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CHILD CARE FOR THE 1980'S:
TRADITIONAL SEX ROLES OR ANDROGYNY?

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ABSTRACT

CHILD CARE FOR THE 1980's: TRADITIONAL SEX ROLES OR ANDROGYNY?

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This paper discusses present and future child care arrangements and their effects on women and children and men. The discussion is in terms of the effects of sex role differentiation in child care, rather than of alternative institutions for child care. The paper suggests that sex role differentiation in child care is cause and symbol of occupational segregation throughout the American economy.

Because of the effect on occupational segregation, traditional (woman-oriented) child rearing patterns are found to maintain the wage gap between men and women, as well as undesirable social and psychological consequences for men and women. The author believes this to be the case whether child care occurs at home or in day care. Our traditional patterns of child rearing are also, paradoxically, found to contribute to undermining our families and to our leaving children too much alone. This paper calls for androgynous child rearing in the 1980's and suggests some relevant changes in social policy.

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CHILD CARE FOR THE 1980's: TRADITIONAL SEX ROLES OR ANDROGYNY?

INTRODUCTION: TRADITIONAL SEX ROLES IN CHILD CARE

A young father in Massachusetts recently watched his wife die of cancer, leaving him and their five young children. Responsible, caring, grief-stricken, he went to the Welfare Department, planning to quit his job, go on welfare, and stay at home until the youngest child was in kindergarten. "It is tasteless in our society for a man to stay home", he was told. "We will find foster homes for your children". The young father protested, unwilling to lose his children and unwilling for them to lose him, each other and their home, as well as their mother. His feelings were finally heard, but not until our traditions about child care had been vividly dramatized: Responsibility for young children lies with women and the primary role of women is to be with children (Pope Paul VI, 1976).

In this essay we discuss parenthood and child care from the point of view of sex-roles rather than of institutions. Many people use the words "traditional child-care" in a different way, to mean "care within the institution of a nuclear family". For these people non-traditional care then means care in an institution different from the nuclear family, say, a commune or day-care center or a 24-hour state nursery, or a household following death or divorce, or a lesbian household. I on the other hand, will use the words "traditional child care" to mean responsibility for children and care of young children by women, under circumstances where men would find it difficult to care for those children and where only women

would be comfortable doing so in our society. Thus, day care and 24-hour state centers, foster care, care by divorcees, and lesbian households might all be "traditional child care", in my sense, if the female child carers perceive themselves to be constrained by sex-role stereotypes so powerful that neither they, nor would-be male child carers, have the freedom to negotiate who will care for the children.

By the same token, androgynous child care, according to the definitions of this paper, might occur in families, centers and other institutions, and occurs wherever both men and women have equal options to negotiate with themselves and each other who will care for children. (Of course there is a shading, from tradition toward androgyny, along a continuum where women and men experience different degrees of options, which may vary by age of child, or family income, or other individual circumstance.)

This paper discusses present-day child care arrangements, and some consequences of our present arrangements. The negative consequences of traditional arrangements are seen as part and parcel of the negative consequences of American sex role stereotypes as a whole. The paper concludes with discussion of further androgynous options for parents and what is needed to support those options in terms of laws and of human attitudes.

PRESENT-DAY CHILD CARE ARRANGEMENTS

About four-fifths of American households with children under 14 are in nuclear family form (Unco, 1976).¹ (I estimate however that

about half of American children in the 1980's will live for some part of their childhood with a single parent or in some other non-nuclear family arrangement.) About 90% of all households with children under 14 now use some kind of care (other than the mother in her own home) at some time in a given week; more than half use care more than an hour per week; about a quarter use a child care arrangement ten or more hours per week; about an eighth use care thirty or more hours per week.

The main types of care are relatives in one's own or another home, or a non-relative in one's own home or another home. Day care centers, cooperative programs, nursery and pre-schools, and before and after school programs, together comprise only a maximum of a tenth of all arrangements. About two-thirds of all households pay no cash for child care, but many arrangements are reimbursed in kind; only about a tenth of all arrangements are considered "free".

Multiple arrangements are very common, with over half of all care-using households reporting the father as a regular, supplementary caretaker, three-tenths regularly using an older sibling and an eighth regularly leaving children alone, in addition to the relatives and non-relatives and formal care reported above as "main types of care". Hours that children are in school are also an important "child care arrangement" for two-ninths of all children under 14.

Of interest to the present discussion, we find fathers estimated as fewer than ten per cent of all "main types" of child care, but they are

clearly "helping out" significantly, as noted above. How much are men becoming involved in child care? There is scattered evidence of the importance of men as child carers in some specific groups of the population. For instance, among the families of professional psychologists, roughly a sixth to a quarter of the care of the children is reported to be by husbands (with non-spouse arrangements on the same order of magnitude and mothers caring for children 60 to 70 per cent of the time) (Brysons, et al, 1976). The Michigan Survey Research Center study of five thousand American families is also reported to have found many men comparably engaged in child care,

And about 8% of all children under 18, who were reported living in non-nuclear families, were in non-nuclear families headed by a male, in 1974 (BLS, 1974).

On the other hand, time budget studies of several years ago showed that employed mothers spent seven to ten hours more per week on total work and work-related activities (including commuting, homemaking, child care and paid employment), than did employed fathers (Holmstrom, 1972; Walker, 1970; Szalai, ed., 1973).² And the "extra" time devoted by employed mothers was predominantly in child care and homemaking. Moreover there is some reason to believe that fathers, on the average, got more sleep and had more time in leisure activities than did mothers, (Harris Poll, 1970; Szalai, ed., 1973). The mothers, in fact, appeared to get less than optimal sleep on a regular basis. (Szalai, ed., 1973).

Some evidence has indicated that the amount of time spent by employed fathers, on child care and homemaking, depended primarily on what these men were otherwise doing; it did not depend very much on whether the mother had a paid job or on the number of children in the family (Walker, 1970). On the other hand, some studies appear to indicate that husbands/fathers have performed a little more housework and child care when wives/mothers are employed, the increase usually expressed as an increase in the percent of total homemaking taken on by the husband. (Hoffman and Nye, eds., 1974). My own experience also indicates that many women believe this is the case. However, I now believe that the major shift that occurs when a wife/mother takes a paid job, is that the total amount of family-work time drops very sharply [by half to a third (Walker, 1970)] and that because the husband's family-work time stays nearly the same, he is doing a larger proportion of the homemaking.

On the basis of my clinical experience I believe there may also be a shift in type of work performed by husbands (from less urgent to more urgent). Moreover, the standard deviation in amount of family work performed by all husbands may be rising. That is, I believe more husbands may be doing either less family work because of moonlighting, or more, because of a shift toward androgyny by younger men, while the "average amount of family work performed by 'all husbands' " has risen only a little in the 1970's.

Of course these statistics on child care arrangements tell us nothing certain about the attitudes of the child carers and the extent to which they are or feel constrained by sex-role stereotyping. But we find fathers as primary care givers (as distinguished from being regular supplementary care-takers) for only a few per cent of American children and mothers as the primary care givers for nearly half of all US children. Moreover, most mothers retain basic responsibility for children most of the time, and seven-eighths of all households use non-maternal care only 30 hours per week or less, out of the 168 hours in a week (Unco, 1976). It is easy therefore to hypothesize that serious sex-role stereotyping with respect to children is very important in the US.

Comparable statistics do not exist for other countries. We know that in predominantly rural areas of the world, that it is usually women who care for children, at home or at work, and usually together with other women, or that older children care for younger children under the eye of a nearby adult. In other industrialized nations more like our own, sex-role differentiation appears to be as common as in the United States. In at least eighteen other nations with time budget surveys, patterns are reported similar to those in the US. (Roby, 1975; Szalai, ed., 1973).

In the Soviet Union, top government officials will say "we believe women to be better suited to child care"; Soviet fathers are kept out of maternity hospitals, have no paternity leave the first year of their child's

life and practically no men are involved in the day-to-day formal care that affects perhaps 40% of Soviet urban pre-schoolers. (Rowe, 1975). In China (Sidel, 1972) and in Israel (Gerson, 1971) comparable sex-role differentiation obtains. Thus even where widespread child care systems are available, they are traditional according to my view, and tend to maintain the women-with-children stereotype.

Only in the United States and Scandinavia do we find significant, if small, proportions of men involved in formal child care. And only in Scandinavia and Cuba have top government leaders systematically asserted equal rights for men in the home and with children, and equal sharing with women of social responsibility for reproducing and socializing the human species. No where does that equal sharing appear yet to have taken place.

Support for traditional practices and policies has generally rested on two grounds. First, it is asserted, women are biologically better able to care for children, and men are hormonally and morphologically better able to support a family.³ Secondly, it is asserted that a whole socio-economic system has been erected on the basis of the biological differences, and that this system is a good thing, because sex-role differentiation has been effective and efficient in getting done the work of the world. It is my point of view that differences in child-rearing capabilities and requirements formerly did mean that women were better adapted to child care, but that biological differences with respect to parenting no longer have much meaning in this era of ZPG, planned

parenthood and bottle feeding. Hormonal and morphologic differences in men may also have meant that males were in some societies better providers, in an age of hunting and frontier life. I believe this is not generally true in our services-oriented economy, where cooperation and human organization are so exceptionally important. I believe that the traditional social and economic sex-role differentiation is no longer helpful to industrialized society and that androgyny offers a more effective and humane system for child care as well as for other employment.

WHAT IS THE EFFECT OF PRESENT-DAY CHILD CARE ARRANGEMENTS?

A. EFFECTS ON CHILDREN

Many experts in recent years have surveyed the evidence concerning the effect on children of different child care arrangements. Extensive and exhaustive, these reviews regularly conclude that stable, responsive, consistent care is important, indeed critical, to young children. Recent studies also conclude that care of this nature can be delivered by a variety of different kinds of people, men and women, teenager and grandparent, single and multiple attachment figures, in a variety of settings, (Fein, 1974; Howell, 1973; Kotelchuck, 1972; Talbot, ed., 1976). While questions have been raised about the effect of 24-hour care on children in institutions (Bowlby, 1951), in kibbutzim (Bettelheim, 1970) or in 24-hour centers in the Soviet Union (Rowe, 1975), or of too much violent television, by and large it is very difficult to demonstrate long-term

effects on children from any kind of non-abusive care and education arrangement (Rowe, 1974a; White, et al, 1972). The public consensus in the United States also appears to be swinging toward a belief that child care may help socialize children, especially those in small families, (Morgan, 1975; Unco, 1976) and that parental employment and child care may make children more independent. It seems reasonable to conclude that many types of arrangements are suitable for children, where the environment is safe and supportive and there are consistent, warm, responsive, stable attachment figures as caretakers. (Talbot, ed., 1976).

On the other hand, numerous observers believe that families need more support (Howell, 1976; Talbot, ed., 1976), that children are happier when they see more of their fathers, (Green, 1976), and that children might be happier with several different parental figures to turn to instead of depending exclusively on over-worked, isolated mothers (Howell, 1976). And many people are deeply concerned by the number of children under ten who are now regularly left alone or who are in abusive care situations---numbers which may total ten per cent or more of our young children.

B. EFFECTS ON WOMEN AND MEN

Our traditions about women and children bring great joy and happiness to many men and women. Others have for decades ignored the traditions, equally happily. Still others were brought up in different traditions, where

women shared financial responsibility and/or men shared in all nurturance activities; many of these people and their families have also thrived.

There are many women and men however who are not happy either ignoring the modal tradition or living within it. And still others are happy for years with traditional sex roles and then feel constrained and confined and frustrated and bewildered. In this discussion we will concentrate on the difficulties with traditional roles with respect to child care since we are concerned mainly with providing options. (Androgyny includes people being free to behave traditionally, so options are more available than in a traditional setting where only the ordinary sex roles are appropriate.) The ensuing discussion presents what I see as negative consequences of our present child care arrangements. In a larger sense these consequences are due to the whole pattern of sex role stereotyping rather than just to child care. And, as we noted above, there may be several reasons why sex role differentiation occurred in the first place. At present however, I believe child care arrangements have come to symbolize all the reasons for sex roles; they are perhaps the most powerful remaining institutionalization of our stereotypes. It is in this sense then that I present some consequences of sex role differentiation in the context of consequences of child care arrangements.

The Sense of Separateness of Men and Women

The presumption that children and family were women's work has, I believe, led through our early socialization patterns to an extraordinary

segregation of most men's lives from most women's lives, especially in industrialized societies. In my own work I am continually impressed by the extent to which men and women do not understand each other's experience.

More damaging yet is the frequent presumption that, at base, men and women cannot ultimately understand each other or live the same life--style. Liberal men will often support the entrance of women into, say, engineering. But then, if someone asks about men in child care, this same liberal may ask, "But could men really take care of children as well as women?" The Soviet Union and China assert complete equality for women. These countries have, however, desegregated only lower and middle level "male" occupations, leaving child care, homemaking (and top-policy positions) as segregated as ever. Conservative--and radical--women also often speak as if only women could care for children. We are all accustomed to hearing very conservative women speak this way but it is sometimes as true for radical women. Revolutionary feminists deplore the oppression of women which may result from women's traditional child care responsibilities. But then some radical feminists turn to discussion of gestation in test tubes, and child care in 24-hour day care centers, in a way which appears by exclusion to accept the notion that fathers and children might damage each other's lives. In other words, some feminists reject the oppression of individual women, but then turn to day care (provided largely by women), as if it were an improvement. Some improvement may in fact occur; the care takers are

usually paid, (at low rates), and sometimes have each other to talk with, but the traditional sex-role pattern obtains.

Another result of traditional thinking is that large numbers of men and women, including, sadly, some parents, have concluded that children and/or child care are too much for them (as distinguished from those who limit their families for idealistic reasons). For example, Ann Landers recently reported that 70% of 10,000 parents who wrote her about having children, reported that they "would not do it again". And a recent Gallup Poll reported that one in ten of all mothers, randomly surveyed, "regretted having children" (McCall's, 1975).

Loneliness

Present child care arrangements are lonely for many parents. Isolated mothers and paid caretakers are often lonely; men who commute and moonlight and do not see their families are often lonely. Marriages where one spouse is a homemaker, working 99 hours per week, and the other works overtime or moonlights up to 80-90 hours per week, are hard on communications. The disproportionate numbers of depressed young mothers (Radloff, 1975) illuminate the sadness of spouses with not enough chance to be with those they love.

Moreover, in many of the shared parenting arrangements that now exist, the parents both work full time in paid jobs, with one or both, (often the father), in charge of the children during hours when the parent(s) should be sleeping. (Of course the children may then also be

sleeping). Here the parents share care, sometimes at the price of sleep. However since our society as a whole is set up for paid workers without child care responsibilities (with fixed working hours and few 1/2 and 3/4 jobs), the parents may be able to earn two incomes only by staggering their work hours. This means that in many two-job families one parent is with the children primarily when the children are asleep, and also that the parents have little waking or sleeping time together.

Loneliness exacts a high price. There can be a sense of desperation and resentment when a spouse alone must care for a sick child or a rebellious child; there can be a sense of desperation and resentment when a spouse alone must face a lay-off, or middle-age without fulfillment. Sexual relationships suffer acutely when spouses are lonely.

Financial Difficulties

Families with one wage earner are less secure than those where there are two. A single wage earner is under more pressure to succeed, to compete, to have to travel, to stay at a hated job in order to survive unemployment. A second wage earner provides a buffer, so his/her spouse may change jobs, or train or retrain. A widowed or divorced spouse without labor force experience faces a very bleak world, financially and psychologically. So also do the homemaker parents whose children have grown, who have no further identity to turn to. Finally at any given time we would have many millions more families on welfare, if both spouses were not in paid employment. Two wage earners obviously have a much

better chance to provide a reasonable standard of living for themselves and their children.

Deprivation from Nurturance

Each parent faces a significant chance of widowhood or divorce. Most young men face single parenthood without enough training for the task and without equal rights to custody and child companionship and support.

Less often recognized is the gross deprivation of most men even where there is no widowhood or divorce. Too rarely, but occasionally, we deplore the spectre of men governing our nation, who have never taken care of a child, or an aged parent, or a pet, or even a plant. Occasionally, if much too rarely, we take note of the fact that modern managers and modern foremen need to be nurturant, sensitive and patient at least as much as they need to be aggressive, brave and tough. We see this perhaps most clearly as we view with concern a generation of women who might become managers without being socialized to take care of other people.

It is extremely rare for us to discuss in public what it means for individual men to be cut off from children and other direct, personal nurturant activities. The belief that men may reasonably spend their lives without the right or expectation of direct caretaking may lead to a variety of damage. One knows many men who do not physically or emotionally take care of themselves; who lose much of their joy in life by being cut off

from their feelings; who suffer considerably in childhood, adolescence and manhood by competing with other males; who have essentially lost the sense of meaning and continuity of life by being cut off from aged parents and children, by being sanitized at every turn, from human emotion. The sense of separateness and loneliness, bad as they are, seem to me mild, compared with the destruction of self involved in our cutting off many men from their nurturant selves and their caring potential.

Work Satisfaction; Leisure Satisfaction

Analyses of work satisfaction indicate that some people value work for the process of working, some for the product, some for the remuneration, some for work-group relations. Some value status, the chance for creativity, the sense of autonomy over one's work. Joy in leisure time activities is similarly related.

In traditional families each parent has only one work arena to seek satisfaction, friends, status, a sense of identity and a sense of challenge and growth. If the home environment or the paid work environment happens to provide the right processes, products, remuneration, friends, status, creativity and autonomy for the parents assigned to that environment, all is well. But for many people having only one work arena provides a severe sense of constraint. Leisure activities are often similarly constrained. Moreover the inequity of work-status and leisure-activity status between husband and wife in traditional families, means it is hard for many to maintain the love and comradeship which flourish between equals.

Finally, just the presumption that each individual will conform to the requirements of a stereotyped and arbitrary role is felt by many to be very constricting. This feeling has probably become more pronounced in recent years. In a simple society, role differentiation still permitted a wide range of expression. In the specializations of industrialism, much of this range was lost, so role requirements have become for many people much more constraining, and are felt by many to be destructive to individuals.

Economic and Educational Discrimination Against Women

Of all the difficulties caused by and symbolized by traditional child care patterns perhaps the best understood is economic discrimination against women. Discrimination against women is often alleged to occur with respect to education, job recruitment, promotion, benefits, work ambiance and the wage gap (unequal pay). The index of sex inequality most frequently cited is the wage gap between men and women; women on the average earn less than 60% of men's wages. Because the wage gap between men and women is easily quantified it is the most easily analyzed indicator of sex discrimination. Economists interested in discrimination often begin with some estimate of wage gaps and then seek to explain these gaps by controlling for education, years of experience, entrance into given occupations, and promotional patterns, thereafter assigning any residual gap to "pure" or direct discrimination. Many feminists look upon these studies as analyzing indirect discrim-

ination in order to isolate direct discrimination.

How much of gross wage gaps can be attributed directly or indirectly to sex role differentiation in child care, as distinguished from sex role differentiation in general ? Here again, as with the rest of the discussion above, we cannot be sure exactly what part of discrimination is caused by, and what is symbolized by, differentiation in roles with respect to child care. We do know that, on the average, single women and childfree women have done better with respect to education, labor force participation, promotions and wages. And we know that these "success" patterns are in general reversed for men, who typically thrive better when married and with children. But we do not know enough about selection factors (what kind of women choose to remain childfree) or about indirect discrimination (what kind of women do men prefer to promote and pay well, other things being equal). And economists disagree on exactly how to analyze the gross wage gaps. Thus there is no exact one-to-one evidence on the discriminatory importance of sex roles in child care. On the other hand we do know some of the broad outlines of the effect of child care patterns and how they may affect economic discrimination.

To begin with, many economists believe that a large part of the wage gap between men and women can be explained by occupational segregation, (Kahne, 1975). Women are in general found in certain occupations which are in general paid rather low wages or not at all.

Systematically low wages in "womens" occupations are variously explained by "crowding", "tastes" and human capital theory. "Crowding" is thought to result in lower wages for women because women have unequal access to many jobs. This produces a crowding of women into a few occupations such that their average productivity in these few occupations is lower than that of men in other occupations (Bergmann, 1974). The "tastes" argument suggests that employers and consumers simply "don't like" women in certain jobs or "assume they are inferior" and therefore discriminate against them, (Arrow, 1972; Phelps, 1972). Both of these arguments would suggest that there is a psychological reason for denying women access to well-paying positions. Human capital theory suggests that women are on the average paid less than men because they are less productive and that they are less productive primarily because they are less well educated and trained (Mincer and Polachek, 1974). All of these theories find justification in empirical studies.

In addition to wage gaps produced by occupational segregation, most economists agree that part of the gross wage gap can be explained by differences in real and expected labor force participation: hours per week, weeks per year, years per lifetime.⁴ But most now agree that these differences are less important than those rooted in occupational segregation. And most also agree that straight forward unequal pay for equal work is of only minimal importance.

How do our traditional expectations about child care lead to wage

gaps? One may raise hypotheses all along the line, with respect to each theory above. Some have suggested that crowding and "discriminatory tastes" arise in part from a desire by males to compensate for not being able to gestate or nurse babies. This theory suggests that men have more need than women to create and control outside the family, and that they have a signal fear of competing directly with women because of a primitive fear that they cannot really compete, with respect to creation (Rowe, 1974b).

With respect to human capital theory, many have suggested that the reason that women ask for and are permitted less education and less valuable training is that they need less education because their chief role is to marry and have children. In the nineteenth century, prolonged study was widely believed too strenuous for female anatomy and also likely to weaken a woman's reproductive capabilities. Although higher education is no longer considered damaging to motherhood it is still widely considered unnecessary for mothers. Child care responsibilities, and the presumption that women would have full responsibility for children, still directly interfere with equal educational opportunities for women.

During the 1970's, in the course of my work in and around universities in New England, I remember many very direct statements on this subject. For example there was the admissions committee professor at a professional school who would admit women only if they "promise to stay celibate here". Many educational institutions have only recently permitted pregnant women to continue to study. Many others still do not have reason-

able provisions for part-time graduate work and residencies, for young parents.

By the same token, we still find daily stories of women asked in recruitment interviews about their family plans and contraception, of women not offered jobs or promotions or raises because of presumptions about their family life.

To the (relatively minor) extent that hours per week, weeks per year and years per lifetime are important in explaining the wage gap, it is easy to see a very direct connection between our traditional child care arrangements and labor force participation. With mothers in the paid labor force typically working a much longer total work week than fathers, it is easy to understand the direct conflict between paid and unpaid work.

Another area of economic discrimination where the relationship between labor force participation and traditional child care is very direct has to do with benefits--health care, vacations, pensions, Social Security. Adequate benefits coverage for men is yet far to seek, but for women the situation is much worse. Women produce nearly 30% of family incomes; GNP would rise by another estimated 20% if the unpaid work of women were included in GNP. Yet millions of women are without adequate health care, without vacation time, without appropriate pensions. This happens partly because much part-time work carries no benefits, because unpaid work in the home carries no direct benefits, because women as mothers have been considered their husband's dependents, and because

of the wage gap discussed above, which means women's benefits, where they exist, are often lower. All of these facts follow quite directly from the traditional vision of women as child carers.

Another and similar economic problem concerns our inadequate income tax deductions for child care. Money paid for child care should be reckoned as a business expense, which means it would be subtracted before the estimation of taxable income. Instead, and probably partly because child care is traditionally not paid for, we have an inadequate deduction which constitutes another economic discrimination.

Finally, as we consider economic discrimination, the subtle importance of traditional child care may be much greater than we know. (Rowe, 1976). To the extent that women and men maintain the image of women as dependent child carers, (despite the fact that women in paid and unpaid employment might actually account for about 50% of a properly reckoned GNP), it is easier for us all unconsciously to discriminate against women in paid work (and men in unpaid work).

In addition the woman whose total work experience has been in unpaid work may herself have a poor idea what she is "worth". As she considers paid work, she may have a tendency to think in terms of her "next best" (or "fall back") occupation, which is to be paid nothing in direct wages. Women like this, and men too, may think of her work as "not worth very much", and by extension the work of all women may seem not to be worth very much.⁵ Where "all women" can be imagined to be restricted to "nurturance", it is easier to think of women as all alike; one need not then worry about rewards to individual productivity.

As we consider our own homemaking and child care, which usually have no direct price, some may consider these activities to be "worth" very little, others may consider them "priceless". Many people in fact argue eloquently that no financial figure can approach the value of human care; they would hate to see all caretaking paid for. I find this feeling easily understandable. However I believe that if most nurturance is not to be cash paid it should generally be shared equally between men and women. One can, in other words, believe in the value of child care and all nurturant activities without accepting systematic economic and educational discrimination against women. In fact it is the premise of this article that one can believe in children and child care, without all of the separateness, loneliness, financial insecurity, deprivation from nurturance, work and leisure dissatisfactions and discrimination which are at present part of our inheritance from traditional sex roles.

What About Day Care?

We have argued that traditional child care may not now be ideal for children and parents and families. Many people, faced with these feelings, advocate universal child care external to the home, available 24 hours per day, and subsidized by government on a sliding fee scale basis.

Excellent child care would certainly speak to the needs of many children, especially those now left alone, the malnourished, the rat-bitten, the abused. Provision of better care for all children would directly improve the lives of a fourth of our population for a fifth of their lives. It would rescue at least ten percent of our children from

conditions that we ought to consider intolerable.

With respect to parents, the availability of excellent care would certainly alleviate some of the loneliness and much of the financial insecurity we discussed above. It is an absolute necessity for the tenth of all parents who are single, especially if they work outside the home. However day care delivered on a traditional, woman-oriented basis, as it is now, might not do much to alleviate the sense of separateness between men and women, the deprivation from nurturance, the work dissatisfactions, and economic discrimination. In fact, on balance, our present day care arrangements probably contribute as much to traditional stereotypes as they do to provide options. In particular, the employment of women in paid as well as unpaid child care arrangements probably substantiates the occupational segregation which is the strongest source of economic discrimination.

Full time day care, on the average about 8.5 hours a day, 42.5 hours per week, probably also causes some feelings of deprivation for some parents. It seems probable that if they had optimal choices, many parents would prefer to be able to take somewhat more care of their children than is the case with full time day care.

In summary of sections above, we have reviewed paid and unpaid U.S. child care arrangements, which suggest a strong sex role differentiation of the work and joy involved in having children. This author believes that this differentiation is one major factor in maintaining all other attributes of sex roles. More options with respect to child care, and new socialization

patterns for both sexes, toward caring for children and others, might make a major difference in the quality of life for adults and children.

This leads us to a discussion of androgyny.

ANDROGYNY AND CHILD CARE

Androgyny means that how people spend their time should be influenced primarily by skills and interests, not by gender. It would mean that men and women would equally share financial responsibility, child care and home making responsibilities.

Equal sharing of responsibility would not necessarily mean that men and women would exactly divide the laundry and the diapers and the bills. Rather, there would be a social and legal presumption that performance of these duties would be negotiated between spouses, on a continuous, life-time basis, with equal moral rights and responsibilities.

The theoretical basis of androgyny is the proposition that both men and women have both "masculine" and "feminine" potential with regard to character development (where "masculine" is taken in the traditional sense of "instrumental" and "feminine" in the traditional sense of "nurturant".) There is no presumption that individuals should (or could) all be alike, but that everyone has some nurturant and some instrumental potential.

In individual instances, of course, an androgynous society would support responsible childlessness and full-time homemakers that were female, as well as male. But the society as a whole would be set up to support male and female parents as wage-earners, and male and female wage-earners as parents, in whatever responsible patterns spouses might choose.

Let us take the example of a young couple with the modal one or two children. In a society which supported young parents to work in 1/2-3/4 time paid jobs, the family would receive one, or one and a half salaries. Suppose both parents worked thirty hours a week in paid jobs. Suppose further that they used child care ten to twenty hours per week including evening babysitting and that otherwise they split child care responsibilities. They would each get to know the children and the skills of homemaking and they would have a chance to spend some time alone together.

With respect to our list of concerns in the section above about the effects of child care arrangements, androgynous spouses would have a much keener sense of each other's lives. The "learned helplessness" of each sex toward the other's role, might generally disappear. Spouses who intimately shared responsibilities might feel much less taken for granted and much less lonely. One can imagine women being very supportive of a spouse's need to relax after the office and men who no longer dropped laundry on the floor.

Family financial security would grow, along with family incomes, since lifetime earnings and one's ability to find and keep a job depend much more on continuous years in the labor force than on hours per week. Promotions might come one to three years later for a typical worker who took a 3/4 time job while the children were small. However if the typical worker shared family responsibilities with a spouse, who also worked 3/4 time in a paid job throughout the years of young parenthood,

each could expect much higher life time earnings than if he or she dropped out for family responsibilities. Thus the expected later promotions permit much higher (and more secure) family earnings. We would expect that the quality of life for many people would rise, as they gained another arena for friends, status, productivity, and self image. Both spouses would have one work area at home where there is considerable autonomy over one's work. Women might gain more sleep; men might gain more options for self-expression and a respite from competition.

Spouses left alone, through death or divorce, would be likely to survive in both paid work and family life. Men who equally cared for their children would have, in practice, more rights with respect to custody and visitation. One can imagine that retirement from child raising and paid work would be much more comfortable, under circumstances where both spouses had a wider range of skills and interests. Mid-life crises might also be less severe, with a wider range of options offered by two sets of skills and two incomes in the family.

With respect to discrimination one may imagine that many of the direct sources of wage and promotional inequality might disappear in an androgynous society.

← Both men and women would have equal access to education, training and jobs. Many couples might choose to share family responsibilities so completely that neither spouse ever dropped out of school or job for family reasons. Other couples might choose to have one or the other

spouse a full-time homemaker for a period of time. Nationally, however, we might expect androgynous socialization and work patterns to produce a random distribution of men and women as full time homemakers. By the same token, sex-based wage differences now attributable to mobility, years of experience and hours per week in the paid labor force would also disappear as men and women began to spend their time in similar ways.

The physiological bases for work differentiation seem already much muted. Some jobs requiring great strength might remain forever disproportionately male. These however seem unlikely to produce national wage gaps between men and women. If there are hormonal differences of significant importance to work aggressiveness, these may persist. But we will not know to what extent, if at all, they are important until we have offered boys and girls equal options in cooperation and assertiveness. One may guess from cross-cultural studies that culture is enormously important and may "wash out" whatever minor hormonal differences exist.

Motivational differences between men and women (whatever they are) might be expected to have less and less effect on sex based wage and promotion gaps. Men who cared directly for children and others, would find gestation and nursing much less important than lifetime nurturance. Such men might conceivably be somewhat less driven to create (and to destroy). Women, on the other hand, knowing they would share financial responsibility, might work harder to be recruited, paid and promoted appropriately.

What would happen to the concentration and perseverance required for extraordinary intellectual, scientific, artistic achievement? One may guess that some people will always choose to stay single and/or childless. Others will find supportive spouses or communes or other family. Many will simply postpone achievement for a year or several years. In any case, the achievements will come to both men and women.

What of total social productivity? Is it true one must be young to innovate? Would the total number of innovations drop? There is some reason to believe that extraordinary scientific achievements now occur within several years of taking on new intellectual problems, rather than necessarily to young people (Tobias, 1975). (In earlier times, with short life expectancies and little accumulated knowledge and no information retrieval, genius may have been associated with youth.)

In modern times, genius often requires extensive teamwork, many building block experiments, and then a new look. It is not at all clear that having men and women in part-time work for several years would jeopardize creative breakthroughs over a lifetime; indeed many very innovative people have waxed and waned in creativity several times throughout a lifetime.

What probably is very important, from the point of view of social productivity, is that intellectual, artistic and social genius find options to flower. If we imagine for example, that scientific, artistic, and caring potential are randomly distributed to males and females, then we could nearly double the incidence of scientific, artistic and human achievements by opening all occupations to both sexes. Moreover, while some kinds

of achievements seem to require a lifelong, even celibate concentration, other kinds of work seem to require some relief from concentration. Thus children keep some people sane for the laboratory or factory, and the factory or laboratory keeps them sane for the children.

Finally, from the point of view of social productivity, we may discover that androgyny provides us with a more caring world.⁵ Supposing more women, socialized to nurturance and cooperation, get into influential jobs? And suppose we also socialize our young males to expect to care for children and others? Might we see a re-ordering of values governance and management?

This article makes no pretense to the notion that sex role differentiation causes all evil and that androgyny will iron out all pain. If sexism begins to disappear, perhaps we will become caring enough to eliminate racism and other forms of human violence as well, but it seems likely that we will move only slowly at best. Some androgynous couples will divorce, and some men and women will be as miserable with more options as they were with fewer. There may also be children who would flourish more seeing their parents less. But on balance one may believe that freeing all humans' to share in child care on a part-time basis may bring more happiness to children and adults. Children will have a greater chance to be with someone who wants to be with them; both children and adults will be free to explore their caring and inventive selves.

SOCIAL POLICIES IN SUPPORT OF ANDROGYNY

Present-day androgynous couples often find it difficult to combine paid work and family life in an equitable manner. One would therefore recommend changes in social policies which would make it easier for parents to share the responsibilities and advantages of home and paid work.

The first and most basic legal and social change should clearly be the Equal Rights Amendment to the constitution. No other single change would be more likely to permit protection of males as nurturant parents as well as protection of women in public life.

With respect to the organization of paid work in our society, many changes are needed. First there should be a reconsideration of what is meant by "full-time work". At a time of structural as well as cyclical unemployment, it seems reasonable to ask whether full-time work should be redefined as 30 to 35 hours per week. This alone would permit young parents more time to share child care as well as spreading the work of the nation.

Part-time work (part-day, part-week or part-year work) needs systematic support for both sexes. Discrimination against part-time workers, in terms of promotion and benefits, should be forbidden. Benefits should be prorated, including pensions. In general we should take those steps which support "bumpy" career ladders, so that parents may work longer and shorter work weeks, depending on stage in the life cycle. Mandated seniority and promotional patterns, in union contracts and tenure ladders for instance,

should take account of periods of part-time work. At least 10% of government jobs should be set aside for part-time workers.

Employers have not traditionally been enthusiastic about the extra expense of extra sets of paper work involved in hiring proportionately more (part-time) workers. However I believe we need extensive research to see whether productivity per hour may not be higher for part-time workers. It may be that in many jobs part-time workers (more than) repay the extra expense involved in having proportionately more people.

We need many more flexible time jobs. Some employers can adopt the system whereby all employees may choose (sometimes for set periods of time) to come in between 7 a.m. and 10 a.m., to leave between 3 p.m. and 6 p.m. Others may wish to designate only certain jobs, for flexible time of a standard type, or individually designed.

Some jobs can be designated for people who need flexible, short-term leaves of absence. For instance we need more "undertime" jobs whereby employees can agree to accept 2%, 4% or 6% less salary, on a pro-rated basis, in return for five, ten or fifteen days leave of absence on a planned, approved and voluntary basis.

One important structure to support part-time and flexible-hour jobs is a well-run posting system within organizations. A posting system means all job openings are widely advertised for a certain period of time within a given organization. Supervisors describe the job opening, including a description of whether a job can be part-time, a shared appointment, a

flexible-hours and/or an undertime job. Such posting systems also serve the purpose of supporting career development and perhaps should be mandated by law or fostered by tax incentives.

In times of economic prosperity employers have been reluctant to institute work structures supportive of family life. However, with high turnover, worker discontent and budget crunches, many employers are considering shortened work weeks and flexible hiring plans as a way to raise productivity and cut costs. Undertime and part-year jobs in particular offer a chance to plan leaves of absence during work lulls; well-run posting systems help to alleviate the pain of retrenchment while helping protect long term employees.

Parental leave needs further change in most American firms. We should consider the parental insurance systems of Sweden, whereby parents have a right to paid leave up to seven months after a birth; (they can divide the time between them). We should further consider the Swedish system of parental sick leave for children's illnesses. At a minimum, maternity leave should be treated as a temporary disability, (with the possibility of extended disability). This minimum improvement should also include unpaid leave for either parent (after maternity leave ends), up to six months post-partum, and the right to use some days of personal sick leave for children's illnesses, for children under twelve.

Further changes should include reform of child labor and insurance laws so children can work (paid or unpaid) in non-exploitative apprenticeships. Our present segregation of children under age 16 from many work places

has the effect of keeping age groups unnecessarily apart. We also need changes in Social Security so that people over 65 can legally continue to work and earn, so that more grandparents are available to more children.

The definition of work itself needs change. If unpaid homemaking and child care by full time homemakers were reckoned into the GNP, and defined as "work", we might pave the way for redefinitions of Social Security, welfare, pensions and other benefits. If Social Security vested individually in all responsible (paid and unpaid) workers, it would be easier for both men and women to consider full-time homemaking, without all the present risks to displaced (abandoned, divorced and widowed) homemakers. If child rearing were seen as socially constructive work, AFDC would become payment for child care, with attendant benefits and pensions, akin to military service, military benefits and military retirement. Moreover if full-time homemakers were seen as responsible workers, socially as worthwhile as military employees, we would have a stronger theoretical reason for a universal health plan for all Americans.

Changes in the tax laws could also help family programs. Further tax write-offs to employers, for family support structures, (like the child care center write-offs), are badly needed. Work and training-related child care expenses should be a business expense for income tax purposes, and should also be allowed where payments are made to (non-spouse) relatives. Work and training-related child care allowances should be automatic for families earning incomes below poverty, continuing on a reduced basis

to a level up to 1.5 times the poverty level.

Finally, we plainly need changes in marriage and divorce law. In further support of displaced homemakers of either sex, in addition to Social Security changes, we should consider government support for (re)-training parents who have been full-time at home for, say, ten or more years. And all of the myriad laws surrounding custody, alimony, visitation and child support should be changed toward equity between men and women.

How could we support further attitudinal change toward androgyny? First we need much more national information and debate. Many ardent feminists of both sexes understand women in engineering without understanding men in nursing and child care. Yet it is obvious that women will never be equal in formerly male occupations without a mirror image change occurring for men. If this were not to occur---if men were not to have equal opportunity in formerly female occupations---women would wind up doing 3/4 of the nation's work. This fact, and its attendant implications for socialization patterns and educational curricula, need the widest possible discussion.

Fortunately we may presume that androgyny itself may foster androgyny. Early generations of children raised by both men and women, who see caring men and self-reliant women, have androgynous role models to emulate. Today's parents, knowing that a daughter has one chance in two of becoming a chief wage earner for at least part of her life, are beginning to support daughters in androgynous patterns. This in turn has

inevitable consequences for the lives of men. Perhaps if we succeed in social policies which support androgyny we will reap the benefits, in terms of increased options for men and women and children. If we lag in supporting androgyny, we may see yet more anguish, in terms of personal bewilderment, and of children left more and more alone.

I believe that many men are tired of being asked why they want to take care of children, of themselves and of others. Many women would like to be asked. Many women are tired of being asked why they want a paid career. Many men would like to be asked. Androgyny offers some new options, for child care and child carers in 1980's.

NOTES

1. Unless otherwise indicated, the data in this section are from the Unco National Day Care Consumer Survey.

2. In recent years there have been a number of household time budget studies, which however have varied greatly in methods and population sample. At least one early study attempted to measure the division of labor between husband and wife without including child care, an omission which seems extraordinary in its illumination of post-war sex-role stereotyping.

3. The "biological differences" hypotheses for origins of sex roles have generally been based on several ideas:

- a) women need to be protected somewhat in pregnancy and while nursing;
- b) originally only women could feed infants;
- c) men are on the average a little more aggressive and stronger;
- d) men perceive themselves as unable to "create" and "nurture" in the same ways as women, and feel themselves "isolated" from the cosmic chain of generations. They therefore must find some alternative ways of feeling their lives have cosmic meaning and therefore have a stronger urge to build monuments and/or destroy and kill, in order to feel important;
- e) because men have external genitalia which change shape in one kind of creative and masterful activity (intercourse), men have a particular need for their creations to be visible and recognizable and for their work processes to provide the possibility for promotion, advancement, status and dominance.

4. Absenteeism and high turnover of women used to be considered possible reasons for systematically paying women less. Most labor economists however now agree that absenteeism and turnover figures are very much more strongly affected by occupation and rank than by sex.

5. I believe this to be a leading reason why the high cost of excellent, formal day care comes as such a shock to some people.

6. One notes with interest that Matina Horner of Radcliffe is finding men significantly less "cooperative" than women in an ongoing research study. Traditional sex roles, especially with respect to child care, may have made many men less nurturant and cooperative than women.

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SEP 7 1976

Ref. to

File

Child Care

1980's

MEMORANDUM

To : Contributors to Volume II
Sage Yearbooks in Women's Policy Studies

From: ^{JRC} Jane R. Chapman and Margaret Gates
Editors

Enclosed is a draft of the Conclusions to the
Volume, Women Into Wives, of which your chapter
is a part. We would like to receive comments.
The book will go to the printer by mid-September
and should be out in January.

Attachment

JRC/pb

CHAPTER XII

CONCLUSIONS

By Jane Roberts Chapman

This volume has analyzed the status of women by looking at the complex of problems surrounding marital status. The legal, economic and social status of women is tied to the status of wives, because most women are married for some portion of their lives and society's legal and social institutions are predicated on that fact. On assuming this marital status, women profoundly affect their economic position, their legal rights, ^{and} their likelihood of becoming dependent upon a person or a public assistance program. The Gates chapter demonstrates that some of these effects continue long after the marriage is terminated by widowhood or divorce.

Opponents of equality for women have based much of their opposition on the contention that if women (most often referring to wives) gained equality they would lose a host of privileges and protections which they now enjoy. This book demonstrates that married women cannot lose those privileges and protections, because they don't have them. State and Federal laws treat married women differently from married men --for example, they restrict the financial rights of women. But they do not counter-balance these restrictions with guarantees that married women will be supported by a husband. Even when states have "support" laws, they are not enforced (Krauskopf, p. __), because judges consider it improper to

interfere in an ongoing marriage. Kamerman finds that U.S. public policies affecting "the family and its members are fragmented, inconsistent and contradictory," with many aspects that reinforce women's dependency on husbands, or limit women's choices and options regarding major roles, or treat them inequitably.

Fifty-five percent of women are not in paid employment and most are dependent on others for their livelihood. The influence of their dependency is far-reaching, touching all women. This is because the legal and social structure frequently assumes that all women are dependents whether they are or not. For example, for years married women were denied credit in their own names.

It took several years of public pressure and passage of a Federal law to begin to open up credit to married women who had their own incomes and were credit-worthy. As we learned in the Kinsley chapter, institutions such as the social security system base their benefit structure for working men on the presumption that married women are dependents of their husbands.

Some dependency is no doubt voluntary. But much of it is imposed by legal, cultural, economic, or psychological constraints. And it is difficult and perhaps meaningless to attempt to separate the dependency which is voluntary from that which is caused by social indoctrination, lack of job opportunity or training, or overwhelming child-rearing

responsibilities. King and Lipshutz report that married women experience higher rates of mental illness than single women and it is believed that it is the marital role itself "rather than any biological differences that causes psychological malaise."

The papers which comprise this book have delineated the nature and scope of women's dependency. In addition, the chapters set forth a variety of options which would reduce female dependency. Implicit in these discussions is the belief that dependency is a bad thing. Of course, if marriage is a loving partnership where each contributes according to his or her preference and abilities and each receives not only equal benefits from their joint labor but also equal protection before the law, then the fact that one partner earns money and one does not is not necessarily invidious.

But most marriages are not this way. In fact, the best intentions in the world between two spouses can hardly make marriage such a partnership. The law, institutional structures, and other forces will put the woman in a disadvantaged position in the marriage whether she and her husband wish it or not. (A married man who does not engage in paid employment faces some of the disadvantages of a dependent wife, such as lack of social security coverage, but not the full range of legal disabilities faced by a non-working wife.) Painter contrasts the situation of the middle class wife with that of the women who insure the survival of their families by shifting their dependence from the traditional nuclear family arrangement to dependence on other types of structures. "...they become dependent on kinship ties, friendship networks and public assistance."

In her analysis of marriage, Krauskopf points out that the low economic return for the effort invested is sufficient

to discourage the wife who does not currently need money from obtaining training or employment. "Thus, we have a vicious circle of dependency forever revolving--channel women into a protected and dependent role--use their dependency and protection as a rationalization for keeping them dependent--channel them into the role because they are dependent."

If a woman lives in a substantial house, which she co-owns; if she has access to a joint checking account and is obliged primarily to care for the home and children, and do pleasant things in the suburbs; it is more difficult to perceive her as a dependent or to perceive dependency as bad. But the papers presented in this book demonstrate that she can be rapidly reduced to poverty if the man from whom she derives her living is removed from the scene. This is the fearful side of the homemaker/breadwinner bargain.

Some dependency could be reduced by law change, but not all. If the property and domestic laws were reformed along the lines suggested by Krauskopf, a married woman would become a full partner in the economic matters of the marriage. If one spouse earned or otherwise secured assets, the other spouse would share in them. This would tend to establish the economic worth of the non-employed spouse. But it would not eliminate the dependency problem, because a husband can share all his assets with a wife except his most useful one, his

earning power. And despite equal legal and property rights within the marriage, a non-working wife would still be dependent for her bread and butter on the ability and willingness of another person to earn it for her.

This book has set forth the barriers of various sorts which encourage women to be dependent and which impede their efforts to be independent. It also points out the kinds of policy changes needed for women to be equal in their marital relationships. The unmet policy needs range from social security reform to flex-time, from shelters for abused wives to new inheritance tax codes. But the unanswered question is whether there will be a constituency to press for these changes.

If the past is any guide to the future, the government will do no more than respond slowly to outside pressures. There is some doubt that state governments will even do that. A state legislator in Oklahoma in a public statement opposing the Equal Rights Amendment said "woman was not made from Adam's head so she could think." Reform efforts introduced into the legislative climate indicated by that remark will not be easy to implement. Lipman-Blumen, in observing the impact of divorce on society, notes that social change is clearly underway but that "social policy changes with glacier speed."

The women's movement has been criticized as being for working women only, especially professional working women.

This is not now the case, if it ever was. Activist women's groups now operate on the premise set forth by Elizabeth Cady Stanton in a letter to Susan B. Anthony in 1853. "...I feel, as never before, that this whole question of women's rights turns on the pivot of the marriage relations, and mark my word, sooner or later, it will be the topic for discussion." Establishing the economic value of a homemaker's duties and pressing for legal changes which would secure economic security for full-time homemakers have been objectives of NOW task forces and the IWY Commission on International Women's Year and a host of other women's organizations.

Because of the widespread assumption that women are dependents and men are breadwinners and heads of household, women as a group cannot achieve equality until two things are achieved. First, the dependency of wives must be eliminated as a presumption from law, public programs and private institutions. Public programs and policies must be formulated and implemented in a more neutral fashion, based on the notion that all adult citizens are equal individuals. Second, the level of actual (as opposed to legislated) economic, social and psychological dependency must be significantly reduced. It would be simplistic to say that all women should be in the labor force. But we must move further in that direction if equality is to be achieved. Rowe presents a persuasive case for the involvement of men in childrearing,

not only to reduce female dependency, but also to improve the lives of men and children.

Dependency appears in its ugliest form in the homes where husbands inflict violence on wives. Straus says that the cultural norms and values which permit or encourage husbands' violence against their spouses reflect the male-dominant society of the western world. The right to use force exists, as Goode (1971) concludes, to provide the ultimate support for the existing power structure of the family, if those low in the hierarchy refuse to accept their place and roles.

One wonders why a woman would live with a man who beats her. One such wife said:

"I stay because I have nowhere else that I belong. I don't fight back because I am afraid to. I don't charge assault and battery because I went through that courtroom scene and was fined and admonished by the judge to 'go home and mind your husband and never bring your domestic quarrels to my court again'." (NOW:p. 4)

This is perhaps the saddest statement in this book.

Certainly violence has been done to other helpless people, such as prisoners, or slaves or children. But when a free, uninstitutionalized adult is beaten by a person who is supposed to be a loving, supportive family member and then says she endures it because she has no alternative, one reaches some sad conclusions about the family, the victim's self-view and society. If society cared about such women, there would be help for them and places for them to go.

A national poll of women's attitudes in 1975 found that while most women still considered having a husband and family to be a very important goal in life, the majority felt that a partnership arrangement would be ideal. (Roper Organization, 1974) Some other signs of change in the legal-economic-social relationships between men and women are becoming evident. The project on alternative family styles at UCLA (Chapter XI) investigates this trend noting that "change, variability and flexibility in family arrangements is becoming the norm, not the exception to be explained." The expectation of the children discussed by Best changed greatly over their grammar school years. The author attributes this largely to the impact of the women's movement and the alternatives it is making known to adult society. If these children foretell the men and women of the 80's and 90's, then our legal institutions and public policies must undergo change to accommodate them.

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MAR 8 1976

Ref. to _____
File women as wives
book

March 3, 1976

Mary Rowe
Special Assistant to the
President and Chancellor
for Women and Work
and Robert Fein c/o M. Rowe
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Cambridge, Mass. 02139

Dear Dr. ^{Mary} Rowe and Dr. Fein:

We are extremely anxious to receive your chapter. There is no leeway in our deadline with the publisher, and in addition to editing your manuscript we must review it before completing the conclusions of the book.

If the manuscript will not reach the Center by the end of this week (Saturday, March 6), please call (collect) so that we might discuss the problem.

Your participation in this volume will be an important contribution to current thinking on the status of women and the dependency of married women. We greatly look forward to receiving the chapter.

Sincerely yours,

Jane
Jane Roberts Chapman
Co-Director

Mary
Margaret J. Gates
Co-Director

JRC/MJG:cb
Encl.

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outline of the
"partnership marriage"
chapter

Chapter Outline--Ongoing Marriage

- I. Thesis: Best for both "family" and "individual" protection:
 - Legal Partnership model of Marriage;
 - Because the partnership model best accommodates the tensions:
 - (1) Between recognition of equality of husband and wife as individuals and recognition of responsibility of marital parties to the marital (family) unit;
 - (2) Arising because spouses in different families choose to follow different roles in service to the family (full time female homemaker/professional female) or spouses in a single family choose to shift roles during the existence of the marriage (one full time homemaker/wife and husband each part time wage earner, homemaker);
 - (3) Existing in regard to property division (equal/unequal) when the marriage is terminated by death or divorce.
- II. The existing law (common law tradition)
 - A. Husband as family, wife's legal identity merged.
 1. Husband Head of Household.
 2. Husband and wife each entitled to retain earnings and property, "therefore, no property for fulltime homemaker."
 3. Husband entitled to wife's services.
 4. Husband duty of support: totally unenforceable.
 - B. Inequities and negative effects of this legal tradition during the modern ongoing marriage
 1. No actual economic protection to "dependent" wife.
 2. No legal recognition of economic effects of homemaker role.
 3. No equality in management or in obligation to serve "family" unit.
 4. Denies right to contract differently.
 5. Ignores changed role of modern wife as manager and wage earner.
 6. Fosters continued dependency when no longer socially advantageous.
 7. Fosters continued sex discrimination in employment.
 8. Serves as foundation for inequitable distributions of assets at termination by death or divorce (See Divorce Chapter).
- III. Mechanisms for improvement
 - A. Equal Rights Amendment: will not create obligations of service to the family unit, will not equate value of homemaking and wage-earning roles, will not create economic or property rights for the lesser earning spouse; but will create opportunity for revamping the law of marriage so that it will better serve the "family" and its individual members.
 - B. Community property: pure principle of equality of rights and equal obligations towards service of the "family" appropriate, but limitations (due to common law notions) in American states inappropriate.
 - C. The Partnership Model for the ongoing marriage.
 1. Relationship to Uniform Partnership Act model.
 2. See Krauskopf and Thomas article, 35 OSLJ 558 at 586.

IV. Vehicles for improvement

A. ERA

B. Backdoor: law developing at divorce

(I do not know what Weitzman will say on this point, but my research indicates an increasing recognition by common law legislatures and courts of the partnership nature of marriage when it comes time to divide the assets of the parties at dissolution. Unfortunately, in my opinion not enough of them are responsive to the concept. You may think it strange, but I am hesitant to advocate a rigid right to half the assets acquired during marriage at dissolution. At this point in my thinking, I would much prefer a presumption or starting point of equality with a different division dependent upon needs for economic support. This is very close to the Uniform Act's original (1970) property division section. Since Herma Kay was a reporter for the Uniform Act and Weitzman has worked closely with her, perhaps she feels similarly. I probably should indicate my attitude on this issue since it seems at odds with my suggestion for equal rights to the property during the marriage. Do you think it should go in a footnote or in the text?)

CENTER FOR WOMEN POLICY STUDIES

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MARY P. ROWE
Special Assistant for Women and Work

M E M O R A N D U M

June 29, 1976

Ref. to _____
File 1980s folder

JUL 02 1976

Subject: Manuscripts
To : Contributors to Sage Annuals of Women's Policy
Studies
From : Jane Chapman and Margaret Gates, Editors

I. The manuscripts for Volume II of the Sage Annuals of Women's Policy Studies have now been sent to the publisher. If you have any revisions, corrections, inserts, et cetera, this is your final opportunity to make them. After the book has been set in type, there is a charge for corrections requested by the author. In order to avoid such charges, please send us any desired changes to your chapter as soon as possible.

II. We need to receive a brief biographical statement from each of you. Attached is a copy from Volume I which can serve as a model.

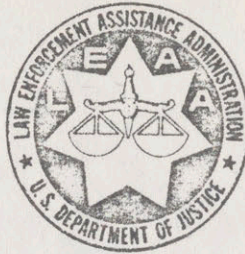
Attachment
JC/ph

Mary,
There were practically no changes in your chapter so I sent it in. If you have any revisions you want to make, please send them along. We have several weeks

Jane

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

news
release



LEAA
Law Enforcement Assistance Administration

Public Information Office
Telephone (202) 376-3820

Washington, D.C. 20531

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration has awarded \$172,404 to the Center for Women's Policy Studies in Washington, D. C., to provide technical assistance to appropriate Citizens' Initiative Program grantees, LEAA Administrator Richard W. Velde announced today.

The project's goal is to improve the response of grantees to the victims of rape, sexual abuse of children, and domestic violence—crimes that present special problems for victims as well as for the justice system.

Additional information about the grant, 76-TA-99-0020, is available from the LEAA Public Information Office in Washington, D. C., 202-376-3820.

76-517

6/7/76



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Speech
copy if
needed
on
Androgyny

CHILD CARE FOR THE 1980'S:
TRADITIONAL SEX ROLES OR ANDROGYNY?

Mary P. Rowe, Ph.D.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

January, 1976

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ABSTRACT

CHILD CARE FOR THE 1980's: TRADITIONAL SEX ROLES OR ANDROGYNY?

Mary P. Rowe, Ph.D.*

see often talk about m + w + effects on children
This paper discusses present and future child care arrangements

and their effects on women and children and men. The discussion is in terms of the effects of sex role differentiation in child care, rather than of alternative institutions for child care. The paper suggests that sex role differentiation in child care is cause and symbol of occupational segregation throughout the American economy.

Because of the effect on occupational segregation, traditional (woman-oriented) child rearing patterns are found to maintain the wage gap between men and women, as well as undesirable social and psychological consequences for men and women. The author believes this to be the case whether child care occurs at home or in day care. Our traditional patterns of child rearing are also, paradoxically, found to contribute to undermining our families and to our leaving children too much alone. This paper calls for androgynous child rearing in the 1980's and suggests some relevant changes in social policy.

*The author is much indebted to Robert Fein, Ph.D., of McLean Hospital, for his many insights on men and nurturance; to Joseph Pleck, Ph.D., author of many papers on men and of a forthcoming M.I.T. Press book on male roles; and to the Men's Studies Collection at M.I.T. started by Robert Fein and Joseph Pleck.

CHILD CARE FOR THE 1980's: TRADITIONAL SEX ROLES OR ANDROGYNY?

INTRODUCTION: TRADITIONAL SEX ROLES IN CHILD CARE

A young father in Massachusetts recently watched his wife die of cancer, leaving him and their five young children. Responsible, caring, grief-stricken, he went to the Welfare Department, planning to quit his job, go on welfare, and stay at home until the youngest child was in kindergarten. "It is tasteless in our society for a man to stay home", he was told. "We will find foster homes for your children". The young father protested, unwilling to lose his children and unwilling for them to lose him, each other and their home, as well as their mother. His feelings were finally heard, but not until our traditions about child care had been vividly dramatized: Responsibility for young children lies with women and the primary role of women is to be with children (Pope Paul VI, 1976).

In this essay we discuss parenthood and child care from the point of view of sex-roles rather than of institutions. Many people use the words "traditional child-care" in a different way, to mean "care within the institution of a nuclear family". For these people non-traditional care then means care in an institution different from the nuclear family, say, a commune or day-care center or a 24-hour state nursery, or a household following death or divorce, or a lesbian household. I on the other hand, will use the words "traditional child care" to mean responsibility for children and care of young children by women, under circumstances where men would find it difficult to care for those children and where only women

would be comfortable doing so in our society. Thus, day care and 24-hour state centers, foster care, care by divorcees, and lesbian households might all be "traditional child care", in my sense, if the female child carers perceive themselves to be constrained by sex-role stereotypes so powerful that neither they, nor would-be male child carers, have the freedom to negotiate who will care for the children.

By the same token, androgynous child care, according to the definitions of this paper, might occur in families, centers and other institutions, and occurs wherever both men and women have equal options to negotiate with themselves and each other who will care for children. (Of course there is a shading, from tradition toward androgyny, along a continuum where women and men experience different degrees of options, which may vary by age of child, or family income, or other individual circumstance.)

This paper discusses present-day child care arrangements, and some consequences of our present arrangements. The negative consequences of traditional arrangements are seen as part and parcel of the negative consequences of American sex role stereotypes as a whole. The paper concludes with discussion of further androgynous options for parents and what is needed to support those options in terms of laws and of human attitudes.

PRESENT-DAY CHILD CARE ARRANGEMENTS

About four-fifths of American households with children under 14 are in nuclear family form (Unco, 1976).¹ (I estimate however that

about half of American children in the 1980's will live for some part of their childhood with a single parent or in some other non-nuclear family arrangement.) About 90% of all households with children under 14 now use some kind of care (other than the mother in her own home) at some time in a given week; more than half use care more than an hour per week; about a quarter use a child care arrangement ~~ten or more hours per~~ week; about an eighth use care thirty or more hours per week. *Mostly ♀*

The main types of care are relatives in one's own or another home, or a non-relative in one's own home or another home. Day care centers, cooperative programs, nursery and pre-schools, and before and after school programs, together comprise only a maximum of a tenth of all arrangements. About two-thirds of all households pay no cash for child care, but many arrangements are reimbursed in kind; only about a tenth of all arrangements are considered "free".

Multiple arrangements are very common, with over half of all care-using households reporting the father as a regular, supplementary caretaker, three-tenths regularly using an older sibling and an eighth regularly leaving children alone, in addition to the relatives and non-relatives and formal care reported above as "main types of care". Hours that children are in school are also an important "child care arrangement" for two-ninths of all children under 14.

Of interest to the present discussion, we find fathers estimated as fewer than ten per cent of all "main types" of child care, but they are

clearly "helping out" significantly, as noted above. How much are men becoming involved in child care? There is scattered evidence of the importance of men as child carers in some specific groups of the population. For instance, among the families of professional psychologists, roughly a sixth to a quarter of the care of the children is reported to be by husbands (with non-spouse arrangements on the same order of magnitude and mothers caring for children 60 to 70 per cent of the time) (Brysons, et al, 1976). The Michigan Survey Research Center study of five thousand American families is also reported to have found many men comparably engaged in child care,

And about 8% of all children under 18, who were reported living in non-nuclear families, were in non-nuclear families headed by a male, in 1974 (BLS, 1974).

On the other hand, time budget studies of several years ago showed that employed mothers spent seven to ten hours more per week on total work and work-related activities (including commuting, homemaking, child care and paid employment), than did employed fathers (Holmstrom, 1972; Walker, 1970; Szalai, ed., 1973).² And the "extra" time devoted by employed mothers was predominantly in child care and homemaking. Moreover there is some reason to believe that fathers, on the average, got more sleep and had more time in leisure activities than did mothers, (Harris Poll, 1970; Szalai, ed., 1973). The mothers, in fact, appeared to get less than optimal sleep on a regular basis. (Szalai, ed., 1973).

Some evidence has indicated that the amount of time spent by employed fathers, on child care and homemaking, depended primarily on what these men were otherwise doing; it did not depend very much on whether the mother had a paid job or on the number of children in the family (Walker, 1970). On the other hand, some studies appear to indicate that husbands/fathers have performed a little more housework and child care when wives/mothers are employed, the increase usually expressed as an increase in the percent of total homemaking taken on by the husband. (Hoffman and Nye, eds., 1974). My own experience also indicates that many women believe this is the case. However, I now believe that the major shift that occurs when a wife/mother takes a paid job, is that the total amount of family-work time drops very sharply [by half to a third (Walker, 1970)] and that because the husband's family-work time stays nearly the same, he is doing a larger proportion of the homemaking.

On the basis of my clinical experience I believe there may also be a shift in type of work performed by husbands (from less urgent to more urgent). Moreover, the standard deviation in amount of family work performed by all husbands may be rising. That is, I believe more husbands may be doing either less family work because of moonlighting, or more, because of a shift toward androgyny by younger men, while the "average amount of family work performed by 'all husbands' " has risen only a little in the 1970's.

Of course these statistics on child care arrangements tell us nothing certain about the attitudes of the child carers and the extent to which they are or feel constrained by sex-role stereotyping. But we find fathers as primary care givers (as distinguished from being regular supplementary care-takers) for only a few per cent of American children and mothers as the primary care givers for nearly half of all US children. Moreover, most mothers retain basic responsibility for children most of the time, and seven-eighths of all households use non-maternal care only 30 hours per week or less, out of the 168 hours in a week (Unco, 1976). It is easy therefore to hypothesize that serious sex-role stereotyping with respect to children is very important in the US.

Comparable statistics do not exist for other countries. We know that in predominantly rural areas of the world, that it is usually women who care for children, at home or at work, and usually together with other women, or that older children care for younger children under the eye of a nearby adult. In other industrialized nations more like our own, sex-role differentiation appears to be as common as in the United States. In at least eighteen other nations with time budget surveys, patterns are reported similar to those in the US. (Roby, 1975; Szalai, ed., 1973).

In the Soviet Union, top government officials will say "we believe women to be better suited to child care"; Soviet fathers are kept out of maternity hospitals, have no paternity leave the first year of their child's

life and practically no men are involved in the day-to-day formal care that affects perhaps 40% of Soviet urban pre-schoolers. (Rowe, 1975). In China (Sidel, 1972) and in Israel (Gerson, 1971) comparable sex-role differentiation obtains. Thus even where widespread child care systems are available, they are traditional according to my view, and tend to maintain the women-with-children stereotype.

Only in the United States and Scandinavia do we find significant, if small, proportions of men involved in formal child care. And only in Scandinavia and Cuba have top government leaders systematically asserted equal rights for men in the home and with children, and equal sharing with women of social responsibility for reproducing and socializing the human species. No where does that equal sharing appear yet to have taken place.

Support for traditional practices and policies has generally rested on two grounds. First, it is asserted, women are biologically better able to care for children, and men are hormonally and morphologically better able to support a family.³ Secondly, it is asserted that a whole socio-economic system has been erected on the basis of the biological differences, and that this system is a good thing, because sex-role differentiation has been effective and efficient in getting done the work of the world. It is my point of view that differences in child-rearing capabilities and requirements formerly did mean that women were better adapted to child care, but that biological differences with respect to parenting no longer have much meaning in this era of ZPG, planned

parenthood and bottle feeding. Hormonal and morphologic differences in men may also have meant that males were in some societies better providers, in an age of hunting and frontier life. I believe this is not generally true in our services-oriented economy, where cooperation and human organization are so exceptionally important. I believe that the traditional social and economic sex-role differentiation is no longer helpful to industrialized society and that androgyny offers a more effective and humane system for child care as well as for other employment.

WHAT IS THE EFFECT OF PRESENT-DAY CHILD CARE ARRANGEMENTS?

A. EFFECTS ON CHILDREN

Many experts in recent years have surveyed the evidence concerning the effect on children of different child care arrangements. Extensive and exhaustive, these reviews regularly conclude that stable, responsive, consistent care is important, indeed critical, to young children. Recent studies also conclude that care of this nature can be delivered by a variety of different kinds of people, men and women, teenager and grandparent, single and multiple attachment figures, in a variety of settings, (Fein, 1974; Howell, 1973; Kotelchuck, 1972; Talbot, ed., 1976). While questions have been raised about the effect of 24-hour care on children in institutions (Bowlby, 1951), in kibbutzim (Bettelheim, 1970) or in 24-hour centers in the Soviet Union (Rowe, 1975), or of too much violent television, by and large it is very difficult to demonstrate long-term

effects on children from any kind of non-abusive care and education arrangement (Rowe, 1974a; White, et al, 1972). The public consensus in the United States also appears to be swinging toward a belief that child care may help socialize children, especially those in small families, (Morgan, 1975; Unco, 1976) and that parental employment and child care may make children more independent. It seems reasonable to conclude that many types of arrangements are suitable for children, where the environment is safe and supportive and there are consistent, warm, responsive, stable attachment figures as caretakers. (Talbot, ed., 1976).

DINERSTEIN On the other hand, numerous observers believe that families need more support (Howell, 1976; Talbot, ed., 1976), that children are happier when they see more of their fathers, (Green, 1976), and that children might be happier with several different parental figures to turn to instead of depending exclusively on over-worked, isolated mothers (Howell, 1976). And many people are deeply concerned by the number of children under ten who are now regularly left alone or who are in abusive care situations---numbers which may total ten per cent or more of our young children.

B. EFFECTS ON WOMEN AND MEN

Our traditions about women and children bring great joy and happiness to many men and women. Others have for decades ignored the traditions, equally happily. Still others were brought up in different traditions, where

women shared financial responsibility and/or men shared in all nurturance activities; many of these people and their families have also thrived.

There are many women and men however who are not happy either ignoring the modal tradition or living within it. And still others are happy for years with traditional sex roles and then feel constrained and confined and frustrated and bewildered. In this discussion we will concentrate on the difficulties with traditional roles with respect to child care since we are concerned mainly with providing options. (Androgyny includes people being free to behave traditionally, so options are more available than in a traditional setting where only the ordinary sex roles are appropriate.) The ensuing discussion presents what I see as negative consequences of our present child care arrangements. In a larger sense these consequences are due to the whole pattern of sex role stereotyping rather than just to child care. And, as we noted above, there may be several reasons why sex role differentiation occurred in the first place. At present however, I believe child care arrangements have come to symbolize all the reasons for sex roles; they are perhaps the most powerful remaining institutionalization of our stereotypes. It is in this sense then that I present some consequences of sex role differentiation in the context of consequences of child care arrangements.

The Sense of Separateness of Men and Women

The presumption that children and family were women's work has, I believe, led through our early socialization patterns to an extraordinary

segregation of most men's lives from most women's lives, especially in industrialized societies. In my own work I am continually impressed by the extent to which men and women do not understand each other's experience.

More damaging yet is the frequent presumption that, at base, men and women cannot ultimately understand each other or live the same life-style. Liberal men will often support the entrance of women into, say, engineering. But then, if someone asks about men in child care, this same liberal may ask, "But could men really take care of children as well as women?" The Soviet Union and China assert complete equality for women. These countries have, however, desegregated only lower and middle level "male" occupations, leaving child care, homemaking (and top-policy positions) as segregated as ever. Conservative--and radical--women also often speak as if only women could care for children. We are all accustomed to hearing very conservative women speak this way but it is sometimes as true for radical women. Revolutionary feminists deplore the oppression of women which may result from women's traditional child care responsibilities. But then some radical feminists turn to discussion of gestation in test tubes, and child care in 24-hour day care centers, in a way which appears by exclusion to accept the notion that fathers and children might damage each other's lives. In other words, some feminists reject the oppression of individual women, but then turn to day care (provided largely by women), as if it were an improvement. Some improvement may in fact occur; the care takers are

usually paid, (at low rates), and sometimes have each other to talk with, but the traditional sex-role pattern obtains.

Another result of traditional thinking is that large numbers of men and women, including, sadly, some parents, have concluded that children and/or child care are too much for them (as distinguished from those who limit their families for idealistic reasons). For example, Ann Landers recently reported that 70% of 10,000 parents who wrote her about having children, reported that they "would not do it again". And a recent Gallup Poll reported that one in ten of all mothers, randomly surveyed, "regretted having children" (McCall's, 1975).

Loneliness

Present child care arrangements are lonely for many parents. Isolated mothers and paid caretakers are often lonely; men who commute and moonlight and do not see their families are often lonely. Marriages where one spouse is a homemaker, working 99 hours per week, and the other works overtime or moonlights up to 80-90 hours per week, are hard on communications. The disproportionate numbers of depressed young mothers (Radloff, 1975) illuminate the sadness of spouses with not enough chance to be with those they love.

Moreover, in many of the shared parenting arrangements that now exist, the parents both work full time in paid jobs, with one or both, (often the father), in charge of the children during hours when the parent(s) should be sleeping. (Of course the children may then also be

sleeping). Here the parents share care, sometimes at the price of sleep. However since our society as a whole is set up for paid workers without child care responsibilities (with fixed working hours and few 1/2 and 3/4 jobs), the parents may be able to earn two incomes only by staggering their work hours. This means that in many two-job families one parent is with the children primarily when the children are asleep, and also that the parents have little waking or sleeping time together.

Loneliness exacts a high price. There can be a sense of desperation and resentment when a spouse alone must care for a sick child or a rebellious child; there can be a sense of desperation and resentment when a spouse alone must face a lay-off, or middle-age without fulfillment. Sexual relationships suffer acutely when spouses are lonely.

Financial Difficulties

Families with one wage earner are less secure than those where there are two. A single wage earner is under more pressure to succeed, to compete, to have to travel, to stay at a hated job in order to survive unemployment. A second wage earner provides a buffer, so his/her spouse may change jobs, or train or retrain. A widowed or divorced spouse without labor force experience faces a very bleak world, financially and psychologically. So also do the homemaker parents whose children have grown, who have no further identity to turn to. Finally at any given time we would have many millions more families on welfare, if both spouses were not in paid employment. Two wage earners obviously have a much

better chance to provide a reasonable standard of living for themselves and their children.

Deprivation from Nurturance

Each parent faces a significant chance of widowhood or divorce. Most young men face single parenthood without enough training for the task and without equal rights to custody and child companionship and support.

Less often recognized is the gross deprivation of most men even where there is no widowhood or divorce. Too rarely, but occasionally, we deplore the spectre of men governing our nation, who have never taken care of a child, or an aged parent, or a pet, or even a plant. Occasionally, if much too rarely, we take note of the fact that modern managers and modern foremen need to be nurturant, sensitive and patient at least as much as they need to be aggressive, brave and tough. We see this perhaps most clearly as we view with concern a generation of women who might become managers without being socialized to take care of other people.

It is extremely rare for us to discuss in public what it means for individual men to be cut off from children and other direct, personal nurturant activities. The belief that men may reasonably spend their lives without the right or expectation of direct caretaking may lead to a variety of damage. One knows many men who do not physically or emotionally take care of themselves; who lose much of their joy in life by being cut off

from their feelings; who suffer considerably in childhood, adolescence and manhood by competing with other males; who have essentially lost the sense of meaning and continuity of life by being cut off from aged parents and children, by being sanitized at every turn, from human emotion. The sense of separateness and loneliness, bad as they are, seem to me mild, compared with the destruction of self involved in our cutting off many men from their nurturant selves and their caring potential.

Work Satisfaction; Leisure Satisfaction

Analyses of work satisfaction indicate that some people value work for the process of working, some for the product, some for the remuneration, some for work-group relations. Some value status, the chance for creativity, the sense of autonomy over one's work. Joy in leisure time activities is similarly related.

In traditional families each parent has only one work arena to seek satisfaction, friends, status, a sense of identity and a sense of challenge and growth. If the home environment or the paid work environment happens to provide the right processes, products, remuneration, friends, status, creativity and autonomy for the parents assigned to that environment, all is well. But for many people having only one work arena provides a severe sense of constraint. Leisure activities are often similarly constrained. Moreover the inequity of work-status and leisure-activity status between husband and wife in traditional families, means it is hard for many to maintain the love and comradeship which flourish between equals.

Finally, just the presumption that each individual will conform to the requirements of a stereotyped and arbitrary role is felt by many to be very constricting. This feeling has probably become more pronounced in recent years. In a simple society, role differentiation still permitted a wide range of expression. In the specializations of industrialism, much of this range was lost, so role requirements have become for many people much more constraining, and are felt by many to be destructive to individuals.

Economic and Educational Discrimination Against Women

Of all the difficulties caused by and symbolized by traditional child care patterns perhaps the best understood is economic discrimination against women. Discrimination against women is often alleged to occur with respect to education, job recruitment, promotion, benefits, work ambiance and the wage gap (unequal pay). The index of sex inequality most frequently cited is the wage gap between men and women; women on the average earn less than 60% of men's wages. Because the wage gap between men and women is easily quantified it is the most easily analyzed indicator of sex discrimination. Economists interested in discrimination often begin with some estimate of wage gaps and then seek to explain these gaps by controlling for education, years of experience, entrance into given occupations, and promotional patterns, thereafter assigning any residual gap to "pure" or direct discrimination. Many feminists look upon these studies as analyzing indirect discrim-

ination in order to isolate direct discrimination.

How much of gross wage gaps can be attributed directly or indirectly to sex role differentiation in child care, as distinguished from sex role differentiation in general? Here again, as with the rest of the discussion above, we cannot be sure exactly what part of discrimination is caused by, and what is symbolized by, differentiation in roles with respect to child care. We do know that, on the average, single women and childfree women have done better with respect to education, labor force participation, promotions and wages. And we know that these "success" patterns are in general reversed for men, who typically thrive better when married and with children. But we do not know enough about selection factors (what kind of women choose to remain childfree) or about indirect discrimination (what kind of women do men prefer to promote and pay well, other things being equal). And economists disagree on exactly how to analyze the gross wage gaps. Thus there is no exact one-to-one evidence on the discriminatory importance of sex roles in child care. On the other hand we do know some of the broad outlines of the effect of child care patterns and how they may affect economic discrimination.

To begin with, many economists believe that a large part of the wage gap between men and women can be explained by occupational segregation, (Kahne, 1975). Women are in general found in certain occupations which are in general paid rather low wages or not at all.

Systematically low wages in "womens" occupations are variously explained by "crowding", "tastes" and human capital theory. "Crowding" is thought to result in lower wages for women because women have unequal access to many jobs. This produces a crowding of women into a few occupations such that their average productivity in these few occupations is lower than that of men in other occupations (Bergmann, 1974). The "tastes" argument suggests that employers and consumers simply "don't like" women in certain jobs or "assume they are inferior" and therefore discriminate against them, (Arrow, 1972; Phelps, 1972). Both of these arguments would suggest that there is a psychological reason for denying women access to well-paying positions. Human capital theory suggests that women are on the average paid less than men because they are less productive and that they are less productive primarily because they are less well educated and trained (Mincer and Polachek, 1974). All of these theories find justification in empirical studies.

In addition to wage gaps produced by occupational segregation, most economists agree that part of the gross wage gap can be explained by differences in real and expected labor force participation: hours per week, weeks per year, years per lifetime.⁴ But most now agree that these differences are less important than those rooted in occupational segregation. And most also agree that straight forward unequal pay for equal work is of only minimal importance.

How do our traditional expectations about child care lead to wage

gaps? One may raise hypotheses all along the line, with respect to each theory above. Some have suggested that crowding and "discriminatory tastes" arise in part from a desire by males to compensate for not being able to gestate or nurse babies. This theory suggests that men have more need than women to create and control outside the family, and that they have a signal fear of competing directly with women because of a primitive fear that they cannot really compete, with respect to creation (Rowe, 1974b).

With respect to human capital theory, many have suggested that the reason that women ask for and are permitted less education and less valuable training is that they need less education because their chief role is to marry and have children. In the nineteenth century, prolonged study was widely believed too strenuous for female anatomy and also likely to weaken a woman's reproductive capabilities. Although higher education is no longer considered damaging to motherhood it is still widely considered unnecessary for mothers. Child care responsibilities, and the presumption that women would have full responsibility for children, still directly interfere with equal educational opportunities for women.

During the 1970's, in the course of my work in and around universities in New England, I remember many very direct statements on this subject. For example there was the admissions committee professor at a professional school who would admit women only if they "promise to stay celibate here". Many educational institutions have only recently permitted pregnant women to continue to study. Many others still do not have reason-

able provisions for part-time graduate work and residencies, for young parents.

By the same token, we still find daily stories of women asked in recruitment interviews about their family plans and contraception, of women not offered jobs or promotions or raises because of presumptions about their family life.

To the (relatively minor) extent that hours per week, weeks per year and years per lifetime are important in explaining the wage gap, it is easy to see a very direct connection between our traditional child care arrangements and labor force participation. With mothers in the paid labor force typically working a much longer total work week than fathers, it is easy to understand the direct conflict between paid and unpaid work.

Another area of economic discrimination where the relationship between labor force participation and traditional child care is very direct has to do with benefits--health care, vacations, pensions, Social Security. Adequate benefits coverage for men is yet far to seek, but for women the situation is much worse. Women produce nearly 30% of family incomes; GNP would rise by another estimated 20% if the unpaid work of women were included in GNP. Yet millions of women are without adequate health care, without vacation time, without appropriate pensions. This happens partly because much part-time work carries no benefits, because unpaid work in the home carries no direct benefits, because women as mothers have been considered their husband's dependents, and because

of the wage gap discussed above, which means women's benefits, where they exist, are often lower. All of these facts follow quite directly from the traditional vision of women as child carers.

Another and similar economic problem concerns our inadequate income tax deductions for child care. Money paid for child care should be reckoned as a business expense, which means it would be subtracted before the estimation of taxable income. Instead, and probably partly because child care is traditionally not paid for, we have an inadequate deduction which constitutes another economic discrimination.

Finally, as we consider economic discrimination, the subtle importance of traditional child care may be much greater than we know. (Rowe, 1976). To the extent that women and men maintain the image of women as dependent child carers, (despite the fact that women in paid and unpaid employment might actually account for about 50% of a properly reckoned GNP), it is easier for us all unconsciously to discriminate against women in paid work (and men in unpaid work).

In addition the woman whose total work experience has been in unpaid work may herself have a poor idea what she is "worth". As she considers paid work, she may have a tendency to think in terms of her "next best" (or "fall back") occupation, which is, to be paid nothing in direct wages. Women like this, and men too, may think of her work as "not worth very much", and by extension the work of all women may seem not to be worth very much.⁵ Where "all women" can be imagined to be restricted to "nurturance", it is easier to think of women as all alike; one need not then worry about rewards to individual productivity.

As we consider our own homemaking and child care, which usually have no direct price, some may consider these activities to be "worth" very little, others may consider them "priceless". Many people in fact argue eloquently that no financial figure can approach the value of human care; they would hate to see all caretaking paid for. I find this feeling easily understandable. However I believe that if most nurturance is not to be cash paid it should generally be shared equally between men and women. One can, in other words, believe in the value of child care and all nurturant activities without accepting systematic economic and educational discrimination against women. In fact it is the premise of this article that one can believe in children and child care, without all of the separateness, loneliness, financial insecurity, deprivation from nurturance, work and leisure dissatisfactions and discrimination which are at present part of our inheritance from traditional sex roles.

What About Day Care?

We have argued that traditional child care may not now be ideal for children and parents and families. Many people, faced with these feelings, advocate universal child care external to the home, available 24 hours per day, and subsidized by government on a sliding fee scale basis.

Excellent child care would certainly speak to the needs of many children, especially those now left alone, the malnourished, the rat-bitten, the abused. Provision of better care for all children would directly improve the lives of a fourth of our population for a fifth of their lives. It would rescue at least ten percent of our children from

conditions that we ought to consider intolerable.

With respect to parents, the availability of excellent care would certainly alleviate some of the loneliness and much of the financial insecurity we discussed above. It is an absolute necessity for the tenth of all parents who are single, especially if they work outside the home. However day care delivered on a traditional, woman-oriented basis, as it is now, might not do much to alleviate the sense of separateness between men and women, the deprivation from nurturance, the work dissatisfactions, and economic discrimination. In fact, on balance, our present day care arrangements probably contribute as much to traditional stereotypes as they do to provide options. In particular, the employment of women in paid as well as unpaid child care arrangements probably substantiates the occupational segregation which is the strongest source of economic discrimination.

Full time day care, on the average about 8.5 hours a day, 42.5 hours per week, probably also causes some feelings of deprivation for some parents. It seems probable that if they had optimal choices, many parents would prefer to be able to take somewhat more care of their children than is the case with full time day care.

In summary of sections above, we have reviewed paid and unpaid U.S. child care arrangements, which suggest a strong sex role differentiation of the work and joy involved in having children. This author believes that this differentiation is one major factor in maintaining all other attributes of sex roles. More options with respect to child care, and new socialization

patterns for both sexes, toward caring for children and others, might make a major difference in the quality of life for adults and children.

This leads us to a discussion of androgyny.

ANDROGYNY AND CHILD CARE

Androgyny means that how people spend their time should be influenced primarily by skills and interests, not by gender. It would mean that men and women would equally share financial responsibility, child care and home making responsibilities.

Equal sharing of responsibility would not necessarily mean that men and women would exactly divide the laundry and the diapers and the bills. Rather, there would be a social and legal presumption that performance of these duties would be negotiated between spouses, on a continuous, life-time basis, with equal moral rights and responsibilities.

The theoretical basis of androgyny is the proposition that both men and women have both "masculine" and "feminine" potential with regard to character development (where "masculine" is taken in the traditional sense of "instrumental" and "feminine" in the traditional sense of "nurturant".) There is no presumption that individuals should (or could) all be alike, but that everyone has some nurturant and some instrumental potential.

In individual instances, of course, an androgynous society would support responsible childlessness and full-time homemakers that were female, as well as male. But the society as a whole would be set up to support male and female parents as wage-earners, and male and female wage-earners as parents, in whatever responsible patterns spouses might choose.

Let us take the example of a young couple with the modal one or two children. In a society which supported young parents to work in 1/2-3/4 time paid jobs, the family would receive one, or one and a half salaries. Suppose both parents worked thirty hours a week in paid jobs. Suppose further that they used child care ten to twenty hours per week including evening babysitting and that otherwise they split child care responsibilities. They would each get to know the children and the skills of homemaking and they would have a chance to spend some time alone together.

With respect to our list of concerns in the section above about the effects of child care arrangements, androgynous spouses would have a much keener sense of each other's lives. The "learned helplessness" of each sex toward the other's role, might generally disappear. Spouses who intimately shared responsibilities might feel much less taken for granted and much less lonely. One can imagine women being very supportive of a spouse's need to relax after the office and men who no longer dropped laundry on the floor.

Family financial security would grow, along with family incomes, since lifetime earnings and one's ability to find and keep a job depend much more on continuous years in the labor force than on hours per week. Promotions might come one to three years later for a typical worker who took a 3/4 time job while the children were small. However if the typical worker shared family responsibilities with a spouse, who also worked 3/4 time in a paid job throughout the years of young parenthood,

each could expect much higher life time earnings than if he or she dropped out for family responsibilities. Thus the expected later promotions permit much higher (and more secure) family earnings. We would expect that the quality of life for many people would rise, as they gained another arena for friends, status, productivity, and self image. Both spouses would have one work area at home where there is considerable autonomy over one's work. Women might gain more sleep; men might gain more options for self-expression and a respite from competition.

Spouses left alone, through death or divorce, would be likely to survive in both paid work and family life. Men who equally cared for their children would have, in practice, more rights with respect to custody and visitation. One can imagine that retirement from child raising and paid work would be much more comfortable, under circumstances where both spouses had a wider range of skills and interests. Mid-life crises might also be less severe, with a wider range of options offered by two sets of skills and two incomes in the family.

With respect to discrimination one may imagine that many of the direct sources of wage and promotional inequality might disappear in an androgynous society.

← Both men and women would have equal access to education, training and jobs. Many couples might choose to share family responsibilities so completely that neither spouse ever dropped out of school or job for family reasons. Other couples might choose to have one or the other

spouse a full-time homemaker for a period of time. Nationally, however, we might expect androgynous socialization and work patterns to produce a random distribution of men and women as full time homemakers. By the same token, sex-based wage differences now attributable to mobility, years of experience and hours per week in the paid labor force would also disappear as men and women began to spend their time in similar ways.

The physiological bases for work differentiation seem already much muted. Some jobs requiring great strength might remain forever disproportionately male. These however seem unlikely to produce national wage gaps between men and women. If there are hormonal differences of significant importance to work aggressiveness, these may persist. But we will not know to what extent, if at all, they are important until we have offered boys and girls equal options in cooperation and assertiveness. One may guess from cross-cultural studies that culture is enormously important and may "wash out" whatever minor hormonal differences exist.

Motivational differences between men and women (whatever they are) might be expected to have less and less effect on sex based wage and promotion gaps. Men who cared directly for children and others, would find gestation and nursing much less important than lifetime nurturance. Such men might conceivably be somewhat less driven to create (and to destroy). Women, on the other hand, knowing they would share financial responsibility, might work harder to be recruited, paid and promoted appropriately.

What would happen to the concentration and perseverance required for extraordinary intellectual, scientific, artistic achievement? One may guess that some people will always choose to stay single and/or childless. Others will find supportive spouses or communes or other family. Many will simply postpone achievement for a year or several years. In any case, the achievements will come to both men and women.

What of total social productivity? Is it true one must be young to innovate? Would the total number of innovations drop? There is some reason to believe that extraordinary scientific achievements now occur within several years of taking on new intellectual problems, rather than necessarily to young people (Tobias, 1975). (In earlier times, with short life expectancies and little accumulated knowledge and no information retrieval, genius may have been associated with youth.)

In modern times, genius often requires extensive teamwork, many building block experiments, and then a new look. It is not at all clear that having men and women in part-time work for several years would jeopardize creative breakthroughs over a lifetime; indeed many very innovative people have waxed and waned in creativity several times throughout a lifetime.

What probably is very important, from the point of view of social productivity, is that intellectual, artistic and social genius find options to flower. If we imagine for example, that scientific, artistic, and caring potential are randomly distributed to males and females, then we could nearly double the incidence of scientific, artistic and human achievements by opening all occupations to both sexes. Moreover, while some kinds

of achievements seem to require a lifelong, even celibate concentration, other kinds of work seem to require some relief from concentration. Thus children keep some people sane for the laboratory or factory, and the factory or laboratory keeps them sane for the children.

Finally, from the point of view of social productivity, we may discover that androgyny provides us with a more caring world.⁵ Supposing more women, socialized to nurturance and cooperation, get into influential jobs? And suppose we also socialize our young males to expect to care for children and others? Might we see a re-ordering of values governance and management?

This article makes no pretense to the notion that sex role differentiation causes all evil and that androgyny will iron out all pain. If sexism begins to disappear, perhaps we will become caring enough to eliminate racism and other forms of human violence as well, but it seems likely that we will move only slowly at best. Some androgynous couples will divorce, and some men and women will be as miserable with more options as they were with fewer. There may also be children who would flourish more seeing their parents less. But on balance one may believe that freeing all humans' to share in child care on a part-time basis may bring more happiness to children and adults. Children will have a greater chance to be with someone who wants to be with them; both children and adults will be free to explore their caring and inventive selves.

SOCIAL POLICIES IN SUPPORT OF ANDROGYNY

Present-day androgynous couples often find it difficult to combine paid work and family life in an equitable manner. One would therefore recommend changes in social policies which would make it easier for parents to share the responsibilities and advantages of home and paid work.

The first and most basic legal and social change should clearly be the Equal Rights Amendment to the constitution. No other single change would be more likely to permit protection of males as nurturant parents as well as protection of women in public life.

With respect to the organization of paid work in our society, many changes are needed. First there should be a reconsideration of what is meant by "full-time work". At a time of structural as well as cyclical unemployment, it seems reasonable to ask whether full-time work should be redefined as 30 to 35 hours per week. This alone would permit young parents more time to share child care as well as spreading the work of the nation.

Part-time work (part-day, part-week or part-year work) needs systematic support for both sexes. Discrimination against part-time workers, in terms of promotion and benefits, should be forbidden. Benefits should be prorated, including pensions. In general we should take those steps which support "bumpy" career ladders, so that parents may work longer and shorter work weeks, depending on stage in the life cycle. Mandated seniority and promotional patterns, in union contracts and tenure ladders for instance,

should take account of periods of part-time work. At least 10% of government jobs should be set aside for part-time workers.

Employers have not traditionally been enthusiastic about the extra expense of extra sets of paper work involved in hiring proportionately more (part-time) workers. However I believe we need extensive research to see whether productivity per hour may not be higher for part-time workers. It may be that in many jobs part-time workers (more than) repay the extra expense involved in having proportionately more people.

We need many more flexible time jobs. Some employers can adopt the system whereby all employees may choose (sometimes for set periods of time) to come in between 7 a. m. and 10 a. m., to leave between 3 p. m. and 6 p. m. Others may wish to designate only certain jobs, for flexible time of a standard type, or individually designed.

Some jobs can be designated for people who need flexible, short-term leaves of absence. For instance we need more "undertime" jobs whereby employees can agree to accept 2%, 4% or 6% less salary, on a pro-rated basis, in return for five, ten or fifteen days leave of absence on a planned, approved and voluntary basis.

One important structure to support part-time and flexible-hour jobs is a well-run posting system within organizations. A posting system means all job openings are widely advertised for a certain period of time within a given organization. Supervisors describe the job opening, including a description of whether a job can be part-time, a shared appointment, a

flexible-hours and/or an undertime job. Such posting systems also serve the purpose of supporting career development and perhaps should be mandated by law or fostered by tax incentives.

In times of economic prosperity employers have been reluctant to institute work structures supportive of family life. However, with high turnover, worker discontent and budget crunches, many employers are considering shortened work weeks and flexible hiring plans as a way to raise productivity and cut costs. Undertime and part-year jobs in particular offer a chance to plan leaves of absence during work lulls; well-run posting systems help to alleviate the pain of retrenchment while helping protect long term employees.

Parental leave needs further change in most American firms. We should consider the parental insurance systems of Sweden, whereby parents have a right to paid leave up to seven months after a birth; (they can divide the time between them). We should further consider the Swedish system of parental sick leave for children's illnesses. At a minimum, maternity leave should be treated as a temporary disability, (with the possibility of extended disability). This minimum improvement should also include unpaid leave for either parent (after maternity leave ends), up to six months post-partum, and the right to use some days of personal sick leave for children's illnesses, for children under twelve.

Further changes should include reform of child labor and insurance laws so children can work (paid or unpaid) in non-exploitative apprenticeships. Our present segregation of children under age 16 from many work places

has the effect of keeping age groups unnecessarily apart. We also need changes in Social Security so that people over 65 can legally continue to work and earn, so that more grandparents are available to more children.

The definition of work itself needs change. If unpaid homemaking and child care by full time homemakers were reckoned into the GNP, and defined as "work", we might pave the way for redefinitions of Social Security, welfare, pensions and other benefits. If Social Security vested individually in all responsible (paid and unpaid) workers, it would be easier for both men and women to consider full-time homemaking, without all the present risks to displaced (abandoned, divorced and widowed) homemakers. If child rearing were seen as socially constructive work, AFDC would become payment for child care, with attendant benefits and pensions, akin to military service, military benefits and military retirement. Moreover if full-time homemakers were seen as responsible workers, socially as worthwhile as military employees, we would have a stronger theoretical reason for a universal health plan for all Americans.

Changes in the tax laws could also help family programs. Further tax write-offs to employers, for family support structures, (like the child care center write-offs), are badly needed. Work and training-related child care expenses should be a business expense for income tax purposes, and should also be allowed where payments are made to (non-spouse) relatives. Work and training-related child care allowances should be automatic for families earning incomes below poverty, continuing on a reduced basis

to a level up to 1.5 times the poverty level.

Finally, we plainly need changes in marriage and divorce law. In further support of displaced homemakers of either sex, in addition to Social Security changes, we should consider government support for (re)-training parents who have been full-time at home for, say, ten or more years. And all of the myriad laws surrounding custody, alimony, visitation and child support should be changed toward equity between men and women.

How could we support further attitudinal change toward androgyny? First we need much more national information and debate. Many ardent feminists of both sexes understand women in engineering without understanding men in nursing and child care. Yet it is obvious that women will never be equal in formerly male occupations without a mirror image change occurring for men. If this were not to occur---if men were not to have equal opportunity in formerly female occupations---women would wind up doing 3/4 of the nation's work. This fact, and its attendant implications for socialization patterns and educational curricula, need the widest possible discussion.

Fortunately we may presume that androgyny itself may foster androgyny. Early generations of children raised by both men and women, who see caring men and self-reliant women, have androgynous role models to emulate. Today's parents, knowing that a daughter has one chance in two of becoming a chief wage earner for at least part of her life, are beginning to support daughters in androgynous patterns. This in turn has

inevitable consequences for the lives of men. Perhaps if we succeed in social policies which support androgyny we will reap the benefits, in terms of increased options for men and women and children. If we lag in supporting androgyny, we may see yet more anguish, in terms of personal bewilderment, and of children left more and more alone.

I believe that many men are tired of being asked why they want to take care of children, of themselves and of others. Many women would like to be asked. Many women are tired of being asked why they want a paid career. Many men would like to be asked. Androgyny offers some new options, for child care and child carers in 1980's.

NOTES

1. Unless otherwise indicated, the data in this section are from the Unco National Day Care Consumer Survey.

2. In recent years there have been a number of household time budget studies, which however have varied greatly in methods and population sample. At least one early study attempted to measure the division of labor between husband and wife without including child care, an omission which seems extraordinary in its illumination of post-war sex-role stereotyping.

3. The "biological differences" hypotheses for origins of sex roles have generally been based on several ideas:

a) women need to be protected somewhat in pregnancy and while nursing;

b) originally only women could feed infants;

c) men are on the average a little more aggressive and stronger;

d) men perceive themselves as unable to "create" and "nurture" in the same ways as women, and feel themselves "isolated" from the cosmic chain of generations. They therefore must find some alternative ways of feeling their lives have cosmic meaning and therefore have a stronger urge to build monuments and/or destroy and kill, in order to feel important;

e) because men have external genitalia which change shape in one kind of creative and masterful activity (intercourse), men have a particular need for their creations to be visible and recognizable and for their work processes to provide the possibility for promotion, advancement, status and dominance.

4. Absenteeism and high turnover of women used to be considered possible reasons for systematically paying women less. Most labor economists however now agree that absenteeism and turnover figures are very much more strongly affected by occupation and rank than by sex.

5. I believe this to be a leading reason why the high cost of excellent, formal day care comes as such a shock to some people.

6. One notes with interest that Matina Horner of Radcliffe is finding men significantly less "cooperative" than women in an ongoing research study. Traditional sex roles, especially with respect to child care, may have made many men less nurturant and cooperative than women.

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7

CHILD CARE FOR THE 1980s
Traditional Sex Roles or Androgyny?

MARY POTTER ROWE

A young father in Massachusetts recently watched his wife die of cancer, leaving him and their five young children. Responsible, caring, grief-stricken, he went to the Welfare Department, planning to quit his job, go on welfare, and stay at home until the youngest child was in kindergarten. "It is tasteless in our society for a man to stay home," he was told. "We will find foster homes for your children." The young father protested, unwilling to lose his children and unwilling for them to lose him, each other, and their home, as well as their mother. His feelings were finally heard, but not until our traditions about child care had been vividly dramatized: Responsibility for young children lies with women, and the primary role of women is to be with children (Pope Paul VI, 1976).

In this essay we discuss parenthood and child care from the point of view of *sex-roles* rather than of *institutions*. Many people use the words "traditional child-care" in a different way, to mean "care within the *institution* of a nuclear family." For these people, nontraditional care then means care in an institution different from the nuclear family—say, a commune or day-care center or a 24-hour state nursery or a household following death or divorce or a lesbian household. I, on the other hand, will use the words "traditional child care" to mean responsibility for children and care of young children by women, under circumstances where men would find it difficult to care for those children and where only women would be comfortable doing so in our society. Thus, day-care and 24-hour state centers,

foster care, care by divorcees, and lesbian households might all be "traditional child care," in my sense, if the female child carers perceive themselves to be constrained by sex-role stereotypes so powerful that neither they nor would-be male child carers have the freedom to negotiate who will care for the children.

By the same token, *androgynous* child care, according to the definitions of this paper, might occur in families, centers, and other institutions and occurs wherever both men and women have equal options to negotiate with themselves and each other on who will care for children. (Of course there is a shading, from tradition toward androgyny, along a continuum where women and men experience different degrees of options, which may vary by age of child or family-income or other individual circumstances.)

This paper discusses present-day child-care arrangements and some consequences of our present arrangements. The negative consequences of traditional arrangements are seen as part and parcel of the negative consequences of American sex-role stereotypes as a whole. The paper concludes with a discussion of further androgynous options for parents and what is needed to support those options in terms of laws and of human attitudes.

PRESENT-DAY CHILD CARE ARRANGEMENTS

About four-fifths of American households with children under 14 are in nuclear family form (Unco, 1976).¹ (I estimate, however, that about half the American children in the 1980s will live for some part of their childhood with a single parent or in some other nonnuclear family arrangement.) About 90% of all households with children under 14 now use some kind of care (other than the mother in her own home) at some time in a given week; more than half use care more than an hour per week; about a quarter use a child-care arrangement 10 or more hours per week; about an eighth use care 30 or more hours per week.

The main types of care are relatives in one's own or another home or a nonrelative in one's own home or another home. Day-care centers, cooperative programs, nurseries and preschools, and before- and after-school programs together comprise at most a 10th of all arrangements. About two-thirds of all households pay no cash for child care, but many arrangements are reimbursed in kind; only about a 10th of all arrangements are considered "free."

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Children with children under 14 (I estimate, however, that 80s will live for some part in some other nonnuclear households with children other than the mother in her home; more than half use care a quarter use a child-care about an eighth use care 30

one's own or another home another home. Day-care and preschools, and before-prise at most a 10th of all households pay no costs are reimbursed in kind; considered "free."

Multiple arrangements are very common, with over half of all care-using households reporting the father as a regular, supplementary caretaker; three-tenths regularly using an older sibling, and an eighth regularly leaving children alone, in addition to the relatives and nonrelatives and formal care reported above as "main types of care." Hours that children are in school after school are also an important "child-care arrangement" for two-ninths of all children under 14.

Of interest to the present discussion, we find fathers estimated as fewer than 10% of all "main types" of child carers, but they are clearly "helping out" significantly, as noted above. How much are men becoming involved in child care? There is scattered evidence of the importance of men as child carers in some specific groups of the population. For instance, among the families of professional psychologists, roughly a sixth to a quarter of the care of the children is reported to be by husbands—with nonspouse arrangements on the same order of magnitude, and mothers caring for children 60% to 70% of the time (Bryson et al., 1976). The Michigan Survey Research Center study of 5,000 American families is also reported to have found many men comparably engaged in child care. And about 8% of all children under 18 years who were reported living in nonnuclear families were in nonnuclear families headed by a male, in 1974 (U.S. Department of Labor, 1974).

On the other hand, time budget studies of several years ago showed that employed mothers spent seven to 10 hours more per week on total work and work-related activities (including commuting, homemaking, child care, and paid employment) than did employed fathers (Holmstrom, 1972; Walker, 1970; Szalai, 1973).² And the "extra" time devoted by employed mothers was predominantly in child care and homemaking. Moreover, there is some reason to believe that fathers, on the average, got more sleep and had more time in leisure activities than did mothers (L. Harris and Associates, 1970; Szalai, 1973). The mothers, in fact, appeared to get less than optimal sleep on a regular basis (Szalai, 1973).

Some evidence has indicated that the amount of time spent by employed fathers on child care and homemaking depended primarily on what these men were otherwise doing; it did not depend very much on whether the mother had a paid job or on the number of children in the family (Walker, 1970). On the other hand, some studies appear to indicate that husbands/fathers have performed a little more housework and child care when wives/mothers are

employed, the increase usually expressed as an increase in the percent of total homemaking taken on by the husband (Hoffman and Nye, 1974). My own experience also indicates that many women believe this is the case. However, I now believe that the major shift that occurs when a wife/mother takes a paid job is that the total amount of family work time drops very sharply (by half to a third, according to Walker, 1970) and that because the husband's family work time stays nearly the same, he is doing a larger *proportion* of the homemaking.

On the basis of my clinical experience I believe there may also be a shift in the *type* of work performed by husbands (from less urgent to more urgent). Moreover, the standard deviation in amount of family work performed by all husbands may be rising. That is, I believe more husbands may be doing either *less* family work, because of moonlighting, or *more*, because of a shift toward androgyny by younger men, while the "average" amount of family work performed by "all husbands" has risen only a little in the 1970s.

Of course these statistics on child-care arrangements tell us nothing certain about the attitudes of the child carers and the extent to which they are or feel constrained by sex-role stereotyping. But we find fathers as primary care givers (as distinguished from being regular supplementary caretakers) for only a few percent of American children and mothers as the primary care givers for nearly half of all U.S. children. Moreover, most mothers retain basic responsibility for children most of the time, and seven-eighths of all households use nonmaternal care only 30 hours per week or less, out of the 168 hours in a week (Unco, 1976). It is easy, therefore, to hypothesize that serious sex-role stereotyping with respect to children is very important in the U.S.

Comparable statistics do not exist for other countries. We know that, in predominantly rural areas of the world, it is usually women who care for children, at home or at work and usually together with other women, or that older children care for younger children under the eye of a nearby adult. In other industrialized nations more like our own, sex-role differentiation appears to be as common as in the United States. In at least 18 other nations with time budget surveys, patterns are reported similar to those in the United States (Roby, 1975; Szalai, 1973).

In the Soviet Union, top government officials will say, "We believe women to be better suited to child care"; Soviet fathers are kept out

of maternity hospitals and of their child's life, and practical day-to-day formal care that preschoolers (Rowe, 1975). (Gerson, 1971) comparable even where widespread child traditional according to men women-with-children stereoty

Only in the United States if small, proportions of men in Scandinavia and Cuba have asserted equal rights for men equal sharing with women of and socializing the human species appear yet to have taken place.

Support for traditional patterns on two grounds. First, it is better able to care for children morphologically better able asserted that a whole socioecological basis of the biological differences, because sex-role differences in getting done the work of differences in child-rearing *did* mean that women were biological differences with a meaning in this era of zero and bottle feeding. Hormones may also have meant that providers, in an age of hunting not generally true in our socialization and human organization believe that the traditional organization is no longer helpful androgyny offers a more effective as well as for other employment

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I believe there may also be a change in amount of family work, because of a shift toward androgyny by family work performed in the 1970s.

These arrangements tell us about child carers and the extent of sex-role stereotyping. But distinguished from being only a few percent of family care givers for nearly all mothers retain basic and seven-eighths of all hours per week or less, out. It is easy, therefore, to stereotyping with respect to

other countries. We know that in the world, it is usually women and usually together with younger children under industrialized nations more like to be as common as in the United States (Roby,

andals will say, "We believe that Soviet fathers are kept out

of maternity hospitals and have no paternity leave the first year of their child's life, and practically no men are involved in the day-to-day formal care that affects perhaps 40% of Soviet urban preschoolers (Rowe, 1975). In China (Sidel, 1972) and in Israel (Gerson, 1971) comparable sex-role differentiation obtains. Thus even where widespread child-care systems are available, they are traditional according to my view and tend to maintain the women-with-children stereotype.

Only in the United States and Scandinavia do we find significant, if small, proportions of men involved in formal child care. And only in Scandinavia and Cuba have top government leaders systematically asserted equal rights for men in the home and with children and equal sharing with women of social responsibility for reproducing and socializing the human species. Nowhere does that equal sharing appear yet to have taken place.

Support for traditional practices and policies has generally rested on two grounds. First, it is asserted that women are biologically better able to care for children and that men are hormonally and morphologically better able to support a family.³ Second, it is asserted that a whole socioeconomic system has been erected on the basis of the biological differences and that this system is a good thing, because sex-role differentiation has been effective and efficient in getting done the work of the world. It is my point of view that differences in child-rearing capabilities and requirements formerly *did* mean that women were better adapted to child care, but that biological differences with respect to parenting no longer have much meaning in this era of zero population growth, planned parenthood, and bottle feeding. Hormonal and morphologic differences in men may also have meant that males were in some societies better providers, in an age of hunting and frontier life. I believe that this is not generally true in our services-oriented economy, where cooperation and human organization are so exceptionally important. I believe that the traditional social and economic sex-role differentiation is no longer helpful to industrialized society and that androgyny offers a more effective and humane system for child care as well as for other employment.

WHAT IS THE EFFECT OF PRESENT-DAY CHILD-CARE ARRANGEMENTS?

EFFECTS ON CHILDREN

Many experts in recent years have surveyed the evidence concerning the effect on children of different child-care arrangements. Extensive and exhaustive, these reviews regularly conclude that stable, responsive, consistent care is important, indeed critical, to young children. Recent studies also conclude that care of this nature can be delivered by a variety of different kinds of people, men and women, teenagers and grandparents, single and multiple attachment figures, in a variety of settings (Fein, 1974; Howell, 1973a, 1973b; Kotelchuck, 1972; Talbot, 1976). Although questions have been raised about the effect of 24-hour care on children in institutions (Bowlby, 1951), in kibbutzim (Bettelheim, 1970), or in 24-hour centers in the Soviet Union (Rowe, 1975) or about the effects of too much violent television, by and large it is very difficult to demonstrate long-term effects on children from any kind of nonabusive care and education arrangement (Rowe, 1974b; White et al., 1973). The public consensus in the United States also appears to be swinging toward a belief that child care may help socialize children, especially those in small families (Morgan, 1975; Unco, 1976) and that parental employment and child care may make children more independent. It seems reasonable to conclude that many types of arrangements are suitable for children, where the environment is safe and supportive and there are consistent, warm, responsive, stable attachment figures as caretakers (Talbot, 1976).

On the other hand, numerous observers believe that families need more support (Howell, 1976; Talbot, 1976), that children are happier when they see more of their fathers (Green, 1976), and that children might be happier with several different parental figures to turn to instead of depending exclusively on overworked, isolated mothers (Howell, 1976). And many people are deeply concerned by the number of children under the age of 10 who are now regularly left alone or who are in abusive care situations—numbers which may total 10% or more of our young children.

EFFECTS ON WOMEN AND FAMILIES

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EFFECTS ON WOMEN AND MEN

Our traditions about women and children bring great joy and happiness to many men and women. Others have for decades ignored the traditions equally happily. Still others were brought up in different traditions, where women shared financial responsibility and/or men shared in all nurturance activities; many of these people and their families have also thrived.

One has surveyed the evidence concerning different child-care arrangements. Reviews regularly conclude that care of this nature is important, indeed critical, to the well-being of different kinds of people, men and women, in single and multiple attachment families (Howell, 1973a, 1973b; Howell, 1974). Although questions have been raised about children in institutions (Lieberman, 1970), or in 24-hour care (Lieberman, 1975) or about the effects of too much care it is very difficult to argue for children from any kind of child-care arrangement (Rowe, 1974b; White et al., 1975). Child care in the United States also appears to be important. Child care may help socialize children (Morgan, 1975; Unco, 1975). Child care and child care may make sense for children, where there are consistent, warm, and caring caretakers (Talbot, 1976).

There are many women and men, however, who are not happy either ignoring the modal tradition or living within it. And still others are happy for years with traditional sex roles and then feel constrained and confined and frustrated and bewildered. In this discussion we will concentrate on the difficulties with traditional roles with respect to child care since we are concerned mainly with providing options. (Androgyny includes people being free to behave traditionally, so options are more available than in a traditional setting, where only the ordinary sex roles are appropriate.) The ensuing discussion presents what I see as negative consequences of our present child-care arrangements. In a larger sense these consequences are due to the whole pattern of sex-role stereotyping rather than just to child care. And, as we noted above, there may be several reasons why sex-role differentiation occurred in the first place. At present, however, I believe that child-care arrangements have come to symbolize all the reasons for sex roles; they constitute perhaps the most powerful remaining institutionalization of our stereotypes. It is in this sense then that I present some consequences of sex-role differentiation in the context of consequences of child care arrangements.

One believes that families need more child care (Green, 1976), that children are more distressed (Green, 1976), and that different parental figures to be more on overworked, isolated parents are deeply concerned by the number of children who are now regularly in child care—numbers which may

The Sense of Separateness of Men and Women. The presumption that children and family were women's work has, I believe, led through our early socialization patterns to an extraordinary segregation of most men's lives from most women's lives, especially in industrialized societies. In my own work I am continually impressed by the extent to which men and women do not understand each other's experience.

More damaging yet is the frequent presumption that, at base, men and women *cannot* ultimately understand each other or live the same life-style. Liberal men will often support the entrance of women into, say, engineering. But, then, if someone asks about men in child care, this same liberal may ask, "But could men *really* take care of

children as well as women?" The Soviet Union and China assert complete equality for women. These countries have, however, desegregated only lower- and middle-level "male" occupations, leaving child care and homemaking (and top-policy positions) as segregated as ever. Conservative—and radical—women also often speak as if only women could care for children. We are all accustomed to hearing very conservative women speak this way, but it is sometimes as true for radical women. Revolutionary feminists deplore the oppression of women which may result from women's traditional child-care responsibilities. But then some radical feminists turn to discussions of gestation in test tubes and of child care in 24-hour day care centers in a way which appears by exclusion to accept the notion that fathers and children might damage each other's lives. In other words, some feminists reject the oppression of individual women, but then turn to day-care (provided largely by women) as if it were an improvement. Some improvement may in fact occur; the caretakers are usually paid (at low rates) and sometimes have each other to talk with, but the traditional sex-role pattern obtains.

Another result of traditional thinking is that large numbers of men and women, including, sadly, some parents, have concluded that children and/or child care is too much for them (as distinguished from those who limit their families for idealistic reasons). For example, Ann Landers recently reported that 70% of 10,000 parents who wrote her about having children reported that they "would not do it again." And a recent Gallup Poll reported that one in 10 of all mothers randomly surveyed "regretted having children" (McCall's, 1975).

Loneliness. Present child-care arrangements are lonely for many parents. Isolated mothers and paid caretakers are often lonely; men who commute and moonlight and do not see their families are often lonely. Marriages in which one spouse is a homemaker, working 99 hours per week, and the other works overtime or moonlights up to 80-90 hours per week are hard on communications. The disproportionate numbers of depressed young mothers (Radioff, 1975) illuminate the sadness of spouses with not enough chance to be with those they love.

Moreover, in many of the shared parenting arrangements that now exist, the parents both work full time in paid jobs, with one or both (often the father) in charge of the children during hours when the

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WOMEN INTO WIVES

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parenting arrangements that now in paid jobs, with one or both children during hours when the

parent(s) should be sleeping. (Of course the children may then also be sleeping.) Here the parents share care, sometimes at the price of sleep. However, since our society as a whole is set up for paid workers without child-care responsibilities (with fixed working hours and few half-time and three-quarter-time jobs), the parents may be able to earn two incomes only by staggering their work hours. This means that, in many two-job families, one parent is with the children primarily when the children are asleep and also that the parents have little waking or sleeping time together.

Loneliness exacts a high price. There can be a sense of desperation and resentment when a spouse alone must care for a sick child or a rebellious child; there can be a sense of desperation and resentment when a spouse alone must face a layoff or middle age without fulfillment. Sexual relationships suffer acutely when spouses are lonely.

Financial Difficulties. Families with one wage earner are less secure than those in which there are two. A single wage earner is under more pressure to succeed, to compete, to have to travel, to stay at a hated job in order to survive unemployment. A second wage earner provides a buffer, so his or her spouse may change jobs or train or retrain. A widowed or divorced spouse without labor force experience faces a very bleak world, financially and psychologically. So also do the homemaker parents whose children have grown and who have no further identity to turn to. Finally, at any given time we would have many millions more families on welfare, if both spouses were not in paid employment. Two wage earners obviously have a much better chance to provide a reasonable standard of living for themselves and their children.

Deprivation from Nurture. Each parent faces a significant chance of widowhood or divorce. Most young men face single parenthood without enough training for the task and without equal rights to custody and child companionship and support.

Less often recognized is the gross deprivation of most men even where there is no widowhood or divorce. Occasionally, we deplore the specter of men governing our nation who have never taken care of a child or an aged parent or a pet or even a plant. Occasionally, if much too rarely, we take note of the fact that modern managers and modern foremen need to be nurturant, sensitive, and patient at least as much as they need to be aggressive, brave, and tough. We see this perhaps most clearly as we view with concern a generation of women

who might become managers without being socialized to take care of other people.

It is extremely rare for us to discuss in public what it means for individual men to be cut off from children and other direct, personal, nurturant activities. The belief that men may reasonably spend their lives without the right or expectation of direct caretaking may lead to a variety of damage. One knows many men who do not physically or emotionally take care of *themselves*, who lose much of their joy in life by being cut off from their feelings, who suffer considerably in childhood, adolescence, and manhood by competing with other males, who have essentially lost the sense of meaning and continuity of life by being cut off from aged parents and children, by being sanitized at every turn from human emotion. The female experiences of separateness and loneliness, bad as they are, seem to me mild compared with the destruction of self involved in our cutting off many men from their nurturant selves and their caring potential.

Work Satisfaction and Leisure Satisfaction. Analyses of work satisfaction indicate that some people value work for the process of working, some for the product, some for the remuneration, some for work-group relations. Some value status, the chance for creativity, the sense of autonomy over one's work. Joy in leisure-time activities is similarly related.

In traditional families each parent has only one work arena in which to seek satisfaction, friends, status, a sense of identity, and a sense of challenge and growth. If the home environment or the paid-work environment happens to provide the right processes, products, remuneration, friends, status, creativity, and autonomy for the parents assigned to that environment, all is well. But for many people having only one work arena provides a severe sense of constraint. Leisure activities are often similarly constrained. Moreover, the inequity of work-status and leisure-activity status between husband and wife in traditional families means that it is hard for many to maintain the love and comradeship which flourish between equals.

Finally, just the presumption that each individual will conform to the requirements of a stereotyped and arbitrary role is felt by many to be very constricting. This feeling has probably become more pronounced in recent years. In a simple society, role differentiation still permitted a wide range of expression. In the specializations of industrialism, much of this range has been lost, so that role

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Economic and Educational Discrimination Against Women. Of all the difficulties caused by and symbolized by traditional child-care patterns, perhaps the best understood is economic discrimination against women. Discrimination against women is often alleged to occur with respect to education, job recruitment, promotion, benefits, work ambiance, and the wage gap (unequal pay). The index of sex inequality most frequently cited is the wage gap between men and women; women's wages on the average are less than 60% of men's wages. Because the wage gap between men and women is easily quantified, it is the most easily analyzed indicator of sex discrimination. Economists interested in discrimination often begin with some estimate of wage gaps and then seek to explain these gaps by controlling for education, years of experience, entrance into given occupations, and promotional patterns, thereafter assigning any residual gap to "pure" or direct discrimination. Many feminists look upon these studies as analyzing indirect discrimination in order to isolate direct discrimination.

How much of gross wage gaps can be attributed directly or indirectly to sex-role differentiation in *child care*, as distinguished from *sex-role differentiation in general*? Here again, as with the rest of the discussion above, we cannot be sure exactly what part of discrimination is caused by, and what is symbolized by, differentiation in roles with respect to child care. We do know that, on the average, single women and childfree women have done better with respect to education, labor force participation, promotions, and wages. And we know that these "success" patterns are in general reversed for men, who typically thrive better when married and with children. But we do not know enough about selection factors (what kind of women choose to remain childfree?) or about indirect discrimination (what kind of women do men prefer to promote and pay well, other things being equal?). And economists disagree on exactly how to analyze the gross wage gaps. Thus there is no exact one-to-one evidence on the discriminatory importance of sex roles in child care. On the other hand, we do know some of the broad outlines of the effect of child-care patterns and how they may affect economic discrimination.

To begin with, many economists believe that a large part of the wage gap between men and women can be explained by occupational

segregation (Kahne, 1975). Women are in general found in certain occupations which pay rather low wages or none at all.

Systematically low wages in "women's" occupations are variously explained by "crowding," "tastes," and human capital theory. "Crowding" is thought to result in lower wages for women because women have unequal access to many jobs. This produces a crowding of women into a few occupations such that their average productivity in these few occupations is lower than that of men in other occupations (Bergmann, 1974). The "tastes" argument suggests that employers and consumers simply "don't like" women in certain jobs or "assume they are inferior" and therefore discriminate against them (Arrow, 1972; Phelps, 1972). Both of these arguments would suggest that there is a psychological reason for denying women access to well-paying positions. Human capital theory suggests that women are on the average paid less than men because they are less productive and that they are less productive primarily because they are less well educated and trained. All of these theories find justification in empirical studies.

In addition to wage gaps produced by occupational segregation, most economists agree that part of the gross wage gap can be explained by differences in real and expected labor force participation—hours per week, weeks per year, years per lifetime.⁴ But most now agree that these differences are less important than those rooted in occupational segregation. And most also agree that straightforward unequal pay for equal work is of only minimal importance.

How do our traditional expectations about child care lead to wage gaps? One may raise hypotheses all along the line, with respect to each theory above. Some have suggested that crowding and "discriminatory tastes" arise in part from a desire by males to compensate for not being able to gestate or nurse babies. This theory suggests that men have more need than women to create and control outside the family and that they have a signal fear of competing directly with women because of a primitive fear that they *cannot* really compete, with respect to creation (Rowe, 1974a).

With respect to human capital theory, many have suggested that the reason that women ask for and are permitted less education and less valuable training is that they need less education because their chief role is to marry and have children. In the 19th century, prolonged study was widely believed to be too strenuous for female

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support by occupational segregation, the gross wage gap can be explained by expected labor force participation, years per lifetime.⁴ But these are less important than those that explain the wage gap. And most also agree that unpaid work is of only minimal

value. Arguments about child care lead to wage differences along the line, with respect to the theory that crowding and "distortion" from a desire by males to have more or nurse babies. This theory suggests that women are less productive because of a signal fear of competing in the labor force and a native fear that they cannot do it (Rowe, 1974a).

Recently, many have suggested that women were permitted less education and less education because their children were too strenuous for female

anatomy and also likely to weaken a woman's reproductive capabilities. Although higher education is no longer considered damaging to motherhood, it is still widely considered unnecessary for mothers. Child-care responsibilities and the presumption that women should have full responsibility for children still directly interfere with equal educational opportunities for women.

During the 1970s, in the course of my work in and around universities in New England, I remember many very direct statements on this subject. For example, there was the admissions committee professor at a professional school who would admit women only if they "promise to stay celibate here." Many educational institutions have only recently permitted pregnant women to continue to study. Many others still do not have reasonable provisions for part-time graduate work and residencies for young parents.

By the same token, we still find daily stories of women asked in recruitment interviews about their family plans and contraception or stories of women not offered jobs or promotions or raises because of presumptions about their family life.

To the (relatively minor) extent that hours per week, weeks per year, and years per lifetime are important in explaining the wage gap, it is easy to see a very direct connection between our traditional child-care arrangements and labor force participation. With mothers in the paid labor force typically working a much longer total work week than fathers, it is easy to understand the direct conflict between paid and unpaid work.

Another area of economic discrimination where the relationship between labor force participation and traditional child care is very direct has to do with benefits—health care, vacations, pensions, Social Security. Adequate benefits coverage does not yet exist for men, but for women the situation is much worse. Women produce nearly 30% of family incomes; gross national product would rise by another estimated 20% if the unpaid work of women were included in GNP. Yet millions of women are without adequate health care, without vacation time, without appropriate pensions. This happens partly because much part-time work carries no benefits, because unpaid work in the home carries no direct benefits, because women as mothers have been considered their husbands' dependents, and because of the wage gap discussed above, which means that women's benefits, where they exist, are often lower. All these facts follow quite directly from the traditional vision of women as child carers.

Another and similar economic problem concerns our inadequate income tax deductions for child care. Money paid for child care should be reckoned as a business expense, which means it should be subtracted before the estimation of taxable income. Instead, and probably partly because child care is traditionally not paid for, we have an inadequate deduction, which constitutes another economic discrimination.

Finally, as we consider economic discrimination, the *subtle* importance of traditional child care may be much greater than we know (Rowe, forthcoming). To the extent that women and men maintain the *image* of women as dependent child carers (despite the fact that women in paid and unpaid employment might actually account for about 50% of a properly reckoned GNP), it is easier for us all unconsciously to discriminate against women in paid work (and men in unpaid work).

In addition, the woman whose total work experience has been in unpaid work may herself have a poor idea what she is "worth." As she considers paid work, she may have a tendency to think in terms of her "next best" (or "fall back") occupation, which is to be paid nothing in direct wages. Such women, and men too, may think of her work as "not worth very much," and by extension the work of all women may seem not to be worth very much.⁵ When "all women" are imagined to be restricted to "nurturance," it is easier to think of women as all alike; one need not then worry about rewards for individual productivity.

As we consider our own homemaking and child care, which usually have no direct price, some may consider these activities to be "worth" very little, and others may consider them "priceless." Many people in fact argue eloquently that no financial figure can approach the value of human care; they would hate to see all caretaking paid for. I find this feeling easily understandable. However, I believe that, if most nurturance is not to be cash paid, it should generally be shared equally between men and women. One can, in other words, believe in the value of child care and all nurturant activities without accepting systematic economic and educational discrimination against women. In fact, it is the premise of this article that one can believe in children and child care, without all of the separateness, loneliness, financial insecurity, deprivation from nurturance, work and leisure dissatisfactions, and discrimination which are at present part of our inheritance from traditional sex roles.

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What About Day Care? We have argued that traditional child care may not now be ideal for children and parents and families. Many people, faced with these feelings, advocate universal child care external to the home, available 24 hours per day and subsidized by the government on a sliding fee scale.

Excellent child care would certainly speak to the needs of many children, especially those now left alone, the malnourished, the rat-bitten, the abused. Provision of better care for all children would directly improve the lives of a fourth of our population for a fifth of their lives. It would rescue at least 10% of our children from conditions that we ought to consider intolerable.

With respect to parents, the availability of excellent care would certainly alleviate some of the loneliness and much of the financial insecurity we discussed above. It is an absolute necessity for the 10th of all parents who are single, especially if they work outside the home. However, day-care delivered on a traditional, woman-oriented basis, as it is now, might not do much to alleviate the sense of separateness between men and women, the deprivation from nurturance, the work dissatisfaction, and economic discrimination. In fact, on balance, our present day-care arrangements probably contribute as much to traditional stereotypes as they provide options. In particular, the employment of women in paid as well as unpaid child-care arrangements probably substantiates the occupational segregation which is the strongest source of economic discrimination.

Full-time day-care, on the average about 8.5 hours a day, 42.5 hours per week, probably also causes some feelings of deprivation for some parents. It seems probable that, if they had optimal choices, many parents would prefer to be able to take somewhat more care of their children than is the case with full-time day-care.

In summary of sections above, we have reviewed paid and unpaid U.S. child-care arrangements, which suggest a strong sex-role differentiation of the work and joy involved in having children. This author believes that this differentiation is one major factor in maintaining all other attributes of sex roles. More options with respect to child care and new socialization patterns for both sexes toward caring for children and others might make a major difference in the quality of life for adults and children. This leads us to a discussion of androgyny.

ANDROGYNY AND CHILD CARE

Androgyny means that how people spend their time should be influenced primarily by skills and interests, not by gender. It would mean that men and women would equally share financial responsibility and child-care and homemaking responsibilities. Equal sharing of responsibilities would not necessarily mean that men and women would exactly divide the laundry and the diapers and the bills. Rather, there would be a social and legal presumption that performance of these duties would be negotiated between spouses, on a continuous lifetime basis, with equal moral rights and responsibilities.

The theoretical basis of androgyny is the proposition that both men and women have both "masculine" and "feminine" potential with regard to character development (where "masculine" is taken in the traditional sense of "instrumental" and "feminine" in the traditional sense of "nurturant"). There is no presumption that individuals should (or could) all be alike, but that everyone has some nurturant and some instrumental potential.

In individual instances, of course, an androgynous society would support responsible childlessness and full-time homemakers that were female, as well as male. But the society as a whole would be set up to support male and female parents as wage-earners and to support male and female wage-earners as parents, in whatever responsible patterns that spouses might choose.

Let us take the example of a young couple with the modal one or two children. In a society which supported young parents to work in half-time or three-quarter-time paid jobs, the family would receive one or one and a half salaries. Suppose both parents worked 30 hours a week in paid jobs. Suppose further that they used child care 10 to 20 hours per week, including evening baby-sitting, and that otherwise they split child-care responsibilities. They would each get to know the children and the skills of homemaking and they would have a chance to spend some time alone together.

With respect to our list of concerns in the section above about the effects of child-care arrangements, androgynous spouses would have a much keener sense of each other's lives. The "learned helplessness" of each sex toward the other's role might generally disappear. Spouses who intimately shared responsibilities might feel much less taken for granted and much less lonely. One can imagine women

Mary Potter Rowe

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Family financial security since lifetime earning depend much more on hours per week. From a typical worker with children were small. responsibilities with a paid job throughout expect much higher for family responsibilities permit much higher expect that the quality gained another arena. Both spouses would be considerable auto sleep; men might gain from competition.

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With respect to direct sources of wealth an androgynous society access to education to share family responsibilities dropped out of society might choose to have for a period of androgynous social distribution of income same token, sex-biased years of experience

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spend their time should be based, not by gender. It would equally share financial responsibilities. Equal sharing would mean that men and women would share the diapers and the bills. The legal presumption that men negotiate between spouses, with equal moral rights and

is the proposition that both "masculine" and "feminine" potential are taken in. There is no presumption that men are "masculine" and women are "feminine" in the same way, but that everyone has some potential.

An androgynous society would have full-time homemakers that were not a whole would be set up to support male earners and to support male whatever responsible patterns

people with the modal one or two young parents to work in the home, the family would receive the same benefits as if both parents worked 30 hours a week and they used child care 10 to 15 hours a week. They would each get to know their children and they would have a

In the section above about the androgynous spouses would have equal rights. The "learned helplessness" might generally disappear. Women might feel much less inferior. One can imagine women

being very supportive of a spouse's need to relax after the office and men no longer dropping laundry on the floor.

Family financial security would grow, along with family incomes, since lifetime earnings and one's ability to find and keep a job depend much more on continuous years in the labor force than on hours per week. Promotions might come one to three years later for a typical worker who took a three-quarter-time job while the children were small. However, if the typical worker shared family responsibilities with a spouse who also worked three-quarter-time in a paid job throughout the years of young parenthood, each could expect much higher lifetime earnings than if he or she dropped out for family responsibilities. Thus the expected later promotions would permit much higher (and more secure) family earnings. We would expect that the quality of life for many people would rise, as they gained another arena for friends, status, productivity, and self-image. Both spouses would have one work area at home where there would be considerable autonomy over one's work. Women might gain more sleep; men might gain more options for self-expression and a respite from competition.

Spouses left alone, through death or divorce, would be likely to survive in both paid work and family life. Men who equally cared for their children would have, in practice, more rights with respect to custody and visitation. One can imagine that retirement from child raising and paid work would be much more comfortable under circumstances in which both spouses had a wider range of skills and interests. Mid-life crises might also be less severe, with a wider range of options offered by two sets of skills and two incomes in the family.

With respect to discrimination, one may imagine that many of the direct sources of wage and promotional inequality might disappear in an androgynous society. Both men and women would have equal access to education, training, and jobs. Many couples might choose to share family responsibilities so completely that neither spouse ever dropped out of school or a job for family reasons. Other couples might choose to have one or the other spouse as full-time homemaker for a period of time. Nationally, however, we might expect an androgynous socialization and work patterns to produce a random distribution of men and women as full-time homemakers. By the same token, sex-based wage differences now attributable to mobility, years of experience, and hours per week in the paid labor force

would also disappear as men and women began to spend their time in similar ways.

The physiological bases for work differentiation seem already much muted. Some jobs requiring great strength might remain forever disproportionately male. These, however, seem unlikely to produce national wage gaps between men and women. If there are hormonal differences of significant importance to work aggressiveness, these may persist. But we will not know to what extent, if at all, they are important until we have offered boys and girls equal options in cooperation and assertiveness. One may guess from cross-cultural studies that culture is enormously important and may "wash out" whatever minor hormonal differences exist.

Motivational differences between men and women (whatever they are) might be expected to have less and less effect on sex-based wage and promotion gaps. Men who cared directly for children and others would find gestation and nursing much less important than lifetime nurturance. Such men might conceivably be somewhat less driven to create (and to destroy). Women, on the other hand, knowing they would share financial responsibility, might work harder to be recruited, paid, and promoted appropriately.

What would happen to the concentration and perseverance required for extraordinary intellectual, scientific, artistic achievement? One may guess that some people will always choose to stay single and/or childless. Others will find supportive spouses or communes or other families. Many will simply postpone achievement for a year or several years. In any case, the achievements will come to both men and women.

What of total social productivity? Is it true that one must be young to innovate? Would the total number of innovations drop? There is some reason to believe that extraordinary scientific achievements now occur within several years of taking on new intellectual problems: these are not necessarily limited to young people (Tobias, 1975). (In earlier times, with short life expectancies and little accumulated knowledge and no information retrieval, genius may have been associated with youth.) In modern times, genius often requires extensive teamwork, many building-block experiments, and then a new look. It is not at all clear that having men and women in part-time work for several years would jeopardize creative breakthroughs over a lifetime; indeed, many very innovative people have waxed and waned in creativity several times throughout a lifetime.

Mary Potter Rowe

What probably is very productive, is that it offers options to flower. If we have both caring and artistic potentials, then we could be both sexes. Moreover, while we are here, we require some relief from people sane for the laboratory keeps them sane.

Finally, from the perspective of androgyny, suppose that more women get into influential positions, get into influential positions, get into influential positions, see a reordering of values.

This article makes it clear that differentiation causes a pain. If sexism begins to disappear, it seems likely that androgynous couples will be as miserable with more children who will be less. But on balance one can see that in child care on a part-time basis, children and adults. Can someone who wants to be free to explore their

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Present-day androgyny is not paid work and family, therefore recommend a more flexible arrangement for parents to share home and paid work.

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What probably is very important, from the point of view of social productivity, is that intellectual, artistic, and social genius find options to flower. If we imagine, for example, that scientific, artistic, and caring potentials are randomly distributed among males and females, then we could nearly double the incidence of scientific, artistic, and human achievements by opening all occupations to both sexes. Moreover, while some kinds of achievements seem to require a lifelong, even celibate concentration, other kinds of work seem to require some relief from concentration. Thus children keep some people sane for the laboratory or factory, and the factory or laboratory keeps them sane for the children.

Finally, from the point of view of social productivity, we may discover that androgyny provides us with a more caring world.⁶ Suppose that more women, socialized to nurturance and cooperation, get into influential jobs? And suppose that we also socialize our young males to expect to care for children and others? Might we see a reordering of values for governance and management?

This article makes no pretense to the notion that sex-role differentiation causes all evil and that androgyny will iron out all pain. If sexism begins to disappear, perhaps we will become caring enough to eliminate racism and other forms of human violence as well, but it seems likely that we will move only slowly at best. Some androgynous couples will divorce, and some men and women will be as miserable with more options as they were with fewer. There may also be children who would flourish more if they saw their parents less. But on balance one may believe that freeing all humans to share in child care on a part-time basis may bring more happiness to children and adults. Children will have a greater chance to be with someone who wants to be with them; both children and adults will be free to explore their caring and inventive selves.

SOCIAL POLICIES IN SUPPORT OF ANDROGYNY

Present-day androgynous couples often find it difficult to combine paid work and family life in an equitable manner. One would therefore recommend changes in social policies which would make it easier for parents to share the responsibilities and advantages of home and paid work.

The first and most basic legal and social change should clearly be

the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. No other single change would be more likely to permit protection of males as nurturant parents as well as protection of women in public life.

With respect to the organization of paid work in our society, many changes are needed. First there should be a reconsideration of what is meant by "full-time work." At a time of structural as well as cyclical unemployment, it seems reasonable to ask whether full-time work should be redefined as 30 to 35 hours per week. This alone would permit young parents more time to share child care as well as spreading the work of the nation among more different people.

Part-time work (part-day, part-week, or part-year work) needs systematic support for both sexes. Discrimination against part-time workers, in terms of promotion and benefits, should be forbidden. Benefits should be prorated, including pensions. In general, we should take those steps that support "bumpy" career ladders, so that parents may work longer and shorter work weeks, depending on the stage in their life cycles. Mandated seniority and promotional patterns—in union contracts and tenure ladders, for instance—should take account of periods of part-time work. At least 10% of government jobs should be set aside for part-time workers.

Employers have not traditionally been enthusiastic about the extra expense of extra sets of paper work involved in hiring proportionately more (part-time) workers. However, I believe we need extensive research to see whether productivity per hour may not be higher for part-time workers. It may be that in many jobs part-time workers (more than) repay the extra expense involved in having proportionately more people.

We need many more flexible-time jobs. Some employers can adopt the system whereby all employees may choose (sometimes for set periods of time) to come in between 7 a.m. and 10 a.m. and to leave between 3 p.m. and 6 p.m. Others may wish to designate only certain jobs for flexible times of a standard type or for individually designed times.

Some jobs can be designated for people who need flexible, short-term leaves of absence. For instance we need more "under-time" jobs, whereby employees can agree to accept 2%, 4%, or 6% less salary, on a prorated basis, in return for 5, 10, or 15 days leave of absence on a planned, approved, and voluntary basis.

One important structure to support part-time and flexible-hour jobs is a well-run posting system within organizations. A posting

system means that all job openings, including part-time, shared-apprenticeship, and contract positions, are posted in a central system. Such posting systems facilitate job development and permit the use of tax incentives.

In times of economic recession, firms should institute work structures with high turnover, work sharing, and part-time employment. Employers are considering part-time and part-year jobs in part-time positions during work lulls; well-structured part-time work is a means of retrenchment while maintaining skills.

Parental leave needs to be restructured. Parents should consider the possibility of part-time work. Parents have a right to part-time work (they can divide the time between work and home). The Swedish system of part-time work (with a minimum, maternity disability (with the possibility of improvement should a job opening should a maternity leave ends), and use some days of part-time work for children under 12.

Further changes should be made in labor laws so that child care and part-time apprenticeships can be combined. 16 from many work-sharing programs unnecessarily apart. Work-sharing programs for people over 65 can be expanded if grandparents are available.

The definition of work-sharing should be expanded and child care by full-time workers should be defined as "work-sharing." If Social Security, well-structured part-time work, and Social Security were vested in part-time workers, it would be possible to have full-time homemaking

U.S. Constitution. No other permit protection of males as women in public life.

work in our society, many a reconsideration of what is structural as well as cyclical work whether full-time work or week. This alone would care child care as well as more different people.

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system means that all job openings are widely advertised for a certain period of time within a given organization. Supervisors describe the job opening, including a description of whether a job can be part-time, shared-appointment, flexible-hours, or under-time job. Such posting systems also serve the purpose of supporting career development and perhaps should be mandated by law or fostered by tax incentives.

In times of economic prosperity, employers have been reluctant to institute work structures supportive of family life. However, with high turnover, worker discontent, and budget crunches, many employers are considering shortened work weeks and flexible hiring plans as ways to raise productivity and cut costs. Under-time and part-year jobs in particular offer a chance to plan leaves of absence during work lulls; well-run posting systems help to alleviate the pain of retrenchment while helping to protect long-term employees.

Parental leave needs further change in most American firms. We should consider the parental insurance systems of Sweden, whereby parents have a right to paid leave up to seven months after a birth (they can divide the time between them). We should further consider the Swedish system of parental sick leave for children's illnesses. At a minimum, maternity leave should be treated as a temporary disability (with the possibility of extended disability). This minimum improvement should also include unpaid leave for either parent (after maternity leave ends), up to six months postpartum, and the right to use some days of personal sick leave for children's illnesses, for children under 12.

Further changes should include reform of child-labor and insurance laws so that children can work (paid or unpaid) in nonexploitative apprenticeships. Our present segregation of children under age 16 from many workplaces has the effect of keeping age groups unnecessarily apart. We also need changes in Social Security so that people over 65 can legally continue to work and earn, so that more grandparents are available to more children.

The definition of work itself needs change. If unpaid homemaking and child care by full-time homemakers were reckoned into the GNP and defined as "work," we might pave the way for redefinitions of Social Security, welfare, pensions, and other benefits. If Social Security were vested individually in all responsible (paid and unpaid) workers, it would be easier for both men and women to consider full-time homemaking, without all the present risks to displaced

(abandoned, divorced, and widowed) homemakers. If child rearing were seen as socially constructive work, Aid to Families of Dependent Children would become payment for child care, with attendant benefits and pensions, akin to military service, military benefits, and military retirement. Moreover if full-time homemakers were seen as responsible workers, socially as worthwhile as military employees, we would have a stronger theoretical reason for a universal health plan for all Americans.

Changes in the tax laws could also help family programs. Further tax write-offs for employers for family support structures (like the child-care center write-offs) are badly needed. Work- and training-related child-care expenses should be business expenses for income tax purposes and should also be allowed where payments are made to (nonspouse) relatives. Work- and training-related child-care allowances should be automatic for families earning incomes below the poverty level, continuing on a reduced basis to a level up to 1.5 times the poverty level.

Finally, we plainly need changes in marriage and divorce laws. In further support of displaced homemakers of either sex, we should consider government support for (re)training parents who have been full-time at home for, say, 10 or more years. And all the myriad laws surrounding custody, alimony, visitation, and child support should be changed toward equity between men and women.

How could we support further attitudinal change toward androgyny? First, we need much more national information and debate. Many ardent feminists of both sexes understand women in engineering without understanding men in nursing and child care. Yet it is obvious that women will never be equal in formerly male occupations without a mirror image change occurring for men. If this were not to occur--if men were not to have equal opportunity in formerly female occupations--women would wind up doing three-fourths of the nation's work. This fact and its attendant implications for socialization patterns and educational curricula need the widest possible discussion.

Fortunately, we may presume that androgyny itself may foster androgyny. Early generations of children raised by both men and women, who see caring men and self-reliant women, have androgynous role models to emulate. Today's parents, knowing that a daughter has one chance in two of becoming a chief wage-earner for at least part of her life, are beginning to support daughters in

Mary Potter Bowen

androgynous pattern the lives of men. Per androgyny, we will for men and women we may see yet more of children left more

I believe that men take care of children would *like* to be as they want a paid Androgyny offers since the 1980s.

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androgynous patterns. This in turn has inevitable consequences for the lives of men. Perhaps if we succeed in social policies that support androgyny, we will reap the benefits in terms of increased options for men and women and children. If we lag in supporting androgyny, we may see yet more anguish, in terms of personal bewilderment and of children left more and more alone.

I believe that many men are tired of being asked why they want to take care of children, of themselves, and of others. Many women would *like* to be asked. Many women are tired of being asked why they want a paid career. Many men would *like* to be asked. Androgyny offers some new options for child care and child carers in the 1980s.

NOTES

1. Unless otherwise indicated, the data in this section are from the Unco National Day Care Consumer Survey (1975).
2. In recent years there have been a number of household time budget studies, which, however, have varied greatly in methods and population sample. At least one early study attempted to measure the division of labor between husband and wife without including child care, an omission which seems extraordinary in its illumination of postwar sex-role stereotyping.
3. The "biological differences" hypotheses for origins of sex roles have generally been based on several ideas:
 - (a) Women need to be protected somewhat in pregnancy and while nursing.
 - (b) Originally only women could feed infants.
 - (c) Men are on the average a little more aggressive and stronger.
 - (d) Men perceive themselves as unable to "create" and "nurture" in the same ways as women and feel themselves "isolated" from the cosmic chain of generations. They therefore must find some alternative ways of feeling that their lives have cosmic meaning and therefore have a stronger urge to build monuments and/or destroy and kill, in order to feel important.
 - (e) Because men have external genitalia which change shape in one kind of creative and masterful activity (intercourse), men have a particular need for their creations to be visible and recognizable and for their work processes to provide the possibility for promotion, advancement, status, and dominance.
4. Absenteeism and high turnover of women used to be considered possible reasons for systematically paying women less. Most labor economists now agree, however, that absenteeism and turnover figures are very much more strongly affected by occupation and rank than by sex.
5. I believe this to be a leading reason why the high cost of excellent, formal day-care comes as such a shock to some people.
6. One notes with interest that Matina Horner of Radcliffe is finding men significantly less "cooperative" than women in an ongoing research study. Traditional sex roles, especially with respect to child care, may have made many men less nurturant and cooperative than women.

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