal and family characteristics have been shown by previous researchers to greatly influence men's role as fathers. Factors which may encourage male participation in family tasks include: the attendance of a

father at the birth of his child (Russell, 1983), the birth of a second child (Backett, 1982), the presence of male rather than female children (Sandqvist, 1985), a high educational level in both parents (Haas, 1982), the working of irregular or night-shift hours by the father (Jourdain, 1981) and a high level of femininity in the father (Russell, 1983). Additions to the profile data section in the revised questionnaire enabled the above issues to be investigated in the main fieldwork study of British and French fathers.

#### Profile Data of the French and British Respondents in the Main Field Study

As explained earlier in this chapter, the sample areas of Leamington Spa and Annecy contain families from a broad range of socio-economic, professional and educational categories. The aim of the study was to obtain responses from men in the widest possible variety of these categories so that the relatively under-researched subject of the influence of personal and family characteristics on men's roles in Britain and France could be explored. As is common in cross-national survey research, it proved impossible in the present study to achieve complete compatibility between both countries in the percentage of respondents from each socio-economic, professional and educational category who took part in the project. Although the initial group of French and British target children who served as a means of access to their fathers were chosen because they demonstrated comparable

characteristics of age and sex, this does not necessarily imply that the profiles of their family circumstances as a whole are similar. While both the British and the French samples demonstrate a relatively broad range of variability in the personal and family characteristics of the fathers under investigation, the distribution of the respondents across various categories differs slightly between the two national samples.

#### Age of the Respondents and their Partners

As can be seen from Table 3.1, the fathers who took part in the study range from young men in their early twenties to middle-aged men in their fifties and sixties. The French sample contains a higher proportion of men aged thirty-five or under, whereas the British sample includes a larger percentage of fathers aged between thirty-six and forty-five. Overall, the French sample represents a more even distribution of respondents across the range of age categories. While this may be due to chance, it is possible that within the British sample some specific factor, such as peer group influence either among the children or the fathers, may have operated with the consequence of increasing the participation rate in certain age-groups of the sample population.

Table 3.2 shows the distribution of the ages of the respondents' partners. Overall, the ages of both the French and the British women are lower than those of their husbands. A comparison of the age of each member within individual



Table 3.1

Age of the Respondent (in Percentages)

	Britain N=101	France N=75
25 years or under	-	5.3
26 - 30 years	8.9	13.3
31 - 35 years	15.8	26.7
36 - 40 years	26.7	24.0
41 - 45 years	38.6	9.3
46 - 50 years	6.9	10.7
51 years or over	3.0	9.3
No Response	-	1.3
	----- 100.0	----- 100.0

Table 3.2

Age of the Respondent's Partner (in Percentages)

	Britain N=101	France N=75
25 years or under	2.0	8.0
26 - 30 years	13.9	24.0
31 - 35 years	17.8	24.0
36 - 40 years	33.7	18.7
41 - 45 years	24.8	12.0
46 - 50 years	5.9	8.0
51 years or over	2.0	5.3
No Response	-	1.3
	----- 100.0	----- 100.0

couples demonstrates that, in the vast majority of cases, both the British and the French men have chosen as their partner a woman who is several years younger than themselves. This is particularly true of the French sample, in which a few of the men in the forty to fifty year-old age group have wives who are aged between twenty and thirty. Although specific questions about remarriage were not included in the questionnaire, it appears both from the comments of some respondents and the existence in some families of two clearly differentiated age-groups of children that some of the men with partners who are much younger than themselves have been divorced and remarried. The discrepancy in age between members of the couple indicates that the traditional social pattern, whereby it is considered advisable for women to be younger and more inexperienced than their husbands, still holds true to large extent in both British and French society.

#### Educational Level of the Respondents and their Partners

As is apparent from Table 3.3, the sample of respondents in both France and Britain includes fathers from a range of educational categories. The respondents in the French group are considerably better educated than their British counterparts: only 12.0% of the French, as opposed to 38.6% of the British men, have undergone no further education whatsoever. As is evident from Table 3.4, the educational level of the partners of both the French and the British respondents is generally lower than that of their husbands.

Table 3.3

Educational Level of the Respondent (in Percentages)

	Britain N=101	France N=75
University degree (or equivalent)	22.8	26.7
1-2 years further education	34.7	60.0
No post-school education	38.6	12.0
No Response	4.0	1.3
	----- 100.0	----- 100.0

Table 3.4

Educational Level of the Respondent's  
Partner (in Percentages)

	Britain N=101	France N=75
University degree (or equivalent)	11.9	21.3
1-2 years further education	32.7	49.3
No post-school education	52.5	28.0
No Response	3.0	1.3
	----- 100.0	----- 100.0

The difference in the length of education received by men and women reflects the traditional viewpoint, noted by a number of researchers (Horner, 1972; Oakley, 1981), that it is more important for boys, whose conventional role is to succeed in a career, to receive a good education. The wives of the British respondents have been particularly disadvantaged as concerns education: only a small minority of them have attended university, while the majority have had no post-school training at all. The discrepancy between the percentage of the respondents' partners who have undergone post-school education in Britain and France reflects the findings of Hantrais (1988), who states that more women than men now continue their education after leaving school in France, whereas the opposite is the case in Britain.

#### The Professional Level of the Respondents and their Partners

Table 3.5 indicates the professional level of the respondents as measured by the type of job which they were carrying out at the time of the study. All types of profession are represented by the respondents, including that of full-time househusband (of which there is one example in both the French and the British samples). A comparison of the professional levels of respondents in the two countries demonstrates that the better education received by many of the French men is likely, as might be expected, to result in the obtainment of better jobs by the French fathers. More of the French than of the British respondents belong to the upper professional/managerial group, while more of the

Table 3.5

Professional Level of the Respondent (in Percentages)

	Britain N=101	France N=75
Upper professional or managerial	24.8	29.3
Lower professional or managerial	18.8	13.3
White-collar or skilled manual	34.7	45.3
Semi-skilled or unskilled manual	18.8	8.2
Full-time homemaker	1.0	1.3
No Response	2.0	2.7
	----- 100.0	----- 100.0

Table 3. 6

Professional Level of the Respondent's  
Partner (in Percentages)

	Britain N=101	France N=75
Upper professional or managerial	8.9	16.0
Lower professional or managerial	15.8	8.0
White-collar or skilled manual	29.7	38.7
Semi-skilled or unskilled manual	22.8	13.3
Full-time homemaker	19.8	22.7
No Response	3.0	1.3
	----- 100.0	----- 100.0

British than the French fathers carry out a semi-skilled or unskilled occupation.

As far as the partners of the respondents are concerned, a similar picture of the membership of different professional categories exists. Table 3.6 shows that, as is the case for the men, a higher percentage of the French than of the British women belong to the upper professional/managerial category, whereas more of the British than of the French women have a semi-skilled or unskilled job. A slightly higher proportion of the French than of the British women are full-time housewives.

#### The Employment Status of the Respondents and their Partners

The majority of both the French and the British men adhere to the traditional masculine role of full-time employment outside the home (see Table 3.7). Within the French sample there is nevertheless evidence of a small degree of change in men's conventional attitude towards employment: two of the French fathers, as opposed to none of the British men, work only part-time outside the home (20 hours per week or less). In addition to the respondent who is a full-time househusband, the remaining French men who are not employed outside the home are retired.

In contrast to the respondents themselves, many of the wives of the French and the British men no longer adhere to their traditional gender-specific role. As is apparent from Table 3.8, over two-thirds of the British and French women are in

Table 3. 7

Employment Status of the Respondent (in Percentages)

	Britain N=101	France N=75
Employed full-time outside the home	99.0	92.0
Employed part-time outside the home	-	2.7
Not in paid employment	1.0	4.0
No Response	-	1.3
	----- 100.0	----- 100.0

Table 3. 8

Employment Status of the Respondent's  
Partner (in Percentages)

	Britain N=101	France N=75
Employed full-time outside the home	12.9	46.7
Employed part-time outside the home	60.4	25.3
Not in paid employment	25.7	28.0
Not Applicable (e.g now divorced)	1.0	-
No Response	-	-
	----- 100.0	----- 100.0

paid employment. A far higher percentage of the French than of the British women work full-time outside the home, a finding which is confirmed by Franco-British work on female employment patterns (Letablier, 1985; Dale and Glover, 1987).

The Average Weekly Total of Hours worked by the Respondents and their Partners

The average number of hours devoted each week to paid employment indicates the amount of time remaining in which the respondents might be available to spend time with their family. Table 3.9 shows that the British fathers tend to work longer hours than their French counterparts: this may be due to the greater availability of overtime in Britain and to the shorter working week which is customary in France. In terms of their work commitment, the British men adhere more closely than their French counterparts to the traditionally masculine role of breadwinner. The conventionally male 'workaholic' syndrome is also in greater evidence within the British sample: six of the British fathers, as opposed to none of the French men, estimate that they devote seventy hours each week to their occupation.

On the other hand, the vast majority of the British and French respondents' partners who work outside the home spend forty hours or less per week on their occupational duties (see Table 3.10). For women in both countries, family responsibilities are still likely to preclude a high commitment to paid employment, particularly in couples where



Table 3. 9

Average Weekly Total of Hours Worked by  
the Respondent (in Percentages)

	Britain N=101	France N=75
40 hours or less	41.6	58.6
41 - 60 hours	47.5	29.3
61 hours or more	5.9	2.7
Hours vary	3.0	2.7
Not Applicable	2.0	4.0
No Response	-	2.7
	----- 100.0	----- 100.0

Table 3. 10

Average Weekly Total of Hours Worked by  
the Respondent's Partner (in Percentages)

	Britain N=101	France N=75
40 hours or less	62.9	62.7
41 - 60 hours	1.0	5.3
61 hours or more	1.0	-
Hours vary	1.0	-
Not Applicable	26.7	28.0
No Response	1.0	4.0
	----- 100.0	----- 100.0

the man is unwilling to relinquish his role as primary breadwinner for the family. As noted by Hantrais (1988), part-time employment outside the home, which necessarily involves a relatively low work commitment in terms of hours, may be regarded by women, particularly in Britain, as a strategy for reconciling the conflicting demands of family and professional life.

#### The Time at which the Respondents and their Partners Normally Arrive Home from Work

The time at which the respondents habitually arrive home from work is a second indication of the amount of time they have at their disposal in which to interact with their families. Cultural differences exist in this respect: shops and businesses in France, which in provincial areas such as Annecy often close for at least one and a half hours at lunchtime, tend to be open much later in the evening than they do in Britain. It is not unusual for employees in Annecy to work until 7pm in the evening. This cross-national difference is reflected in Table 3.11, which demonstrates that the British men are much more likely than the French fathers to have arrived home by 6pm. If in paid employment, the wives of both the French and the British respondents are likely to arrive home before 6pm (see Table 3.12). As in the case of the men, this working pattern is more common in Britain than in France.

#### Characteristics of the Respondents' Families

As can be seen from Table 3.13, in both the French and the

Table 3. 11

Time at which the Respondent Normally Arrives Home from Work (in Percentages)

	Britain N=101	France N=75
6 pm or earlier	62.4	37.3
After 6 pm	15.8	36.0
Shiftwork	17.8	18.7
Not Applicable	3.0	5.3
No Response	1.0	2.7
	----- 100.0	----- 100.0

Table 3. 12

Time at which the Respondent's Partner Normally Arrives Home from Work (in Percentages)

	Britain N=101	France N=75
6 pm or earlier	52.5	36.0
After 6 pm	9.9	9.3
Shiftwork	5.0	20.0
Not Applicable	31.7	29.3
No Response	1.0	5.3
	----- 100.0	----- 100.0

Table 3. 13

Number of Children in the Respondent's Family (in Percentages)

	Britain N=101	France N=75
1 child	5.9	24.0
2 children	63.4	50.7
3 children	22.8	17.3
4 children	5.9	4.0
5 children	-	1.3
6 children	1.0	-
No Response	1.0	2.7
	----- 100.0	----- 100.0

British samples, the most common number of children in the family is two. The French group contains considerably more families with one child only: in many cases these only children are very young and consequently it appears likely that a number of the families are not yet completed. The hypothesis that the French respondents might have had larger families, due to the predominance of the Catholic religion in France, was not substantiated. Parental preference in both countries appears to be for smaller families. It is interesting to note that the largest family in the sample, in which there are six children, owes its size to the fact that the youngest three children are triplets.

A range of family life-cycle stages, as defined by the age of the eldest child, is evident in both samples (see Table 3.14). Most of the families in both the British and the French groups are at a relatively early stage of child rearing, as their eldest child is of primary school age. The British sample contains relatively more families in which the eldest child is aged twelve to sixteen, whereas the French sample includes more families in which the eldest child is aged seventeen or over. Within each sample a relatively comparable distribution of the sex of the children within the respondents' families is evident. Table 3.15 shows that most of the families within both the French and the British groups contain children of each sex. The French sample contains slightly more families in which all of the children are male, whereas the British sample includes slightly more families in

Table 3. 14

Age of Eldest Child in the Respondent's  
Family (in Percentages)

	Britain N=101	France N=75
Eldest child aged 0 - 11 years	42.6	61.3
Eldest child aged 12 - 16 years	37.6	12.0
Eldest child aged 16 years or over	18.8	25.3
No Response	1.0	1.3
	----- 100.0	----- 100.0

Table 3. 15

Sex of Children in the Respondent's  
Family (in Percentages)

	Britain N=101	France N=75
Both sexes in family	54.5	48.0
All children male	19.8	26.7
All children female	23.8	24.0
No Response	2.0	1.3
	----- 100.0	----- 100.0

which all of the children are female.

As is apparent from the profile data of the French and British respondents taking part in the study, the child-based methodological approach used for the distribution of the questionnaires enabled a sample of men with a relatively broad, although not identical, range of personal and family characteristics to be obtained in both countries. As will be shown in Chapters 4 to 8, in which the findings of the cross-national field study are analysed, the variety of personal and family characteristics apparent in both samples is important in that it enables a number of factors affecting the under-researched area of the mechanisms of male roles in contemporary Britain and France to be investigated.

## Chapter 4

### The Attitudes of the French and British Respondents Towards Changes in Gender Roles

The questionnaire incorporates both sections with closed questions, which cover specific aspects of the father-child or male-female relationship, and a number of open questions on the general subject of men's and women's roles in contemporary society. The inclusion of these questions allows the respondents to express their opinions about the areas of male and female roles which they consider to be most important and provides an overview of the perceptions about gender which are currently held by French and British men. In this chapter these underlying perceptions are analysed and are shown to form a basis for the more specific patterns of male attitudes and behaviour which will be examined in Chapters 5 to 8.

The open questions included in the study refer primarily to developments in gender roles which have occurred over the two past decades. The late 1960s are taken as a point of reference: as stated by Muldworf (1972), in Europe this period marks a stage of social crisis when the challenging of traditional authority necessarily encouraged a re-evaluation of men's and women's position in society.

Firstly, the respondents are questioned about changes which have taken place in women's roles during the last twenty



years and are requested to give their views on any such changes. Secondly, they are asked if they believe that any developments have taken place in men's roles since the late 1960s. Lastly, the men are required to describe the ways in which they think gender roles should develop in the future.

#### Men's Lack of Familiarity with the Subject of Gender Roles

The response rate obtained in the closed questions was approximately 100% throughout the entire questionnaire. As anticipated, the response rate was considerably lower in the open questions about gender roles. This is a common phenomenon in sociological research and is likely to be due in part to the greater time and effort required of the respondents in composing written opinions as opposed to simply selecting the most suitable from the set of responses provided. More importantly, it also reflects the fact that many men are unaccustomed to formulating their own views about the issues of male and female roles. Men, having traditionally occupied the more powerful and dominant positions in society, may have had less cause than women to analyse the issue of gender roles.

In response to questions about possible changes which have taken place in gender roles since the 1960s, men in both the French and the British samples are likely to have fewer opinions about male than about female roles (see Table 4.1). In accordance with the views of de Beauvoir (1949) which were

Table 4.1

Rates of Non-Response to Questions on General Changes  
in Male and Female Roles (in Percentages)

	Britain N=101	France N=75
What changes have taken place in women's roles since the late 1960s?	11.3	9.3
Do you approve of these changes?	11.9	10.7
Have men's roles changed in any way over the last twenty years?	13.9	12.0
What aspects of men's and women's roles do you think should be changed?	26.7	20.0

Table 4.2

Men's Views on Changes in Women's Roles Since  
the Late 1960s (in Percentages)

	Britain N=101	France N=75
No changes	3.0	2.7
Employment	38.6	30.7
Personal Independence	29.7	41.3
Equal Rights	16.8	16.0
No Response	11.9	9.3
	----- 100.0	----- 100.0

mentioned in the Introduction, it appears that men in contemporary society still tend to consider the term 'male' as synonymous with the term 'human' and may rarely analyse male attitudes and behaviour in their own right. The highest rate of non-response is generated by the question about future changes in men's and women's roles (see Table 4.1). Whereas recent developments in the social and economic positions of the two sexes appear to have made some external impact on the respondents, men are still reluctant to actively internalise the implications of these changes and to form their own ideas about the future of gender roles both within society and in their own personal lives. This male reticence to express opinions is unusual, as research has shown that, from childhood onwards, most men are conditioned to have confidence in conveying their views to others (Mahony, 1985). It indicates that the issue of possible future developments in gender roles may not simply be a subject with which men are unfamiliar, but one which men in the post-feminist era find threatening and would consequently prefer to ignore. This stance of disinvolvement will be seen to underlie many of the patterns of male behaviour and attitudes examined in Chapters 5 to 8. In general, many of the respondents in both the British and the French samples are not prepared, of their own volition, to experiment with new roles, but appear willing to adapt their traditional pattern of masculine behaviour only if this is necessitated by external factors, such as developments on a practical level in the role of their own partners within the

home and the employment world.

Men's Views on Changes in Women's Roles Since the Late 1960s

The vast majority of respondents, 97.0% of the British and 97.3% of the French sample, believe that women's place in society has changed in some way since the late 1960s. Although the percentage of British and French men supporting this view is similar, the emphasis on the area of greatest change is markedly different in each sample. Table 4.2, which, like the other tables in this chapter, is based on the coding of the responses to the open questions into categories of similarity, shows the aspects of female roles which the British and French men consider to have changed most. The development most frequently mentioned by the British men is the entry of an increasing number of women into paid employment, and in particular into previously male-dominated areas. Typical responses are:

Women are now taken seriously in their workplace.  
A career is a possibility, no longer just a 'job'.  
(GB/004, managing director)

More women work in industry and in senior jobs  
throughout employment generally. (GB/028,  
electronics engineer)

On the other hand, the change to which reference is most commonly made by the French respondents is the growth of women's psychological independence and freedom in their personal lives:

La femme commence à devenir une personne à part  
entière et peut donc accéder à toutes sortes de  
loisir, travail, sports.

(Women are beginning to be treated as individuals and therefore are able to have access to all kinds of leisure activities, jobs and sports) (F/066, maintenance technician)

Les femmes ont voulu se libérer du joug masculin. Elles ont commencé à contrôler les naissances (contraception, avortement), ont aussi décidé de fonder des familles sans se marier et parfois même sans concubin.

(Women have wanted to free themselves from male dominance. They have begun to use birth control (contraception and abortion) and have also decided to have children without getting married and sometimes even without living with a partner) (F/033, garage salesman)

This dichotomy of emphasis on general economic changes in Britain and on personal psychological changes in France persists throughout the findings of the entire study and illustrates the fundamentally different approach of British and French men to the whole subject of gender roles. There are three possible reasons for this divergence of perspective. Firstly, differences in the education system in each country may create basically different national ways of thinking: the French men, particularly those who have attended a "lycée" (secondary school with classes up to sixth form) are likely to have had much more experience in the exploration of philosophical or psychological issues, an area rarely included in the more pragmatic curriculum of British schools. Secondly, the importance accorded to the family in French society (Questiaux and Fournier, 1978), reinforced by the Roman Catholic tradition which is still in evidence in the semi-rural Annecy area, may make the French respondents more crucially aware of changes taking place within the

internal dynamics of the couple. Thirdly, the relatively higher rate of unemployment prevalent in Britain in the early 1980s may have focused the minds of the British men more specifically on developments in the economic or financial sphere. The consideration of gender roles clearly triggers different frames of reference for men in each country: as yet an area which is unfamiliar to the male sex, it has acquired few supra-national themes of consensus.

#### Men's Approval of Changes in Female Roles

The majority of respondents in both samples state that they approve of the changes which have taken place in women's roles over the last twenty years (see Table 4.3). In general, the gradual emancipation of women from a position of total dependence on men is considered as enriching the male-female relationship: as one British respondent puts it, women were in the past "often passive partners and not interesting" (GB/001, tool setter). The percentage of men who disapprove of recent changes in women's roles is slightly higher in the French than in the British sample. In addition to those expressing disapproval, 9.3% of the French respondents, as against none of the British sample, state that they are undecided about their opinions on changes in women's roles. The apparent wariness on the part of some men to accept changes in female roles is based on two main objections. Firstly, the responses obtained reveal an anxiety about changing family patterns and values. Women's independence and employment outside the home are regarded as undermining

Table 4.3

Men's Approval of Changes in Women's Roles Since  
the Late 1960s (in Percentages)

	Britain N=101	France N=75
Approves of Changes	76.2	66.7
Disapproves of Changes	8.9	10.7
Undecided	-	9.3
No Response	11.9	10.7
Believes No Changes Have Taken Place	3.0	2.7
	----- 100.0	----- 100.0

Table 4.4

Men's Views on Changes in Male Roles Since  
the Late 1960s (in Percentages)

	Britain N=101	France N=75
No Changes Have Taken Place	29.6	21.3
Greater Participation in Family Tasks	42.6	41.3
Acceptance of Feminism	10.9	13.3
Less Dominant	3.0	10.7
Don't Know	-	1.3
No Response	13.9	12.0
	----- 100.0	----- 100.0

the traditional structure of the family: they are linked by some respondents in both Britain and France to contemporary social problems such as the low birth-rate, divorce, single-parent families and even teenage delinquency. As might be expected in a family-oriented society, the French men tend to believe that the family unit should be preserved even at the expense of women's independence. The suggestions of the following respondent reflect the priorities of the majority of the French men who do not approve of recent changes in female roles:

La femme devrait être plus disponible à l'égard de ses enfants (Je pense particulièrement à la femme qui travaille). Réduire son temps de travail, voire même l'arrêter pour élever ses enfants. L'homme devrait aussi accorder plus de temps à sa famille parce que la famille est une "valeur".

(Women ought to have more time for their children. (I am thinking particularly of women who work outside the home). They should cut down on the number of hours they work, or even stop working to bring up their children. Men, too, ought to devote more time to their families because the family is a "social value") (F/033, garage salesman)

The second cause of disapproval of recent changes in women's roles, expressed solely by the French respondents, is the fear that women may become unfeminine through their contact with the world outside the home. None of the respondents holding this opinion offer any reasons why women should necessarily conform to the traditional feminine image: the expression of brief statements such as "Une femme doit savoir rester femme" (Women ought to be content to behave like women) (F/002, draughtsman) indicates that in France, from a male point of view, there is an enigmatic yet widely-accepted



stereotype of how women should look and behave. In Britain no such obstacle to the development of women's roles is apparent: none of the British men even refers to the concept of a traditional feminine ideal.

#### Men's Views on Changes in Male Roles Since the Late 1960s

In comparison to the very small number of men in each country who believe that no changes have taken place in women's roles, far more respondents maintain that male roles have not developed at all since the late 1960s. Table 4.4 shows that a higher percentage of British men believe that male roles have not changed: unlike the French respondents, who are keen to preserve the feminine image, in their responses the British men demonstrate that they retain an adherence to the traditional concept of masculinity.

As can be deduced from Table 4.4, which shows a detailed breakdown of the areas in which the respondents believe men's roles have changed, a total of 56.5% of the British, as opposed to 65.3% of the French sample, accept that developments of some kind have taken place in male roles since the late 1960s. The fundamental cause of change is considered to be women's entry into the employment world: as many women now share the responsibilities of the breadwinner role, so too are men in contemporary society viewed as more likely to share in some way the responsibilities of rearing the children and running the home. As is shown in Table 4.4, an almost equally sized majority of both the British and the

French respondents believe that men now participate to a greater extent in family tasks. Men's role as fathers within the family is perceived as developing more than their attitudes towards women: as can be seen from Table 4.4, a considerably smaller percentage of respondents in each country maintain that men have changed most in their acceptance of feminist theories and the need for equality between the sexes. The third area of change in male roles mentioned by the respondents is given different emphasis in each country: Table 4.4 shows that the French respondents are more likely than their British counterparts to state that men have relinquished their patriarchal position as sole head of the household. As one French respondent says of his own situation:

Nous voyons disparaître le pouvoir omnipotent du père dans ma famille. Le pouvoir des grandes décisions revient à nous deux. Il faut cultiver un partage complet du pouvoir au niveau social et familial, pour ne pas voir renaître les monstruosité du matriarcat et du patriarcat.

(In my family the all-powerful role of the father is on its way out. Major decisions are taken by both of us. If we do not want to see the resurgence of the horrific consequences of the matriarchal and patriarchal systems, power should be shared completely within society and in the family) (F/040, physiotherapist)

The acceptance of a considerable number of French respondents that men should abdicate their powerful position within the family indicates that they are not bound by rigid conceptions of masculine status and dominance. As was revealed by the French men's comments on changes in the situation of women, the major hindrance to developments in gender roles appears

to stem, in France, from an inflexible male view of women rather than of men themselves. In Britain, far fewer men believe that males have given up their autocratic position within the family. While accepting that it may in some cases be beneficial for men to participate in the running of the home, almost one third of the British respondents seek to reinforce the ultimately dominant position of the men within the household. Some express views which demonstrate a rigid adherence to the biological determinist theory of gender roles:

God created woman to be the helpmeet for man, not vice versa. (GB/043, planning engineer)

The man is the provider and the woman is the homemaker. (GB/066, fitter).

Even in the 1980s, when women have gained equality with men on at least a legislative level, these British respondents are unwilling to recognise that the male patriarchal role in society is in decline. Attitudes of this type are an extreme manifestation of the generally rigid view of masculinity which is upheld by many men in the British sample.

#### Men's Views on Future Changes in Gender Roles

In total, 53.3% of the French and 37.6% of the British respondents maintain that changes of some kind should be brought about in gender roles. There are national differences in the degree and type of change supported by the respondents. As can be seen from Table 4.5, the British men are less in favour of widespread and generalised developments

Table 4.5

Men's Views on Future Changes in Gender Roles (in Percentages)

	Britain N=101	France N=75
No Changes Should Take Place	31.7	12.0
Up To Individuals	9.9	-
Abolish Stereotyping	27.8	28.0
Gender Specificity Should Be Retained	-	12.0
Other (e.g. Both Sexes Should Be Less Selfish)	-	13.3
Don't Know	4.0	14.9
No Response	26.7	20.0
	100.0	100.0

in gender roles. In addition to the relatively high percentage of British respondents who state that no changes should take place, almost a tenth of the British sample believe that change should not be achieved through legislation, but governed by the needs of men and women in each individual family. A smaller proportion of the French sample feel that no changes should take place and no French respondents believe that developments should be tailored to suit the existing position of individual families.

The attitudes of men in each country towards changes in gender roles is in accordance with the official position on family policy evident in France and Britain during the mid-1980s, at the time when the field study was carried out. In France, where a Ministry for Women's Rights, created by the Socialist government of François Mitterrand, existed from 1981 until 1986, the active and visible campaign for gender equality produced a general, if at times superficial, public awareness of the need for widespread change in men's and women's roles. On the other hand, the British Conservative government, despite being led by a woman, largely ignored gender issues by stressing the view that family concerns are a matter for the individual and not for the State to decide. A number of the British men specifically echo this approach:

Changes in roles will evolve with changing circumstances, not as a result of 'equal rights' legislation. (GB/047, electronics engineer)

People are individuals. You cannot legislate how

men should behave as family men. (GB/044, teacher)

It is up to the individual to aspire to what he/she desires and this cannot be expressed as a generality. (GB/093, chartered engineer)

Every person is an individual, and what is right for one couple is not necessarily right for another. (GB/048, teacher)

The existence of a clear national difference in attitude between the British and French respondents as regards the efficacy of legislation to promote equality, despite the spectrum of individual ideological viewpoints which is likely to exist within both samples, indicates the extent to which the basic framework for each respondent's ideas about gender roles may be determined by the cultural and political climate prevalent in the country in which he lives. It must also be noted that the different educational profile of each national sample as a whole may influence the attitudes of the respondents towards legislation. As was indicated in Chapter 3, the French men are considerably better educated than the British respondents and consequently may be more likely to be aware of existing legislative developments which have been introduced in order to promote equality between men and women.

Despite the basically different approach of British and French men towards changes in gender roles, a similar proportion of respondents in each sample believe that it is vital for gender stereotyping to be abolished (see Table 4.5) so that both men and women may have freedom, if they wish, to display attitudes and behaviour traditionally associated

with the opposite sex. Within the French sample, the desire for a blurring of gender boundaries is clearly expressed:

Une définition moins précise de ces rôles amènerait plus d'égalité, de polyvalence.

(A definition of these roles which is less specific would bring about more equality and greater variety) (F/031, primary-school teacher)

Fusion totale des rôles, jusqu'à faire disparaître tout intérêt à cette enquête qui n'aurait plus lieu d'être.

(Roles should be merged completely, to the extent that research studies of this kind would be pointless and would no longer need to be carried out. (F/030, civil servant)

None of the French respondents, however, goes beyond these general statements to indicate how the abolition of stereotyping might be achieved. Practical and detailed suggestions for the breaking down of stereotypes are made only by men in the British sample: the provision of non-sexist careers choices in schools is viewed as one solution, as is the standardization of retirement ages for both men and women. One British respondent maintains that stereotyping will not be eliminated until the economic basis of Western society is revised:

Much stronger action is needed on type of employment and pay. In a capitalist economy status is given by pay (and nature of work, in a sense); women have poor pay, limited job prospects and low status. (GB/008, teacher)

The finding that none of the French respondents suggest practical methods of combatting gender stereotyping highlights the possible limitations of publicly visible legislation and campaigns for sex equality. While organizations such as the French Ministry for Women's Rights

may draw men's attention to problems such as the effects of stereotyping, they may not necessarily encourage them to seek individual solutions to these problems in their own lives. On the contrary, they may lull men into believing that something is being done about sex inequality in society as a whole, and may absolve them from taking any practical and independent action themselves. If they are to be effective, it would seem that policies for greater equality between men and women will have to provide more than a basic framework of legislation and publicity for women's rights. It is likely that social and educational measures aimed at increasing awareness about gender stereotyping may also have to be implemented if a change in attitudes is to be facilitated in men as individuals.

It appears that the existence of official organizations for the promotion of women's rights, while first and foremost a positive influence which raises awareness about the possible benefits of the interchangeability of male and female roles, may also provoke in some men a reaction favouring the segregation of gender roles. As Table 4.5 shows, none of the British men expresses a wish for gender specificity, while a considerable proportion of the French sample feel that male and female roles should develop along lines which are different for each sex. This divergence in emphasis mirrors the difference in attitude towards the division of family responsibilities which, as noted in Chapter 2, is evident in writing on men's family roles in France and Britain in the



1980s. Whereas in the British sample equality of opportunity for men and women is consistently measured by the degree of interchangeability of gender roles, many of the French respondents clearly believe that equality is not necessarily synonymous with interchangeability:

Aller toujours vers une plus grande égalité, mais je pense qu'il restera des tâches spécifiques à la femme et à l'homme.

(We should still work towards greater equality, but I think that some tasks will always be particularly suited to women and some to men) (F/005, retired headteacher)

Je pense qu'il y aura un bon équilibre lorsque la femme admettra sa différence. Il n'est pas nécessaire d'être l'égal de l'homme pour être libre.

(I think that we will have achieved a good balance when women admit that they are different. They do not necessarily have to be equal to men to be free) (F/055, computer analyst)

As was noted above in relation to men's views on changes in women's roles, in France it is the traditional image of the woman which must be preserved. The female sex differs from what men consider to be the norm (de Beauvoir, 1949) and in the view of some French respondents this imposes role restrictions upon all women. The insistence of many of the French respondents that women should remain feminine not only colours their views on future changes in gender roles, but will be shown in Chapters 5 to 8 to affect their attitudes and behaviour in relation both to their partners and to their children.

The responses obtained to the open questions about gender

roles show that most of the French and British men believe that women's roles have changed over the last twenty years and that the majority of the respondents in both countries claim to support these developments. A smaller proportion of both the British and the French respondents think that men's roles are also beginning to develop, while even fewer men feel that it may be necessary for adaptations to be made to men's and women's roles in the future. It is evident that the views of men in both countries tend to be more traditional where their own roles in society are concerned, particularly if the possibility of practical change in their behaviour is implied. An analysis of the values and structures underlying the opinions of each individual respondent indicates that change in male attitudes would seem to be taking place only at a superficial level. Socialised to cultivate values such as logic and objectivity, which are projected as masculine, the men in both samples tend to view the issues under consideration in terms of diametric opposites. Male roles are set in opposition to female roles, the world of employment to that of the family. Expressed as a balanced equation, the male conception of the traditional position of men's and women's roles would appear to be:

(1) Men + Employment = Women + Family Responsibilities.

As reflected in the responses to the question on recent changes in women's roles (see Table 4.2), a large number of men in each country believe that the increase in female employment represents the greatest change taking place in

this area. This development having been added to the equation, the revised model of men's and women's roles is:

$$(2) \text{ Men} + \text{Employment} = \text{Women} + \text{Family Responsibilities} \\ + \text{Employment}.$$

Clearly a further area of responsibility, that of the family, should be added to the male side of the equation if a balance of the burden of responsibilities on men and women is to be achieved. Although a number of respondents in each country, in response to the question about general changes in male roles, do refer to this added responsibility (see Table 4.4), most are not prepared to organise their own lives according to the egalitarian formula:

$$(3) \text{ Men} + \text{Family Responsibilities} + \text{Employment} = \\ \text{Women} + \text{Family Responsibilities} + \text{Employment}.$$

Instead, the vast majority of both the French and the British men, despite their ostensible approval of recent changes in women's roles, defy their own logic by attempting to perpetuate the traditional model (1) whereby employment is viewed primarily as a masculine, and the family as a feminine, domain:

Le rôle du père dépend de son activité professionnelle. S'il voyage beaucoup, la femme doit prendre plus de responsabilité dans la vie courante.

(The role the father plays depends on his job. If he travels a lot, his wife has to take more responsibility on a daily basis) (F/038, engineer)

Unfortunately I work long hours, and the onus is on

my wife to be involved with the family. (GB/011, sales engineer)

Le rôle familial est souvent fonction de son travail et de son temps libre.

(The father's role within the family is often determined by his work and the free time he has) (F/020, physiotherapist)

Up to school years my wife undertook most of the duties concerning the children, as my work took up most of my time. (GB/008, chartered builder)

For these men, whose views are typical of many of the respondents in both countries, employment responsibilities are considered to be more important than involvement with their families, which is fitted into their schedule only if job commitments permit.

While the French and British men quoted above appear to have few qualms about maintaining a rigid division of labour within their own homes while simultaneously approving of recent changes in gender roles, a small number of respondents note that they have experienced severe problems in attempting to reconcile ideals and reality. As has been shown by previous research, these difficulties may be caused by a conflict between employment and family responsibilities. In a study of male staff in two industrial plants, Peter Willmott (1971) notes that 41% of the senior personnel and 32% of the workers taking part in the survey felt that the employment demands interfered with their home and family life. Similarly, Margaret O'Brien (1984), in a comparative study of married and single fathers, states that men who attempt to become involved in bringing up their children tend

to suffer from a high degree of 'work-home conflict' produced by the opposing responsibilities of each area of commitment. The difficulties caused by this situation are described by men in both the British and the French samples. Some respondents are keen to participate in the rearing of their children, but are prevented from doing so by the pressures of their job. One British company director explains his predicament:

This survey is about fatherhood, and within that framework comes the job the father carries out. As a father it is important to take time off work for the birth of a child; and later, why should it be the mother who stays at home when the child is ill? And yet you can only keep a company going if everyone turns up! (GB/004, managing director)

The opportunity for real change in men's roles will not come about until more flexibility is achieved in the relationship between work and family responsibilities within society. This dilemma, crucial to the whole gender role debate, is noted by only a very small minority of the French and British respondents. Only three men in each national sample suggest solutions which might facilitate the flexible division of family and employment responsibilities along the lines of model (3) above. These solutions, based on the assumption that both men and women should share the opportunity to participate both in paid work and in the rearing of a family, are as follows: each partner should be allowed to work part-time; the working week should be reduced for parents or adapted to suit child care arrangements; and parents should be able to exchange their roles periodically, taking alternate responsibility for the breadwinner and child

rearing role. The last of these options is being tried out by one of the French respondents, who has resolved the conflict of family and employment responsibilities by temporarily departing from the conventional masculine role to become a 'househusband':

Je pense qu'il est plus important de réussir sa vie de famille que sa vie professionnelle et qu'il est souvent difficile de concilier les deux. J'ai travaillé pendant un an dans des conditions difficiles pour ma vie de famille (retour à la maison après 20h, y compris le samedi). C'est pourquoi je consacre maintenant six mois à ma fille. Je pense que cette décision, difficile à prendre, est cependant positive.

(I think that it is more important to make a success of your family life than of your professional life and that it is often difficult to reconcile the two. For one year I had a job which made it difficult for me to have a family life (I came home in the evenings after 8pm, even on Saturdays) That is why I am now devoting six months to my daughter. Although this decision was a hard one to take, I think it is the right one)  
(F/001, househusband)

A flexible approach of this kind to the subject of gender roles indicates a readiness to accept change in men's and women's roles on a personal level. It is not without significance, however, that the respondent chooses to note that his role as a full-time homemaker is limited to a period of six months. Even this man, whose attitudes are among the least traditional represented in the whole study, is intending to return to a more conventional masculine role in the employment world in the relatively near future. The same is true of the one househusband in the British sample, who states that he has become a full-time homemaker because of unemployment and that he is seeking to revert to a more

conventional masculine role by finding a job outside the home. None of the respondents in either France or Britain, although in many cases maintaining that they welcome general changes in gender roles, feels able on a personal level to depart definitively from the traditional pattern of male-female divisions of responsibility. The passive acceptance of theoretical change and the active instigation of practical change are radically different: as one respondent notes of men's ostensible approval of developments in gender roles in France:

Ce changement n'est qu'une adaptation aux conditions extérieures, pas un choix réel qui conduirait forcément à une contestation radicale des structures en place.

(This change only represents a process of adaptation to changing external factors, not a true choice which would necessarily bring about the radical challenging of existing social structures)  
(F/029, civil servant)

The same conclusion could be drawn about male attitudes towards gender roles in Britain. Men in both countries may claim to support changes in gender roles if they perceive these to be culturally fashionable in contemporary society, particularly if any developments primarily affect people other than themselves. Most of the men in both Britain and France nevertheless appear to believe that they must adhere to a conventionally masculine role in society: they are likely to stop short of practical change if this would affect their traditional position within the family and the employment world.

## The Influence of Personal and Family Characteristics on Men's Attitudes Towards Male and Female Roles

Little research has been carried out in either Britain or France into the effect of personal and family characteristics on men's attitudes towards gender roles. In many empirical studies of the family, specific characteristics are intentionally kept constant. In their study of fathers' attitudes towards paternity leave provisions, Bell et al. (1983) logically focus their research on couples who have recently had a baby. Similarly, Charlie Lewis's (1983) doctoral study of contemporary fatherhood is based on interviews with fathers whose children are all approximately one year old. In research on fatherhood, the difficulties inherent in gaining access to a sample of men (see Chapter 3) may mean that a uniformity of some characteristics, even if unintentional, is inevitable. Data on men in their paternal capacity are almost never recorded by official sources, and researchers are frequently obliged to recruit respondents at common points of contact where the fathers are likely to demonstrate similar characteristics. Composing a sample from hospital records of births, for example, may mean that the family life-cycle stage of the respondents is uniform.

One study in which the respondents do display a wide range of individual and family characteristics is Russell's (1983) survey of Australian fathers. The sampling method used in this research included the canvassing of parents in a number



of shopping centres. While it is true, as Russell himself admits, that a method of this type may not produce a representative group of respondents, it allows the researcher to explore the influence of various personal and family characteristics on the attitudes and behaviour of fathers. In the present study, a similar priority is given to the examination of the interaction between family characteristics and the views of the respondent: as was noted in Chapter 3, the sampling method chosen enabled a broad range of French and British respondents to be recruited. The aim of this study is not just to examine the global concept of male roles, but to compare more specifically the way in which different categories of men in France and Britain regard their role as fathers and as partners within the couple. Before progressing, in Chapter 5 to 8, to a detailed examination of the roles carried out by the respondents, it is therefore important to analyse the influence of a number of personal and family characteristics in order to discover if and how these affect the underlying views of French and British men about gender roles in society.

#### Age of the Respondent

The age of a respondent might be expected to affect his views in two basic ways. The first possible effect could be termed a 'historical' one: men who are older will have had experience of a different social environment from that familiar to younger men. Respondents who grew up before the popularization of feminist ideas in the early 1960s and who

experienced a traditional division of labour in their parental home are likely to have more traditional views on gender roles than men who reached adulthood in the late 1960s and 1970s. This hypothesis of the divergence in opinion between older and younger men is supported by the findings of the study. In general, the respondents aged under forty display a more woman-oriented understanding of the subject of gender roles. Conscious of developments at a deeper level than solely in the economic sphere of employment, the younger respondents are more likely to mention issues such as women's increased awareness of their sexuality or growth of control over their reproductive processes. Fewer of the men aged under forty disapprove of recent changes in women's roles: within the French sample 11.1% of the younger as opposed to 15.8% of the older men are not in favour of these changes, while the figures for the British sample are 9.8% and 11.1% respectively. The difference in views of the younger and older respondents is most striking in relation to opinions on future changes in gender roles (see Table 4.6). In both countries, men aged under forty are more in favour of the abolition of gender stereotyping. Men over forty, on the other hand, are more likely to believe that no changes should take place in gender roles, or that roles should become even more gender-specific than is the case at present. Table 4.6 also shows that the age of the respondent has a more noticeable effect on his opinions in France than in Britain. This would seem to be related to the speed at which change in gender roles appears to have progressed in the two countries.

Table 4.6

The Historical Effect of Age: Views of Men Aged Under and Over Forty on Future Changes in Gender Roles (in Percentages)

	Britain N=74		France N=59	
	<u>Age of Respondent:</u>			
	<u>≤40</u> N=36	<u>≥41</u> N=38	<u>≤40</u> N=40	<u>≥41</u> N=19
No Changes Should Take Place	36.1	50.0	10.0	26.3
Up to Individuals	13.8	13.1	-	-
Abolish Stereotyping	41.7	34.2	45.0	15.8
Gender Differences Should Be Retained	-	-	10.0	26.3
Other	-	-	20.0	10.5
Don't Know	8.3	2.6	15.0	21.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The increase in women's personal independence, as measured by factors such as the gaining of the right to vote or the increase in control over the female reproductive processes, has taken place a relatively earlier stage in Britain and has been more gradual and evolutionary (see Appendix II - A Historical Outline of Some Major Social and Legislative Developments in Women's Rights in Britain and France from the Late Eighteenth Century to the Early 1980s). In contrast, the growth of women's personal autonomy in France has taken place in more sudden and revolutionary manner, particularly since the events of 1968. In line with the pace of change in each country, age has a more moderate influence on the opinions of the respondents in Britain and a more marked influence in France.

In addition to the 'historical' effect examined above, age may also have what can be termed a 'stage of life cycle' effect on the views of a respondent. This influence is not linked to general social changes, but to events which are taking place in the life of the individual. Significant changes in circumstance, such as having a child or retiring from paid employment, may affect men in a particular way, predisposing them to hold certain opinions. Governed by biological and social influences, these transitions from one life-cycle stage to another tend to occur at roughly uniform times and are consequently linked to the age of the respondents. Table 4.7 shows a detailed breakdown of men's views on future changes in gender roles according to age.

Table 4.7

The Stage of Life-Cycle Effect of Age: Men's Views on Future Changes in Gender Roles According to Detailed Age-Group (in Percentages)

		Britain N=74						France N=59							
		<25 Yrs N=0	26-30 Yrs N=7	31-35 Yrs N=8	36-40 Yrs N=21	41-45 Yrs N=31	46-50 Yrs N=6	>51 Yrs N=1	<25 Yrs N=4	26-30 Yrs N=8	31-35 Yrs N=17	36-40 Yrs N=11	41-45 Yrs N=5	46-50 Yrs N=8	>51 Yrs N=6
No Changes Should Take Place		-	57.1	25.0	33.3	51.6	50.0	-	50.0	12.5	5.9	-	-	37.5	33.3
Up to Indiv.		-	14.3	-	19.0	16.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Abolish Stereo-typing		-	28.6	62.5	38.1	29.1	50.0	100.0	-	37.5	47.0	63.7	20.0	12.5	16.7
Gender Diff. Should Be Retained		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12.5	11.8	9.1	40.0	12.5	33.3
Other		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12.5	29.4	18.2	20.0	12.5	-
Don't Know		-	-	12.5	9.5	3.2	-	-	50.0	25.0	5.9	9.1	20.0	25.0	16.7
-----															
		-	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Over and above the older/younger divergence in opinion highlighted in Table 4.6, it is evident that particular age-groups of men hold common views on changes in gender roles. The youngest age-group in each country, contrary to the overall trend, displays a high degree of support for the view that no changes should take place in male and female roles in the future. Having newly taken on the roles of spouse and father, the young men may still be struggling to establish their identity in these roles and may feel that further changes would make this even more difficult.

Towards the other end of the family life-cycle, a certain flexibility is apparent in the opinions of the men aged between fifty and sixty. In comparison to men in their forties, the oldest group of respondents are less adamant that male and female roles should not change in the future. All of the French and British men aged between fifty and sixty state that they approve of recent changes which have taken place in women's roles. As suggested by Jan Sinnott (1982), men and women may become less gender-stereotyped in their outlook as they approach old age. Nearing retirement and the unavoidable transition from the masculine world of employment to the feminine world of the home, the respondents aged over fifty-one may already be beginning to adopt a less separatist attitude towards male and female roles. Superimposed on the straightforward 'historical' effect of age, the 'stage of life-cycle' effect may therefore exercise a further influence on men's attitudes towards changes in

gender roles.

#### Educational Level of the Respondent

Although a number of studies have examined the influence of education on the practical involvement of fathers in child care and household tasks (Oakley, 1974; Ericksen et al., 1979; Russell, 1983), few have analysed the effect of the father's educational level on his general views about gender roles. Within the present context the exploration of both areas is considered to be important. Men's theoretical opinion about gender roles may not necessarily be in accordance with their practical behaviour: this relationship between theory and practice may be linked to the educational level of the respondents and may also operate in different ways in Britain and France.

As stated by Russell (1983) in his study of Australian fathers, it might be expected that men with a high educational level are most likely to be aware of social and economic changes advocating the growth of interchangeability in male and female roles. Changes in cultural values tend first to occur in the upper educational and socio-economic groups and subsequently filter down to the lower categories. In relation to the specific subject of gender roles, it was hypothesized at the outset of this study that the experience of passing through the higher education system in either France or Britain would have a particularly significant effect on respondents' views. This became apparent through

the pilot research referred to in Chapter 3, which was conducted on British and French students who had completed different stages of higher education. Regardless of their age, students of both nationalities who had only experienced six months of university education held considerably more traditional opinions about men's and women's roles than respondents who were nearing the end of their university career. The latter had spent several years in an academic environment where, once admitted, both men and women may hold relatively equal career aspirations and chances of success: this is clearly conducive to the expression of egalitarian views on gender roles.

The influence of higher education in reinforcing interchangeability in male and female roles, first indicated by the pilot research, is replicated in the larger-scale study of British and French men. Respondents who have experienced a university education are, in both countries, more aware than less well-educated men of women-oriented changes in gender roles, such as the growth of female sexual and personal independence. Similarly, university-educated men express the greatest approval of recent changes in women's roles: 100% of the British and 86.7% of the French respondents with a university degree, as opposed to 86.3% of British and 73.4% of French men with no degree, are in favour of these developments. Men who have had no further education at all hold the most traditional opinions on gender roles. They are, in both Britain and France, most likely to



state that no changes have taken place in male roles (see Table 4.8) and that no changes should occur in gender roles in the future (see Table 4.9). If a man has experienced some form of further education or training, his views on men's and women's roles tend to be less traditional. The degree of support shown by French and British respondents for the total abolition of gender stereotyping, for example, increases in proportion to the amount and level of further education completed (see Table 4.9).

The type of further education undertaken by the respondent also affects his approach to the subject of changes in male roles (see Table 4.8). Men who have completed relatively short courses of vocational training, such as the British Higher National Certificate, are more aware of developments taking place on a practical level within the home: a high number of respondents in this category mention the increasing participation of men in household and childrearing tasks. Respondents who have obtained a university degree, as might be expected from their background of intellectual training, form the group which is most conscious of abstract changes in ideology such as the acceptance of feminist theories. The experience of completing several years of university education, as in the pilot study of unmarried respondents, appears to encourage both French and British men to favour changes in gender roles which would lead to equality between the sexes. These views on future changes are, of course, theoretical: as noted by Janet Finch (1983) and François de



Table 4.9

Men's Views on Future Changes in Gender Roles - According to the Educational Level of the Respondent (in Percentages)

	France				
	University Degree N=16	1-2 yrs Further Education N=36	University Degree N=16	1-2 yrs Further Education N=36	No Further Education N=7
No Changes Should Take Place	6.3	16.7	6.3	16.7	28.6
Up To Individuals	-	-	-	-	-
Abolish Stereotyping	50.0	36.1	50.0	36.1	-
Gender Differences Should Be Retained	6.3	19.4	6.3	19.4	14.3
Other (e.g. Both Sexes Should Be Less Selfish)	31.3	13.9	31.3	13.9	-
Don't Know	6.3	13.9	6.3	13.9	57.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

  

	Britain				
	University Degree N=20	1-2 yrs Further Education N=27	University Degree N=20	1-2 yrs Further Education N=27	No Further Education N=27
No Changes Should Take Place	25.0	37.0	25.0	37.0	63.0
Up To Individuals	25.0	7.4	25.0	7.4	11.1
Abolish Stereotyping	50.0	48.1	50.0	48.1	18.5
Gender Differences Should Be Retained	-	-	-	-	-
Other (e.g. Both Sexes Should Be Less Selfish)	-	-	-	-	-
Don't Know	-	7.4	-	7.4	7.4
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Singly (1987), factors such as the high professional ambitions which are instilled in many university educated men and the career pressures which may result from these goals may impede the translation of egalitarian attitudes into practical involvement.

#### Occupational Status of the Respondent

The occupational status of the respondents tends to be closely linked to their educational qualifications. Unlike their wives, almost all of the French and British men have been able to pursue a career uninterrupted by childrearing responsibilities and have therefore encountered fewer obstacles in obtaining employment commensurate with their educational level. Apart from the small number of retired men in the study, only the two respondents who are full-time homemakers possess an occupational status which does not directly reflect their educational level.

In accordance with the theory of the transfer of cultural values which was mentioned earlier in this chapter, the impetus for change in attitudes towards gender roles is likely to originate in the higher occupational classes and to penetrate only gradually to the lower categories. This is generally found to be true in both the French and the British sample. Respondents in the upper and lower professional/managerial categories appear to approve strongly of changes which have taken place in women's roles, and support the abolition of gender stereotyping in the future. On the other hand, in both France and Britain, men in semi-

skilled or unskilled manual occupations tend to be less aware of recent changes which have taken place in women's and men's roles. As regards male roles, 56.3% of British and 50.0% of French respondents in the semi-skilled or unskilled manual category believe that no changes have taken place, whereas 30.4% of British and 5.3% of French men in the upper professional/managerial group take this view. In addition to denying that changes have occurred in gender roles over the last twenty years, respondents in semi-skilled or unskilled occupations demonstrate a strong desire for roles to remain unchanged in the future (see Table 4.10).

Occupational class appears to exercise a stronger effect on views about gender roles in France than in Britain. There is a far larger discrepancy between the opinions of the upper and lower occupational groups in the French sample. This is strikingly evident in the attitudes of the French respondents towards future changes in gender roles (see Table 4.10): only 5.6% of the upper professional/managerial category, as against 75.0% of the semi-skilled or unskilled group, believe that no changes should occur. As in the case of the influence of age examined above, the differing rate of development of men's and women's position in France and Britain may account for the divergence in effect of the occupational class of the respondent. Occurring earlier and at a slower pace in Britain, social changes, such as the growth in women's personal independence, may have had a greater opportunity to penetrate from the upper to the lower

Table 4.10

Men's Views on Future Changes in Gender Roles - According to the Occupational Status of the Respondent (in Percentages)

	Britain N=74				France N=59					
	Upper Prof/Manag. N=22	Lower Prof/Manag. N=14	Wh. Coll/Skilled Manual. N=24	Semi-sk./Unskilled Manual. N=13	House-person N=1	Upper Prof/Manag. N=18	Lower Prof/Manag. N=9	Wh. Coll/Skilled Manual. N=27	Semi-sk./Unskilled Manual. N=4	House-person N=1
No Changes Should Take Place	27.3	35.7	54.2	53.8	100.0	5.6	11.1	18.5	75.0	-
Up To Individuals	27.3	-	4.2	23.1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Abolish Stereotyping	45.4	50.0	33.4	23.1	-	38.9	44.4	29.6	-	100.0
Gender Differences Should Be Retained	-	-	-	-	-	16.7	11.1	18.5	-	-
Other (e.g. Both Sexes Should Be Less Selfish)	-	-	-	-	-	27.8	11.1	14.8	-	-
Don't Know	-	14.3	8.3	-	-	11.1	22.2	18.5	25.0	-
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

occupational groups, leading to a gradual shift in opinion from one category to another. In France, on the other hand, the faster and more recent developments in women's roles appear to have produced a stark difference in attitude, creating a strong impact on the upper occupational groups yet achieving little effect on the lower categories. Modified by cultural factors intrinsic to each society and by the personal circumstances of each respondent, the basic hypothesis that high occupational status may be linked to egalitarian views on gender roles is nevertheless justified.

#### Psychological Gender Characteristics of the Respondent

Very few studies of male roles have analysed the relationship between the respondents' views on gender roles and the category of psychological sex-typing to which they belong. The influence of sex-role attributes on behaviour has, however, been explored by some researchers. Examining the effect of psychological characteristics on the practical involvement of fathers in child care, Russell (1978) finds that men who demonstrate high scores on the femininity scale of the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (Bem 1974) tend to be more involved in the expressive tasks of childrearing. Similarly, Bem and Lenney (1976) state that men who achieve high femininity scores on the BSRI are more likely to indulge in behaviour which is traditionally considered to be feminine. Men with feminine psychological characteristics thus appear more willing to depart from the conventional norms of masculine values and experience.

If the above finding is extrapolated to attitudes rather than behaviour, it might be hypothesized that men who display feminine sex-typing would hold less stereotyped views about gender roles than masculine-typed men. Feminine-typed men, who are prepared to experiment with cross-sex behaviour, might be likely to support the growth of flexibility and interchangeability in gender roles. This basic hypothesis is substantiated in both samples: only 30.0% of British and 7.7% of French feminine/near feminine-typed men, as opposed to 47.4% of British and 20.8% of French masculine/near masculine-typed men, believe that no changes should take place in male and female roles in the future.

In addition to confirming this finding of previous research, the results of the present study indicate two more ways in which psychological characteristics may influence the views of men about gender roles. Firstly, it is clear from responses to the questions on changes in women's roles that feminine sex-typing, contrary to the finding noted above, may in some instances predispose both British and French men to hold stereotyped opinions on gender issues. Feminine-typed men tend to show much less approval of recent changes in women's roles than is the case with androgynous or masculine-typed respondents (see Table 4.11). This is not due to male prejudice against the entry of women into masculine areas of experience, but simply to the different perspective on gender roles encouraged by feminine and masculine psychological



Table 4.11

Men's Attitudes Towards Changes in Women's Roles - According to the Gender-Typing of the Respondent (in Percentages)

		Britain				France					
		N=78				N=54					
		Masc. N=27	Near Masc. N=19	Androgynous N=22	Near Fem. N=5	Fem. N=5	Masc. N=16	Near Masc. N=9	Androgynous N=16	Near Fem. N=7	Fem. N=6
Approves Of Changes		85.2	94.7	95.5	100.0	80.0	81.3	88.9	87.5	42.9	50.0
Disapproves Of Changes		14.8	5.3	4.5	-	20.0	6.2	11.1	12.5	14.3	33.3
Undecided		-	-	-	-	-	12.5	-	-	42.9	16.7
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

characteristics. Men with masculine sex-typing may understand the desire of women to take up paid employment and may therefore support the development of the female role towards a more masculine model. Men with feminine sex-typing, on the contrary, tend to place considerable emphasis on feminine values, and are consequently less likely than their masculine-typed counterparts to stress the benefits of traditionally masculine domains such as paid employment. The possession of feminine psychological traits, conducive towards flexibility in gender roles for men, may ironically encourage respondents to over-emphasize feminine values, thus leading to a reinforcement of the traditional roles of women.

The second additional effect of psychological characteristics on the views of the respondents is related to cultural differences in the rigidity of gender stereotypes prevalent in France and Britain. As is evident from the qualitative responses to questions about men's and women's roles examined in this chapter, British men are anxious to preserve the traditional masculine stereotype, whereas French men are eager for the conventional image of women to remain unchanged. These two poles of inflexibility are mirrored in the relationship between the category of sex-typing and the views of the respondent on recent changes in men's roles: British masculine-typed and French feminine-typed men are most likely to state that no changes have taken place in male roles (see Table 4.12). Within each culture, in the view of the respondents, the values associated with one sex in



particular remain static: it is consequently understandable that men displaying the psychological characteristics appropriate to the sex in question should believe that fewer changes have occurred in gender roles. Factors specific to each country can therefore be seen to influence the general relationship between sex-role characteristics and the opinions of French and British men about gender roles.

#### Employment Status of the Respondents's Partner

Although there is a growing body of Franco-British research on the work patterns of women (Beechey, 1986; Dale and Glover, 1987; Hantrais, 1988), little attention has been paid to the effect which the employment status of French and British women may have on the views of their male partners about the roles of the sexes within the home and in society as a whole. It nevertheless might be presumed that a man whose wife is not in paid employment might hold more traditional opinions on gender roles than a man whose wife works outside the home. By virtue of the traditional division of roles maintained within their own families, men whose partners do not work outside the home may more easily ignore changes in gender roles taking place in society at large. In contrast, respondents whose wives work outside the home may be obliged, by their own personal circumstances, to accept that changes are taking place in men's and women's roles.

In general, the above hypothesis is fulfilled in relation to men's views about recent changes in female roles. While the

employment status of the respondent's partner is not linked to the specific way in which men perceive women's roles to be changing, those respondents who believe that female roles have not changed in any way are likely to have a wife who does not work outside the home. Men's approval of changes in female roles does appear to depend on the employment status of their partners: men whose wives work outside the home are more likely to be in favour of developments in women's position in society (see Table 4.13). The amount of time a woman works outside the home affects men's view of recent changes in female roles in a different way in each country. While little discrepancy is apparent between the opinions of British men whose partners are in part-time and full-time employment, French respondents are likely to be more favourable towards changes in women's roles if their wives are employed only part-time outside the home (see Table 4.13). This can be linked to the inflexibility of the feminine ideal which underlies the attitudes of the French men. Women who are only in part-time paid employment are likely to retain much of their traditionally feminine role by continuing to carry out most of the child rearing and household tasks within the home (Oakley, 1974; Fransella and Frost, 1977; Kergoat, 1982). Full-time female employment, on the other hand, is regarded as a negation of the feminine image: men whose wives work full-time outside the home are therefore likely, due to their direct experience of the arrangement, to disapprove of recent developments in women's

Table 4.13

Men's Attitudes Towards Changes in Women's Roles - According to the Employment Status of the Respondent's Partner (in Percentages)

		Britain			France		
		N=86			N=65		
		Wife Works Full-Time Outside The Home	Wife Works Part-Time Outside The Home	Wife is Not In Paid Employment	Wife Works Full-Time Outside The Home	Wife Works Part-Time Outside The Home	Wife is Not In Paid Employment
		N=11	N=52	N=23	N=28	N=19	N=18
Approves Of Changes		90.9	90.4	87.0	78.6	84.2	66.7
Disapproves Of Changes		9.1	9.6	13.0	7.1	5.3	27.8
Undecided		-	-	-	14.3	10.5	5.6
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Approves Of Changes							
Disapproves Of Changes							
Undecided							

roles.

In addition to its effect on men's attitudes towards changes in female roles, the employment status of the respondents' partners is also linked to men's opinions about changes in male roles since the late 1960s. In both the French and the British samples, men whose partners do not work outside the home demonstrate the highest rate of opinion that no developments have occurred in male roles. Respondents with wives in part-time paid employment, aware of some changes in the relationship between the two sexes, are likely to state that men are beginning to accept feminist theories or to become more participant within the home. The greatest awareness of developments in male roles is reflected in the responses of men whose wives work full-time. In all educational and occupational categories, respondents whose partners are in full-time employment appear to be conscious of a gradual reversal of the traditional roles of men and women, which entails a decrease in the dominance of the male position.

Although exercising an egalitarian influence on men's views about changes in female and male roles since the 1960s, the fact that a respondent's partner works outside the home has a very different effect on male attitudes towards future developments in gender roles. As mentioned above, respondents with wives in full-time paid employment are, in both France and Britain, likely to believe that men are becoming less dominant in today's society. From responses to

the question about future changes in gender roles it appears, however, that men with full-time working wives may regret this loss of dominance: these respondents form the category which is, in each country, most anxious that no further developments should take place in men's and women's roles (see Table 4.14). While men with partners in full-time employment may accept past changes in the situation of men and women, their awareness of the potentially radical nature of such developments may preclude them from welcoming these changes in the future. No such effect is apparent in the responses of men whose wives work part-time outside the home: part-time female employment is less prestigious and is regarded as less of a threat to men's position than full-time female employment (Hunt, 1975; Hurstfield, 1978). Respondents whose partners are in part-time employment are, in both countries, highly in favour of the future development of male and female roles so that gender stereotyping may be abolished (see Table 4.14). This category of men manifests neither the fear that having a partner in full-time employment might undermine their authority, nor the separatist approach engendered by having a wife who is not in paid employment. Over and above this basic finding, it is clear that the effect of women's employment status on men's attitudes towards gender roles may also depend on individual factors such as the earning power of the woman and the question of whether she has entered paid employment by choice or through financial necessity. These issues could provide



Table 4.14

Men's Views on Future Changes in Gender Roles - According to the Employment Status of the Respondent's Partner (in Percentages)

	Britain				France			
	Wife Works Full-Time Outside the Home	Wife Works Part-Time Outside the Home	Wife Is Not In Paid Employment	N=74	Wife Works Full-Time Outside the Home	Wife Works Part-Time Outside the Home	Wife Is Not In Paid Employment	N=60
No Changes Should Take Place	54.5	35.7	52.4		22.2	6.3	11.8	
Up To Individuals	9.1	11.9	19.0		-	-	-	
Abolish Stereotyping	36.4	42.8	28.6		29.6	56.3	23.5	
Gender Differences Should Be Retained	-	-	-		7.4	18.8	23.5	
Other (e.g. Both Sexes Should Be Less Selfish)	-	-	-		18.5	6.3	23.5	
Don't Know	-	9.5	-		22.2	12.5	17.6	
	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	

a fruitful subject of analysis for future research: they are necessarily beyond the scope of the present study, which is concerned first and foremost with the role of men rather than that of women.

#### Number of Children in the Respondents' Family

The number of children present in a respondent's family has been shown by previous research to affect practical paternal participation in child care tasks. Lamb (1976) states that a father's involvement in childrearing is likely to increase as the number of children, and hence the burden of child care, increases. Men with a large number of children might therefore be expected to be more egalitarian in their behaviour. The effect of the number of children in a family on men's views about gender roles is quite different. As the number of children increases, both French and British men, regardless of age, appear to become more child-oriented and less woman-oriented in their attitudes towards family issues. The effect is, as might be expected, stronger in France where society is, in any case, more family-oriented than in Britain (Questiaux and Fournier, 1977). Men with small families, of two or fewer children, are more aware than men with larger families of personal changes in women's roles such as the growth of female independence and freedom. Men's approval of recent changes in women's roles also tends to decrease as the number of children in the family increases (see Table 4.15).

The more children a man has, the more likely he is to regard his partner as the mother-figure of the family rather than as

Table 4.15

Men's Attitudes Towards Changes in Women's Roles - According to the Number of Children in the Respondent's Family

Britain  
N=86

	Number of Children in Family:					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
	N=6	N=53	N=20	N=6	N=0	N=1
Approves of Changes	100.0	94.3	85.0	50.0	-	100.0
Disapproves of Changes	-	5.7	15.0	50.0	-	-
Undecided	-	-	-	-	-	-
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

France  
N=63

	Number of Children in Family:					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
	N=17	N=30	N=12	N=3	N=1	N=0
Approves of Changes	88.2	70.0	83.3	66.7	100.0	-
Disapproves of Changes	5.9	16.7	8.3	-	-	-
Undecided	5.9	13.3	8.3	33.3	-	-
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

an individual in her own right. This reinforcement of the traditional female role is necessarily coupled with a reinforcement of the traditional male role as expressed in model (1) which was outlined earlier in this chapter. In both France and Britain, men who have four children form the category which is most likely to maintain that no changes have taken place in male roles since the late 1960s. Respondents with only one child, on the other hand, tend to state that men have become more participant in family tasks and responsibilities. The number of children in a family exerts a similar influence on men's views about future changes in gender roles. Men with one child only are most in favour of woman-oriented developments such as the attainment of equality through the abolition of stereotypes, whereas respondents who have three or more children tend to believe that no changes should take place or that gender roles should become more segregated (see Table 4.16).

As the number of children in the family increases, the attitudes of both French and British men towards gender roles become more traditional. This mirrors the often inevitable divergence of roles inherent in having a large family in contemporary France or Britain. Women who wish to have several children are successively obliged to interrupt their careers or stop working altogether for the purpose of childbearing, thus reducing their potential viability in the job market. The burden of the breadwinner role, increasing with the size of the family, must therefore rest

Table 4.16

Men's Views on Future Changes in Gender Roles - According to the Number of Children in the Respondent's Family (in Percentages)

	Britain N=74						France N=59					
	1 ch N=6	2 ch N=43	3 ch N=19	4 ch N=5	5 ch N=0	6 ch N=1	1 ch N=16	2 ch N=29	3 ch N=9	4 ch N=3	5 ch N=1	6 ch N=0
No Changes Should Take Place	33.3	37.2	52.6	60.0	-	100.0	12.5	17.2	22.2	-	-	-
Up To Individuals	16.7	14.0	15.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Abolish Stereotyping	50.0	41.9	31.6	20.0	-	-	50.0	31.0	33.3	33.3	-	-
Gender Differences Should Be Retained	-	-	-	-	-	-	12.5	17.2	22.2	-	-	-
Other (e.g. Both Sexes Should Be Less Selfish)	-	-	-	-	-	-	6.3	20.7	22.2	33.3	-	-
Don't Know	-	7.0	-	20.0	-	-	18.8	13.8	-	33.3	100.0	-
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

predominantly on men. As shown by the responses obtained to the open questions about gender roles, it is considerably easier for men with a small number of children to express views favourable towards the future flexibility of men's and women's position in society.

Whatever the personal and family characteristics of each respondent, the underlying perceptions about gender roles held by the men in both France and Britain appear to favour a relatively traditional division of male and female roles in society. As shown by the responses to the open questions examined in this chapter, men tend to be most willing to uphold developments in gender roles if these do not affect them directly. Most of the respondents in both countries are aware that changes have taken place over the past twenty years in women's place in society and many claim to support these developments. In contrast, fewer men believe that men's roles are changing and many do not wish gender roles to develop any further in the future. It appears that men in both Britain and France are comparatively willing to accept women's recent entry into the employment world, but are themselves much less ready to take on a new role in the traditionally feminine area of household responsibilities. When faced with the conflict of family and employment responsibilities, most men in both countries put their occupational duties first and expect their partner to cope, perhaps in addition to her own job outside the home, with matters concerning the family. This finding is confirmed by

a number of studies which have been carried out on women's roles within the family and the employment world (Lopata, 1973; Cohen, 1977; Hunt, 1980). Even the men who were taking full-time responsibility for child rearing at the time when the study was carried out appeared to retain a relatively stereotyped conception of gender roles in that they both hoped to return to a traditionally masculine role in the employment world.

Although, as shown above, the basic perceptions which underlie men's attitudes towards gender roles are similar in both countries, factors specific to French and British society colour the way in which male and female roles are regarded in each culture. Firstly, the official approach towards social policy for families which is evident in each country appears to influence the attitudes of the respondents towards the whole subject of gender roles. The French men, familiar with a high profile legislative approach to family and equality issues, are more likely than their British counterparts to maintain that the abolition of gender stereotyping should be brought about through legislation rather than simply left up to social evolution at an individual level. Secondly, factors inherent in the educational, cultural and social environment of each country predispose French men to be more aware of changes taking place in gender roles at a personal and psychological level, while British men are more likely to lay emphasis on developments in male and female roles in the economic sphere.

Lastly, the particular gender image upon which attention is focused appears to be different in each country: French men are anxious to retain the traditional feminine stereotype, while British men pay more attention to the conventional masculine model of behaviour. Superimposed on these cross-national differences, personal and family characteristics tend to exercise a similar influence on the views of respondents in each country. While changes in attitudes towards gender roles may slowly be emerging in some categories of men, particularly those who are younger and better educated, the majority of French and British respondents, whatever their circumstances, still tend to uphold a gender-specific model of male and female roles and demonstrate little flexibility in their perception of the future of men's and women's place in society. The way in which this marked dichotomy of masculine and feminine areas of experience, underlying the general views of French and British men on gender roles, determines male attitudes and involvement in relation to specific issues is examined in Chapters 5 to 8.



The Views of French and British Men on Male and Female Roles  
Within the Couple

Following on from the analysis of men's underlying perceptions about gender roles which was carried out Chapter 4, Chapters 5 and 6 analyse the views of the French and British respondents about the relationship between men and women. In Chapter 5 the specific roles of male and female partners within the couple are analysed, while the broader issue of men's and women's roles in society as a whole is considered in Chapter 6. As the focus of this study is on men rather than on women, references to previous research findings in these two chapters are restricted primarily to works which examine the subject of gender roles in relation to men and are consequently directly relevant to the subject matter of the present analysis.

Four main aspects of gender roles within the couple in French and British society are discussed in this chapter. Firstly, the practical division of household tasks which operates between each respondent and his partner is examined in order to demonstrate the extent to which men in contemporary Britain and France adhere to conventional masculine roles within the home. Secondly, the respondents' views on male and female participation in a range of leisure activities are analysed so as to indicate whether or not these men support

the autonomous development of each member of the couple. The degree to which activities are stereotyped as suitable for one sex only is also considered. Thirdly, the opinions of the respondents about the employment of married women are discussed since these are likely to play a crucial part in determining male opinions on gender roles as a whole. The fourth and final topic studied in this chapter is the attitudes of the French and British men towards the principle of role reversal. On the basis of the findings of Chapter 4, which indicate that theoretical support for equality between men and women is easier to achieve than practical change in gender roles, it might be presumed that the issue of role reversal is likely to represent the area of male and female roles within the couple in which men's adherence to traditional stereotypes may emerge most clearly.

#### Male Involvement in Household Tasks

As one of the few indications of possible change in male roles which can be measured objectively, the participation of men in household tasks forms a common subject of analysis in studies of gender roles. Due to the wide range of activities which can be termed household tasks, few studies base their analysis on comparable areas of examination. A number of researchers, such as Newson and Newson (1965), measure men's involvement in family tasks predominantly in terms of child care and make little reference to male participation in household responsibilities. Other

researchers examine only limited and general categories of household tasks: Michael Young and Peter Willmott (1973) measure male involvement in household chores in terms of two basic groups of activities, the first entitled "washing up only" and the second "cleaning/cooking/childcare". While the division of household tasks into broad categories of this type may have been sufficient in the early days of gender roles analysis, in the mid-1980s it can no longer be considered to provide an adequate measure of male involvement.

Contemporary social problems such as unemployment are forcing some men to take responsibility for a wide range of household tasks; increasing social approval of the interchangeability of gender roles is also encouraging men to try their hand at a variety of conventionally feminine activities. In examining male participation in household tasks, it is therefore necessary to construct a research instrument which incorporates as broad a spectrum as possible of responsibilities. It is also important, as noted by Stephen Edgell (1989) in his study of middle-class couples, that the type of activities included should not be biased at the outset towards one sex alone. Anne Oakley's (1974) definition of household tasks is regarded by Edgell as restrictive since it includes traditionally feminine tasks such as cooking and cleaning, but excludes conventionally masculine tasks such as gardening or household repairs. Most studies of male involvement which have been carried out in

the 1980s have been based on a wide range of activities: Hélène Rousse and Caroline Roy's (1981) time-budget analysis of French male and female participation in household tasks covers involvement in activities as diverse as sweeping the floor and bringing in coal for the fire. Similarly, a study of male participation conducted by the British magazine Options (1986) includes detailed tasks such as cleaning the oven and washing the car. The relevance of including these tasks in a study of male involvement does not lie in their novelty element, but in the flexibility of attitude which such an inclusion demonstrates towards the future of male roles. Some men in the 1980s may be involved in types of housework which are not conventionally examined in gender role studies: if new areas of household responsibilities are not gradually introduced into research on men's roles, the true extent of male involvement in family tasks may not be revealed.

Following the guidelines mentioned above, the present study required respondents to describe the labour divisions which exist in their own homes in relation to fourteen different household tasks (see Table 5.1). These tasks were selected according to two basic criteria: firstly, they had to cover a range of conventionally feminine and masculine areas; and secondly, they had to be commonly recognisable duties which are salient to both French and British society. The group of tasks chosen included a number of activities rarely examined in connection with male involvement, such as using a washing

Table 5.1

Division Of Household Tasks In The Respondent's Family (in Percentages)

		Britain N=101				France N=75					
		USUALLY WIFE	EITHER PARTNER	USUALLY HUSBAND	OTHER	Total	USUALLY WIFE	EITHER PARTNER	USUALLY HUSBAND	OTHER	Total
<i>(a) Tasks Classified As Predominantly Feminine</i>											
Mending clothes		88.9	8.1	-	3.0	100.0	96.0	4.0	-	-	100.0
Ironing		88.1	7.9	1.0	3.0	100.0	86.7	9.3	-	4.0	100.0
Washing clothes		85.1	12.9	1.0	1.0	100.0	85.3	13.3	1.3	-	100.0
Dusting		77.2	17.8	4.0	1.0	100.0	74.7	20.0	4.0	1.3	100.0
Preparing and cooking food		68.3	29.7	2.0	-	100.0	70.7	26.7	2.7	-	100.0
Vacuuming carpets		56.4	37.6	3.0	3.0	100.0	44.0	45.3	8.0	2.7	100.0
Cleaning windows		45.5	29.7	19.8	5.0	100.0	56.0	25.3	14.7	4.0	100.0
Grocery shopping		52.5	44.6	2.0	1.0	100.0	33.3	61.3	5.3	-	100.0
Washing dishes (by hand)		21.2	70.7	6.1	2.0	100.0	35.1	56.8	8.1	-	100.0

Table 5.1 C'td

Division Of Household Tasks In The Respondent's Family (in Percentages)

		Britain N=101				France N=75					
		USUALLY WIFE	EITHER PARTNER	USUALLY HUSBAND	OTHER	Total	USUALLY WIFE	EITHER PARTNER	USUALLY HUSBAND	OTHER	Total
<b>(b) Tasks Classed As Predominantly Masculine</b>											
Car maintenance	-	2.0	2.0	93.0	5.0	100.0	2.7	9.3	82.7	5.3	100.0
Electrical repairs	2.0	5.9	89.1	3.0	100.0	2.7	18.7	73.3	5.3	100.0	
Do-it-yourself jobs	-	21.8	75.2	3.0	100.0	1.4	13.5	82.7	1.4	100.0	
Gardening	7.9	52.5	38.6	1.0	100.0	16.4	34.5	47.3	1.8	100.0	
<b>(c) Task Classed As Basically Neutral</b>											
Pet care	22.0	54.9	15.9	7.3	100.0	25.0	40.9	29.5	4.5	100.0	

machine, carrying out do-it-yourself jobs, and vacuuming carpets.

The analysis of male and female participation in the above range of household tasks demonstrates a uniformity of opinion between the French and the British respondents as to which responsibilities are predominantly feminine and which masculine (see Table 5.1). Nine of the fourteen tasks listed are regarded as first and foremost the domain of the wife. These are, in order of decreasing feminine bias: mending clothes, ironing, washing clothes by machine, dusting, preparing and cooking food, vacuuming carpets, cleaning windows, grocery shopping, and washing dishes by hand. Five tasks are considered to be the responsibility of the husband. In order of decreasing masculine bias, these are: car maintenance, electrical repairs, do-it-yourself jobs, and gardening. One task, that of caring for family pets, is neutral in that it is viewed as generally suitable for either men or women.

The above division of household tasks is basically traditional and can be seen to operate according to three fundamental criteria which appear in both France and Britain to determine whether specific types of household labour should be carried out by a woman or a man. The first difference between feminine and masculine tasks concerns the environment in which each type of work is carried out. As can be seen from the results listed above, duties which are

classed as feminine tend to be carried out indoors, whereas most masculine tasks take place outside the home. This distinction is also apparent in the findings of a number of previous studies of male and female involvement in household tasks. Robert Blood and Donald Wolfe (1960) report that the husbands in their study take responsibility for outdoor gardening tasks such as lawn-mowing, whereas indoor duties related to food preparation or clothes care are carried out predominantly by women. The preference of men for taking charge of outdoor tasks may stem from early male socialization patterns. As suggested by the American researcher Jerome Tognoli (1979), young boys and girls in Western society are taught in childhood to behave in different ways. Girls, for whom an adulthood as homemaker is still commonly envisaged, are encouraged to play inside the home, to gain familiarity with household items and to help with simple housework. Boys, on the other hand, tend to play outside the home and to participate in adventurous games which involve a wide exploration of their neighbourhood. In later life, it is consequently understandable that men should regard the home as a basically feminine environment which is alien to their interests and abilities.

The second distinction between masculine and feminine tasks is based on the frequency with which each duty is carried out. In both France and Britain, women tend to take responsibility for tasks which have to be repeated very frequently: the cycle of preparing food and washing dishes,



for example, is in most families carried out several times each day. Duties which are normally undertaken at least once or more each week, such as dusting, washing clothes by machine, ironing and vacuuming carpets, are also regarded as feminine tasks. Masculine duties, on the other hand, tend to be carried out less frequently: do-it-yourself jobs or electrical repairs are tasks which require to be undertaken only at irregular intervals, while car maintenance and gardening are rarely carried out more than once each week. These findings corroborate the results of the French time-budget study conducted by Rousse and Roy (1981), in which tasks which have to be carried out frequently and are consequently heavily time-consuming, such as sweeping the floor or dusting, tend to be carried out by women. Tasks which are undertaken less frequently, such as washing the car, are normally carried out by men. The overall contribution of men to the running of the home is much less than that of women. The involvement of the French and British respondents is in general accordance with the findings of Agnès Pitrou (1980), whose study of 750 French families shows men's participation in household tasks to be "sporadic and minor" (Pitrou, 1980: 127).

The third and final difference between feminine and masculine tasks in both Britain and France lies in the objective of each duty and the result which is attained. On the one hand, the completion of a masculine task generally results in a relatively lasting achievement of some kind: do-it-yourself

work often leads to a permanent enhancement of the home, while gardening may provide an attractive display of flowers or a crop of produce for the family. Feminine tasks, on the other hand, habitually serve not to provide a specific product, but simply to maintain a continuous and repetitive standard. Tasks such as washing clothes, ironing and mending must be carried out in order to preserve the cleanliness and neat appearance of the family. Similarly, dusting and vacuuming carpets must be undertaken in order to ensure that the home is a healthy place in which to live. Grocery shopping and food preparation, whilst providing some scope for variety and creativity, are tasks which must continually be undertaken in order to ensure the survival of the family. Feminine household tasks are more directly related to the health and general well-being of the family than masculine household tasks, yet the repetitiveness of feminine duties frequently means that their importance is devalued. Trained traditionally to strive for change and lasting achievement, men may prefer to undertake tasks which produce specific results as opposed to upholding a constant standard of living conditions.

Both the French and the British respondents, operating according to a clear system of distinctions between household tasks suitable for men and women, are reluctant to participate in duties which could be classed as feminine in any of the above three ways. The increasing involvement of married women in paid employment means that some men may

nevertheless have to participate more in the running of the household and consequently carry out some tasks which are regarded as feminine. When this is the case, both British and French men are selective about the type of feminine tasks in which they are prepared to participate. In line with the first major distinction mentioned above, men are more willing to become involved in feminine tasks which involve an element of contact with the outside world, such as cleaning windows or grocery shopping, than tasks which are carried out entirely within the home. Men may also be more prepared to tackle feminine household tasks if these require the use of electrical equipment: the traditional masculine bias towards an interest in technology is apparent in men's preference for vacuuming carpets or using a washing machine as opposed to dusting or mending clothes, two activities which are normally carried out by hand. In accordance with the findings of Andrée Michel (1984), Pitrou (1980) and Roy (1982), feminine tasks linked with the preparation of meals, particularly in France, are generally regarded as more acceptable by men than those related to household cleaning or clothes care. Within the range of tasks concerned with meal preparation, washing dishes is, as discovered by Young and Willmott (1973) and the Options survey (1986), by far the most popular male contribution to household labour. Requiring much less skill and effort than cooking a meal for the family and frequently occurring as a response to the greater contribution of the woman who has prepared the food, washing dishes appears to be used by many men as a token proof of

their involvement in household tasks. At the opposite end of the spectrum of feminine tasks, duties connected with clothes care, especially those involving skills such as sewing, are very rarely carried out by either the British or the French respondents.

#### French and British Differences in Male Participation in Household Tasks

As can be seen from Table 5.1, respondents in both Britain and France display approximately similar rates of participation in the fourteen household tasks listed. This suggests that men in both countries use the same type of criteria, as explained above, to classify tasks as masculine or feminine. Within this basic structure, the national differences in the perception of the male image, identified in Chapter 4, also exercise an influence on the involvement in household tasks of men in each country. As suggested by the responses of the French and British men to the open questions about changes in gender roles, the general conception of masculinity is more flexible in France than in Britain. This is reflected in the greater willingness of the French respondents to participate in a number of the feminine tasks which are most commonly avoided by men, such as dusting and ironing. British men, on the other hand, are keen to adhere to the traditional masculine image, as is evident in their particularly high rates of involvement in masculine-biased tasks such as car maintenance and electrical repairs.

### Family-Related Factors Which Influence Men's Participation in Household Tasks

The most basic factor which influences the involvement of French and British men in household tasks is the amount of time spent in the home by each partner in the couple. This is, to some extent, self-evident: the majority of household tasks listed are not optional but must necessarily be carried out by some member of the family, and in many cases simply fall to the lot of the partner who is most often present in the home. If a woman spends less time in the home, her partner is more likely to participate in household tasks: both French and British men whose wives are in paid employment are more involved in household labour than men whose wives do not work outside the home. Similarly, men who spend little time in the home are least likely to participate in household tasks. The respondents who carry out feminine tasks such as vacuuming carpets, ironing or preparing food tend to spend a relatively large amount of time in the home: in both Britain and France they are likely to work forty or fewer hours per week or to arrive home each evening before 6 p.m. Men who work shifts, and who may consequently be in the home at times when their wives are not present, are in both countries the category most willing to participate in highly feminine tasks such as washing or mending clothes. This indicates that men may not oppose participation in feminine tasks on principle, but may simply fear ridicule or the derision of their efforts if they attempt to carry out these

tasks in the presence of their more experienced female partner. Men in both countries who have had the opportunity to familiarize themselves with the environment of the home, particularly without the presence of a woman, clearly display a less hostile attitude towards participation in household tasks.

In addition to the fundamental factor of the time spent by men in the home, four other characteristics related to the respondent and his family can be linked to male participation in household tasks. The first characteristic is that of family size. The number of children in the home is linked to male involvement in a similar way in both France and Britain: in general, respondents are more likely to participate in household tasks if they have one child only. High involvement at the one-child stage may be related both to the fact that these respondents are likely to be in the early years of their marriage and may still consider it a novelty to share household labour with their partner, and to the possibility that they may not yet have become fully absorbed by their careers. More importantly, many of the men with one child only have partners who work outside the home and therefore, as explained above, may be more disposed towards household participation. They are also likely to be younger and consequently, as shown in Chapter 4, to hold more egalitarian views about gender roles.

The three remaining characteristics which influence male participation are related to the respondent himself. The

first of these, the category of psychological gender-typing to which each man belongs, exercises a clear and consistent effect on the involvement in household tasks of both British and French men. In accordance with their overall approach to life, men who have feminine gender characteristics are most likely to participate in feminine tasks, whereas men with masculine typing tend to adhere to a rigidly traditional division of household labour.

The final two characteristics are linked in a more complex manner to men's involvement in household tasks. As in the area of views on gender roles which was examined in Chapter 4, the age of the father exercises a two-fold effect on his participation in household tasks. Firstly, the 'historical' effect of age is evident in that younger men in both France and Britain are more willing to carry out feminine tasks than their older counterparts. The following three examples illustrate this trend: 13.5% of French and 13.5% of British men aged forty or under, as against 0.0% of French and 4.1% of British men aged forty-one or over, participate in ironing; 34.6% of French and 36.5% of British men aged forty or under, as opposed to 18.2% of French and 26.5% of British men aged forty-one or over, participate in preparing and cooking food; and 61.5% of French and 44.2% of British men aged forty or under, as against 31.8% of French and 34.7% of British men aged forty-one or over, participate in vacuuming carpets. The 'historical' effect of age is, as can be seen in the above examples, particularly striking in the French

sample: there is a greater difference between the involvement of older and younger men in France than in Britain. As explained in Chapter 4, this could be due to the fact that change in gender roles has taken place later and in a relatively more revolutionary fashion in France than in Britain. The social climate of revolt against traditional authority which was prevalent in France in the late 1960s appears to have created different patterns of behaviour in French respondents aged over and under forty: men in the older age-group tend to retain a conventional male-female division of labour, whereas the younger men demonstrate a greater degree of interchangeability in male and female involvement in household tasks.

In addition to its 'historical' effect, the age of the father also exercises a 'stage of life-cycle' effect on his participation in household tasks. This is evident in both younger and older men. Despite the overall greater participation of men aged under forty, the category of British and French respondents who are aged between thirty-one and thirty-five and who tend to have children aged between five and ten years old, displays surprisingly low rates of involvement in household tasks. This may be due to the fact that family and employment pressures tend to reach their peak simultaneously for men at this point in life (Rapoport et al., 1977). The early thirties are a time when men who wish to achieve success in their professional lives are often forced to devote themselves fully to their work in



order to heighten their chances of future promotion. Men in this age-group, particularly in Britain where the career patterns of women tend to be less continuous than in France (Hantrais, 1988), may also have a partner who has returned to paid employment after a break for childrearing and who would therefore benefit from the shared participation of both members of the couple in household tasks. Most of the French and British respondents in their early thirties appear to tackle this clash of responsibilities by investing their energies in their careers, simultaneously delegating the burden of household tasks to their wives. The opposite 'stage of life-cycle' effect of age is apparent in men over fifty, who are reaching the final stages of their career rather than striving for initial promotion. While in both France and Britain men in their fifties are less likely than younger men to participate interchangeably with their partners in household tasks, they are more likely to take sole charge of one particular feminine task, such as ironing, vacuuming carpets or even mending clothes. It may be that, having had long experience of the husband and father roles, these men are sufficiently secure in their gender identity to assume responsibility for highly feminine tasks which many younger men appear to regard as a threat to their masculinity.

As is evident from the above examination of the effect of age, factors inherent in the pressures of the contemporary male role may distort the influence of personal

characteristics which might generally be considered to favour men's practical participation in household tasks. As was stated in Chapter 4, respondents who possess a high educational or occupational status are more likely to hold egalitarian views about male and female roles. In relation to practical involvement in household tasks, however, this effect does not hold true. Neither the French nor the British respondents in the upper educational or occupational groups display a more egalitarian division of household labour than men in the lower groups. Although men with a higher educational or occupational level are, as explained in Chapter 4, more likely to have been exposed to influences advocating the interchangeability of household tasks, these respondents are also likely to have greater professional commitments than other categories of men. The social pressures on high-status men to succeed and to gain recognition in the masculine world of employment thus tend to negate the theoretical acceptance of the need for gender equality concomitantly apparent in this group of respondents.

Men with a high educational or occupational level are more likely than men in other groups to have work-related responsibilities, such as business trips or evening preparation, which may give them the prerogative to choose which, if any, household tasks can be fitted into their schedule or even to opt out of household duties altogether. A small minority of both French and British men in the university-educated and upper professional/managerial

category are willing to take charge of the more creative feminine tasks such as cooking and preparing food, but simultaneously avoid participating in any of the less rewarding cleaning or clothes-related tasks.

At the other end of the educational or occupational scale, the interchangeability of tasks between male and female partners is more common. This holds true even for the household duties classified by the respondents as highly feminine: the task of mending clothes is carried out by 11.1% of the French and 7.7% of the British respondents with no further education, as against 5.5% of the French and 4.8% of the British men with a university degree. Similarly, 33.3% of the French and 28.2% of the British men with no further education, as opposed to only 10.0% of the French and 8.7% of the British university-educated respondents, participate in dusting. Men in the lower educational or occupational groups, while perhaps less aware of the theories behind gender equality, tend to suffer less pressure to devote extra time to their professional advancement: the often monotonous jobs carried out by these men may not in fact provide much incentive for personal career investment. Men in the lower educational and occupational groups, while in many cases carrying out physically strenuous jobs, may be free to invest more mental energy in their family responsibilities. Occupying a less powerful social and financial position than the most highly-educated men, they may also have less choice in the type of task in which they are willing to participate.

## Men's Views on Patterns of Leisure Activities Within the Couple

Unlike the section of questions on household labour divisions within the couple, in which the respondents are required to describe what takes place within their own homes, the questions dealing with leisure activities examine men's views on acceptable patterns of behaviour for couples in general. There is one basic reason for this difference: the aim of the series of questions on leisure pursuits is not to chart the particular activities actually carried out by the French and British couples, but simply to provide an objective measure of the extent to which the respondents support the autonomous development of each partner within a relationship.

The ten leisure activities listed are commonly carried out in both France and Britain and thus possess comparable cultural relevance. The results of the set of questions relating to leisure activities show that each individual pursuit holds a similar significance for men in both countries. On the basis of the content and purpose of each activity, the respondents in both Britain and France appear to classify the leisure pursuits listed into three groups. The first group, which includes attending an evening class, playing sports and attending church, covers activities which are predominantly task-based in that their purpose is to achieve a specific goal, whether educational, physical or religious, rather

than simply to socialize with other people. The second group of activities, while also task-based, incorporates a larger element of socializing in that they are often preceded or followed by activities such as going to a pub or to a restaurant. These pursuits include going to the cinema or theatre and attending a concert. The third and largest group of activities, which includes going to a dance/party, visiting friends, going to the pub, taking a holiday and going out for a meal, has socializing with others as its primary aim. On the whole, both the French and the British men believe that activities which are task-based may be carried out by male and female partners independently, whereas activities involving socializing ought to be more couple-centred (see Table 5.2). The basic criteria for deciding how couple-centred an activity should be are the degree of potential it provides for meeting members of the opposite sex and the extent to which it commonly forms part of the romantic ritual in France and Britain. Activities which are culturally important elements of the formation of a male-female relationship in contemporary France and Britain, such as going out for a meal or attending a party, are regarded as more couple-centred than activities which are less often centred around the male-female dyad, such as visiting friends.

A number of the leisure activities listed are considered, by both the British and the French respondents, to be more suitable for one sex than for the other. The two activities

Table 5.2

Percentage Of Respondents Who Believe That Leisure Activities  
Should Only Be Carried Out By A Couple Together

	Britain	France
	N=101	N=75
Going On Holiday	88.1	78.7
Going To A Dance/Party	88.0	64.0
Going Out For A Meal	68.3	64.0
Going To The Cinema	68.0	55.4
Going To A Concert/Play	57.7	43.7
Visiting Friends	36.6	49.3
Going Out To A Pub	38.0	36.9
Attending Church	48.4	32.8
Playing Sports	16.3	24.7
Attending Evening Classes	6.3	11.4

which are most rigidly gender-stereotyped are attending church and going out to a pub: 18.0% of the British and 21.5% of the French respondents feel that going out to a pub is a masculine activity, whereas 6.6% of the British and 18.0% of the French respondents believe that attending church is a feminine activity. Intellectual or cultural activities such as going to the cinema or theatre and attending a concert are regarded by some respondents as more suitable for women than for men, especially in France. The stereotyping of certain activities as feminine is particularly evident in the responses of the French sample, and mirrors the inflexible image of women demonstrated by the attitudes of French men towards gender roles as examined in Chapter 4.

#### French and British Differences in Attitude Towards Patterns of Leisure Activities Within the Couple

The French respondents have been seen to adhere to a more gender-specific pattern of leisure pursuits than the British men. This is in accordance with more marked wish of the French men for male and female roles to remain distinct from one another. Despite this reinforcement of the traditional gender suitability of certain activities, the French respondents are generally less couple-centred in their approach to leisure patterns than the British men. A greater distinction is made by the British men between task-based and socializing activities: whereas the French respondents apply a more uniform scale of gender suitability to these two types of activity, the British respondents

permit greater freedom in the former type of pursuit and considerably less in the latter.

The Influence of Family and Personal Characteristics on Men's Attitudes Towards Patterns of Leisure Activities

The two most salient influences on the views of the French and British men about leisure patterns within the couple are exercised by characteristics related to the respondent's partner. In the first place, men whose wives are in paid employment are more likely to believe that married women require freedom to carry out activities independently of their husbands. These men tend to favour a pattern of leisure whereby each partner is permitted to develop his or her interests either alone or with friends external to the couple. Men whose wives do not work outside the home, on the other hand, tend to support a purely couple-centred pattern of leisure activities and to reinforce stereotyping in traditionally gender-biased activities.

The wife's educational level demonstrates a second important effect on the respondents' views about leisure activities. Men whose partners have had a university education favour a pattern of leisure pursuits where each member of the couple carries out his or her chosen activity independently. Men whose wives have had no further education, however, are more likely to believe that partners should carry out activities together. The status of the respondent's own partner is thus fundamentally linked to men's perception of the general autonomy of partners within a relationship. Only those men



whose partners have achieved some degree of occupational or educational autonomy are willing for married women as a whole to obtain independence in the use of their leisure time. This finding suggests that men may form their ideas about women's roles and abilities in general on the basis of the role and status of their own partner within the couple.

The above two effects of the status of the respondents's wife hold true for both British and French men whatever their personal characteristics. The characteristics of the respondent himself exercise a weaker, although still significant, influence. Men who display feminine sex-typing, and who consequently place considerable emphasis on the value of the family, are more likely than masculine-typed men to support a couple-centred pattern of leisure activities. Respondents who possess a high educational or occupational status, and in particular those who have experienced the relatively casual and non-stereotyped model of leisure pursuits prevalent in the university environment, are most in favour of freedom for each member of a couple to carry out activities independently. As is found throughout the study, the age of the respondent exercises a two-fold effect on his views about leisure patterns within the couple. The 'historical' effect of age is most clearly apparent in the extent to which older and younger respondents stereotype various leisure activities: 50.0% of the British and 35.7% of the French respondents aged forty-six or over, as against only 22.2% of the British and 12.5% of the French men aged

thirty or under, believe that going out to a pub is a masculine activity. The specifically British institution of the pub, which in past decades has often been synonymous with a somewhat rough, spartan environment in which women (particularly if unaccompanied by a man) were unwelcome, retains a more rigidly masculine image than its French counterpart. The French "café", although male-oriented in that it is often used as a local meeting place for men who wish to get out of the home in the evenings, tends to provide a range of snacks and hot drinks in addition to alcohol and would consequently seem to project a less exclusively masculine image.

In addition to the 'historical' effect of age which was mirrored in the finding that older men in both national samples are more likely than their younger counterparts to stereotype activities as suitable for one sex only, the 'stage of life-cycle' effect is evident in relation to the degree of autonomy granted by the respondents to each member of the couple as regards leisure activities. Both French and British men in the under-thirty age-group are far more in favour than older men of partners carrying out leisure pursuits together. These respondents are likely to have experienced marriage for a relatively short time: they may still be preoccupied with each other and may extend their own couple-centred approach to the pursuit of leisure activities in general. On the other hand, considerable support for freedom and autonomy in the pursuit of leisure activities for

couples as a whole is evident in both the British and the French respondents aged between thirty-one and forty. There are a number of possible reasons for this. Firstly, these respondents are likely to have just emerged from the life-cycle stage where the time and energy of the couple as a whole is largely absorbed by the care of under school-age children. As their children become less dependent, parents in this age-group may enjoy more freedom to carry out independent activities, having perhaps developed a system whereby one partner looks after the children while the other carries out leisure pursuits. They may therefore apply their experience of increased personal independence to leisure patterns for couples in general. Secondly, the fact that many of the partners of the respondents in this age-group, particularly in Britain, are likely to be returning to paid employment after a break for child-rearing, may also be linked to the greater independence of leisure activities for each member of the couple which is supported by respondents aged between thirty-one and forty. As in the case of the influence of characteristics relating to the respondents' wives, the current situation and experiences of each man appears largely to determine his perception of the boundaries of freedom within the male-female relationship in general.

#### Men's Attitudes towards Female Employment

An overview of the attitudes of the British and French men towards the general issue of women working outside the home

is obtained through the responses to a series of questions which postulate the employment of women in four different categories. The respondents are required to state whether or not they approve of married women working outside the home when they have no children, a child/children aged four years or under, a child/children aged five to eleven years, and child/children aged twelve to sixteen years. The responses obtained to these questions demonstrate that the British men, in relation to each of the four hypothesized categories, are considerably more in favour than the French men of women working outside the home (see Table 5.3). This difference between French and British views may in some respects stem from the greater availability of part-time work in Britain (Oakely, 1981; Hantrais, 1988). The British men, whose own wives are more likely to work part-time, may primarily consider female employment in terms of a part-time job. In contrast, the French men may conceptualize female employment as full-time work, which makes many more demands on women in terms of time and energy and may imply a more radical questioning of traditional roles and power relations within the family.

Two other apparent differences between French and British society, identified in Chapter 4, may also account for the discrepancy between the attitudes of men in each country towards the employment of married women. Firstly, the particularly inflexible image of femininity upheld by the French respondents is evident in their greater reluctance for

Table 5.3

Men's Views On The Paid Employment Of Married Women (in Percentages)

Is It Acceptable For The Following Four Categories Of Married Women To Work Outside The Home?

Britain  
N=101

	Married Women With No Children	Married Women With A Child/ Children Aged 0-4	Married Women With A Child/ Children Aged 5-11	Married Women With A Child/ Children Aged 12-16
YES	97.0	21.8	72.3	93.1
NO	2.0	77.2	26.7	6.9
NO RESP.	1.0	1.0	1.0	-
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

France  
N=75

	Married Women With No Children	Married Women With A Child/ Children Aged 0-4	Married Women With A Child/ Children Aged 5-11	Married Women With A Child/ Children Aged 12-16
YES	90.7	18.7	49.3	70.7
NO	8.0	78.7	48.0	25.3
NO RESP.	1.3	2.7	2.7	4.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

women to take on the traditionally masculine role of paid employment outside the home. As can be seen from Table 5.3, a larger percentage of the French than of the British respondents appear to support the view that married women, even those who have no children, should not work outside the home. This indicates that the issue of female employment may be regarded in a very different way by men and women in France. In a Franco-British comparison of the career patterns of female graduates, Linda Hantrais (1988) suggests that, as a result of high-profile French governmental policy in relation to women's rights and the family, it is considerably easier for women in France than in Britain to reconcile their roles in the employment world and within the home. While French women appear to experience less conflict than their British counterparts in carrying out both employment and family roles, French men, in contrast, seem to oppose the combination of these roles to a greater extent than men in Britain.

The second national difference which may be related to the discrepancy in the attitudes of the British and French respondents towards female employment is the fact that French society appears to be more child-oriented than British society. While relatively little difference is apparent between the attitudes of the respondents in each national sample towards the paid employment of women who have children aged four years or under (see Table 5.3), the French men

are much more reluctant than their British counterparts to accept the employment of women who have children aged between five and eleven, or even between twelve and sixteen years old. As is apparent from many of their comments in response to the open questions on gender roles examined in Chapter 4, the French men appear to consider the influence of the mother to last for a longer time and to view children as remaining under the direction of the family until they are well into adolescence. This child-oriented viewpoint is in conflict with the pattern of female employment which is most common in contemporary French society. As shown in a number of recent Franco-British studies of female employment (Dex and Walters, 1988; Hantrais, 1988), French women are more likely than their British counterparts to have a relatively continuous career in full-time employment which is interrupted only temporarily for childbearing. British women, on the other hand, tend to stop work for a longer period when their children are young and return to paid employment, often on a part-time basis, only when the children go to school. The gap between the views of the respondents in relation to the theoretical importance of the mother-child relationship and the time available in practice for mother-child interaction appears to be much greater in France than in Britain. As illustrated by the views of the French respondents, an increase in the practical possibility for women to take on a sustained and full-time role in the employment world may result, on the part of some men,

in a more rigid reinforcement of the traditional role of women as mothers and homemakers.

Family and Personal Characteristics which Influence Men's Attitudes Towards Female Employment

The influence of men's personal characteristics on attitudes towards female employment mirrors the findings of Chapter 4 in relation to general gender roles. Both French and British men aged forty or under are more likely than their older counterparts to approve of the employment of married women. This is evident even in the most controversial case of female employment, that of women who have a child/children aged under four years old. As regards this category, 25.5% of French and 32.7% of British respondents aged forty or under, as opposed to only 4.5% of French and 11.9% of British respondents aged forty-one or over, are in favour of a woman working outside the home. In accordance with the findings of an early study of the attitudes towards gender roles held by French couples living in the Paris area (Chombert de Lauwe, 1962), men who possess a high educational and occupational status are also more likely to support the employment of married women: 25.0% of French and 30.4% of British university-educated respondents, as against none of the French and 21.1% of the British men with no further education, approve of married women with a child/children aged under four years working outside the home. Men in both countries who have feminine psychological typing are less likely than masculine-typed men to approve of female



employment: placing greatest emphasis on feminine family-related values, these respondents are less able to comprehend the attractions of the traditionally masculine world of employment. Men with large families, of three children or more, are in both Britain and France also less likely to support the employment of married women. Even in the hypothesized case of a woman with relatively independent children in the twelve to sixteen age-group, 35.3% of French and 13.3% of British respondents with large families, as opposed to 24.1% of French and 4.3% of British men with small families, disapprove of female employment.

As in the case of men's views on leisure patterns within the couple, characteristics related to the respondent's partners play a particularly important role in determining men's views on female employment in general. Men whose wives have a high educational level, and in particular a university degree, are more likely to support the idea of women working outside the home in each of the four hypothesized cases. The effect of the wife's educational level is particularly strong in France: 50.5% of the French and 25.0% of the British respondents whose partners have a university degree, as opposed to 9.5% of the French and 21.0% of the British men whose partners have had no further education, believe that married women with a child/children aged under four years should work outside the home if they wish to do so. The more marked relationship between women's educational level and the views of their husbands in the French sample may be

linked to the media-based campaign to promote female training and employment which was organized by the French Ministry for Women's Rights in 1984: women who have a high level of education are likely to be most immediately attuned to campaigns of this type and may also be more likely to talk about gender issues with their partners.

As might be expected, the current employment status of the respondents' partners is also related to men's views about female employment in general. In both the French and the British samples, men whose wives work outside the home are more likely than men whose wives are not employed to favour the employment of married women in general. Within this category, respondents whose wives only work part-time, and who therefore do not challenge men by taking on a full-time breadwinner role, are in each country most supportive of female employment. Considerably more of the French than of the British men whose wives are employed full-time disapprove of female employment in each of the four hypothesized cases. In the group of men whose partners work full-time, 5.9% of the French as against none of the British respondents believe that married women with no children should not work outside the home; 78.8% of the French as against 69.2% of the British men feel that women with children aged under four years should not work outside the home; 38.4% of the French as against 7.7% of the British men believe that women with children aged five to eleven should not work outside the home; and 21.2% of the French as against none of the British

men whose partners are in paid employment think that women with children aged twelve to sixteen should not work outside the home. In general, the French respondents in the above group appear to be less in favour than their British counterparts of the division of roles which exists within their own families, in which their partners are in full-time employment. The tenacity of the rigidly feminine image upheld on a theoretical level by the French respondents is also mirrored in the cross-national comparison of men whose wives do not work outside the home: 19.0% of the French as opposed to only 3.8% of the British men in this category believe that married women with no children should not take up employment outside the home. Regardless of the employment status of their partners, the British men consistently appear to be more supportive of the principle of the employment of married women than the French respondents. As noted earlier in this chapter, this apparently egalitarian outlook of the British men may nevertheless be linked to the fact that the employment of married women in Britain frequently takes the form of part-time work, which is organized in such a way as to be compatible with family responsibilities and consequently poses less of a threat to men's traditional roles than is the case in the French context, where full-time female employment is more common.

#### Men's Views on Why Married Women Might Wish to Work Outside the Home

The perceptions of the respondents as to why married women

might wish to work outside the home are sought in order to provide an indication of the scale of values which determines male attitudes towards female employment in Britain and France. As reflected in men's responses to the questions on role reversal, which are examined in the following section, the vast majority of respondents in both countries believe that there are three major reasons why men take up employment: firstly, to fulfil the breadwinner role; secondly, to achieve intellectual career satisfaction; and thirdly, to maintain contact with the outside world. The analysis of men's views on why women wish to work thus serves to demonstrate whether or not the respondents consider both sexes to have equal employment aspirations and capabilities.

In confirmation of the findings of previous studies which have examined the attitudes of women themselves towards female employment (Beechey, 1978; Hunt, 1968; Roby, 1975; Dunnell, 1979), a high proportion of the respondents, 55.4% in France and 48.5% in Britain, believe that the main reason why a married woman might wish to work outside the home is to provide financial support for her family. These respondents, many of whom are highly-educated and have wives who work outside the home, ascribe an equal motivation for employment to both sexes. As is shown in Table 5.4, 14.9% of the French and 6.9% of the British respondents believe that married women, like men, may wish to work predominantly in order to exercise their minds and obtain intellectual stimulation. Similarly, 17.6% of the French and 5.9% of the British men

Table 5.4

Men's Perception Of Reasons Why A Married Woman Might  
Wish To Work Outside The Home (in Percentages)

	Britain N=101	France N=75
To meet people	5.9	17.3
To exercise her mind	6.9	14.7
To buy extras for the children	5.9	-
To support the family	48.5	54.7
To feel independent	25.7	10.7
To have pocket money	4.0	1.3
Other	3.0	-
No Response	-	1.3
	-----	-----
	100.0	100.0

maintain that married women may share men's wish to work in order to have contact with people in the outside world.

In each of the above three cases, the French respondents demonstrate a greater conviction that married women may wish to work outside the home for similar reasons to men. This reflects the current social reality of women's position in each country. As noted earlier in this chapter, French women are more likely than their British counterparts to work full-time outside the home and to have relatively continuous employment careers which are interrupted only temporarily for childbearing (Hantrais, 1988). Many more French than British mothers also have access to relatively cheap and good quality child care facilities (Pichault, 1983), which enable them to compete on more equal terms to men in the employment world. Almost all French children, unlike their British counterparts, attend nursery school from the age of three years onwards. Convenient and reliable child care facilities for even younger children are also much more widely available in France than in Britain: in the French sample area of Annecy, for example, many of the recently built housing estates incorporate not only their own shopping centre, but also a municipal 'Mini-Crèche' providing day-long child care. The discrepancy between child care provisions in the Annecy and Leamington Spa areas is reflected in the employment status of the respondents' wives: as was shown in Table 3.8, 46.7% of the French, as opposed to only 12.9% of the British respondents have a wife in full-time employment,

while 60.4% of the British and 25.3% of the French men have a wife who works part-time outside the home. The more frequent participation of women in part-time work in Britain appears to minimize the importance of female employment, implying that married women are not in a position to carry out a full-time job. This is apparent in the higher, although still small, number of British men who believe that married women wish to work for purely 'trivial' reasons: 4.0% of British as against 1.4% of French respondents feel that the main reason why married women wish to work is simply to gain pocket money, while 5.9% of the British sample, as opposed to none of the French men, maintain that women wish to work in order to buy extras for the children.

A juxtaposition of the findings of the above two sections on female employment highlights a feature which is crucial to the attitudes of both French and British men towards gender roles in general. Respondents in both countries appear to support a limited degree of change in women's place in society, but fear any radical transformation which would enable women to challenge men in traditionally masculine areas of experience. Men are willing to afford women some freedom, but only if the patriarchal position of ultimate power is maintained. The British respondents, while generally supporting the paid employment of women, would seem to believe that women's work is different from and inferior to male employment. The French men, obliged by the wider provision of child care facilities and other factors to

accept that women may be able to take up employment on a more equal footing to men, show their displeasure at this growing equality between the sexes by disapproving of female employment as a whole. A great disparity exists between theory and practice in the area of gender roles: while most men appear to sanction the vague ideal of equality between the sexes, this approval is withdrawn if changes in women's roles appear to pose a concrete threat to men's status in society.

#### Men's Attitudes Towards Role Reversal

The responses obtained to the questions on role reversal, which are designed to elicit not only men's views but also to assess men's willingness to participate in such an arrangement, strongly reinforce the discrepancy between male attitudes and behaviour identified in the above section on female employment. The subject of role reversal, implying that men might actually take on the traditionally subordinate position of full-time homemaker and child-carer, clearly threatens the masculine identity of some respondents and uncovers male prejudices which might escape detection in less controversial areas of discussion.

As regards men's theoretical views on family roles, the majority of both French and British respondents profess to support the principle of role reversal if this arrangement suits the particular couple concerned (see Table 5.5).



Financial factors also predispose some men to accept the idea of role reversal: as can be seen from Table 5.5, the British respondents, in accordance with their habitual emphasis on economic and practical issues, are particularly likely to favour role reversal if a woman earns more than her partner. Only a small minority of men in each country disapprove of the entire concept of role reversal, believing it to be unnatural. These respondents are likely to be in the oldest age-groups: 40.0% of the British and 20.0% of the French men aged forty-six or over, as opposed to none of the British and 7.1% of the French men aged thirty or under, reject the idea of role reversal. Similarly, these men are likely to have had relatively little education: role reversal is regarded as unnatural by 20.5% of the British and 33.3% of the French respondents with no further education, as against only 8.7% of the British and 15.0% of the French university-educated men.

Whereas the majority of both the French and the British respondents accept the principle of role reversal, far fewer men state that they would actually be prepared to participate in such an arrangement (see Table 5.6). This discrepancy in opinion is particularly striking in the French sample: 66.7% of the French and 57.4% of the British men maintain that role reversal is acceptable if it suits a particular couple, while only 17.3% of the French and 24.8% of the British respondents are willing, without reservations, to take part in role reversal. The more overt governmental and legislative

Table 5.5

<u>Men's Views On The Principle Of Role Reversal (in Percentages)</u>	Britain N=101	France N=75
Role reversal is unnatural	15.8	14.7
Role reversal is acceptable if the woman earns more than her partner	16.8	6.7
Role reversal is acceptable if it suits the couple	57.4	66.7
Other (e.g. role reversal is acceptable if the man is unemployed)	9.9	10.7
No Response	-	1.3
	----- 100.0	----- 100.0

Table 5.6

Men's Attitudes Towards Participating In Role Reversal (in Percentages)

	Britain N=101	France N=75
Currently participates in role reversal	1.0	1.3
Willing, without reservations, to participate in role reversal	24.8	17.3
Willing, if forced by circumstances, to participate in role reversal	23.8	9.3
Unwilling to participate in role reversal	29.7	45.3
No Response	20.8	26.7
	----- 100.0	----- 100.0

approach to gender issues evident in France appears to have created a superficial awareness of the need for equality on the part of the French men, but has had little effect on their behaviour in relation to women at a practical level. More of the British respondents, in accordance with the pragmatic British approach identified in Chapter 4, state that they might be forced to participate in role reversal by certain circumstances such as unemployment, illness, or personal handicap of some kind. The French respondents, on the other hand, adhere undeterred by practical considerations to their ideal of the specificity of gender roles: 45.3% of the French men, as opposed to only 29.7% of their British counterparts, claim that they would under no circumstances become a full-time househusband.

As mentioned in the section on female employment, there appear to be three main reasons why men reject the idea of participating in role reversal and maintain that they should continue to work outside the home. Firstly, a number of respondents believe that gender roles are immutable and that men must necessarily provide for the financial upkeep of the home. Support for this view is particularly strong in the British sample, where great importance is laid on the economic aspect of men's role within the family:

I would not take part in role reversal unless incapacitated from working. It is the husband's duty financially to support the family. (GB/019, teacher)

I believe it to be the man's duty to work for a living. (GB/079, decorator)

Le mari doit travailler sauf en cas de maladie ou de chômage involontaire.

(The husband ought to work unless he is ill or involuntarily unemployed) (F/070, jeweller)

Secondly, respondents refer to the intellectual satisfaction and stimulation which they receive from their careers. This justification for men retaining their position in paid employment and refusing to take part in role reversal is most evident in the French sample:

Non. J'ai besoin d'une insertion sociale et professionnelle. J'aurais peur de perdre mon équilibre.

(No. I need to feel that I am integrated socially and professionally with other people. I would be afraid of losing my mental stability) (F/041, teacher)

Non. Les travaux ménagers ne sont pas enrichissants.

(No. Household tasks are not rewarding) (F/075, draughtsman)

Thirdly, in accordance with the theory of Tognoli (1979), a large number of men in each sample state that they require to be linked with the outside world and that they would not be able to survive if confined to an existence within the home:

No. I couldn't stand being in the house all day. (GB/046, building contractor)

I enjoy working away from the home, whereas my wife enjoys being at home with the children. (GB/048, teacher)

Non, parce que j'ai besoin de contacts extérieurs et d'autres activités professionnelles.

(No, because I need to have contact with the outside world as well as carrying out other job-related functions) (F/044, building contractor)

Je ne supporterais pas de ne pas avoir de travail à l'extérieur.

(I couldn't stand having no work outside the home)  
(F/071, computer engineer)

As was found in the responses to the open question on gender roles examined in Chapter 4, both the French and the British men tend to accept the traditional division of male and female capabilities as an unchangeable fact. This stark dichotomy of roles is mirrored in brief statements such as "I am not a domesticated person" (GB/015, wholesale butcher), "No, because of inbuilt culture and tradition" (GB/007, electrical engineer), "No, I am not qualified" (GB/038, teacher), "Impossibilité pour moi d'assurer les tâches ménagères" (It would be impossible for me to cope with household tasks) (F/037, electronics engineer) and "Non, parce que ma femme est plus douée que moi" (No, because my wife is better at housework than I am) (F/046, shopkeeper), which are used by a number of respondents to justify their lack of willingness to participate in role reversal. For these men the boundaries of male and female roles are so obvious that they feel no need to qualify further or explain their views.

#### Family and Personal Characteristics which Affect Men's Attitudes Towards Participating in Role Reversal

As in the previous sections concerning male and female roles within the couple, factors related to the respondent's personal situation play an important part in determining the attitudes of French and British men towards role reversal.

Some respondents are more predisposed than others to favour role reversal. Firstly, men who have feminine gender-typing, and who consequently place high value on family life, are more likely than their masculine-typed counterparts to accept the idea of relinquishing their paid employment. Secondly, men whose wives work full-time outside the home are more likely to support the idea of role reversal than men whose wives do not work outside the home: men with wives in paid employment are clearly most able to envisage their partners as primary breadwinners.

The educational level of the respondent also influences his attitude towards participating in role reversal. More exposed to influences which advocate freedom for both men and women to carry out roles traditionally associated with the other biological sex, respondents who have undergone a university education are considerably more likely to support role reversal than less educated men. Respondents who have had no further education are least willing to participate in role reversal: 71.4% of the French and 41.4% of the British men with no further education, as opposed to 57.1% of the French and 35.0% of the British university-educated men, state categorically that they would not become involved in such an arrangement.

The personal characteristic which appears to exercise the most significant influence on the attitudes of the French and British men towards roles reversal is the age of the respondent. Both of the men, one in France and one in

Britain, who actually care full-time for the children while their wife works outside the home are aged under thirty. The younger age-groups of men, growing up at a time when the presence of women in the workplace was becoming more common, are more in favour of the interchangeability of gender roles. This 'historical' effect of age is evident in the finding that 47.2% of the British and 73.3% of the French respondents aged forty-one or over, as against 29.5% of the British and 57.5% of the French respondents aged forty or under, state that they would not participate in role reversal. The 'stage of life-cycle' effect of age is also apparent in relation to the men aged fifty-one or over: none of the British and only 40.0% of the French respondents in this age-group, in contrast to 48.6% of the British and 90.0% of the French men aged between forty-one and fifty, state that they would not take part in role reversal. As mentioned in Chapter 4, both French and British men appear to undergo a change in attitude towards gender roles as they near the final years of their working lives. Men aged between forty-one and fifty are likely to be rising towards the peak of status and financial remuneration of their careers and may fear the loss of these rewards of paid employment. Men in their fifties, particularly those aged over fifty-five, may already have experienced career success and are likely to be looking towards the end of their working life. Welcoming the incipient change to an existence which is not governed by employment responsibilities, and where, in the words of a



British respondent, there may be 'time for hobbies yearned for but unattainable at present' (GB/100, engineer), these men demonstrate a favourable attitude towards giving up paid work and becoming a full-time homemaker.

As can be seen from the above analysis, the majority of both the British and the French respondents support the retention of a relatively traditional division of roles within the couple. The French respondents are particularly anxious that the specificity of male and female roles should be upheld. In accordance with the findings of Chapter 4 in relation to men's underlying perceptions about gender roles, women are regarded as primarily responsible for household matters and men for the financial support of the family. This distinction in responsibilities governs the attitudes of most of the French and British respondents about all aspects of male and female roles within the couple.

On a practical level, relatively few men in either the British or the French samples share the burden of household tasks with their partner, and those who do participate limit their involvement to the less repetitive and time-consuming chores. If men are obliged to participate in household labour, they are most likely to carry out tasks which are related in some way to the traditional masculine role, such as duties which involve contact with the world outside the home. Men's desire to stereotype the world outside the home as masculine and the home environment as feminine is evident in the finding that many respondents, notably in the French

sample in which female employment is most likely to be conceptualized as full-time work, maintain that it is unacceptable for married women to work outside the home, particularly if they have young children. Men in both countries are most likely to defend the traditionally gender-specific division of roles within the couple if their own position in the employment world may be involved: although many respondents claim to support the arrangement of role reversal in principle, the vast majority of men studied in France and Britain reject the idea that they themselves might exchange roles with their partner and take over the running of the home.

While social awareness of the principle of gender equality seems to be increasing, particularly in the young and university-educated sectors of the male population, little tangible evidence of change in men's attitudes and behaviour is apparent. In general, it appears that the majority of respondents, particularly in France but also in Britain, believe that biological sex is a fundamental factor in determining the division of roles and capabilities within the couple. This stance has wider implications for men's attitudes towards the stereotyping of male and female capabilities in society as a whole, as will be shown in Chapter 6.

The Views of French and British Men on Gender  
Stereotyping Within Society

It has been shown that the majority of respondents in both the British and the French samples adhere to a traditionally gender-specific pattern of household labour and leisure activities within the couple. The view that each sex possesses a biologically determined aptitude and suitability for carrying out particular family roles is more strongly expressed by the French men. In this chapter the spectrum of analysis is widened so as to discover whether or not the British and French respondents extend their approach to gender roles within the couple to men's and women's place in society as a whole.

The discussion of men's attitudes towards male and female roles within society is based on three specific yet closely interrelated topics. Firstly, an analysis of the attitudes of the respondents towards a set of ten statements concerning commonly-held theories about gender roles provides a general indication of how psychological constructs about masculinity and femininity are formed by men in each country. Secondly, an examination of the character traits and qualities ascribed to each sex by the respondents highlights the way in which men and women are perceived, from a male viewpoint, in France and Britain. Lastly, a discussion of the respondents'

assessment of the gender-orientation of a range of professional and manual occupations indicates the degree to which men in each country classify particular areas of employment as being more suitable for one sex than the other. The respondents' perception of men's and women's place in society is therefore analysed on three different levels, progressing from the general image held of men and women through the qualities assigned to each sex and finally to specific occupations which may be considered to be male or female-oriented.

#### Men's Attitudes Towards Statements Concerning the Role of Each Sex in Society

The construction of the section of the questionnaire designed to reveal the general preconceptions held by the respondents about men's and women's position in society was carried out on the basis of the examination of British and French literature concerning male and female roles (see Chapter 1). A number of issues which appear to generate a stereotyped image of men and women in France and Britain were identified and a set of statements was formulated with the aim of providing a culturally comparable measure of the degree to which each stereotype is upheld in each country. The ten statements selected cover three aspects of gender stereotyping. Firstly, the respondents are required to show whether or not they agree with a number of theories concerning roles or abilities frequently held to be the

prerogative of one sex only. In this way the fundamental pattern of attitudes towards gender stereotyping which operates among men in France and Britain is identified. Secondly, some statements concerning the relative position of men and women in the social hierarchy are included in order to measure men's perception of male and female status in each country. Lastly, an item which deals with changes in power relations between the sexes provides an indication of the direction in which men believe gender roles to be developing in contemporary France and Britain. The ten gender stereotype theories selected are grouped under the above three headings solely for the purposes of analysis. In order to minimize the commonly observed tendency whereby social survey respondents may provide repetitive answers to standardized groups of questions which appear to deal with a similar theme, the statements concerning each aspect of gender stereotyping are mixed at random and are presented, in the context of the questionnaire, in a variety of positive or negative formats.

The attitudes of the respondents towards the first group of statements on gender stereotyping, which deal with roles or abilities commonly ascribed to one sex only, reinforce the findings of Chapter 4, in which British men were shown to be anxious to preserve the masculine stereotype and French men to uphold the traditional feminine image. In relation to the male stereotype, 48.5% of the British as opposed to only 21.3% of the French respondents maintain that men are more

aggressive than women. Similarly, 28.0% of the British and 20.0% of the French men believe that men are better leaders than women, while 18.8% of the British as against 10.7% of the French respondents consider men to be less shy than women. The traditional stereotype of men as forceful, confident and socially dominant is therefore more salient to the British than to the French men. The support of a sizeable minority of the British respondents for male superiority in society is echoed only weakly where stereotypes regarding status within the family are concerned, yet the relatively greater British insistence on male dominance is evident even in this context: 5.0% of the British as against 2.7% of the French sample believe that it is advisable for a husband to have a higher educational level than his partner.

Although the French men lay much less stress on the aggressive and dominant aspects of the traditional male image, it is interesting to note that they preserve one facet of the masculine stereotype: only 24.0% of the French as against 46.5% of the British sample believe that men actually enjoy buying clothes for themselves. This finding may be regarded as surprising, in view of the generally wider and more stylish range of clothes available for men in France than in Britain. It can, however, be linked to the inflexibility of the feminine stereotype upheld by the French respondents. Outside the world of designer fashion, where male influence predominates in most countries, taste in

choosing clothes is commonly regarded, not only in France but also in Britain, as a quality inherent in French women: the French respondents may therefore prefer to rely on the supposedly superior knowledge and judgement of their partners rather than to take pleasure in buying clothes for themselves.

In addition to the implied belief that women are more interested than men in buying clothes, two other aspects of the traditional feminine image are supported by the French respondents. The view that women have a greater capacity for sympathy and intuition than men is mirrored in the views of the French sample: 57.3% of the French as against 50.5% of the British men believe that women are more sensitive than men, while 5.3% of the French as opposed to 1.0% of the British respondents consider women to be more understanding than men. The image of women as the traditional providers of psychological support for others, especially men, is more important to the French than to the British respondents.

The above examination of the way in which roles and abilities are assigned to each sex by men in the two countries suggests that gender stereotyping may operate according to a different pattern in Britain and France. Stereotyping of the roles of one sex tends to generate, in turn, a stereotyped image of the other sex: if men in a particular culture are considered to be aggressive, for example, it is likely than women will be regarded as less aggressive. A similar dichotomy of

models for male and female behaviour exists in France and Britain: men in both countries are believed to be more suited to carrying out instrumental roles, while women are regarded as possessing expressive qualities. The difference which can be observed in the attitudes towards stereotyping held by men in each country concerns not so much the final gender images produced, but the way in which these gender constructs are initially developed. As noted earlier in this chapter, the British respondents give stronger support to the traditional masculine stereotype, while the French men tend to reinforce the feminine stereotype. In forming their psychological constructs about gender, the British men appear to follow the thought process of "Men are X, therefore women are less X/not X", whereas the French respondents seem to adhere to the view that "Women are Y, therefore men are less Y/not Y".

While there appears to be a difference between France and Britain in the sex upon which men's stereotyped views are centred, respondents in both countries display a similar perception of the status of each sex in the social hierarchy. The responses obtained to the second group of statements on gender stereotyping demonstrate that women are commonly considered to occupy a subservient position to men both within the family and in society as a whole. As stated by Blood and Wolfe (1960) in their study of the dynamics of the male-female relationship within marriage, power and authority tend to accrue to the partner who possesses greater financial



resources or a higher level of skills and knowledge. Particularly within the French sample, these two advantages are regarded as a prerogative of men rather than women. A considerable number of respondents support the traditional stereotype that a man should invariably be the primary breadwinner within the family: 20.0% of the French and 6.9% of the British men believe that it is unacceptable for a woman to earn more than her partner. The accession of women to highly-qualified managerial or supervisory posts in the employment world is also regarded with suspicion: 50.7% of the French and 43.4% of the British respondents state that it is better for employees to work under the supervision of a man than of a women.

Due to the fact than relatively few women have as yet obtained powerful positions in society, the disapproval shown by many men of an increase in women's status appears to be based on unfounded prejudice rather than on a directly empirical evaluation of women's capacities for exercising authority. This is exemplified by the response of one of the British men, who, believing that it is better for employees to work under the supervision of a man, adds a comment which demonstrates his preconceived view of the position of the sexes within society: "I have no experience of working under a woman and don't think I'd like it" (GB/079, decorator). The male fear that women may acquire more power is naturally increased in situations where women pose a direct threat to men: the greater insistence of the French sample that women

should not gain status can be linked both to the higher profile approach to women's rights adopted in France in the early 1980s (Coquillat, 1985) and to the higher percentage of French than of British women who are in full-time employment in contemporary society (Hantrais, 1988). As explained in Chapter 5, the much wider availability of good-quality child care facilities in France, amongst other factors such as the lesser availability of part-time employment, permits more French women with children to enter full-time work outside the home and consequently to compete with men on a more equal footing than is currently possible in Britain. The ostensibly less stereotyped attitudes of the British respondents towards the position of the sexes in society may result not from a genuine desire for equality, but from a certainty that most British women, obliged to bear the major responsibility for family matters through the lack of an adequate social policy structure which would enable them to reconcile family and employment roles, are unlikely to challenge men's established power and authority in the gender hierarchy.

The greater vulnerability of men's position in France than in Britain, reflected in the higher percentage of French respondents who maintain that women should not achieve increased status, is also mirrored in the strikingly different attitudes of each sample towards developments occurring in the relationship between men and women in contemporary society: 85.3% of the French men, as against

35.6% of the British respondents, believe that in recent years women have begun to become more dominant over men. From a male viewpoint, changes in gender relations appear to be developing at a faster pace in France than in Britain. This demonstrates the effect of the different approach to women's issues adopted in each country: women's power in society is likely to be perceived as greater if, as in France, publicly visible governmental bodies are charged with the task of promoting women's rights. The deeper awareness of the French sample that changes are taking place in the traditional power relationship between the sexes does not, however, imply an acceptance of these changes. As will be seen in the following two sections which examine gender stereotyping in personality characteristics and employment occupations, the French respondents are in general more anxious than their British counterparts to preserve the traditional positions and roles of men and women in society.

#### Men's Attitudes Towards The Gender-Differentiation of Personality Traits and Qualities

As is apparent in the results of the previous section, a number of men in both France and Britain uphold traditional stereotyped views about the role and position of each sex in contemporary society. The aim of this section is to examine in more detail the image held of men and women by means of an analysis of the characteristics ascribed to the sexes by respondents in each country. The framework for discussion is

provided by a list of qualities commonly sought, in both Britain and France, in applicants for employment: this context is chosen since it is one of the areas in which stereotypes about masculine and feminine characteristics are likely to arise most blatantly in contemporary society.

Men's perception of the characteristics inherent in men and women is, in both France and Britain, a relatively unexplored area of gender role research. One study which touches upon these issues is Audrey Hunt's (1975) examination of British managers' attitudes towards men and women at work. Although Hunt's survey includes a small number of female managers, the vast majority of her sample consists of men. These male managers adhere to a highly stereotyped view of the attributes which are likely to be found in each sex: men are regarded as possessing what are viewed as the more prestigious employment qualities, such as a good level of training, previous experience, a sense of responsibility and a lack of family commitments, whereas women are assigned the more limited characteristics of conscientiousness, a good appearance and an ability to carry out dull, repetitive tasks.

In accordance with Hunt's findings, many of the British and French respondents maintain that certain attributes are more likely to be found in one sex than the other. Table 6.1 shows the distribution of characteristics according to gender orientation. Five qualities are, in general, regarded as masculine: the possession of few family ties, a high level of

previous training, dedication to the job, a sense of responsibility and the ability to carry out the orders of superiors. Similarly, five qualities are considered to be predominantly feminine: the ability to cope with repetitive tasks, a neat appearance, a good manner when dealing with people, a pleasant personality and good exam results.

As is apparent from Table 6.1, a different level of gender stereotyping exists in relation to particular types of attribute. On the one hand, the vast majority of the French and British men believe that both sexes may possess similar psychological traits, such as a pleasant personality. On the other hand, physical and practical attributes, such as a neat appearance or a high level of previous training, are more likely to be considered as gender-specific. In both Britain and France, stereotypes and clichés about the abilities of men and women are more readily attached to practical and easily definable issues. By its nature, a stereotype is necessarily a standardization and gross simplification of reality: it is consequently understandable that gender stereotyping appears to be most marked in relation to the least abstract and complex attributes listed.

Over and above the influence exercised by the degree of complexity of each attribute, the gender-orientation of the characteristics appears to be assessed by respondents in each country according to two basic criteria. Both these factors are rooted in the traditional and rigidly gender-

Table 6.1

Men's Views On The Gender Specificity Of Personality Characteristics: Masculine-Biased Qualities (in Percentages)

Britain  
N=101

France  
N=75

Quality most likely to be found in:

Quality most likely to be found in:

MEN WOMEN BOTH SEXES No Resp.

MEN WOMEN BOTH SEXES No Resp.

Few family ties	42.6	8.9	47.5	1.0	100.0
A high level of previous training	26.7	0.0	73.3	-	100.0
Dedication to the job	10.9	1.0	88.1	-	100.0
A sense of responsibility	3.0	1.0	96.0	-	100.0
The ability to carry out the orders of a superior	4.0	4.0	92.0	-	100.0

Few family ties	42.7	8.0	45.3	4.0	100.0
A high level of previous training	5.3	1.3	90.7	2.7	100.0
Dedication to the job	6.7	6.7	84.0	2.7	100.0
A sense of responsibility	9.3	4.0	84.0	2.7	100.0
The ability to carry out the orders of a superior	8.0	6.7	82.7	2.7	100.0

Table 6.1 C'td.

Men's Views On The Gender Specificity Of Personality Characteristics: Feminine-Biased Qualities (in Percentages)

		Britain N=101			France N=75				
		Quality most likely to be found in:							
		MEN	WOMEN	BOTH SEXES	MEN	WOMEN	BOTH SEXES	No Resp.	
The ability to cope with repetitive tasks		7.9	19.8	72.3	4.0	20.0	73.3	2.7	100.0
A neat appearance		-	13.9	86.1	4.0	22.7	70.7	2.7	100.0
A good manner when dealing with people		2.0	5.0	93.1	-	14.7	82.7	2.7	100.0
A pleasant personality		-	5.9	94.1	2.7	1.4	95.9	-	100.0
Good exam results		4.0	4.0	92.0	2.7	6.7	88.0	-	100.0

differentiated model of family responsibilities identified in Chapter 4. The first element which determines the gender specificity of the qualities listed is the respondents' practical experience of the characteristics imposed on each sex by the conventional division of roles in contemporary society. As was evident in the refusal of the vast majority of both French and British respondents to consider participation in role reversal (see Chapter 5), the burden of child care in both Britain and France currently rests on women rather than on men. Women are consequently regarded, by a large proportion of respondents in each sample, to have more family ties than men (see Table 6.1). Women's heavy family responsibilities preclude them, in turn, from competing in the employment world on an equal footing to men: the asset of possessing a high level of training is regarded as more common in men than in women. The gender specificity of personal characteristics tends to be most evident, in both samples, as regards subjects which are directly connected to the fundamental dichotomy of home and employment responsibilities. As can be seen from Table 6.1, the majority of men in both countries are prepared to uphold equality of the sexes as regards psychological or physical traits, which do not directly threaten the male position of dominance in the employment world. Traditional stereotyping, on the other hand, emerges most strikingly in relation to the practical topic of family ties: classifying these as a burden upon women, many respondents in both France and Britain demonstrate that their greatest concern is to reaffirm the



conventional image whereby men's employment prospects are totally unaffected by family responsibilities.

In addition to generating powerful stereotypes about the basic division of home and employment responsibilities, the traditional model of divergent male and female roles creates gender-biased assumptions about a wide range of personality characteristics. As can be seen from Table 6.1, the second factor which influences the stereotyping of personal attributes is the expressive/instrumental dichotomy, which was shown to underlie the general gender stereotypes examined in the first section of this chapter. Women, conventionally regarded as the child-rearers and providers of psychological nurturance for the family, are considered to be more likely to exhibit expressive qualities, such as a good manner when dealing with people or a pleasant personality. Conversely, men, in view of their dominance in the employment world, are believed to be more likely to possess instrumental qualities, such as a dedication to their job.

The biological determinist view that men and women tend to display different abilities gives rise to the development of a gender-specific classification of any traits which may be considered to be linked to the fulfilment of traditional male and female roles within society. As noted by Anne Oakley (1981), many of the work identities allocated to women follow directly from their domestic roles. As was found in Chapter 5, women are more likely than men to carry out repetitive

household chores. The supposed capacity of women to deal with repetitive tasks is consequently generalized and extended to the employment sphere: as was found in Hunt's study, a considerable number of both the French and the British respondents believe that women are more able than men to cope with repetitive tasks. Similarly, characteristics such as a good manner when dealing with people, a pleasant personality and a neat appearance, which include elements of the domestic housewife/hostess roles, are also considered, in the employment world, to be feminine qualities. On the other hand, characteristics related to the traditional male duty of consistently and single-handedly providing financial support for a family, which necessitates reliability, perseverance and self-discipline, are regarded as most likely to be found in men: a sense of responsibility, dedication to the job and the ability to carry out the orders of superiors are regarded as predominantly masculine qualities. In view of the fact that women's work experience is no longer confined to the home, this criterion for assessing the gender specificity of characteristics seems particularly outdated. Its existence demonstrates the influence and tenacity of the gender-differentiated model of family responsibilities which was outlined in Chapter 4: despite the fact that many men and women no longer carry out strictly traditional roles, their attributes and characteristics remain likely to be assessed, by men, on the basis of a rigidly stereotyped image of the position of each sex in society.

As can be seen from the above analysis of the classification of the qualities listed, the French and the British respondents employ a relatively similar model of stereotyping in their assessment of the gender-orientation of personality attributes. Many respondents in both countries are keen to preserve the dominant image of men in society and consequently stereotype attributes in such a way as to reinforce the traditional hierarchy of male and female abilities. As was apparent in the examination of men's attitudes towards general statements about stereotyping, however, the British and French respondents structure their perception of gender attributes in a different fashion. The preoccupation of men in each sample with a traditional image of one sex in particular is reflected in the more marked stereotyping, in each country, of the sex concerned. In accordance with the finding of the previous section that French men appear to centre their views about gender roles on the feminine stereotype, a greater proportion of the French than of the British respondents believe that women are more likely to possess the supposedly feminine qualities of an ability to cope with repetitive tasks, a neat appearance and a good manner when dealing with people. The stereotyped image of women as conscientious, which emerged from Hunt's study, is also more evident in the responses of the French men: the achievement of good examination results, while classified as neutral by the British sample, is regarded by the French respondents as more likely to be found in women. Laying less emphasis on the conventional image of women, the

British men adhere closely to the traditional masculine stereotype which, as reflected in Hunt's findings, is based on qualities relating to durability and viability in the career world. As can be seen from Table 6.1, a higher percentage of the British than of the French respondents maintain that men are more likely to possess the psychological attribute of dedication to their job. Similarly, a markedly large proportion of the British respondents believe that men are more likely than women to have acquired a high level of previous training. The rigidity of the traditional image of women in France and of men in Britain, shown in the first section of this chapter to influence the basic formation of men's psychological constructs about gender, can also be seen to extend to the attribution of personality characteristics to each sex.

#### Men's Views on the Gender-Specificity of Employment Occupations

Progressing from the first two areas examined in this chapter, in which a picture of the factors underlying the respondents' assumptions about men and women is gradually developed, this section highlights the specific stereotypes held by French and British men about the role of each sex in the employment world. As was apparent within the two previous sections, men tend to accept equality of the sexes only in relation to issues which pose little real threat to the traditional male position of dominance in society.

Conversely, the respondents in both countries attempt to reinforce gender-specificity if the conventional model of family responsibilities, identified in Chapter 4, is seriously challenged. While many men maintain that both sexes may possess similar role abilities or personal attributes, a strikingly smaller proportion of respondents believe that men and women are, in practice, equally suited to carrying out particular occupations. Equal opportunities legislation, implemented in Britain and France in the 1970s (see Appendix II), appears to have made relatively little impact on the opinions of most men. Although unable to prevent the entry of women into paid employment, a development which has de-stabilized the traditional balance of male and female responsibilities, many French and British respondents seek to reinforce a gender-specific distribution of occupations which permits men to retain their conventional position of dominance in society.

As in the case of men's opinions about the gender-specificity of personality attributes, little empirical research has been conducted on male attitudes towards the stereotyping of occupations. A number of works on the theory of gender roles analyse the types of employment commonly considered suitable for men and women: Edmund Dahlström's (1971) study of male and female roles in Sweden, for example, concludes that women are often regarded as suited to carrying out jobs which are less responsible, less physically strenuous, more boring and more reminiscent of the homemaker role than those carried out

by men. Hunt's (1975) survey of British managers' attitudes towards men and women at work provides empirical support for many of Dahlström's theories. Hunt finds that men are viewed as the more acceptable candidates for highly-qualified management and supervisory posts, whereas women are relegated to positions of less importance. Men are also favoured for occupations requiring physical strength. Women, on the other hand, are considered to be particularly adept at carrying out jobs, such as catering, which are linked to aspects of the conventional housewife role.

The responses of men in the British and French samples mirror the general distinctions between masculine and feminine occupations which are identified by Dahlström and Hunt. As can be seen from Table 6.2, both the French and the British respondents apply a similar gender-classification to eleven of the twelve occupations listed. Six occupations are considered to be more suitable for men: night security guard, workshop supervisor, sales manager, van driver, assembly-line worker and research and development officer. Five occupations are regarded as more suitable for women: office secretary, canteen assistant, cleaner, nurse and public relations officer. One occupation, that of hotel receptionist, is viewed as female-oriented in Britain and male-oriented in France.

As in the case of the attribution of personal qualities, the respondents' categorization of occupations as masculine or

Table 6.2

Men's Views On The Gender Specificity Of Occupations (in Percentages)

Masculine-Biased Jobs

Britain

N=101

Sex most suited to job:

MEN WOMEN BOTH SEXES No Resp.

Night security guard	87.1	1.0	11.9	-	100.0
Workshop supervisor	57.4	1.0	41.6	-	100.0
Sales manager	22.8	2.0	73.3	2.0	100.0
Van driver	14.9	4.0	81.2	-	100.0
Assembly-line worker	11.9	8.9	79.2	-	100.0
Research and development officer	11.9	-	87.1	-	100.0

Masculine-Biased Jobs

France

N=75

Sex most suited to job:

MEN WOMEN BOTH SEXES No Resp.

Night security guard	88.0	-	10.7	1.3	100.0
Workshop supervisor	61.3	1.3	36.0	1.3	100.0
Sales manager	25.3	-	73.3	1.3	100.0
Van driver	60.0	-	38.7	1.3	100.0
Assembly-line worker	25.3	5.3	68.0	1.3	100.0
Research and development officer	12.0	-	86.7	1.3	100.0

Table 6.2 C'td.

Men's Views On The Gender Specificity Of Occupations (in Percentages)

Feminine-Biased Jobs

Britain

N=101

Sex most suited to job:

	MEN	WOMEN	BOTH SEXES	No Resp.
Office secretary	-	65.3	34.7	- 100.0
Canteen assistant	-	45.5	54.5	- 100.0
Cleaner	-	25.7	74.3	- 100.0
Nurse	-	32.0	68.0	- 100.0
Public-relations officer	5.0	5.0	89.1	1.0 100.0

Job for which sex-bias is different in each country

Hotel receptionist	2.0	39.6	58.4	- 100.0
--------------------	-----	------	------	---------

Feminine-Biased Jobs

France

N=75

Sex most suited to job:

	MEN	WOMEN	BOTH SEXES	No Resp.
Office secretary	-	78.7	20.0	1.3 100.0
Canteen assistant	1.3	14.7	82.7	1.3 100.0
Cleaner	4.1	21.3	73.3	1.3 100.0
Nurse	4.1	16.0	78.7	1.3 100.0
Public-relations officer	4.1	20.0	74.7	1.3 100.0

Job for which sex-bias is different in each country

Hotel receptionist	22.7	8.0	74.7	1.3 100.0
--------------------	------	-----	------	-----------



feminine can be linked to the traditional division of male and female responsibilities in society. Men, the conventional breadwinners and representatives of the family in the outside world, are considered to be suited to occupations which involve the instrumental roles of management, creativity, the protection of others and physical endurance.

In the first place, the apparent male capacity for management is reflected in the high proportion of respondents in each country who classify the occupations of sales manager and workshop supervisor as masculine (see Table 6.2). In accordance with the findings of previous research (Byrne, 1978; Hakim, 1979; Manley and Sawbridge, 1980), men are regarded, both in the professional and the blue-collar environment, as more competent than women to guide and manage subordinate employees. As was found in the examination of male attitudes towards general gender-stereotyping, the concept of a woman occupying a position of leadership in the workplace is alien to most respondents. Upholding the patriarchal tradition, many men seek to recreate in the employment world the domestic hierarchy whereby the position of ultimate power and responsibility is a masculine prerogative.

Contributing, in many instances, to men's assumed propensity for occupying highly qualified management positions, the supposedly male ability to create and innovate is mirrored in the classification as masculine, by respondents in both the

French and British samples, of the occupation of research and development officer (see Table 6.2). The predominantly science-based nature of this job clearly generates in men the traditional stereotyped view that women are unable to cope with figures or scientific data: not one respondent, in either sample, believes that women might be most suited to carrying out this occupation. The relatively high status, and corresponding financial remuneration, of a job of this type also stamps it as a masculine domain. In the case of the furtherance of academic knowledge, as in the area of workplace relationships mirrored in the manager-subordinate hierarchy examined above, men are expected to lead and women to follow.

The third factor which defines certain occupations as masculine, that of the capacity to protect others, is evident in the categorization, by the vast majority of both British and French respondents, of the occupation of night security guard as suitable for men only (see Table 6.2). Despite new advances in technology which permit security surveillance to depend less on physical force, the traditional stereotype of men as courageous protectors, which stems from the Middle Ages (see Chapter 1), is upheld by many men in both countries. Despite recent legislative changes which facilitate the participation of women in night work, the traditional prohibition, in both France and Britain, of night employment for women appears to have reinforced the stereotyped theory that a woman should not become a night

security guard. As stated by Albie Sachs and Joan Hoff Wilson (1978) in their study of sexism and the law in Britain and the United States, laws created originally for the benefit of women may nowadays serve to maintain the traditional position of inequality between the sexes. In a modern and highly-developed society, where men have few opportunities to demonstrate their capacities as protectors, occupations such as that of a night security guard appear to be regarded as the last bastions of male physical dominance.

Linked to the above, the fourth element which predisposes the respondents to categorize occupations as masculine is the view that the work environment concerned is dirty or uncomfortable, necessitating a capacity for physical endurance in the people who are employed there. The occupation of assembly-line worker, which is carried out in the spartan and often physically demanding conditions of the factory floor, is regarded by a number of respondents in each sample as more suitable for men than for women (see Table 6.2). Similarly, the occupation of van driver, which even in the 1980s may incorporate the strenuous duty of loading or unloading goods, is categorized as masculine by the vast majority of the French and a considerable proportion of the British respondents. It is worth noting that occupations which demand physical stamina frequently require, in addition, a capacity for psychological robustness which is traditionally dictated by men and may be alien to some women. This may sometimes be used by employers as an

excuse for the exclusion of women: in her study of British managers, Hunt (1975) states that 6.2% of the respondents consider women as unsuited to employment in workshop conditions due to the 'bad' language which prevails in this type of environment. While strong language is likely to offend women less than men might imagine, the widespread use of crude sexual innuendo and repartee by male employees in physically demanding occupations creates a masculine-oriented atmosphere in which many women feel uncomfortable. As in the case of the other three factors which determine the classification of an occupation as masculine, the stereotype of the male capacity for physical endurance is reinforced and developed by men in such a way as to exclude women from competing on equal terms to the male sex in the employment world.

As explained above, the respondents in both the French and the British samples tend to categorize as masculine those occupations which involve the dominant and instrumental roles of managing, creating, protecting and exercising physical strength. Occupations which are classified as feminine, on the other hand, can be linked to the basically subservient and expressive roles of caring, cooking and cleaning. Traditionally confined to the home and the rearing of children, women are permitted, by men, to take precedence only in the areas of employment which require conventional 'feminine' skills and consequently hold little interest for the male sex.

Women's supposed ability to care for other people, both psychologically and physically, is mirrored in the categorization as feminine of three occupations which involve the use of supportive and nurturant skills (see Table 6.2). Each of these occupations can be linked to the conventional feminine roles of full-time mother and housewife. Firstly, the occupation of nurse, which is regarded by a considerable number of both French and British respondents as more suitable for women than for men, represents a direct adaptation of the traditional maternal role into the employment world: many of the tasks carried out by a nurse, such as the washing and feeding of a patient, are reminiscent of those fulfilled by a mother towards a young baby. Secondly, as has been noted in previous studies of the role of women in the office environment in contemporary society (Benet, 1972; McNally, 1979), the occupation of office secretary, which is considered to be predominantly feminine by men in both samples, entails many elements of caring which are conventionally shown by a traditional housewife and mother towards a school-age child. The concern of a mother that her child should be well-organized, remembering to take to school each day the necessary books and materials, is reflected in the daily reminders of secretaries to their superiors about meetings which have been arranged or deadlines which are to be kept. Similarly, the preparation by a mother of food for her child is mirrored in the commonly observed duty of secretaries to serve coffee or snacks to

their employers. The third occupation which is classified by a number of respondents as feminine, that of public relations officer, involves aspects of caring which derive from the traditional husband-wife relationship. Attempting to present to clients a favourable image of the organization to which they belong and to create a supportive atmosphere which will produce fruitful developments, public relations officers carry out many of the functions fulfilled by a conventional wife who, as noted by Janet Finch (1985) and François de Singly (1987), seeks to increase her partner's promotion chances by acting as a charming and thoughtful hostess to her husband's employer. As in the case of the first two occupations which are categorized as feminine, the image of femininity which appears to form a basis for men's perception of the job of public relations officer is extremely conventional and is likely to apply to few women with whom the respondents are acquainted in real life. Unable, in the 1980s, to find women who are content to carry out totally expressive and subservient roles, men may seek to bridge the gap between their ideals and reality by reinforcing traditional feminine stereotypes in relations to occupations which involve aspects of caring for others.

Many of men's expectations about women's employment abilities may be rooted in the traditional division of family roles which is likely to have existed in their homes when they were children. As is evident from the comments of many respondents in all socio-economic categories about the roles

carried out by their own fathers (see Chapter 8), the majority of the parents of men in both samples adhered to a strictly traditional division of masculine and feminine tasks. Having themselves been socialized in families where the mothers carried out the cooking and serving of meals, many of the British and French respondents appear to support the stereotype of women as the providers of food. This is evident in the classification as predominantly feminine of the occupation of canteen assistant (see Table 6.2). In addition to caring and cooking for others, women are regarded by a number of respondents in each sample as more suited than men to carrying out the occupation of cleaner (see Table 6.2). As in the case of the other two factors which are used by the respondents to designate occupations as feminine, the task of cleaning forms a major part of the conventional maternal and housewife roles. Having grown up in households where the service of cleaning was likely to have been provided for men by women, many of the respondents are anxious to preserve this hierarchy of roles by perpetuating the stereotyped theory that women are necessarily more suited to cleaning than men. As in the case of the other occupations which are classified as feminine, men's views about the gender-bias of the task of cleaning represents a desire for the return to the traditional instrumental-expressive dichotomy of male and female roles. The criteria used by the respondents to categorize occupations as masculine or feminine suggest that men are seeking to

recreate, in the employment world, the caring, devoted and subservient image of women which may no longer be so relevant to the domestic context of families in the 1980s.

As can be seen from Table 6.2, the gender-classification of the eleven occupations discussed above is relatively similar in both the British and the French samples. The occupation of hotel receptionist is, on the other hand, categorized as predominantly feminine in Britain and masculine in France. This discrepancy in gender-orientation is, at first sight, surprising when considered in relation to the instrumental-expressive dichotomy which appears to determine the gender-categorization of occupations in each country. The predominantly expressive duties of a hotel receptionist, whose main task is to welcome guests, might be expected to result in the uniform classification of the occupation as feminine. The difference in views of the French and British respondents may nevertheless be explained by cultural factors such as the nature of hotels in each of the sample areas examined. As outlined in the discussion of the research methodology adopted (see Chapter 3), both the Leamington Spa and Annecy areas are popular with tourists and consequently contain a number of hotels. The average size of hotels in each town is, however, very different. On the one hand, the hotels in Leamington, centred around the spacious Pump Room Gardens area, are generally fairly large. On the other hand, the hotels in Annecy, grouped predominantly in the historic and cramped old town, are for the most part small and family-



run. The discrepancy in size is likely to lead to a difference in the management structure, and consequently gender-classification of related occupations, of hotels in each area. Within the French context, the smallness of many hotels means that the jobs of receptionist, doorkeeper and porter are frequently combined. The culture-based observation that a 'receptionist' may need to possess physical strength thus favours the classification, in the Annecy sample, of the occupation as masculine. Within the British context, where the generally larger size of hotels warrants the employment of several members of staff to fulfil these functions, the duties of a receptionist may be considered to be wholly expressive: according to the traditional guidelines followed by the respondents, this occupation is likely to be regarded as feminine.

With the exception of the culture-linked discrepancy in the perception of the occupation of hotel receptionist, both the British and French respondents, as explained above, use similar criteria to determine the gender-orientation of the occupations listed. Table 6.2 shows, however, that the French men, echoing their views on roles within the couple (see Chapter 5), support a more gender-specific division of occupations than their British counterparts. The process through which gender-stereotypes are formed in Britain and France also influences the attitudes of men in each sample. As was found in the analysis of men's classification of gender abilities and personal attributes, stereotyping

appears to be focused on the traditional masculine image in Britain and the conventional feminine image in France. This trend is demonstrated in Table 6.2. The British respondents are unanimous in the opinion that men are not suited to the feminine-biased occupations of canteen assistant, cleaner and nurse, whereas a small number of respondents in the French sample believe that the male sex is most suited to these jobs. Conversely, none of the French respondents maintains that the female sex is suited to the masculine-oriented occupations of night security guard, sales manager, and van driver, whereas a small percentage of the British respondents claim that women may be most appropriate for these posts. The freedom to develop non-stereotyped roles thus appears to be granted, in each country, to one sex in particular. While the British men are more likely to accept the entry of women into traditionally masculine occupations, the French respondents are more favourable towards the entry of men into conventionally feminine jobs. This discrepancy in attitude reflects the finding, discussed in the first section of this chapter, that the French are more anxious than the British men to preserve and extend the traditional dominance of men within the employment world. Precluding women from entering supposedly male-oriented occupations, yet simultaneously accepting that men may take up female-biased jobs, a number of the French respondents demonstrate their desire to negate contemporary developments towards equality by reinforcing the traditional hierarchy of the sexes within society.

As is evident from the analysis of male views on the above three aspects of gender stereotyping, both the British and the French respondents are most anxious to reinforce traditional images of each sex in relation to issues which directly challenge men's position of dominance in society. While many respondents in each country accept that men and women may possess similar psychological capacities and attributes, fewer men favour the interchangeability, in practice, of expressive and instrumental roles between the sexes. The major concern of respondents in both samples is to reaffirm the stereotype whereby men, unhindered by family commitments, have freedom to develop their careers and to maintain their traditionally superior position in the employment world. As is apparent from the comparison of the attitudes of the French and British respondents, the degree to which men adhere to this stereotyped view depends on the extent to which they believe their masculine dominance to be threatened. If men feel that they are in danger of losing their traditionally dominant position in society, they are likely to attempt to counteract this change in the gender hierarchy by supporting conventional stereotypes of male and female roles. Challenges to men's power and authority may emanate from two basic sources. As may be the case in France, the introduction of publicly visible social measures to promote the rights of women, while increasing awareness of gender issues, may encourage some men to defend their traditional superiority by reinforcing the conventional gender-specificity of personal attributes and employment

occupations. The second source from which challenges to men's dominance may arise is the personal and family situation of each respondent. Exercising a powerful influence on men's perception of their individual status within society, personal and family-related factors will be shown, in the following section, to play a significant part in determining the attitudes of respondents towards the stereotyping of male and female roles.

The Influence of Personal Status on Men's Views About Gender Roles: Stereotyping as an Expression of Male Vulnerability Within Society and the Family

As in the case of other aspects of male roles, the relationship between the age of a respondent and his views about gender stereotyping is of paramount importance since it indicates whether or not changes may be taking place, over time, in the attitudes of French and British men towards the position of each sex in society. An analysis of the influence of age on men's opinions about stereotyping demonstrates that the 'historical' effect, which was identified in Chapter 4, holds true for men's attitudes towards gender stereotyping at each of the three levels examined.

Younger respondents in both countries tend to express more egalitarian views about general gender roles than older men, as is apparent from the following two examples: 61.5% of

British and 70.6% of French men aged forty or under, as against only 30.6% of British and 53.6% of French men aged forty-one or over, believe that both sexes may be equally aggressive, while 69.2% of British and 76.5% of French respondents aged forty or under, as opposed to 56.7% of British and 62.7% of French men aged forty-one or over, state that both sexes may possess equal leadership qualities. Similarly, both British and French men aged forty or under are more likely than older men to maintain that certain personal qualities may be found equally in both sexes: Table 6.3 shows that the younger men uphold a considerably less gender-specific division of characteristics in relation to each of the attributes listed. The more egalitarian views of respondents aged forty or under extend to the suitability of particular occupations for men and women: as can be seen from Table 6.4, the younger men are more likely to state that the jobs listed may be carried out by either sex. The introduction in Britain and France, since the mid-1970s, of legislative and social measures for the promotion of gender equality may have exercised some influence, at least outwardly, on male attitudes towards men's and women's place in society. Entering adulthood at a time when traditional biologically determined assumptions about the abilities of each sex had begun to be challenged, respondents in their twenties and thirties are socially conditioned to express less gender-specific views about male and female roles than men in older age-groups.

Table 6.3

Percentage of Men Who State That Both Sexes Are Equally Likely to Possess Particular Qualities - According to the Age of the Respondent (The Historical Effect of Age)

Britain N=101

France N=73

Age of the Respondent:  
 ≤ 40 years                      ≥ 41 years  
 N=52                                      N=49

Age of the Respondent:  
 ≤ 40 years                      ≥ 41 years  
 N=51                                      N=22

A good manner when dealing with people	100.0	85.7
Dedication to the job	92.3	83.7
Good exam results	94.2	89.8
Few family ties	51.9	42.8
A pleasant personality	96.1	91.8
The ability to cope with repetitive tasks	78.8	65.3
A neat appearance	88.5	83.7
A sense of responsibility	100.0	91.8
A high level of previous training	75.0	71.4
The ability to carry out the orders of a superior	98.1	85.7

A good manner when dealing with people	86.3	81.8
Dedication to the job	90.2	77.3
Good exam results	94.1	81.8
Few family ties	50.9	36.4
A pleasant personality	98.0	90.9
The ability to cope with repetitive tasks	78.4	68.2
A neat appearance	76.5	63.6
A sense of responsibility	90.2	77.3
A high level of previous training	100.0	77.3
The ability to carry out the orders of a superior	90.2	72.7

Table 6.4

Percentage of Men Who State That Both Sexes are Equally Suited to Carrying Out A Particular Occupation - According To The Age of the Respondent (The Historical Effect of Age)

Britain N=101

France N=73

	Age of the Respondent			Age of the Respondent	
	<40 years N=52	>41 years N=49		<40 years N=51	>41 years N=22
Sales Manager	82.7	67.3	80.4	59.1	
Workshop Supervisor	46.1	36.7	35.3	40.9	
Office Secretary	38.4	30.6	21.6	18.2	
Public Relations Officer	92.3	87.7	80.4	63.6	
Cleaner	78.8	69.4	78.4	68.2	
Van Driver	86.5	75.5	39.2	40.9	
Assembly-Line Worker	86.5	71.4	76.4	54.5	
Research and Dev. Officer	86.5	87.7	90.1	81.8	
Canteen Assistant	53.8	55.1	84.3	81.8	
Night Security Guard	11.5	12.2	9.8	13.6	
Hotel Receptionist	61.5	55.1	70.6	68.2	
Nurse	71.1	63.3	78.4	81.8	

While the 'historical' effect of age on the views of the respondents demonstrates that social measures to promote gender equality may influence the attitudes of younger men towards male and female roles, the 'stage of life-cycle' effect of age highlights the crucial importance of men's individual circumstances in determining opinions about gender-stereotyping. In both the British and the French samples, men aged between thirty-five and forty-five demonstrate strikingly traditional attitudes towards the gender-specificity of attributes which affect viability in the employment world. Seeking to reinforce the conventional dichotomy of male and female roles, many respondents in this age-group state that men are more likely than women to possess qualities such as a dedication to their job, few family ties and a high level of previous training. The readiness of these men to classify such qualities as masculine may result from an attempt, in their own lives, to retain their role as primary breadwinner for the family. The majority of respondents in this category have children of secondary school age: the early responsibilities of full-time child care are likely to have been completed and the partners of these men, if not already in paid employment, may be considering working outside the home. Male and female roles, which frequently diverge according to the traditional instrumental/expressive model if there are young children in the family, often coalesce when the children become more independent. As stated by Heather Joshi (1986) in her analysis of male and female earning potential, married women



are unlikely to represent a true threat to men's status in the employment world. The fact that their partners are likely to have more freedom to take on a role in the outside world may nevertheless undermine the socially dominant position of men aged thirty-five to forty-five, predisposing these respondents to reinforce the conventional stereotypes of men's and women's position in society.

As can be seen from the 'stage of life-cycle' effect of the age of the respondents, both the French and the British men may be likely to uphold conventional gender stereotypes if they themselves feel that their traditional status within the family or society is under threat. Conversely, as reflected in the general analysis of men's views about stereotyping, respondents are more likely to support gender equality in areas which do not directly threaten men's conventional position of dominance in society. As will be shown in the next section of this chapter, both the British and the French men are likely to demonstrate a greater desire for equality if they possess personal characteristics which ensure that they themselves will be less adversely affected by any changes in men's and women's roles. Many respondents may ostensibly demonstrate egalitarian views, but only in relation to issues which do not affect them personally. This trend will be exemplified in the analysis of the effect of four personal and family-related characteristics on men's attitudes about gender roles in society.

The first factor to be examined is the influence of the educational and occupational level of the respondent on his views about gender stereotyping. As was explained in Chapter 4, change in attitudes towards gender roles generally originates in the upper educational and professional classes and gradually filters down to the lower social categories. Men in the university educated and upper professional classes might therefore be expected to hold less stereotyped views about the abilities of each sex than respondents in the lower educational and occupational groups. Both the French and the British respondents who have undergone a university education demonstrate a less biologically determined perception of male and female abilities than men in other educational categories, as is evident from the following three examples: 77.3% of British and 90.0% of French university-educated men, as against only 59.0% of British and 44.4% of French respondents with no further education, believe that both sexes may hold equal leadership qualities; 78.3% of British and 70.0% of French university-educated men, as opposed to 66.7% of British and 55.6% of French respondents with no further education, state that both sexes can be equally shy; and 56.5% of British and 70.0% of French university educated men, as against 48.7% of British and 44.4% of French respondents with no further education, maintain that both sexes can be equally aggressive. Respondents in the higher educational and occupational groups are, in both France and Britain, also more likely to state that men and women may possess similar employment qualities:

100.0% of the British and 81.8% of the French respondents in the upper professional category, as against only 89.5% of the British and 66.7% of the French men in the semi-skilled or unskilled group, believe that both sexes are equally likely to possess a good manner when dealing with people, while 88.0% of the British and 86.4% of the French men in the upper professional group, as opposed to 78.9% of the British and 50.0% of the French respondents in the semi-skilled or unskilled category, claim that both sexes are equally likely to show dedication to their job. Men who are highly educated demonstrate more egalitarian views about employment opportunities than men with less education: as is apparent from Table 6.5, the French and British university-educated men are, in general, most likely to state that the occupations listed can be carried out by either sex.

While university-educated men may support the interchangeability of abilities and characteristics between the sexes, their egalitarian opinions may be linked to the fact that these men occupy a dominant position in society and consequently have less to fear from female competition. This is reflected in the finding that university educated men are, in both France and Britain, less affected by the improvement in women's status than men in other educational categories: 18.2% of the British and 75.0% of the French university educated men, as opposed to 46.2% of the British and 88.9% of the French men with no further education believe that women have taken on a more dominant position in society in recent

Table 6.5

Percentage of Men Who State That Both Sexes are Equally Suited to Carrying Out A Particular Occupation - According to The Educational Level of the Respondent

Britain N=97

	University Degree	1-2 Years Further Education	No Further Education
	N=23	N=35	N=39
Sales Manager	95.7	70.6	69.2
Workshop Supervisor	52.2	45.7	33.3
Office Secretary	52.2	37.1	25.6
Public Relations Officer	95.7	91.4	84.6
Cleaner	82.6	71.4	76.9
Van Driver	91.3	85.7	74.4
Assembly-Line Worker	87.0	74.3	82.1
Research and Dev. Officer	100.0	80.0	87.2
Canteen Assistant	78.3	45.7	53.8
Night Security Guard	17.4	14.3	7.7
Hotel Receptionist	73.9	57.1	56.4
Nurse	78.3	57.1	74.4

France N=73

	University Degree	1-2 Years Further Education	No Further Education
	N=20	N=44	N=9
Sales Manager	90.0	75.0	33.3
Workshop Supervisor	50.0	31.8	33.3
Office Secretary	20.0	15.9	44.4
Public Relations Officer	85.0	72.7	66.7
Cleaner	85.0	70.5	77.8
Van Driver	50.0	38.6	22.2
Assembly-Line Worker	80.0	72.7	33.3
Research and Dev. Officer	90.0	86.4	88.9
Canteen Assistant	90.0	81.8	77.8
Night Security Guard	10.0	9.1	22.2
Hotel Receptionist	85.0	68.2	44.4
Nurse	75.0	86.4	55.6

years.

A second factor which exercises a significant influence on the attitudes of the British and French men towards gender stereotyping is the category of psychological sex-typing to which each respondent belongs. As might be presumed, men who demonstrate masculine or near-masculine typing hold less egalitarian opinions about gender roles than men with feminine or near-feminine typing. Conditioned to adhere to the conventionally masculine values of objectivity and gender-specificity, men with masculine-biased typing aim to reinforce the traditional gender-determined dichotomy of instrumental and expressive roles in society. On the other hand, feminine-typed men, who themselves possess what might conventionally be described as cross-gender characteristics, maintain that both sexes may have similar abilities, attributes and occupational aspirations. A large proportion of both the British and the French respondents with feminine typing support the view that men and women are equally likely to possess certain psychological characteristics: 63.6% of British and 41.2% of French respondents with feminine or near-feminine typing, as opposed to 48.1% of British and 28.5% of French respondents with masculine or near-masculine typing, believe that both sexes can be equally sensitive; 72.7% of British and 82.3% of French men with feminine-biased typing, as against only 37.7% of British and 53.5% of French men with masculine-biased typing, claim that both sexes can be equally aggressive; and 100.0% of British and 82.3% of

French respondents with feminine-biased typing, in contrast to 75.5% of British and 71.4% of French respondents with masculine-biased typing, maintain that both sexes can be equally shy.

The marked influence of psychological typing on attitudes towards the gender-orientation of personal attributes is shown in Table 6.6, where both French and British men with feminine or near-feminine typing can be seen to hold considerably more egalitarian views than respondents with masculine or near-masculine typing. Men with feminine typing appear to view the spectrum of personal qualities as a continuum in which men and women may possess any degree of what are conventionally termed masculine or feminine attributes, whereas masculine-typed respondents uphold a polarized model of characteristics whereby certain attributes are found predominantly in one sex only. This trend is also clearly apparent in relation to men's views about the gender stereotyping of occupations: as can be seen from Table 6.7, both the French and the British feminine-typed men hold considerably more egalitarian opinions than their masculine-typed counterparts on the subject of men's and women's suitability for the range of occupations listed. Feminine-typed men, themselves possessing attributes which might conventionally be considered as inappropriate to their sex, have little to fear from any growth in the interchangeability of gender roles. Masculine-typed men, on the other hand, appear to feel threatened by any merging of male and female

Table 6.6

Percentage of Men Who State That Both Sexes Are Equally Likely to Possess Particular Attributes - According to the Gender-Typing of the Respondent

		Britain		France	
		Orientation of Sex-Typing of Respondent:		Orientation of Sex-Typing of Respondent:	
		Masculine or Near Masculine	Feminine or Near Feminine	Masculine or Near Masculine	Feminine or Near Feminine
		N=53	N=11	N=28	N=17
A good manner when dealing with people		90.6	100.0	78.6	88.2
Dedication to the job		66.0	90.9	82.1	94.1
Good exam results		92.4	100.0	85.7	94.1
Few family ties		39.6	63.6	53.5	23.5
A pleasant personality		94.3	100.0	92.8	100.0
The ability to cope with repetitive tasks		66.0	72.7	75.0	94.1
A neat appearance		84.9	81.8	75.0	76.4
A sense of responsibility		96.2	100.0	85.7	94.1
A high level of previous training		66.0	90.9	92.8	100.0
The ability to carry out the orders of a superior		90.6	100.0	85.7	100.0

Table 6.7

Percentage of Men Who State That Both Sexes are Equally Suited to Carrying Out A Particular Occupation - According To The Gender-Typing of the Respondent

Britain

## Orientation of Sex-Typing of Respondent:

Masculine or Near Masculine      Feminine or Near Feminine

N=53      N=11

Sales Manager	71.7	100.0
Workshop Supervisor	39.6	72.7
Office Secretary	35.8	45.4
Public Relations Officer	88.7	90.9
Cleaner	71.7	81.8
Van Driver	77.3	100.0
Assembly-Line Worker	79.2	100.0
Research and Dev. Officer	84.9	90.9
Canteen Assistant	45.2	63.6
Night Security Guard	13.2	27.3
Hotel Receptionist	60.4	63.6
Nurse	64.1	72.7

France

## Orientation of Sex-Typing of Respondent:

Masculine or Near Masculine      Feminine or Near Feminine

N=28      N=17

Sales Manager	75.0	76.5
Workshop Supervisor	25.0	47.1
Office Secretary	14.3	29.4
Public Relations Officer	75.0	94.1
Cleaner	64.2	82.3
Van Driver	39.2	41.2
Assembly-Line Worker	67.8	94.1
Research and Dev. Officer	78.6	94.1
Canteen Assistant	78.6	94.1
Night Security Guard	10.7	17.6
Hotel Receptionist	64.3	82.3
Nurse	85.7	64.7



roles, which represents for these respondents a breakdown in the traditional polarity of gender characteristics.

The sex of the children present in a respondent's family is a third element which exercises an influence on the views of French and British men about gender stereotyping. While there may appear to be little direct connection between the attitude of a respondent towards the place of men and women in society and the sex of the children in his family, the process through which ideas about the sexes are formed appears to be affected by the gender-role models which fathers attempt to impose on their children. As is evident at each of the three levels examined, in the analysis of men's attitudes towards general abilities, personal attributes and gender suitability in employment, the process of stereotyping is focused on the traditional feminine image in France and the conventional masculine image in Britain. As stated by Henry Biller (1971) in his work on the influence of fathers over the gender role development of their sons and daughters, men are generally more concerned than women that their children should adhere to the norms of gender role behaviour laid down by the society in which they live. French men who have female children only and British men who have male children only are therefore likely to be particularly aware of the need to instil what would be traditionally termed gender-appropriate behaviour in their children. This is evident in relation to men's views about the basic role of each sex within the gender hierarchy: 15.0%

of British men with boys only, as opposed to 7.3% of men with children of both sexes and none of the men with girls only, believe that it is unacceptable for a woman to earn more than her partner, while 33.3% of French respondents with girls only, as against 21.4% of respondents with boys only and 11.4% of respondents with children of both sexes, subscribe to this stereotyped view. Similarly, 95.8% of British men with girls only, as against 75.0% of British men with boys only, believe that a dedication to one's job is equally likely to be found in both sexes, while this view is held by 78.9% of French men with boys only and 72.2% of French men with girls only. Conversely, if the children in a family belong to the sex of which the traditional image is less rigidly upheld in the culture concerned, the attitudes of the father towards gender stereotyping are likely to be more flexible. Table 6.8 shows that this trend holds true in relation to the views of French and British men on stereotyping in occupations: British respondents with girls only and French men with boys only hold generally more egalitarian opinions than men in other categories. It is possible that these respondents, less affected, in their personal situation, by cultural pressures to impose conventionally gender-appropriate norms of behaviour on their children, may be less susceptible to conditioning which reinforces traditional gender stereotyping in society as a whole.

The fourth family-related characteristic which exercises a

Table 6.8

Percentage of Men Who State That Both Sexes are Equally Suited to Carrying Out a Particular Occupation - According to The Sex of the Respondent's Children

	Britain N=99			France N=73		
	Both Sexes In Family N=55	All Children Male N=20	All Children Female N=24	Both Sexes In Family N=36	All Children Male N=19	All Children Female N=18
Sales Manager	72.7	68.4	83.3	80.6	73.7	61.1
Workshop Supervisor	40.0	25.0	62.5	44.4	15.8	44.4
Office Secretary	34.5	25.0	45.8	19.4	26.3	16.7
Public Relations Officer	94.5	85.0	87.5	80.6	78.9	61.1
Cleaner	74.5	85.0	66.7	77.8	68.4	77.8
Van Driver	81.8	80.0	83.3	47.2	26.3	38.9
Assembly-Line Worker	76.4	90.0	79.2	77.8	63.2	61.1
Research and Dev. Officer	90.9	70.0	95.8	88.9	84.2	88.9
Canteen Assistant	52.7	60.0	54.2	80.6	94.7	77.8
Night Security Guard	10.9	10.0	16.7	16.7	-	11.1
Hotel Receptionist	60.0	50.0	62.5	69.4	73.7	66.7
Nurse	69.1	65.0	66.7	75.0	84.2	83.3

marked effect on men's opinions about gender-stereotyping is the employment status of the respondent's wife. Married women who work outside the home represent a deviation from the traditional image of women as full-time housewives and child-rearers: it might consequently be hypothesized that respondents whose wives are in paid employment are likely to hold a less stereotyped view of women's psychological attributes and occupational abilities than men whose wives do not work outside the home. In practice, however, it is plain that many respondents whose wives work outside the home, particularly in jobs in the higher occupational categories, regard the employment of their partners not as proof of gender interchangeability but as a threat to the conventional position of male dominance in the occupational world. This is particularly true of men whose partners are in full-time paid employment. In both Britain and France, respondents in this category are anxious to reinforce the traditional positions of the sexes in the employment hierarchy: only 15.4% of the British and 29.4% of the French men whose wives work full-time outside the home, as opposed to 40.0% of the British and 52.4% of the French men whose wives are not in paid employment, believe that it is as acceptable for employees to work under the direction of a woman as that of a man. Similarly, men whose wives work full-time outside the home hold extremely stereotyped views about the division of family roles within the couple: only 38.5% of the British and 35.3% of the French respondents in

this category, as against 65.4% of the British and 60.0% of the French men whose wives do not work outside the home, maintain that both sexes are equally likely to have few family ties. Women who work full-time outside the home are likely to be viewed as rivals by men: respondents whose partners are in full-time employment, no longer in the traditional position of sole breadwinner within their own household, thus tend to demonstrate their frustrated wish for superiority by stereotyping the female sex as fit only for minor positions in the occupational world. As can be seen from Table 6.9, both British and French men whose wives either do not work outside the home or who are only in part-time employment hold generally more egalitarian opinions about the gender suitability of occupations than men whose wives work full-time outside the home. In the few cases where men whose partners are in full-time employment demonstrate more egalitarian views than men in other categories, this disregard for gender stereotyping is shown predominantly in relation to occupations which are traditionally female-biased. British respondents whose wives work full-time outside the home support the access of both sexes to the occupations of office secretary, public relations officer, hotel representative and nurse, while French men with partners in full-time employment favour gender equality in relation to the jobs of canteen assistant, hotel representative and nurse (see Table 6.9). The entry of their partners into full-time employment, conventionally a male prerogative, has clearly created a fragility of

Table 6.9

Percentage of Men Who State That Both Sexes are Equally Suited to Carrying Out A Particular Occupation - According To Employment Status of the Respondent's Wife

		Britain N=100		France N=73		
	Wife Works Full-Time Outside The Home	Wife Works Part-Time Outside The Home	Wife is Not In Paid Employment	Wife Works Full-Time Outside The Home	Wife Works Part-Time Outside The Home	Wife is Not In Paid Employment
Sales Manager	66.7	70.0	88.5	71.4	83.3	71.4
Workshop Supervisor	38.5	37.7	53.8	34.3	38.9	38.1
Office Secretary	38.5	36.1	30.8	17.1	16.7	28.6
Public Relations Officer	91.7	90.2	88.5	77.1	83.3	66.7
Cleaner	53.8	78.7	73.1	74.3	77.8	71.4
Van Driver	84.6	78.7	84.6	31.4	50.0	42.9
Assembly-Line Worker	76.9	75.4	88.5	68.6	77.8	61.9
Research and Dev. Officer	75.0	88.5	92.3	91.4	94.4	76.2
Canteen Assistant	46.2	55.7	57.7	88.6	72.2	85.7
Night Security Guard	30.8	8.2	7.7	2.9	22.2	14.3
Hotel Receptionist	61.5	59.0	57.7	80.0	55.6	61.9
Nurse	75.0	63.9	73.1	80.0	77.8	81.0

masculine identity in many of these men: in addition to reinforcing the conventional male domination of high status occupations, these respondents are seeking to extend men's employment opportunities into areas which are conventionally biased towards women.

In conclusion, it is evident that the majority of both the British and the French respondents extend a gender-specific model of roles within the couple (see Chapter 5) to their perception of male and female roles in society as a whole. From a male viewpoint, gender roles in society appear to represent an extension of the traditional division of family responsibilities: men are considered to possess instrumental qualities, while women are regarded as endowed with expressive abilities. As in the case of roles within the couple, the French respondents adhere more strongly than the British men to a gender-differentiated pattern of characteristics and occupations.

An important finding to emerge from the above analysis is the cultural differences which exist between the French and British men as to the formation of psychological constructs upon which the process of stereotyping is based: gender stereotypes are centred on the traditional image of women in France and of men in Britain. Despite this discrepancy in orientation, male attitudes towards different levels of gender stereotyping are similar in both countries. While many respondents in both France and Britain claim that men

and women may possess equal psychological characteristics or personal attributes, fewer men maintain that both sexes are equally suited to carrying out practical occupations. Respondents in both countries are particularly anxious to uphold the traditional image of each sex in areas where the dominant position of men in the employment world is threatened. While legislative measures designed to promote equality may exercise some influence on the attitudes of younger men, personal and family-related circumstances have a greater effect on male attitudes towards stereotyping. In general, the overall findings of this chapter demonstrate that respondents in both countries are reluctant to support gender equality if this is likely to undermine their personal status within the family or society as a whole. On the part of some British and French respondents, the desire to stereotype qualities and occupations appears to arise from a sense of vulnerability in gender identity: aware that the traditional gender hierarchy no longer exists, men may attempt to recover their lost dominance by upholding a stereotyped view of male and female abilities.

The above analysis of the views of French and British respondents about gender stereotyping shows that little real progress appears to have been made, in either country, towards the development of a male awareness of the need for greater flexibility in gender roles. Despite the fact that men and women share legislative equality as regards employment in contemporary France and Britain, many



respondents persist in supporting a strictly gender-differentiated categorization of personal qualities and occupational abilities. A number of respondents openly state their belief that the sexes are not equal: in the words of one British man:

Women have been given an equal opportunity to achieve the same standards as men. However, a lot of women do not have the confidence or inclination to achieve this equality. (GB/093, chartered engineer)

Having traditionally occupied positions of authority in society, men are naturally reluctant to relinquish their conventional status. Social reality in France and Britain in the 1980s means, however, that men can no longer rely on the power of conventional stereotyping to preserve their dominance in the employment world. Women are entering occupations which would traditionally be considered as male-oriented and are displaying characteristics commonly regarded as more likely to be found in men. Just as many women have established a less stereotyped gender identity by taking up employment outside the home, so too might men benefit from developing new interests and expertise in areas other than the employment world. Returning to the traditional model of responsibilities identified in Chapter 4, it is possible that greater flexibility of gender roles might ensue if men could be encouraged to become more involved in family concerns. As will be shown in Chapters 7 and 8, greater male participation in the care of children may represent the key to the development of a new type of masculine identity and ultimately lead to the abolition of

the oppressive stereotyping of male and female roles.

The Views of French and British Men on the Division of Parental Tasks and Responsibilities within the Couple

In a study of male roles within the family, two inter-related dimensions must be considered: the attitudes and behaviour of men towards women and the relationship of fathers with their children. Following on from the issues raised in the previous two chapters, which examine the roles of French and British men in relation to women within the couple and in society as a whole, Chapters 7 and 8 provide an analysis of the views of the respondents about bringing up children. Chapter 7 deals with the practical involvement of fathers in child care and the opinions of French and British men about the division of parental responsibilities. Broadening the scope of the discussion, Chapter 8 examines the more general issues of male attitudes towards child rearing and devotes particular attention to the views of the French and British respondents about the desirability of social policy provision for fathers in the late 1980s. Both the British and the French respondents were shown, in Chapters 5 and 6, to support a relatively traditional division of male and female roles: Chapters 7 and 8 address the question of whether similar patterns of behaviour and attitudes hold true in relation to children.

Two main areas of men's relationship with children are

examined in this chapter. Firstly, in an analysis of the division of child care tasks in the respondents' homes, the degree to which men in France and Britain participate on a practical level in the care of their children is explored. Secondly, the division of parental responsibilities upheld by the respondents is investigated in order to highlight the underlying philosophy of child rearing which men in each country consider to be most appropriate. The juxtaposition of the respondents' rates of participation in child care tasks and male theories about the ideal division of parental roles provides an indication of the extent to which French and British men actually put their views about child rearing into practice and reveals the elements of child care which, according to the traditional division of gender roles, are persistently regarded as the responsibility of the mother within the family.

#### Paternal Involvement in Child Care Tasks

As was noted in the case of male involvement in household tasks examined in Chapter 5, the participation of fathers in the care of their children is a practical issue which can be measured relatively objectively. It has consequently been the focus of the majority of studies which have been carried out on the father-child relationship. In comparison with the topic of male participation in household tasks, there has been greater consensus among gender role researchers in Britain, France and other countries as to the choice of child

care activities analysed. This may be linked to the fact that there are a number of standard tasks, such as feeding and clothing, which in every culture must be carried out if the health and development of a young child are to be maintained. Obligatory requirements of this kind are less evident in relation to household activities: in some cultures, areas or social groups, tasks such as car maintenance, washing clothes by machine or gardening may not apply. The greater compatibility between the sets of child rearing tasks examined by different researchers provides a relatively standard framework for the analysis of father-child interaction. The more marked uniformity in the tasks selected by previous British and French researchers who have examined the involvement of fathers in child rearing is of particular relevance: as will become evident in this chapter, more information from previous research can be linked to the present study in relation to child care than in connection with other dimensions of male roles.

A noteworthy difference which underlies the degree of participation of the respondents in household tasks and in child care concerns the gender orientation of each dimension as a whole. While some tasks related to the maintenance of the home are regarded as highly masculine, such as activities taking place outdoors, none of the child care tasks are categorized as being more suited to fathers than to mothers. Child rearing is, in general, classified as feminine by men in both countries: while fathers may share some activities

with their partners, few men are willing to take sole charge of particular tasks. The view of most respondents that women should bear the overall responsibility for child care echoes the findings of a number of both French and British researchers. In a study of the participation of French fathers in child rearing, Alain Giami (1983) describes fathers as mere helpers in child care activities, while mothers organize and supervise the care of their children. Similarly, Charlie Lewis (1983) states in his doctoral study of one hundred British fathers with one-year-old infants that it is most often mothers who take charge of important decisions concerning the welfare of the children. The burden of responsibility for child rearing tends to rest on women even when both partners in a couple have equally demanding jobs: in an American study of the marital relationships of professional women, Sara Yogev (1982) notes that the wives in her sample contribute 35.1 hours per week to child care, while their husbands contribute only 12 hours per week.

In general, the division of family responsibilities in both the French and the British samples echoes the traditional model of roles identified in Chapter 4. While women have added paid employment to their conventional role of child rearing, men appear reluctant to add new responsibilities for child care to their traditional role in the employment world. The distribution of child care tasks between the mother and father operates according to broadly similar criteria in France and Britain: as in the case of the division of

household tasks, the norms of masculine behaviour tend to be similar in each country. Two main factors appear to determine whether each child care activity is carried out by the mother or the father. Firstly, the age of the child targeted by each of the tasks listed exercises a strong influence on the division of activities. In general, both the French and the British respondents state that activities relating to newborn or very young children are likely to be carried out by the mother, while fathers are more likely to be involved in tasks concerning older children. Table 7.1 shows the rate of participation of each partner in child care tasks. Baby care activities, listed at the top of the table, are more likely to be carried out by the mother in both the French and the British samples. Dressing and bathing the baby are the tasks classified as most strictly feminine, followed by giving the baby its bottle and changing nappies. Taking the baby out in the pram, while still a feminine-biased task, is slightly more likely to be carried out by either parent.

There are two main reasons for the predominance of the mother in carrying out infant care tasks. Firstly, from a biological perspective, an expectant mother has necessarily formed strong links with the foetus during the nine months of pregnancy: she is physiologically programmed to feel close to the infant from the very first days of its life. Secondly, as noted by a number of fatherhood researchers in both Britain and France (Lewis, 1986; Kelen, 1987; Roeber,

1987), social conventions surrounding pregnancy and birth in Western society still serve to exclude men from prolonged and meaningful interaction with very young children. It is true that medical opinion concerning the childbirth experience has developed radically in France and Britain over the past two decades: since the early 1970s, fathers in both countries have increasingly been permitted by hospitals to be present during the birth of their child. As will be shown in greater detail in Chapter 9, the presence of fathers in the labour ward has nevertheless not been accompanied by social measures which would enable men to acquire greater knowledge about the practical care of their children once they are born. Mothers, the traditional child rearers, are still the primary target of education about caregiving: prepared parenthood classes, with the exception of the fathers' evening, are in both France and Britain often held in the afternoon, at a time when work commitments preclude most men from being present. Pre-natal check-ups, at which the father might have the opportunity to see the outlines of his growing baby through the technology of the ultrasound scan, are also likely to take place at times when most men are at work. The result is that mothers, in addition to possessing an undeniably strong physiological link with their unborn child, are likely to form a much closer psychological bond with their young baby than is possible for most fathers.

In addition to preparing women for childbirth, pre-natal classes also serve the function of equipping expectant



mothers with useful practical information about the care of very young children. This basic knowledge of infant care is supplemented during the first few days after the birth: most hospitals in Britain and France encourage mothers who have had no medical complications to participate in the physical care of their baby from the first few hours of its life. As noted by Roeber (1987) in her handbook of shared parenting, many men feel excluded from the intense relationship which is built up by constant mother-child interaction in the period directly following the birth. Having missed out on the practical experience of caring for their newborn child, fathers are likely to give precedence to their partner's freshly accumulated skills in child care when the baby is brought home and subsequently may shy away from many of the tasks of early caregiving. The lack of confidence of many men in dealing with babies is noted by Judith Blakemore (1981) in an observational study of adult-infant interaction: the men studied were seen to be much less willing than women to talk and play with a young baby. The unfamiliarity of men in dealing with young children provides support for the traditional theory of the maternal instinct, which in turn offers men a plausible excuse for their reluctance to participate in baby care.

It is noticeable that the more skill or dexterity a baby care task requires, the less likely men are to carry it out. Newson and Newson (1965), in their well-known study of infant care patterns in a British urban community, describe the way

in which fathers and some of the mothers interviewed considered men as too clumsy to cope successfully with delicate activities such as bathing a baby or changing its nappy. This finding is echoed by the responses of men in both the French and the British samples. Bathing a young baby, described by Roeber (1987) as an infant care task which offers particularly dangerous pitfalls for the new parent, is regarded as a particularly feminine-oriented activity (see Table 7.1). Dressing a young baby or changing nappies generally require more dexterity than giving a young baby its bottle and are consequently carried out more often by mothers. Taking a baby out in a pram, which demands no child care expertise yet may be considered by men to utilize the conventionally masculine quality of physical strength (see Chapter 6), is the infant care activity in which fathers, particularly in France, are most willing to participate. Young men in both countries are much more likely than their older counterparts to state that they are willing to be seen pushing a pram: the marked effect of age in relation to this activity may be linked not only to the increasing popularity of the 'new' father image but also to the introduction of the collapsible pushchair, which has a much more practical, androgynous image than the traditional pram.

While fathers may be fearful or unwilling to participate in the care of very young children, paternal involvement in child rearing increases, in both the French and the British samples, in relation to tasks concerning older children.

Table 7.1

## Division Of Child Care Tasks In The Respondent's Family (in Percentages)

	Britain N=101					France N=75								
	USUALLY MOTHER	EITHER PARTNER	USUALLY FATHER	OTHER	N/A	No Resp	Total	USUALLY MOTHER	EITHER PARTNER	USUALLY FATHER	OTHER	N/A	No Resp	Total
Giving the baby its bottle	50.5	39.6	1.0	-	6.9	2.0	100.0	46.7	53.3	-	-	-	-	100.0
Changing the baby's nappy	54.5	42.6	1.0	-	-	2.0	100.0	50.7	49.3	-	-	-	-	100.0
Bathing the baby	58.4	35.6	4.0	-	-	2.0	100.0	62.7	34.7	2.7	-	-	-	100.0
Dressing the baby	76.2	20.8	1.0	-	-	2.0	100.0	62.7	37.3	-	-	-	-	100.0
Taking the baby out in the pram	55.4	39.6	1.0	-	-	2.0	100.0	37.3	60.0	2.7	-	-	-	100.0
Attending to the children at night	28.7	57.4	13.9	-	-	-	100.0	48.0	49.3	2.7	-	-	-	100.0
Comforting the children	24.8	73.3	2.0	-	-	-	100.0	22.7	76.0	1.3	-	-	-	100.0
Reading to the children	16.8	75.2	7.9	-	-	-	100.0	32.0	52.0	9.3	1.3	5.3	-	100.0
Playing with the children	4.0	87.1	8.9	-	-	-	100.0	13.3	76.0	10.7	-	-	-	100.0
Buying clothes for the children	86.1	12.9	1.0	-	-	-	100.0	89.3	10.7	-	-	-	-	100.0
Taking the children to the doctor	69.3	27.7	3.0	-	-	-	100.0	49.3	45.3	5.3	-	-	-	100.0
Taking the children out	12.9	76.2	9.9	1.0	-	-	100.0	28.0	70.7	1.3	-	-	-	100.0
Taking the children to school	72.3	23.8	2.0	1.0	-	-	100.0	25.3	56.0	8.0	-	10.7	-	100.0
Helping the children with homework	9.9	70.3	18.8	-	1.0	-	100.0	26.7	48.0	9.3	-	16.0	-	100.0

This is evident from Table 7.1: paternal participation rates rise towards the foot of the table, which deals with activities relevant to school-age children. The greater willingness and ease of the father to interact with older children is linked to the conventional division of family roles identified in Chapter 4. Confined to the home and to the company of her children, a mother is traditionally assumed to be happy in the presence of young infants. Spending the greater part of his time in the employment world, a father is accustomed to dealing only with adults: he may consequently feel most comfortable with children who have passed the stage of infancy and who can walk, talk and lead a relatively independent existence. The belief that fathers are naturally more interested in interacting with older children may be strengthened and upheld by mothers: in a study of middle-class Scottish couples, Kathryn Backett (1982) notes that many women used the theory that their partners would become more involved when the child grew older as a type of 'coping mechanism' in order to compensate for the lack of paternal involvement in the care of the child in its early years.

A second factor which influences the division of child care tasks between the mother and the father in both France and Britain is the care- or play-orientation of each activity. This distinction mirrors the traditional gender-specificity of expressive and instrumental attributes which was shown in Chapter 6 to exist in both the British and the French

samples. Mothers, regarded by men in both countries as the providers of psychological and physical nurturance, tend to take responsibility for activities which concern the physical care of the child. The dominance of the maternal role in child rearing is, as explained above, most evident in relation to young babies, who demand total physical care and attention. Once children have passed the stage of early infancy, mothers tend to remain responsible for activities concerning physical or emotional care. Table 7.1 shows that, in relation to physical nurturance, mothers are more likely than fathers to buy clothes for the children and to take them to the doctor or dentist. Both of these activities are likely to be carried out during the working day, at a time when the majority of the respondents in both Britain and France are likely to be occupied with their employment responsibilities. The tasks of attending to the children at night, comprising elements of both physical and psychological attention, are also more likely to be carried out by mothers. Similarly, the activity of providing psychological support by comforting the children is a predominantly maternal task.

Both the British and the French fathers, on the other hand, tend to focus their contribution to child care on play-oriented or social activities. In early research on child rearing, such as Donald Winnicott's (1964) study of family relationships, fathers are depicted as the link between the young child and the outside world. The tenacity of the

instrumental nature of the traditional paternal role is reflected in the relatively high participation rates of both British and French men in playing with their children or taking the children out. Each of these activities serves, in its own way, to familiarize young children with the norms of social interaction: play helps to introduce children to the two-way interaction process of living with others, while taking a child out provides it with direct experience of the world outside the home. The readiness of fathers in both countries to participate in intellectual activities such as reading to the children or helping with homework also reinforces the conventionally instrumental paternal role. By encouraging children to develop their intellectual abilities, fathers help them to prepare a sound basis for their future role in society as a whole.

The distinction in gender orientation between care- and play-oriented child rearing tasks, evident in both the French and the British samples, has been noted by a number of previous researchers. In an article which reviews research findings highlighting the significance of the paternal role in the personality development of children, Michael and Jamie Lamb (1976) conclude that mothers and fathers fulfil different parental functions. Mothers tend to be responsible for basic caregiving and the well-being of the child, whereas fathers devote their energies to playing with the child and reinforcing his or her sense of gender role identity. These differences in parental roles can lead to gender-specific

styles of adult-child interaction: Barton and Ericksen (1981), observing the behaviour of parents with their children, note that mothers habitually adopt expressive and highly verbal modes of relating to a child, while fathers prefer a more instrumental and physical type of interaction.

The identification of a distinctive 'playmate' style of paternal behaviour is a finding common to researchers in number of Western countries. Newson and Newson (1965), in their study of British child rearing patterns, state that the activity of playing with the child is most frequently carried out by the father in the family. Elisabeth Badinter (1981), in an analysis of family roles in France, concludes that play is the child rearing activity in which fathers are most willing to participate. Studies of parental roles carried out by the American researchers Irma Rendina and Joan Dickerscheid (1976) and the Australian researcher Graeme Russell (1983) provide further empirical support for the salience of the playmate role to many fathers.

The findings of a recent study of Swedish infants carried out by Michael Lamb et al. (1983) provide particularly significant evidence for the importance of the paternal playmate role to young children. Although the Swedish fathers studied were highly involved in the expressive side of parenting, having spent, in many cases, at least one month as primary caregivers, the infants tended to reveal preferences for their mothers over their fathers. This

outcome runs contrary to the results of an American study carried out by Lamb (1976) in which infants aged up to one year old were observed to demonstrate few differences in behaviour towards mothers and fathers. The discrepancy in findings between the Swedish and American research is interpreted by Lamb et al. (1986) as arising from the degree of playfulness shown towards their children by the fathers in each country. The Swedish fathers, although highly participant in child care, were less involved in play activities than the American men. The function of the father as a playmate thus appears to hold greater significance than was suggested by previous research on parental roles. More than a convention retained from the traditional division of child rearing responsibilities, the participation of the French and British respondents in play-oriented activities may contribute substantially to the quality of their relationships with their children.

In addition to the two main criteria of the age of the child and the care- or play-orientation of the task concerned, the division of child rearing activities is governed by several subsidiary factors. A number of these criteria mirror issues which were shown, in Chapter 5, to influence the division of household tasks between men and women. In accordance with men's general unwillingness to take responsibility for repetitive household tasks which must constantly be carried out in order to maintain the smooth running of the home, both the British and the French fathers are less likely



than mothers to participate in child care activities which must be repeated at frequent and regular intervals, such as changing the baby's nappy or giving the baby its bottle. Traditionally socialized to pace their activities according to the varied rhythm of the outside world, men may be more reluctant than women to adjust their personal schedules to allow for involvement in the demanding round-the-clock aspects of child care.

As stated by a number of researchers in both France and Britain (Chabaud-Rychter et al., 1985; Backett, 1987; Kelen, 1987), fathers, unlike mothers, also tend to be able to exercise some choice in the range of family tasks which they are willing to undertake: few men spend time on the more tedious chores of child rearing, preferring to carry out leisure-related family activities. This is reflected in the finding that both the French and the British respondents demonstrate a relatively high participation rate in basically pleasurable activities such as taking the children out, yet are less ready to carry out less enjoyable chores such as taking the children to the doctor. Men in both national samples also manifest their power to exercise choice by their unwillingness, as in the case of household tasks, to become involved in the conventionally feminine area of clothes-related activities: tasks such as dressing the baby and buying clothes for the children are overwhelmingly carried out by mothers only.

## French and British Differences in Male Involvement in Child Care Tasks

In general, the division of child rearing tasks in the families of respondents in both Britain and France demonstrates that child care is still regarded by men as a predominantly feminine responsibility. Fathers are not yet prepared to share all aspects of child rearing with their partners, but take advantage of their traditional position as head of the family to concentrate their involvement in the more stimulating and pleasurable child care activities, delegating the overall responsibility for the more laborious chores to the mothers of the children.

While the above finding holds true for men in both countries, it is noticeable that the French respondents are relatively more willing than their British counterparts to participate in the traditionally feminine areas of child rearing. As is apparent from Table 7.1, more French than British fathers share with their partners the responsibility for infant care tasks such as giving the baby its bottle, changing nappies, dressing the baby and taking the baby out in its pram. Similarly, the French respondents are relatively more ready to take charge of expressive activities such as comforting the children. It is particularly noteworthy that the French men are more willing to adopt a socially visible role in relation to their children: as shown in Table 7.1, a considerably higher proportion of the French than of the British respondents carry out caregiving activities which

occur outside the home, such as taking the children to school or to the doctor. In accordance with the generally less rigid image of masculinity adhered to by men in France, the French fathers appear less reluctant to demonstrate what might traditionally be termed the 'cross-sex' behaviour of close interaction with young children.

Unlike the French respondents, the British men tend to restrict their practical involvement to the traditionally instrumental areas of child care. As can be seen from Table 7.1, the British fathers are more highly involved than their French counterparts in activities such as helping the children with homework, taking the children out, playing with the children and reading to the children. The discrepancy in the focus of participation of men in the two countries can be linked to the overall difference in the distribution of male and female roles in France and Britain. As was noted in Chapter 3, only 12.9% of the British, as against 46.7% of the French sample, have a partner who is in full-time employment. More of the British than the French respondents adhere to an overall gender-stereotyped division of employment and child care roles: the British men thus clearly extend this traditional model of family responsibilities by upholding a conventional distribution of masculine and feminine tasks in the specific area of child rearing.

#### The Division of Parental Responsibilities

In comparison to the issue of male participation in child

care tasks, which has been examined by a large number of fatherhood researchers, the subject of men's views about the overall division of parental responsibilities has less often been analysed. The examination of men's responses to questions covering both areas is important, since it highlights any differences, commonly found in sociological research, between what respondents claim to believe and what they actually do in practice.

A comparison of Tables 7.2 and 7.1 demonstrates that there is a discrepancy between men's views about the division of child rearing responsibilities and practical participation in child care tasks. As is apparent from Table 7.2, an average of approximately 90% of men in both the French and the British samples believe that most of the child rearing responsibilities listed should be shared between the mother and the father. Table 7.1 shows, on the other hand, that the percentage of couples who actually share child care activities in practice is considerably lower. As in the case of role reversal (see Chapter 5), men in both countries may adhere to egalitarian ideals about the interchangeability of parental roles, but are much less likely to carry their theories into practice. Support for the image of the caring, involved 'new father' may be mirrored in the views of respondents in both countries: on a practical level, however, there is considerable less evidence for high paternal participation in child rearing. This discrepancy between theory and practice reinforces the conclusions expressed by

Table 7.2

## Men's Views on the Division of Parental Responsibilities (in Percentages)

Britain N=101

	Resp. of Mother	Resp. of Father	Resp. of Both Parents	N/R	Total
Providing for the financial upkeep of the household	2.0	73.3	24.8	-	100.0
Caring for the children on a daily basis	44.6	-	55.4	-	100.0
Teaching the children to be well-mannered	4.0	3.0	92.1	1.0	100.0
Supervising the children's progress at school	6.9	3.0	90.1	-	100.0
Giving love and support to the children	3.0	-	97.0	-	100.0
Disciplining the children	1.0	5.0	93.1	1.0	100.0
Teaching the children to have moral values	1.0	-	99.0	-	100.0
Supervising the children's health	17.8	-	82.2	-	100.0
Making sure the children are emotionally stable	6.9	1.0	92.1	-	100.0
Encouraging the children to become independent	1.0	3.0	96.0	-	100.0

France N=75

	Resp. of Mother	Resp. of Father	Resp. of Both Parents	N/R	Total
Providing for the financial upkeep of the household	8.0	16.0	74.7	1.3	100.0
Caring for the children on a daily basis	41.3	-	57.3	1.3	100.0
Teaching the children to be well-mannered	2.7	4.0	92.0	1.3	100.0
Supervising the children's progress at school	2.7	5.3	90.7	1.3	100.0
Giving love and support to the children	1.3	1.3	96.0	1.3	100.0
Disciplining the children	1.3	6.7	89.3	2.7	100.0
Teaching the children to have moral values	2.7	6.7	89.3	1.3	100.0
Supervising the children's health	17.3	1.3	80.0	1.3	100.0
Making sure the children are emotionally stable	5.3	1.3	92.0	1.3	100.0
Encouraging the children to become independent	2.7	4.0	92.0	1.3	100.0

Lewis and O'Brien (1987) in their collection of studies of the fatherhood role: while many theoretical accounts of fatherhood claim that men are becoming more involved in family life, there is little hard data to justify these suppositions.

The finding that men in both France and Britain may hold egalitarian views, yet stop short of practical participation, is substantiated further by an analysis of the opinions of the respondents about the gender-orientation of each of the areas of parental responsibility listed. As is evident from Table 7.2, parental responsibilities which are of a predominantly practical nature, such as caring for the children on a daily basis or earning money to provide for the upkeep of the household, are regarded by men in both countries as most markedly gender-stereotyped. Women are expected to take responsibility for child care, while men fulfil the breadwinner role. In line with the strongly stereotyped image of masculinity which underlies the attitudes of the British respondents towards the division of family roles (see Chapter 6), the adherence of the British men to the traditional practical male duty of providing for the family is particularly evident.

In contrast to parental responsibilities which possess a clearly practical dimension, duties which require a less easily definable input in terms of parental involvement are regarded by men in both France and Britain as less gender-

stereotyped. Table 7.2 shows that duties such as giving love and support to the children, encouraging independence, teaching good manners and instilling moral values, all of which are difficult to quantify objectively, are classified by a high percentage of respondents in each sample as the responsibility of both parents equally. While responsibilities such as giving love and support to the children or teaching moral values are fundamental to family life, it is impossible to stipulate set degrees of parental involvement which would prove that duties of this type were being carried out effectively. In other words, while it is relatively easy to detect whether or not practical parental responsibilities, such as the day-to-day physical care of a child, are being fulfilled by parents, it is considerably more difficult to assess whether or not a child is being given adequate love and support or being encouraged to become sufficiently independent. As in the case of household responsibilities, where both the British and the French men were shown to be reluctant to participate in the most time-consuming and labour-intensive chores (see Chapter 5), the respondents focus male involvement in parental responsibilities on duties which can only be evaluated subjectively and may consequently appear capable of fulfilment without any great necessity for tangible effort. In general, men in both countries are reluctant to state that fathers should take a fully equal part in the rearing of their children: while claiming that the responsibility for the more abstract and intellectual parental duties may be

shared between men and women, many respondents uphold the stereotype of women as possessing greater aptitude and availability for parental duties of a practical nature. This discrepancy is illustrated by the attitudes of men in both countries towards two parental responsibilities which are similar in content yet different in orientation: as can be seen from Table 7.2, a high proportion of respondents in each sample believe that the role of monitoring a child's psychological stability should be shared by both parents, whereas considerably fewer men state that the father should participate in the more practical duty of supervising a child's physical health.

The tendency of the French and British respondents to support the shared involvement of parents in the theoretical elements of parental responsibility reinforces the division of roles identified in the first section of this chapter, where most of the male involvement recorded in both samples was found to be focused on the instrumental and intellectual aspects of child care. As is apparent from Table 7.2, the traditional instrumental/expressive dichotomy of gender roles is also evident in the pattern whereby respondents classify specific parental responsibilities as being more suited to one sex than the other. On the one hand, as in the case of the division of child care tasks, the mother is considered as the parent most suited to meeting the immediate physical and emotional needs of the child: Table 7.2 shows that in both samples mothers are more likely than fathers to be viewed as



responsible for the expressive duties of providing day-to-day care, supervising health and monitoring the mental stability of the children. On the other hand, the small degree of purely paternal responsibility recorded by the respondents is centred on duties relating to the broader-based social and intellectual needs of children. As can be seen from Table 7.2, fathers are categorized as particularly suited to bearing responsibility for disciplining the children, furthering independence and instilling good manners or moral values. Respondents who adhere to this view of paternal responsibilities uphold what is described by a number of writers on parental roles (Fromm, 1957; Winnicott, 1964; Mauco, 1971; Lamb, 1981; Russell, 1983) as the traditional image of the father as the guardian of the beliefs and behavioural norms of the family. In relation to each of the four responsibilities listed above, fathers serve to transmit social and cultural values by establishing in their children a frame of reference for future interaction in the world at large.

Table 7.2 also shows that the specific duty of the father to instil moral values or good manners in his children is relatively more salient to the French than to the British respondents. The greater significance given by the French sample to the preservation of the traditional institution of the family, as reflected in the responses of the French men to the open questions about changes in gender roles (see Chapter 4), may lead to a reinforcement of the patriarchal

model whereby the oldest male is entrusted with the guardianship of the morals of the entire family unit. The particularly marked influence of Freudian ideology on French literature concerning parental roles, which was noted in Chapter 2, may also help to preserve more strongly in the French respondents the gender-specific conception of the father as ultimately responsible for all disciplinary and moral values (see Chapter 4). From a Freudian perspective, the father is regarded as a link between the family and the outside world, whose duty is to initiate his children as individuals into the moral expectations and norms of society. In their willingness to take responsibility for socialization-oriented activities, such as the preservation of discipline or moral values, the French fathers adhere more closely to the Freudian paternal role of intermediary between the world of the family and of society as a whole.

The Changing Role of Men Within the Family: Similarities and Differences in the 'New Father' Model in France and Britain

In contemporary Britain and France, the tendency to include the role of the father in both popular and academic literature on child rearing (see Chapter 2) has created a social climate favourable towards the participation of men in 'feminine' child rearing responsibilities and tasks. Since the late 1970s, the image of the caring, involved 'new father' has frequently been projected by both the French and the British media: on at least a theoretical level, this is

likely to have served to dispel rigid conceptions of what is acceptable masculine behaviour by providing role models for men wishing to become more participant in the care of their children. It might consequently be expected that some basic changes are likely to have taken place over the last few decades in the relationship between French and British fathers and their children.

The changing norms of paternal behaviour in Britain and France are reflected in Table 7.3, which charts the relationship between the age of the father and the degree of mother-centredness of each of the child care tasks listed. In general, as found by Joan Huber and Glenna Spitze (1981) in an American telephone study of parental involvement, younger men are more likely than older men to have taken an active part in the rearing of their children. As can be seen from Table 7.3, the dominance of the mother in child rearing, particularly with respect to infant care and expressive tasks, is more strongly evident in families in which the father is aged forty-one or over. Within the younger group of families, in which the father is aged forty or under, child care tasks are less likely to be carried out by the mother alone. It is noticeable, however, that divisions of labour within the younger group are far from equal: as in the traditional model of family roles identified in Chapter 4, mothers are still expected to carry out far more child care than fathers. The effect of the age of the father is more strikingly apparent in the French sample: as

The Relationship between the Activity usually carried out by MOTHER in families where respondent is aged:  
Mother-Centredness of Child Care Activities in Each  
Family (in Percentages)

## Britain

* The variation in N is due to the fact that some parents do not carry out certain tasks	Activity usually carried out by MOTHER in families where respondent is aged:	
	< 40 years	> 41 years
Giving the baby its bottle	47.9 N=48*	63.6 N=44*
Changing the baby's nappy	48.1 N=52*	63.8 N=47*
Bathing the baby	59.6 N=52	59.6 N=47
Dressing the baby	67.3 N=52	82.9 N=47
Taking the baby out in the pram	51.9 N=52	61.7 N=47
Attending to the children at night	25.0 N=52	32.6 N=49*
Comforting the children	26.9 N=52	22.4 N=49
Reading to the children	19.2 N=52	14.3 N=49
Playing with the children	5.8 N=52	2.0 N=48*
Buying clothes for the children	84.6 N=52	87.7 N=49
Taking the children to the doctor	75.0 N=52	63.6 N=49
Taking the children out	11.5 N=52	14.3 N=49
Taking the children to school	74.5 N=51*	71.4 N=49
Helping the children with homework	13.7 N=51	6.1 N=49

## France

* The variation in N is due to the fact that some parents do not carry out certain tasks	Activity usually carried out by MOTHER in families where respondent is aged:	
	< 40 years	> 41 years
Giving the baby its bottle	36.5 N=52	72.7 N=22
Changing the baby's nappy	40.4 N=52	77.3 N=22
Bathing the baby	57.7 N=52	77.3 N=22
Dressing the baby	55.8 N=52	81.8 N=22
Taking the baby out in the pram	38.4 N=52	77.3 N=22
Attending to the children at night	46.1 N=52	50.0 N=22
Comforting the children	21.1 N=52*	45.4 N=22
Reading to the children	27.1 N=48*	50.0 N=22
Playing with the children	9.6 N=52	22.7 N=22
Buying clothes for the children	86.5 N=52	95.4 N=22
Taking the children to the doctor	44.2 N=52	63.6 N=22
Taking the children out	23.1 N=52	40.9 N=22
Taking the children to school	22.7 N=44*	40.9 N=22
Helping the children with homework	25.0 N=40*	45.4 N=22

was found in relation to the general views of the respondents about male and female roles (see Chapter 4), change in men's attitudes and behaviour appears to have occurred in a more revolutionary fashion in France than in Britain.

The more pronounced difference in viewpoint between the older and younger groups of French respondents is also mirrored in Table 7.4, which demonstrates the effect of age on men's attitudes towards the sharing of parental responsibilities. As in the case of participation in child care tasks, younger men are in general more likely than their older counterparts to state that the responsibilities listed should be carried out by both parents. The degree of difference in attitude between men in the younger and older age-groups is nevertheless relatively small, particularly with respect to the British sample. In relation to a minority of duties, notably the provision of daily care in Britain and the financial upkeep of the home in France, older men are actually more likely than younger men to support the sharing of responsibility between the two parents.

The above findings indicate that overall developments in male attitudes towards child rearing in France and Britain are, in reality, less spectacular than the individual cases of high paternal involvement which are frequently highlighted by the popular media in each country. Fatherhood researchers in both Britain and France, in the mid-1980s, have increasingly noted this fact. Reviewing recent British and American research on paternal roles, Lewis (1986) dismisses what he

Table 7.4

Percentage of Men who Believe that Parental Responsibilities Should be Shared Equally Between Mothers and Fathers - According to the Age of the Respondent

Britain N=101

	Age of respondent:	
	<40 years N=52	> 41 years N=49
Providing for the financial upkeep of the household	26.9	22.4
Caring for the children on a daily basis	53.8	57.1
Teaching the children to be well-mannered	96.1	89.6
Supervising the children's progress at school	90.4	89.8
Giving love and support to the children	98.1	95.9
Disciplining the children	96.1	91.8
Teaching the children to have moral values	100.0	97.9
Supervising the children's health	84.6	79.6
Making sure the children are emotionally stable	90.4	93.4
Encouraging the children to become independent	100.0	91.8

France N=74

	Age of respondent:	
	<40 years N=52	> 41 years N=22
Providing for the financial upkeep of the household	75.0	77.3
Caring for the children on a daily basis	69.2	31.8
Teaching the children to be well-mannered	98.1	81.8
Supervising the children's progress at school	94.2	86.4
Giving love and support to the children	100.0	90.9
Disciplining the children	96.1	81.8
Teaching the children to have moral values	98.1	72.7
Supervising the children's health	90.4	59.1
Making sure the children are emotionally stable	100.0	77.3
Encouraging the children to become independent	98.1	81.8

terms as the 'emergent' view of fatherhood, which holds that men are becoming highly involved in family life, as "too simplistic and utopian" (Lewis 1986, 2). While the image of the 'new' father may have entered public consciousness by way of popular articles, television and films such as "Kramer vs Kramer", little empirical evidence exists to support the commonly alleged theory that men now take a large responsibility for child rearing. A similar point is made by Kelen (1987) in a book which critically examines the phenomenon of 'new' fatherhood in France. Analysing contemporary images of male roles, Kelen identifies the commercial drive of the advertising world to profit from the model of participant fatherhood as one of the fundamental causes of the plethora of images of the father-child dyad which appeared in France during the late 1970s. Pictures of a smiling young father caring for his child, which encapsulate the socially fashionable ideal of gender equality, may boost sales of baby care accessories through their projection of a modern, up-to-date image: these media images nevertheless bear little resemblance to the day-to-day division of labour which exists in most families in real life.

As noted above, the relationship between the age of the respondents and their attitudes towards the sharing of child care and parental responsibilities indicates that, while younger men may be more likely to participate in child rearing, changes in male behaviour fall far short of the

ideal of the highly involved father frequently depicted by the French and British media. Men in both countries appear to reject the possibility that child care might be shared equally between men and women. The fundamental tendency of the traditional division of roles to persist in both Britain and France, despite media and academic influences in favour of shared parenting, becomes particularly evident when the effect of educational level on men's attitudes towards child rearing is analysed.

In both France and Britain, men who have undergone some further education are more likely than men with no further education to support the sharing of parental responsibilities. As was noted in Chapter 4, the experience of undertaking further education is in general linked to a greater likelihood of exposure to material advocating paternal involvement in child rearing. While adhering, in opinion, to the socially acceptable image of involved fatherhood presented in the media, highly educated men are nevertheless unwilling or unable to convert their egalitarian views into practical participation in child care. Respondents who possess a university degree, for example, are less likely than men in other groups to carry out some publicly visible infant care tasks. In 72.7% of the British and 50.0% of the French families in which the father is university-educated, as opposed to 51.3% of the British and 33.3% of the French families in which the father has had no further education, the task of taking the baby out in the



pram is carried out solely by the mother.

Here the greater readiness of the French men to carry out traditionally feminine tasks is also clearly evident. As noted by a number of previous researchers (Newson and Newson, 1965; Mortimer, 1978; Bird et al., 1984; Roeber, 1987), highly-educated and professional men are likely to suffer from severe role-strain. Although more inclined to support equality of the sexes, they are also more often burdened with evening work commitments that men with less education and may consequently find it difficult to become as involved in child care as they might wish. The conflicting demands of family and employment responsibilities, impossible to reconcile when time is at a premium, may lead professional men to redefine their role as a father in traditional terms, emphasizing their duty as breadwinner rather than a caregiver. Social change towards a more actively participant model of paternal behaviour is hampered, paradoxically, by the fact that those men who might be exposed to the greatest influences towards involvement also tend to have heavy responsibilities in the traditionally masculine area of paid employment.

As in the case of men, the relationship between the educational level of French and British women and the division of parental roles within each family underlines some of the obstacles which hinder developments in male and female attitudes in contemporary society. Contrary to the findings of some previous researchers, (Ericksen et al., 1979;

Russell, 1983), who report paternal involvement in child care to be linked to a high level of education in mothers, no direct effect of the educational level of the mother is evident in either the British or the French sample. Female dominance in the area of child rearing is apparent even in some families where the mother has a university degree: 90.9% of the British and 50.0% of the French university-educated women take sole responsibility for dressing the baby, while 83.3% of the British and 75.0% of the French university-educated women always take charge of buying clothes for the children. As noted in a number of American studies of gender divisions within the home (Polatnick, 1974; Yogev, 1982), many women, including those who are highly qualified, derive great pleasure and status from their maternal role: such women, even if they have employment commitments, may seek to retain at all costs their dominant position within the sphere of child rearing.

It is noticeable, as is apparent from the two examples given above, that highly educated British women are considerably more likely than their French counterparts to take sole charge of child care tasks. This discrepancy may arise from the fact that many more of the British than the French highly-qualified mothers are confined to carrying out relatively ill-paid and undemanding part-time jobs, from which little personal satisfaction can be gained. As stated by Lamb et al. (1987) in an article which examines the effects of increased paternal involvement on mothers and

fathers, women are likely to continue to seek self-fulfilment in child rearing if they are unable to obtain status and a sense of achievement in the employment world. Although it has been shown by some studies of female employment patterns in France (Castelain-Meunier and Fagnani, 1987; Hantrais, 1988) that well-educated women may consider it a challenge to combine their employment and family roles efficiently, the difficulties experienced by many women, particularly in Britain, in reconciling career and family responsibilities may lead even highly-educated mothers to choose to channel their primary energies into the traditionally feminine role of child rearing. Progress towards change in views about parenting is seriously hampered by contemporary pressures on both sexes: the effects of a high level of education, normally associated with an awareness that roles need not be biologically determined, are weakened by economic and social factors which predispose women and men to follow a gender-specific pattern of home and employment responsibilities.

The lack of a direct relationship between the educational level of parents and the division of child care tasks within each family indicates that the changes in men's views about gender roles, which were shown in Chapter 4 to filter down from the highly-educated to the less well-educated sectors of the population, have produced few results in terms of practical paternal involvement. Uniform change is not occurring in parenting roles: fatherhood is clearly an intensely emotive and subjective experience which is strongly

influenced by personal and family-related factors.

Issues such as the size and composition of the family exercise a particularly important influence on men's involvement in child rearing. Table 7.5 shows the relationship between paternal involvement in child care tasks and the number of children in each family. As has been found by previous researchers (Giarni, 1983; Grassin, 1987), men in both the British and the French samples are most likely to be involved in child care when there is only one child in the family. The finding that paternal involvement in child care is less when there are two children in the family, in spite of the overall increase in the burden of child care on the parents, demonstrates the general unwillingness of men in France and Britain to make definitive changes in their behaviour. Women, rather than men, adjust their roles in accordance with the size of their family: as the number of children increases, women who were in full-time paid employment, for example, may reduce their work commitment to part-time or may become full-time homemakers.

Once the novelty of experimenting in the care of the first child has waned, many fathers appear to revert to a more traditionally masculine role. As noted by Christine Castelain-Meunier (1987) in a study of French fathers, men may feel that, having proved with the first child that they can live up to the fashionable image of the 'new father', they have acquitted themselves of the duty to participate actively in the rearing of subsequent children. Economic

Table 7.5

Percentage of Fathers who Participate in Child Care Activities  
- According to the Number of Children in Each Family

	Britain						France					
	Number of children in the family:						Number of children in the family:					
* The variation in N is due to the fact that some parents do not carry out certain tasks	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6
Giving the baby its bottle	60.0 5*	49.2 59*	35.0 20*	33.3 6	-	0.0 1	72.2 18	50.0 38	30.8 13	66.7 3	0.0 1	-
Changing the baby's nappy	50.0 6*	45.2 62*	52.2 23*	16.7 6	-	0.0 1	66.7 18	50.0 38	23.1 13	66.7 3	0.0 1	-
Bathing the baby	33.3 6	33.9 62	47.8 23	33.3 6	-	0.0 1	50.0 18	31.6 38	38.5 13	33.3 3	0.0 1	-
Dressing the baby	16.7 6	17.7 62	39.1 23	16.7 6	-	0.0 1	55.6 18	31.6 38	30.8 13	33.3 3	0.0 1	-
Taking the baby out in the pram	50.0 6	40.3 62	43.5 23	33.3 6	-	0.0 1	66.7 18	65.8 38	46.2 13	33.3 3	100.0 1	-
Attending to the children at night	83.3 6	71.8 64*	69.6 23	66.7 6	-	0.0 1	55.6 18	60.5 38	23.1 13	66.7 3	0.0 1	-
Comforting the children	66.7 6	76.6 64	73.9 23	66.7 6	-	100.0 1	77.8 18*	78.9 38	69.2 13	66.7 3	100.0 1	-
Reading to the children	83.3 6	79.7 64	86.9 23	100.0 6	-	100.0 1	85.7 14*	63.2 38	53.8 13	33.3 3	100.0 1	-
Playing with the children	100.0 6	96.9 64	91.3 23	100.0 6	-	100.0 1	94.4 18	86.9 38	76.9 13	66.7 3	100.0 1	-
Buying clothes for the children	16.7 6	14.1 64	8.7 23	16.7 6	-	100.0 1	22.2 18	10.5 38	0.0 13	0.0 3	0.0 1	-
Taking the children to the doctor	16.7 6	31.2 64	34.8 23	33.3 6	-	0.0 1	55.6 18	52.7 38	38.5 13	33.3 3	0.0 1	-
Taking the children out	100.0 6	87.5 64	73.9 23	100.0 6	-	100.0 1	83.3 18	78.9 38	46.2 13	33.3 3	0.0 1	-
Taking the children to school	33.3 6	23.8 64	21.7 23	50.0 6	-	100.0 1	81.8 11*	83.8 37*	46.2 13	66.7 3	100.0 1	-
Helping the children with homework	100.0 6	88.9 63*	86.9 23	100.0 6	-	100.0 1	100.0 10*	64.7 34*	61.6 13	66.7 3	0.0 1	-

pressures also contribute to a decrease in male involvement at the two-child stage: as pointed out by Giarni (1983), the birth of a second child invariably causes greater financial pressures on the family and tends to necessitate a deeper employment commitment on the part of the father. As the number of children in the family increases, parental roles are likely to reassert themselves along the lines of the traditional instrumental/expressive dichotomy. Table 7.5 shows, for example, that many fathers with three or more children participate predominantly in social or intellectual child care activities. The tendency of couples with large families to follow a traditional pattern of responsibilities is reinforced by the fact that it is often not viable, due to the difficulties in finding and financing good quality child care, for women with three or more children to work outside the home. Some employers in both Britain and France may also be prejudiced against employing women with large families, believing that they will be more likely than other employees to take time off work to deal with any family problems which may arise. In both Britain and France, women with a large number of children are firmly stereotyped, by both economic and social factors, in their traditional role of child rearers. Their male partners are consequently pressurized to carry out the masculine role of full-time breadwinners.

In addition to the influence exercised by family size, the sex of the children present in each family is also linked to the participation rates of fathers in child care activities.

Although very little empirical research has been carried out on this area, some previous findings indicate that men may be likely to take a more active part in child rearing if they have sons rather than daughters. In an American study of father-toddler interaction, M. Ann Easterbrooks and Wendy Goldberg (1984) find that men with boys tend to spend more time with their children than men with girls. Similarly, Jaipaul Roopnarine and Brent Miller (1985), in an article dealing with the transition to fatherhood, suggest that men may be more enthusiastic about the birth of a boy and consequently more participant in the rearing of boys than girls.

As is demonstrated by the cross-national dimension of the present study, cultural factors relating to a particular society may override the general tendency for men to take more interest in sons than in daughters. Table 7.6 shows that, on the one hand, the British respondents are more likely to participate in child care when they have female children in the family. This finding is particularly evident in relation to infant care tasks: within the British sample, paternal participation in early child care is consistently highest in families where all the children are female. In the French sample, on the other hand, fathers with male children are much more participant. Men with boys only demonstrate high rates of involvement in intricate baby care tasks such as changing nappies or bathing the infant. They are also considerably more involved in pleasure-oriented

Table 7.6

Percentage of Fathers who Participate in Child Care Activities -  
According to the Sex of the Children in Each Family

* The variation in N is due to the fact that some parents do not carry out certain tasks	Britain				France			
	Sex of children in the family:				Sex of children in the family:			
	BOTH SEXES	ALL MALE	ALL FEMALE		BOTH SEXES	ALL MALE	ALL FEMALE	
Giving the baby its bottle	37.5 48*	45.0 20	59.0 22*		44.4 36	60.0 20	61.1 18	
Changing the baby's nappy	41.5 53*	45.0 20	54.2 24*		44.4 36	60.0 20	44.4 18	
Bathing the baby	37.7 53	30.0 20	50.0 24		33.4 36	45.0 20	33.4 18	
Dressing the baby	22.6 53	15.0 20	29.2 24		33.4 36	35.0 20	44.4 18	
Taking the baby out in the pram	39.6 53	30.0 20	54.2 24		63.9 36	60.0 20	61.2 18	
Attending to the children at night	72.7 55*	65.0 20	70.8 24		47.2 36	65.0 20	50.0 18	
Comforting the children	78.2 55	75.0 20	70.8 24		75.0 36	85.0 20	72.3 18*	
Reading to the children	81.8 55	85.0 20	87.5 24		55.5 36	77.8 20	68.8 16*	
Playing with the children	98.2 55	95.0 20	91.6 24		86.1 36	90.0 20	83.3 18	
Buying clothes for the children	9.1 55	10.0 20	29.2 24		2.8 36	15.0 20	22.2 18	
Taking the children to the doctor	38.1 55	20.0 20	25.0 24		52.8 36	40.0 20	55.6 18	
Taking the children out	87.3 55	85.0 20	87.5 24		72.2 36*	65.0 20*	77.8 18	
Taking the children to school	25.4 55	25.0 20	30.4 23*		73.5 34*	66.7 18*	71.4 14*	
Helping the children with homework	90.9 55	90.0 20	91.3 23*		63.6 33*	70.6 17*	75.0 12*	



tasks such as reading to or playing with the children than are fathers who have girls only or children of both sexes. The generally different attitudes held by the French and British men towards gender roles, as identified in Chapter 4, may account for the effect of the sex of the children on paternal involvement in each country. British men, adhering to a rigid conceptualization of the masculine image, are unused to intimate male-male interaction which they may regard as tinged with connotations of homosexuality. They are consequently less likely to participate in the physical care of male children. The French respondents uphold fewer restrictions on male-male interaction yet subscribe to an inflexible image of femininity: they may therefore be less inhibited about caring for their sons, while feeling that they are less competent than a woman to care for their daughters. In both Britain and France it can be seen that the involvement of fathers in child rearing is influenced by nationally culture-bound theories about masculinity and femininity.

As was explained above, it is clear that social, economic and cultural factors relating to the size and composition of the family may exercise a significant influence on the involvement of both the French and the British fathers in the rearing of their children. If external cultural concerns affect paternal participation, it might be expected that personal factors relating to the lifestyle of each father would influence men's behaviour and attitudes to an even

greater extent. When an analysis of a number of these factors is carried out, however, it appears that men's role in child rearing may be governed more by personal motivation and determination than simply by the daily pattern of life followed by each respondent. This is exemplified by Table 7.7, which shows the relationship between paternal involvement in child care and the employment commitment of each father. While men who work the fewest hours, especially in France, are generally likely to be more participant than men who work very long hours, it must be noted that this finding is by no means universal: a number of men who demonstrate a very high work commitment are also highly involved in the rearing of their children. As stated by Jane Hood and Susan Golden (1979) in a study of men's investment in family and employment concerns, commitment to the double roles of breadwinner and caregiver is possible in some fathers. This may lead to the development of what has been described as the 'Superdad Syndrome' (Lewis, 1986) whereby men, like many women, suffer from role overload caused by the simultaneous demands of work and family responsibilities. Some evidence of this type of double commitment is apparent in both the British and the French samples. A number of men in each country who normally arrive home from work late in the evening, after approximately 8 p.m., nevertheless point out within the framework of the open questions on fatherhood (see Chapter 8) that they make time to participate in bed-time caregiving activities with their

Table 7.7

Percentage of Fathers who Participate in Child Care Activities -  
According to the Weekly Number of Hours Worked by Each Respondent

* The variation in N is due to the fact that some parents do not carry out certain tasks	Britain			
	≤ 40	41-60	>61	Varies
Giving the baby its bottle	46.2 39*	40.0 42	50.0 6	66.7 3
Changing the baby's nappy	42.9 42*	45.7 46*	50.0 6	33.3 3
Bathing the baby	38.1 42	43.5 46	16.7 6	66.7 3
Dressing the baby	23.8 42	19.6 46	33.4 6	0.0 3
Taking the baby out in the pram	47.6 42	39.1 46	33.4 6	0.0 3
Attending to the children at night	78.6 42	60.5 48*	83.4 6	100.0 3
Comforting the children	90.5 42	60.4 48	66.7 6	100.0 3
Reading to the children	83.4 42	81.2 48	83.4 6	100.0 3
Playing with the children	97.6 42	93.8 48	100.0 6	100.0 3
Buying clothes for the children	16.7 42	10.4 48	33.4 6	0.0 3
Taking the children to the doctor	33.4 42	25.0 48	16.7 6	66.7 3
Taking the children out	88.1 42	87.5 48	66.7 6	66.7 3
Taking the children to school	31.7 41*	16.7 48	33.4 6	33.3 3
Helping the children with homework	97.6 41	83.4 48	100.0 6	66.7 3

France

* The variation in N is due to the fact that some parents do not carry out certain tasks	Weekly number of hours worked by fathers			
	≤ 40	41-60	>61	Varies
Giving the baby its bottle	61.4 44	40.9 22	50.0 2	50.0 2
Changing the baby's nappy	54.5 44	40.9 22	0.0 2	50.0 2
Bathing the baby	40.9 44	36.3 22	0.0 2	0.0 2
Dressing the baby	47.7 44	22.7 22	0.0 2	0.0 2
Taking the baby out in the pram	77.3 44	31.8 22	50.0 2	50.0 2
Attending to the children at night	52.3 44	59.0 22	100.0 2	0.0 2
Comforting the children	79.6 44*	72.7 22	50.0 2	100.0 2
Reading to the children	63.4 41*	68.2 22	100.0 2	50.0 2
Playing with the children	93.2 44	72.7 22	100.0 2	100.0 2
Buying clothes for the children	11.4 44	9.1 22	0.0 2	0.0 2
Taking the children to the doctor	54.5 44	40.9 22	0.0 2	50.0 2
Taking the children out	79.6 44*	54.5 22*	100.0 2	0.0 2
Taking the children to school	76.3 38*	57.1 21*	50.0 2	100.0 2
Helping the children with homework	63.9 36*	73.7 19*	50.0 2	50.0 2

children. Some men who arrive home late are also highly involved in attending to their children during the night. As stated by Roeber (1987), men who are really motivated to participate in child rearing will find time to interact with their children even when burdened by heavy work commitments.

The individual motivation of each man to become involved in child care thus appears to play a vital part in determining whether or not the French and British respondents become participant fathers. It must of course be noted that some men may find it easier than others to become involved in the traditionally 'feminine' area of caregiving. In accordance with the findings of Russell (1983), men with high psychological ratings of femininity are likely to be particularly participant in child care: to give one example, 80.0% of the British and 62.5% of the French feminine-typed respondents, as opposed to only 30.0% of the British and 44.4% of the French masculine-typed men, carried out the activity of giving the baby its bottle.

#### The Influence of Men's Attendance at the Birth of their Children on Paternal Involvement in Child Rearing

Excluding individual personality traits such as those mentioned above, the factor which is most closely related to paternal motivation to become involved in child care appears to be the experiences of the father around the time of the birth and early life of his children. Table 7.8 depicts the relationship between paternal involvement in child care and

Table 7.8

Percentage of Fathers who Participate in Child Care Activities -  
According to Paternal Attendance at Birth

	Britain				Medical Problems etc.
	No Births Attended	Some Births Attended	All Births Attended	All Births Attended	
* The variation in N is due to the fact that some parents do not carry out certain tasks					
Giving the baby its bottle	12.5 24*	48.3 29*	66.6 33*	40.0 5	
Changing the baby's nappy	20.0 25*	43.3 30*	63.1 38*	40.0 5	
Bathing the baby	36.0 25	36.6 30	44.7 38	40.0 5	
Dressing the baby	8.0 25	16.7 30	36.8 38	20.0 5	
Taking the baby out in the pram	24.0 25	46.7 30	47.3 38	40.0 5	
Attending to the children at night	56.0 25	76.7 30	71.8 39*	100.0 5	
Comforting the children	72.0 25	66.6 30	79.5 39	100.0 5	
Reading to the children	72.0 25	80.0 30	89.9 39	100.0 5	
Playing with the children	100.0 25	90.0 30	97.4 39	100.0 5	
Buying clothes for the children	8.0 25	13.3 30	15.4 39	20.0 5	
Taking the children to the doctor	16.0 25	40.0 30	35.9 39	20.0 5	
Taking the children out	84.0 25	73.3 30	94.9 39	100.0 5*	
Taking the children to school	16.0 25	23.3 30	38.5 39	0.0 4*	
Helping the children with homework	80.0 25	90.0 30	94.9 39	100.0 4	

  

	France				Medical Problems etc.
	No Births Attended	Some Births Attended	All Births Attended	All Births Attended	
* The variation in N is due to the fact that some parents do not carry out certain tasks					
Giving the baby its bottle	30.8 13	50.0 12	58.3 48		
Changing the baby's nappy	15.4 13	50.0 12	56.3 48		
Bathing the baby	30.8 13	25.0 12	39.6 48		
Dressing the baby	23.1 13	25.0 12	41.7 48		
Taking the baby out in the pram	61.5 13	41.6 12	66.7 48		
Attending to the children at night	46.2 13	50.0 12	54.2 48		
Comforting the children	76.9 13*	58.3 12	81.3 48*		
Reading to the children	58.3 12*	66.7 12	64.4 45*		
Playing with the children	92.3 13	75.0 12	87.5 48		
Buying clothes for the children	0.0 13	0.0 12	16.7 48		
Taking the children to the doctor	23.1 13	66.7 12	52.1 48		
Taking the children out	61.5 13	58.3 12	77.1 48		
Taking the children to school	66.7 12*	75.0 12	70.7 41*		
Helping the children with homework	58.3 12*	75.0 12	67.6 37*		

the attendance of the father at the births of his children. As has been found in previous research (Parke et al., 1972), men who attended the birth of their child are much more involved in caregiving than fathers who were not present. Table 7.8 shows that both the French and British men who have attended the birth of each of their children demonstrate the highest rates of participation in caregiving. Fathers who have attended the birth of some of their children, while slightly less involved than men who were present at each birth, are much more participant than men who have attended the birth of none of their children. Non-attending fathers can be seen to adhere to a strictly instrumental model of parenting: concentrating their paternal involvement on social and intellectual activities, they are reluctant to carry out expressive or infant care tasks.

While it might be argued that fathers who wish to attend births are, from the beginning, more inclined towards participant fatherhood than non-attenders, it is also clear that the experience of the birth itself exercises a significant influence on father-child interaction. This point is highlighted by a comparison, possible only in the British sample, of the participation rates of men who have had experience of attending a birth and those who wished to attend but were prevented from doing so by hospital regulations or medical problems of the mother during labour. Although the men who were prevented from being present at the birth participate more in child care than fathers who

attended no births, they are generally less involved in infant care and expressive tasks than men who have attended at least one birth. As suggested by Clerget (1979), early father-newborn interaction involving the senses of touch and voice, which holds immense meaning at the time of the birth, plays an important role in establishing a bond between men and their children. Fathers who have been present at a birth are less likely to feel excluded from the mother-child dyad and subsequently may favour a continuation of the shared parenting roles established during the first few hours of the child's life.

The relationship between men's attendance at the birth of their children and paternal involvement in child care demonstrates that fathers, if encouraged to have close contact with young infants, may develop greater confidence in carrying out expressive and intricate tasks which have traditionally been considered as 'feminine'. While the presence of the father at a birth facilitates the initial formation of a strong bond between the man and his child, the amount of time spent by the father with his family in the period immediately following the birth is also important. In both the French and the British samples, respondents who were able to take at least one week off work at the time of the birth are most highly participant in the care of their children: the opportunity to gain some practical expertise in early caregiving skills clearly helps fathers to develop a positive role in the rearing of their children.

The above findings demonstrate the fact that men are not, by definition, incapable of caring for young children. If allowed to develop the expressive side of their personality by gaining familiarity with traditionally 'feminine' tasks, fathers are likely, if they wish, to be able to take a participant role in child rearing. It has, however, been shown in this chapter that in contemporary France and Britain little general change is taking place in paternal roles. The development, in reality, of the 'new father' model vaunted by the media is hampered in both countries by social, economic and cultural pressures which may discourage men from becoming involved in the care of their children.

Firstly, as a result of the biological fact that only women can actually bear children, child rearing has traditionally been regarded by society as an exclusively 'feminine' subject. Fathers-to-be in both Britain and France play little part in the pre-natal parenthood sessions and medical check-ups organized for their partners and often have little knowledge of the skills necessary to care for a young child. This lack of experience means that many men avoid participating in infant care, restricting their paternal involvement to social and intellectual activities which can be carried out only with older children. Secondly, financial difficulties may reinforce the role of the father as a breadwinner rather than as a caregiver. As each child is born the upkeep of the family becomes more



expensive, and at the same time the pressure increases for the mother to remain at home to care for her children. With the arrival of each child, fathers are therefore likely to invest more time and energy in their work, seeking to gain promotion in order to provide for the increasing needs of their family. Lastly, in addition to social and economic pressures, cultural factors may also inhibit some French and British men from becoming highly involved in child rearing: British fathers may be reluctant to participate in the physical care of their sons because of taboos which censure male-male interaction, while French fathers may believe that mothers are better equipped to care for their daughters.

In spite of social, economic and cultural pressures which discourage French and British men from participating in child rearing, personal motivation to become an involved parent can lead some men, against difficult odds, to display characteristics of the 'new' father model. Motivation towards shared parenthood is apparently increased if the father is enabled to have close contact with his baby from birth onwards and is participant in early caregiving. It is therefore clear that family policy provisions which cater for the needs of men as caregivers may play an important part in encouraging the sharing of child rearing between the sexes. This important question will be analysed in Chapter 8, which examines the child rearing ideologies held by the French and British respondents and, more specifically, their opinions about the official approaches to social policy provision for

fathers which are prevalent in France and Britain in the 1980s.

The Views of French and British Men on Fatherhood and  
Legislative Provisions for Men as Parents

Broadening the scope of the discussion of the father-child relationship from the topic of men's practical involvement in child care which was examined in Chapter 7, this chapter explores the wider issue of the family and child rearing ideologies held by the French and British respondents. In Chapter 7 it was suggested that social policy provision which encourages fathers to become involved in the care of their children may play an important part in influencing men's attitudes towards child rearing and family roles. In this chapter specific attention is focused on the very different official approaches towards family policy for men in Britain and France in the late 1980s. The juxtaposition of the respondents' attitudes towards fatherhood and personal experience of any family policy arrangements available to them illustrates the complex relationship between social policy and social change and enables conclusions to be drawn as to the efficacy of legislating for men as parents in contemporary society.

The investigation of the relationship between men's attitudes towards fatherhood and the social measures provided for fathers in Britain and France is carried out on the basis of an analysis of three main issues. Firstly, the way in which

the respondents evaluate and experience the paternal role is examined. Secondly, the position of the father in relation to family policy provision in French and British society in the late 1980s is assessed. Lastly, the views of the British and French men on legislative measures for fathers are discussed: contemporary male opinion about the official strategy adopted towards fathers in each country is explored through the use of two parallel sets of questions, each designed to relate to one of the two national contexts.

#### Men's Evaluation and Experience of the Paternal Role

The way in which the French and British respondents evaluate and experience their role as fathers is assessed on three different levels. A general indication of men's attitudes towards the paternal role is provided by an examination of the reactions of the respondents to a set of ten statements concerning various aspects of parenthood and family life. As noted in Chapter 6, where a similar set of items was used to elicit men's general attitudes towards male and female roles, the statements are presented to the respondents in a variety of positive and negative formats in order to lessen the likelihood of obtaining 'automatic' responses. Within the context of the questionnaire, the ten items concerning the father-child relationship are mixed at random with those relating to gender roles. The grid of twenty statements was designed in this way so as to further decrease the possibility of stereotyped responses and to encourage the

respondents to consider the complex interface of gender and family roles when answering each individual question.

The statements dealing with parenthood cover issues which are linked to four stages of men's family life-cycle: family planning, the transition to fatherhood, the re-adjustment of roles after the birth of a child and gender-related ideologies concerning the rearing of children. An analysis of the attitudes of the French and British respondents towards these statements shows that the majority of fathers in both samples believe that men should be highly *involved* in the initial stages of the family life-cycle. During the first stage, support for the sharing between partners of the responsibility for contraception is upheld by 99.0% of the British respondents and, despite the influence of the Roman Catholic tradition of opposition to birth control, by 74.7% of the French men. Similarly, the sharing of the decision to have a child is endorsed by 71.3% of the British and 68.0% of the French respondents. As noted by Janice Swanson (1985), little research has as yet been carried out on male participation in family planning. The results of one French study nevertheless reinforce the finding that many men now play an active role in the initial process of determining whether the couple should become parents. In a survey of fathers aged thirty or younger, Anne-Marie Naud et al. (1979) state that 87% of respondents had made a joint decision with their partners as to when they should have children. Far from adhering to the traditional model of the father whose

impending parenthood is announced to him as a complete surprise by his partner, many men in contemporary society appear to believe that the role of a responsible and involved father begins even before the birth of his children.

In addition to upholding male participation in family planning, the majority of respondents in both the British and the French samples are also in favour of active male involvement during the crucial period of the transition to fatherhood. The presence of the father at the birth of his children is supported by 79.2% of the British and 86.7% of the French men. The higher rate of support in France reflects the current French provision of statutory paid paternity leave, which, as will be shown in detail in the second section of this chapter, represents a form of official sanction of the attendance of fathers at the birth of their children. The finding that most French and British respondents approve of men's presence during childbirth highlights the vast changes in the social role of fathers which, as noted by Bigner (1979), have taken place over the last three decades. As recently as 1960 men rarely considered attending the birth of their child (Entwisle and Doering, 1981) and in any case were precluded from doing so if the birth took place in hospital. In the 1980s, on the other hand, most hospitals in both France and Britain actively encourage, or at least tolerate, the presence of the father if medical complications are not anticipated during the birth. Although there is little information available

about changes in hospital policy towards the attendance of fathers at births (Lewis, 1986), findings from a number of recent French and British studies suggest that it is now the norm for men to be present at the birth of their children. Kelen (1987) estimates that approximately 75% of French fathers in urban areas attend the birth of their children, while Lewis (1986) in his study of Nottingham fathers states that 84% of respondents were present during the labour of their partner and 67% attended the delivery of their child.

The above findings indicate that many men in contemporary France and Britain seek to share as fully as possible with their partners the initial two stages of parenthood, those of family planning and the birth of children. Once the child has arrived and begins to make practical demands on the couple, however, the nature of the father's position within the family may change. In particular, a hierarchy of roles may develop: a minority of men in both the French and the British samples uphold the traditional patriarchal model by maintaining that a father need not consult his partner when making decisions which concern the family as a whole. More commonly, parental roles may develop along strictly gender-segregated lines. As was shown in Chapter 7, the burden of responsibility for the care of young children still tends to rest on women in both France and Britain. Significantly, the majority of respondents in each sample are in favour of this division of labour: 75.2% of the British and 73.3% of the French men believe that the mother is the person most suited

to the care of a young baby. Supposedly endowed with a capacity for parenting which fathers do not possess, women, unlike men, are expected to put their families before any commitments which they might have outside the home. This expectation is held more strongly by men in Britain: 49.5% of the British, as opposed to only 20.0% of the French sample, maintain that it is impossible for a woman to have both a child and a career. The attitudes of the respondents towards the division of family roles, as will be noted later in this chapter, are influenced by the existence of social provisions which encourage equality between parents in the workplace and in the home. The greater adherence of the British respondents to the view that women should not have both children and a career may be linked to the widespread lack of day-care facilities in Britain for children with working parents, which itself may arise from the stereotyped perception in Britain of the employment world as a rigidly masculine domain. At the start of the 1980s, France boasted well over three times as many day-care places for children aged under three as those which were available in Britain (Pichault, 1983).

In addition to favouring a traditional gender-specific division of family and employment roles between parents, a number of respondents in both the British and the French samples also support gender-stereotyped theories which hold that boys and girls should be brought up differently. Many men may have been reared in a manner different to that of any



female children in their family (Tognoli, 1979): when they themselves come to have children, these men may seek to perpetuate gender-related differences which they have experienced in childhood and consequently internalized as immutable. Several studies have shown that fathers are more concerned than mothers that their children should develop 'appropriate' gender-typed behaviour (Lamb, 1976, Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Lamb, 1981; Biller, 1971; Radin and Russell, 1983; Lamb et al, 1986). The behaviour which is considered to be 'appropriate' varies from culture to culture. As was noted in Chapter 6, British men tend to lay particular emphasis on the traditional concept of masculinity, while French men place relatively more stress on the image of femininity. This polarity of focus in the inflexibility of gender roles is clearly reflected in the views of British and French men about child rearing. The concern of the British men to preserve the strong, unsentimental image of masculinity in future generations is reflected in the finding that 16.0% of the British, as opposed to 4.0% of the French sample, believe that it is unacceptable for boys to play with dolls. Similarly, the traditional idea of the future superiority of boys in the employment world is perpetuated by a much higher percentage of the British than of the French respondents: 19.8% of the British, as against 2.7% of the French men, maintain that it is more important for a boy than for a girl to have a good education. In contrast, the adherence of the French

respondents to the conventional image of femininity is echoed in the finding that 6.7% of the French, as against 3.0% of the British men, believe that it is unacceptable for a young girl to play with toy cars. A greater, though still small, minority of the French than of the British respondents also maintain that it is advisable for a girl to study the conventionally 'feminine' subject of literature rather than the 'masculine' subject of engineering. The preoccupation of the fathers in each sample with one particular gender image reinforces the findings of Wallace Lambert et al (1979) in a cross-national survey of child rearing beliefs and practices in ten countries. On the one hand, Lambert et al. conclude that fathers from Anglo-Saxon, as opposed to Latin, backgrounds tend to reinforce the traditional values of masculinity by condoning aggressive behaviour in boys. On the other hand, fathers from Latin backgrounds, including France, are noted as reacting particularly harshly to signs of aggression in girls, thereby instilling traditionally passive patterns of behaviour in their daughters.

In general, it is noticeable that the support of the men for the reinforcement of conventional femininity in girls is considerably weaker than that for instilment of traditional masculinity in boys. This discrepancy mirrors the findings of a number of researchers (Biller, 1971; Lamb, 1976) who conclude that fathers are likely to be more concerned that their sons, rather than their daughters, should display 'gender-appropriate' behaviour. While 'tomboy' tendencies

in pre-adolescent girls incur little social censure, the mere suggestion of 'cross-sex' behaviour in boys evokes the culturally unacceptable image of the 'sissy' and broaches the taboo subject of male homosexuality (Polatnick, 1973).

The play and behaviour patterns of children are clearly evaluated by many respondents in terms of stereotypes held about male and female roles in society as a whole. In general, recent social developments towards greater equality between the sexes, monitored by bodies such as the Equal Opportunities Commission in Britain and the Délégation à la Condition Féminine in France, have had as their focus the entry of women into previously male-dominated areas of employment and experience. The fact that women are capable of carrying out traditionally 'masculine' roles appears, at least to some extent, to have filtered into the public consciousness in Britain and France: only a very small minority of respondents support gender-stereotyped restrictions on the play or study patterns of girls. As will be shown in Chapter 9, little attention has, on the other hand, been paid to the development of access for the male sex to roles previously dominated by women. Social approval for nurturant or non-competitive behaviour in boys is, as yet, limited. The sex-differentiated child rearing ideologies upheld by some fathers perpetuate gender stereotypes prevalent in contemporary society, reinforcing the traditional division of family responsibilities supported by many respondents and calling into question men's motives

for applauding the sharing of parenthood roles in the early stages of the family life-cycle.

As can be seen from the attitudes of the French and British respondents towards the ten statements concerning parenthood and child rearing, male support for gender equality in family issues varies according to the life-cycle stage which is under analysis. In general, men's evaluation of the paternal role appears to be based on the traditional model of family responsibilities which was identified in Chapter 4. As will be shown in the final section of this chapter, male involvement in the initial stages of the life-cycle of the couple, such as family planning and the birth process, is accepted since it has little direct effect on men's primary role in the employment world. Less support is apparent for the sharing between parents of the subsequent full-time responsibility for child care. Many respondents believe that the mother should carry out this duty so as to allow her partner to pursue unhindered his role in the outside world. Gender inequalities such as those accepted in the roles of parents may even be transmitted to a future generation: a number of men favour the perpetuation of gender-stereotyped child rearing ideologies which promote aggressive masculinity in boys and passive femininity in girls.

Overall, it appears that many respondents evaluate parenthood and the paternal role according to basically traditional criteria. As noted by a number of previous researchers (Oakley, 1974; Entwisle and Doering, 1981), men may conform

to contemporary cultural norms which encourage male involvement in family planning and childbirth, yet few fathers are likely to challenge actively the conventional division of family roles with a view to extending the model of the participant father into the first few years of the child's life and, ultimately, into the ideology by which the child is raised. In both the French and the British samples, those men who hold egalitarian views about parental roles and child rearing ideologies are likely to be both highly educated and aged under forty. Any change in men's evaluation of the paternal role thus appears to be taking place according to the cultural transmission theory (Russell, 1983): approval for the role of the involved father is gradually disseminated from the upper to the lower social groups, transmitted in particular by the younger members of these groups.

The Views of Men on Child Rearing in Comparison with those of their own Fathers

The above investigation of the attitudes of the respondents towards statements concerning parenthood provides a general indication of men's evaluation of the paternal role in contemporary society. On a second level of analysis, details about the way in which the role of the father within the family is changing over time are obtained by means of an open question covering differences between the views of the respondents about bringing up children and those of their own

fathers.

The responses provided by men in both France and Britain demonstrate that the role of the father within the family appears to be changing in three main ways. Firstly, many respondents indicate that, unlike their own fathers, they do not regard themselves as the sole head of the household and in a position of power over all other members of the family. Within some couples, the relationship between partners is considerably more egalitarian than that evident in the previous generation:

I am far less dogmatic about household responsibilities and allow my spouse to have independence (unknown in my family as a child!)  
(GB/082, sales manager)

Each member of our family is equal, whatever role they play. (GB/073, carpenter/joiner)

In particular, fathers of today are no longer simply distant figures of authority in the eyes of their children:

Je porte beaucoup plus d'intérêt aux enfants. Le rôle du père n'est plus seulement autoritaire - il participe plus à l'éducation des enfants.

(I am much more interested in the children. The role of the father is no longer simply one of authority - he takes a larger part in bringing up the children) (F/031, primary teacher)

My family is a much more democratic unit. The father is therefore less autocratic, sharing more in family life. (GB/007, electrical engineer)

According to the above statements, which typify the views of the respondents as a whole, the traditional patriarchal model of fatherhood appears to be in decline. It is making way in both Britain and France for a system of family organization

in which women and children interact with men on a more equal basis.

The general decrease in men's authority over other members of the family is accompanied by a second change, that of the gradual merging, in contemporary family life, of 'expressive' and 'instrumental' parental roles which were considered by the previous generation to be gender-specific and consequently mutually exclusive. A number of respondents describe the extremely rigid division of family roles maintained by their parents:

My father typically believed he was in charge of discipline, education and religion. Everything else was deemed to be the responsibility of my mother. (GB/029, teacher)

My views and my father's are immensely different. My father believed that his wife was responsible for feeding, clothing and caring for the children. He was the 'educator' and the 'rule-maker'. (GB/028, electronics engineer)

In comparison, many of the French and British men report that within their own household some degree of flexibility of parental roles is evident:

Je participe plus à la vie familiale et à l'éducation des enfants. Etant donné que les femmes travaillent, les hommes doivent être capables de s'occuper de leurs enfants.

(I am more involved in family life and in the rearing of the children. In view of the fact that women work outside the home, men ought to be capable of looking after their children) (F/046, shopkeeper)

I have helped more in the day-to-day care of the children. My father would not have stayed at home with the children to let my mother go out to work. (GB/097, police constable)

As was noted in Chapter 3, only one respondent in each

country was taking full-time responsibility for child care at the time the study was carried out. In many more families the conventional distinction between 'masculine' and 'feminine' family roles had nevertheless become blurred, with fathers participating in an auxiliary capacity in the daily care of their children.

As is evident from the two areas of change examined above, many of the French and British respondents appear to have adopted a less authoritarian and more flexible ideology of parenting than that of their own fathers. These developments in men's views about the nature of the paternal role engender a third important area of change, that of the way in which fathers seek to establish standards for the behaviour of their children. A large number of the respondents, particularly in the British sample to whom the traditionally harsh image of masculinity is more salient, note that their own fathers had been strict disciplinarians:

My father was a very strict man indeed. (GB/067, assembler)

Unlike my father, I do not believe in too strict an upbringing, although they should know right from wrong and who is boss. (GB/095, machine tool setter)

My father believed in very strict discipline. (GB/065, doctor)

My father was too harsh and strict. (GB/002, parts/service engineer)

In contrast to their own fathers, many of the French and British men favour a more lenient style of child rearing. This typically involves the accordance of a greater degree of



freedom and independence to the children:

I am more flexible in such things as times of going to bed and clothing. Unlike my father, I do not insist on Sunday worship. (GB/065, doctor)

L'éducation des enfants est aujourd'hui moins sévère. Mes enfants sont plus tôt confrontés aux réalités de la vie.

(Today children are brought up in a less strict manner. My children have to face the realities of life at an earlier age) (F/061, teacher)

I think that children should be encouraged to be more independent, make their own decisions, buy their own clothes etc at an earlier age. (GB/061, horticultural advisor)

The generally greater independence and personal status granted to their children by the respondents is accompanied by an enhancement of the level of communication between fathers and their offspring. Almost universally, men in both the French and the British samples state that they pay greater attention to the individual needs and opinions of their children than was demonstrated by their own fathers:

Mes opinions diffèrent de celles de mon père dans la mesure où, il me semble, je suis davantage conscient de leurs besoins affectifs. Je les écoute certainement davantage parler.

(It seems to me that my views differ from my father's in that I am more aware of their emotional needs. I certainly spend more time listening to them) (F/033, garage salesperson)

My father was much less understanding of the need for children to develop at their own pace. (GB/011, sales engineer)

Il y a plus de tolérance. Plus de soucis de comprendre les différences de réaction des enfants face aux mêmes sujets évoqués.

(I am more tolerant. I make a greater effort to understand the differences in the reactions of the children to the same stimuli) (F/036, manager)

I think I am much more flexible than my father. I was never allowed to question anything. I welcome being questioned as long as it is done in a polite and not a rude manner. (GB/070, coal merchant)

Je suis beaucoup plus libéral, plus proche des enfants, plus à l'écoute.

(I am much more liberal, closer to the children and more ready to listen to them) (F/044, youth project leader)

Je suis plus à l'écoute de l'enfant. Je respecte sa personnalité.

(I am more willing to listen to the children. I respect them as people) (F/062, carpenter)

As can be seen from the above three areas of change in the paternal role which are pinpointed by the respondents, the norms of the father-child relationship appear to have developed over the last few decades in a similar way in France and Britain. The respondents in both Britain and France appear to carry out a generally more expressive role within the family than that of their own fathers. Even allowing for the different perspective of the paternal role which may be held by men and their children, the image of the role of the father within the family would also seem to be one of greater involvement and nurturance than that portrayed by the students who took part in the pilot study (see Chapter 3). In general, it appears that men in both countries tend to occupy a less dominant position within the family and are likely to enjoy a closer, more meaningful relationship with their children. While some respondents note that the decline of the traditional framework of discipline complicates the paternal role, others welcome the increase in flexibility of

family relationships. For some men in contemporary society, the adoption of a nurturant paternal role may result in a greater sense of satisfaction than the fulfilment of traditional 'masculine' responsibilities in the employment world. As stated by one respondent:

I love my kids. No matter how hard I try to get a more skilful attitude, I still end up loving them without restraint. I regret all the hours spent becoming a successful teacher, all the hours spent becoming a professional, all the hours spent on my own vanity and egocentricity. I want the time back with the kids. I loved it and want it again and more of it. (GB/008, teacher)

Social expectations concerning the role of the father within the family are evolving towards a model of greater expressivity and nurturance. While the respondent quoted above is atypical in the very high degree of satisfaction which he obtained from his participation in child rearing, many other fathers, particularly in the French sample, maintain that it is generally expected of fathers in the 1980s to participate to a greater extent than the previous generation in the raising of their children. Fathers who do not fulfil this basic expectation may express some feelings of guilt:

J'ai le sentiment d'avoir mal joué mon rôle de père sur le plan affectif, par manque de disponibilité, d'attention, d'écoute, ayant moi-même à assurer mon propre développement.

(I feel that I have not been a very good father on the emotional level, through failing to be available enough for the children, to give them attention and to listen to them, as I have had to take care of my own personal development) (F/023, managing director)

While the role of the father within the family appears to be

changing in a similar manner in both Britain and France, the rate of development of attitudes towards fatherhood is different in each country. An analysis of the general trends represented by the responses of the French and British men reveals that 62.7% of the French respondents claim that they are more involved in child rearing than was the case for their own fathers, while only 39.6% of the British men hold this view. Patterns of male attitudes towards bringing up children seem to be considerably more static in Britain than in France: 37.6% of the British, as against 18.7% of the French respondents, state that they seek to raise their children according to the same guidelines by which they themselves were brought up by their fathers. As was pointed out in Chapter 3, the men in the French sample were in general better educated than the British respondents: it must be noted that this discrepancy between the profile of the two samples may account in part, but not in whole, for the greater changes which appear to have occurred in the paternal role in France than in Britain over the past generation.

There are two main factors which explain the difference between the rate of change in male views about fatherhood in each country. Firstly, on a psychological level, the willingness of the French and British respondents to adopt a more flexible, nurturant mode of parental behaviour is influenced by the specific gender images which are held to be important in each country. The British respondents, adhering to a traditionally rigid conception of masculinity,

may take more pride in stating that they wish to bring up their children in a similar way to that in which they themselves were raised. Considerably more British than French respondents, for example, maintain that they are anxious to transfer to their children the principles which were instilled in them by their own fathers. The French men, to whom the preservation of the conventional image of masculinity is relatively less salient than that of femininity, appear to ascribe less importance to the transfer of parental ideologies from father to son. More willing to experiment with new 'non-masculine' forms of paternal behaviour, they may find it easier than their British counterparts to become closely involved in the rearing of their children.

The second factor which is linked to the different rate of development of male views about fatherhood concerns the general nature of social change in France and Britain. As noted in Chapter 4 and illustrated in Appendix II (A Historical Outline of some Major Social and Legislative Developments in Women's Rights in Britain and France from the late Eighteenth century to the Early 1980s), the increase in women's personal autonomy has tended to occur at a later stage and in a more 'revolutionary' fashion in France than in Britain. This is particularly evident in relation to the period from the 1930s to the late 1980s, which covers the core time span of paternal behaviour demonstrated by the respondents and their fathers. Over the past five decades

male and female roles in France have developed from a position of stark inequity, highlighted most clearly by the ineligibility of French women to vote until 1945, to a situation in the 1980s where the introduction of comprehensive family and child care provisions have created the conditions for greater gender equality in French than in British society. Over recent generations, more radical developments have taken place in social measures concerning gender in France than in Britain: it is therefore to be expected that a more striking contrast might be evident between the views of respondents and their fathers within the French sample. This contrast, evident in the marked difference in the percentage of fathers in each sample who claim to be more involved in child rearing than their own fathers, is intensified in particular by the contemporary availability of legislative provisions for men as fathers in France but not in Britain. While, as noted in Chapter 4, the existence of policy measures for fathers does not in itself mean that all men concerned will necessarily become more nurturant parents, as will be shown below, it is conducive towards a general raising of social expectations concerning men's role within the family.

As is demonstrated in the above section, male perceptions of the paternal role appear to have undergone some modification between the generation of the respondents' fathers and that of the French and British men themselves. While the analysis of men's attitudes towards the ten general statements about

parenthood shows that few respondents question the basic gender-stereotyped division of family roles, it is clear that within this traditional dichotomy the nature of the paternal role is changing. Both British and French fathers in the 1980s are likely to enjoy a closer, more nurturant relationship with their children than that which they themselves had with their own fathers. In contemporary society, intimate father-child interaction frequently begins as early as the first few moments of an infant's life: for this reason the third and final dimension of the paternal experience examined in this section concerns men's behaviour and attitudes around the time of the birth of their children.

A comparison of the rates of attendance of the respondents at the birth of their children and the general attitudes of the French and British men towards paternal attendance at childbirth, examined within the context of the first dimension of this section, illustrates the effect of recent developments in hospital regulations concerning fathers in the labour ward. As noted in Chapter 7, social and medical opinion in the 1980s largely favours paternal presence during labour: this is reflected in the finding that 86.7% of the French and 79.2% of the British respondents uphold the principle of the attendance of the father at the birth of his child. Table 8.1 indicates, however, that over the past three decades considerably fewer of the French and British men were actually able to be present at the birth of their children. Attendance at birth is closely related to the age

of the respondents' children: fathers whose children were born in the 1960s or earlier are likely to state that they attended no births, having been prevented from doing so by hospital conventions.

The comparatively higher level of support of the French respondents for the concept of paternal attendance at birth is replicated and intensified within the real life situation: as can be seen from Table 8.1, far more French than British fathers had been present at the birth of each of their children. This marked discrepancy between the attendance patterns of the French and the British respondents is clearly related to the very different official attitudes towards paternity leave which are evident in each country in the 1980s. In France, paid paternity leave of three days within a period of one week before and one week after the birth is guaranteed under Articles L-562 to L-564 of the Social Security Code. There are no eligibility requirements regarding issues such as length of employment. In Britain, on the other hand, no statutory provisions for paternity leave have as yet been introduced. As is evident from Table 8.1, in which the vast majority of the French respondents are shown to have attended the birth of each of their children, the availability of paternity leave measures creates a situation in which it is socially accepted or perhaps even expected that a father should be present during childbirth. On the other hand, the absence of paternity leave provisions means that fathers may be deterred by factors such as a



Table 8.1

Rate of Attendance of Respondents at the Birth of  
their Children (in percentages)

	Britain N=101	France N=75
Present at no births	24.8	17.3
Present at some births	29.7	16.0
Present at all births	38.6	64.0
Medical problems (preventing attendance)	5.0	-
Not applicable (e.g. child adopted)	-	1.3
No Response	2.0	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0

potential loss of pay or the disapproval of their employers from taking time off work to attend the birth of their children. Table 8.1 shows that more British than French respondents had not attended the birth of any of their children. A higher percentage of the British than of the French fathers had also been present at the birth of only one or some of their children: in many cases the British men appear to have attempted to reconcile work and family responsibilities by attending the first, but not subsequent, births. Unlike French fathers, who are guaranteed at least a brief opportunity to participate in the early life of each of their children, British men may be forced to weigh up employment and financial considerations before deciding if they can afford to attend each birth.

The conflict between work and family commitments may be especially severe for men in lower occupational groups. As noted by Bell et al. (1983) in an EOC-sponsored study of the leave taken by British fathers around the time of the birth of their children, men in manual occupations are twice as likely as non-manual workers to lose pay by taking paternity leave. This discrepancy is mirrored in the present study by the relationship between social class and attendance at birth: particularly within the British sample, fathers in manual occupations are more likely than men in other groups to have attended the birth of none of their children. As was shown in Chapter 4 and at numerous other points throughout this study, change in male roles appears to be slowly

filtering down from the higher to the lower occupational groups of society. The current lack of paternity leave provisions in Britain thus has serious implications for future changes in men's roles as a whole: predominantly affecting fathers in manual occupations, it reinforces traditional patterns of behaviour in those social groups which are in greatest need of exposure to contemporary theories about the flexibility of gender roles.

As is evident from the juxtaposition of the attendance rates of the British and French respondents at the birth of their children, the absence or existence of statutory paternity leave provisions creates a basic framework which influences the behaviour of fathers in each country. Over and above each national framework of official policy for fathers, however, the attitudes of individual employers may vary: in both France and Britain, a minority of employers recognize men's increasingly important role within the family by providing leave allowances over and above the contractual arrangements prevalent within each national context. Table 8.2a demonstrates that, while the principle of paternity leave for fathers may not have been officially ratified in Britain, 18.8% of the British respondents are provided with some type of paternity leave allowance by their employer. In general, the voluntary paternity leave arrangements described by the British respondents fall far short of the French statutory leave entitlement, consisting in most cases of only one day's absence from work in order to attend the birth. In

accordance with the higher profile given to social policy measures for fathers in France, Table 8.2b shows that paternity leave provisions voluntarily enhanced by French employers may be relatively generous: in addition to the vast majority of the French sample who benefit from the statutory three-day period of leave, 9.3% of the respondents are provided by their employers with five or more days of paid leave at the time of the birth of their child. The comparison of the periods of leave granted by employers in France and Britain demonstrates the inadequacy, in so far as male roles are concerned, of the British approach towards social policy in the 1980s, which holds that issues concerning the family should be governed by individual decisions rather than by legislation. Motivated by economic concerns, employers who are not required to do so by law are unlikely to provide adequate periods of paid paternity leave for their employees.

The existence of a statutory paid paternity leave scheme in France makes it much easier for French than for British men not only to attend births, but also to spend time in establishing a relationship with their newborn infants. The entitlement to paternity leave enables fathers, if they so wish, to temporarily relinquish their responsibilities in the employment world and to focus their attention on the integration of a new baby into the family unit. As is apparent from Table 8.3, the British respondents are less likely than their French counterparts to allow the birth of a

Table 8.2a

Provisions made for Paternity Leave by Employers  
in Britain (in percentages)

	Britain N=101
No provisions made	58.4
Some provisions made	18.8
Don't Know	5.0
Self-employed	11.9
Not Applicable	2.0
No Response	4.0
	-----
Total	100.0
	-----

Table 8.2b

Provisions made for Paternity Leave by Employers  
in France (in percentages)

	France N=75
Statutory 3 days	70.7
5 working days or more	9.3
Don't Know	6.7
Self-employed	6.7
Not Applicable	1.3
No Response	5.3
	-----
Total	100.0
	-----

Table 8.3

Amount of Leave taken by Respondents at the Time of  
the Birth of their Children (in percentages)

	Britain	France
	N=101	N=75
No time off work	16.8	8.0
1 day off work	8.9	6.7
2-3 days off work	19.8	54.7
1 week off work	36.6	22.7
Over 1 week off work	12.9	2.7
Not applicable	2.0	-
No Response	3.0	5.3
Total	----- 100.0 -----	----- 100.0 -----

child to disrupt their work schedules: over twice as many British as French fathers took no time off work when their children were born.

As is shown in Table 8.3, a considerably higher percentage of the French than of the British respondents took two to three days off work around the time of the birth of their children. The provision of paternity leave, as illustrated by the French case, appears to engender a peak of paternal involvement with young babies during the first few days following the birth. The establishment of a set period of paternity leave clearly encourages involvement for men who might otherwise have little inclination to take time off work when their children are born.

It is interesting to note, however, that the quantification of a socially 'acceptable' level of paternal involvement may in some cases discourage fathers from participating in child care for a period longer than that stipulated by paternity leave regulations. This possibility is illustrated by the finding that 49.5% of the British respondents took leave of one week or over, while only 25.4% of the French fathers extended their statutory leave allowances to this extent. The juxtaposition of the periods of paternity leave taken by respondents in Britain and France, countries in which vastly different attitudes towards social policy for fathers prevail, highlights the problems posed by the issue of devising legislation which adequately provides for men's role within the family. The provision of paid paternity leave

entitlements is clearly desirable if men in contemporary society are not to be pressurized by financial considerations into putting employment commitments before their family responsibilities. Legislative provisions for paternity leave ought nevertheless to fulfil two aims: firstly, they should be flexible enough to provide for adequate periods of father-child interaction; and secondly, they should be regarded not as definitive yardsticks for male contributions towards child care, but simply as basic guidelines which lay the foundations for further involvement on the part of the father.

Official Attitudes Towards Social Policy Provision for Fathers in Contemporary France and Britain: Paternity Leave, Parental Leave and Leave for Family Reasons

As exemplified by the above examination of the availability of paternity leave for the British and French respondents, official approaches towards social policy for fathers are very different in contemporary France and Britain. Attitudes about legislation for fathers are closely influenced by the history and development of general family policy provision in each country. As noted by Hilary Land and Roy Parker (1978), family concerns have traditionally been considered as a private matter in British society. While social provision has been developed for individuals who are in need of aid or protection, state intervention in the form of legislation is largely regarded as inappropriate for the 'normal' family



unit. In contrast to the British non-interventionist approach, official attitudes in France have consistently favoured the establishment of a system of comprehensive and integrated family policies. As stated by Nicole Questiaux and Jacques Fournier (1978), concern for the rapidly falling birth rate in France after World War I led to the adoption of a social programme which openly supports the institution of the family, providing financial benefits and services designed to encourage childbearing and family life.

Situated within the context of family policy, there are three main types of provision which are available for fathers in contemporary Europe. Before discussing these, it is important to define briefly what each of the categories entails: as pointed out by Peter Moss (1986), confusion sometimes arises since terms such as 'paternity' and 'parental' leave tend to be used loosely and interchangeably. Firstly, paternity leave entitles male employees to take a short period off work in order to attend the birth of their child and to help integrate the newborn infant into the family. Secondly, parental leave, which is available to both men and women, enables employees to take time off work to provide full-time care for their child once maternity leave has ended. Thirdly, leave for family reasons permits employed parents to take a certain number of days off work each year to care for a sick child or to deal with other pressing family matters.

The attitude of the state in contemporary Britain and France towards paternal participation in child rearing is in accordance with the general development of social policy in each country which was outlined above. In Britain, no statutory provisions for any of the three main categories of leave have been implemented. As is demonstrated by the responses of the British fathers, only a small minority of men in Britain are likely to possess the benefit of paternity leave provisions voluntarily introduced by their employers. Nationally, the percentage of fathers who have access to paid paternity leave may be even smaller than that recorded by the British sample examined in this study. In 1979, for example, during his attempt to introduce a House of Commons Bill entitled 'Equal Opportunities for Men', the Member of Parliament for Leicester West, Greville Janner, estimated that only three per cent of British employers provided paternity leave for their employees (Parliamentary Debates (Hansard), House of Commons Official Report, 31 January 1979: col. 1494). Most British employers, as noted by a number of respondents in the present study, maintain that fathers who wish to take leave at the time of the birth of their children should use holiday entitlement to do so. British employers extend their lack of concern for men's family role to the issues of parental leave and leave for family reasons: as stated by a number of British respondents, fathers who temporarily give up work in order to care for a young child have no legal entitlement which ensures that their job is kept open for them, and men who take a day off work to care

for a sick child are unlikely to be viewed with sympathy in the workplace.

In contrast to the situation in Britain, many men in contemporary France may take advantage of social provisions in each of the main three categories which facilitate the reconciliation of family and employment roles. Firstly, as explained above, a basic three-day period of paid paternity leave is available to all French fathers. Some employers also provide for an extended period of leave. Secondly, parental leave, lasting either three years (full-time) or six years (part-time), is open to fathers in households where both partners are in paid employment. The allowance of parental leave may be taken by one partner or shared between the two members of the couple. One basic condition is attached to this provision: fathers may only take advantage of the leave entitlement if their partners do not wish to use it. Parental leave, unpaid if there are two or fewer children in the family, is paid on the basis of a low flat-rate allowance if there are three or more children present. Thirdly, an allowance for time off work for family reasons, consisting of six days unpaid leave for each partner in a two-parent household and twelve days for single parents, is available to all French men and women who are employed in the public sector.

As can be seen from the above summary of provision for leave, official attitudes towards the desirability of introducing

social policy measures for fathers are markedly different in France and Britain. As far as countries belonging to the European Community are concerned, however, the unification of regulations regarding family leave allowances for men is imminent. On 11 February 1981, the European Parliament adopted a resolution concerning the situation of women in Member States, in which the desirability of a harmonization of laws and practices related to family policy was emphasized. Two years later, on 9 June 1983, the European Parliament adopted a further resolution which stressed the specific need for priority to be given to the development of parental leave. As a result of these two resolutions, a detailed proposal for the introduction of parental leave and leave for family reasons in European Community countries was submitted to the Council of Ministers in November 1983. Within this proposal, the importance of men's contribution to child rearing is implicitly recognized by the basic condition that male and female employees should have access to an individual and equal period of leave which is not transferable from one partner to another. Women are no longer regarded as possessing an exclusive entitlement to leave from employment in order to care for a young child and are not permitted to reinforce a gender-typed division of roles by 'borrowing' the period of leave allocated to their partner. As stated in a House of Lords Select Committee report on the EEC proposals for parental leave, 'A central feature of the draft directive is the equal rights and responsibilities it gives to men' (House of Lords Select

Committee on the European Communities, 1985: xix).

Subsequently a process of amendment resulted in the clarification of some points regarding eligibility and the mode of operation of the leave entitlement. The draft directive of November 1983 was re-submitted to the Council of Ministers in November 1984. This revised proposal, substantially similar to the previous directive, provides for a minimum parental leave period of three months per employee, an entitlement which may be enhanced by individual Member States. Any allowance paid to workers on leave would be drawn from public funds. Leave for family reasons is also covered by the directive, although no minimum period of leave allowance is stipulated. As in the case of parental leave, the entitlement to leave for family reasons applies equally to men and women. Payment for this category of leave, unlike that for parental leave, is to be provided by employers.

While the leave provisions currently available in France for men as parents go some way towards meeting the conditions of the 1984 European Community draft directive on parental leave, the lack of statutory measures in contemporary Britain is in flagrant opposition to EEC guidelines. The tenacity of the traditional British view that family issues should be a private matter is demonstrated by the objections lodged by a number of British organizations against the EEC proposals for parental leave. Submitting evidence to the House of Lords Select Committee convened to examine the EEC parental

leave proposals, the Department of Employment maintained that the draft directive was unnecessary, stating that "the proposals...are misguided and would do more harm than good" (House of Lords Select Committee on the European Communities, 1985, Minutes of Evidence, 2). Similarly, the Confederation of British Industry presented a particularly detailed list of criticisms which categorized the draft directive as "costly ...a threat to the competitiveness of industry" and "yet another example of misguided and ill-timed 'social engineering'" (ibid., Minutes of Evidence: 11). Within the context of the House of Lords appraisal, the most frequently mentioned objection to the introduction of the EEC parental leave proposals was the cost to British industry which such measures would allegedly incur. Several major employers' federations, such as the British Bankers' Association and the Local Authorities Conditions of Service Advisory Board, supported the objections raised by the Department of Employment and the CBI on the grounds of the possible cost and disruption to employers which parental leave provisions would entail.

While financial considerations appear to represent the major stumbling-block to the adoption of the European Community parental leave proposals in contemporary Britain, it is recorded in the review of the evidence presented to the House of Lords that 'The Committee received no estimates on any aspects of costs, direct or indirect' (House of Lords Select Committee on the European Communities, 1985: xxiv). For

this reason the Committee concluded that the alleged cost to the British government of introducing parental leave provisions appears to have been exaggerated. As noted by Fraser Davidson (1986) in an article which examines the British response to European Community parental leave proposals, the take-up rate of any parental leave allowance is likely to be relatively low, since entitlement to such a provision would necessarily be limited to those couples in which both partners work outside the home, are not self-employed and have completed a period of service qualification with a single employer.

It is evident from the above indications that cost is not the sole factor which prohibits the British government from introducing social policy measures which would enable more fathers to participate in the rearing of their children. The Thatcher government of the 1980s disputes the basic premise, upon which the EEC proposals are founded, that legislation is a suitable vehicle for the promotion of parental leave facilities. The non-interventionist stance traditionally adopted by the British state is evident in the comments made by John Lee, a Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, at a recent conference on parental leave which was organized jointly by the Confederation of British Industry and the Equal Opportunities Commission:

We are fully behind the Sex Discrimination Act and Equal Pay Act which provide a full legal framework for the elimination of Sex Discrimination and the promotion of equal opportunities. ...We recognize, however, that there is a limit to what can be achieved by legislation and this, indeed, is

perfectly illustrated by the issue of child care. ...We believe that it is for employers and employees to determine their own arrangements, taking into account each others' priorities, needs and circumstances. (Lee, 1986: 1,7)

The official British governmental position regarding the 1984 EEC directive on parental leave was formally recorded in the House of Commons by the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Employment, Peter Bottomley, who asserted that:

...reconciling child care with employment is not a problem to which there is a single solution suitable to be imposed by legislation. ...These matters are best dealt with between employers and employees according to ...what they can afford. (Parliamentary Debates (Hansard), House of Commons Official Report, 26 November 1985: col. 832)

#### The Views of Men on Social Policy Measures for Fathers

As explained in detail in the previous section of this chapter, there is a wide discrepancy between official attitudes in contemporary France and Britain towards social policy provision for men as fathers. The governmental viewpoint adopted by a particular country does not, however, necessarily represent the opinions of those who live there: for this reason the French and British men were questioned about their attitudes towards the stance currently prevalent in their society in relation to leave provisions for fathers. The views of the British and French respondents are analysed through the use of two parallel sets of questions, each designed to refer to the current position regarding legislation in one particular national context. As the subject of parental leave is largely covered by the questions



concerning role reversal which are examined in Chapter 5, attention in this section is focused primarily on the issues of paternity leave and leave for family reasons.

An analysis of the views of the French and British respondents about leave provisions for fathers demonstrates that the marked cross-national differences which exist at government level are not replicated within the personal sphere. In both samples, the majority of the respondents favour the provision of social policy measures which enable men to take a more active role in the rearing of their children. Table 8.4b shows that the statutory paternity leave scheme which currently exists in France is supported by a large proportion of the French fathers. Criticism of the scheme is mainly on account of its limited length: a number of the French respondents state that they would like to have at least two weeks off work at the time of the birth of their children. Only three fathers in the entire sample consider a paternity leave scheme to be unnecessary: in each case these men have partners who do not work outside the home and who consequently take full-time responsibility for child rearing.

The support accorded by the French respondents to the concept of paternity leave is echoed in the responses of the British fathers, the majority of whom favour the introduction of a paternity leave scheme in Britain. Table 8.4a indicates that a total of 82.1% of the British men would like statutory leave provisions to be established, with almost half of these respondents opting for a leave entitlement of one working

Table 8.4a

Views of the British respondents on the Possible Introduction of a Statutory Paternity Leave Scheme in Britain (in percentages)

	Britain	N=101
No scheme should be introduced	14.9	
Leave of 5 working days or more should be provided	36.6	
Leave of 4 working days or less should be provided	45.5	
No Response	3.0	
Total	100.0	

Table 8.4b

Views of the French respondents on the Statutory Paternity Leave Scheme currently Available in France (in percentages)

	France	N=75
Not aware of current scheme	8.0	
Believes current scheme to be unnecessary	4.0	
No Opinion	8.0	
Approves of current scheme as it is	48.0	
Approves of current scheme, but believes it should be enhanced	9.3	
No Response	22.7	
Total	100.0	

week or more. This high rate of support for paternity leave legislation is in accordance with the findings of Bell et al. (1983), who state that 91% of the fathers in their sample, interviewed a few weeks after the birth of their child, would welcome the introduction of paternity leave. As in the case of the study carried out by Bell et al. (1983), personal characteristics such as age, occupational status and family size have little effect on the views of the British respondents. Despite the official non-interventionist stance of the British government regarding family policy, the introduction of paternity leave provisions clearly appeals to a broad spectrum of fathers in British society.

The support demonstrated by the majority of the French and British respondents for the principle of paternity leave legislation reflects the finding, noted in the first section of this chapter, that men's interest in child rearing tends to be particularly high during the period initially following the birth. As noted by Entwisle and Doering (1981), men may regard child care as a novel and consequently enjoyable activity in the first few days of an infant's life: at a later stage, involvement in child rearing is likely to hold less attraction for many fathers. This is demonstrated in the present study by a comparison of the respondents' views about paternity leave and leave for family reasons. Table 8.5a shows that, while the majority of British respondents believe that men should be entitled to take leave to care for a sick child, opposition to this proposal is considerably

Table 8.5a

Views of the British Respondents on the Possible Provision of Leave for Family Reasons in Britain (in percentages)

	Britain
	N=101
<hr/>	
Fathers should be entitled to take leave to care for a sick child	70.3
Fathers should <u>not</u> be entitled to take leave to care for a sick child	25.7
No Response	4.0
Total	----- 100.0 -----
<hr/>	

higher than in the case of paternity leave. One in four of the British fathers maintain that it is not the duty of men, but of women, to look after a sick child. Rejection of the entitlement of men to take leave for family reasons is apparent even when such a measure has already been partially introduced: as can be seen from Table 8.5b, the vast majority of the French respondents, including those who are employed in the public sector, have never taken leave to care for a sick child. This finding reinforces the results of a French study of family roles carried out by Andrée Michel (1984), who estimates that only a very small percentage of men in France are likely to take responsibility for the care of a sick child.

As is apparent from the findings of this chapter, a complex relationship exists between men's personal experience of fatherhood and the provision of social policy measures designed to encourage fathers to participate in child rearing. Men's evaluation of the paternal role has changed over the past few decades: the majority of the French and British respondents carry out a more nurturant role within the family than was the case for their own fathers. In this they have been supported by gradual developments in social and medical policy regarding men's role within the family. The rate of change in paternal attitudes and behaviour is, however, dependent on the extent of family policy provisions which are available within a particular society: as noted by the American researcher Rivka Eisikovits (1983), the lack of

Table 8.5b

Take-up Rates of Limited Leave for Family Reasons Scheme  
which is Currently Available in France (in percentages)

France

N=75

---

Respondent has previously taken leave to care for a sick child	18.6
-------------------------------------------------------------------------	------

Respondent has never taken leave to care for a sick child	70.1
--------------------------------------------------------------------	------

No Response	9.3
-------------	-----

Total	----- 100.0 -----
-------	-------------------------

---

a specific fatherhood policy framework is likely to hinder the involvement of many men who might wish to participate in child rearing. This implication is clearly illustrated by the juxtaposition of official attitudes towards social policy measures which exist in contemporary Britain and France. While the majority of respondents in both countries favour policy provisions which enable fathers to become more involved with their children, the practical opportunity for men to carry out a nurturant role is widely different in each society. On the one hand, French fathers have at their disposal a basic policy framework which enables them, if they wish, to develop their family roles without abandoning their employment responsibilities. British men in contemporary society, on the other hand, do not have recourse to policy provisions which might help them to reconcile work and family commitments.

It is evident from the comparison of the rate of change in paternal roles in France and Britain that the introduction of adequate social policy measures for fathers is imperative in contemporary society. As noted by Sheila Kamerman (1983), the increase in the flexibility of gender roles in modern society requires that formal support should be provided for women in the employment world and for men within the family. Similarly, Roeber (1987) states that the provision of social policy measures for fathers may ease the stress and conflict commonly experienced by both men and women who attempt to reconcile work and family responsibilities.

The findings of the present study indicate that a solution to men's work-home conflict is not, however, wholly provided by the type of policy measures currently available in countries such as France. While encouraging fathers to demonstrate a short period of involvement around the time of the birth of their child, these provisions have little effect on longer term involvement in infant care or on paternal participation at a later stage in the child's life. If men are truly to be afforded the choice to become more nurturant parents, a radical reassessment of the entire social sphere of work and family responsibilities will be necessary. This issue will be pursued in Chapter 9, which analyses the future for men's role in society by examining educational, social and legislative developments which could help French and British men to attain greater flexibility in their attitudes and behaviour.



Changing Men: The Future for Male Roles in France and Britain

The majority of both the British and the French respondents in the present study carry out a basically traditional masculine role in society, as is apparent from the findings of Chapters 4 to 8. Men in both national samples tend to be the primary breadwinner within the home, to take only a minor part in child rearing and household tasks and to be in favour of a relatively gender-specific division of male and female roles in society. Nevertheless, as in the case of Jackson's (1983) study of one hundred British first-time fathers, evidence of new developments in male attitudes and behaviour is visible at numerous points in the responses of the French and British men. Over time, men's attitudes towards their children appear to be becoming more nurturant and expressive. This change is exemplified particularly by the discrepancy between the methods of child rearing adhered to by the fathers of the British and French respondents and the degree of participation of the respondents themselves in the lives of their children. The fathers of the respondents, bringing up their children from the late 1920s onwards, appear to have held a markedly more distant, authoritarian and severe attitude towards their children than that demonstrated by the sample of French and British fathers of today. The effect of changing social patterns on men's roles within the family

is most apparent within the younger and more highly-educated cohorts of British and French men, who are likely to show evidence of relatively egalitarian attitudes towards women and to demonstrate nurturant behaviour in interaction with their children.

The gradual movement away from rigidly traditional patterns of male behaviour bears witness to a slow transition in social expectations about men's roles which is taking place in contemporary France and Britain. This change in attitudes towards what are considered by men to be acceptable masculine roles nevertheless lags far behind the everyday reality of male behaviour in the 1980s. As has been noted by writers in both Britain and France (Lascoumes, 1978; Evans, 1985), the developments which have occurred in women's roles since the 1960s are so extensive that they might be thought to necessitate a complete re-evaluation in the conventional division of labour between members of a couple. The most typical model of roles within the families of both the French and the British respondents is one in which women have taken up paid employment in addition to their already heavy burden of homemaking and childrearing responsibilities. As noted in Chapter 4, men would have to add a substantial share of responsibility for home-centred tasks to their employment role if an equilibrium of labour within the family unit were to be established. According to the cultural lag theory (Eisikovits, 1983), change of this magnitude, if it occurs at all, will take some time to become perceptible in male roles.

While developments in the economic subsystems of a particular culture, such as the entry of women into paid employment, may take place relatively quickly, changes in the ideological and social subsystems which concern personal or family roles are likely to occur at a much slower rate.

The place of men within society, which, as noted above, is beginning to slowly undergo change, has become a popular focus of research on gender roles in contemporary France and Britain. Writers in both countries have stressed the importance of charting the developments which men as a social group are experiencing in the post-feminist era (Cunningham, 1985; Devreux and Ferrand, 1986). In this they echo the views of the American writer Betty Friedan (1983), who argues that, in the wake of the social transformation effected by the women's movement in the 1960s and 1970s, the new frontier for gender liberationists in the 1980s is to change men's roles by freeing them from the limitations of the traditional masculine stereotype. In considering the suggestions put forward by writers such as the above, it is important to pay attention to the often disregarded issues of the reasons behind and aims of change in male roles. Change simply for its own sake, or because it appears to be the next logical step in the progression of development of gender roles, has little practical purpose. The solution to the problem of the inequality of gender roles within the family and in society as a whole is not to suggest that all men should try to adopt any specific new pattern of behaviour:

this would simply be likely to result in the creation of a new masculine stereotype. Instead, as stated by Lamb et al. (1987), the most appropriate goal for researchers who wish to facilitate change in men's behaviour would be to promote a greater degree of equality and interchangeability in the roles of both sexes, so that men and women will individually have access to more choice in the way they organize their personal and family lives.

As was shown by the quotations from the respondents on the subject of future changes in gender roles (see Chapter 4), many of the men in both the French and the British samples would seem to experience conflict between their family and employment roles. On the one hand, most of the men are attempting to become more involved in the rearing of their children than was the case for their own fathers, yet on the other hand they are limited in their participation by the traditionally heavy masculine commitment to their jobs outside the home. The problems of role conflict which may be experienced by men in modern society are illustrated, in particular, by the statement of one of the British respondents (GB/004, managing director) quoted in Chapter 4, who maintains that it is important for fathers to be involved in the care of their children, yet points out that it is very difficult for them to stay at home to look after a sick child as their company would not be able to operate if they did not turn up for work. It is not only men in contemporary French and British society who experience role strain of this

kind: studies of female roles (Finch, 1983; de Singly, 1987) have shown that women, particularly in Britain, are likely to experience even more serious difficulties than men in successfully combining their occupational and family responsibilities. As noted by many of the supporters of the androgyny theory mentioned in Chapter 1 (for example, Perkins-Gilman, 1911; Bem, 1974; Laurent, 1975), an increase in the interchangeability of traditionally masculine and feminine roles could enable both members of the couple to negotiate the division of roles which would most suit their personal situation. If it were to become more acceptable, on a social level, for men and women to carry out roles which were traditionally assigned to the opposite sex, responsibilities could also be exchanged between partners at various stages in the family life cycle, which would help both sexes to develop a broader range of inter-personal and practical skills than is available to them if they adhere to the traditional gender-specific division of male and female roles.

#### A Three-Level Strategy for the Promotion of Flexibility in Male Roles in France and Britain

Gender role flexibility can be defined as the freedom to carry out roles which were traditionally assigned to the opposite sex. It will inevitably take time to facilitate this flexibility in men's place in the British and French society of the future. It is difficult to change the attitudes, and even harder to affect the behaviour, of a

generation of men who have been socialized to conform to the model of traditional gender stereotypes. As noted by Tolson (1977), men have been conditioned to occupy the dominant position in society and may naturally be reluctant to relinquish their traditional roles. Real developments in gender roles will occur, if at all, only over the course of a number of generations. As was evident from the juxtaposition of the responses of the French and British men examined in Chapters 4 to 8, high profile media campaigns for equality, such as those organized by the French 'Délégation à la Condition Féminine', are insufficient on their own and may even encourage some men to revert to traditional views about gender roles if they feel that their own position in society is under threat. In general, more attention needs to be paid to changing men's stereotyped conception of their own roles and abilities rather than simply attempting to improve women's traditionally inferior position in society.

The development of a greater degree of flexibility in men's roles in society will require change to take place on three different levels. Firstly, as was stated in Chapter 8 in relation to fatherhood, it would be helpful if legislation which will provide an enabling framework of equal opportunities for men and women were to be introduced. Although it has been shown in this study that legislation by itself is unlikely to change attitudes, it is necessary that legislative measures should exist so that the equality of the sexes is recognized at a social and governmental level

(Kamerman, 1983). Secondly and more importantly, in order to encourage men and women as individuals to take advantage of legislation which may help them to explore new roles within the family and the employment world, social measures which will enable both sexes to understand the effects of gender stereotyping and social conditioning could be introduced. Lastly and most crucially, educational programmes which will enable parents and teachers to bring up children in an anti-sexist environment could be implemented so that future generations of men and women may be less influenced by the stultifying effects of stereotyping which are evident in many areas of French and British society in the 1980s.

The Introduction of Legislative Measures to Provide a Framework for the Growth of Flexibility in Gender Roles in France and Britain.

In order for greater flexibility in male roles to be achieved, it would be beneficial if a legislative framework could exist which would enable men and women to have equal access, in as far as is possible, to both employment and family roles. As stated by Kamerman (1983) in an article about family policy for men, more legislative support needs to be given to women in their economic role and to men in their parental role. This means that a framework of legislative equality would have to cover both the working and the family lives of men and women in French and British

society. It must be emphasized that the establishment of comprehensive legislation which promotes equality between the sexes is only the very first step towards the development of greater flexibility in male and female roles: specific legislative measures such as those suggested below are only likely to be effective if they are accompanied by long-term social and educational measures, as described later in this chapter, which may help to break down traditional patterns of stereotyped attitudes and behaviour.

As far as the employment roles of men and women are concerned, the process of encouraging equal opportunities has already been initiated in both Britain and France. The progress of equal rights legislation, which has been speeded up in both countries by European Community Directives, is overseen in Britain by the Equal Opportunities Commission and in France by the Délégation à la Condition Féminine. In the mid-1980s, men and women in Britain and France have acquired, in the legal sense at least, equality in relation to their choice of employment and to the pay they receive for it. These basic rights were established in Britain by the Sex Discrimination and Equal Pay Acts (1975), and in France by the "Loi sur l'égalité de rémunération pour les travaux de valeur égale" (act ensuring equal pay for equal work) (1972) and the "Loi sur l'égalité professionnelle entre hommes et femmes" (act ensuring equality between men and women in the workplace) (1983).

Although the provisions mentioned above represent a



significant development in the progress towards equality between men and women in employment, they are not comprehensive enough to ensure that both members of a couple have equal choice in determining which, if any, type of employment role they wish to carry out. At present, particularly in Britain, inequalities in areas such as retirement and pension rights for the two sexes mean that the role of men in the employment world is often valued as more important than that of women. As noted by a number of writers (Drummond, 1985a; Chorlton, 1986), many men in Britain are likely to retire from paid employment at a later age than women, as in the late 1980s there is still a discrepancy between the state pension entitlement ages for the two sexes (65 years for men and 60 years for women). In France the position regarding retirement is more egalitarian: both men and women are expected to retire at the age of sixty. A second area of sex inequality in Britain concerns occupational pension rights which may be extended to the surviving partner if one member of a couple dies. Although payments to widows exist under many pension schemes, equivalent payments to widowers, on the basis of their wives' contributions, are less common: according to Drummond (1985), husbands are in some cases entitled to receive a pension on the death of their employed partners only if they themselves are incapable of working due to age or illness. In the above two examples of discrimination, the role of men as primary breadwinners is assumed to be the norm and couples

may consequently be penalized if they do not adhere to the conventional division of male and female roles. The introduction of legislation which reduces these sex differences in retirement and pension rights within the British context could give both men and women greater freedom in choosing the employment roles which correspond best to their personal requirements.

In comparison with provisions relating to men and women's employment roles, legislative measures which promote equality in the area of family roles are much less in evidence in contemporary society. The results of the present study indicate that men's participation in child rearing is becoming increasingly visible, but that the lack of a comprehensive legislative framework to encourage fathers to take up new roles within the family is preventing progress towards greater equality between the sexes. What appears to be needed, in order to facilitate flexibility in male and female roles within the family, is a legislative policy which does not presuppose that women must necessarily be the primary child rearers and homemakers within the couple. If a greater choice of roles for men and women is to be achieved, it would be helpful if measures could be introduced which would encourage men to share in the traditionally privileged relationship between mothers and their young children (Fein, 1976; Bradman, 1985; Naouri, 1985).

The availability of legislation to facilitate men's role as fathers in France and Britain in the 1980s was examined in

detail in Chapter 8. A comparison of the measures available in the two countries demonstrates that a basic framework of legislation for paternity leave, parental leave and leave for family reasons has been established in France, but not in Britain. The existence of the French legislation, as indicated by the degree of involvement of the respondents in each country in the birth and early life of their children, would seem to have helped French men to participate to a greater extent than their British counterparts in the traditionally feminine area of family roles.

As was indicated in Chapter 8, the French measures are nevertheless limited. In particular, the French statutory three-day period of paid paternity leave is insufficient in that it does not provide enough time for a father to get to know his young baby or to be of much practical support to the new mother. The suggestion of Bell et al. (1983) that men should be entitled to official paid paternity leave of at least ten working days around the time of the birth represents a more satisfactory provision which would be of benefit to both French and British fathers. The contemporary French arrangements for parental leave could also be improved, since at present there is little financial incentive for the father, traditionally the member of the couple with the highest earning power, to take them up. The entitlement to social security rights and a flat-rate allowance, which at present applies only to parents with three children or more, would need at the very least to be

extended so as to cover families with one or two children. If a freer choice in the roles of fathers and mothers is truly to be achieved, financial factors which may discourage the higher-earning partner in a couple from taking parental leave will eventually have to be counterbalanced by a scheme which proposes a viable payment for parents on leave.

In the real world of the 1980s, it is all too evident that demands for long periods of paid paternity leave or higher allowances for parents on parental leave, which would inevitably have repercussions in the economic sector of society, are unlikely to be met in the immediate future. In spite of the inadequacies noted above, it must be stressed that French family policy for fathers does represent an initial step towards helping men to adopt more nurturant roles and provides a basis upon which future enhanced measures can be built. From a Franco-British comparative perspective, the legislative position for parents in French society in the 1980s could serve as an initial example for the introduction of a system of measures in Britain which would increase the equality of roles for men and women within the family. As was shown in Chapter 8, there is nevertheless no concrete indication that British governments, which have traditionally adhered to a system of relatively little intervention in family matters, may be likely to adopt policies which favour family roles in the near future.

In addition to enabling men to take a more active role in the

rearing of their children within the two-parent family, legislative measures to promote equality between men and women would also need to extend to situations in which the family unit has been broken up through divorce. The issue of divorce does not, of course, form a major element of the empirical analysis of the present study, as the vast majority of the respondents in both samples were in two-parent families at the time the study was carried out. A small number of men in both Britain and France (one in the French and two in the British sample) nevertheless note that they had had experience of divorce or separation from their partners at some time in the past, while one of the British respondents (GB/085, teacher) was a single father with sole custody of a daughter aged eight. The fact that these men were, or had been, divorced or separated from their partners is not readily apparent in the profile data of the samples as a whole, as all of the men, with the exception of the British single father, were in new relationships or marriages at the time the study was conducted and therefore responded to the questionnaire with reference to their current family status. The fact that they had been divorced was generally noted either in the section of the questionnaire which dealt with the ages of their children (often in order to explain the presence of two groups of children of vastly different ages) or in the section which allowed the men to provide additional information about their family circumstances.

As is noted by the single father in the British sample, who describes the "tedious confrontations and difficulties" (GB/085, teacher) which he had to overcome in order to prove that he was capable of looking after his child, in both Britain and France custody of children is much more likely to be awarded to mothers than to fathers in divorce cases. Judges in divorce courts, the vast majority of whom are men, tend to adhere to the biologically determined view that the mother-child bond is paramount and must be preserved at all costs. The French lawyer Nicole Prévost-Bobillot (quoted in Mangetout, 1986), who is president of the parental equality group "Le Mouvement pour L'Egalité Parentale", states that the few custody decisions which are made in favour of fathers in French courts are almost systematically quashed if the mother appeals against them. Similarly, in an article on the legal position of British fathers, Nigel Lowe (1982) points out that in the rare cases where fathers are awarded custody, judges are likely to declare themselves unsatisfied with the arrangements proposed and to request that a social services report on the welfare of the child should be carried out. It is clear that in both Britain and France, irrespective of individual circumstances which might make them competent single parents, fathers are discriminated against on grounds of sex in cases of child custody. Concern about the possibility of child sexual abuse, which has received widespread media publicity in the late 1980s, may aggravate further this bias against men as single parents. In general, the viewpoint represented by the French and British legal

system in contemporary society is that men are unsuited to bringing up their children single-handedly.

Against a legislative background which makes it difficult for divorced or separated fathers to take an active part in the rearing of their children, groups which campaign for equality for divorced fathers have been founded in both Britain and France. In Britain, the major national organisation of this type is "Families Need Fathers", while the main French groups which defend the rights of divorced fathers are "La Fédération du Mouvement de la Condition Paternelle" (generally abbreviated to the FMCP), "Le Mouvement pour L'Egalité Parentale" (MEP) and "Le Mouvement pour la Condition Masculine" (MCM). The French groups, in particular the FMCP, are considerably more militant than their British counterparts. The depth of feeling of some French men about the right of fathers to bring up their children is exemplified by the case of Stéphane Ditchév, founder of the FMCP, who spent thirty-seven days on hunger strike in 1982 as a protest against the limitation of access to his two daughters, of whom his wife had custody. Kidnapping of children by non-custodial fathers, which has taken place in France on a few occasions, has also been condoned by the FMCP. While methods such as these are clearly unacceptable, they indicate that French fathers are becoming increasingly frustrated at the apparent inability of the legal system to adjust to men's changing roles in society. This situation is likely to become more serious as men continue to be more

involved in child rearing. Similar problems may also spread to Britain in the future, if the present trend is maintained for British men gradually to abandon their rigid allegiance to the traditional male stereotype.

It is evident that in neither France nor Britain legislative procedures concerning child custody have kept up with new developments in parental roles. It is illogical that fathers should be encouraged to take an active role in child rearing when both parents are present within the home, but that men should immediately be regarded as incapable of bringing up their children if the family unit breaks up through divorce. A thorough investigation of family law in both Britain and France, including in particular a review of gender stereotyping in the implementation of custody and maintenance arrangements for divorced parents, would need to be carried out if men's increasing role in child rearing is to be recognized. As suggested by the French writer Dominique Estève (1981), new permutations in the arrangements for child care, such as the granting of joint or alternate custody to both divorced partners, may provide a solution which increases the flexibility of gender roles by acknowledging the rights of both men and women to bring up their children.

#### The Development of Social Measures to Promote Anti-Sexist Attitudes

While the introduction of legislative practices which promote



equality in the areas of employment and the family will potentially enable men and women to achieve a greater flexibility of roles, behavioural change is only likely to take place if stereotyped pre-conceptions about masculinity and femininity are questioned in contemporary France and Britain. The process of the integration of men into society in nurturant and expressive roles will take time. Although some men, particularly those aged under forty, are beginning to develop new patterns of behaviour, society as a whole has neither explicitly recognised nor encouraged these changes. In both Britain and France in the 1980s, social measures to promote equality could be directed towards three main goals: firstly, to facilitate men's acceptance within the community in their role as child rearers; secondly, to reinforce a new, more nurturant image of men within society; and thirdly, to help men to recognize and deal with the stresses of their masculinity.

If the first of the above three objectives is to be achieved, French and British men will have to be helped to participate in the parenthood process from as early a stage as possible. Even before the arrival of children, men could be encouraged to take an active part in family planning decisions, which in contemporary society are often regarded as solely the responsibility of women (Family Planning Association, 1984). If men know that they have shared in the process of planning the reproductive career of the couple, they may subsequently be more likely to feel responsible for

any children which they and their partner may choose to have. In the 1980s, the implementation of programmes of family planning education for fathers is at a considerably more advanced stage in Britain than in France. This difference reflects the findings of the present study, in which British men are shown, in many respects, to be changing more than their French counterparts in their relationship with women. In October 1984, the British Family Planning Association launched a national year-long campaign entitled "Men Too" which aimed to show men the value of taking an increased share of responsibility in their personal and sexual relationships. The campaign, which has continued into the late 1980s as part of the FPA's broader-based activities, made use of a multi-media approach involving television, local radio, videos, advertising and regional exhibitions. This nationally co-ordinated British programme could serve as an example for the French context, in which information about family planning education for men still tends to be sparse and fragmented.

This cross-national discrepancy is to be expected in view of the historical difference in attitudes towards contraception in France and Britain (see Appendix II - A Historical Outline of some Major Social and Legislative Developments in Women's Rights in Britain and France from the Late Eighteenth Century to the Early 1980s). While the first family planning clinics were set up in Britain as early as 1921, clinics of this type only began to be opened in France in 1961 (and remained

illegal until the "Loi Neuwirth" on contraception was passed in 1967). Due to the pro-natalist stance which has traditionally been adopted in France (Questiaux and Fournier, 1975), public attitudes towards contraception in France remain at an earlier stage of evolution than those in Britain: it is likely to be some time before national family planning programmes such as the high-profile British "Men Too" campaign will be able to be implemented in French society.

While the introduction of social programmes to encourage men to become involved in family planning decisions is important, it is even more imperative for fathers to feel that they have a useful function within the family once a child has been conceived. Pregnancy and childbirth represent the stages of the family life-cycle during which male and female roles are most strictly differentiated. Men, whose role must necessarily be secondary at these stages, frequently feel excluded from the physiological processes taking place in their female partner (Richman, 1982; Jackson, 1983; Bradman, 1985; Seel, 1987). This feeling of male inadequacy when confronted with the female capacity to give life frequently results in the couvade syndrome (Trethowan, 1982). As suggested by Seel (1987), the high incidence of couvade symptoms in fathers in contemporary society may be linked to the fact that men have no publicly visible function to fulfil during the pregnancy of their partner, and unconsciously feel the need to develop physical or psychological symptoms which

demonstrate their impending fatherhood. If French and British men in the 1980s are to be enabled to take a more active role in parenthood, it would be useful if support systems could be developed which demonstrate at a social level that fathers may be involved in parenthood right from pregnancy onwards.

During pregnancy, the impending motherhood of women is confirmed not only by obvious physical changes, but also by social and medical rituals such as regular visits to an antenatal clinic. The period of prospective fatherhood, on the other hand, incorporates few events which help men to conceptualize the important developments which are about to take place in their personal and family status. Despite the availability in some areas of "couples classes" run by organizations such as the British National Childbirth, pre-parenthood education in both Britain and France is still aimed primarily at women. As was noted in chapter 7, many parenthood courses, with the exception of an occasional evening session aimed at fathers, tend to be held during daytime working hours when men, whose family role is still viewed as less important than their employment responsibilities, find it difficult to attend (Seel, 1987). Although there is at present only scant information available about the rate of attendance of men at parenthood classes in France, the few writers who touch on this issue (Grassin, 1987; Kelen, 1987) indicate that French fathers, in accordance with their greater readiness to participate in the

'feminine' area of child rearing, may be more likely than their British counterparts to take part in pre-parenthood education. In a study of first-time fathers, who are likely to be particularly in need of acquiring knowledge about parenthood, Jackson (1983) indicates that many men in contemporary British society may have no experience at all of parenthood education before the birth of their child. Only 9% of the men in Jackson's sample had attended a parenthood class. The men who did attend were either highly-educated and consequently likely to be aware of contemporary thinking about the value of pre-natal paternal involvement, or had flexi-time jobs which meant that they were free from employment commitments during the day. Bias of this type, which predisposes only certain categories of men to take advantage of parenthood education, could be reduced by a number of fairly simple measures. Particularly in Britain, but also in France, programmes of pre-natal education could be developed in which the male partner of each prospective mother is contacted as early as possible in the pregnancy and encouraged to attend a series of parenthood classes which would be held at times when men are likely to be available, such as in the evenings. In order to counteract the problem, noted by Jackson (1983) and Seel (1987), that men frequently feel threatened by the suggestion that they should attend a course on the traditionally feminine topics of pregnancy and child rearing, it would be advisable for at least some of these classes to be open to men only, and to be run by men who are themselves fathers. It is also important that these

fatherhood classes should be held at regular intervals, so that men, like their pregnant partners, would be able to sense that they were making stage by stage progress in the process of becoming a parent.

In addition to programmes designed to help men to become more involved in the pre-natal stage of parenthood, social measures which highlight the function of fathers in the birth process could also be introduced in Britain and France. In contemporary society, most fathers are present at the birth of their child: the figures for paternal attendance have been claimed, in the early 1980s, to be as high as 95% in France (Caillard, 1982) and 92% in Britain (Woollett et al., 1982). In spite of the now common expectation that men will attend the birth of their children, many hospital staff are not yet equipped, on either a practical or an emotional level, to deal with the presence of men in the labour ward. In a number of studies, fathers have reported that they were made to feel superfluous within the hospital setting (Richman and Goldthorp, 1978; McKee, 1980; Perkins, 1980; Brown, 1982). This may be due to the fact that they are considered by medical staff to be of low status in the labour ward and are often forbidden to be present if even routine medical procedures are being carried out (McKee, 1980). They may be left waiting for long periods in hospital corridors, uncertain of what is happening, while administrative and medical tasks concerning their partner are completed (Richman and Goldthorp, 1978).

While fathers in the 1980s may no longer spend the duration of their partner's labour pacing up and down a waiting room, they have not yet been fully accepted within the setting of the birth process. A practical example of the lack of integration of fathers is given by Anne Woollett et al. (1982), who describe the ludicrously unsuitable type of clothing which fathers may be expected to wear during the labour and delivery. In the hospital in which Woollett et al. carried out their study, the protective clothing which some fathers were required to wear took the form of pink and flowery nightgowns. It is clear that fathers facing treatment of this type are unlikely to feel that they have a serious role to play in the labour ward and may therefore fail to be a calm source of support and encouragement for their partner. If the birth of their child is to be a positive experience for both parents, practical facilities which cater for the presence of fathers during labour, such as suitable clothing, efficient information systems and adjoining waiting or refreshment areas are a basic requirement.

Over and above the provision of practical facilities in the labour ward, a development which is likely to help men to feel more involved in the birth of their children is the active participation of the father in the delivery of his child. This practice is gradually becoming widespread in France, where fathers may be encouraged to perform the

symbolic act of separation of the child and the mother by cutting the umbilical cord (Caillard, 1982) or, following the teachings of the obstetrician Ferdinand Leboyer, may be allowed to bath the baby in warm water immediately after the birth (Fontis, 1982). The method of involving the father actively in the birth process in this way is still rare in Britain, probably because of the lack of space on the delivery ward in many British hospitals (McKee, 1980). It is nevertheless shown by many French childbirth experts (for example, Papiernik, 1982; Fontis, 1982; Caillard, 1982) to create a close bond not only between fathers and their newborn infants, but also between the two partners in the birth experience. Additionally, the active involvement of a man in the process of the delivery of his child provides confirmation of his fatherhood status in both a visible and symbolic way. For these reasons it is a development which, already apparent in contemporary France, might also be usefully introduced within the British context.

As noted above, the facilities available in hospitals for fathers at the time of the birth of their child are in many cases limited. The fact that fathers are now permitted to be present in the labour ward nevertheless demonstrates, in itself, that a considerable change in medical and social attitudes towards men's role in the birth process has taken place over the last twenty years (Lewis, 1986). While the involvement of the father at the time of the birth is generally accepted, and even expected, in the 1980s, less



social support is evident for the participation of men at later stages in the family life-cycle. In both French and British society the vast majority of primary child rearers are women: men who seek to take on this traditionally feminine role may find that they are treated with hostility, suspicion, or patronized by their female counterparts. In a study of traditional and shared caregiving couples, Russell (1983) states that fathers who took the major responsibility for child care felt shunned by traditional mothers and excluded from neighbourhood mother and toddler groups. Men who stay at home full-time to look after their children may also suffer from a loss of personal identity (Radin and Russell, 1983) and a lack of status within the family (O'Brien, 1987).

While social acceptance may be hard to achieve for male primary caregivers in a two-parent family, it is even more elusive for single fathers who are likely to be perceived as a sexual and social threat by couples who conform to the conventional division of family and employment roles. This problem is touched upon by the lone father in the British sample (GB/085, teacher), who notes that some female shoppers look at him strangely when he is choosing clothes for his eight-year-old daughter. Similarly, the reaction of society as a whole to men who care single-handedly for their children is illustrated by the French writer and lone father Georges Falconnet (1981), who describes the looks of anxiety which are provoked in those around him when he is seen in public

caring for his young baby. Through comments which are made, he realises that people assess him not as a man who enjoys caregiving and has chosen to look after his young child, but as "un mec plaqué par sa bonne femme avec un lardon sur le bras" (a bloke landed with a kid by his old girl) (Falconnet, 1981: 21). In addition to experiencing social disapproval and suspicion of this type, single fathers may also suffer from a number of more practical problems. Like single mothers, fathers attempting to bring up a child by themselves are liable to experience financial stringency and difficulties in finding child care cover. A problem specific to single fathers is, however, the fact that their masculine upbringing is likely to have endowed them with very little knowledge about running a home and caring for children (Hipgrave, 1982). As stated by a number of researchers, particularly in France (Braitberg, 1979; Ribault, 1980), the introduction of social support systems of various kinds would greatly help single fathers to carry out successfully their role as parents. On a practical level, the setting up of good-quality day care facilities which extend into the evening would release single parents from their constant responsibility for child care and allow them to go to work and to carry out some leisure activities of their own in the knowledge that their children were being well looked after. As was noted in Chapter 8, there are already considerably more day-care places available in France than in Britain (Pichault, 1983): within the British context, the provision of child care support for single parents is therefore

particularly necessary. In addition to these practical facilities, which would help single parents of both sexes to reconcile their employment and family responsibilities, support systems which might facilitate the psychological adaptation of men to the homemaker role could also be introduced in Britain and France. As noted by Dennis Orthner et al. (1976) in an article about single fatherhood, voluntary information classes about child rearing and household management would help men to familiarize themselves with the complex process of bringing up children on their own. Similarly, the formation of babysitting cooperatives by single fathers, in addition to providing child care relief, would establish a network of mutual experience and information upon which men could rely when confronted with problems specific to their role as single fathers.

While measures such as the above are useful in that they would strengthen links between single fathers, who are often socially isolated, it is also important that men rearing a child on their own should be integrated to a greater extent into the community as a whole. Barriers to the acceptance of the single father are visible in many areas of society, from the designation of parent-child groups as open to "mothers and toddlers" to the lack of availability of public facilities where men can feed a baby or change its nappy. The name of one of the largest British chain stores which sells baby clothing and equipment, "Mothercare", has been observed by British men's group members (Men's Free Press,

1980) to be symbolic of the stereotyped attitudes towards child rearing which are evident in modern society. In general, the image of parents and children, as opposed to the stereotyped and culturally prevalent model of the mother-child dyad, will need to be promoted to a greater extent in both France and Britain if the social reality of men as primary child rearers and single parents is to be accepted within the mainstream of public consciousness.

If the role of men as nurturant caregivers is to be facilitated and acknowledged in Britain and France, the traditional image of masculinity will have to develop so as to incorporate qualities of tenderness and affection. This process of development, which will take time, will necessarily involve changes both in society as a whole and on the part of men themselves. On a social level, the image of men which is projected in advertising and the media plays an important part in determining the views of both sexes about what is considered to be appropriate male behaviour. The few studies which have been carried out on the representation of men in advertising or the media indicate that the culturally acceptable model of masculinity in both Britain and France is based on toughness, aggression and power. In an analysis of the portrayal of male sexuality in the British media, Richard Dyer (1985) highlights the use of weapons, such as guns, knives and swords, to symbolize male sexual prowess. Similarly, in a book about male conditioning, the French writers Georges Falconnet and Nadine Lefaucheur (1975) state

that men are pressurized by magazines and advertisements to conform to images of domination and conquest. The analysis of television and magazine advertising in both Britain and France shows that the promotion of consumer goods aimed at men, such as razors, fast cars and many types of alcohol, is particularly likely to draw upon images which conform to the traditionally aggressive, powerful and violent masculine stereotype.

While media image which reflect men as powerful and courageous may on the surface appear harmless, they are likely to reinforce in men aspects of the traditional male stereotype which are dysfunctional in modern British and French society. As noted by Brenton (1967), the aggressive caveman model of masculinity is no longer valid. Men who are continually bombarded with images of male aggression and power, having few satisfactory outlets in their everyday lives for the feelings which they are conditioned to imitate, may display their so-called masculinity in anti-social ways. In Britain, where, as shown throughout the findings of the field study, the pressure for men to conform to the traditional male stereotype is particularly severe, dysfunctional masculine behaviour has been identified as taking the form of hooliganism (Gusterson, 1986), aggression in sport (Shaw, 1986) and dangerous driving (Richards, 1985). If men are to be enabled to choose to carry out a less tough and aggressive role in society, it would be helpful if more caring and expressive models of masculinity could be

cultivated in advertising and the media in France and Britain.

Within the scope of the prohibition of violent and potentially harmful images of masculinity in advertising and the media, the question of pornography deserves special attention. As noted by Andy Moye (1985), the purpose of pornographic material is to confirm in the male reader or viewer, often insecure in his relationships in real life, a feeling of control and dominance over women. The need to resort to pornographic material may be created in many men through the social pressure which conditions men to live up to the traditional male image of power and dominance in at least some area of their relationships with the female sex. Pornography and the traditional hierarchy of power relations between men and women are mutually supportive: as stated by Andrea Dworkin (1981), pornography has historically served as a form of propaganda for the patriarchal model of family relationships. If new and more egalitarian cultural models of masculinity are to be developed in Britain and France, the currently widespread influence of the pornography industry in each country will have to be explored. While many writers (Betzold, 1976; Waynberg, 1978; Gray, 1982; Davidson, 1986) have expressed the hope that men's dependence on pornography could be reduced, few have suggested methods by which this could be achieved. One exception is Deirdre English (1980), who has pointed out that men's interest in pornographic material might diminish if they are made aware that they are

simply being commercially exploited by the pornography industry. In view of the way in which the milder forms of pornography, widely available in Britain and France, have become an integral part of contemporary male culture, it is unrealistic to expect that measures such as this would have any real effect on men's preoccupation with pornography. The psychological support of pornography is likely to become unnecessary for men only when they realize that a new, more egalitarian model of masculine behaviour would not require men to be constantly dominant in their relationships with women.

In order to help men deal with aspects of their male identity, such as the expectation that they will enjoy pornographic material, social measures will have to be developed in France and Britain which not only facilitate the creation of new models of male behaviour, but analyse the effects of conventional stereotyping. Men in contemporary society can be helped in two ways to understand the stresses of the early male conditioning which they have undergone. Firstly, they could be made aware that to succeed in traditionally masculine terms may harm the physical and psychological health of the individual (Isherwood, 1983). As shown by many of the early works on the male role examined in Chapter 1, pressures on men to succeed and to dominate in modern society may lead to stress-related illness such as heart disease. If men seek to develop expressive qualities, freeing themselves from the traditional male adherence to the

achievement-oriented instrumental stereotype, they are likely to reduce the levels of stress which they experience and consequently achieve a healthier and more balanced lifestyle (Belcher, 1986; Edwards, 1986). In the society of the late 1980s, in which public consciousness about healthy living has been raised by the establishment of links between certain lifestyles and disease, social and medical measures specifically aimed at altering male attitudes towards masculinity are gradually being introduced. Well Men's Clinics, which provide an opportunity for men to take stock not only of their state of health but also of their perceptions about the male role (Belcher, 1986), have been set up in a number of areas of Britain. As exemplified by the case of the Castlemilk Well Man Centre, which was one of the first such centres to be set up in Britain and caters for a socially deprived area of Glasgow, the benefit of these clinics is that they have proved effective in reaching men in the less well-educated sectors of society, who tend to be rigidly entrenched in traditional male lifestyles and attitudes. Although no Well Men's Centres have as yet been set up in France, possibly because of the overall tendency of French men to be less rigidly governed than their British counterparts by the conventional male stereotype, the success of the British centres shows that the introduction of similar clinics in France might help to develop more flexible attitudes towards masculinity in the lower, and more traditionally-minded, sectors of the French male population.



In addition to understanding the physical and psychological stresses which are imposed upon the individual by the constraints of the traditional masculine stereotype, men in contemporary Britain and France could also be helped to examine the nature and meaning of masculinity in its wider context so that they will be able to make more informed choices about the role which they wish to carry out within the family and society as a whole. The development of knowledge about masculinity is currently progressing, in both countries, through research on male roles. Many of the findings of academic researchers are quickly conveyed, in a simplified and popularized form, to the general public in France and Britain: in both countries in the 1980s the topic of male roles is accorded a high profile by the media. In general, media treatment of the place of men in contemporary society, although at times sentimental or sensationalized, is beneficial since it draws men's attention to the topic of gender roles and may even encourage them to examine their own attitudes and behaviour.

In relation to the question of the dissemination of information about masculinity in Britain and France, it is important to examine the part played by anti-sexist men's groups in the increase of knowledge about male roles in society as a whole. During the 1960s, social awareness of the constraints of the female role was largely brought about by the actions and writing of women's groups in both countries. It might therefore be logical to hypothesize that

men's groups could serve as a primary source of motivation for an increase in flexibility in male roles in contemporary France and Britain.

Founded in the mid-1970s in the wake of the spreading of men's liberation ideologies from the United States to Europe, men's groups in France and Britain have undoubtedly played a pioneering role in the development of knowledge about masculinity. Differing radically from the traditional type of men's group (Tiger, 1969) which reinforces the masculine stereotype of violence and aggression, men's anti-sexist organizations aim to abolish the sense of jealousy and competitiveness frequently evident in all-male circles and to promote a new sense of caring and involvement in men's relationships with their partners and children. Through the use of the consciousness-raising techniques developed by feminists, members of men's groups are encouraged to explore problems related to their male identity. The success of men's groups in cultivating a more expressive model of masculinity is reflected in comments noted in men's groups publications in the 1980s. One French contributor explains that "Le groupe m'a permis de découvrir qu'il pouvait y avoir autre chose que de la compétition entre nous, qu'il pouvait y avoir de la tendresse, de la compréhension" (The group has enabled me to discover that we men do not have to be rivals, that we can be tender and understanding to one another) (Types/Paroles d'Hommes, 1982, 4: 14). Similarly, a British men's group member states "I will remember this group - it

has given me courage to know men and be known" (Men's Antisexist Newsletter, 1985, 22: 9). It is evident that, at the level of individual members, men's groups in Britain and France have enabled men to have confidence in developing more flexible patterns of behaviour. In men's groups publications in both Britain and France, many contributors write about the benefits which they have received from taking on roles which are traditionally regarded as feminine, such as those of a full-time homemaker or child rearer.

Although men's groups may help their members to develop a greater flexibility of roles, it appears at a broader social level that men's group ideologies and publications have little impact on patterns of male attitudes and behaviour as a whole. There are two fundamental reasons for this. Firstly, an ideological problem which has hampered the acceptance of the views of the men's anti-sexist movement in France and Britain is the perceived link between men's groups and male homosexuality. While it is true that many gay men, who naturally reject the traditional patriarchal model of gender relations, are predisposed towards involvement in men's groups, the majority of members of French and British men's groups are heterosexual. If the ideas of the men's movement are to become more acceptable to society as a whole, the traditional misconception, particularly entrenched in British men, that expressive male-male interaction equals homosexuality will have to be overcome. In the late 1980s this will be difficult to achieve: new social problems such

as the arrival of AIDS in Britain and France have created a social climate in which issues linked to any aspect of male-male relationships are likely to be treated with irrational suspicion.

In addition to the above ideological problem, men's groups in both France and Britain are hampered in the dissemination of their ideas by practical difficulties in the distribution of their publications. Men's groups literature in both countries, like many other types of radical publishing, is produced by small volunteer collectives and is dependent on subscription fees and donations for its financial survival. This background of relative instability, added to the fact that many of the contributors and editors have full-time employment and family commitments, has created a situation in both France and Britain in which men's group publications may appear only at irregular intervals or be suspended altogether for a time. No men's group publication has sustained the regular and long-term public profile which would be required for it to gain widespread cultural validity. The major French men's group journal Types/Paroles d'Hommes, professionally and expensively produced, ceased publication in 1984 and only short newsheets have been circulated by the anti-sexist men's movement in France since this time. In Britain the Men's Anti-Sexist Newsletter, which in the early 1980s was a much less professionally produced journal than its French counterpart, has maintained publication into the late 1980s, but at increasingly irregular intervals. Men's

groups are trapped in the vicious circle experienced by many minority interest organizations: they require a more financially stable and regular publishing record in order to attract a larger readership for their ideas, but they do not have the resources to achieve this level of publication. In contemporary society, men's group writings in both France and Britain are available only through men's movement contacts or alternative bookshops: they consequently tend to be read only by men who are already committed to the cause of promoting greater flexibility in male roles. If the ideas of the men's anti-sexist movement in France and Britain are to be more generally acknowledged and accepted at a social level, it is imperative that the circulation of men's group material should be increased. It is nevertheless difficult to suggest how this could be achieved: in addition to the practical dilemma of obtaining financial resources, men's groups, whose aim is to reject masculine values, are unlikely to find it ideologically acceptable to employ the hard-headed commercial techniques necessary in contemporary French and British society if any business venture is to be a success.

#### The Implementation of Educational Measures to Facilitate Future Flexibility in Gender Roles

As in the case of the influence of men's group publications in contemporary Britain and France, some of the social measures outlined above may initially only promote an increase in the flexibility of male roles in a small sector

of the population. Other legislative and social measures examined may require a long period of time in order to have a visible effect on stereotyped attitudes towards gender roles. In addition to comprehensive legislative and social measures, any strategy to introduce greater freedom into male roles in France and Britain must therefore include an educational component so that the widespread flexibility of roles unattainable in contemporary society may become a possibility for men and women in the future. The implementation of educational measures to promote gender equality represents a promising method of achieving greater flexibility in gender roles, since it is relatively easier for the social conditioning of future generations to be influenced than for the stereotyped attitudes of present generations to be revised.

If a programme to promote the flexibility of gender roles through education is to be effective, it must cover every stage of the education system from nursery schools to colleges and universities. It is pointless to attempt to promote equal opportunities at secondary school level, for example, if children have been conditioned in primary school to conform to gender-stereotyped ideas about their roles and abilities. As noted later in this chapter, equal opportunities programmes have been implemented in both the French and the British education systems in the 1980s. While representing a significant development towards the creation of greater gender role flexibility, they are lacking in two

respects: firstly, they do not pay enough attention to the early stages of education, in which children's basic conceptions about gender roles are formed; and secondly, they tend, particularly in France, to over-emphasize the entry of girls into instrumental roles while neglecting the need for boys to be encouraged to take up expressive interests and activities.

When the effect of each stage of the education system upon children is examined, it is evident that the earliest years of education, when a child is attending nursery school, are extremely important. Although children form their first ideas about the roles of men and women from the division of responsibilities which operates in their own families, their entry into the school system provides them with many signals about the roles and capabilities which are typically assigned to each sex in society as a whole. During the nursery stage of education, the major influence which may instil gender-stereotyped views in children is the type of toys with which they are encouraged to play. Studies which have been carried out in the United States, France and Britain on the marketing and sales of toys (Goodman, 1974; Laurent, 1975; Delamont, 1980; Ungar, 1982) indicate that, while toys designed for infants are similar for both sexes, children aged two years upwards are universally expected to follow the traditionally stereotyped division of male instrumental and female expressive roles. Boys tend to be given toys such as construction sets, cars and sports equipment which will

prepare them for the active role which they are traditionally expected to play in adult life, whereas girls are given dolls, craft sets and miniature household items which condition them to the more passive role of child rearer and homemaker. Even a casual observation of toy shops in contemporary Britain and France demonstrates that most toys are packaged and presented in such a way as to conform to this traditional gender-specific divergence of roles. This may lead children to feel that they must make gender-stereotyped toy choices in order to reaffirm their biological sex identity (Laurent, 1975). If presented with cultural models of gender-flexible behaviour, such as pictures of boys and girls playing with non-stereotypic toys, children nevertheless gain more confidence in experimenting with new play patterns (Ashton, 1983). If children in contemporary Britain and France are to be freed from early pressures to conform to traditionally stereotyped roles, teachers in nursery education will have to develop anti-sexist classroom practices and present toys in ways which are attractive to both sexes. Books such as Ninvalle's (1984) collection of anti-sexist drawings would be useful in encouraging gender role flexibility in this way. Links between the home and the school will also have to be strengthened, so that as many parents as possible will be made aware of the aims of the anti-sexist education programme and will be encouraged to reinforce these in the home.

Once children have completed the early stage of nursery



education and enter primary school, an important source of information about gender roles is the written material to which they are exposed. In many traditional stories for children, male and female roles are clearly segregated, with men and boys represented as continually carrying out leadership, protective and dominant roles. School reading schemes may also reinforce gender-specific patterns of behaviour (Lobban, 1975). Although there has been a move towards the abolition of sexist stereotyping in children's literature in the 1980s, the majority of anti-sexist books which have been published in France and Britain concentrate on the depiction of women in traditionally masculine roles. As noted by Russell (1983) and Radin and Russell (1983), there is a widespread lack of material which focuses on men in nurturant, traditionally feminine roles. If the development of more expressive patterns of male behaviour, urgently needed (Lester, 1973; Hemmings, 1985), is to be consolidated in boys at the primary school stage, more books which show that men can be caring and tender will have to be written and included in the education syllabus.

While the ideology of the flexibility of gender roles is only beginning to influence primary school education in France and Britain, equal opportunities policies for secondary schools have already been developed in both countries. As the final stage of the educational process for many pupils, secondary schools in France and Britain have been most directly affected by changes taking place in the employment

world, in which both men and women now have a statutory equality of opportunities. The official approach to the cultivation of role flexibility in secondary schools has a different emphasis in contemporary France and Britain. In France, when the then Ministry of Women's Rights launched a major information campaign to promote equal opportunities in 1984, the emphasis was predominantly on increasing the number of girls in subject areas which lead to a scientific or technical career. In Britain, efforts to promote gender flexibility in secondary schools have focused not only on encouraging girls to study traditionally "masculine" subjects, but also on helping boys to take up "feminine" subjects. In a report on equal opportunities in home economics, the Equal Opportunities Commission (1983a) states that boys should be given positive encouragement to study subjects relating to home management and that teachers of these subjects should ensure that the images projected in their classrooms or teaching material are not biased towards girls. Similarly, in a guide to equal treatment of the sexes in careers material, the Equal Opportunities Commission (1983b) points out that boys should be helped to realize that they are capable of taking up careers which involve qualities of sensitivity and nurturance towards others. Some secondary schools in Britain have followed the recommendations of the Equal Opportunities Commission and have created courses designed specifically to cultivate a more expressive image of masculinity amongst their pupils. Hackney Downs Boys School in London, for example, is one of the first to offer a

"Skills for Living" course which teaches boys not only about child rearing and household management, but also how to express their feelings and to relate to other members of the male sex in a non-competitive way. Courses of this type, in addition to being reported as useful and interesting by many of the boys taking part (Karpf, 1985a), represent one of the most effective measures available to promote a greater flexibility of gender roles: they provide a basis of knowledge and experience for future generations of men to become more understanding partners and more competent child rearers. Despite the obstacle of the more theoretical syllabus traditionally taught in French schools, which does not lend itself as easily as the British system to the introduction of home management courses for boys, it is important that some measures which encourage boys at least to take up non-stereotyped subjects should also be introduced in France. If, on the basis of the educational measures suggested above, boys experience a relatively anti-sexist environment during the nursery and primary stages of their education, their time at secondary school could represent a period in which their non-stereotyped conditioning comes to fruition, allowing them to make freer choices about their future career and family roles.

As has been shown in this chapter, it would be beneficial for men and women in contemporary France and Britain if greater equality and freedom of choice could be achieved in the way in which both sexes organize their employment and family

roles. The unconditional adherence to stereotyped roles stultifies men and women and discourages them from taking up activities and responsibilities which they might find personally enriching. While many of the French and British respondents in this study find interaction with their children enjoyable and fulfilling, they are prevented from taking a highly involved role in child rearing by their traditional masculine commitment to the employment world. If both partners within a couple are to be enabled to benefit from a greater flexibility of gender roles, measures to promote equality will have to be introduced on three levels in contemporary Britain and France. Firstly, legislative measures could provide a basic framework which will enable men and women to have a greater opportunity to carry out roles which were previously considered appropriate for one sex only. Secondly and more importantly, social measures could help to promote more flexible attitudes which will encourage men and women to take up non-stereotyped roles. Lastly and most vitally, educational measures could make it easier for future generations to be freed from the rigidly stereotyped socialization process undergone by most men and women in contemporary society. In the 1980s, some basic advances in the implementation of these three categories of measures are evident in both Britain and France. The development of greater flexibility in male roles is not uniform in either country: in general, France possesses more comprehensive legislative and social measures, while Britain

has implemented a more progressive educational programme towards equality. In both countries the process of development will have to continue, for a considerable time, along the lines suggested if real flexibility is to be achieved in men's roles within the family and society as a whole.

## Conclusion

In this study, the roles of men in contemporary French and British society have been analysed and compared. In Chapters 1 and 2, the findings of previous research dealing with men's place in society were examined in order to provide an overview of developments which have taken place in knowledge about male roles since the beginning of the twentieth century, when the first writings on masculinity appeared. Research on men's roles, which was carried out first in the United States and then in France and Britain, has tended in all cultures to focus on two main aspects, the male-female and the father-child relationship. The first of these areas, men's roles in relation to women, was analysed in Chapter 1, while the second, the interaction of fathers with their children, was discussed in Chapter 2.

In Chapter 1, the ideal image of men, as portrayed in writing on male roles, was shown to have developed, over the past few decades, from that of a fiercely masculine protector of the female sex to that of an egalitarian role-sharer who is aware of the problems inherent in the traditional male role and tries to cultivate the more feminine side of his personality. In both France and Britain, research on the male-female relationship was shown to have developed in a broadly similar direction, focusing successively on traditional gender roles, men's exploitation of women, dysfunctional aspects of the male role and the need for men to develop new modes of

behaviour. Changes taking place at a social level were nevertheless noted to have exercised a significant effect on the development of writing on male roles in each country: the cultural upheaval of the events of the late 1960s in France, which involved the questioning of tradition in many areas of society, provoked an earlier and more radical appraisal of men's roles, around the start of the 1970s, than was evident in Britain. In the final section of Chapter 1, research on men's roles in relation to women was shown to have developed to an increasingly great extent in both France and Britain since the beginning of the 1980s: in general, contemporary research on the male-female relationship in both countries advocates the need for men to work towards a more egalitarian and expressive model of masculinity in the future.

As was exemplified in Chapter 2, the major way in which men in Britain and France can be enabled to cultivate a more expressive image of masculinity is through participating in the rearing of their children. In Chapter 2, the development of research on the father-child relationship was traced. Although Freudian ideologies which give precedence to the mother-child bond were shown to have dominated psychological theory about family roles during the first half of the twentieth century, from the late 1960s onwards men were increasingly depicted in writing on fatherhood as 'capable' of looking after their children. Cultural differences were found to exist in relation to the rate of progress of research on fathers in France and Britain. In the more

family-oriented culture of France, the image of the nurturant 'new' father had become established in works on the paternal role by the late 1970s, while little was written about participant fatherhood in Britain until the early 1980s. Research on the father-child relationship which has been carried out in the mid-1980s was shown in Chapter 2 to demonstrate, particularly in the French but also in the British context, that the obligatory involvement of men in the traditionally maternal aspects of child rearing may not represent as feasible or desirable a goal as it was thought to be in the 1970s. As is noted in the final section of Chapter 2, the most recent developments in thinking about men's involvement in family tasks indicate that an increase in flexibility, as opposed to the total interchangeability of parental roles, is a more practical and realistic goal for fathers in contemporary society. Writers who support this view imply that men need not necessarily attempt to adopt a parental role which is identical to that of the conventional mother, but that it may be more beneficial for the family as a whole if fathers, while cultivating greater freedom to express their feelings towards their children, still retain some aspects of the traditional instrumental role within the home.

The findings of previous research discussed in Chapters 1 and 2 provided a basis of knowledge about masculinity on which the aims and methodology of the comparative empirical study of male roles in Britain and France could be devised. In



Chapter 3, the process by which the study was designed and conducted was described in detail. At the start of the chapter, the initial problems which face researchers in the field of male roles were highlighted. In particular, it was noted that a number of previous researchers had experienced difficulty in gaining access to a sample of male respondents and that men, for reasons such as lack of time and psychological conditioning, may sometimes be unwilling to take part in interview studies. In the light of these considerations, the questionnaire method of data collection was selected for the present study. The towns of Leamington Spa in Britain and Annecy in France were shown, for geographical, economic and cultural reasons, to represent comparable areas for the distribution of the questionnaires. The process of preparation and testing of the French and British questionnaire, throughout which special attention was paid to the issues of linguistic and cultural compatibility, was discussed in Chapter 3, and results of the pilot study which provide a background to the main fieldwork were examined. In the final section of the chapter, the profile data of the respondents obtained in the main study were analysed: the methodological approach used in the survey was shown to have produced a sample of men in both Britain and France who demonstrate a broad range of personal and family characteristics, while not being completely representative of the two populations concerned on a statistical level.

Following on from the discussion of the general

characteristics of the French and British samples in Chapter 3, the analysis of the results of the Franco-British field study was carried out in Chapters 4 to 8. Chapter 4, which covered aspects of men's relationship both with their female partner and with their children, provided a general examination of the underlying perceptions which structure the views of men in Britain and France about male and female roles in society. In this chapter it was shown that, despite the relatively high degree of male awareness, on a theoretical level, about changes which have taken place in gender roles since the 1960s, the majority of men in both the French and the British samples uphold a basically gender-specific division of family and employment roles on a practical level. Many of the men in both countries appear to support a model of roles which places a heavy burden of both family and employment responsibilities on the woman within the couple. While the vast majority of the British and French respondents believe that changes have taken place in women's roles in society and many claim to be in favour of these developments, fewer of the men feel that male roles have changed over the past twenty years. A relatively smaller proportion of the respondents, particularly in the British sample, state that widespread changes in gender roles should take place in the future. In general, it was shown in Chapter 4 that men in both Britain and France tend to accept changes in gender roles if they believe that these will not affect them directly, but that they are less likely to condone developments which will necessitate change in their

own behaviour. The traditionally heavy male commitment to a role in the employment world, in particular, is considered to be an unchangeable fact which many respondents in both countries do not seem to be prepared to question. The introduction of legislation and high-profile campaigns for equality, which are evident particularly within the French context, has not been supported by the implementation of social and educational measures which might encourage change in attitudes to take place at an individual level.

In addition to the general reluctance of respondents in both Britain and France, evident even in those who at the time of the study were full-time homemakers, to bring about definitive changes in their roles, cultural factors specific to each country were shown to exercise a significant influence in maintaining the conventional model of family and employment responsibilities. In the more family-oriented society of France, the expressive, caring image of women is dominant, while in Britain, the strong and aggressive image of masculinity represents the focus of gender stereotyping. In both countries, attitudes towards gender roles are also affected by the personal and family characteristics of each respondent. Even when the varying profiles of the samples were taken into account, age and education were demonstrated to exercise a consistent effect on the perceptions about male and female roles held by the respondents. Younger men in both countries were shown to be more likely than their older counterparts to hold flexible views about gender roles, while

men who had experienced a high level of education were also more likely to support in principle a non-stereotyped division of male and female responsibilities. Although the underlying attitudes of respondents in both countries about men's and women's place in society still tend to favour a gender-specific division of roles, gradual change in men's traditional views was shown in Chapter 4 to be slowly filtering down from the more highly educated sectors of the male population and emerging as social patterns evolve over time in France and Britain.

Once the general views of the British and French men about gender roles had been identified in Chapter 4, a detailed examination of men's attitudes and behaviour in relation to women and children was carried out in Chapters 5 to 8. The relationship between men and women was analysed in Chapters 5 and 6. In Chapter 5, which dealt with the male-female relationship within the couple, the gender-specific view of male and female roles identified in Chapter 4 was also shown to influence the division of responsibilities in individual families. Men tend to believe that the home is the domain of their partner: respondents in both the French and the British sample, even when their partner was in paid employment, were shown to contribute to a much lesser extent than women in the running of the household. This finding confirms the results of a number of French and British studies which focus on female roles, in which male participation in housework is consistently shown to be minor. Men's involvement in

household labour tends to be confined to tasks which involve contact with the masculine world outside the home, which incorporate an element of creativity or which only require to be carried out infrequently.

While men in France and Britain tend to regard the home as a female environment, they were shown in Chapter 5 to view the employment world as a predominantly male domain. Cultural and social changes which permit women to compete on a more equal footing with men in the field of employment appear to reinforce this stereotyped view rather than leading to the development of more egalitarian attitudes: within the French context, in which more women work full-time outside the home, male resistance to the employment of married women is more marked than in the British sample. Female employment is more likely to be accepted by men if it is perceived to be minor in nature and consequently to pose no threat to the traditional male position of dominance in the public domain. The greater degree of support of the British men for female employment must be viewed in the light of the findings that they are also more likely to believe that women wish to work for only 'trivial' reasons and tend themselves to have partners who work only part-time outside the home.

It is shown in Chapter 5 that, in the absence of social and educational measures which might contribute to the raising of awareness about gender stereotyping on an individual level, the respondents' support for gender equality is likely

to vary in accordance with the extent to which the French and British men believe their personal roles to be under attack. This is demonstrated most forcefully by the comparison of the views of the respondents about the principle of role reversal and the possibility that they themselves might participate in such an arrangement. While the majority of both the French and the British men believe that role reversal is acceptable in theory if it suits a particular couple, far fewer of the respondents state that they themselves would be willing in practice to take over the full-time running of the home. There is a considerably more marked discrepancy between the individual attitudes of the French respondents towards the theory and practice of role reversal than in apparent within the British context. It appears that although the consciousness of men in contemporary French society may initially have been raised, in relation to gender issues, by the high profile campaigns carried out by governmental bodies such as the Délégation à la Condition Féminine, the measures which have been implemented in France have not been comprehensive enough to affect social attitudes or educate men about new role possibilities. In relation to the aim of facilitating greater freedom in gender roles, it may in fact be counterproductive to instil in men only a superficial awareness about the issues of men's and women's place in society. Unless publicity measures for equality are accompanied by social and educational policies which can help men to understand the possible benefits for both sexes

of an increase in role flexibility, it is possible that men in contemporary society may feel threatened by what they may regard as feminist propaganda and may attempt to reinforce the traditional division of responsibilities between men and women within their personal situation.

As was shown in Chapter 5, the majority of men in both the French and the British samples support a traditional gender-stereotyped model of male and female roles within the couple. In Chapter 6, the analysis of the issue of stereotyping is extended to the roles of men and women in society as a whole. Patterns of gender stereotyping are shown to be formed in a different way in Britain and France: as was first suggested in Chapter 4, men in the British sample adhere most rigidly to the traditional masculine image, while respondents in the French sample pay greater attention to the conventional feminine image. The resultant concepts which are formed about each sex in France and Britain are nevertheless similar and do not depart from traditional attitudes: men are thought to demonstrate instrumental capacities, while women are assigned expressive qualities. Men are also believed to be suited to occupying a higher position than women in the social and professional hierarchy.

It was shown in Chapter 6 that the perception of women in society appears to be changing at very different rates in France and Britain: a strikingly higher proportion of the French than of the British sample think that women have

become more dominant in recent years. This finding echoes the conclusions of Chapter 5 about male and female roles within the couple: men in France appear to feel much more threatened by the more socially visible changes which are taking place in women's roles and are consequently more likely than their British counterparts to attempt to reinforce a gender-specific division of roles in society. This cross-national difference is reflected in the views of the French and British respondents about the roles of men and women in the employment world: more of the French than of the British respondents were shown in Chapter 6 to support a traditionally gender-specific categorization of a list of abilities which might be sought in job applicants and to stereotype occupations as more suitable for one sex than the other. As might have been expected, particularly in the French, but also in the British sample, it was demonstrated that the occupations for which women were considered to be most suitable require qualities which form part of the traditionally feminine role of homemaker and child rearer. Men in contemporary society may be unable to reinforce the traditional roles of each sex within the couple, but many of them are clearly attempting to preserve a gender-specific division of roles within the employment world.

As was demonstrated in Chapters 5 and 6, many of the respondents in both the French and the British samples support the retention of a traditional model of male roles in relation to women both within the couple and in society as



a whole. In Chapters 7 and 8 the second dimension of men's roles, the relationship of fathers to their children, was examined. Following the same structure as that observed in relation to the first dimension, father-child interaction within the context of the family was analysed in Chapter 7, while the father-child relationship in society as a whole was examined in Chapter 8.

In Chapter 7 the involvement of the French and British men in the traditionally feminine area of child rearing tasks was measured. As in the case of male participation in household tasks, the major burden of child rearing responsibilities in both France and Britain was shown to rest on the woman within the couple. Many men in both countries nevertheless demonstrate a relatively higher degree of participation in child rearing than in other areas of family roles. It was hypothesized that, as a result of the frequent media attention given to the role of the 'new' father, involvement in the care of children may be regarded by men as more rewarding than participation in household labour.

Although many of the French and British men, particularly in the younger age-groups, are shown to have participated in the practical care of their children, the focus of male involvement within the spectrum of child rearing activities is still relatively traditional. In Chapter 7, men in both Britain and France were noted to be most ready to participate in activities which relate to older rather than very young children and to prefer to carry out play-related as opposed

to caregiving tasks. Men, unlike women, rarely take the major responsibility for expressive child rearing tasks. Although the role of the father is clearly becoming more nurturant, particularly in France but also in Britain, men still tend to be most closely involved in the intellectual and social activities of child rearing, tasks which reflect the traditional instrumental role of men in the outside world.

It was demonstrated in Chapter 7 that men in both the British and the French samples are likely to share psychological parental responsibilities with their partners to a far greater extent than practical child rearing tasks. Men in Britain and France are likely to have had little or no practical experience in child care and, in particular, may feel excluded from the routine of infant care tasks which is often established by the mother during her period in hospital after the birth of the baby. As was shown in the final section of Chapter 7, the attendance of the father at the birth of his child is likely to facilitate the early establishment of a bond between the man and his infant and may enable fathers to feel more confident in carrying out the expressive baby care tasks which are still very much the domain of the mother in both French and British society.

As was demonstrated in Chapter 7, the role of French and British fathers towards their children is gradually becoming more nurturant within the individual home environment. In

Chapter 8, the wider issue of the views about child rearing held by the British and French respondents was analysed. Many fathers in both samples were shown to believe that men should be highly involved in parenthood right from the earliest stages of family planning and pregnancy onwards. The presence of the father at the birth of his child was also supported by the minority of men in each country. Men in both Britain and France are clearly influenced by the media image of the 'new' father, which is frequently presented in parenthood literature in terms of the recently fashionable father-newborn baby dyad. It was demonstrated in Chapter 8, however, that men's adherence to the new ideology of shared parenthood does not necessarily extend to the division of roles at a later stage of the child's development. The majority of respondents in both the British and the French samples state that women should take responsibility for the care of young children, while a considerable proportion of men believe that women should not expect to have both children and a career. As was noted in the chapters of the thesis dealing with the male-female relationship, men's egalitarian views tend to diminish if the traditional male role in the employment world appears to be under threat in any way. If one parent has to relinquish a role in paid employment in order to take care of children, it is, as noted in Chapter 5, unlikely to be the man in either French or British society.

Although the involvement of French and British fathers in the

rearing of their children is likely to take second place to their role in the employment world, the image of fatherhood has clearly evolved in both countries over the course of the past few decades. The rate and degree of development has been very different in each country: as was noted in Chapter 8, a far higher percentage of the French than of the British respondents state that they are more involved in child rearing than was the case for their own fathers. As was shown in the final section of Chapter 8, the difference in the rate of evolution of the image of fatherhood may be linked to the issue of the provision of family policy measures for men as fathers in each country. While a framework of measures for paternity leave, parental leave and leave for family reasons exists in France in the 1980s, no such provision is available in Britain. While legislation of this type is unlikely in itself to influence men's patterns of behaviour as fathers, it is possible that it creates an awareness of men's rights to be involved in family life and raises general levels of expectation about men's participation in child rearing.

In the light of the detailed analysis of men's roles in relation to women and children which was presented in Chapter 5 to 8, suggestions were made in Chapter 9 about the changes which would be necessary if men's roles were to develop towards a more egalitarian model which would be to the advantage of men, women and society as a whole. In the opening section of this chapter, a number of reasons were

discussed which indicate that growth in the flexibility of men's roles would be generally beneficial. In particular, there is evidence from the study that many men in contemporary society experience role strain in their attempt to combine their family and employment responsibilities and that they might welcome a more flexible definition of the male role in society. While seeking to carry out a more participant role than their own fathers in the rearing of their children, some respondents in both countries would seem to be limited by their traditional conditioning which obliges them to feel that the man within the couple ought to carry out the primary role in the employment world.

It was noted from the juxtaposition of the views of the French and British respondents that high profile public measures to promote women's rights, such as the media campaigns which have taken place in France in the 1980s, may in some respects cause men to feel threatened and may lead them to seek to reinforce traditional gender roles which will safeguard their position of dominance in society. On the basis of the knowledge gained from the Franco-British comparison of official attitudes towards social policy for men as fathers, a strategy which might facilitate an increase in flexibility in gender roles on three levels was presented. If greater flexibility is to be achieved in gender roles as a whole, more attention will need to be devoted to the specific situation of men in contemporary society. Isolated media campaigns are insufficient: a long-term strategy in which not

only legislative, but, more importantly, social and educational measures to promote equality are implemented, is likely to be more fruitful. Although vestiges of these measures exist in both France and Britain in the 1980s, they are not sufficiently comprehensive to facilitate real change. As was concluded in Chapter 9, role equality between the sexes is likely to become available only in future generations and on condition that a new non-stereotyped socialization and educational process for the male sex is developed.

As is apparent from the above summary of the findings of the thesis and throughout the detailed analysis of the roles of French and British men carried out in Chapters 1 to 9, the results of the study, in addition to providing new information about the male experience in contemporary France and Britain, throw light on the hypotheses which were established at the outset of the research. As was noted in the Introduction, these hypotheses covered two broad-based areas: firstly, the general development of male roles within society and secondly, the specific focus for change in France and Britain.

Firstly, in relation to male roles in general, it was hypothesized that, in view of the fact that an increasing number of married women are taking on the traditionally masculine role of paid employment, men in both France and Britain would be likely to share, to an increasing extent, in family-related responsibilities which was previously

considered to be feminine. This hypothesis was substantiated in relation to both samples, but with some reservations. It is true on a basic level that in the 1980s men in both Britain and France, particularly, as expected, in the younger and more highly-educated sectors of the population, are willing to participate in many tasks and responsibilities which are linked to the running of the home. Men in both countries are nonetheless selective about the areas of family responsibility in which they are prepared to become involved. In the domains of both household and child rearing tasks, they tend to participate in activities which are creative, intellectual or involve contact with the outside world. Even within the home, they tend to operate according to a gender stereotyped model of responsibilities, in which their contribution to the running of the home and the rearing of the children is approximated as closely as possible to their traditional instrumental role in society as a whole. The adherence of men in both France and Britain to their traditional role in the employment world emerged in this study as the most rigidly immutable factor which is preventing the growth of flexibility in gender roles in contemporary society. It was shown throughout the thesis that men in both countries in the 1980s are relatively likely to subscribe to egalitarian theories about gender roles within the family or in society as a whole, but to support a stereotyped division of roles or abilities in situations where they feel their traditional position of dominance is

threatened on a practical level.

In relation to the second and more detailed issue of the focus of change in male roles in the British and the French samples, the initial hypotheses were substantiated. Respondents in the family-oriented culture of France are more likely than their British counterparts to be involved in child care tasks and to support an expressive and nurturant model of fatherhood. Men in the British sample, on the other hand, are more likely than men in the French sample to demonstrate non-stereotyped attitudes as concerns the roles, abilities and employment capacities of women in society.

In addition to the above divergence of emphasis in the areas in which developments are taking place in men's attitudes and behaviour, one final and fundamental distinction linked to the focus of change in France and Britain emerged in this study. As was noted at various points throughout the thesis, the social uprisings which took place in France in 1968 provoked a particularly sudden and radical questioning of the traditional structure of society, including the challenging of the conventional hierarchy of male and female roles. Since the 1960s, action to promote gender equality within the family and society as a whole has consistently been carried out in a more publicly visible manner in France than in Britain, as is demonstrated by factors such as the availability of family policy legislation for men, the creation of relatively widespread child care facilities which allow women to work full-time outside the home or the



existence of the Délégation à la Condition Féminine. In the 1980s, there appears to be more potential for equality between men and women, but also greater resistance to the growth in interchangeability of gender roles, in French than in British society.

It is evident that in contemporary society progress towards equality between the sexes is more advanced in France than in Britain. The future for the growth of flexibility in gender roles might consequently appear to be more promising in French society. The focus of this cross-national study on men's perspective of gender issues nevertheless indicates that this may not be the case. As is apparent from the comparison of the responses obtained in this study, men in France may be more aware than their British counterparts of the theoretical justification for equality between the sexes, yet they are less likely than men in Britain to carry these views into practice by supporting the abolition of gender stereotyping in society. When women become able to compete with men on a more equal footing in the employment world, as in France, some men appear to respond by entrenching themselves in traditional views and seeking to reinforce the conventional hierarchy of male and female roles in society.

On the one hand, British men, in a society where fewer women are able to compete on masculine terms in the field of employment, may feel that they can afford to support the ideal of the interchangeability of male and female roles

without endangering their own position of dominance. On the other hand, for many French men the ideal model of gender roles for the future is one of specificity, in which each sex, as in the traditional model, possesses its own particular roles and abilities. The juxtaposition of the overall views of French and British men in this cross-national study indicates that, at a fundamental level, the way in which men structure their attitudes towards gender roles has changed very little from the traditional model. Until social and educational measures which may help to change attitudes at an individual level are introduced, many men may be likely to favour an increase in equality between the sexes only until they perceive their own position in society to be threatened, at which point they may revert to the support of a gender-specific model of male and female roles.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

- (a) Copy of letter sent to potential respondents in Britain
- (b) British questionnaire
- (c) Copy of letter sent to potential respondents in France
- (d) French questionnaire

# ASTON UNIVERSITY



MODERN LANGUAGES

Head: Prof D E Ager

February 1986

Dept. of Modern Languages  
University of Aston

Margaret E. Ferguson M.A.  
Postgraduate Researcher

Dear Parent,

I am currently carrying out, at the University of Aston, a PhD comparative study of fathers in France and Great Britain, and have chosen the Leamington Spa area as the British region in which I hope to conduct my research.

In recent years a great deal has been written on the role of the mother within the family, but little attention has been paid to what fathers think about issues such as bringing up children or taking part in child care and housework. In a society where the father's role is increasingly considered to be important, as can be seen from recent governmental debate on the introduction of paternity leave, it is vital that fathers should be given the chance to express their opinions about their experience of fatherhood.

In order to learn more about the attitudes of British and French fathers, and to compare experiences of fatherhood in the two countries, I would like to collect the views of fathers in three different groups:

- 1) with children aged 0-6 years
- 2) with children aged 8-15 years
- 3) with children who have already left home.

If you are a father in one of the above three categories, I would be very grateful if you could spare the half hour or so necessary to complete the attached questionnaire. May I point out that all replies are strictly anonymous.

Thank you for your help.

Yours sincerely,

Margaret E. Ferguson





Please do not write in this margin.

3.

(i) In a married couple, do you think that it is acceptable for the wife to take on paid employment outside the home when she has: (Please tick the appropriate box.)

- a) no children? YES  NO
- b) a child/children aged 0-4 years? YES  NO
- c) a child/children aged 5-11 years? YES  NO
- d) a child/children aged 12-16 years? YES  NO

(ii) Do you find the idea of a husband staying at home to look after the children while his wife goes out to work: (Please tick the appropriate box.)

- a) unnatural?
- b) logical if the wife earns more than the husband?
- c) sensible if that is what the two partners wish?
- d) other: \_\_\_\_\_ (please specify)?

Would you yourself be prepared to participate in an arrangement of this kind? Please give brief reasons for your answer.

- (iii) Why, according to you, might a married woman with children wish to work outside the home? Please class the following possible reasons in order of likelihood i.e. place a "1" in the box opposite the most likely reason, "2" for the second most likely reason, and so on up to "6".
- a) in order to meet other people
  - b) so as to exercise her mind
  - c) in order to buy extras for the children
  - d) so as to help support the family
  - e) in order to feel more independent
  - f) so as to have "pocket money" for herself

Please do not write in this margin.

1   
2

1   
2

1   
2

1   
2

1   
2   
3   
4

1   
2   
3   
4

1   
2   
3   
4   
5   
6   
7

With relation to the following list of leisure activities, please indicate, by placing a tick in the appropriate box, whether you think that each activity should be carried out by a husband and wife together, by the wife alone with other friends, or by the husband alone with other friends. If you consider more than one of these possibilities to be acceptable, place a tick in EACH of the boxes concerned.

Example: if you consider that the activity "visiting friends" can be carried out by the husband and wife together, by the wife alone AND by the husband alone, place a tick against this activity in columns a, b and c.

Activity	(a) HUSBAND AND WIFE TOGETHER	(b) HUSBAND ALONE	(c) WIFE ALONE
1. Going to the cinema.			
2. Visiting friends.			
3. Going out to a pub.			
4. Attending church.			
5. Going out for a meal.			
6. Going on holiday.			
7. Attending evening classes.			
8. Going to a dance/party.			
9. Playing sports.			
10. Going to a concert/play.			

1   
2   
3

1   
2   
3

1   
2   
3

1   
2   
3

1   
2   
3

1   
2   
3

1   
2   
3

1   
2   
3

1   
2   
3

1   
2   
3



Please do not write in this margin.

1  
2  
3

1  
2  
3

1  
2  
3

1  
2  
3

1  
2  
3

1  
2  
3

1  
2  
3

1  
2  
3

1  
2  
3

1  
2  
3

Please tick the box which indicates your attitude to the following statements about male and female roles.

	AGREE	DISAGREE	NO OPINION
1. It is acceptable for a wife to earn more than her husband.			
2. The decision to have a child rests more on the woman than on the man.			
3. Boys should not be allowed to play at dressing dolls.			
4. It is more suitable for a girl to study literature than engineering.			
5. Women are, in the main, more sensitive than men.			
6. A husband should always consult his wife when taking decisions which concern the family.			
7. Men are more aggressive than women.			
8. A woman should not try to have both a child and a career at the same time.			
9. Women are not such good leaders as men.			
10. In recent years, women have begun to be more dominant over men.			

Please do not write in this margin.

1  
2  
3

1  
2  
3

1  
2  
3

1  
2  
3

1  
2  
3

1  
2  
3

1  
2  
3

1  
2  
3

1  
2  
3

1  
2  
3

	AGREE	DISAGREE	NO OPINION
11. It is better for a husband to have a higher level of education than his wife.			
12. Men can be as understanding as women.			
13. It is more vital for a boy to have a good education than it is for a girl.			
14. Men tend not to enjoy buying clothes for themselves.			
15. It is a good idea for a father to attend the birth of his child.			
16. Men are generally less shy than women.			
17. Girls should be allowed to play with toy cars.			
18. Mothers know best how to look after young babies.			
19. Contraception is the responsibility of men as well as women.			
20. It is better to work under the supervision of a man than of a woman.			

Please do not write in this margin.

5.

Here is a list of ten qualities which are often looked for in job applicants. Please tick the appropriate box to indicate whether you feel that each item is likely to be found in a man, a woman, or equally likely to be found in both sexes.

	MAN	WOMAN	BOTH SEXES
1. A good manner when dealing with people.			
2. Dedication to the job.			
3. Good exam results.			
4. Few family ties.			
5. A pleasant personality.			
6. The ability to cope with repetitive tasks.			
7. A neat appearance.			
8. A sense of responsibility.			
9. A high level of previous training			
10. The ability to carry out the orders of superiors.			

Please do not write in this margin.

1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Please indicate, by placing a tick in the appropriate box, whether you think that a man, a woman, or someone of either sex would be best for the job concerned. (i.e. assuming that all applicants had equal attributes.)

	MAN	WOMAN	EITHER SEX
1. Sales manager.			
2. Workshop supervisor.			
3. Office secretary.			
4. Public relations officer.			
5. Cleaner.			
6. Van driver.			
7. Assembly-line worker.			
8. Research and development officer.			
9. Canteen assistant.			
10. Night security guard.			
11. Receptionist in a hotel.			
12. Nurse			

1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Please do not write in this margin.

1  
2  
3  
4

(a) What changes have, in your opinion, taken place in women's roles in the last twenty years or so? (i.e. since the late 1960s)

Do you approve of these changes?

1  
2

(b) Do you think that men's roles have changed in any way in the last twenty years? If so, how?

1  
2  
3  
4  
5

In particular, do you think that your views about bringing up children differ from those of your own father? If so, in what ways?

1  
2  
3  
4

(c) What aspects of men's and women's roles do you think should be changed?

1  
2  
3  
4  
5

6.

Other studies have shown that men's experience of fatherhood is likely to be influenced by individual factors such as age, occupation, working hours etc. We would therefore now like to ask you a few questions about yourself and your family.

1. How many children do you have?

2. What is the age and sex of each of your children? (Please start with the eldest child i.e. "child 1".)

	AGE	SEX (M/F)
Child 1	_____	_____
Child 2	_____	_____
Child 3	_____	_____
Child 4	_____	_____
Child 5	_____	_____
Child 6	_____	_____

(continue here if needed)

3. As you know, many fathers are nowadays able to be present at the birth of their children. Did you attend the birth of any of your children? (Please tick the appropriate box)

	ATTENDED BIRTH?	
Child 1	YES <input type="checkbox"/>	NO <input type="checkbox"/>
Child 2	YES <input type="checkbox"/>	NO <input type="checkbox"/>
Child 3	YES <input type="checkbox"/>	NO <input type="checkbox"/>
Child 4	YES <input type="checkbox"/>	NO <input type="checkbox"/>
Child 5	YES <input type="checkbox"/>	NO <input type="checkbox"/>
Child 6	YES <input type="checkbox"/>	NO <input type="checkbox"/>

4. At the time of the birth of each of your children, how much time were you able to take off work?

	TIME TAKEN OFF WORK	
Child 1	___ week(s) ___ day(s)	
Child 2	___ week(s) ___ day(s)	
Child 3	___ week(s) ___ day(s)	
Child 4	___ week(s) ___ day(s)	
Child 5	___ week(s) ___ day(s)	
Child 6	___ week(s) ___ day(s)	

Please do not write in this margin.

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6

1  
2  
3

1  
2  
3  
4

1  
2  
3  
4

1  
2  
3  
4

Please do not write in this margin.

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7

1  
2  
3

1  
2  
3  
4

1  
2  
3

1  
2  
3

1  
2  
3

7.

14. What is the age of your wife? (Please tick the appropriate box.)

20 years or under	<input type="checkbox"/>	41-45 years	<input type="checkbox"/>
21-25 years	<input type="checkbox"/>	46-50 years	<input type="checkbox"/>
26-30 years	<input type="checkbox"/>	51-55 years	<input type="checkbox"/>
31-35 years	<input type="checkbox"/>	56-60 years	<input type="checkbox"/>
36-40 years	<input type="checkbox"/>	61 years or over	<input type="checkbox"/>

15. Since leaving school, has your wife undergone any further education/training? If so, please specify: (e.g. HND course; degree)

16. What is your wife's profession? -----

17. Is your wife in paid employment at the present time? (Please tick the appropriate box.)

YES, FULL-TIME

YES, PART-TIME

NO

18. If your wife is in paid employment, approximately how many hours does she work each week? -----

19. If your wife is in paid employment, about what time does she normally arrive home from work?

20. Finally, please indicate, on a scale of 1 to 7, how well each of the following characteristics describes you. A "1" means that you consider the item to be never or almost never true, and a "7" means that you consider it to be always or almost always true.

Example: if you consider yourself to be extremely individualistic, place a "7".

- 1. self-reliant
- 2. yielding
- 3. helpful
- 4. defends own beliefs
- 5. cheerful
- 6. moody
- 7. independent
- 8. shy

Please do not write in this margin.

1  
2  
3

1  
2  
3

1  
2  
3

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7

1  
2  
3

1  
2  
3  
4

1  
2  
3

1  
2  
3

1  
2  
3

5. Does your employer make any provisions for fathers to take time off for the birth of a child? If so, please specify. (e.g. one day off for birth; two days off when baby comes home from hospital.)

6. Some EEC countries have a "Paternity Leave" scheme through which fathers can have some time off when their children are born. Do think that a similar scheme should be introduced in Britain? If so, how much time off work should be given to fathers?

7. Do you feel that fathers should be allowed, if their wives work outside the home, to take some time off work to look after a child who is ill?

8. What is your age? (Please tick the appropriate box.)

20 years or under	<input type="checkbox"/>	41-45 years	<input type="checkbox"/>
21-25 years	<input type="checkbox"/>	46-50 years	<input type="checkbox"/>
26-30 years	<input type="checkbox"/>	51-55 years	<input type="checkbox"/>
31-35 years	<input type="checkbox"/>	56-60 years	<input type="checkbox"/>
36-40 years	<input type="checkbox"/>	61 years or over	<input type="checkbox"/>

9. Since leaving school, have you undergone any further education/training? If so, please specify. (e.g. HND course; degree)

10. What is your profession? -----

11. Are you in paid employment at the present time? (Please tick the appropriate box.)

YES, FULL-TIME

YES, PART-TIME

NO

12. Approximately how many hours do you work each week? -----

13. About what time do you normally arrive home from work? -----

IF YES {

(i) If there are any topics mentioned above upon which you would like to expand more fully, or any other aspects of fatherhood which you would like to describe, please add your comments here.

(ii) In studies of this kind, a small number of follow-up interviews are often held so that a fuller picture of the opinions of those answering the questionnaire can be gained. If you would be willing to take part in a short interview about the father's role in the family, please indicate this by ticking the appropriate box and adding details of your name, address and telephone number so that you can be contacted.

I am  /am not  willing to take part in a short interview on fatherhood.

NB The following details need ONLY be given if you would like to be interviewed:

NAME:

ADDRESS/TELEPHONE NUMBER:

1
2
3
4
5

Please: do not write in this margin.

- 9. conscientious
- 10. athletic
- 11. affectionate
- 12. theatrical
- 13. assertive
- 14. flatterable
- 15. happy
- 16. strong personality
- 17. loyal
- 18. unpredictable
- 19. forceful
- 20. feminine
- 21. reliable
- 22. analytical
- 23. sympathetic
- 24. jealous
- 25. has leadership abilities.
- 26. sensitive to the needs of others
- 27. truthful
- 28. willing to take risks
- 29. understanding
- 30. secretive
- 31. makes decisions easily
- 32. compassionate
- 33. sincere
- 34. self-sufficient
- 35. eager to soothe hurt feelings
- 36. conceited
- 37. dominant
- 38. soft spoken
- 39. likeable
- 40. masculine
- 41. warm
- 42. solemn
- 43. willing to take a stand
- 44. tender
- 45. friendly
- 46. aggressive
- 47. gullible
- 48. inefficient
- 49. acts as a leader
- 50. childlike
- 51. adaptable
- 52. individualistic
- 53. does not use harsh language
- 54. unsystematic
- 55. competitive
- 56. loves children
- 57. tactful
- 58. ambitious
- 59. gentle
- 60. conventional

THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP IN COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE.



A qui de droit

juin 1986

QUESTIONNAIRE SUR LA PATERNITE

Monsieur,

A la suite de l'Enquête sur le changement culturel à Annecy 1956-1986 menée par le Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, je fais, en tant qu'étudiante de troisième cycle à l'université d'Aston en Angleterre, des recherches comparatives sur le rôle du père dans la société française et britannique.

Au cours des dernières années, le rôle maternel a suscité l'intérêt d'un bon nombre de chercheurs français et anglais. En revanche, très peu de recherches ont été faites sur la participation des pères aux soins et à l'éducation de leurs enfants. Dans une société où semblent évoluer les structures familiales, il importe pourtant d'analyser comment se modifie, du fait des changements du rôle de la femme, la place de l'homme à l'intérieur de la famille.

Ayant déjà recueilli les avis d'une centaine de pères anglais, nous voudrions maintenant savoir si un groupe comparable de pères français vivent d'une façon similaire ou différente leur rôle paternel dans la société d'aujourd'hui. Nous vous demandons donc de bien vouloir nous aider en remplissant un exemplaire du questionnaire ci-joint. Si cela vous convient, nous passerons le prendre dans environ une semaine. Nous tenons à vous rappeler que toutes les réponses sont complètement et absolument anonymes.

Nous vous remercions, Monsieur, d'avoir bien voulu nous consacrer de votre temps en participant à cette étude.

*Margaret E. Ferguson*

Margaret E. Ferguson M.A.

Questionnaire sur la Paternité

Ce questionnaire fait partie d'une étude de doctorat de troisième cycle sur la place du père dans la société française et britannique.

Nous voudrions vous poser des questions sur quatre sujets principaux:

- la répartition des tâches ménagères et des soins des enfants dans votre famille
- le rôle de la mère et du père dans l'éducation des enfants.
- votre expérience personnelle de la paternité.
- les rôles des hommes et des femmes en général.

Le but de cette étude est de recueillir les avis d'un groupe de pères en France et en Grande-Bretagne, et de découvrir si la paternité est vécue d'une façon différente dans ces deux pays.

Ne rien écrire dans cette colonne

Dans le domaine des soins des enfants, qui est-ce qui chez vous s'occupe/s'est occupé(e) des tâches suivantes? (Veuillez cocher la case qui correspond à votre cas)

SOINS des enfants	GENERALEMENT LA MERE 1	SOIT LA MERE SOIT LE PERE 2	GENERALEMENT LE PERE 3	AUTRE 4	COLS
1. Donner le biberon au bébé.					5
2. Changer les couches du bébé.					6
3. Donner le bain au bébé.					7
4. Habiller le bébé.					8
5. Promener le bébé en son landau.					9
6. Se lever la nuit pour s'occuper des enfants.					10
7. Consoler les enfants.					11
8. Faire la lecture aux enfants.					12
9. Prendre part aux jeux des enfants.					13
10. Acheter des vêtements aux enfants.					14
11. Conduire les enfants chez le docteur/dentiste.					15
12. Promener les enfants (e.g au jardin public)					16
13. Accompagner les enfants à l'école.					17
14. Aider les enfants à faire leurs devoirs.					18

Qui est-ce qui chez vous s'occupe des tâches ménagères suivantes?  
(Veuillez cocher la case qui correspond à votre cas)

Tâches ménagères	GENERALEMENT LA FEMME 1	SOIT LA FEMME SOIT LE MARI 2	GENERALEMENT LE MARI 3	AUTRE 4
1. Préparation des repas				
2. Jardinage				
3. Epoussetage.				
4. Entretien des vêtements.				
5. Nettoyage des vitres.				
6. Entretien des équipements électriques.				
7. Lavage de la vaisselle (à la main).				
8. Bricolage.				
9. Soins aux animaux.				
10. Lessive (à la machine).				
11. Passage de l'aspirateur.				
12. Entretien de la voiture.				
13. Repassage.				
14. Achat des provisions alimentaires.				

Ne rien écrire dans cette colonne.

Voici une liste de dix rôles parentaux. Selon vous, est-ce que ces rôles incombent à la mère, au père, ou bien aux deux parents à la fois? (Veuillez cocher la case qui correspond à votre avis)

Exemple: si vous considérez que le rôle de "discipliner les enfants" incombe plutôt au père, cochez la case correspondante dans la colonne intitulée "responsabilité du père".

Rôles Parentaux	RESPONSABILITE DE LA MERE 1	RESPONSABILITE DU PERE 2	RESPONSABILITE DES DEUX PARENTS 3
1. Pourvoir à l'entretien financier du ménage.			
2. Se charger des soins quotidiens des enfants.			
3. Apprendre la politesse aux enfants.			
4. Surveiller les progrès scolaires des enfants.			
5. Aimer et entourer les enfants.			
6. Discipliner les enfants.			
7. Apprendre aux enfants les valeurs morales.			
8. Surveiller l'état de santé des enfants.			
9. Assurer l'équilibre mental des enfants.			
10. Encourager les enfants à devenir indépendants.			



- (i) A votre avis, est-ce qu'une femme mariée devrait travailler en dehors de la maison quand elle: (Veuillez cocher la case qui correspond à votre avis)
- 43  a) n'a pas d'enfants? OUI 1  NON 2
- 44  b) a un enfant/des enfants de 0 à 4 ans? OUI 1  NON 2
- 45  c) a un enfant/des enfants de 5 à 11 ans? OUI 1  NON 2
- 46  d) a un enfant/des enfants de 12 à 16 ans? OUI 1  NON 2

(ii) Et l'idée d'un mari qui reste à la maison pour s'occuper des enfants tandis que sa femme travaille à l'extérieur, est-ce que vous la considérez comme: (Veuillez cocher la case qui correspond à votre avis)

- a) anormale?
- b) logique si la femme gagne plus que son mari?
- c) raisonnable si cela convient aux époux?
- d) autre ----- (préciser)

Seriez-vous vous-même prêt à organiser de cette façon votre vie familiale? Veuillez exposer en quelques mots la raison de votre réponse.

(iii) Quelles sont selon vous les raisons principales pour lesquelles une femme mariée et qui a des enfants pourrait souhaiter travailler en dehors de la maison? Veuillez classer par ordre d'importance (1,2,3,4 etc), dans les cases correspondantes, les raisons éventuelles suivantes.

- a) pour rencontrer des gens
- b) pour exercer son esprit
- c) pour acheter des vêtements ou des jouets supplémentaires aux enfants
- d) pour aider son mari à subvenir aux besoins de la famille
- e) pour devenir plus indépendante
- f) pour se procurer de l'argent de poche

D'après vous, est-ce que les activités de loisir suivantes devraient être pratiquées par un mari et sa femme ensemble, uniquement par la femme avec ses ami(e)s ou uniquement par le mari avec ses ami(e)s? Veuillez cocher la case qui correspond à votre avis. Si plusieurs moyens de pratiquer une activité vous semblent normaux, veuillez cocher CHACUNE des cases qui correspondent à votre avis.

Exemple: si vous considérez que l'activité "rendre visite à des amis" pourrait être pratiquée par le mari et la femme ensemble, par le mari uniquement ET par la femme uniquement, cochez les cases a, b, c qui correspondent à cette activité.

Activités de loisir

	(a) MARI ET FEMME ENSEMBLE	(b) MARI UNIQUEMENT	(c) FEMME UNIQUEMENT
1. Aller au cinéma.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Rendre visite à des amis.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Aller au café.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Aller à la messe.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Sortir au restaurant.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Partir en vacances.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Suivre des cours du soir.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Aller à un bal/une soirée	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Activités sportives.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Aller à un concert/au théâtre.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Ne rien écrire dans cette colonne.

47

48

49

Veuillez cocher la case qui correspond à votre avis sur chacune des propositions suivantes concernant les rôles masculins et féminins.

Ne rien écrire dans cette colonne.

	D'ACCORD 1	PAS D'ACCORD 2	SANS OPINION 3
1. Il est normal qu'une femme gagne plus d'argent que son mari.			
2. La décision d'avoir un enfant incombe plus à la femme qu'à l'homme.			
3. On ne devrait pas permettre à un petit garçon de jouer à la poupée.			
4. Il convient plus à une jeune fille de faire des études littéraires que de faire une formation d'ingénieur.			
5. Les femmes sont, pour la plupart, plus sensibles que les hommes.			
6. Un mari devrait toujours consulter sa femme avant de prendre une décision qui touche à la famille.			
7. Les hommes sont plus agressifs que les femmes.			
8. Une femme ne devrait pas essayer d'avoir à la fois un enfant et une carrière.			
9. Les femmes ont moins de qualités de chef que les hommes.			
10. Ces dernières années les femmes ont commencé à s'affirmer plus vis-à-vis des hommes.			

	D'ACCORD 1	PAS D'ACCORD 2	SANS OPINION 3
11. Il vaut mieux qu'un homme soit plus instruit que sa femme.			
12. Les hommes sont capables d'être aussi compatissants que les femmes.			
13. Il importe plus à un garçon qu'à une fille de recevoir une bonne éducation.			
14. Dans l'ensemble, les hommes n'aiment pas s'acheter des vêtements.			
15. L'assistance d'un père à la naissance de son enfant est une bonne idée.			
16. Les hommes sont, en général, moins timides que les femmes.			
17. On devrait permettre aux petites filles de jouer aux autos.			
18. Ce sont les mères qui savent le mieux s'occuper d'un bébé tout jeune.			
19. La contraception incombe aussi bien à l'homme qu'à la femme.			
20. Il vaut mieux travailler sous la direction d'un homme que sous celle d'une femme.			

Voici une liste de dix qualités souvent recherchées chez des candidats à un poste. A votre avis, est-ce que ces qualités sont plus particulières à un homme, à une femme, ou peuvent-elles être attribuées aux membres des deux sexes? Veuillez cocher la case qui correspond à votre avis.

	HOMME 1	FEMME 2	DEUX SEXES 3
1. Une aptitude à savoir s'occuper des gens.			
2. Un dévouement à son travail.			
3. De bons résultats scolaires/ universitaires.			
4. Peu de responsabilités familiales.			
5. Une personnalité sympathique.			
6. La capacité d'effectuer des tâches monotones.			
7. Une apparence soignée.			
8. Un sens des responsabilités.			
9. Un bon niveau de formation professionnelle.			
10. La capacité d'exécuter les ordres d'un supérieur			

1-4  
    2.

Ne rien écrire dans cette colonne.

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

5.  
 Veuillez indiquer, en cochant la case correspondante, si vous considérez que les hommes, ou les femmes, ou les membres de chaque sexe sont les candidats idéaux au poste en question (en assumant que tous les candidats aient les mêmes attributs).

	HOMME 1	FEMME 2	MEMBRES DE CHAQUE SEXE 3
1. Directeur commercial.			
2. Surveillant d'atelier.			
3. Secrétaire de bureau.			
4. Personne chargée des relations publiques.			
5. Personne chargée du nettoyage.			
6. Conducteur de camionnette.			
7. Travailleur à la chaîne.			
8. Cadre chargé du développement et de la recherche.			
9. Employé de collectivité.			
10. Gardien de nuit.			
11. Réceptionniste dans un hôtel.			
12. Infirmier.			

Ne rien écrire dans cette colonne.

(a) A votre avis, quels sont les changements des rôles de la femme qui ont eu lieu ces vingt dernières années? (c'est-à-dire depuis la fin des années soixante)

27

Approuvez-vous ces changements?

28

(b) D'après vous, est-ce que les rôles de l'homme ont changé en quoi que ce soit depuis les années soixante? Si oui, comment ont-ils changé?

29

Pensez-vous en particulier que vos opinions sur l'éducation des enfants diffèrent de celles de votre père?

30

(c) A votre avis, de quelle manière les rôles de la femme et de l'homme devraient-ils changer?

31

Dans d'autres études, il a été démontré que les opinions des hommes sur la paternité varient en fonction de l'âge, du métier, des horaires de travail etc. Nous voudrions donc vous poser quelques questions complémentaires sur votre vie familiale et professionnelle.

1. Combien avez-vous d'enfants?

2. Quel est (a) l'âge et (b) le sexe de chacun de vos enfants? Veuillez commencer par l'enfant aîné ("Enfant 1").

(a) AGE (b) SEXE

- Enfant 1
- Enfant 2
- Enfant 3
- Enfant 4
- Enfant 5
- Enfant 6

3. Comme vous le savez, beaucoup de pères ont de nos jours l'occasion d'assister à l'accouchement de leur femme. Avez-vous assisté à la naissance d'un de vos enfants? Veuillez cocher la case qui correspond à votre cas.

ASSISTE A LA NAISSANCE?

- Enfant 1
- Enfant 2
- Enfant 3
- Enfant 4
- Enfant 5
- Enfant 6
- 
- 
- 

OUI 1	NON 2
OUI 1	NON 2
OUI 1	NON 2
OUI 1	NON 2
OUI 1	NON 2
OUI 1	NON 2
OUI 1	NON 2
OUI 1	NON 2
OUI 1	NON 2

4. Combien de jours de congé avez-vous pris à l'occasion de la naissance de chacun de vos enfants?

CONGE PRIS

- Enfant 1
- Enfant 2
- Enfant 3
- Enfant 4
- Enfant 5
- Enfant 6
- 
- 
- 

semaine(s)	jour(s)
semaine(s)	jour(s)
semaine(s)	jour(s)
semaine(s)	jour(s)
semaine(s)	jour(s)
semaine(s)	jour(s)
semaine(s)	jour(s)
semaine(s)	jour(s)
semaine(s)	jour(s)

Ne rien écrire dans cette colonne.

32

33

34

35

36

Ne rien écrire dans cette colonne.

37

38

39

40

41

42

43

44

45

5. Dans l'entreprise où vous travaillez, quelle est la durée du congé octroyé à un père à l'occasion de la naissance de son enfant? Veuillez préciser (trois jours lors de la naissance, une semaine après la naissance, etc.)

6. Etes-vous partisan du système de "congé de paternité" qui existe actuellement en France? Veuillez exposer en quelques mots la raison de votre réponse.

Quelle est selon vous la durée idéale d'un "congé de paternité"?

7. La maladie d'un enfant entraîne souvent l'interruption du travail de sa mère ou de son père. Est-ce que vous avez jamais pris un congé pour soigner un de vos enfants?

8. Quel âge avez-vous? (Veuillez cocher la case correspondante)

20 ans ou moins  de 41 à 45 ans   
de 21 à 25 ans  de 46 à 50 ans   
de 26 à 30 ans  de 51 à 55 ans   
de 31 à 35 ans  de 56 à 60 ans   
de 36 à 40 ans  61 ans ou plus

9. Avez-vous des diplômes de fin d'études? Si oui, veuillez préciser (certificat d'aptitude professionnelle, diplôme de fin d'études supérieures, etc)

10. Quelle est votre activité professionnelle?

11. Exercez-vous actuellement une activité professionnelle?

OUI, A PLEIN TEMPS   
OUI, A TEMPS PARTIEL   
NON

12. Si vous exercez actuellement une activité professionnelle, combien d'heures travaillez-vous par semaine?

13. Si vous exercez actuellement une activité professionnelle, à quelle heure environ rentrez-vous du travail?

Ne rien écrire dans cette colonne.

46

47

48

49

50

51

14. Quel est l'âge de votre épouse? (Veuillez cocher la case correspondante)

20 ans ou moins  de 41 à 45 ans   
de 21 à 25 ans  de 46 à 50 ans   
de 26 à 30 ans  de 51 à 55 ans   
de 31 à 35 ans  de 56 à 60 ans   
de 36 à 40 ans  61 ans ou plus

15. Votre épouse a-t-elle des diplômes de fin d'études? Si oui, veuillez préciser (certificat d'aptitude professionnelle, diplôme de fin d'études supérieures, etc)

16. Quelle est l'activité professionnelle de votre épouse?

17. Votre épouse exerce-t-elle actuellement une activité professionnelle?

OUI, A PLEIN TEMPS   
OUI, A TEMPS PARTIEL   
NON

18. Si votre épouse exerce actuellement une activité professionnelle, combien d'heures travaille-t-elle par semaine?

19. Si votre épouse exerce actuellement une activité professionnelle, à quelle heure environ rentre-t-elle du travail?

20. Pour terminer, veuillez évaluer, au moyen d'un classement de "1" à "7", votre propre caractère par rapport à chacun des traits suivants. Le chiffre "1" indique que vous ne vous identifiez pas du tout au trait en question, et le chiffre "7" indique que vous vous y identifiez beaucoup.

Exemple: si vous vous considérez comme assez ambitieux, placez un "5" en face de ce trait; si vous vous considérez comme très peu théâtral, placez un "1" en face de ce trait.

- 1. autonome
- 2. complaisant
- 3. serviable
- 4. défend ses propres opinions
- 5. dynamique
- 6. capricieux
- 7. indépendant
- 8. timide

Ne rien écrire dans cette colonne.

2

(i) Si vous voudriez ajouter des remarques complémentaires sur votre rôle familial ou sur la paternité en général, veuillez noter ici vos observations.

(ii) Est-ce que vous accepteriez de nous accorder un entretien de courte durée (une heure au maximum) afin que nous puissions discuter, plus longuement avec vous du rôle du père dans la famille d'aujourd'hui?

OUI 1  NON 2

SI OUI, veuillez noter ici vos coordonnées:

NOM:

ADRESSE/NUMERO DE TELEPHONE:

\* NOUS VOUS RENERIONS DE VOTRE AIDE \*

Ne rien écrire dans cette colonne.

57

- 9. consciencieux
- 10. sportif
- 11. affectueux
- 12. théâtral
- 13. assuré
- 14. sensible à la flatterie
- 15. heureux
- 16. a une forte personnalité
- 17. loyal
- 18. imprévisible
- 19. énergique
- 20. féminin
- 21. digne de confiance
- 22. a l'esprit d'analyse
- 23. compatissant
- 24. jaloux
- 25. doué de qualités de chef
- 26. ouvert aux problèmes d'autrui
- 27. sincère
- 28. prêt à courir des risques
- 29. compréhensif
- 30. secret
- 31. a l'esprit de décision
- 32. *charitable*
- 33. franc
- 34. se suffit à soi-même
- 35. s'empresse d'apaiser les gens froissés
- 36. vaniteux
- 37. dominateur
- 38. parle doucement
- 39. sympathique
- 40. masculin
- 41. chaleureux
- 42. sérieux
- 43. prêt à défendre ses principes
- 44. tendre
- 45. amical
- 46. agressif
- 47. crédule
- 48. inefficace
- 49. apte à commander
- 50. enfantin
- 51. a l'esprit d'adaptation
- 52. individualiste
- 53. ménage ses expressions
- 54. peu méthodique
- 55. a l'esprit de compétition
- 56. aime les enfants
- 57. plein de tact
- 58. ambitieux
- 59. doux
- 60. conformiste

## APPENDIX II

### A Historical Outline of Some Major Social and Legislative Developments in Women's Rights in Britain and France from the Late Eighteenth Century to the Early 1980s

#### (a) BRITAIN

---

- 1792 Publication of Mary Wollstonecraft's Vindication of the Rights of Women.
- 1838 Beginning of the suffragette movement in Lancashire cotton towns.
- 1839 Infant Custody Act, which enabled divorced women to petition for access to their children.
- 1840s Women's rights organizations began to be formed.
- 1865 First women's suffrage society was founded in Manchester, heralding the spread of the suffrage movement throughout Britain.
- 1868 First public meetings on women's suffrage were held.
- 1882 Married Women's Property Act, which established the rights of husbands and wives as legal individuals.
- 1896 Women cotton workers began to campaign for child care facilities, equal pay, and family allowances.
- 1903 Women's Social and Political Union formed.
- 1910 Suffragettes began to succeed in persuading male politicians of the seriousness of their demands.
- 1916 National Birth Rate Commission stated the case for the use of contraception.
- Prime Minister Asquith described the suffragette case as "reasonable and unanswerable".
- The War Office stated that women were capable of replacing men in many areas.
- 1918 Representation of the People Act, which permitted propertied women aged over thirty to vote.

- 1921 First contraception and abortion clinics were set up by Marie Stopes.
- 1922 Law of Property Act, which established equality between the sexes in cases of intestacy.
- 1923 Matrimonial Causes Act, which abolished the previously sex-differentiated grounds for divorce.
- 1925 Administration of Estates Act, which stated that husbands and wives should be treated as two persons in relation to property distribution.
- 1926 Criminal Justice Act, which established the separate responsibility for criminal acts.
- 1928 Women's franchise act passed.
- 1930s Women's status reduced to that of a secondary labour force.
- 1930 National Birth Control Council founded.
- 1955 Family Planning Association (previously the National Birth Control Council) became officially recognised.
- 1961 Factories Act established protective laws for women workers.
- 1967 First conference of the American National Organization of Women took place. Ideology of the women's liberation movement in the United States spread to Britain.
- Abortion Act 1967, which permitted abortion if (a) continuation of pregnancy would endanger the health of the mother or (b) there was a risk that the child would be severely physically or mentally handicapped.
- Family Planning Association permitted to admit the unmarried to their clinics.
- 1969 Women's groups founded in most British towns.
- Divorce Reform Act
- 1970 March - national women's liberation conference held in Oxford. Demands made for equal pay, equal opportunities in education, 24-hour nurseries, free contraception and abortion on demand.
- 1970 Matrimonial Proceedings and Property Act, which stipulated that women should be given a share of the family property after divorce.



- 1970 Equal Pay Act passed.
- 1973 House of Commons Select Committee on Sex Discrimination set up.
- Establishment of statutes which gave mothers and fathers equal rights over their children and enabled married women to choose their own domicile.
- 1974 Labour government White Paper Equality for Women proposed enlarged scope for anti-sexist legislation and the setting up of an Equal Opportunities Commission.
- 1975 29 December: Sex Discrimination and Equal Pay Acts (passed by Parliament in 1970) came into force.
- "Equality for Women" bill became law.
- Equal Opportunities Commission founded in Manchester, with the aim of monitoring the Sex Discrimination and Equal Pay Acts.
- Employment Protection Act established first statutory right of women to have maternity leave.
- Social Security Pensions Act established equal rates of unemployment and sick pay for both sexes.
- Training boards set up in order to develop special training courses for women.
- 1976 Domestic Violence Act afforded battered women more effective legal protection.
- Sexual Offences (Amendment) Act provided guidelines for the sympathetic treatment of rape victims.
- 1979 Trades Union Congress published a charter for equality of women within trade unions.
- British Equal Pay Act judged too restrictive in view of European Community directives.
- 1980 Employment Act enabled women to take time off work for ante-natal visits.
- 250 grants made available by Engineering Industry Training Board for women recruits.
- 1980 "Wider Opportunities for Women" courses set up throughout the United Kingdom by the Manpower Services Commission, enabling women who had given up paid work in order to bring up their children to come

back into the employment world.

1980 Trades Union Congress passes resolution of 'positive  
action' for women.

---

## APPENDIX II

### A Historical Outline of Some Major Social and Legislative Developments in Women's Rights in Britain and France from the Late Eighteenth Century to the 1980s

#### (b) FRANCE

---

- 1789 French Revolution: first stirrings of feminist protest. 26 October: first petition for equality addressed by women to the "Assemblée Nationale".
- 1804 Establishment of the "Code Napoléon", which stated that women should occupy a subservient position in relation to men both within the family and in society as a whole.
- 1866 Formation of the first French feminist organization, the "Société pour la Revendication des Droits de la Femme".
- 1869 Creation of the "Ligue pour le Droit des Femmes".
- 1870 Formation of the "Société pour l'Amélioration du Sort de la Femme" and publication of first feminist journal, Le Droit des Femmes.
- 1874 Moderate French feminist groups fired by the visit of Josephine Butler to Paris.
- 1880 Women admitted for the first time to lectures at the Sorbonne.
- 1881 Women allowed to open post office savings accounts for the first time.
- Foundation of the Ecole Normale Supérieure de Jeunes Filles, a teacher-training college for women.
- 1883 Foundation of the "Société le Suffrage des Femmes", which demanded full equality before the law, equal pay and education, the right of divorce and the vote for women. Street demonstrations for women's rights.
- 1884 Divorce legalised, but still regarded as a sanction (i.e. it was stipulated that there must be a "guilty party").

- 1900 Women's congress held in Paris, at which disagreement was apparent between middle-class and working class women. Working class women begin to move away from the women's movement to the socialist movement.
- 1907 Women allowed to have control of their salary.
- 1909 Protective laws for female employment introduced.
- 1920 Prohibition of abortion and the dissemination of birth control propaganda.  
Introduction of a 'medal' for mothers of large families.
- 1925 Secondary schooling for girls became free and compulsory.
- 1930 Introduction of a social insurance scheme for pregnancy.
- 1938 Bill of Civic Capacity: married women treated as independent legal persons.
- 1939 Family bill of Edouard Daladier increased penalties for abortionists.
- 1945 21 April: French women permitted to vote for the first time.
- 1946 Principle of equal pay for equal work ratified by the "Loi sur égalité de rémunération pour les travaux de valeur égale".
- 1949 Simone de Beauvoir Le Deuxième Sexe
- 1961 First (illegal) family planning centres were opened.
- 1965 Reform of marriage laws: married women accorded the right to work without their husbands' permission. The husband was nevertheless still regarded as the head of the household.
- 1967 Loi Neuwirth legalised the use of contraception and family planning centres.
- 1968 Women who had been involved in the student uprisings form "Le Mouvement de la Libération des Femmes".
- 1970 Act of 9 June abolished the notion of "head of the family", giving equal parental powers to husbands and wives.
- 1971 Creation of the pro-abortion movement, "Choisir", by Gisèle Halimi. Appearance in Le Nouvel Observateur

- of manifesto signed by 343 women who stated that they had had an abortion.
- 1972 Establishment of the right to equal pay for work of equal value.
- 1973 Formation of the "Mouvement de Libération de l'Avortement et de la Contraception".
- 1974 Françoise Giroud elected as "Secrétaire d'Etat à la Condition Féminine"
- Adoption by parliament of Act introduced by Simone Veil to provide for legal pregnancy terminations.
- December: contraceptive pill became available under the social security system.
- "Projet pour les Femmes": list drawn up by Françoise Giroud of one hundred measures for equality which were intended to be implemented during the presidential term of Giscard d'Estaing.
- 1975 11 July: Reform of divorce laws, enabling divorces to be obtained by mutual consent.
- Veil Bill on abortion became law.
- 1976 Creation of the "Délégation Nationale à la Condition Féminine".
- Françoise Giroud presented her "Cent Mesures pour les Femmes".
- 1977 "Loi sur le complément familial et le congé parental d'éducation " established the right to (unpaid) parental leave for either parent.
- 1978 Formation of the "Secrétariat d'Etat chargé de l'Emploi Féminin"
- 1981 Establishment of the "Ministère des Droits de la Femme".
- 1982 Bill proposed by Yvette Roudy, Minister for Women's Rights, that 25% of the candidates in local elections should be women, is passed by parliament.
- 1983 "Loi sur l'Egalite Professionnelle", which stipulated that firms with over 300 employees should provide staff representatives with an annual report on the comparative position of company workers of each sex.
- Ministry for Women's Rights programme for equality in work, health, education and cultural matters is

introduced.

- 1984 Ministry for Women's Rights launches a television campaign for equality of access to jobs.
- 1985 Bill presented to establish equality between the sexes in the administration of family property.
-

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ACOCK, A.C. and EDWARDS, J.N. (1982) Egalitarian sex-role attitudes and female income, Journal of Marriage and the Family, No.44, August, 581-589.
- AH! NANA (1977) Dossier Hommes, No.5, November, 11-19.
- ALEXANDER, M. (1987) A voice for the women of Europe, The Guardian, 6 January, 10.
- ALEXANDER, S. and TAYLOR, B. (1980) In defence of patriarchy, The New Statesman, No.99, February, 161.
- ALIA, J. (1985) Etre une femme libérée... tu sais, c'est pas si facile...., Le Nouvel Observateur, 11 janvier, 35-40.
- ALLAN, G. (1980) Note on interviewing spouses together, Journal of Marriage and the Family, No.42, 205-10.
- ALLGEIER, E.R. and McCORMACK, N.B. (1983) Changing Boundaries: Gender Roles and Sexual Behaviour, Eurospan, London.
- ANDERSON, S.A., RUSSELL, C.S. and SCHUMM, W.R. (1983) Perceived marital quality and family life-cycle categories: a further analysis, Journal of Marriage and the Family, No.45, February, 127-139.
- ARDECOM (1980) Résistance à la Contraception, ARDECOM No. 2.
- ARMAGNAC, M. (1983) Le père, l'homme à connaître, Actualités Sociales Hebdomadaires, No.1345, 12 mars, 7-8.
- ASHTON, E. (1983) Measures of play-behaviour - the influence of sex-role stereotyped children's books, Sex Roles, 9, 1, 43-47.
- ASSEDO, Y. (1983) Statut et fonctions de l'interdit dans la famille, Le Groupe Familial, No.100, juillet-septembre, 35-39.
- AZOULAI, M. (1985) Condition paternelle: ils revendiquent ce dont ils sont dépossédés, Enfants Magazine, mai, No.105, 63-65.
- BACKETT, K. C. (1982) Mothers and Fathers: A Study of the Development and Negotiation of Parental Behaviour Edinburgh Studies in Sociology, Macmillan, London.

- BACKETT, K.C. (1987) The negotiation of fatherhood, IN C. LEWIS and M. O'BRIEN, (eds.), Reassessing Fatherhood: New Observations on Fathers and the Modern Family, Sage, London, 74-90.
- BADINTER, E. (1981) The Myth of Motherhood - An Historical View of the Maternal Instinct, Souvenir Press, London.
- BAEHR, H. (1980) Women and Media, Pergamon, Oxford.
- BAGES, R., CAUSSADE, G. and RIEU-GOUT, A. (1983) Contraintes, jeux et enjeux du couple, Dialogue 80 - Le Couple et l'Emploi, A.F.C.C.C., Paris.
- BAILEY, K.D. (1978) Methods of Social Research, Free Press, New York.
- BALSWICK, J.O. and PEEK, C.W. (1971) The inexpressive male: a tragedy of American society, The Family Coordinator Oct. 363-368.
- BARNHILL, L., RUBENSTEIN, G. and ROCKLIN, N. (1979) From generation to generation: fathers-to-be in transition, The Family Coordinator, No.28, April, 229-235.
- BARTOLOME, F. (1972) Executives as human beings, Harvard Business Review, Nov-Dec. 62-69.
- BARTON, K. and ERICKSEN, L.K. (1981) Differences between mothers and fathers in teaching style and child-rearing practices, Psychological Reports, No.49, 237-238.
- BEAIL, N. (1982) Role of the father during pregnancy and childbirth, IN N. BEAIL and J. McGUIRE (eds.), Fathers: Psychological Perspectives, Junction Books, London.
- BEAIL, N. and McGUIRE, J. (eds.) (1982) Fathers: Psychological Perspectives, Junction Books, London.
- BEAR, S., BERGER, M. and WRIGHT, L. (1979) Even cowboys sing the blues: difficulties experienced by men trying to adopt non-traditional sex roles, and how clinicians can be helpful to them, Sex Roles, No.5, April, 191-198.
- de BEAUVOIR, S. (1949) Le Deuxième Sexe, Gallimard, Paris.
- BEDNARIK, K. (1970) The Male in Crisis, Martin, Secker and Warburg, London.
- BEECHEY, V. (1978) Women and production: a critical analysis of some sociological theories of women's work, IN KUHN, A. and WOLPE, A. (eds) Feminism and Materialism: Women and Modes of Production, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- BEECHEY, V. (1986) Women's Employment in France and Britain:



Some Problems of Comparison. Working paper from the ESRC/CNRS funded project on Women's Employment in France and Britain.

BEECHEY, V. and PERKINS, T. (1982) Women's Part-time Employment in Coventry: A Study of the Sexual Division of Labour, Report submitted to the EOC/SSRC Joint Panel.

BELCHER, D. (1986) Good health - it's every man's right, Glasgow Herald, 19 March, 14.

BELL, C., MCKEE, L. and PRIESTLEY, K. (1983) Fathers, Childbirth and Work, Equal Opportunities Commission, London.

BELL, R.R. (1981) Friendships of men and of women, Psychology of Women Quarterly, 5, 3, Spring, 402-417.

BEM, S.L. (1974) The measurement of psychological androgyny, Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 42, 2, 155-162.

BEM, S.L. (1977) On the utility of alternative procedures for assessing psychological androgyny, Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 45, 2, 196-205.

BEM, S.L. and LENNEY, E. (1976) Sex-typing and the avoidance of cross-sex behaviour, Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 33, 48-54.

BENET, M.K. (1972) Secretary, Sidgwick and Jackson, London.

BENSON, L. (1968) Fatherhood - A Sociological Perspective, Random House, New York.

BERARDO, F.M. (1981) Family research and theory: emergent topics in the 1970s and the prospects for the 1980s, Journal of Marriage and the Family, May, 251-253.

BERRYMAN-FINK, C. and WILCOX, J.R. (1983) A multivariate investigation of perceptual attributions concerning gender appropriateness in language, Sex Roles, 9, 6, 663-381.

BERTOLUS-DAPREMONT, R. (1983) Temps de travail, emploi du temps et temporalité du couple, Dialogue 80 - Le Couple et l'Emploi, A.F.C.C.C., Paris, 55-60.

BETZOLD, M. (1976) How pornography shackles men and oppresses women, Male Bag, March.

BEVSON, J. (1975) Lovemaking with myself, A Forum for Changing Men, January.

BIGNER, J.J. (1979) Parent-child Relations - An Introduction to Parenting, Macmillan, New York.

- BILLER, H.B. (1971) Father, Child and Sex-Role, D.C.Heath, Lexington, Mass..
- BINCHY, M. (1985) Meet Mrs Somebody, mother and wife, The Guardian, 5 February, 10.
- BIRD, G.W., BIRD, G.A. and SCRUGGS, M. (1984) Determinants of task sharing: a study of husbands and wives, Journal of Marriage and the Family, May, 345-355.
- BLAKE, C. (1985) Sex as a springboard, Sunday Times, 21 April.
- BLAKEMORE, J.E.O. (1981) Age and sex differences in interaction with a human infant, Child Development, 52, March, 386-8.
- BLANDFORD, L. (1985) In big America, real men do not drive BMWs, The Guardian 31 July, 12.
- BLOCK, J.H. (1983) Conceptions of sex role: some cross-cultural and longitudinal perspectives, American Psychologist, June, 512-526.
- BLOOD, R.O. and WOLFE, D.M. (1960) The Dynamics of Married Living, Free Press, New York.
- BLOOM-FESHBACH, J. (1981) Historical perspectives on the father's role, IN M.E. LAMB, The Role of the Father in Child Development, Wiley, New York.
- BONIN, S. (1986) Les nouveaux pères: existent-ils vraiment?, Madame Figaro, 4 octobre, No.13093, 53-58.
- BONJEAN, C. (1985) Les hommes ont-ils peur des femmes?, Le Point, No.673, 12 août, 50-54.
- BOOTH, A. (1979) Does wives' employment cause stress for husbands?, The Family Coordinator, October, 445-449.
- BOOTH, A. and EDWARDS, J. (1980) Fathers: the invisible parent, Sex Roles, 6, 3, 445-456.
- BOSELEY, S. (1985) Women 'poorer' and less free under Thatcher, The Guardian, 17 June, 13.
- BOTTOMLEY, P. (1985) Debate on parental and family leave, Parliamentary Debates (Hansard), House of Commons Official Report, Vol.89, No. 15, 429-842.
- BOUCHART-GODARD, A. (1976) Naissance d'un enfant, naissance d'un père, Revue de Médecine Psychosomatique, tome 18, printemps, No.1, La Naissance, 85-91.
- BOWEN, G.L. and ORTHNER, D. (1983) Sex-role congruency and

- marital quality, Journal of Marriage and the Family, 45, 1, February, 223-230.
- BOWLBY, J. (1953) Child Care and the Growth of Love, Penguin, Harmondsworth.
- BOWLES, G. and KLEIN, R.D. (1983) Theories of Women's Studies, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- BRADMAN, T. (1985) The Essential Father, Unwin Paperbacks, London.
- BRAITBERG, A. (1979) Les nouveaux pères divorcent aussi, La Gueule Ouverte, octobre, No.28, 13.
- BREEN, J. (1985) Cutting off men's tales, Times Higher Educational Supplement, 1 February, 28.
- BRENTON, M. (1967) The New Male - A Penetrating Look at the Masculinity Crisis, George Allen and Unwin, London.
- BRIDGES, J.S. (1981) Sex-typed may be beautiful, but androgynous is good, Psychological Reports, 48, February, 267-272.
- BROCK, P. (1985) The sugar 'n' spice syndrome, The Guardian, 24 July, 11.
- BRONFENBRENNER, U. (1979) Contexts of child rearing: problems and prospects, American Psychologist, 34, 844-851.
- BROTHERS, J. (1981) What every Woman should know about Men, Granada Publishing, St Albans.
- BROWN, A. (1982) Fathers in the labour ward: medical and lay accounts, IN N. BEAIL and J. McGUIRE (eds.) Fathers: Psychological Perspectives, Junction Books, London, 104-119.
- BURCHILL, J. (1985) Men are bleeding hearts now, not bulging biceps, Sunday Times, 7 April, 35.
- BURGOYNE, J. (1986) Recent Changes in Gender-Based Patterns of Employment, Partnership and Family Formation: Some Theoretical and Methodological Implications of this Challenge to Conventional Conceptualizations of the Family Life Cycle, Paper presented to the British Sociological Association Conference, 24-27 March, Loughborough University.
- BURKITT, B. and ROSE, H. (1981) Why be a wife?, Sociological Review, 29, 1, February, 67-76.
- BYRE, A. (1985) Applying Community standards on Equality, Paper presented at the Centre for European Governmental Studies conference, Edinburgh University, 31 May - 1 June.

BYRNE, E. (1978) Women and Education, Tavistock, London.

CAILLARD, R. (1982) Contribution to the round table discussion on "Le père et la naissance", in Les Pères aujourd'hui, INED/CSIS, 142-144.

CANDELL, P. (1973) When I was about fourteen . . . ., Brother, April, 4, 6.

CANETTE, P.; DOUROUX, O.; MAUVOISIN, N. and POUJOL, R. (1980) Vivre ensemble sans être mariés, Le Pèlerin, 20 juillet, No. 8094, 31-33.

CANO, L., SOLOMON, S. and HOLMES, D.S. (1984) Fear of success - the influence of sex, sex-role identity and components of masculinity, Sex Roles, 10, 5-6, 341-346.

CANS, R. (1979) Une enquête montre la stabilité des rôles à l'intérieur des familles, Le Monde, 3 janvier.

CANTER, R. and MEYEROWITZ, B.E. (1984) Sex-role stereotypes: self-reports of behaviour, Sex Roles, 10, 3-4, February, 293-306.

CASTELAIN-MEUNIER, C. (1987) Cultural changes in masculinity and evolution of paternity, unpublished paper.

CASTELAIN-MEUNIER, C. and FAGNANI, J. (1987) Avoir deux ou trois enfants: contraintes, arbitrages et compromis. Deuxième Rapport Intermédiaire. Contrat avec la Caisse Nationale des Allocations Familiales.

CAUDREY, A. (1985) Girls gain most in subject swap, Times Educational Supplement, 25 January, 15.

CENTRAL POLICY REVIEW STAFF and OFFICE OF POPULATION CENSUSES AND SURVEYS (1981) The Government and the Birth Rate, Tripartite Seminar on Family Policy, December, Sunningdale.

CETTE, G. and ROGNANT, J-Y. (1984) Les Groupes Hommes, Réflexions et Pratiques, A.D.A.M. colloque, 27-28 octobre, Paris.

CHABAUD-RYCHTER, D., FOUGEYROLLAS-SCHWEBEL, D. and SONTTHONNAX, F. (1985) La participation des hommes au travail domestique, IN Espace et Temps du Travail Domestique, Librairie des Méridiens, Paris, 49-74.

CHALVON, M. (1981) Et dans les émissions pour les enfants?, Le Groupe Familial, No.92, 86-89.

CHAPSAL, M. (1979) Simone de Beauvoir: une femme qui parle parmi les femmes, Elle, 12 février, 7-15.

- CHARRAUD, A. and CHASTAND, A. (1979) Prestations familiales et réduction d'impôts, Economie et Statistique, No.104, octobre, 21-34.
- CHESLER, P. (1978) About Men, The Women's Press, London.
- CHEWNING, M.F. and WALKER, W.E. (1980) Sex-typing of tasks and occupations, Psychological Reports, 47, December, 696-698.
- CHODOROW, N. (1978) The Reproduction of Mothering - Psychoanalysis and the Sociology of Gender, University of California Press, Berkeley.
- "CHOISIR" (1980) Qui sont ces nouveaux pères? Choisir - la cause des femmes, No.47, mars/ avril, 6-10.
- CHOMBEAU, C. (1983) La loi sur l'égalité professionnelle entre les femmes et les hommes, Le Monde, 2 juillet, 11.
- CHOMBART DE LAUWE, P. (1962) The status of women in French urban society, International Social Science Journal, 14, 26-65.
- CHORLTON, P. (1986) The 60/65 question, The Guardian, 3 March, 11.
- CLARKE-STEWART, A. (1978) And Daddy makes three: the father's impact on mother and young child, Child Development, 49, 2, June, 466-478.
- CLERGET, J. (1979) Etre Père aujourd'hui, Editions de Cerf, Paris.
- CLINE, S. and SPENDER, D. (1987) Reflecting Men at Twice their Natural Size, Andre Deutsch, London.
- COHEN, G. (1977) Absentee husbands in spiralist families, Journal of Marriage and the Family, 39, 595-604.
- COHEN, J. (1979) Male roles in mid-life, The Family Coordinator, 28, 4, October, 465-471.
- COLEY, S.B. (Jr) and EVANS, B.E. (1976) Delivery: a trauma for fathers?, The Family Coordinator, October, 359-363.
- COLIN, M. (1983) Permanences et nouveautés dans la vie conjugale, Dialogue 80 - Le Couple et l'Emploi, A.F.C.C.C., Paris, 49-54.
- COLLANGE, C. (1981) Ça va les Hommes?, Grasset et Fasquelle, Paris.
- COMMISSARIAT GENERAL DU PLAN - DOCUMENTATION FRANÇAISE, La

Famille, Hachette, Paris.

COOK, J. (1983) Sex and socialism, New Statesman, 7 January, 12-13.

COQUILLAT, M. (1985) The Role and Influence of a Minister for Women's Rights, Paper presented at the C.E.G.S. conference, 31 May - 1 June, Edinburgh University.

COTTA, M. and HEYMANN, D. (1975) Femmes: ce qui a changé. L'Express, 3-9 mars, 44-49.

COUET, M.D. (1985) Etre père aujourd'hui...comme hier, Bulletin Officiel de la Société Française de Psycho-Propylaxie Obstétricale - Psychologie et Natalité, 4e trimestre, No.103, 27-30.

COUSSINS, J. (1976) The Equality Report, N.C.C.L. Rights for Women Unit.

CRAGG, A. and DAWSON, T. (1984) Unemployed women: a study of attitudes and experiences, Department of Employment, Research Paper No.47.

CRAVEN, E., RIMMER, L. and WICKS, M. (1982) Family Issues and Public Policy, Study Commission on the Family, Occasional Paper No.7, London.

C.R.E.D.O.C. (1975 - 1984) Le Système d'Enquêtes sur les Conditions de Vie et Aspirations des Français, C.R.E.D.O.C., Paris.

CUNNINGHAM, J. (1985) Macho may be the role image, but is a New Man emerging? The Guardian, 20 February, 20.

CUNNINGHAM, J. (1986) Where has the Women's Movement moved?, The Guardian, 19 August, 8.

DAHLSTROM, E. (ed) (1971) The Changing Roles of Men and Women, Beacon Press, Boston.

DALE, A. and GLOVER, J. (1987) Women's work patterns in the United Kingdom, France and the USA, Social Studies Review, 3, 1, 36-39.

DALLY, A. (1982) Inventing Motherhood - the Consequences of an Ideal, Burnett Books, London.

DALLY, E. (1985) Why men told all to Anna Ford, Cosmopolitan, April, 146-7; 215.

DANIEL, W.W. (1980) Maternity Rights: The Experience of Women, Policy Studies Institute, No.588, London.

- DANZIGER, N. (1983) Sex-related differences in the aspirations of high school students, Sex Roles, 9, 6, June, 683-695.
- D'ARGY-SMITH, M. and MAXWELL, S. (1986) What are men like today? The surprising results of our survey, Cosmopolitan, August, 6-11.
- DAROLLE, R. (1975) La Contraception, c'est aussi l'Affaire des Hommes, Presses de la Cité, Paris.
- DAUNE-RICHARD, A-M. (1984) Travail professionnel et travail domestique - étude exploratoire sur le travail et ses représentations au sein de lignées féminines, Travail et Emploi, juillet-sept., No. 17.
- DAVID, M-G. and GOKALP, C. (1984) La semaine d'un enfant scolarisé, Consommation - Revue de Socio-Economie, janvier-mars.
- DAVIDSON, A. (1986) Men get a raw deal, The Guardian, 8 December, 21.
- DAVIDSON, F. (1986) Parental leave: time for action?, Journal of Social Welfare Law, September, 281-293.
- DEEM, R. (1982) Women, leisure and inequality, Leisure Studies, 1, 29-46.
- DELAMONT, S. (1980) Sex Roles and the School, Methuen, London.
- DELAHAIE, P. and ARNOLD-RICHEZ, F. (1981) Pères d'aujourd'hui: en route pour le paternage, L'Enfant d'Abord, No.50, juin, 6-11.
- DEPARTMENT OF EMPLOYMENT (1981) Women, Work and the Family, Tripartite Seminar on Family Policy, Sunningdale, December.
- DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND SOCIAL SECURITY (1983-1985) Factsheets:
- NI.17A - Maternity Grant and Maternity Allowance.
  - CH.1 - Child Benefit.
  - CH.11 - One Parent Benefit.
  - NI.247 - Social Security: living together as Husband and Wife.
- DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND SOCIAL SECURITY and INLAND REVENUE (1981) Social Security, Tax and the Family, Tripartite Seminar on Family Policy, Sunningdale, December.
- DESCHANDO, P. (1985) Entre la mère et l'enfant, il faut ménager "une place pour le père", Panorama du Médecin,

No.2208, 28 novembre, 6.

DEVREUX, A-M. (1985) De la condition féminine aux rapports sociaux des sexes, Bulletin d'Information des Etudes Féminines, No.16, 12-23.

DEVREUX, A-M. and FERRAND, M. (1986) Nouvelle paternité ou parentalité masculine?, Le Groupe Familial, No.110, 48-53.

DEX, S. (1984) Women's Work Histories: An Analysis of the Women and Employment Survey, Research Paper No.7, Department of Employment, London.

DEX, S. and WALTERS, P. (1988) Unpublished report to the Department of Employment on the secondary analysis of the data from the Department of Employment's (1980) Women and Employment Survey and the study of Working Mothers, Costs and Income from Paid Employment by the Centre d'Etudes des Revenus et des Coûts (1981)

DICKIE, J.R. and GERBER, S.C. (1980) Training in social competence - the effect on mothers, fathers and infants, Child Development, 51, April, 1248-1251.

DOCUMENTATION FRANCAISE (1966) Le Travail des Femmes en France, No.3336, 12 novembre.

DOCUMENTATION FRANCAISE (1970) La Famille Française, No.89.

DOCUMENTATION FRANCAISE (1972) L'autorité parentale, No.3, 9 juin, 897-898.

DODSON, F. (1975) Le Père et son Enfant, Coll. Réponses, Ed. Robert Laffont, Paris.

DOMINIAN, J. (1980) Marriage in Britain 1945-1980, Study Commission on the Family, Occasional Paper No.1.

DONEHOWER, N.L. (1983) Constructing Gender: A Study of the Development of Gender Concepts, PhD thesis, Edinburgh University.

DOUCET, G. (1982) Pourquoi les hommes deviennent fragiles. Le Nouvel E, septembre, 58-65.

DRUMMOND, M. (1985a) A case of unequal treatment, Sunday Times, 2 June, 38.

DRUMMOND, M. (1985b) Sexist policies, Sunday Times, 30 June.

DUBBERT, J. (1979) A Man's Place: Masculinity in Transition, Englewood Cliffs, London.

DUMAS, F. and BLUM, S. (1981) Le père dans la publicité, Le Groupe Familial, No. 92, 78-83.



- DUNCAN, O.D. (1982) Recent cohorts lead rejection of sex typing, Sex Roles, February, 127-133.
- DUNNELL, K. (1979) Family Formation, Office of Population Censuses and Surveys, HMSO, London.
- DUPREY, Y. (1986) Papa-bébé: le couple à la mode?, Parents, novembre, 72-3.
- DUPUIS, J. (1987) Au Nom du Père, Le Rocher, Paris.
- DWORKIN, A. (1981) Pornography: Men Possessing Women, The Women's Press, London.
- DWORKIN, R.J. and DWORKIN, A.G. (1983) The effect of inter-gender conflict on sex-role attitudes, Sex Roles, 9, 1, 49-57.
- DYER, R. (1985) Male sexuality in the media, IN A. METCALF and M. HUMPHRIES (eds.), The Sexuality of Men, Pluto, London, 28-43.
- EASLER, B. (1981) Science and Sexual Oppression: Patriarchy's Confrontation with Women and Nature, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, London.
- EASTERBROOKS, M.A. and GOLDBERG, W.A. (1984) Toddler development in the family - impact of father involvement and parenting characteristics, Child Development, 55, 3, 740-752.
- EDGEELL, S. (1980) Middle-class Couples - a Study of Segregation, Domination and Inequality in Marriage, Allen and Unwin, London.
- EDWARDS, S. (1986) A finger on the pulse of the nation's men, The Guardian, 15 April, 8.
- EHRENREICH, B. (1983) The Hearts of Men: American Dreams and the Flight from Commitment, Pluto, London.
- EICHENBAUM, L. and ORBACH, S. (1983) What do Women Want?, Michael Joseph Ltd, London.
- EISENBERG, N., TRYON, K. and CAMERON, E. (1984) The relation of preschoolers' peer interaction to their sex-typed toy choices, Child Development, 55, 3, 1044-1050.
- EISENSTEIN, H. (1984) Contemporary Feminist Thought, Unwin Paperbacks, London.
- EISIKOVITS, R. (1983) Paternal child care as a policy relevant social phenomenon and research topic: the question

of values, IN M.E. LAMB and A. SAGI (eds.), Fatherhood and Family Policy, Lawrence Erlbaum, New Jersey.

ELKAIM, P. (1981) Les pères aujourd'hui, ou comment ne pas les entendre, Le Groupe Familial, 101-105.

ELLIOT, E. (1981) The Mark of a Man, Hodder and Stoughton, London.

ENGLISH, D. (1980) The politics of porn, Mother Jones, 5, 3, April, 43.

ENTWISLE, D. and DOERING, S. (1981) The First Birth: A Family Turning Point, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES COMMISSION (1981) Newsletter No.1 on the Joint Consultative Committee on the Curriculum/Equal Opportunities Commission project on equality between the sexes in schools.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES COMMISSION (1983a) Equal Opportunities in Home Economics: Report of a working party convened by the EOC, Manchester,

EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES COMMISSION (1983b) A Guide to Equal Treatment of the Sexes in Careers Materials, EOC, Manchester.

ERICKSEN, J., YANCEY, W. and ERICKSEN, E. (1979) The division of family roles, Journal of Marriage and the Family, 41, May, 301-313.

ESTEVE, D. (1981) Les 'nouveaux' pères, Dossier Familial, juillet-août, 50-54.

ETAUGH, C. and RILEY, S. (1983) Evaluating competence of women and men: effects of marital and parental status and occupational sex-typing, Sex Roles, 9, 9, September, 943-952.

EUROPEAN FILE (1984) Equal Opportunity for Women, Commission of the European Communities, 4/84, Brussels.

EVANS, P. (1985) Make way for the 'new man', The Listener, 4 July, 8-9.

EVERSOLL, D. (1979) The changing father role: implications for parent education programmes for today's youth, Adolescence, 14, 55, fall, 535-544.

FABIUS, L. (1985) 8 mars 1985: des avancées pour les femmes, Lettre de Matignon, No.142, 11 mars.

FALCONNET, G. (1978) La crise n'épargne pas la fabrication des mâles, Le Groupe Familial, No.78, janvier, 70-72.

FALCONNET, G. (1981) Etats d'âme d'un père célibataire à mi-temps, Types/Paroles d'Hommes, No.1, janvier, 17-25.

FALCONNET, G. and LEFAUCHEUR, N. (1975) La Fabrication des mâles, Seuil, Paris.

FAMILY PLANNING ASSOCIATION (1984) Men, Sex and Relationships, Family Planning Association, London.

FAMILY PLANNING INFORMATION SERVICE (1983-1985) Factsheets:

- F3 - The Legal Position regarding Contraceptive Advice and Provision to Young People.
- B4 - Marriage, Cohabitation and Divorce.
- C1 - The Need for Reliable Contraception.
- F2 - The under 16s - Sexual Attitudes and Behaviour.
- E2 - Birth Control and Religion.
- E1 - Changing Attitudes to Birth Control.
- A2 - The Organisation and Structure of the FPA.
- J1 - Family Planning and the National Health Service.
- D4 - Some Laws on Sex.

FAMILY POLICY STUDIES CENTRE (1984) The Family Today: Continuity and Change, Fact Sheet, September.

FARRELL, W. (1975) The Liberated Man - Beyond Masculinity: Freeing Men and their Relationships with Women, Random House, New York.

FASTEAU, M. (1972) Why aren't we talking?, Ms, July, 16.

FASTEAU, M. (1975) The Male Machine, Dell, New York.

FEIN, R.A. (1976) Men's entrance to parenthood, The Family Coordinator, October, 341-347.

FEIN, R.A. (1978) Research on fathering: social policy and an emergent perspective, Journal of Social Issues, 34, 122-135.

FELDMANN, S.S. and ASCHENBRUNNER, B. (1983) Impact of parenthood on various aspects of masculinity and femininity: a short-term longitudinal study, Developmental Psychology, 19, March, 278-289.

FENWICK, P. and FENWICK, E. (1979) The Baby Book for Fathers, Sphere, London.

FERGUSON, C.W. (1966) The Male Attitude, Little and Brown, Boston.

FERGUSON, M. (1987) New perspectives on male roles: some findings from a small-scale cross-national study of men in France and Great Britain, IN L. HANTRAIIS and S. MANGEN (eds) Language and Culture in Cross-National Research, Doing Cross-

FINCH, J. (1983) Married to the Job: Wives' Incorporation in Men's Work, George Allen and Unwin, London.

FIRESTONE, R. (ed.) (1979) A Book of Men: Visions of the Male Experience, Mainstream Publishing Company, Edinburgh.

FOGARTY, M. and RODGERS, B. (1982) Family Policy - International Perspectives, IN R.N. RAPOPORT, M.P. FOGARTY and R. RAPOPORT (eds), Families in Britain, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 3-55.

FOLLAIN, M. (1985) A Minister for Women's Rights...and why we need one here, The Sunday Times, 1 December, 36.

FONTIS, B. (1982) Contribution to the round table discussion on "Le père et la naissance", in Les Pères aujourd'hui, INED/CSIS, 142-144.

FORD, A. (1985) Men, Corgi, London.

FOX, G.L. (1981) Family research, theory, and politics: challenges of the eighties, Journal of Marriage and the Family, May, 259-261.

FOX, M.F. and FAVERS, C.A. (1981) Achievement and aspiration: patterns among male and female academic-career aspirants, Sociology of Work and Occupations, 8, 4, November, 439-463.

FRANCE - FACTS AND FIGURES (1975) Women in France, A/107/3.

FRANCIS, M. (1986) Fathering for Men, Generation Books, Bristol.

FRANKLIN, C.W. (1984) The Changing Definition of Masculinity, Plenum Press, London.

FRANKS, H. (1984) Goodbye Tarzan, Allen and Unwin, London.

FRANSELLA, F. and FROST, K. (1977) On Being a Woman, Tavistock Publications, London.

FRECH, M. (1978) Les motivations masculines à un choix professionnel féminin, Le Groupe Familial, No.78, janvier, 57-62.

FREUD, S. (1905) Drei Abhandlungen sur Sexualtheorie, Deuticke, Leipzig and Vienna.

FREUD, S. (1953) On Sexuality: Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality and other Works, Penguin, Harmondsworth.

FRIDAY, N. (1976) My Secret Garden: Women's Sexual Fantasies, Quartet Books, London.

- FRIDAY, N. (1980) Men in Love, Hutchinson, London.
- FRIEDAN, B. (1963) The Feminine Mystique, Gollancz, London.
- FRIEDAN, B. (1983) The Second Stage, Sphere Books, London.
- FRIEDMAN, S. and SARAH, E. (1982) On the Problem of Men: Two Feminist Conferences, Women's Press, London.
- FROMM, E. (1957) The Art of Loving, Allen and Unwin, London.
- FROUGNY, C. and GAILL, F. (1981) Le chasseur et la nourrice, Raison Présente, 57, 91-98.
- de GAALON, A. (1977) Couples: les femmes tiennent la caisse, Le Point, No. 237, 4 avril.
- GABBEY, R. (1970) Les jeunes croient-ils encore au mariage? Réalités, mai, No. 292, 90-97.
- GAMILLSHEG, H. (1986) Viel zu wenige Väter bleiben bei ihren Babys, Frankfurter Rundschau, 7 Oktober, 18.
- GARDINER, J. (1985) What is women's history? Times Educational Supplement, 19 April, 22.
- GARDNER, G. (1978) Social Surveys for Social Planners, Open University Press, Milton Keynes.
- GASSER, R.D. and TAYLOR, C.M. (1976) Role adjustment of single-parent fathers with dependent children, The Family Coordinator, October, 397-401.
- GAVRON, H. (1968) The Captive Wife, Penguin, Harmondsworth.
- GEILLE, A. (1978) Le Nouvel Homme, Jean-Claude Lattès, Paris.
- GELIS, J. (1981) Et si l'amour paternel existait aussi! L'Histoire, No. 31, février, 96-98.
- GERZI, S. and BERMAN, E. (1981) Emotional reactions of expectant fathers to their wives first pregnancy, British Journal of Medical Psychology, 54, September, 259-265.
- GHIGLIONE, R. and MATALON, B. (1978) Les Enquêtes Sociologiques - Théories et Pratique, Armand Colin, Paris.
- GIAMI, A. (1983) L'évolution de l'investissement familial de l'homme, Dialogue 80 - Le Couple et l'Emploi, A.F.C.C.C., Paris, 39-48.
- GIELE, J. (1979) Social policy and the family, Annual Review

of Sociology, 5, 275-302.

GIELE, J. and SMOCK, A. (eds) (1977) Women - Roles and Status in Eight Countries, Wiley, New York.

GILLARD, L. (1985) Mankind or man kind?, Ideal Home, August, Vol. 130, No. 2, 78-79.

GILLIGAN, C. (1979) Woman's place in man's life-cycle. Harvard Educational Review, 49, 4, November, 431-446.

GINSBURG, G. (1985) Nouveaux pères - prendre à coeur une tâche à part entière, Enfants Magazine, mai, No.105, 56-57.

GODELIER, M. (1978) Le pouvoir masculin, Le Groupe Familial, No. 78, janvier, 2-11.

GOKALP, C. and DAVID, M-G. (1982) La garde des jeunes enfants, Population et Sociétés, septembre, No. 161.

GOKALP, C. and LERIDON, H. (1983) Incidences de l'activité féminine sur la participation du père à la vie familiale, INED, La Revue Tocqueville, juin, Paris.

GOLDBERG, H. (1976) The Hazards of being Male - Surviving the Myth of Masculine Privilege, Nash, New York.

GOLDBERG, H. (1979) The New Male, Morrow, New York.

GOODE, W.J. (1980) Why Men Resist, Dissent, 27, 2, spring, 181-193.

GOODMAN, A. and WALBY, P. (1975) A Book about Men, Quartet Books, London.

GOODMAN, L.W. (1974) A report on children's toys, IN J. STACEY et al. (eds.) And Jill came tumbling after, Dell, New York.

GORDON, J. (1986) Parental Leave: can we afford not to have it?, National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education Journal, November, 32-33.

GOULD, R.E. (1973) Measuring masculinity by the size of a paycheck, Ms, June, 18.

GOWLER, D. and LEGGE, K. (1982) Dual-worker families, IN R.N. RAPOPORT, M.P. FOGARTY and R. RAPOPORT (eds) Families in Britain, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

GRASSIN, S. (1987) Pères: vos quatre vérités, L'Express, 15 mars, 42-51.

GRAY, S. (1982) Exposure to pornography and aggression

- towards women: the case of the angry male, Social Problems, 29, 4, April, 387-398.
- GREEN, B. (1986) Boys will be boys i.e. horrible, The Observer, 31 August, 37.
- GREEN, M. (1976) Goodbye Father, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- GREENBERG, M. and MORRIS, N. (1974) Engrossment: the newborn's impact upon the father, American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 44, 520-553.
- GREER, G. (1981) The Female Eunuch, Granada Publishing Ltd. Herts.
- GREER, G. (1985) Greer on Ford on men, The Observer, 24 March, 51.
- GRIECO, M.S. and WHIPP, R. (1984) Women and the workplace: gender and control in the labour process, May, Work Organization Research Centre, Aston University, Birmingham.
- GRIMES, M.D. and HANSEN, G.L. (1984) Response bias in sex-role attitude measurement, Sex Roles, 10, 1-2, January, 67-72.
- GRIMLER, G. and ROY, C. (1987) Time use in France in 1985-1986, Premiers Résultats, Collections de l'INSEE, No. 100, octobre.
- GRUBER, K.J. (1980) Sex-typing of leisure activities: A Current Appraisal, Psychological Reports, 46, February, 259-265.
- GUICHARD, M-T. (1979) Le mariage à l'essai, Le Point, No. 358, 30 juillet, 34-37.
- GUICHARD, M-T. (1976) Les nouveaux pères, Le Point, 29 novembre, No. 219.
- GUSTERSON, H. (1986) A young man's exercise in ritual on the high seas, The Guardian, 18 August, 18.
- HAAS, L. (1982) Determinants of role-sharing behaviour: a study of egalitarian couples, Sex Roles, 8, 7, July, 747-760.
- HACKETT, G. (1986) Private schools confront boys' hidden emotions, Times Educational Supplement, 18 April, 13.
- HAKIM, C. (1970) Occupational Segregation, Research Paper No.9, Department of Employment, HMSO, London.

- HALIMI, G. (1973) La Cause des Femmes, Grasset et Fasquelle, Paris.
- HALL, F.S. and HALL, D.T. (1979) The Two-Career Couple, Addison-Wesley, Philippines.
- HANSON, S. and BOZETT, F. (1985) Dimensions of Fatherhood, Sage, Beverly Hills.
- HANTRAIS, L. (1982) Contemporary French Society, Macmillan, London.
- HANTRAIS, L. (1983) Leisure and the Family in Contemporary France, Papers in Leisure Studies No.7, Polytechnic of North London.
- HANTRAIS, L. (1984) The Rationale of Cross-National Research, August, unpublished paper.
- HANTRAIS, L. (1985) Time, the Family and Leisure within the Franco-British Perspective, Report on the ESRC-sponsored seminar held at the James Gracie Conference Centre, Birmingham, 14-16 March.
- HANTRAIS, L. (1988) Family Life and Labour Market Participation of Women Graduates: Lessons from the French, Working Paper presented to the Resources in Households Study Group, 4 March, Institute of Education.
- HANTRAIS, L. and AGER, D.E. (1985) The Language Barrier to Effective Cross-National research, IN L. HANTRAIS, S. MANGEN and M. O'BRIEN (eds), Doing Cross-National Research No.1, Cross-National Research Papers, AMLC, Birmingham, 29-40.
- HARDING, S., PHILLIPS, D. and FOGARTY, M. (1986) Contrasting Values in Western Europe - Unity, Diversity and Change, Studies in the Contemporary Values of Modern Society, Macmillan, London.
- HARTLEY, R.E. (1959) Sex-role pressures in the socialization of the male child, Psychological Reports, 5, 457-468.
- HARTNETT, O., BODEN, G. and FULLER, M. (eds.) (1979) Sex-Role Stereotyping: Collected Papers, Tavistock, London.
- HARVEY, P.H. (1983) Macho and his mate, Free Inquiry in Creative Sociology, 11, 2, November, 167-170; 174.
- HEMMINGS, J. (1985) Civilising Male Sexuality, Paper presented at the Family Planning Association "Men, Sex and Relationships" Conference, 29 March, London.
- HERZLICH, G. (1984) France: les socialistes redécouvrent la famille, Le Monde, 2 juillet.



- HERZOG, R.R., BACHMAN, J.G. and JOHNSTON, L.D. (1983) Paid work, child care and housework: a national survey of high school seniors' preferences for sharing responsibilities between husband and wife, Sex Roles, 9, 1, January, 109-135.
- HETHERINGTON, E.M., COX, M. and COX, R. (1976) Divorced fathers, The Family Coordinator, October, 417-427.
- HILL, R. (1981) Whither family research in the 1980s: continuities, emergents, constraints, and new horizons, Journal of Marriage and the Family, May, 255-257.
- HIPGRAVE, T. (1982) Lone fatherhood: a problematic status, IN L. MCKEE and M. O'BRIEN (eds.), The Father Figure, Tavistock, London.
- HOCHSCHILD, A.R. (1975) Inside the Clockwork of Male Careers, IN F. HOWE (ed.), Women and the Power to Change, McGraw Hill, New York.
- HOCQUENGHEM, G. (1978) Subversion et décadence du mâle d'après-mai, Autrement, février, No.12, 157-163.
- HOFFMANN, S.M. (1981) The Classified Man: Twenty-two Types of Men (and what to do about them), Sphere, London.
- HOLLENDER, J. and SCHAFER, L. (1981) Male acceptance of female career roles, Sex Roles, 7, 12, December, 1199-1203.
- HOLLY, L. (1982) A new image for fathers - or a new gloss on the old man?, Spare Rib, August, 52-55.
- HOOD, J. and GOLDEN, S. (1979) Beating time/making time: the impact of work scheduling on men's family roles, The Family Coordinator, October, 28, 4, 575-582.
- HOPE, C.A. and STOVER, R.G. (1980) A cross-cultural study of gender status, Free Inquiry in Creative Sociology, 8, 1, May, 16-21.
- HORNA, J. and LUPRI, E. (1987) Fathers' participation in work, family life and leisure: a Canadian experience, IN C. LEWIS and M. O'BRIEN, (eds.), Reassessing Fatherhood: New Observations on Fathers and the Modern Family, Sage, London, 54-73.
- HORNER, M.S. (1972) Towards an understanding of achievement-related conflicts in women, Journal of Social Issues, 28, 157.
- HOSKYNS, C. (1985) Give us equal pay and we'll open our own doors, Paper presented at C.E.G.S. conference, 31 May - 1 June, Edinburgh University.
- HOUSE OF LORDS SELECT COMMITTEE ON THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES

(1985) Parental Leave and Leave for Family Reasons, HMSO, London.

HUBER, J. and SPITZE, G. (1981) Wives' employment, household behaviours and sex-role attributes, Social Forces, 60, 1, 150-168.

HUNT, A. (1975) Management Attitudes and Practices towards Women at Work - an Employment Policy Survey carried out on behalf of the Department of Employment, HMSO, LONDON.

HUNT, J.G. (1980) Sex stratification and male biography: from deprivation to ascendance, The Sociological Quarterly, 21, 2, Spring, 143-156.

HUNT, P. (1980) Gender and Class Consciousness, Macmillan, London.

HURSTEL, F. (1987) La fonction paternelle aujourd'hui: problèmes de théorie et questions d'actualité, Enfance, 40, No.1-2, 163-179.

HURSTFIELD, J. (1978) The Part-Time Trap, Low Pay Unit, London.

HUTTER, M. (1981) The Changing Family: Comparative Perspectives, Wiley, New York.

INGHAM, M. (1984) Men, Century, London.

INSEE (1974 - 1985) Les Activités Quotidiennes des Français: Différences entre Catégories Sociales, Paris.

IONS, J. (1985) He heals the sick, I wash the dishes, Sunday Times Magazine, 19 May, 82.

ISHERWOOD, J.T. (1983) The male role: limitations and interventions, Free Inquiry in Creative Sociology, 11, 2, November, 227-230.

JACKSON, B. (1982) Single-parent families, IN R.N. RAPOPORT, M.P. FOGARTY and R. RAPOPORT (eds), Families in Britain, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

JACKSON, B. (1983) Fatherhood, George Allen and Unwin, London.

JACQUEY, X. (1977) Vers de nouveaux types de paternité, Echanges, No.131, octobre, 22-23.

JANAUD, A. and de PARSEVAL, G. (1982) Le père qui venait du

froid ou le "père IAD", Collected papers from the conference Les Pères Aujourd'hui, INED/CSIS, 17-19 février 1981, 58-61.

JANNER, G. (1979) Debate on equal opportunities for men, Parliamentary Debates of the House of Commons, (Hansard), 31 January, 1493-1498.

JANSSEN-JURREIT, M. (1982) Sexism: The Male Monopoly of History and Thought, Farrar Strauss Giroux, New York.

JEFFCOATE, S.L. and SANDLER, M. (1982) Progress Towards a Male Contraceptive, Wiley, Chichester.

JENNINGS, C. (1986) The two-job relationship: is it working? Options, August, 31.

JOHNSON, M.M. (1982) Fathers and 'femininity' in daughters: a review of the research, Sociology and Social Research, 67, 1, October, 1-17.

JOSHI, H. (1986) The lifetime earnings losses of mothers: a quantitative approach. Paper presented at meeting of the study group "Resources within Households", 14 November, Institute of Education.

JOURARD, S. (1971) The Transparent Self, D. Van Nostrand Co., New York.

JOURDAIN, D. (1981) Qui sont les pères déclarant avoir de nombreuses activités ménagères?, INSEE, Département "Population et Ménages", Paris.

JOURNAL DES PERES (1983) Supplement to Enfants Magazine, No. 79, mars.

JULTY, S. (1972) A case of sexual dysfunction, Ms, Nov., 18; 20-21.

KAHN, A. (1981) Reactions of profeminist and antifeminist men to an expert woman, Sex Roles, 7, August, 857-866.

KAHN, S.E. (1982) Sex-role attitudes: who should raise consciousness?, Sex Roles, 8, September, 977-985.

KAJMAN, M. (1978) Vers l'égalité des époux, Le Monde, 11 mai.

KAMERMAN, S. (1983) Fatherhood and family policy: some insights from a comparative perspective, IN M.E LAMB and A. SAGI (eds.), Fatherhood and Family Policy, Lawrence Erlbaum, New Jersey.

KAMERMAN, S. and KAHN, A. (1978) Family Policy: Government and Families in Fourteen Countries, Columbia University

Press.

- KARPF, A. (1985a) Boys won't always be boys, The Guardian, 12 March, 24.
- KARPF, A. (1985b) Takeover bid for fathers, Sunday Times, 16 June, 35.
- KARPF, A. (1985c) What turns a man into Mr Punch?, The Guardian, 14 August, 11.
- KAUPP, K.D. (1978) Le Prince Charmant rôde toujours, Le Nouvel Observateur, 12 juin, 62-63.
- KEEL, P. (1985) Judges uphold insurers' sex bias, The Guardian, 16 August, 1.
- KELEN, J. (1987) Les Nouveaux Pères, Flammarion, Paris.
- KEPES, S. (1978) Les hommes et la contraception, Le Groupe Familial, No. 78, janvier, 13.
- KERGOAT, D. (1982) Les Ouvrières, Sycomore, Paris.
- KILIAN, D. (1985) Neue Männer hat das Land, Brigitte, 13/85, 80-83.
- KNIGHTLEY, P. (1985) Spinster Man is a coward, Sunday Times, 17 March, 36.
- KOMAROVSKY, M. (1973) Cultural contradictions and sex roles: the masculine case, American Journal of Sociology, 78, 4, January, 873-884.
- KORDA, M. (1972) Male Chauvinism: How it Works, Random House, New York.
- KOTELCHUCK, M. (1972) The Nature of the Child's Tie to his Father, PhD thesis, Harvard University.
- KOTKIN, M. (1983) Sex roles among married and unmarried couples, Sex Roles, 9, 9, Sept, 975-985.
- KOUCHNER, A. (1984) Femmes: 40 ans, le bel âge, L'Express, 14 décembre, 69-76.
- KUPFERMANN, J. (1985a) Endless mothering, Sunday Times, 17 March, 36.
- KUPFERMANN, J. (1985b) The Flight from Commitment, Sunday Times, 4 November.
- KUPFERMANN, J. (1985c) Narcissistic Man, Sunday Times, 28 April, 36.

LABONTE, J. (1973) Peaches and me: a story from prison, Boston Pheonix, May 22.

LABOURIE-RACAPE, A. (1982) Banking on women managers, Banking Today, February, 50-53;108.

LABOURIE-RACAPE, A. and GONTIER, G. (1979) La réinsertion professionnelle des femmes de plus de 30 ans, Centre d'Etudes de l'Emploi, Bulletin d'Information No. 38-39, juin-août.

LABOURIE-RACAPE, A. (1982) L'emploi féminin dans le secteur bancaire: l'exemple de quatre banques - Belgique, France, Pays-Royaume-Uni. Banque, No. 418, avril.

LA FONTAINE, J.S. (1981) Domestication of the savage male, Mankind, 16, S'81, 333-349.

da LAGE, C., ALNOT, M-C., GRANET, P. and de PARSEVAL, G. (1982) Les donneurs de sperme, Collected papers from the conference "Les Pères Aujourd'hui", INED/CSIS, 17-19 février 1981, 68-72.

LAINÉ, P. La Femme et ses Images, Stock, Paris.

LAMB, M.E. (1976) The Role of the Father in Child Development, Wiley, New York.

LAMB, M.E. and LAMB, J.E. (1976) The nature and importance of the Father-Infant Relationship, The Family Coordinator, October, 397-383.

LAMB, M.E. (1981) The Role of the Father in Child Development, 2nd edition, Wiley, New York.

LAMB, M.E. (1982) Why Swedish fathers aren't liberated, Psychology Today, October, 74-77.

LAMB, M.E. and SAGI, A. (eds) (1983) Fatherhood and Family Policy, Lawrence Erlbaum, New Jersey.

LAMB, M.E., FRODI, M., HWANG, C.P. and FRODI, A.M. (1983) Effects of paternal involvement on infant preferences for mothers and fathers, Child Development, 54, 2, 450-458

LAMB, M.E. and LEVINE, J.A. (1983) The Swedish parental insurance policy: an experiment in social engineering, IN M.E. LAMB and A. SAGI (eds.), Fatherhood and Family Policy, Lawrence Erlbaum, New Jersey.

LAMB, M.E., PLECK, J.H. and LEVINE, J.A. (1986) Effects of increased paternal involvement on children in two-parent families, IN LEWIS, R.A. and SALT, R.E. (eds) Men in Families, Sage, 141-153.

LAMB, M.E., PLECK, J.H. and LEVINE, J.A. (1987) Effects of increased paternal involvement on fathers and mothers, IN C. LEWIS and M. O'BRIEN (eds.), Reassessing Fatherhood, Sage, London, 109-125.

LAMBERT, W.E.; HAMERS, J.F. and FRASURE-SMITH, N. (1979) Child-Rearing Values - A Cross-National Study, Praeger, New York.

LAMM, B. (1976) Learning from women, Morning Due: A Journal of Men against Sexism, Vol.2, No.2.

LAND, H. and PARKER, R. (1975) United Kingdom, IN S.B. KAMERMAN and A.J. KAHN (eds), Family Policy: Government and Families in Fourteen Countries, Columbia University Press, 331-366.

LANGEVIN, A. (1984) Le caractère sexué des temps sociaux, Pour, No. 95, mai-juin, 75-82.

LANGEVIN, A. (1979) Images féminines et masculines du désir d'enfant, Le Groupe Familial, No. 84, juillet, 'Vouloir un enfant', 22-27.

LASCOUMES, P. (1978) A paroles de femmes, silences d'hommes?, Recherches, No. 31, novembre, 'Masculinités'.

LAURENT, A. (1975) Féminin, Masculin, le Nouvel Equilibre, Seuil, Paris.

LAURIERE, F; QUEROUL, O. and ROYER, A. (eds) (1978) Masculinités, Recherches Françaises, No. 35, 5-299.

LAVERY, B. (1985) What John Wayne could have told you, The Guardian, 7 February, 11.

LAZARRE, J. (1981) On Loving Men, Virago, London.

LEBERT, U. (1985) Was ist eine Hausfrau wert? Bezahlen kann sie keiner, Brigitte, 9/85, 104-105.

LEBOVICI, S. and CREMIEUX, R. (1970) A propos du rôle et de l'image du père, Psychiatrie de l'Enfance, XIII, Presses Universitaires de France, 342-447.

LE CAMUS, J. (1986) La part du père - des psy mènent l'enquête, L'Ecole des Parents, 9, 44-52.

LEDERER, W. (1968) The Fear of Women, Heinemann, London.

LEE, A.G. and SCHEURER, V.L. (1983) Psychological androgyny and aspects of self-image in women and men, Sex Roles, 9, 3, march, 289-306.

LEE, J. (1986) Opening speech to conference "Parental Leave: an Employers' Guide", 28 November, London.

LE GALL, A. (1975) Le Rôle Nouveau du Père, Les Editions E.S.F, Paris.

LE GENDRE, B. (1979) La répartition des tâches domestiques entre hommes et femmes évolue lentement, Le Monde, 22 mai.

LEGRAS, D. (1978) Que sont devenues les fonctions protectrices traditionnelles des hommes?, Le Groupe Familial No. 78, janvier.

LEIN, L. (1979) Male participation in home life: impact of social supports and breadwinner responsibility on the allocation of tasks, The Family Coordinator, 28, 4, October, 489-495.

LEMENNICIER, B. (1980) La spécialisation des rôles conjugaux, les gains du mariage et la perspective du divorce, Consommation, 27, janvier-mars, 27-71.

LENNEY, E. (1979) Androgyny: some audacious assertions towards its coming of age, Sex Roles, 5, 6, Dec., 703-719.

LERNER, D. (1956) Interviewing Frenchmen, The American Journal of Sociology, No.2, Vol. LXII, September, 42-44.

LESTER, J. (1973) Being a boy, Ms, June, 112-113.

LETABLIER, M-T. (1985) Incidences des charges familiales sur le travail des femmes en France, Working paper from the ESRC/CNRS project on Women's Employment in France and Great Britain.

LEVENTHAL, G. and MATTURO, M. (1981) Males' attitudes towards women: what they say and what they do, Psychological Reports, 48, February, 333-334.

LEVINE, J.A. (1976) Who will raise the Children? New Options for Fathers (and Mothers), Lippencott, Philadelphia.

LEVY, M.L. (1979) La profession maternelle, Population et Sociétés, octobre, No. 128.

LEWIS, C. (1982) A feeling you can't scratch? The effect of pregnancy and birth on married men, IN N. BEAIL and J. McGUIRE, Fathers: Psychological Perspectives, Junction Books, London, 43-71.

LEWIS, C., NEWSON, J. and NEWSON, E. (1982) Father participation through childhood and its relation to career aspirations and delinquency, IN N. BEAIL and J. McGUIRE (eds.), Fathers: Psychological Perspectives, Junction Books, London.

- LEWIS, C. (1983) Fathering in contemporary society, PhD thesis, Nottingham University.
- LEWIS, C. (1985) Are fathers' roles changing?, Illustrative material from Fatherhood Research Group conference, 3 July, Bedford College, London.
- LEWIS, C. (1986) Becoming a Father, Open University Press, Milton Keynes
- LEWIS, C. and O'BRIEN, M. (1987) Reassessing Fatherhood: New Observations on Fathers and the Modern Family, Sage, London.
- LEWIS, M. and WEINRAUB, M. (1979) Origins of early sex-role development, Sex Roles, 5, 2, April, 135-153.
- LEWIS, R. and SALT, R. (1986) Men in Families, Sage, Beverly Hills.
- L'HOTE, M. (1981) Un nouveau héros du cinéma, Le Groupe Familial, No.92, 94-94.
- LITEWKA, J. (1973-4) The Socialized Penis, The Lamp in the Spine, Fall/Winter.
- LITTLE, P. (1982) The Baby Book for Dads, New English Library, London.
- LOBBAN, G. (1975) Sex roles in reading schemes, Educational Review, 27, 3, 202-210.
- LOPATA, H. (1971) Self-identity in marriage and widowhood, Sociological Quarterly, 14, 407-418.
- LOVESEY, J. (1984) Sex lessons for the boys, Sunday Times, 6 January, 14.
- LOWE, N. (1982) The legal status of fathers: past and present, IN N. BEAIL and J. McGUIRE, Fathers: Psychological Perspectives, Junction Books, London.
- LUPRI, E. (ed) (1983) The Changing Position of Women in Family and Society - a Cross-National Comparison., E.J.Brill, Leiden, The Netherlands.
- LYNN, D. (1974) The Father: his Role in Child Development, Brooks/Cole, California.
- LYON, H.C. (1977) Tenderness is Strength: from Machismo to Manhood, Harper and Row, New York.
- MACCOBY, E.E. and JACKLIN, C.N. (1974) The Psychology of Sex



Differences, Stanford University Press.

MACKEY, W.C. (1985) Fathering Behaviours: The Dynamics of the Man-Child Bond, Plenum Press, New York.

MACKIE, L. (1985) Anti-feminist pendulum makes its comeback, Glasgow Herald, 11 February, 10.

MADGE, C. and WILLMOTT, P. (1981) Inner City Poverty in Paris and London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

MAHONEY, E.R. and RICHARDSON, J.G. (1979) Perceived social status of husbands and wives: the effects of labour force participation and occupational prestige, Sociology and Social Research, 63, 2, January, 364-474.

MAHONY, P. (1985) Schools for the Boys - Co-Education Reassessed, Hutchinson, London.

MANGETOUT, P. (1986) La paternité en mouvements, Libération, 27/28, 9.

MANION, J. (1977) A study of fathers and infant caretaking, Birth and the Family Journal, 4, 174-179.

MANLEY, P. and SAWBRIDGE, D. (1980) Women at work, Lloyds Bank Review, No.135, 29-40.

MARBEAU-CLEIRENS, B. (1979) L'homme et la paternité - depuis que la femme détermine la contraception, Le Groupe Familial, No. 84, juillet 1979, 'Vouloir un enfant', 12-16.

MARINI, M.M. (1981) Measuring the effects of the timing of marriage and first birth, Journal of Marriage and the Family, 43, 1, February, 19-26.

MARSH, R.M. (1967) Comparative Sociology, Harcourt, Brace and World, New York.

MAUCO, G. (1971) La Paternité - Sa Fonction Educative dans la Famille et à l'Ecole, Editions Universitaires, Paris.

MAURICE, M. (1979) For a study of 'the Societal Effect': universalism and specificity in organization research, IN LAMMERS, C.J. and HICKSON, D.J. (eds.), Organizations Alike and Unlike: International and Inter-Institutional Studies in the Sociology of Organizations, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 42-50.

MAXWELL, J.W. (1976) The Keeping Fathers of America, The Family Coordinator, October, 387-392.

McBROOM, W.H. (1981) Parental relationships, socio-economic status and sex-role expectations, Sex Roles, 7, October, 1027-1033.

- McGUIRE, J. (1982) Gender-specific differences in early childhood: the impact of the father, IN N. BEAIL and J. McGUIRE, Fathers: Psychological Perspectives, Junction Books, London, 95-125.
- McKEE, L. (1980) Fathers and childbirth: just hold my hand, Health Visitor, 53, 368-372.
- McKEE, L. (1982) Fathers' participation in infant care: a critique, IN L. McKEE and M. O'BRIEN (eds.), The Father Figure, Tavistock, London.
- McKEE, L. (1987) The Dads who play at happy families, The Guardian, 19 January, 20.
- McKEE, L. and O'BRIEN, M. (1982) (eds) The Father Figure, Tavistock, London.
- McKEE, L. and O'BRIEN, M. (1983) Interviewing Men - Taking Gender Seriously, IN E. GARMANIKOW, D. MORGAN and D. TAYLORSON (eds.), The Public and the Private, Heinemann, London.
- McNALLY, F. (1979) Women for Hire, Macmillan, London.
- McNEILL, P. (1985) Research Methods, Tavistock, London.
- McRAE, S. (1986) Cross-Class Families, Clarendon, London.
- MEAD, M. (1962) Male and Female, Penguin, Harmondsworth.
- MEAD, S.L. and REKERS, G.R. (1979) Role of the father in normal psychosexual development, Psychological Reports, 45, December, 923-931.
- MEADE-KING, M. (1986a) Man trap, The Guardian, 9 July, 9.
- MEADE-KING, M. (1986b) Men on the MAT, The Guardian, 1 October, 10.
- MEEHAN, E. (1985) Sexual politics and political science. Times Higher Educational Supplement, 26 April, 15.
- MEMMI, A. (1968) L'Homme Dominé, Gallimard, Paris.
- MENAHM, G. (1981) Activité professionnelle et stratégie familiale des femmes mariées, Ministère du Travail.
- MENAHM, G. (1983) Une famille, deux logiques, trois modes d'organisation, Dialogue 80 - Le Couple et l'Emploi, A.F.C.C.C., Paris.
- MEN'S FREE PRESS (1980) Please can I stop being a tree soon - How a group of men looked after 200 children at the 1977 WLM

Conference crèche, Men's Free Press Publications Distribution Co-operative, London.

METCALF, A. and HUMPHRIES, M. (eds.) (1985) The Sexuality of Men, Pluto, London.

MICHEL, A. (ed.) (1970) La sociologie de la famille, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Mouton, Paris.

MICHEL, A. (1984) Changes in the life patterns of families in France, Vienna Centre Current Research Reports: Changes in the Life Patterns of Families in Europe (unpublished report).

MILLER, C. (1985) Spinster man, Sunday Times, 10 March, 36.

MILLER, J. and GARRISON, H. (1982) Sex roles: the division of labour at home and in the workplace, Annual Review of Sociology.

MINISTERE DE LA CULTURE (1982) Pratiques Culturelles des Français - Description Socio-démographique, Evolution 1973-1981, Dalloz, Paris.

MINISTERE DE LA CULTURE (1975) Pratiques Culturelles des Français en 1974, Dalloz, Paris.

MINISTERE DES DROITS DE LA FEMME (1982) Guide des Droits des Femmes 1983, La Documentation Française, Paris.

MINNS, H. (1985) Boys don't cry, Times Educational Supplement, 5 April, 17.

MITCHELL, J. and OAKLEY, A. (1976) The Rights and Wrongs of Women, Penguin, Harmondsworth.

MONEY, J. and TUCKER, P. (1976) Sexual Signatures - On Being a Man or a Woman, Harrap, London.

MONTBRUN, J. (1985) Le macho n'est pas mort, il s'adapte, Le Nouvel E, avril, 62-65.

MONTEGGIA, N. (1985) La place du père, L'Enfant d'abord, février, No.94, 8-13.

MOONEY, B. (1985) The boys fight back, Observer, 17 February, 51.

MORRIS, N. (1982) Le père et le nouveau-né, Collected papers from the conference Les Pères Aujourd'hui, INED/CSIS, 17-19 février 1981, 130-134.

MORTIMER, J.T., HALL, R. and HILL, R. (1978) Husbands' occupational attributes as constraints on wives employment, Sociology of Work and Occupations, 5, August, 285-313.

- MOSER, C. and KALTON, G. (1971) Survey Methods in Social Investigation (2nd ed.) Heinemann, London.
- MOSS, P. (1986) Why Parental Leave?, Paper presented at the conference "Parental Leave: An Employers' Guide", 20 November, London.
- MOSS, P. and BRANNEN, J. (1986) Why is Britain against Family Leave?, The Guardian, 11 June, 8.
- MOUVEMENTS D'HOMMES (1977) 'Femme pratique' vous en dit plus sur les hommes, Femme Pratique, octobre, 11.
- MOUVEMENT POUR L'EGALITE PARENTALE (1983) Les Objectifs du M.E.P., Mère-Enfant-Père, le trimestre.
- MOYE, A. (1985) Pornography, IN A. METCALF and M. HUMPHRIES (eds.), The Sexuality of Men, Pluto, London, 44-69.
- MULDWOLF, B. (1972) Le Métier de Père, Casterman, Tournai, Belgium.
- MUTCH, R. (1986) How could a normal man cuddle a 12-year-old boy?, The Guardian, 2 July, 8.
- NAOURI, A. (1985) Une Place pour le Père, Seuil, Paris.
- NARUS, L.A. and FISCHER, J.L. (1982) Strong but not silent: a re-examination of expressivity in the relationships of men, Sex Roles, 8, 2, February, 159-168.
- NATIONAL CONSUMER COUNCIL (1983) Social Protection in Europe - Working Paper 2, National Consumer Council, June, London.
- NAUD, A-M., EUDES, D., and MUSSO, F. (1979) Les Françaises jugent le père de leur enfant, Parents, No. 125, juillet, 34-37.
- NAUD, A-M., EUDES, D., and MUSSO, F. (1979) Les jeunes pères sont révolutionnaires, Parents, No. 124, juin, 101-105.
- NAUDIN, O. (1984) Les petits-fils des machos seront-ils des pères? La Croix, 2 juillet, 9.
- NEWSON, J. and NEWSON, E. (1965) Patterns of Infant Care in an Urban Community, Penguin, Harmondsworth.
- NICHOLS, J. (1975) Men's Liberation: a New Definition of Masculinity, Penguin, Harmondsworth.
- NICHOLSON, J. (1984) Men and Women: How different are they?, Oxford University Press.

NINVALLE, N. (1984) Changing Images, Sheba Feminist, London.

NORRIS, P. (1985) A gender gap in Europe?, C.E.G.S. Conference, 31 May - 1 June, Edinburgh University.

OAKLEY, A. (1974) The Sociology of Housework, Allen Lane, London.

OAKLEY, A. (1979) Becoming a Mother, Martin Robertson, Oxford.

OAKLEY, A. (1981) Subject Women, Martin Robertson, Oxford.

OAKLEY, A. (1982) Conventional families, IN R.N. RAPOPORT, M.P. FOGARTY, and R. RAPOPORT (eds), Families in Britain, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

O'BRIEN, M. (1982) The Working Father, IN N. BEAIL and J. McGUIRE, Fathers: Psychological Perspectives, Junction Books, London.

O'BRIEN, M. (1984) Fathers without Wives: A Comparative Psychological Study of Married and Separated Fathers and their Families, PhD thesis, LSE, University of London.

OLSTAD, K. (1973) Brave new men: a basis for discussion, Oberlin Alumni Magazine, Sep-Oct.

OPEN UNIVERSITY (1983) The Changing Experience of Women, Open University Press, Milton Keynes.

OPEN UNIVERSITY (1984) Women in Technology - a Report to the Training Division of the Manpower Services Commission on the Retraining Programme for Qualified Experienced Women Technologists, The Open University, April.

ORR, A. (1981) Devenir Père, Ed. Fernand Nathan, Paris.

ORTNER, S.B. and WHITEHEAD, H. (1981) Sexual Meanings: The Cultural Construction of Gender and Sexuality, Cambridge University Press.

ORTHNER, D., BROWN, T. and FERGUSON, D. (1976) Single-parent fatherhood: an emerging family life style, The Family Coordinator, October, 429-437.

OSBORN, A.F. and MORRIS, A.C. (1982) Fathers and child care, Early Child Development and Care, 8, 279-307.

PAKIZEGI, B. (1979) The interaction of mothers and fathers

with their sons, Child Development, 49, 2, June, 479-482.

PAPIERNIK, E. (1982) Contribution to the round table discussion on "Le père et la naissance", in Les Pères aujourd'hui, INED/CSIS, 142-144.

PARKE, R.D. (1981) Fathering, Fontana, London.

PARKE, R.D., O'LEARY, S.E. and WEST, S. (1972) Mother-father-newborn interaction: effects of maternal medication, labour and sex of infant, Proceedings of the American Psychological Association, 85-86.

PARKER, G. (1985) The 'new man' phenomenon, letter in the The Guardian, 2 April, 20.

PARKER, S. and PARKER, H. (1979) Myth of male superiority: rise and demise, American Anthropology, June, 299-309.

de PARSEVAL, G. (1984) De l'identique à l'identité, Autrement, No.61, juin, 197-200.

PARSONS, T. and BALES, R.F. (1956) Family: Socialization and Interaction Process, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

PENN, H. (1982) Who cares for the kids?, New Statesman, 8 January.

Les PERES AUJOURD'HUI (1982) Collection of papers of I.N.E.D. conference, February, Paris.

PERKINS, E.R. (1980) Men on the labour ward, Occasional paper No.22, Leverhulme Health Education Project, University of Nottingham.

PERKINS-GILMAN, C. (1911) The Man-Made World or our Andocentric Culture, Source Book Press, New York.

PEROT, A. (1978) La contraception vue par un homme, Le Groupe Familial, No. 78, janvier, 13-15.

PETRAS, J.W. (1975) Sex = male, gender = masculine, Alfred Publishing Co., New York.

PHILIPP, E. (1982) Le présence du père à l'accouchement, Collected papers from the conference "Les Pères Aujourd'hui", INED/CSIS, 17-19 février 1981, 126-129.

PHILLIPS, A. (1985) Let parents take time off, Observer, 24 February.

PHILLIPS, B. (1985) Housework, Observer, 12 May.

PICHAULT, C. (1983) Day care facilities and services for children under the age of three in the European Community,

cited in Submission to the Select Committee on the European Communities of the House of Lords on the proposed European Community Directive on Parental Leave and Leave for Family Reasons, Equal Opportunities Commission (1984), August, 39.

PITROU, A. (1979) Vie familiale et vie professionnelle: relations et interactions, Collection Etudes et Recherches, juillet.

PITROU, A. (1980) The roles of men and women in French families: change or stability in the patterns and practices, Research in the Interweave of Social Roles, 1, 119-138.

PITROU, A. (1982) Relations entre la vie familiale et la vie professionnelle chez les employés de bureau, Séminaire d'économie et de sociologie du travail et de la santé, C.N.R.S./L.E.S.T.

PITROU, A. (1983a) Trajectoires professionnelles et stratégies familiales - le cas des employés de la Sécurité Sociale et des aides-soignants, C.N.R.S. Laboratoire d'Economie et de Sociologie du Travail, mars.

PITROU, A. (1983b) Un point de non-retour? L'interrogation du travail féminin dans la vie du couple, Dialogue 80 - Le Couple et l'Emploi, A.F.C.C.C., Paris.

PIVOT, A. (1984) La famille, Note No. 2-T-84 sur la famille.

PLECK, J.H. (1979) Men's family work: three perspectives and some new data, The Family Coordinator, October, 481-488.

PLECK, J.H. (1981) The Myth of Masculinity, Institute of Technology Press, Massachusetts.

PLECK, J.H. and SAWYER, J. (1974) (eds) Men and Masculinity, Prentice-Hall, New Jersey.

POLATNICK, M. (1974) Why men don't rear children: a power analysis, Berkeley Journal of Sociology, 18, 45-86.

POLLOCK, S. and SUTTON, J. (1985) Fathers' rights, women's losses, Women's Studies International Forum, 8, 6, 593-9.

POPAY, J., RIMMER, L., and ROSSITER, C. (1983) Diversity: its nature and significance, Study Commission on the Family Occasional Paper No. 12, One Parent Families - Parents, Children, and Public Policy, part I.

POROT, M. (1954) L'Enfant et les Relations Familiales, Presses Universitaires Françaises, Paris.

PORTER, H. (1985) The real truth about men, Sunday Times, 17 February, 11.

- POWELL, N. (1985) Oh, le la! Glasgow Herald, January 29, 11.
- PREMAT, L. (1978) Ici et là, le machisme, Le Groupe Familial, No. 78, janvier, 18.
- QUERE, F. (1984) Etre père . . . ., Panorama aujourd'hui, sep, No. 185, 58-65.
- QUESTIAUX, N. and FOURNIER, J. (1978) France, IN S.B. KAMERMAN and A.J. KAHN (eds), Family Policy: Government and Families in Fourteen Countries, Columbia University Press, 117-182.
- QUILES, Y. and TORNIKIAN, J. (1986) Paternité: ce qu'en disent les hommes, L'Enfant d'Abord, septembre, No.110, 15-27; 83.
- QUINTIN, O. (1985) The policies of the European Communities with special reference to the labour market, C.E.G.S. conference, 31 May - 1 June, Edinburgh University.
- RADIN, N. and RUSSELL, G. (1983) Increased father participation and child development outcomes, IN M.E. LAMB and A. SAGI (eds.), Fatherhood and Family Policy, Erlbaum, New Jersey.
- RANELAGH, E.L. (1985) Men on Women, Quartet Books, London.
- RAPOPORT, R. and RAPOPORT, R.N. (with STRELITZ, Z) (1975) Leisure and the Family Life Cycle, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- RAPOPORT, R. and RAPOPORT, R.N. (1976) Dual-Career Families Re-examined - New Intergration of Work and Family, Martin Robertson, London.
- RAPOPORT, R.; RAPOPORT, R.N. and STRELITZ, Z. (1977) Fathers, Mothers and Others: Towards New Alliances, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- RAPOPORT, R. and SIERAKOWSKI, M. (1982) Recent Social Trends in Family and Work in Britain, Policy Studies Institute, London.
- REBERIOUX, M. (1982) Les femmes en France dans une société d'inégalités, Rapport au Ministre des Droits de la Femme, La Documentation Française, Paris.
- REBY, A-M. (1985) Quand papa doit être aussi maman... Parents, juillet, 66-77.



- REFORME (1985) A la recherche du père, Réforme, No. 2016, 3 décembre.
- REID, I. and WORMALD, E. (1982) Sex Differences in Britain, Grant McIntyre, London.
- RENAUDIN, M. and ANDREANI, G. (1979) Les Français et la contraception, Elle, 5 mars, 17.
- RENDEL, M. (1985) Women, human rights and education, C.E.G.S. conference, 31 May - 1 June, Edinburgh University.
- RENDINA, I. and DICKERSCHIED, J.D. (1976) Father involvement with first-born infants, The Family Coordinator, October, 373-378.
- REYNAUD, E. (1983) Holy Virility, Pluto, London.
- RIANDEY, B. (1978) Rôle économique, rôle social masculins?, Le Groupe Familial, No. 78, janvier.
- RIBAULT, V. (1980) Pères du douzième mois, L'Ecole des Parents, No.7/80, juillet-août.
- RICHARDS, H. (1985) The hooligan code, The Times Educational Supplement, 30 August.
- RICHMAN, J. (1982) Men's experiences of pregnancy and childbirth, IN L. MCKEE and M. O'BRIEN (eds.), The Father Figure, Tavistock, London.
- RICHMAN, J. and GOLDTHORP, W.O. (1978) Fatherhood: the social construction of pregnancy and birth, IN S. KITZINGER and J. DAVIS (eds.), The Place of Birth, Oxford University Press.
- de RIDDER, G. (1982) Du Côté des Hommes - A la Recherche de Nouveaux Rapports avec les Femmes, Ed. de l'Harmattan, Paris.
- RIHOIT, C. (1982) Le désir - pourquoi ne pas le dire?, Le Nouvel F, mars.
- RIMMER, L. (1981) Families in focus: marriage, divorce and family patterns, Study Commission on the Family - Occasional Paper No. 6.
- RIMMER, L. and POPAY, J. (1982) Employment trends and the family, Study Commission on the Family - Occasional Paper No. 10.
- ROACHE, J. (1972) Confessions of a househusband, Ms, Nov., 25-27.
- ROBERTS, H. (1981) Doing Feminist Research, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

- ROBERTS, Y. (1984) Man Enough, Chatto and Windus, London.
- ROBY, P. (1975) Sociology of women in working class jobs, IN M. MILLMAN and R.M. KANTER (eds), Another Voice: Feminist Perspectives on Social Life and Social Science, Anchor Books, New York.
- ROEBER, J. (1987) Shared Parenthood: A Handbook for Fathers, Century, London.
- ROOPNARINE, J.L. (1984) Sex-typed socialization in mixed age preschool classrooms, Child Development, 55, 3, 1078-1084.
- ROOPNARINE, J.L. and MILLER, B.C. (1984) Transitions to fatherhood, IN S. HANSON and F. BOZETT (eds.), Dimensions of Fatherhood, Sage, Beverly Hills, 49-61.
- ROSE, D. (1985) ... and why can't a man be more like a woman?, The Guardian, 30 March, 2.
- ROSS, C.E. and MIROWSKY, J. (1984) Men who cry, Social Psychology Quarterly, 47, 2, June, 138-146.
- ROUSSE, H. and ROY, C. (1981) Activités ménagères et cycle de vie, Economie et Statistiques, No. 131, mars.
- ROUSSEL, L. (1975) Le Mariage dans la Société Française, Presses Universitaires Françaises, Paris.
- ROUSSIER, M-R. and DURANDEAU, A. (1980) Malaise masculin face à l'évolution de la femme, Dialogue, No. 69, 17-19.
- ROWBOTHAM, S. (1972) Women, Resistance and Revolution, Penguin, Harmondsworth.
- ROWBOTHAM, S. (1979) The trouble with patriarchy, The New Statesman, 98, December, 21/28, 970-1.
- ROY, C. (1982) L'emploi du temps des mères et pères de famille nombreuse, Economie et Statistiques, No. 141, février.
- ROY, C. (1984) Travail Marchand et Non Marchand: La Division des Tâches dans le Travail Domestique, Paper presented at the conference "Les Hommes et le Sexisme", St Cloud, 27-28 octobre.
- RUSSELL, G. (1978) The father role and its relation to masculinity, femininity and androgyny, Child Development, 49, 1174-1181.
- RUSSELL, G. (1983) The Changing Role of Fathers, Open University Press, Milton Keynes.
- RUSSELL, G. and RADIN, N. (1983) Increased paternal

participation: the father's perspective, IN M.E. LAMB and A. SAGI (eds.), Fatherhood and Family Policy, Erlbaum, New Jersey.

SACHS, A. and HOFF WILSON, J. (1978) Sexism and the Law: A Study of Male Beliefs and Legal Bias in Britain and the United States, Martin Robertson, Oxford.

SAMUEL, N. (1985) Is there a distinctive cross-national comparative sociology, method and methodology?, IN L. HANTRAIS, S. MANGEN and M. O'BRIEN (eds.), Doing Cross-National Research No. 1, AMLC, Birmingham, 3-10.

SANDQVIST, K. (1982) Fact Sheets on Sweden, Legislation on Family Planning, Swedish Institute, August.

SANDQVIST, K. (1985) On the origin of fathers: a new look at human evolution, Stockholm Institute of Education - Department of Educational Research.

SANIK, M.M. (1981) Division of Household Work: A Decade Comparison 1967-1977, Home Economics Journal, 10, 2, 175-180.

SANTROCK, J. and WARSAK, R. (1979) Father custody and social development in boys and girls, The Journal of Social Issues, 35, 4, fall, 112-125.

SAUREL-CUBIZOLLES, M-J. and GARCIA, J. (1983) Activité professionnelle pendant la grossesse en France et en Grande-Bretagne: principes et réalités, Revue Française des Affaires Sociales, 37, 3, septembre.

SAWIN, D.B. and PARKE, R.D. (1979) Fathers' affectionate stimulation and caregiving behaviours with newborn infants, Family Coordinator, vol. 28, No. 4, Oct, 509-513.

SCANZONI, J. (1979) Strategies for changing male family roles: research and practice implications, The Family Coordinator, 1979, 28, 4, 435-442.

SCANZONI, J. and FOX, G.L. (1980) Sex roles, family and society: the seventies and beyond, Journal of Marriage and the Family, Dec, 743-753.

SCANZONI, J. and SZINOVACZ, M. (1980) Family Decision-Making. A Developmental Sex-Role Model, Sage, Beverley Hills, California.

SCHAFFER, R.B. and KEITH, P.M. (1981) Equity in marital roles across the family life cycle, Journal of Marriage and the Family, May, 359-366.

SCHEIN, L. (1977) All men are misogynists, IN J. SNODGRASS

(1977), For Men against Sexism, Times Change Press, New York, 69-74.

SCHWAB, R. and SCHWAB, E. (1981) Cross-cultural comparison of marital roles, Sociology and Social Research, 65, April, 332-339.

SCOTT, J. and BRANTLEY, J.C. (1983) Development of an inventory of teachers' attitudes towards sex-role stereotyping and knowledge of sex differences, Sex Roles, 9, 3, 341-353.

SEEL, R. (1987) The Uncertain Father: Exploring Modern Fatherhood, Gateway Books, Bath.

SEIDLER, V. (1985) Fear and Intimacy, IN A. METCALF and M. HUMPHRIES (eds.), The Sexuality of Men, Pluto, London, 150-180.

SHANNON, T.W. (1913) Self Knowledge, S.A Mullikin Co, Marietta, Ohio.

SHAVER, P. and HENDRICK, C. (eds.) (1986) Sex and gender, Review of Personality and Social Psychology, 7, December.

SHAW, M. (1986) How organized sport can catch new man offside, The Guardian, 1 July, 8.

SIERAKOWSKI, M. (1984) Changes in the life patterns of families in Britain, Vienna Centre, Changes in the Life Patterns of Families in Europe.

SIEGFRIED, W.D., MACFARLANE, I., GRAHAM, D.B., MOORE, N.A. and YOUNG, P.L. (1981) A re-examination of sex differences in job preferences, Journal of Vocational Behaviour, 18, 1, February, 30-42.

SILTANEN, J. and STANWORTH, M. (1984) The politics of private woman and public man, Theory and Society, 13, 91-115.

de SINGLY, F. (1983) Dépendance maritale, travail professionnel et dot scolaire de la femme, Dialogue 80 - Le Couple et l'Emploi, A.F.C.C.C., Paris.

de SINGLY, F. (1987) Fortune et Infortune de la Femme Mariée, PUF, Paris.

SINNOTT, J.D. (1982) Correlates of sex roles of older adults, Journal of Gerontology, 37, 5, 587-594.

SMITH, P.M. (1985) Language, the Sexes and Society, Blackwell, Oxford.

SNODGRASS, J. (1977) For Men against Sexism, Times Change Press, New York.

SNOW, M.E., JACKLIN, C.N. and MACCOBY, E.E. (1983) Sex-of-child differences in father-child interaction at one year of age, Child Development, 54, 1, 227-232.

SOLOMON, K. (1982) Individual psychotherapy and changing masculine roles: dimensions of gender-role psychotherapy, IN K. SOLOMON and N. LEVY, Men in Transition: Theory and Therapy, Plenum, New York.

SOLOMON, K. and LEVY, N. (1982) Men in Transition: Theory and Therapy, Plenum, New York.

SPENCE, J.T. (1981) Changing conceptions of men and women: a psychologist's perspective, Soundings, 64, 6, Winter, 466-484.

SPENCE, J.T., HELMREICH, R. and STAPP, J. (1975) Ratings of self and peers on sex-role attributes and their relation to self-esteem and conceptions of masculinity and femininity, Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 32, 1, 29-39.

SPITZE, G.D. and WAITE, L.J. (1981) Wives' employment: the role of husbands' perceived attitudes, Journal of Marriage and the Family, February, 117-124.

SPOCK, B. (1957) Baby and Child Care, New York, Pocket Books.

SPOCK, B. (1979) Baby and Child Care - Completely Adapted, Revised and Updated for Today's Parents, Bodley Head, London.

STATHAM, J.A. (1984) Non-Traditional Sex-Role Socialization: Parents' Perceptions of Non-Sexist Childrearing, PhD thesis, Open University.

STEINEM, G. (1972) The myth of masculine mystique, International Education, I, 30-35.

STEINMANN, A. and FOX, D. (1974) The Male Dilemma, Jason Aronson, New York.

STOLTENBERG, J. (1974) Refusing to be a man, Win, July 11.

STREICH, C. (1985) A parents' guide to the future of the world, The Guardian, 8 July, 10.

SULLEROT, E. (1979) Pour une politique de la fécondité - travail féminin et natalité, Le Groupe Familial, No. 84, juillet, 'Vouloir un enfant'.

SWANSON, J. M. (1985) Men and family planning, IN S. HANSON and F. BOZETT (eds.), Dimensions of Fatherhood, Sage, 21-48.

SYDIE, R. (1987) Natural Women, Cultured Men, Open University Press, Milton Keynes.

- TANG, I. (1985) Sticking a woman head-first into a hamburger isn't sexist...., The Guardian, 9 July, 10.
- TAUBER, M.A. (1979) Sex differences in parent-child interaction styles during a free-play session, Child Development, 50, December, 981-988.
- THIS, B. (1980) The Père: Acte de Naissance, Seuil, Paris.
- THIS, B. (1982) Les relations du père et de l'enfant au cours de la grossesse, Collected papers from the conference Les Pères Aujourd'hui, INED/CSIS, 17-19 février 1981, 119-122.
- THORNTON, A., ALWIN, D.F. and CAMBURN, D. (1983) Causes and consequences of sex-role attitudes and attitude-change, American Sociological Review, 48, 2, 211-227.
- TIGER, L. (1969) Men in Groups, Nelson, London.
- TOGNOLI, J. (1979) The flight from domestic space: men's roles in the household, The Family Coordinator, 28, 4, 599-607.
- TOLSON, A. (1977) The Limits of Masculinity, Tavistock, London.
- TOMEH, A.K. and GALLANT, C.J. (1983) The structure of sex-role attitudes in a French student population: a factorial analysis, Journal of Marriage and the Family, November, 975-983.
- TORNIKIAN, J. (1986) Papas contents, pas contents, L'Enfant d'Abord, décembre, No.113, 79-80.
- TOYNBEE, P. (1985) The heroes are all tall, dark...., The Guardian, 22 July, 10.
- TOYNBEE, P. (1987) The incredible, shrinking New Man, The Guardian, 6 April, 10.
- TRETHOWAN, W. (1982) Le syndrome de la couvade, Collected papers from the conference Les Pères Aujourd'hui, INED/CSIS, 17-19 février 1981, 112-115.
- UNBECOMING MEN: A Men's Consciousness-Raising Group writes on Oppression and Themselves, (1971), Times Change Press, Washington, New Jersey.
- UNGAR, S.B. (1982) The sex-typing of adult and child behaviour in toy sales, Sex Roles, 8, 3, February, 251-260.

- URBERG, K.A. (1982) Development of the concepts of masculinity and femininity in young children, Sex Roles, 8, January, 659-668.
- VALABREGUE, C. (1968) La Condition Masculine, Payot, Paris.
- VALABREGUE, C. (1976) Eux, les Hommes, Stock, Paris.
- VALABREGUE, C. (1985) Pour une éducation non-sexiste, Les Temps Modernes, No.462, janvier, 1367-1372.
- VALLANCE, E. (1985) The impact of women M.E.P.s on Community equality policy, Paper presented at C.E.G.S. conference, 31 May - 1 June, Edinburgh University.
- VENTIMIGLIA, J.C. (1982) Sex roles and chivalry: some conditions of gratitude to altruism, Sex Roles, 8, 11, November, 1107-1122.
- VERMONT, A. (1987) Les premiers pas des papas pouponneurs, Libération, 23 janvier, 14.
- VIANSSON-PONTE, P. (1978) 'On ne nait pas femme, on le devient', Le Monde, 11 janvier, 15.
- VILAR, E. (1971) The Manipulated Man, Abelard-Schuman, London.
- VILLENEUVE-GOKALP, C. (1986) Père et enfants quand la mère travaille, Le Groupe Familial, No.110, 1, 60-62.
- VINCENT, C. (1983) Comment ils ont découvert la paternité, Enfants Magazine, No. 85, septembre, 22.
- VIOVY, J-L. (1985) Nouvel Homme et vieux sexisme, Les Temps Modernes, No.462, Janvier, 1330-1345.
- WARD, C.A. (1977) Explorations in sex-role stereotypes, PhD thesis, Durham University.
- WATSON, J.A. and KIVETT, V. (1976) Influences on the life satisfaction of older fathers, The Family Coordinator, October, 482-487.
- WAYNBERG, J. (1978) La pornographie au service de l'homme, Le Groupe Familial, No. 78, janvier.
- WENTE, A.S. and CROCKENBERG, S.B. (1976) Transition to fatherhood: Lamaze preparation, adjustment difficulty and the husband-wife relationship, The Family Coordinator, October,

351-357.

WEST, E. (1985) Boys will be boys, Times Educational Supplement, 21 June, 33.

WHITE, A. and VITTACHI, N. (1985) Laying down machismo and taking up knitting, The Guardian, 16 July, 8.

WHITEHORN, K. (1985) Father's Day, Observer, 16 June, 41.

WHO NEEDS A FEMINIST MAN? (1985) Letters to The Guardian, 23 July, 22.

WHYTE, J. (1983) Beyond the Wendy House: Sex-Role Stereotyping in Primary Schools, Schools Council, Longman.

WILBY, P. (1985a) Boys are best, Sunday Times, 17 March, 37.

WILBY, P. (1985b) Undesirable domination, Sunday Times, 16 June, 36.

WILCE, H. (1985a) Boys will be boys ... at girls' expense, Times Educational Supplement, 7 June, 13.

WILCE, H. (1985b) Brent staff get sex equality guidelines, Times Educational Supplement, 14 June, 14.

WILCE, H. (1985c) Don't stream on grounds of gender, Times Educational Supplement, 21 June, 13.

WILCE, H. (1985d) Pupils still choose traditional subjects, Times Educational Supplement, 12 October, 7.

WILCE, H. (1985e) Sir Keith asked to justify sex equality claim, Times Educational Supplement, 28 June, 9.

WILCE, H. (1986) Time runs out for the macho male, Times Educational Supplement, 7 February, 3.

WILLIAMSON, N.E. (1976) Sons or Daughters - A Cross-Cultural Survey of Parental Preferences, Sage, London.

WILLMOTT, P. (1971) Family, work and leisure conflicts among male employees, Human Relations, 24, No.6, December, 575-584.

WILLMOTT, P. and YOUNG, M. (1960) Family and Class in a London Suburb, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

WINBORN, R. (1983) Adapting to parenthood: negotiating new roles, Social Casework, 64, December, 619-624.

WINNICOTT, D. (1964) The Child, the Family and the Outside World, Penguin, Harmondsworth.

WINTER, M.F. and ROBERT, E.R. (1980) Male dominance, late



capitalism, and the growth of instrumental reason, Berkeley Journal of Sociology, 24, 249-280.

WISEMAN, J.P. (1981) The family and its researchers in the eighties: retrenching, renewing, and revitalizing, Journal of Marriage and the Family, May, 263-265.

WOMEN AT WORK (1983) Collection of articles on women's place in the work world, Accountancy, June.

WOMEN OF EUROPE (1981) Supplement No. 9, Equal Opportunities Action Programme 1982-1985, Commission of the European Communities, Brussels.

WOMEN OF EUROPE (1984a) Supplement No. 15, Women at Work in the European Community, Commission of the European Communities, Brussels.

WOMEN OF EUROPE (1984b) Supplement No. 16, Women and Men of Europe in 1983, Commission of the European Communities, Brussels.

WOMEN OF EUROPE (1984c) Supplement No. 18, Women's Studies, Commission of the European Communities, Brussels.

WOOLLETT, A., WHITE, D. and LYON, L. (1982) Observations of fathers at birth, IN N. BEAIL and J. McGUIRE (eds.), Fathers: Psychological Perspectives, Junction Books, London.

YALLOP, R. (1985) Terrific women want terrific men, The Guardian, April 1, 21.

YOGEV, S. (1981) Do professional women have egalitarian marital relationships?, Journal of Marriage and the Family, 43, November, 865-871.

YOGEV, S. (1982) Happiness in dual-career couples: changing research, changing values, Sex Roles, June, 8, 593-605.

YOUNG, M. and WILLMOTT, P. (1973) The Symmetrical Family, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

ZUCKERMAN, D. and SAYRE, D.H. (1982) Cultural sex-role expectations and children's sex-role concepts, Sex Roles, 8, 8, August, 853-862.