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NSUKKA

WORKING WIVES AND FAMILY
STABILITY: A CASE STUDY OF
ENUGU AND NSUKKA TOWNS

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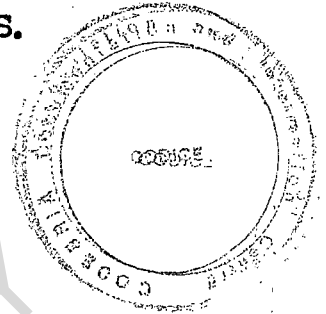
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PG/Ph. D/84/2758

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY/ANTHROPOLOGY,
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PG/Ph. D/84/2758

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY/
ANTHROPOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA, NSUKKA IN PARTIAL
FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
(SOCIOLOGY)**

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DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY/ANTHROPOLOGY,
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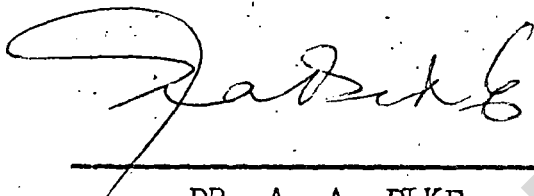
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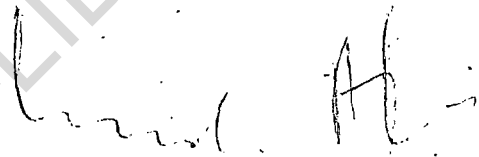
CERTIFICATION

Veronica Ifeyinwa Okeke, a postgraduate student in the Department of Sociology/Anthropology and with the Reg. No. PG/Ph.D/84/2758 has satisfactorily completed the requirement for course and research work for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology.


The work embodied in this thesis is original and has not been submitted in part or full for any other diploma or degree of this or any other University.



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ABSTRACT

This study looked at the relationship between the employment of married women in jobs outside the home and the stability of the family using Enugu and Nsukka towns as case studies. This relationship was investigated through a number of intervening variables. Specifically, the study examined the effects of wife's employment on: the number of children a couple has, the number of hours spent by a working wife on childcare and housework, the incidence of juvenile delinquency in the family, authority relations (decision making) between husband and wife, the presence of role strain and conflict, satisfaction/dissatisfaction in marriage. Finally, it looked also at the relationship between wife's employment/educational level and propensity towards marital break up. It was expected that the presence of conflict arising from the above situations would reflect negatively on family stability, resulting in the formulation of relevant hypotheses.

The sample size was made up of 874 married women with children both from Enugu and Nsukka. These were randomly selected, 150 each from the three categories of respondents, viz: wage earners - WE (formal sector employment), self-employed - SE (informal sector employment) and full-time housewives - FW. In other words, each category of respondents was made up of 150 women, with the exception of Enugu which had only 124 full-time housewives.

A sample of 40 married men (20 each from Ehugu and Nsukka) were randomly selected from among the families studied. In addition, 21 divorced men from both towns were included in the study. The inclusion of men was to have their views and feelings on the issues raised. Data were collected mainly through questionnaires, supplemented with indepth interviews of some of the respondents.

The data showed that most of the hypothesized relationships were weak and/or insignificant with the exception of role strain/conflict which was found to be consistently associated with family instability using χ^2 statistic and multiple regression analysis. In other words, majority of the women were of the view that juvenile delinquency is not related to mother's employment, that a wife's being employed outside the home and earning income did not threaten the traditional authority position of the husband, neither is it related to marital dissatisfaction and propensity to break up even unsatisfactory marriages.

Based on the above, it was concluded that the stability of the family is not really threatened by the employment of wives and that even the observed association between role strain/conflict and family instability will not lead to disintegration of the family because of the traditional belief in the sanctity of marriage as well as the binding force of children in marriage.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of Study

Studies have shown that the number of married women in the workforce has increased over the past three decades and is, in fact, still on the increase. This situation found in developed countries (Cook, 1975; Bell, 1979) is equally true for developing nations as noted by Andah (1990), Kumekpor (1974), Fashoyin (1985) among others. The increase has been related to a number of factors viz: increase in the number of educated women and the opportunities for earning income outside the home. Women are also working to be economically independent and to be able to support their families. Finally, some women work for psychological reasons, for instance, to have a sense of fulfilment.

The concept "working wife" is not new to the traditional Nigerian or even West African societies, where every woman is expected to be engaged in one form of economic activity or the other, or at least, in farm work. This is in addition to the normal household tasks and rearing of children. As such, the idea of full-time or stay-at-home wife as is conceived of today, never

really existed. In other words, married women in Nigeria have traditionally been engaged in work within and outside the home.

Kumekpor (1974), however, noted that work outside the home in traditional West African societies took place within a defined framework and structure. That is, whatever the type of work that took a married woman outside her home, be it farming or trading (the two commonest economic activities) this work was usually fitted into the social and economic framework within which the kinship unit or domestic unit operated. Her work roles did not conflict with her domestic roles since family unit equally carried on the economic activities. For instance, in the case of farm work, the woman could decide to prepare food first or do any other household chores and later go to the farm. She could also leave the farm earlier than others in order to do some other things at home. Even with modern commercial or trading activities, the woman who owns or directs her own business can interrupt her work activities or delegate some to someone else in order to carry out her domestic obligations. The point being made is that married women in traditional or contemporary society who run their own businesses have the flexibility of

adjusting work relations and domestic obligations with a minimum of role conflict (Di Domenico, 1980).

Now, the involvement of women in work outside the home, particularly under a rigid work-time schedule, does not allow for this flexibility in adjusting work and domestic obligations. Thus, conflict and other problems are believed to be present in the families where the wife is engaged in outside employment - leading to family disorganization which does not augur well for the stability of the family.

1.2 The Problem

The phenomenon of working wives (as noted before) has become a permanent feature in almost all parts of the world. Cook (1975) confirmed this increasing trend in woman's employment in her survey of working mothers in a number of countries which include Romania, Japan, Australia, Sweden, Russia, Austria, Israel and Western and Eastern Germany (now merged). Most importantly, she noted that working mothers the world over are faced with the problem of combining wage labour and their traditional household work. In other words, whether one is looking at the Eastern European countries where it is accepted that every woman (married or single) ought to and must

work, or their western counterparts where the choice of taking a job, with the attendant problems, is left to the individual woman, women still carry the major responsibility of caring for the home and children with little assistance from their husbands.

The difficulty of combining wage labour with domestic tasks arises from the fact that wage labour or paid employment usually involves working in a bureaucratically organized work situations with rigid work time schedules and authority structure. This means that working wives, particularly those with children, are faced with the problem of managing their two roles of worker and mother, both of which are not necessarily always consistent or compatible. That is, being a mother makes demands which are often contradictory to the demands on the time and energy of a working wife. In other words, a working mother cannot be in the office and at home with her children all at the same time. This problem becomes more pronounced where it is not possible to manipulate work time schedule in order to accommodate domestic obligations. This is usually the case with office work (formal employment) and this results in conflict of roles as well as strain which are said to be on the increase (Cook, 1975) and which have been suggested to be a major

cause of instability among working-wife families in Nigeria (Fapohunda, 1982; Olagunju, 1987; Njoku, 1981). Although Igbo tradition encourages having many children, it is speculated that the resulting strain and conflict from too many roles may influence some working wives to have fewer number of children in order to reduce the intensity of strain and conflict. This situation could also cause conflict in the home especially if the husband supports the idea of many children.

That women actually go through a lot of stress, strain and conflict in an attempt to cope with their multiple roles has been noted in so many studies (Kumekpor, 1974; ILO, 1975; Osibodu, 1980; Hester & Dickerson, 1981; Fapohunda, 1982; Prochaska & Prochaska 1982; Jegede, 1985; Laoye, 1982; Okeke, 1988; Andah, 1990; Gray, 1980; Houseknecht & Spanier, 1980). Indeed, Cook (1975: 47) noted that the "woman's double role results not only in a double burden but in her being quite literally of two minds about work and childcare at home. This schizoid self view contributes to her helplessness, manipulability and passivity".

Again, the attendant strain and conflict of managing many roles affect not only the woman but also the other members of the family. Although there is controversy concerning the effects of wife's employment on

the health and satisfaction of her husband, there is no doubt that some men will and do protest against being involved in what they call 'kitchen affairs'. In Nigeria, as in other countries, childcare and household chores are regarded as the exclusive preserve of women. Therefore, if a husband is required to help out with these tasks because the wife is at work, there could be some resentment. In fact, for some men, the idea of doing domestic tasks may be enough to engender feelings of emasculation, particularly if their wives are working to augment the family income, and this happens to be the case more often than not.

Similarly, some negative effects of mothers' employment on young children have been noted. Such children are said to be deprived of parental care and love which are important for their development at the early stage of their lives (Fapohunda, 1982; Laoye, 1985). It has further been argued that if children are to grow up physically and mentally sound, capable of love or work, then a lot of time and affection should be devoted to them in their early years (Ifaturoti, 1981). In spite of the inconsistency in the findings on the effects of mother's absence on children, there had been occasions when surrogate mothers (nannies and house maids) became

negligent in their duties so that children left in their care suffered mishaps, which were sometimes fatal. Indeed, there exist reported cases of neglect and maltreatment of children even in some daycare centres (Mamman, 1988). It is thus believed that mother's employment reduces the amount of time devoted to child-care and house work. From the above, one sees the picture of a working wife who stays in the office worrying about the welfare of her children left in the care of someone else, and therefore not putting in her best in her office work either. In the long run, her job or family responsibilities will have to suffer.

Another problem that relates to wife's employment is the suggestion that wife's earnings could actually be a threat to her husband's traditional authority position as head of the family while enhancing the wife's position in terms of family decision making. Therefore, husband's perception of erosion of his authority may have implications for marital satisfaction. In addition, one is equally aware of the possible temptations (like sexual harassment) some women are exposed to in the hands of other men in and outside the office, which may even be a factor against family stability.

Yet, the present economic situation in Nigeria - with the ever-rising cost of living - makes it imperative that married women in Nigeria must work if only to augment their husbands' income. Again, since the suggestion has been made that the propensity toward marital instability is more in working-wife families than in those of full-time housewives (Booth & White, 1980; Huber & Spitze, 1980; Njoku, 1981) a need exists to focus more research on the specific mechanisms that enhance this phenomenon of instability in working wife families (if indeed the relationship becomes established in this study). The definition of the concept instability and its indicators are listed fully under 'Operationalization of concepts'.

Earlier studies in Nigeria sought to examine the influence of traditional roles on the labour force participation of women (Andah, 1990; Fashoyin, 1985; Onyema, 1989; Kayongo-Male, 1984). Other studies, (majority of which are based on European countries and the United States of America) have focused on the effects of wife's employment on fertility rate (Blake, 1965; Lewis, 1982), on childcare and house work (Perry, 1961; Okojie, 1981; Bamisaye et al, 1985), and on the relationship between education and labour force participation (Ifeagwu, 1982; Winch & Gneer, 1965). There has been

little done in the area of women's employment (with its attendant role conflict) and the overall stability of the family in Nigeria. In other words, this study seeks to examine the implications of widespread participation of wives in the labour force on the welfare and stability of the family. The study will document the various strategies Nigerian working women adopt in coping with their multiple roles of worker, mother and housewife.

1.3 Objectives of Study

Given the increasing participation of women in wage labour (employment), the general objective of this study is the investigation of the implications of this phenomenon on the stability of the family in Nigeria.

From the above, we have the following specific objectives:

1. To find out whether the employment of wives outside the home results in inadequate attention to childcare and housework;
2. To determine the effects of wives' employment on authority relations between husband and wife;
3. To investigate the contribution of the employment of wives outside the home to the existence of role conflict and marital dissatisfaction and their effect on family stability;

4. Finally, to find out the culturally approved or relevant strategies that can be evolved for coping with the conflict in roles of employed wives in Nigeria.

1.4 Significance of Study

The proposed study will attempt to explain the implications (whether negative or positive) of the employment of married women outside their homes. This is important since more empirical work needs to be done regarding the assertion by a Nigerian writer that '80% of the crises and problems in the world are caused by the fact that married women go to work' (Njoku, 1981: 9). Although, this assertion has been questioned by Elele, Mere, Onuigbo and Onyekwelu (1984), a more detailed study using a larger sample is needed. In other words, the research will provide empirical evidence as to whether family instability is a consequence of the employment of wives outside the home or whether there are other factors. This knowledge will help clinicians (sociologists and psychologists) and policy makers design appropriate social and economic policies to alleviate the strain and conflict in working-wife homes.

1.5 Research Questions

In order to articulate the problem further, a number of questions were asked.

1. Does a wife's employment affect the number of children the family has especially as large family size is traditionally valued in our society?
2. Do employed wives, because of their multiple roles as workers and home makers, experience greater role strain and conflict than their unemployed counterparts?
3. Are children of working mothers more likely to be neglected and thus become juvenile delinquents?
4. Is marital dissatisfaction likely if a woman has a job outside the home?
5. Is family (marital) instability related to conflict arising from the dual (multiple) roles of the working wives?
6. Are wives' income perceived as a threat to their husbands' traditional authority (i. e. male dominance)?
7. Is the propensity toward marital break-up related to wife's employment status and educational level?

These are some of the questions that have bugged people's minds. Answers to these will throw more light on the relationship between women's employment and the overall well-being of the family.

1.6 Operationalization of Concepts

Housewife: This is the female partner in a family set-up who runs the home, brings up the children and does the household chores. Thus, all married women are necessarily housewives.

Housework: Refers to the sum total of all the day-to-day activities carried out by married women in the home for the maintenance or smooth running of the family. These include cooking, cleaning, doing laundry and shopping for the home and childcare.

Working Wives: This will be used interchangeably with employed wives to refer to married women who, in addition to engaging in house work (performed by all housewives), also engage in wage earning jobs (paid employment) outside their family homes. Here, work (or employment) is categorized to take into account the ease or difficulty with which the working women can manipulate her work time schedule in order to fit in her domestic roles. Hence the use is made of 'formal' and 'informal' sector employment. The crucial factor is that the place of work is outside the home for it to make a difference since the woman will have to leave her house for some periods of the day. Therefore, the term 'employed wives' is used to refer to women in formal and informal employment.

Formal Sector Employment: This refers to work in bureaucratically organized work situations, with rigid work time schedule and authority structure. This is paid labour in both government-owned and private companies, with a specific work period like, 7.30 - 3.30 p.m. including

shift duties. Working wives here do not have any control over their official work hours and examples are the ministries, banks, hospitals, etc. In this study women in this category of employment are referred to as 'Wage Earners' (WE).

Informal Sector Employment: This refers to work without the rigid work time schedule since the business is usually of small scale, run by the owner (the wife) who is answerable to no one but herself. Women in this situation can adjust their work schedule to accommodate their family duties. Workers here include women petty traders, contractors, caterers, artisans, etc., and their businesses must be outside their homes. For purposes of this study, these women are referred to as 'self employed' (SE).

Full-time Housewives (Non-employed) (FW): This concept refers to married women who do not engage in employment outside their homes but spend most of their time taking care of their homes. That is, they do not necessarily have to leave their homes at specific periods of the day. Experience in the field, however, showed that being a full-time housewife does not imply folding one's arms and depending on one's husband's income. Indeed, most full-time housewives engage in farming and/or have kiosks in

front of their houses where they sell few articles of trade. This term (FW) is, nevertheless, retained to compare with wives who leave their homes for outside jobs.

Family: The existence of different forms of family at different periods of time, in different parts of the world, makes it almost impossible to have a universally acceptable definition of family. This study will however, adopt the view that family is a social group made up of persons united by marriage or blood, who may or may not be living together but who recognize their role obligations.

Family (Marital) Stability: The concepts family and marital stability are used interchangeably to refer to the ability of a couple to maintain enduring or permanent relations in order that the group will continue to exist. This does not imply absence of quarrels or disagreements between couples but conscious efforts to smooth things over or sort out disagreements or quarrels when they occur. Marital stability can be enhanced by feelings of general satisfaction (as perceived by couples) with one's marital situation, understanding, patience, trust and ability to talk things over by couples.

Family (Marital) Instability: The term is viewed as the inability to maintain enduring or permanent marital relations which could result from the failure of one or

both spouses to perform their role obligations (Goode, 1962). This author (Goode) notes that the non-performance of role obligations leads to dissatisfaction or conflict in the home which may in turn, lead to marital dissolution or break-up. Family or marital instability is equally viewed as a couple's propensity to dissolve an existing marriage, even though, dissolution may ultimately not take place (Booth & Johnson, 1983). In other words, a family may be experiencing or showing signs of instability and still remain intact. This means that divorce or marital dissolution should, strictly speaking, not be equated with instability but is the ultimate in instability - a publicly recognized index of instability.

This study adopts this latter definition by Booth & Johnson (1983). This is because more marriages survive than are dissolved in Nigeria. Hence, the focus of this study is on those indicators or symptoms of instability in the family. It has been recognized that there are marriages where couples are not satisfied but do not have the courage to ask for separation or divorce either because of what people will say (Hicks & Platt, 1970) or for religious reasons or because of cultural values attached to being married, especially for the women.

They, therefore, continue to live miserably in their marital homes. These, according to Hicks & Platt, make up the unhappy but 'stable' marriages. This points to the necessity of distinguishing between durable (stable) marriages and satisfactory marriages.

Instability in marriage may be manifested in form of a series of actions or thoughts which may or may not lead to a final break-up of the marriage. Such actions and thoughts are listed under the indicators (indices) of family instability, viz:

1. Presence and frequency of quarrelling and fighting between husband and wife.
2. Husband complaining about wife's neglect of her family roles, especially childcare.
3. Husband eating outside because of late preparation of meals since wife is at work.
4. Wife feeling resentful because husband does not help out with household duties.
5. Salary disputes between husband and wife.
6. Husband feeling loss of status because of wife's earnings (i.e. her economic independence).
7. Wife's feeling of financial burden on her.
8. Househelp related problems.
9. Parent-child conflict.
10. Interference by extended family relations.

11. General feelings of unhappiness or dissatisfaction expressed by either spouse or both,
12. Strong feelings or thoughts of separation expressed by spouses.
13. Couple in the process of separation or divorce.

Role Set: This concept refers to a complex set of role expectations associated with a particular status. For example, a school teacher relates with her pupils, colleagues, school principal, school board or State Education Commission, etc., and for each group, she is expected to relate or behave in a particular way.

Role Strain: This is the felt difficulty in fulfilling role obligations; the inability to comply comfortably with all role set expectations. Role strain is seen as conflict resulting from societal structure and norms and from family structure and function.

Household: This refers to the inmates of a house; all the people living together in a house including members of the nuclear and extended family as well as non-relatives (e.g. househelps) who normally live in a particular house.

Role Conflict: This concept is the inability to perform two different role systems whose claims on resource (eg time, etc) allocations are incompatible (Cosser and

Rokoff, 1970). As these authors pointed out, the conflict is derived from the fact that the values underlying the demands are contradictory. That is, while working wives (especially those with careers) are expected to be committed to their work (just like man), they are at the same time, normatively required to give priority to their family. This points out the inconsistency between the ideal of 'home-maker' and that of 'career woman', making conflict inherent in the position of a working woman.

For purposes of this study, the concept 'role strain and conflict' (or role strain/conflict) will be used to reflect the presence of strain and conflict (as defined) experienced by working women as a result of multiple roles.

Role overload: This phenomenon exists when total demands on time and energy associated with the prescribed activities of multiple roles are too great for roles to be performed adequately or comfortably (Duxbury, Higgins and Lee (1994)). Working wives generally carry work overload when they have to perform multiple roles as workers, mothers and housewives.

Career: This refers to a job which is highly salient, has a developmental sequence and requires a high degree of commitment.

Dual-Career Family: This concept refers to a family in which both husband and wife pursue careers. This means that both are highly committed to their jobs and as such, the wife is expected (just like the husband) to devote a lot of time to office work.

Dual-worker/Dual-earner Family: This is a family in which both husband and wife are gainfully employed outside the home. This implies that there may not be the type of commitment needed for career jobs and so the wife may not need to strain herself beyond office hours. It is therefore expected that she may have a little more time for the family than would a career woman.

Marital Satisfaction: This is a state of mind in which one or both spouses find an enough sense of fulfilment or contentment to want to continue with their marital relationship (Andah, 1990). Satisfaction in marriage can be inferred from the behaviour of spouses or may be expressly stated by the spouse(s), i.e. self report.

Marital Dissatisfaction: This is the state of mind in which one or both spouses cease to find any sense of fulfilment or contentment in their marital relationship. Thus they may, infact, be having an 'empty shell' marriage, which is marital relationship that has lost all its meanings for the couple concerned (Goode, 1962).

Dissatisfaction can be inferred through one's actions or behaviours or can be openly expressed i.e. self report. Some of the actions or behaviours listed under the indices of instability also reflect dissatisfaction, like quarrelling, fighting and the various complaints against one spouse by the other.

Power and Authority: Power is the 'probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance and regardless of the basis on which this probability rests'.

Authority, on the other hand, is the 'probability that a command with a given specific content, will be obeyed by a given group of persons' (Dahrendorf, 1959: 166).

The difference is that whereas power is essentially tied to the personality of individuals, authority is always associated with social positions or roles. For instance, the politician has power over the masses to whom he speaks and who have confidence in him. But the control of the manager over his workers, or the military officer over his men is authority because it exists as an expectation independent of the specific person occupying the position of manager or army officer. Thus, while power is merely a factual relation, authority is a legitimate relation of domination and subjection (i.e. super- and

subordination) non-compliance of which can be sanctioned against (Dahrendorf, 1959). Hence, authority structure within the African families (including Nigeria) is one based on norms which clearly legitimize a person's position and requires that deference and respect be accorded that person. Therefore, the father, being the normative head (the authority figure) of the family has a position given to him by African tradition such that even when he is unemployed (as happens these days) he is still respected and deferred to in most families (Kayongo-Male et al, 1986).

Misbehaviour: This term is used here to refer to such minor improper conducts of children like disobedience, abandoning of one's duties or assignments (whether school work or house work) in preference for playing with one's peers, abusing one's seniors.

Delinquency: Refers to illegal or anti-social behaviour; ie minor crimes like vandalism, especially when committed by young people.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this section, attempt is made to review the existing literature on the relationship between the employment of married women and the stability of the family. It should be noted, however, that existing materials have focused on the effects of wives' employment on fertility behaviour, childcare and domestic work, as well as on the relationship between education and women's employment. There are also studies on the relationship between wives' employment and the health and happiness/satisfaction of both husband and wife, the authority (power) relations within the family. In addition, there are studies which show that there is role conflict between a woman's employment role and housewife role. One is, however, not aware of studies which looked at role conflict arising from married women's multiple roles as well as their effects on family stability in Nigeria. This section will also review the theoretical orientations that could be used to explain the phenomenon of role conflict. The above areas will now be reviewed one after the other.

2.1.1 Employment and Fertility

A number of studies have been carried out on the effects of the employment of married women on fertility behaviour. The general assumption is that the employment of wives leads to a decline in family size ie number of children. While studies in the developed nations generally found the existence of such a relationship (Blake, 1965; Weller, 1977; Blau & Ferber, 1986; Awake, 1985; Wilkie, 1988), this relationship could not be established for the developing nations (Gendell, 1965; Lewis, 1982). This is because of the peculiar nature of the socio-cultural environment of Africa and other developing nations. In other words, even though fertility differentials have been found for different African countries, such differences have been attributed more to differences in educational levels and residential patterns than to employment (Gendell, 1965; Lewis, 1982). Stycos and Weller (1967) stressed that the employment of married women can lead to a decrease in family size only when employment becomes incompatible with motherhood; that is, if there is role incompatibility. From her study of Abidjan in Cote d'Ivoire, Lewis (1982) concluded that women's employment does not limit the number of children they desire to have. She noted that although level of education did account for slightly lowered fertility, highly educated families also had large family sizes.

Looking at the Nigerian situation, Okediji (1967), in line with Gendell's (1965) views, noted that women who have higher education, income as well as those in professions tended to have fewer number of children than those in low income group, while the non-educated have the largest number of children. In pre-colonial Nigerian society extended family members, like grandmothers, aunts, etc, helped in child-rearing and household tasks. It was quite easy then to combine economic activities with child bearing and other domestic chores without having to cut down on number of children. Presently, extended family members (where available) do help with household chores and child rearing as nannies (for older women) or as house maids (for young girls). In addition, daycare centres and nursery schools are also used by employed mothers. The point in all this, is that employment status per se, may not be the major factor in the declining family size found by Okediji in his study, especially among urban dwellers just as Lewis (1982) pointed out. In fact, Afonja (1982) equally came to the same conclusion that in Nigeria employment per se does not limit family size, but rather factors like education, residence and cultural values influence family size. She also gave reasons why there may not be declining family size (which are

already stated above, like the presence of extended family relations). Such factors like the present economic crisis, occasioned by the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) may be important explanatory variables. However, of interest is the conflict that may arise when employment status of the wife impedes her reproductive responsibilities, especially if the husband wants more children while the wife feels she cannot cope and, therefore, does not want more children. It will be interesting to find out if such conflict situation does arise especially because of the traditional emphasis on large family size. Thus, through this study, the presence (or otherwise) of such conflicts and their relationship to the stability of the family will be found out.

2.1.2 Employment and childcare/domestic (housework) roles

2.1.2(1) Studies have also been done on the effects of wives' employment on childcare and domestic roles. With respect to childcare, earlier studies (deprivation studies) focused attention on the effects of mother's absence from home on the children. Although, there were inconsistencies in the findings, it was frequently asserted that maternal employment had a deleterious effect on the development of the children. In short, separation of children from

mothers was said to have 'bad psychological, physical and social effects upon the children and can be permanently damaging to their personalities' (Perry, 1961: 312). The implication of the above statement to family stability is fairly obvious. A family where children suffer from psychological or physical disorder will not be a happy family.

However, it is necessary to note that the concept 'deprivation' - depriving a child of motherly care - may not be relevant in our traditional society, (especially in the early days) where child-rearing was not the exclusive duty of the biological mothers, but was done by the entire members of the extended family and the community at large. Although, children are now largely raised by their biological parents, (ie the nuclear family) these parents are not divorced completely from their extended kith and kin who still exert influence on and oversee the welfare of the entire family members.

In contrast to the deprivation views, early research as well as recent ones have found that separation of children from mothers does not have a damaging effect on the children but could even be beneficial under certain conditions (Andrus & Horowitz, 1938; Boulding, 1965; Perry, 1961; Hoffman, 1974; Wilkie, 1988).

In the views of Hoffman (1974) and Wilkie (1988) the amount and quality of care given a child may vary more by the educational level of the parent and type of substitute care than by the mother's employment.

The beneficial aspect of separation of children from mothers is seen in the case of a mother being prone to irritability and so separation for some hours may be refreshing to her. This difference in findings can be traced to the fact that most of these earlier writers applied the findings based on a few children to much larger groups of children. Similarly, arguments used for separation in terms of hours were inappropriately applied to absences that lasted for months or even years, the effect of which was the making of invalid conclusions in some cases (Skard, 1965). Again, as noted with the negative side of separation, this phenomenon is really not very relevant to our society where children are traditionally part and parcel of the extended family and not just the biological parents.

The past three decades have, however, seen a shift in research emphasis. Research activities have now been focused on the effects of combining employment and child-care on not only the children but on the working mothers themselves. Stolz's (1960) study, even though is an old

one is quite relevant here. In reviewing the literature in this area of study, Stolz noted some costs to the children as well as to the mothers themselves when the latter worked outside the home, viz:

1. mothers are unduly tired, impatient and irritable;
2. children are lonely when mothers are tired and busy; that is, children feel lonely when mothers are busy and are too tired to give them due attention;
3. children feel neglected and are actually neglected;
4. children run riot without supervision;
5. mothers cannot share school experiences with their children;
6. mothers cannot do the mending and other services children need;
7. mothers cannot teach children socially approved behaviour.

Although Stolz did point out that these conclusions were not backed by empirical evidence, there is no denying the validity of some of them. For example, Fapohunda (1982); Laoye (1985); Ifatureti (1981); Cook (1975); Okojie (1981); and a host of other researchers noted some of the above-mentioned influences on children, but most importantly, they stressed the cost to the mothers themselves, like health problems. In addition, Bamisaye and Oyediran

(1985) noted, in their study of role strain among employed mothers with pre-school children in the Teaching Hospital and College of Medicine both of the University of Lagos, that the strain of combining work and domestic roles was telling more on the mothers than on the children. Their subjects included both the higher and lower income members of staff of these institutions. Poor health was determined by the number of episodes of ill-health for the mother and children per year resulting from inadequate childcare arrangement which characterized all the working mothers' situation. Their expectation was that where childcare arrangements were inadequate, the children's health would deteriorate, but this was not the case. Rather, they found that generally 92% of working mothers reported many episodes of ill-health, while only 17% of their pre-school children were found to have been ill within the same period. In addition, outside childcare arrangements tended to increase mothers' ill-health. An explanation for this finding (of poorer maternal health) could be the presence of considerable psychological pressures on these employed mothers, especially their anxiety over the welfare of their children left in poorly equipped day-care centres. The authors also noted that their subjects equally suffered from feelings of guilt over their absence

from home because of the societal belief that mothers' absence is responsible for the existence of the various social ills.

Similarly, Cook (1975) who studied working mothers in nine countries (previously mentioned) found generally that working mothers face the same stress and conflict in managing their two roles. Findings have also been reported to the effect that mothers of young children are prone to depression (Richman, 1978 as cited by Jegede, 1985). In line with other authors, Jegede found that in the Nigerian context, role strain is caused by the woman's multiple roles of worker and housewife and also by large family size, lack of emotional support from husband, polygyny, pressure from the extended family members, boredom, inadequate and erratic supply of services, like water, electricity, etc. All these lead to depression for the woman. In addition, it was observed that the energy output required to fill two jobs makes the mothers more irritable than their children. No doubt, when a mother feels depressed and irritable, the entire family is bound to be affected and this may lead to disorganization in the family.

In a study carried out on three Latin American cities by Carvajal and Burgess (1978, cited by Sulaiman, 1987), a positive association was found between the employment

of wives and infant mortality. In other words, high rate of women's participation in labour force leads to high death rate for children. According to these authors, child rearing, being a labour intensive activity requires considerable investment in mother's time, and so, having an outside employment reduces the amount of time available to the mother for childcare. This increases the possibility of child accidents and possible deaths. It is, however, not known whether Carvajal et al compared the incidence of child accidents and deaths in both working and non-working-mother families. Nevertheless, what the authors reported for working-mother families (accidents and deaths) can lead to family instability.

While it is necessary to point out the negative aspects of mother's employment, very little has, however, been done to find out if there could be some positive effects of this phenomenon. For example, in his study of the relationship between mother's income and child mortality in southern Nigeria, Sulaiman (1987) argued that the effect of mother's employment on child mortality is seen in the extent to which mother's occupation is compatible or conflicting with childcare. From the author's point of view, the majority of women who engage in modern economic activities are self-employed (mainly as petty traders) and so, their work is not so incompatible with

household activities. This implies an absence of conflict. Rather, the extra income earned by the women means improved care both nutritionally and healthwise, at least, for herself and children.

The important part played by the woman's feelings towards her employment has also been noted. Here, it is believed that the effects of employment on the mother-child relationship, and consequently on the child, would depend on whether the working mother enjoys her work or not. Specifically, two theories have been used to explain the different reactions of employed wives in the United States to their double roles in relation to their children. These are the "guilt-over protection" theory and the "neglect" theory (Hoffman, 1961). The "guilt-over protection" theory holds that working mothers, especially those who enjoy their jobs (these are usually middle class women whose employment is more likely by choice rather than by necessity) tend to feel guilty about this and so try to compensate for their absence by showing a great deal of affection as well as over protection to their children. On the other hand, the "neglect" theory holds that a working wife who dislikes working (usually a lower class woman who works out of necessity) does not feel guilty about working and abandoning her maternal role.

Such a woman rather expects the children to help out with housework which she has neglected due to her job. While children in the "neglect" category show hostility as a result of lack of affection from their mothers, those in "over-protection" category are over dependent and ineffective, and both situations are indicative of maladjustment. Thus, both theories lead to the prediction that children of working mothers would be more disturbed in general than children of non-working mothers (Hoffman, 1961). The net result of the two situations described above appears to be that there is likely to be greater disorganization (instability) in a working-wife family.

The same reasoning led some authors to conclude that children of working mothers (because of lack of supervision) are more likely to become delinquent than their counterparts from non-working-mother families. However, this relationship is not conclusive because when adequate controls through matching by family size, socio-economic status and residence, (Hoffman, 1961) as well as introduction of supervision were added, the relationship disappeared. In other words, the original relationship was a spurious one. Both Nduka et al (1984) in their study of working mothers and child socialization in Nsukka urban area and Stolz (1960) in her review of the existing literature on the effects of maternal employment on

children conclude that there is no difference between children of working and non-working mothers in terms of delinquency. Similarly, in a recent study, Goode (1982) notes that it has not been possible to demonstrate that children who grow up in working-mother homes develop psychological problems and are more prone to various kinds of deviant behaviour than those in homes of full-time housewives. In short, he concludes that 'if mother's employment has a harmful effect on the psycho-social development of the child, contemporary studies have not discovered it' (Goode, 1982: 139).

2.1.2(ii) On the effects of wives' employment on her domestic roles, earlier studies created the impression that house work suffered or was neglected because wives' employment took up their housework time. However, Stafford's (1983) findings, in contrast to these earlier findings, show that employed wives actually spend more time on house work and family care than FWs. Indeed, looking at the time-budget studies of families, only a few of these studies found that husbands of employed wives helped occasionally with household chores like dish washing, cleaning and watching the baby while their wives cooked (Miralao, 1984; Hoffman, 1961; Szinovacz, 1979).

On the other hand, a lot of studies have reported that there has not been any dramatic redefinition of roles in household management (division of labour at home) between couples as a result of wives' outside employment. Rather, employed wives still generally worked longer hours at home - bearing the greater burden of domestic and child-rearing responsibilities (Cook, 1975; Okojie, 1981; Abdel-Ghany and Nickols, 1983; Barta, Khinger, Miltenyi & Vukorich, 1984; Fethke and Hauserman, 1979; ILO Report VIII, 1975; Mace, 1961; Lu, 1984; Hafstrom and Schram, 1983; Bamisaye et al, 1985; Goode, 1982). In other words, working women suffer from role overload which may lead to physiological or psychological ill-health - a situation that may not augur well for family stability. Working women have also had to forfeit their leisure times when necessary in order to catch up with household chores left undone because of employment. It has equally been noted that husband care takes up a good deal of employed wife's time. For instance, Ilori (1982, as cited by Parpart, 1990) discovered that Nigerian working wives living with their husbands, spend $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours more in a day on the total housework time than those whose husbands are not at home. Parpart also noted that educated husbands in elite families even had more expectations of their wives in terms of companionship and standards in the home, and thus,

increasing the pressure on the wife. Indeed, what was said about Taiwanese women who were in labour force is largely true for Nigerian working wives viz: "whether women participate in the work force or not, whatever their employment status, categories of occupation, location of work, or level of income, there are no significant differences in women's familial power and role playing" (Lu, 1984: 365).

Similarly, earlier studies on dual-career and dual-earner families tended to find an increase in husbands' participation in household activities, egalitarian roles and relationships between spouses (Blood and Wolfe, 1960; Blood, 1965; Axelson, 1963; Hoffman, 1960; Safilios-Rothschild, 1970). The point is that more recent studies do not find such straight-forward relationships between wives' employment and husbands' participation in house work, egalitarian role relationships, etc. Szinovacz (1979) attributes this difference to the presence of more sophisticated research designs. Thus, the above author, in line with Bird and Ford (1985), concludes that wives in dual-career and dual-earner families still handle a much larger share of household tasks. Although, not much has been done in the area of dual-career families in Nigeria, the above situation obtains here too. This segregation of familial duties is even more emphasized in

Nigeria and other African nations which are still largely tradition bound in terms of role allocation.

2.1.3 Education and Marital (Family) Stability

With respect to education, it has been found that the chances of being employed are high when a married woman is educated, and are even higher with higher levels of education. There are, however, divergent views on the relationship between education and marital stability. Clusanya (1970) in his study of the factors affecting the stability of marriage among the Yoruba found education to be positively associated with income and with marital stability. According to him, this is because education makes for an increased sense of responsibility in marriage (probably on the part of both spouses). This point is, of course, arguable because "irresponsibility" in whatever way it is defined can be found in both the educated and uneducated people. While one can agree with the author that education is highly positively related to income level and type of occupation, it is not always true that educated women are generally better off economically, neither are they more secure in marriage than their uneducated counterparts. In fact, Ifeagwu (1982: 15) hypothesized that "most educated women have unstable

marriages because of their claim of equal rights with men". He listed a number of (stereotypical) views held by some Nigerian men about educated women viz: "they are intransigent, difficult, expensive, assertive, arrogant, wayward and contributors to broken homes" (Ifeagwu, 1982: 41).

Again, Udeala (1978, as cited by Azikiwe, 1988: 27) noted that 'most men do not easily agree that educated women make good wives. These men cannot stand a woman who insists on or aspires for an equal footing in either the running of the home or in the offices'. The author also observed that men fear that education may make girls sophisticated and disrespectful of traditional practices and so may not submit to male authority.

Writing on American families, Winch and Greer (1965:90) equally noted that 'through being educated to the baccalaureate level, women acquire intellectual and aesthetic tastes and occupational and professional ambitions that cause domestic roles to seem very dull and unrewarding'. An effort will be made in this study to do an analysis of divorce cases with a view to finding out how many of them involved educated women.

2.1.4 Employment and Marital Satisfaction

The problem of contradiction in findings found in the areas already reviewed is equally present in the relationship between wives' employment and marital satisfaction of both spouses. For example, Burke and Weir (1976) found that employed wives were in better physical and emotional health and were also happier (more satisfied) with their marriage than their non-employed counterparts. They also found that husbands of employed wives were in poorer health and were less contented with their marriage than men whose wives were full-time housewives. Their conclusion, therefore, was that wives' employment contributed to marital discord and stress experienced by the husbands through the reduction of the amount of personal care they (husbands) received, increasing their responsibilities for childcare and other "women's work", and generally eroding their central position in the family.

In contrast, Zimmerman, Skinner and Bimer (1980) and Booth (1977) found no relationship between work/career involvement of women and marital satisfaction. That is to say that a wife's job has little effect on the marital discord and stress experienced by the husband. In fact, Booth found that husbands whose wives were

employed enjoyed a happier marriage and are under less stress than those whose wives were full-time housewives. This is because the extra income and greater personal fulfilment the wives (and probably their husbands) eventually enjoy far outweigh the short term disadvantages wives' employment might bring to the family. Similarly, subjects in Ferree's (1976b) study saw themselves as better off than their counterparts who were full-time wives, while over 85% of Hester and Dickerson's (1981) dual-career family subjects described their marriages as "fairly happy" or "very happy". According to these authors, while some of their subjects viewed housework as a "prison" (Ferree, 1976a) and so would prefer to work outside the home, others had more realistic expectations of marriage, having grown up in families with some degree of tension (Hester & Dickerson, 1981). The point to be made on wives' employment and marital satisfaction is that the direction of the relationship (whether negative or positive) will certainly influence the stability of the family negatively or positively too.

However, Hicks and Platt (1970) have expressed their reservations on the use of the concepts "happiness", "success", "adjustment", "satisfaction" all of which delineate the subjective state of marital relationship

and are usually difficult to measure. Moreover, more recent studies involving larger samples - over 2000 subjects (for example, Wright, 1978) have tended to find no consistent, substantial or statistically significant differences in the reported happiness of working women and non-working women. In fact, Booth and White (1980) noted that the link between marital satisfaction and divorce is not clear since "many couples who have divorced had happier marriages than others who remain married" (p. 605). In other words, one should not confuse enduring marriages with satisfactory marriages.

Again, recent studies done in some parts of Nigeria have found no difference in the reported marital happiness of employed and non-employed wives (Andah, 1990; Okeke, 1994). This study will look into this phenomenon again, more so since the sample size is fairly large.

2.1.5 Employment and Authority Relations in the Family

There is also a need to investigate the effects of the employment of wives on the authority (power) relations between husbands and wives assumed to be one of the major sources of conflict. While Hoffman (1960) viewed authority which she referred to as power (in mild familial terms) as the extent to which one parent decides over the

other parent's behaviour more than the other way round, Dahrendorf (1959) viewed it as a legitimate relation of domination and subjection which extracts compliance from the person in a subordinate position. Authority structure within African families is based on norms which clearly legitimize the husband's position as head of the family and thus requires that respect and deference be accorded him (Kayongo-Male et al, 1986). Power/authority involves making decisions which may have important effects on others. The question has been asked before, whether a wife's earning of income, especially at a higher level, erodes the husband's traditional authority position, particularly since she may become less dependent on her husband (Goode, 1982)? The earlier studies on this issue were based on Blood and Wolfe's (1960) resource theory. This theory holds that the resources of husband and wife determine their relative power in decision making. Such studies done in the U.S. and western countries like those of Blau & Ferber (1986), Ferber (1982), Gillespie (1971), Lupri (1969), Lamouse (1969) had similar findings that status and power of the wife within the family increase vis-a-vis that of the husband when wife is a wage earner; that employed wives customarily exercise more influence in family decision making, and that many husbands perceive

the shift to the two earner family as a loss of status and power for themselves. The point to be noted is that from western based researches, it is found that employment generally gives a woman an advantage over her non-employed counterpart with respect to decision making.

Looking specifically at Hoffman's (1960) study, it was hypothesized that a working wife's power increased vis-a-vis her husband's because:

by her employment, the mother obtains control of a certain amount of money, thus, gaining greater control over financial decisions. This financial control may also enable her to gain more extensive familial power. Furthermore, because she is working and earning money, she gains a new concept of her own worth and thus becomes more assertive. In short, both the husband and the wife are more likely to accept the legitimacy of the working women's claim to power.

Surprisingly, her hypothesis received little support, in spite of the strength of her theory and the predominance of theories predicting such a relationship. So weak was the positive relationship ($\chi^2 = 2.48$) between mother's employment status and power that it completely disappeared when the samples of working and non-working mothers were matched according to husbands' occupation, number of children under thirteen and whether the women shared male dominance ideology. A possible explanation, according

to Hoffman, is that the prevailing male dominance ideology so deeply embedded in American culture acts as a counterforce to the pressure exerted by the mother's employment, thereby trying to maintain the status quo in family relationship. In effect, the ideology could even lead the woman to become actually less dominant than before in order to compensate for the threat offered by the sheer fact of her employment. The above findings by Hoffman might be applicable to Nigeria because of the equally prevailing male dominance ideology also deeply embedded in Nigerian tradition.

Now, considering the situation in Africa and other third world countries, some differences are identified. These relate family authority to the patrilineal/ matrilineal distinction where authority resides with the father (patrilineal) or mother's brother (matrilineal). For example, Scott's (1990) study of Peruvian working families in Lima, Peru found that power and authority are organized on the basis of gender which defined women as men's dependants; that husbands have power over wives and from the religious point of view, a husband 'should be in charge' because 'he was created to command' (Scott, 1990:204). In short, patriarchy was the dominant system there. Opong's (1970 & 1981) studies on Ghana

civil servants and middle class matrilineal families respectively supported the resource theory of Blood and Wolfe (1960). However, studies done on Nigerian families showed different findings. For example, Karanja (1983) found unequal distribution of power between men and women in Lagos, with husband being more dominant in decision making. The author noted that, though there were slight differences in the degree of adherence to male dominance ideology - with men in the lower income group insisting more on this ideology - Yoruba wives even with high educational level and high earning power were traditionally expected to show deference to their husbands by kneeling down. This points to the traditional family power structure.

Again Sudarkasa (1981) writing generally on West African societies summarized her observations on decision making in the family thus: that husband assumes responsibility for certain domains within the household while the wife or wives assume responsibility for others. Thus, studies on African societies do not seem to find such a straight forward relationship between wife's employment and increased share in decision making, with the exception of Oppong's Ghanaian subjects.

Coser and Rokoff (1970) attempted an explanation of the continued inability of women, especially working wives, to attain an equal position with the men despite the former's increasing education and earning power. Using the concepts "cultural mandate", the authors held that it is the women's cultural mandate which prescribes that their primary allegiance be to the family. Women are socialized into defining their own priorities as belonging to the family - through playing the roles of wife and mother. Thus, Hester and Dickerson (1981) pointed out that when a married woman attempts to combine a career and family life, she is made to realize that she is deviating from the proper feminine role because the qualities associated with the role of wife-mother are seen to be incompatible with those associated with success in the occupational sphere or career. Obviously, what Coser et al (1970) and Hester et al (1981) wrote about American women is very much true of Nigerian society. It should be noted that in societies with predominantly patriarchal family set-up (including Nigeria) people believe that a certain amount of husband dominance "is essential for the wife to feel adequately feminine, for her husband to feel adequately masculine and for the integrity of the marriage" (Hoffman, 1960:53). In fact,

Wolfe (1959, as cited by Hoffman, 1960) asserted that wife dominance is dysfunctional to marriage relationship. One will imagine, however, that this situation may not hold in matrilineal societies. The point being gathered from all these studies is that there is some evidence that the employment of wives confers on them some power in decision making, albeit, limited power (Oppong, 1970; Hoffman, 1960). Nonetheless, they are still constrained by societal norms which place women in a subordinate position vis-a-vis their husbands'. However, indications are that people are beginning to feel that since women are contributing financially towards the running of the home (bread winning job) they should also share in decision-making with their men. This study will therefore examine the power (authority) situation between spouses in Nigerian homes, as well as the extent to which the image of the "confused", "bored", "lonely" and "socially isolated" full-time American housewife (Ferree, 1976a) is true of Nigerian full-time housewives. It will investigate the presence or otherwise of conflict as a result of "power tussle" and its effect on the peace and stability of the family in Nigeria.

2.1.6 Employment and Role Conflict

In addition, studies which look at the conflict between wife's employment role and housewife role will be discussed. Conflict in roles arising from the multiple roles of a woman is said to lead not only to social and psychological problems for different family members, but is capable of contributing to coronary disease on the part of the wife (Sales, 1969). In developing a model of the roles of a working wife, Hall (1972) identified four major roles of a woman or what he referred to as "sub-identities". For Hall, "identity" is a person's perception of himself as he relates to his environment while "sub-identity" refers to that aspect of the total identity of a person engaged when a person is behaving in a given role situation. In line with Levinson's (1959) views on role process, Hall conceptualized role as a process which consists of a set of structural (socio-cultural) demands being placed on the individual in a given social position. Hall's four major roles of the working woman are:

- (i) wife role (or wife sub-identity),
- (ii) employee role,
- (iii) mother role,
- (iv) housewife role.

Housewife role includes doing all the housekeeping chores, while wife role includes performing her wifely duties towards her husband. As already indicated, these four different roles often present a clear picture of chronic role conflict. For instance, the conflict a working woman experiences between her employer's expectations as a worker and her children's expectations as a mother (inter role conflict) is greater than the disagreement she may have experienced within the set of expectations her children may have of her as a mother (intra role conflict). Inter role conflicts usually involve role overload (too many things to do) and competition for the working mother's time which now becomes a scarce commodity. Hall (1972) noted, and rightly so, that there is nothing wrong with a mother's employment per se, that is disturbing to the children, but that she may be working during the time they would prefer her to spend at home with them.

In a study of work/family conflict, Duxbury et al (1994) noted the suggestion from literature that role conflict will be experienced differently by families depending on how they allocate employment and family roles. Role conflict was operationalized by them as

- (i) over-load - excessive demands on one's time and energy in the performance of the prescribed activities of multiple roles;

- (ii) interference from family to work - the hindering of the performance of office work by family responsibilities, like child's ill-health;
- (iii) interference from work to family - office work impeding the performance of family duties, e.g. long hours at work.

They applied Karasek's (1979) "job strain" model, which holds that jobs with similar demands or expectations may differ substantially in the degree of stress generated by virtue of the degree of individual control over the situation. It was found that people with higher perceived control over their situation, have lower levels of role conflict. In other words, role conflict is reduced when a working wife feels she has control over her work and family demands.

2.1.7 Review of Relevant Theories

Finally, a review of the theories that are relevant in explaining the phenomenon of conflict within the family will now be done. One of such theoretical approaches is the "consensus-equilibrium" model - represented in the writings of Spiegel (1968 as cited by Sprey, 1969) and Blood Jr. (1960) - which see equilibrium or harmony as the desirable state of affairs in the family. Hence Sprey (1969:699) noted the dictum that "the living being is stable.

It must be so in order not to be destroyed, dissolved or disintegrated by colossal forces often adverse, which surround it". This framework sees family conflict as primarily a source of disorganization. Thus equilibrium has to be maintained at all cost by family members.

Another theoretical orientation is the symbolic interactionist model which assumes that human beings are capable of symbolically denoting and invoking objects which can then serve to shape their definitions of social situations, and hence, their actions. People's (spouse's) definitions of situation involve weighing and assessing objects and deciding on courses of action. In other words, interaction between husband and wife involves constantly shifting definitions and changing patterns of action and interaction bearing in mind the other person's reactions (Turner, 1978). This model also explains the behaviour of people in terms of the meaning they derive from a situation, and this meaning is derived through their own process of interpretation. Symbolic interactionist model is relevant in the sense that it can explain the type of interaction between spouses, between parents and children in the home, in the work place, etc, as these may aggravate or reduce conflict situations for the working wife. However, this model which lays too much emphasis on

subjective interpretation of a situation or phenomenon fails to recognize or take into account the influence of the social and cultural environment in which people (couples) live. Thus, for example, the working wife may react to conflict arising from role overload by allocating more time to her housewife role which is normatively defined as her major role, while her job suffers. Again, the interacting individuals are not divorced from the ideological and material conditions of their environment.

Finally, there is also the conflict framework which sees conflict as endemic in the relations within the social structure. Human beings are said to enter most relationships as real or potential competitors and that there is perpetual scarcity of resources in the society - and so in the family too - (Kayongo - Male and Onyango, 1984). Coser (1956) and Sprey (1969) hold that conflict is a form of socialization, that no group can be entirely harmonious for it would be devoid of process and structure. In other words, groups require harmony and disharmony and so, conflicts within them are by no means totally disruptive. Coser also stressed the group binding and group preserving functions of conflict referred to as the positive functions of conflict.

This conceptualization of conflict is known as conflict functionalism (Coser 1956). Sprey (1969) even asserts that a certain degree of conflict may actually help reinforce solidarity, aid in the maintenance of a functional division of labour, and generally alleviate the boredom of too much marital consensus. Relating the above specifically to the family, Sprey conceptualized the family as a system in conflict; an "on-going confrontation between individuals with conflicting interests in their common situation ... an arena in which conflicting interests - and alliances of common purpose - contend" (1969:702). The conflict framework is very relevant for studying the relationship between wives' employment and the stability of the family. This is because, from the review of literature, employment of wives outside the home has an attendant problem of role conflict which may affect family stability. Again, conflict approach explains the perpetuation of families known to be disorganized and conflict-ridden through generations and this reflects Coser's (1956) views on the positive functions of conflict, already discussed. The relevance of conflict model is further brought out by the fact that the concept of "empty shell" marriage - the continued living together of spouses (as a way of surviving) even when their marital relationship has lost

all its meanings - does not explain why husband and wife in this marital situation are willing to put up with a "meaningless" relationship.

Again, the conflict model is useful for examining the means of achieving family goals of socialization and child up-bringing which (goals) are attained through role allocation. Although roles are allocated on the basis of societal or normative or cultural prescriptions, inequities in role allocation between spouses, especially when the wife is employed outside the home, lead to conflict which can lead to fighting or wife beating, etc. (Kayongo-Male et al, 1984).

In summary, studies on the effects of wives' employment on fertility showed that women with higher education, income and are in professions have less number of children, although, this may not be attributable to employment status per se. Other factors like the harsh economic situation may be contributing to the declining family size among these groups of women. With respect to wives' employment and childcare, earlier studies on maternal deprivation seem to find negative effects of mother's absence on the children, while later studies questioned such findings particularly as they did not fit into African's extended family system. On employment and domestic roles, studies

generally concluded that there has been no dramatic re-
definition of roles in household management as a result
of wives' employment outside the home. Rather, women still
carry on the greater burden of household chores. Studies
on the relationship between education and family stability
have shown contradictory findings. Similar contradictions
were found in the studies on wives' employment and marital
satisfaction and this is not surprising since the concept
satisfaction is a subjective state not easily measured.
Equally inconsistent are the findings of the studies on
the relationship between wives' employment and authority
relations within the family. Finally, findings of the
numerous literature on the effects of wives' employment on
family roles, consistently showed that there are strains
and conflict resulting from the contradictory demands of
these roles. Some of the theoretical orientations that
could be used to explain this phenomenon of conflict within
the working wife family were examined also and the role
conflict model was chosen as the most relevant for the
present study.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

From the discussions above, this study adopts the
conflict perspective. Specifically, since conflict in
the family is generally related to conflict in role

performance - that is, either a spouse neglects his/her roles or they are inadequately performed - the "role conflict" model is of interest. Role is the behaviour expected of one who occupies a particular position or status and the occupant of a status is subject to many role expectations simultaneously. These different expectations (or demands) associated with a particular status (role set) show the complex nature of roles. Thus for example, a married woman in Nigeria relates with her husband (wife role), her children (mother role), performs her domestic chores (housewife role) and also relates with her parents-in-law and other extended family members (kin role). If she is employed, she is expected to relate with her employer (employee role) and other colleagues. In other words, the working-wife status has a lot of role expectations or demands attached to it, all of which the woman is expected to satisfy. She is, thus, subjected to competing pressures which lead to role strain and conflict. The inherent inconsistency in the position of a working wife in Nigeria can be seen from the cultural angle. A working mother is expected to devote a lot of her time to her traditional "major roles" of wife, mother and home maker and, at the same time, is expected to be committed to her job. This means working extra hours if need be,

in addition to regular attendance whether children are ill or not. This is, indeed, a difficult situation since one cannot be at work and at home at the same time. Holahan and Gilbert (1979) referred to this as inter role conflict. Conflict in the family could arise over a number of issues viz: power/authority in the family, husband's expectation of wife's role (whether or not she is employed), perceptions and expectations of parents-in-law about a working daughter-in-law and her financial resources; the issue of extended family members and their perception of the working wife's commitment to family duties. Indeed, the mother-in-law phenomenon and the extended family system are two strong factors which affect the stability of marriages in Nigeria. This is because the nuclear family is embedded in the larger (extended) family and, as such, couples are bound by this system's norm of helping the less fortunate in the family. In addition, marriage is contracted not between two individuals but between two families and so, parents-in-law from both sides are to be reckoned with. These are potential sources of conflict.

As already noted, Nigerian working women, like their counterparts in the developed countries, engage in the four major roles of worker, wife, mother and housewife

(Hall, 1972). Therefore, there is bound to be interference from work to family roles and vice versa. In other words, employment role activities are bound to impede performance of domestic duties while family responsibilities will hinder performance at work. This is in addition to role overload resulting from their multiple roles. It is, of course, expected that the perception of conflict in roles and/or the ability to balance the demands of these multiple roles will vary according to employment status or type - whether a woman is a wage-earner, self-employed or full-time housewife. It is equally expected that because of role strain and conflict as a result of multiple roles of the working wife, fertility rate for employed-wife families may be reduced. More importantly, where a couple disagrees over number of children for the family (particularly if husband holds the traditional ideal of large family size while the wife feels she cannot cope because of her job) this may affect harmony in the home and thus, family stability. Finally, it is envisaged that faced with role conflict, strain, role overload and probably being dissatisfied with her marriage, an employed wife (most especially, one with a high educational level) may show a greater propensity to end an unsatisfactory marriage, more so, since she may be in a position to take care of her self financially.

2.3 Research Hypotheses

From the foregoing discussions and review of literature, the following hypotheses are formulated.

General Hypothesis: Employment of wives outside the home leads to inadequate attention to childcare and housework roles, role overload, strain and conflict, all of which lead to dissatisfaction in marriage and thus, to family instability.

Hypotheses on specific relationships

Employment and number of children:

1. Employed wives have fewer number of children than full-time housewives.

Employment and childcare/house work:

2. Wives in formal sector employment (wage earners) have less time for childcare and house work than those in informal sector (self-employed).
3. Juvenile delinquency is higher among employed-wife families than in families of full-time housewives.

Employment and Authority in the Family:

4. Employed wives participate more in household decisions than full-time housewives.
5. Wife's earnings act as a threat to her husband's traditional authority.

Employment and Role Conflict:

6. Employed wives experience greater role strain and conflict than full-time housewives.
7. The greater the number of children, the greater the role strain and conflict.

Employment and Marital Dissatisfaction:

8. Dissatisfaction in marriage is more likely to occur in employed-wife family than in that of full-time housewife.

Employment and propensity toward marital break-up:

9. Employed wives are more likely to end unsatisfactory marriage than full-time housewives.
10. The higher the wives' educational level, the greater the propensity to end unsatisfactory marriage.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY3.1 Study Scope and Population

The study focused primarily on married women with children, who are engaged in employment outside the home. The emphasis on working women with children is because the experiences of working mothers epitomize the problems that women generally have to cope with in the work place, in addition to the burden of husband care, child care and house keeping.

Two groups of women make up the employed category - the wage earners (WE) and the self-employed (SE). The wage (salary) earners are those engaged in formal sector employment which involves rigid work time schedule such that working women do not have any control over their official work hours. They must leave their homes to be in the office at a particular time, say, 7.30 a.m. - 3.30 p.m. The other group of women are those in the informal sector - the self-employed. This type of employment does not involve rigid work time schedule or too much bureaucracy in organization. Since the business is owned and run by the woman, it is expected that she can adjust her work schedule in order to accommodate her family responsibilities. A typical example is the petty trader or contractor.

The separation into 'wage earner' and 'self-employed' is because of the expectation that since the self-employed have flexible work hours, they are likely to experience less role strain and conflict than the wage earners. Thus, the intention is to find out the magnitude of role strain and conflict experienced by each group as well as its effect on family stability.

For purposes of comparison (control) full-time housewives (FW) were included. These are wives who do not engage in employment outside the home but spend most of their time taking care of their homes. This, however, does not imply lack of contribution towards the up-keep of the family especially since most of them engage in some form of money yielding ventures like farming and/or petty trading in kiosks built in front of their houses. The intention was to find out whether the hypothesized relationships were applicable to them or not.

To avoid one of the criticisms of earlier studies, of not including the feelings of the husbands of working wives, some men (both married and divorced) are interviewed to have their feelings on some of the issues raised, and to find out from the divorced men whether their marital break-up has any relationship with their wives' employment.

The study areas, as the title implies, are Enugu and Nsukka towns. These two areas represent two fairly different settings. Enugu is an urban centre and an old capital city and so has a good representation of the working category. Nsukka is a rural area comparatively because inspite of the location of a university, it still retains rural traits. This is more so since there are no industries, very limited social amenities and smaller population size than Enugu. However, the presence of the university, some ministries, banks and a trading centre ensures the availability of a good representation of the desired categories for the study.

Enugu is located on latitudes $6^{\circ}25'$ N and $7^{\circ}27'$ E. It lies on the scarp surface of the Okigwe-Nsukka cuesta and slopes from 1250' to 700' above mean sea level. Nsukka is located on latitude $6^{\circ}51'$ N and longitude $7^{\circ}23'$ E. It lies at the height 1540' above mean sea level. In addition to modern employment, farming (using traditional implements) goes on too both on full-time and on part-time bases.

The rationale for choosing these two towns was primarily to find out whether place of residence - rural or urban - has any effect on the responses of the subjects. That is, whether living in a bigger city affected the

attitude of the dwellers and thus, their responses.

Again, because of financial constraints, the study could not cover more than two towns or other parts of the country. These two study towns are located within the Igbo speaking part of South-eastern Nigeria.

In addition, the author is familiar with these areas.

As already stated, the target population was married women in Ehugu and Nsukka, aged above 20 years who have children and who are employed in the formal sector (wage earners - WE) and informal sector (self-employed, SE). Also included in the study are the full-time housewives (FW) who served as a control group. The population equally included married men and divorced men and women from both towns.

The latest (1991) census for the different categories of women for different communities are not yet available. The 1963 census figures for Ehugu and Nsukka towns were not categorized according to sex. For example, the figures 138,457 (for Ehugu) and 26,206 (for Nsukka) were for males and females. However, based on these figures, projections for 1992 population figures for both towns using an annual growth rate of 2.5% were made. Thus, the figures 283,339 and 53,628 (both sexes) for Ehugu and Nsukka urban (respectively) were arrived at.

In order to estimate the female population figure, the 1991 census figures for Nsukka and Ehugu Local Government Areas which had male/female categories were used to determine the sex ratio. While the percentages were 48 for males and 52 for females in Nsukka, they were 50% males and 50% females in Ehugu. Thus, the estimated female population in Ehugu in 1992 was 141,670 while Nsukka was 27,887, both totalling 169,557.

3.2 Sample Size

As already stated, the estimated population of women in both towns in 1992 is 169,557 - Ehugu 141,670 and Nsukka 27,887. It was however not possible to ascertain the proportion of the three categories of women in the population since there were no records. A sample size of 1% of the total estimated population of the two study areas (169,557) which came to 1,695 was decided upon. The decision was influenced primarily by the limited resources available to the researcher as well as the need to have a representative sample. The realities of the high costs of stationery and honoraria to the five research assistants for the duration of the field work, however, necessitated a further reduction in the sample size to 1,200. To have gone beyond this figure would have been overstretching one's financial capabilities.

As will be found in the section on limitations of study, it was thought that Enugu and Nsukka represented urban and rural settings respectively. Therefore, the sample was divided into two - 600 each for Enugu and Nsukka zones. In each zone, the sample was further stratified by employment status as defined in the study. Therefore, there were 200 respondents for each of the three categories of women in each town.

Forty married men were also selected randomly from among those streets used for the study - 20 each from Enugu and Nsukka. Thus, from Enugu 10 married men were selected each from zones A and B while from Nsukka 10 married men were also selected each from zones X and Y. The idea was to ensure that the sample included men married to women in the three categories of study. For reasons stated in the limitations of study, only 21 divorced men could be reached and/or were willing to discuss their past lives. Of this number, 8 were in Enugu while 13 were living in Nsukka.

3.3 Sampling Method

The multi-stage sampling approach was adopted.

Enugu: For the ease of data collection, Enugu was divided into zones A and B. Zone A is supposed to represent areas

with higher concentration of wage earners (WE) while zone B represented more of the self employed (SE), those who engaged in business. One recognizes of course that these zones are not mutually exclusive (in terms of categories of inhabitants) but do indeed overlap, with the non-employed (FW) housewives residing in each of the zones. The zones act as clusters. Zone A included the following districts: Achara Layout/Idaw River Estate, New Haven, Independence Layout, Trans Ekulu, GRA, Ogui/Ogui New Layout and Uwani. Zone B included Abakpa-Nike, Awkunanaw, Ogbete/Camp, Asata, Emene, Obiagu and Iva Valley/Aria Layout.

Out of the seven districts in zone A, four were randomly selected using simple random method. These were GRA, Independence Layout, Uwani and Ogui/Ogui New Layout. Five streets were selected from each of these selected districts, viz:

GRA: Forest Crescent, Nwodo Close, Imoke Street, Bishop Onyeabo Street and Onoh Crescent.

Independence Layout: Hill View Avenue, Nza Street, Igboeze Street, Isi-Uzo Street and Nawfia Street.

Uwani: Obioma Street, Robinson Street, Amokwe Street, Adelabu Street and Ngwo Street.

Ogui/Ogui New Layout: Onyeama Lane, Egede Lane, Ogidi Street, Neni Street and Onyiuke Street.

In zone B, the following districts were selected, viz: Ogbete/Coal Camp, Abakpa-Nike, Asata and Emene.

Five streets each were also randomly selected, viz:

Ogbete/Coal Camp: Nibo Street, Ehugu-Ukwu Street, Kano Street, Abagana Street and Owa Street.

Abakpa-Nike: Nike Street, Ugwuago Road, Isieke Crescent, Chief Edward Nnaji Street, and Liberty Avenue.

Asata: Second Avenue, Watson Street, Basden Lane, Abomimi Crescent and Ukwa Street.

Emene: Nkanu Street, Alor Street, Umuowa Street, Nnamani Street and Owa Street.

Thus there were twenty streets altogether and these represented subclusters. Although the streets varied in length, the ones randomly chosen contained more than three times the number required. Then from each of these 20 selected streets in zone A only ten households were randomly chosen, still using the simple random method. These totalled 200 households and one woman per household was selected. Bungalows and flats had been numbered to reflect single family accommodation (single households) by the National Population Commission. The two hundred women from this zone represented the WE category.

For the SE category, ten households were selected from each of the 20 selected streets. With one woman per household chosen, there were two hundred self-employed women. In the case of the FW category, the two zones (A and B) were used. In zone A only five households were selected from each of the twenty streets used. Similarly, five households were selected from each of the twenty streets used in zone B. In other words, one hundred households were selected each from Zones A & B, and one woman per household chosen, all totalling two hundred for FW category.

It has to be emphasized that it was very difficult locating full-time housewives at Enugu unlike the other two categories (WE & SE). Indeed, we repeatedly had to draw more samples of households just to be able to locate women who were not engaged in employment as defined. This difficulty could be attributed to the fact that Enugu, being an old capital city, has more employment opportunities in addition to being a business centre. Therefore, most women were employed one way or the other. In the end, we were only able to get 124 FW women.

Nsukka

Nsukka was also divided into zones X and Y. Under zone X are Ihe and Owerre districts which included University of Nigeria, Nsukka campus, GRA/Police/Prison Barracks, Onuiyi Road, Isi Uja Road, Cbollo Road, Ibagwa Road, University Road, Achebe Road, Ogbonna Ani/Aludene Road, Amobi/Akulue Hospital Road, and Ajuona Residential area.

Zone Y included Ogurugu Road/TTC Road, Army Barracks Road, New Anglican Road, Edem Road/Cloto/Odobido Road, St. Theresa's/Umeano Flats, Aku Road, Orba Road, Ugwu Odenigwe, Enugu Road/Queens and Cfulonu Road.

To select the two hundred women in the WE category, the two districts in zone X were used because Nsukka is a smaller town. Since the university has a greater majority of the wage earning women, ten streets were randomly chosen from the twenty-two streets in the campus. These were Magueritte Cartwright Street, Fulton Avenue, Umunkanka Street, Ikejiani Street, Sir Louis Mbanefo Street, Alvin Loving Close, Odim Street, Ajuona Circular Road, Eze Opi Crescent and Imoke Street. From each of these streets, ten households were chosen randomly which totalled one hundred, with one woman per household selected. As noted under Enugu, bungalows and flats had equally been numbered as single family accommodation. For example Margueritte

Cartwright Street contains both bungalows and flats. The numbers of these were used for random selection. The streets varied in length and in number of houses, however, they all contain enough to allow for random sampling of ten households. In a few instances, houses occupied by unmarried people were selected but they were replaced by selecting new ones.

The remaining residential areas under zone X included areas without well defined streets, like the market area (Ogbonna Ani Street/Aludene, Achebe Road and all those areas around the market that constitute part of the slum areas of Nsukka). It was not possible to randomly select streets as was done in the university campus. Therefore, these areas were regarded as residential clusters. The houses in these areas had again been numbered by the Population Commission and these were used for random selection. Thus, from all the other areas under zone X, (ten of them outside the campus) which are now called residential clusters, ten households from each were selected randomly, making a total of one hundred households. One woman per household was selected for the study. Thus two hundred WE women were selected.

Zone Y (Nkpunano and Nru)

The situation described in zone X, of few well defined streets mixed with rural pattern of residence, also holds for Zone Y. So, as was done with the residential clusters in Zone X, twenty households were selected randomly from each of the ten clusters in Zone Y, making a total of two hundred, while one woman per household was chosen. Thus, the two hundred SE women were selected.

In selecting the two hundred full-time housewives (FW) one hundred were chosen from each of the zones following the pattern already described for WE and SE categories. It should be noted that most of the women in the campus were employed in formal or informal sector. Only a handful of them were FW as defined and these were found in the junior staff quarters (Ajuona Circular Road). It was however not difficult locating the required number of FW in Nsukka because it is a relatively less developed town in terms of job availability. In other words, there were more who were not employed either in the formal or informal sector in Nsukka than in Enugu.

3.4 Instruments for Data Collection

The major instrument for data collection for this study was the questionnaire which had fixed choice as well as open-ended questions to allow further probing.

The questionnaires were self-administered for the literate respondents while they were interpreted and completed for the non-literate ones, most of who are FW and a few of the SE category. Although, the questionnaire was administered to all the women, some sets of questions were not applicable to all the respondents. For example, the questions on one's job were not relevant to the FW category, while the section on FW was not relevant to the two employed categories.

Interviews were also conducted on selected married men in order to get their views on some of the issues raised in the questionnaire. The questionnaire sought information on the women's socio-demographic (background) characteristics, employment related activities, the relationship between employment and childcare/household activities, influence of work on mother/child relationship, authority relations between husband and wife; influence of wife's education on her perception of wife's role in the home; the relationship between employment and role strain/conflict and family stability; strategies for coping with conflict and general satisfaction with marriage. There was also a section for full-time housewives. A short questionnaire was also administered to the divorced men and an interview guide of five questions was prepared for the married men and another containing seven questions for the married women.

3.5 Method of Data Collection

3.5.1 Enugu

In order to facilitate quick collection of data, the zones were taken one after the other and all the research assistants were involved in each zone. For instance, in collecting data in GRA, the five research assistants were assigned one to cover Forest Crescent, the other to cover Nwodo Close and so on, while the researcher coordinated the exercise. The same procedure was applied to the other districts. In areas like the GRA and Independence Layout that are purely residential, house numbers selected contained households and not offices. This reduced repeated drawing of samples. But for areas like Ogui, there are a lot of offices intermingled with residential buildings. The same pattern is seen in Uwani where a lot of business centres are within the residential buildings. This same pattern is equally present in Ogbete/Camp areas. The significance of the above observations is that where the employee or owner of a business resided in the same building, questionnaire distribution and collection was sometimes facilitated once the respondents' co-operation was enlisted. On the other hand, it presented a problem in a number of cases where there were interruptions from the woman's family just upstairs in the same building or from customers.

In distributing questionnaires to the WE category in the purely residential areas like GRA and Independence Layout, the respondents were visited from 4.00 p.m. This time, of course, had to be shifted to 5.00 p.m., 6.00 p.m. and even 7.00 p.m. to suit the working wives who were either too tired or had something more urgent to attend to. Indeed, only very few could complete the questionnaire on the spot. After a number of calls, the questionnaires were eventually left for them to complete at their convenience. Of course, not all those left behind for completion were collected back. Some were misplaced, soiled or mutilated by the children of the household. Fresh questionnaires had to be provided. In a number of cases, after repeated visits to the respondents' homes without any success, particularly if they became hostile or irritable, new households had to be selected. In a few instances, we were discouraged from getting near a selected house by dogs barking at us or by an intimidating warning like 'Beware of Dogs'.

Questionnaire distribution and collection in Uwani presented a different problem. As already noted, the pattern in Uwani is that of business centres within residential premises. Thus, some of the employed respondents worked in their residential buildings. The greatest problem (as already pointed out) was the frequent interruptions from customers and sometimes

family members and friends. In fact, those working in supermarkets had no time to fill the questionnaire, necessitating a change in visiting time. Generally, a lot of patience was needed in the exercise. Although, the WE women were all literate, we had to complete the questionnaire for some of them who were reluctant to do so because they claimed it was voluminous. In spite of all, not all of them were collected back while only 150 of those collected were usable.

Data collection in Zone B for the SE category was done mostly in the evenings except for areas like Ogbete which had businesses being carried on in residential buildings. Even then, the women preferred being visited after they had closed their shops. As was noted for the WE category, some respondents felt too tired to entertain requests for interview or questionnaire completion despite efforts to create some rapport with them and explaining the purpose of the exercise. In short, it took repeated visits (which were sometimes accompanied by shabby treatment) to get the number which were eventually collected. Repeated calls sometimes triggered off comments like 'ndi research abia kwa' meaning 'the research people have come again', and this was said in a condescending tone implying that we were not welcome visitors. In most cases, we lost a number of

questionnaires through improper completion because some of the women were not around when we went to collect them back and so we could not correct the mistakes made. Only a few of the women in SE category were not literate enough to fill the questionnaire themselves. Again, only 150 questionnaires were found fit for use.

The FW category did not present much problems in data collection in the sense that they were available most of the time and could be reached or visited any time. The major difficulty, as stated before (under sampling method) was in locating women who were not engaged in employment (as defined) in Ehugu. With a lot of business opportunities, most women, at least, engaged in petty trading. Luckily, there were a few women who did not engage in regular employment but sold a few items in kiosks, (or who were seamstresses sewing) in front of their houses. These were not big time business women (SE) whose times were occupied with their business concerns. The difficulty in locating such women was reflected in the fewness of respondents found - only 124. This number was got in spite of repeated drawing of samples to be able to locate these women. About three quarters of this figure (93) were found in Zone B especially in areas like Ogbete and Asata. Only one quarter (31) were located in Zone A - especially in Uwani and Ogui areas. About 35 of them (28%) were literate enough

to complete the questionnaires themselves while the non-literates (89 that is 72%) had it done for them. It was surprising to note that the FW women were greater in number than the other categories among the respondents who demanded some form of compensation in cash or gifts for their time and energy. Their view was that 'nothing goes for nothing'. The SE and WE women were more concerned with pointing out that they had pressure on their time while a few of them remarked that the questionnaires they completed in the past never yielded any results, and so they saw it as a waste of their precious time.

3.5.2 Nsukka

Data collection in Nsukka followed basically the same procedure as in Enugu. Most of the respondents in the university campus were literate and so completed the questionnaires themselves. As already stated in the sampling procedure, only ten households were selected from each of the ten streets chosen on campus and from each of the residential clusters outside the campus in Zone X. The questionnaires were delivered at home after office hours. Again, as noted for Enugu zones, a lot of the employed wives (WE & SE) could never make out time to complete the questionnaires on the spot. They were either

too tired coming back from work or they had family duties that required their immediate attention. Therefore, visiting periods had again to be shifted from 5.00 p.m., 6.00 p.m., 7.00 p.m. to even 8.00 p.m. We were constrained to leave some behind for completion and this led to some being misplaced, destroyed or soiled by the respondents' children. In a number of cases, after repeated calls at home we decided to trace the respondents to their offices with fresh questionnaires to facilitate their quick completion. Needless to say that the offices were equally difficult because of frequent interruptions. The decision to trace the respondents to their offices was based on the fact that Nsukka is a small town and so the offices were within reach.

The situation described above was the same for all the employed categories. However, the petty traders in the SE category were visited at home while the caterers, shop owners and those who had offices were traced to their places of work or business. After all the efforts - repeated calls at home and in the offices/business places, disappointments, mutilation or loss of questionnaires, shabby treatment from respondents - we were still not able to collect back the two hundred questionnaires distributed. Some of the ones collected were not usable. Thus, we were

left with the figure 150 for each of the two categories - WE and SE.

There were no major problems with FW category apart from the initial suspicion that we were government tax collectors or government ^{agents} 'nosing around to assess their property for purposes of tax assessment'. We were able to set their minds at ease in the end. A few of them were literate and were able to complete the questionnaires themselves. In a few instances, husbands forbade their wives from responding to the questions because they were not convinced of our motives. Some of the women in this situation (mostly FW) could not disobey their husbands because of their (wives') dependence on them and because they felt bound to obey their husbands. We therefore had to choose other households. Some of these wives told us when their husbands were not usually in so that we could visit at that time.

There were also a few instances of polygynous households especially among the local inhabitants - farmers, traders and artisans. In this case, the wife with the greater number of children, especially young ones, was selected because many children implied more time spent and more demands on the working mother.

In summary, although, there were a number of respondents who understood the importance of research, and were willing to co-operate with us, there were quite some frustrating instances due to downright lack of co-operation. Repeated calls often led to bad language being used on us. It was funny that some of the university respondents demanded a share in the 'research money' for this study.

3.5.3 Divorced Men

As already stated, divorced men were also included. This was to have their views on the reasons for the break up of their marriages; ie, whether their wives' employment had anything to do with their situation. The difficulty with locating divorced men and/or getting them to agree to be interviewed has already been stated in the limitations of study. Only twenty one of those located completed the short questionnaire in Appendix III. Eight of the men resided in Ehugu while thirteen of them were in Nsukka. The researcher's residence in Nsukka helped in locating more of these men in Nsukka.

It has to be acknowledged that the initial encounter with these men, (explaining my mission to them) was somewhat embarrassing. It was even more awkward for us when some of them bluntly said they would rather not rake up old wounds,

meaning that the matter was closed and so no interview. Although a few of them granted me audience, for others, I had to go through their friends before they accepted to complete the questionnaire. They were in no mood to talk to any researcher. Those who accepted to talk to me completed the questionnaire on the spot. However, further attempts to have detailed discussions on some of the issues in the questionnaire yielded very little success. In the end, only six of the men could be interviewed - three each from Ehugu and Nsukka. The twenty one divorced men ranged from 30 - 50 years, had been married for between 2 years and 18 years and eighteen of them had remarried. The focus of the indepth interview was on the actual reason(s) for the break up of the family unit in relation to what was found in the questionnaire as well as their suggestions for stability in marriage.

The Social Welfare office was also visited in order to check their records. As is sometimes found in most government establishments, record keeping was a problem. When the Nsukka office was visited in October 1995, the welfare officer who was relatively new, could not locate the divorce files from previous years. The explanation was that the files had been bundled and transferred to a room (unknown) in order to decongest the office. Therefore only eleven cases of divorce had been handled as at that

time. Most of the cases (10 out of 11) involved the local (indigenous) inhabitants who were of the lower income group - masons, carpenters and small-time traders. One was a clerical staff in a ministry. Eight of these husbands had more than one wife and their wives were also of the lower income group like farmers and petty traders. In all the cases, women were the initiators of the break-up action and their complaints were centred on maltreatment and abandonment of responsibility towards wife. All these the wives linked to the presence of other wife or wives. The men, from the records, complained of insubordination from their wives and unacceptance of a second wife which these men felt was their traditional right.

3.5.4 Divorced Women

During questionnaire distribution to working wives, thirty eight women who were divorced were included in order to find out their opinions on why their marriages were unstable to the point of breaking up. They were aged between 30 and 50 years; years of marriage before the break-up ranged from two to twenty years while only 3 of the 38 had remarried. Only two of the 38 were in FW category while the rest were employed in formal and informal sectors. Only 4 of them were interviewed in depth and as has been noted with

the men, divorced women were unwilling to 'rake up old wounds'. However, when they did, they poured out their frustrations and bitterness against former husbands. The bitterness was more if they had been finding it difficult to cope with life.

3.5.5 Indepth Interviews with Married men

Interview with the 40 randomly selected men from Ebugu and Nsukka focused on:

- (i) the relationship between the employment of wives and juvenile delinquency;
- (ii) the relationship between wives' employment and husband's authority in the family;
- (iii) influence of wives' employment on satisfaction with marriage;
- (iv) presence of major disagreements at home and their relationship with wives' being employed;
- (v) reasons why couples continue to put up with unsatisfactory marriage.

Of the twenty from Ebugu zones A & B, nine had wives in the SE category and nine in WE category while only 2 had wives in FW category. In Nsukka, eight of the twenty men married wives in WE, seven in SE category while five men married full-time housewives. Since the emphasis was on their

feelings with respect to their wives' jobs, the emphasis was on employed wives (SE & WE). Therefore, no serious effort was made to locate the FW category by drawing repeated samples. That is why only seven men out of the forty were married to women in FW category. These men were chosen from among the households used for the study.

3.5.6 Indepth Interviews with Women

Here again, eighteen married women were randomly selected, nine each from Ehugu and Nsukka. The nine in each town were drawn to reflect the three categories. Thus we had three each from WE, SE and FW categories. The women were also chosen from among the respondents used. The sample included a nurse, a teacher, a lecturer, workers in the ministries, petty traders and other categories of the self employed. The discussion with all of them focused on the same issues viz:

- 1) Wife's employment and participation in the running of her home;
- 2) Wife's income and threat to her husband's authority position;
- 3) What they considered the greatest index (contributor) to family instability;
- 4) Employment and family instability;

- 5) Employment of wife and marital satisfaction;
- 6) Ever had any thoughts of separation or divorce?
- 7) Indices of stability and instability.

3.5.7 General Observations on Data Collection

Data collection stage seems to be the most difficult in this research (and perhaps in all research) because our patience, time and energy were taxed to the utmost. A lot of people seemed not to attach serious importance to research either due to ignorance or absence of a proper research climate (or orientation). This was manifested in the lack of co-operation, display of suspicion and shabby treatment with which we were sometimes greeted.

Generally, divorced men and women were unwilling to discuss their past lives. It was found that women initiated divorce action more than men as evidenced in the interviews with these divorcees as well as Social Welfare records. Again, partners tended to blame the other partner for the break-up of their marriage. Most importantly, in about 90% of the cases (both questionnaires and interviews) neither the men nor the women specifically related their marital break-up to the fact that the woman was employed. Finally, the interviews did not contradict the information in the questionnaires but added more information on the issues being examined.

3.5.8 Limitations of the Study

There are three major limitations to this study.

In choosing the two study areas (Enugu and Nsukka) the assumption was that Nsukka is a rural area, in fact, a village compared to Enugu which is an old capital city. Thus, the variable 'residence' was introduced in the hope that rural or urban residence would influence the responses of the subjects. It was however found that the responses from these two towns were virtually the same in all respects. The slight differences were very insignificant where they existed at all. An explanation for this similarity of responses could be the presence of the university in the Nsukka environment which greatly reduced or totally removed the effect of rurality on Nsukka respondents. In other words, the university is inhabited by people, especially workers, from all walks of life most of who had travelled far and wide and were thus, quite exposed to urban ideals. Therefore, the analyses are based on the responses of all the respondents - the two towns combined. Comparison of Enugu and Nsukka was done only where their responses were markedly different. This limitation does not, however, affect the role conflict theory or any other aspect for that matter.

Another limitation was the unavailability of current population figures for women generally and particularly for the three categories of women. The only available figures for the female population in both areas were for the entire Ehugu and Nsukka Local Government Areas, released after the 1991 census exercise. Even then, these figures lumped all the women together - no categorization according to employment status. This necessitated the use of projections and estimates in choosing sample size.

Again, it was discovered that the idea of having discussions with divorced men is not as easy as was thought. First of all, it was difficult locating these men through the records from the courts because, not only that the cases dragged on and on, but that some of the men had changed their addresses somewhere along the line. Then most of those who were located showed unwillingness to discuss their marital problems. Indeed, many of them specifically stated they would rather not rake up old wounds; that this was a chapter of their lives they would prefer to remain closed. The divorced women were equally not so willing to talk. They appeared more irritable when approached for discussion. Some of them (who were not finding things easy) poured out their frustrations in form of vituperations that were meant for their former husbands -

a situation which the researcher found uncomfortable.

Divorce is, indeed, a sensitive issue. This unwillingness to talk is reflected in the very few number of divorcees, both men and women, who were prepared to discuss their problems with a so-called (nosey) researcher !! (as I was labelled by one bitter divorced woman in Nsukka).

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Chapter Four

RESULTS, ANALYSES AND INTERPRETATION4.1 Personal characteristics of Respondents

In this section, the results of data collected and their analyses and interpretation are presented as well as the various hypotheses tested. But first of all, the general distribution of the personal characteristics of all the respondents (the two zones combined) are presented.

Table 1(a): Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Age, Education, Marital Status, Income & Religious Affiliation.

Variable	No. of Subjects	Percentage
<u>Age</u>		
21 - 30	327	38
31 - 40	314	36
41 - 50	189	22
51 & above	45	5
Total	874	100
<u>Educational Level</u>		
No Schooling	74	8
Primary Schooling	167	19
Secondary/TC II	257	30
Diploma/NCE	150	17
Bachelor's Degree	105	12
Master's Degree	64	7
Doctorate	23	3
Professional - ACCA, ICA, etc.	34	4
Total	874	100

Table 1(a) (Contd.)

Variable	No. of Subjects	Percentage
<u>Marital Status</u>		
Married	800	92
Separated	38 {	3
Divorced		1
Widowed		4
Total	874	100
<u>Wife's Income</u>		
Below ₦3000	156	23
₦3001 - ₦6000	153	22
6001 - 9000	108	16
9001 - 12000	95	14
12001 - 15000	68	10
15001 - 18000	43	6
18001 - 21000	24	4
Above 21,000	38	6
Total	685	100
<u>Religious Affiliation</u>		
Christianity	797	91
Moslem Religion	33	4
Traditional Religion	31	3
Others	23	2
Total	874	100

Table 1(a) (Contd.)

Variable	No. of Subjects	Percentage
<u>Number of Children</u>		
0	2	0
1	124	14
2	156	18
3	202	23
4	148	17
5	120	14
6	85	10
7	28	3
8	2	0
9	7	1
Total	874	100

Table 1(b): Husbands' Socio-demographic Variables

Variable	No. of Subjects	Percentage
<u>Husband's Age</u>		
21 - 30	63	7
31 - 40	330	39
41 - 50	321	38
51 & above	136	16
Total	850	100
<u>Education</u>		
No Schooling	28	3
Primary Schooling	176	21
Secondary/TC II	148	17
Diploma/NCE	121	14
Bachelor's Degree	129	15
Master's Degree	96	11
Doctorate	95	11
Professional - ACCA, ICA etc	58	7
Total	851	100
<u>Income</u>		
Below ₦3000	42	5
₦3001 - 6000	131	17
6001 - 9000	135	18
9001 - 12000	95	12
12001 - 15000	77	10
15001 - 18000	81	11
18001 - 21000	80	10
Above ₦21000	130	17
Total	771	100

Table 1(b) (Contd.)

Variable	No. of Subjects	Percentage
<u>Occupation</u>		
Medical doctor	44	5
Architect	17	2
Lawyer	21	3
Accountant	54	6
University lecturer	69	8
Primary/Secondary school teacher	78	9
Self-employed (Businessmen)	286	34
Administrative staff	104	12
Secretarial staff	50	6
Others	123	15
Total	846	100

Table 1(a) above shows a summary of the distribution of the four "age" categories. It can be seen that most of the respondents (74%) fall within the first two categories (21 - 40) of age. In terms of education, 27% (that is the first two categories) had no primary or only primary education, 47% (407) had secondary education, teacher training and diploma certificates, while 26% (226) had Bachelor's degree and above, including professional certificates in accountancy, banking, nursing, etc. The subjects were mostly married

women (92%) except for 4% who were either separated or divorced and another 4% who were widowed. Based on the salary structure in 1991 for government workers, an income of ₦3000 (three thousand naira) per annum was below poverty level. The above mentioned distribution shows that 23% of the sample had annual income of below ₦3000, 38% earned up to ₦9000, 30% earned up to ₦18,000 (the middle income earners) while the high income earners who earned above ₦18,000 were only 9%. Again, for number of children, the distribution shows that 23% (202) of the sample -- which is the highest percentage -- had only three children, followed by 18% who had only two, 17% had four children, and so on to 1% who had between eight and nine children. In summary, majority of the respondents were still within child-bearing age and so had young families; a lot of them were within the lower educational level, had low annual income while less than half had between four and nine children. The hypotheses will now be looked at one after the other.

4.2 Wife's Employment and Number of Children

The first hypothesis sought to determine whether the employment of married women outside their homes actually affects the number of children they have (item no. 5 in the questionnaire).

Hypothesis 1

Employed wives have fewer children
than full-time housewives.

Table 2: Distribution of Number of Children by Employment Type

No. of Children	Employment Type			Total
	Self-employed (SE)	Wage Earner (WE)	Full-time Wife (FW)	
Fewer	160 (53%)	163 (57%)	145 (55%)	468 (55%)
Greater	140 (47%)	123 (43%)	120 (45%)	383 (45%)
Total	300 (100%)	286 (100%)	265 (100%)	851 (100%)

Differences in categories - $X^2 = 0.803$ df = 2 Sig. = 0.61

Differences in proportion - $X^2 = 8.49$ df = 1 $P \leq .05$

For purposes of convenience, the distribution of number of children (1 - 9) has been collapsed into two categories of fewer and greater, with small consisting of 1 - 3 children and large consisting of 4 - 9 children. A look at the percentages in Table 2 shows that 55% of the total respondents had up to three children while 45% had between four and nine children. This shows that the proportion of women with fewer number of children is greater. This is confirmed by the value of X^2 (8.49) for the significance of differences in proportion of respondents who had fewer and greater number of children. Then, under the categories of employment (SE, WE, FW), we find almost similar proportions of respondents in each of these

categories having fewer number of children (SE 53%, WE 57%, FW 55%) and large number of children (SE 47%, WE 43%, FW 45%). It is surprising that the full-time housewives shared the same pattern of distribution. The expectation was that being full-time housewives, without any job constraints, the percentage of women with greater number of children will be markedly higher than those of the two employed categories. The implication is that there is no serious difference among these groups. To check if there is any association between type of employment and number of children, the chi square statistic was applied since the variables are in nominal and ordinal forms respectively. The X^2 value of 0.803 actually confirms that there is no relationship between work status and the number of children in the family. In other words, employed wives (SE & WE) do not have fewer number of children than FWs. This means that large or small family size can be found both in employed and non-employed-wife families, notwithstanding the fact that more women in this study seem to have fewer number of children (1 - 3). This finding, of no relationship between work status (employment type) and number of children, is in line with the conclusion of Lewis (1982) with respect to Abidjan, and that of Afonja (1982) on Nigeria, that employment does not limit the number of children women desire to have. Indeed, the distribution

of the responses of the two categories of employed women (SE & WE) to whether employment had affected their family size (Item 17 in the questionnaire), Table 3 below, confirms the above views. It shows that of the total of 584 respondents, 544 (93%) declared that their jobs did not have any effect on the number of children they had.

Table 3: Responses on Employment affects number of children

Employment affects number of children	Employment Type		
	SE	WE	Total
No	261 (94%)	263 (93%)	524 (93%)
Yes	19 (6%)	21 (7%)	60 (7%)
Total	300 (100%)	284 (100%)	584 (100%)

Differences in categories - $X^2 = 0.268$ $df = 1$ $P \leq .05$

The observed low X^2 value of 0.268 also shows that there is no difference in the response pattern of the two employed (SE & WE) categories - being 94% and 93% respectively.

That is, the salary earners (WE) and the self-employed both shared the view that employment does not affect (or limit) the number of children a woman desires. With this finding, one would expect also that number of children would not affect (or deter women from) labour force participation, and this was the conclusion of Onyema (1989) from a study of civil servants in Anambra State.

To check if being educated has any effect on family size as noted by Okediji (1967) and Lewis (1982), number of children was cross-tabulated with educational level as shown in Table 4 below.

Table 4: Distribution of Number of Children by Level of Education

No. of Children	Level of Education		
	Low	High	Total
Small	263 (53%)	214 (58%)	477 (55%)
Large	234 (47%)	153 (42%)	386 (45%)
Total	497 (100%)	366 (100%)	863 (100%)

Differences in Categories - $\chi^2 = 2.408$ df = 1 P \leq .05

Differences in Proportions - $\chi^2 = 54.594$ df = 1 P \leq .05

The above table shows that women with low education are greater than those with high education, ie 477 out of 863 (55%) for low as against 386 (45%) for high education. Looking at the variable 'level of education', it is found that the percentages of women who had small family size are somewhat close - low = 53%, high = 58%. The same similar percentages are noticed for large number of children. Thus, although education seems to have slightly lowered the number of children for the high education group,

the difference is not really significant.

This is borne out by the low X^2 value of 2.408 leading to the non-rejection (ie supporting) of null hypothesis of no difference and the conclusion that education does not really affect family size. This observation is in line with Lewis' (1982) view that education slightly decreased family size in her study, although she equally noted that highly educated couples in Abidjan still had large family size. It is, however, not consistent with Okediji's observation that higher education, income and having a career (profession) tended to reduce family size among the Yoruba. An explanation for this difference could be that women in Okediji's study were those who had been quite exposed to the western ideal of small family size and whose jobs also required high commitment. It should be borne in mind that Nigeria's educational history shows that women's education lags behind that of the men and so only a small percentage of women are usually in the "higher education" category. This was seen from the distribution in Table 1 which had only 26% of women in the university education and professional certificate categories. The implication is that such women in the top echelon of the social structure may be in a position to decide which of the traditional values and practices they can cope with and so, being very few in number, they may not have any effect

on the responses of others, especially if the total sample is large enough. Therefore, with reference to Hypothesis 1, it can be concluded that being employed outside the home does not lead to a decrease in family size. What this means is that employment has not impeded women's reproductive responsibilities and so there is no conflict in this aspect of family life. The few cases of disagreement were related to having too many children because either a husband was looking for a male child, or occasionally a wife may be looking for a female child, as was found out during interviews.

4.3 Wives Employment and Childcare/Housework

The second hypothesis sought to establish if there is a difference in the extent of involvement in childcare and housework between wives employed in the formal sector (WE) and those in the informal sector (SE) (Question 30). That is, to compare the number of hours spent on non-work responsibilities of the two employed categories. It was thought that those in formal employment (WE) who have rigid work time schedule would devote less time for household work than the self-employed who could adjust their work hours to accommodate their family duties. The responses of the full-time housewives (FW) were not included in this

analysis because it was felt that they have all the time for domestic duties since they do not have work time constraints. As noted earlier in the preceding chapter, self (informal sector) employment is expected to afford wives the opportunity of adjusting their work time to accommodate their domestic duties with minimal role conflict. The second hypothesis is presented below.

Hypothesis 2.

Wives in formal sector employment (WE) have less time for childcare and housework than those in the informal sector (SE).

The findings are presented in the following table.

Table 5: Distribution of hours for Childcare/Housework

Hours for childcare and housework	Employment Type		
	SE	WE	Total
Fewer hours	231 (77%)	208 (72%)	439 (75%)
Greater hours	69 (23%)	80 (28%)	149 (25%)
Total	300 (100%)	288 (100%)	588 (100%)

Differences in categories - $\chi^2 = 2.026$ df = 1 P \leq .05

The above table shows that hours spent on house work and childcare have been categorized into 'fewer' and 'greater' hours. Less than eight hours was taken to

are abandoned partially or are delegated to others both within and outside the home. However, even though 75% (as earlier reported) indicated spending fewer hours on childcare and housework, 56% (328 out of 590) felt that these hours were enough for these activities (Item 31) as shown in Table 6 below.

Table 6: Responses on whether hours for housework are enough

Hours for child-care and housework	Employment Type		
	SE	WE	Total
Not enough	136 (45%)	126 (44%)	262 (44%)
Enough	167 (55%)	161 (56%)	328 (56%)
Total	303 (100%)	287 (100%)	590 (100%)

In other words, more than half of the employed women considered eight hours or less as enough for domestic duties. Indeed further discussions during interviews showed that a lot of them considered as more important to them the quality of time spent with their children as against the length of time they stayed. Then, these women were asked how their children were cared for in their absence (item 21) and the table below summarises their responses.

Table 7: Method of childcare adopted (N = 589)

Method of Care	SE	WE	Total	% of adoption
Entrust with relatives	65 (45%)	81 (55%)	146	25
Entrust with househelps	99 (49%)	100 (51%)	199	34
Daycare/School	86 (57%)	65 (43%)	151	26
Take to place of work	32 (80%)	8 (20%)	40	7

A glance at Table 7 above shows that all the methods were adopted, although 34% of the respondents (the highest proportion) utilized househelps who lived with the family, followed by daycare and school (26%). Respondents were also asked whether they felt bad or guilty leaving their children for work (item 27) and 67% of them claimed they did not Table 8(i)7. They reasoned they were working for the benefit of the family and were convinced they were trying their best. In fact, a majority of them (87%) felt their husbands should help out with some of the household work (item 32) as Table 8(ii) shows.

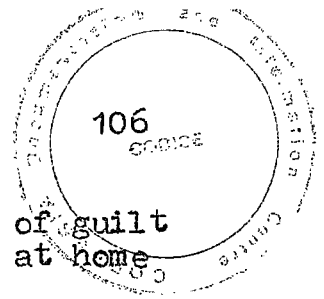


Table 8: Distribution of responses (i) Feelings of guilt about working and (ii) Men should help at home by Employment Type

8(i) I feel guilty about working	Employment Type		
	SE	WE	Total
No	205 (68%)	188 (66%)	393 (67%)
Yes	95 (32%)	97 (34%)	192 (33%)
Total	300 (100%)	285 (100%)	585 (100%)

Differences in categories $\chi^2 = 0.37$ $df = 1$ $P \leq .05$
 Differences in proportion $\chi^2 = 69.06$ $df = 1$ $P \leq .05$

8(ii) Men should help with housework	SE	WE	Total
	No	35 (12%)	44 (15%)
Yes	265 (88%)	242 (85%)	507 (87%)
Total	300 (100%)	286 (100%)	586 (100%)

Information, on further questioning, shows that the few women who indicated they felt guilty leaving their family duties for jobs said they compensated for their absence by giving their children extra attention when at home and during weekends, providing them with "goodies" or presents which they liked very much, and explaining to them the nature of and reasons why they (mothers) must work. Respondents were also requested to state

the type of assistance (if any) (item 33) their husbands rendered at home and their responses are presented in Table 9.

Table 9: Assistance from Husband by Employment Type
(Those who responded "Yes") N = 588.

Type of Assistance	SE "Yes"	WE "Yes"	Total	Total % "Yes"
Childcare	104 (34%)	113 (40%)	217	37
Cooking	33 (11%)	26 (10%)	59	10
Laundry	50 (17%)	47 (17%)	99	17
Dish washing or House cleaning	23 (8%)	15 (6%)	38	6
Household shopping	78 (26%)	89 (31%)	167	28
School work	170 (56%)	170 (60%)	340	58
No Assistance at all	23 (8%)	20 (7%)	43	7

The percentages after the figures for each item represent the proportion who said 'Yes' for each item. The last column shows the total of SE and WE who indicated receiving assistance from their husbands. From the table then, it is obvious that husbands did not render any appreciable assistance to their working wives except helping with children's school work (58%) and looking after the children (37%). A few husbands (28%) managed to do household shopping while an even lower figure (6%) bothered with plate washing and general house cleaning. Some women said they did not get any assistance whatsoever from

their husbands (7%). Thus, in general, our findings on assistance from the husbands are in agreement with those of earlier studies which found that husbands of employed wives helped only occasionally with a few household chores like house cleaning, watching the baby, etc (Miralao, 1984; Szinovacz, 1979). In summary, the assumption that self-employed wives would be in a better position to devote more time to childcare and housework (because they do not have the same constraints of rigid work time) has not been supported. Rather both groups spent almost the same number of hours on these non-work duties which most considered enough for these duties. In their absence, childcare was delegated to househelps mainly, followed by daycare or school although, some self-employed wives took their children with them to their places of work especially the markets. Again, the two categories said they did not feel guilty about leaving their families for work and since their husbands rendered only minimal help at home (except for children's school work) most of them shared the feeling that men should help with household work.

In order to find out the feelings of the full-time housewives on the above issues, their responses on some of these issues are presented in Appendix 1. The table shows that 70% of the 145 FW who responded spent greater hours on childcare and housework as against 25% who indicated so

in the employed category (Table 5). This is expected since full-time housewives are expected to devote all their time to household duties. Again, 70% of the 138 FW who responded felt that the hours for childcare and housework were enough for those activities as compared with 56% of the working category (Table 6) who indicated so. It was, however, surprising to note that as much as 76% of the FW agreed that husbands should assist their wives. These are women who, because of their low level of education and income (and exposure for some of them), are thought to be tradition-bound and as such, would not expect their husbands to help out with 'women's duties'. An explanation for this apparent similarity in the responses of the employed and non-employed groups could be the influence of urbanization and exposure to western ideals for both those in the capital city of Enugu and the university town of Nsukka as noted in the Limitations of Study. Indeed, the distribution of responses to "assistance from husband" shows almost the same picture seen in Table 9. In Appendix I, supervision of children's school work was highest (38%) just like in Table 9 where the same ranked highest (53%). The total picture, indeed, shows that husbands of both employed and non-employed wives rendered very minimal assistance with household duties, and in any case, African men are traditionally not expected to, as noted by Kayongo-Male et al

(1986), and as confirmed by some men who were interviewed.

4.4 Wives' Employment and Juvenile Delinquency

Again, the absence of working mothers from home has been blamed for the presence of and increase in juvenile delinquency. The feeling is that because a mother is not at home to supervise or direct the children, they (children) tend to get into all sorts of mischief which give rise to delinquency. Thus, the following hypothesis is designed to test this assumption.

Hypothesis 3

Juvenile delinquency is higher among employed-wife families than in families of full-time housewives.

Table 10: Respondents' opinion on Juvenile Delinquency by Employment Type

Mother's employment leads to juvenile delinquency	Employment Type			
	SE	WE	FW	Total
No	208 (69%)	158 (56%)	150 (68%)	516 (64%)
Yes	92 (31%)	124 (44%)	69 (32%)	285 (36%)
Total	300 (100%)	282 (100%)	219 (100%)	801 (100%)

Differences in categories - $X^2 = 13.41$ $df = 2$ $P \leq .05$

Differences in proportion - $X^2 = 66.6$ $df = 1$ $P \leq .05$

Table 10 above shows the distribution of the respondents' opinions on the relationship between mother's employment and juvenile delinquency. The table shows that, irrespective of employment type, a higher proportion of the respondents (64%) did not agree with the statement that mother's employment leads to juvenile delinquency. The value of the X^2 for the significance of proportion (66.6) who disagreed shows the difference to be quite significant. This implies that mother's employment does not lead to juvenile delinquency.

Again, comparing the responses of the three categories of women, we notice a slight difference in the pattern of responses - 56% of the WE responded 'No' as against 69% and 68% of SE and FW respectively. The X^2 value (13.41) for differences among these categories confirms these differences in their responses to the question. In other words, although, in general, there is disagreement with the statement, the percentage of disagreement is not the same for all the groups, with the WE having a lower figure. In other words, the negative relationship between mother's employment and juvenile delinquency is perceived more by the SE than WE and FW categories. Nevertheless, the decision with respect to the hypothesis is that juvenile delinquency is not perceived to be higher among employed-wife families than in the families of full-time housewives. This study is in contrast to an

earlier study on working women in Lagos (Okeke, 1994) which found a relationship between mother's employment and presence of juvenile delinquency. The study was based on a sample size of 360 working women of similar categories (SE, WE and FW). It should be noted however, that the said relationship was very weak ($C = 0.28$). An explanation for this contrast in findings could be because of the larger sample size of the present study which may have nullified the observed weak relationship in the Lagos study. Other earlier studies have however shown no conclusive evidence of negative association between mother's employment and juvenile delinquency (Hoffman, 1961; Nduka et al, 1984; Goode, 1982).

The opinions of husbands were sought on this issue of mother's job and juvenile delinquency. Thus, 40 husbands were randomly chosen from each of the two study areas. Of the 40 men, 17 were married to women in formal sector employment, 16 were married to self-employed wives while 7 of them had full-time wives (See Appendices 7 & 8). From their responses during the interviews with them, 70% of them shared the view that the absence of mother at home could, in a way, lead to inadequate care of children which may lead to the problem of delinquency. But, they were quick to add that, that was not the sole cause of the problem. They all stressed the more important factors like

the negative influences of urbanization especially the electronic media (television and video machines). Thirty five of the men (87%) mentioned the inability of parents to guide their children by censoring the type of films their children watch as well as the company they keep. In their opinion, parents spend a lot of time pursuing wealth to the neglect of their family responsibilities. Expectedly, one of the men (a university worker) who had a delinquent adolescent son blamed it on the fact that his wife (a business woman) was not home most of the time to look after the children. He insisted that it was the duty of the woman to look after the children whether she chooses to work or not. The woman should work out how to combine the two roles together, he maintained. Thus, although, one may not rule out completely that mother's absence may have some relationship with delinquency, employment is certainly not the sole cause as children of full-time housewives have been known to be delinquent. Indeed, Nduka et al's (1984) study confirmed that children from both working and non-working mother families engage in delinquency.

Unfortunately, efforts to lay hands on official records on juvenile delinquency both from the Social Welfare Office and the police station at Nsukka proved fruitless because of

inadequate record keeping and/or disappearance of records files. However, an analysis of the delinquent and criminal cases handled between 1984 and 1987 in Nsukka showed that 240 of the 300 cases handled (80%) involved children of unemployed mothers (FW) who were of low educational background (Agbazue, 1987). By the socio-economic realities of Nsukka, the unemployed mothers were invariably the poor ones (whose children get into trouble and get booked). Thus, the impression is created that delinquent acts are committed mainly by children of this category. This impression is certainly not supported by the findings of this present study as already mentioned viz: that children of both employed and non-employed-wife families engaged in delinquency.

4.5 Wives employment and mother-child interaction

Finally, the overall effects of employment on mother-child interactions were examined based on respondents' opinions on a number of issues. For example, employed mothers are said to be always tired and irritable; their children are said to be neglected and to misbehave during mothers' absence while these mothers are said to be unable to guide their children's academic and social behaviour (Item 39). Table 11 summarizes their responses, showing only the percentage of those in agreement with the statements.

Table 11: Employment and Mother-child Relationship

Statement	SE	WE	FW	Total	X ²
(i) Working mothers are tired and irritable.	138 (47%)	130 (46%)	127 (43%)	395 (47%)	3.09
(ii) Children are neglected when mother is at work.	122 (41%)	130 (47%)	118 (45%)	370 (44%)	12.12
(iii) Children mis-behave in the absence of mothers	200 (67%)	189 (67%)	166 (65%)	555 (66%)	86.04
(iv) Employed mothers don't have time to teach socially approved behaviour	95 (31%)	48 (17%)	74 (28%)	217 (26%)	196.96

% 'Agree' df = 1 N = 841

Looking at the first relationship, the table shows that 47% of those who responded (395 out of 841) agreed that employed mothers are always tired and irritable while 53% disagreed. The low X² value of 3.09 however shows that there is really no association between whether a woman is employed or not and her feeling irritable. Now, this issue of irritability was raised with 18 of the working mothers interviewed and 60% of them confessed that they occasionally felt too tired to attend to their children's needs. This depended on how physically and mentally stressed they had been while in the office. Of course, their states of mind would determine whether they become impatient

or not towards their children. Again, only 44% of the respondents (370 out of 841) agreed that children were neglected because mothers were at work while a higher proportion (56%) disagreed. Thus, the χ^2 value of 12.12 which is significant supports the opinion of the majority of respondents that children are not really neglected when mother is at work. Indeed, it is not as if children are abandoned without any substitute care. Responses on the third relationship show that 66% of the respondents (555 out of 841) believed that children misbehave in the absence of mother and the very high χ^2 (86.04) confirms this association between mother's employment and children misbehaviour. Indeed, daily life experiences point to the fact that children are more likely to go wild when their mother is out than when she is at home. Finally, from responses to the last relationship it can be seen that only 20% (217 out of 841) were in agreement with the statement that employed mothers do not have time to look after their children's social behaviour. In other words, a very high proportion (72%) were in disagreement. The χ^2 value of (196.96) which is quite significant even at .001 level supports this view of the majority who disagreed with that statement. Put in another way, employed mothers do make out time to teach their children socially approved behaviour. In summary, therefore, a mother being irritable is not merely as a result of being

employed, her children are not neglected because of her employment, (since she is likely to have house helps/nanny), that she does have time to teach socially approved behaviour to her children although the children misbehave in her absence.

4.6 Authority Relations in the Family

In order to ascertain the authority relationship between husband and wife with respect to decision making, particularly when a wife earns an income, the following hypothesis was formulated.

Hypothesis 4

Employed wives participate more in household decisions than full-time housewives.

To test the above hypothesis, a number of associated relationships were also investigated, viz: employment status and (i) the decision on proportion each spouse should contribute; (ii) decision on number of children to have; (iii) wife's control over her income; (iv) wife's participation in the general running of the home; (v) the influence of education on the above relationships. It was believed that the responses from these questions would show whether being employed influences wife's greater participation in household decision making. Tables 12(i) - (vii) depict these relationships (items 40 - 45).

Table 12(i): Decision on Proportion to contribute by Employment Type

Who decides on proportion each should contribute?	Self-Employed	Wage Earner	Full-time wives	Total
	(SE)	(WE)	(FW)	
Self	46 (16%)	17 (6%)	21 (9%)	84 (10%)
Husband	50 (17%)	51 (18%)	115 (47%)	216 (27%)
Both	191 (67%)	209 (76%)	108 (44%)	508 (63%)
Total	287 (100%)	277 (100%)	244 (100%)	808 (100%)

For Differences in Categories - $\chi^2 = 47.206$ df = 4 Sig = .0002

For Significance of Proportion - $\chi^2 = 349.59$ df = 2 Sig = .05

Table 12(ii): Control over Income by Employment Type

Do you control your Income?	SE	WE	FW	Total
No	106 (35%)	97 (34%)	160 (61%)	363 (43%)
Yes	194 (65%)	186 (66%)	103 (39%)	483 (57%)
Total	300 (100%)	283 (100%)	263 (100%)	846 (100%)

For differences in Categories - $\chi^2 = 50.143$ df = 2 Sig = .0000

For differences in Proportion - $\chi^2 = 17.02$ df = 1 $P \leq .05$

Table 12(iii): Decision on Number of Children by Employment Type

Who decides on number of children to have?	SE	WE	FW	Total
Self	22 (8%)	3 (1%)	8 (3%)	33 (4%)
Husband	27 (9%)	18 (7%)	57 (24%)	102 (13%)
Both	241 (83%)	253 (92%)	185 (73%)	669 (83%)
Total	290 (100%)	274 (100%)	240 (100%)	804 (100%)

For differences in Categories - $\chi^2 = 54.606$ df = 4 P \leq .05

For differences in Proportion - $\chi^2 = 908.886$ df = 2 P \leq .05

Table 12(iv): Power to decide on Running of the home by Employment Type

Do you have much say in running your home?	SE	WE	FW	Total
No	235 (79%)	212 (75%)	184 (70%)	631 (75%)
Yes	62 (21%)	70 (25%)	79 (30%)	211 (25%)
Total	297 (100%)	282 (100%)	263 (100%)	842 (100%)

Differences in Categories - $\chi^2 = 6.248$ df = 2 Sig = .044

Differences in Proportions - $\chi^2 = 209.5$ df = 1 P \leq .05

Table 12(i) shows that only 84 (10%) of the 808 respondents made decisions themselves on the proportion each spouse should contribute towards house keeping, 27% (216) indicated that their husbands alone made the decision while majority of them - 63% (508)

made the decision jointly with their husbands. Expectedly, of the 27% whose husbands made such decisions alone, more than half (53%) ie 115 out of a total of 216, were full-time housewives who earned little income from farm work or from small retail business in front of their houses.

However, for those women who earned income, more than half (57%) confirmed that they had control over their earnings (Table 12(ii)) which means that they could decide on how to disburse their income. This is in line with the findings of Sudarkasa (1981) on families in Lagos. Again, of the 363 out of 846 (43%) who said they had no control over their income, 160 of them (44%) were in the FW category, a lot of who had little income and with little or no education. However, 56% of those who had 'no control' over income actually earned income - being in SE and WE (ie employed) categories. Further discussions with the 18 women chosen for indepth interview on why some women did not have control over their income revealed different reasons. They varied from husbands making trouble if they did not hand over their earnings (because their husbands wanted to ensure that 'frivolous' expenditure was not made by these wives), to such (ridiculous) reasons like wives claiming to voluntarily allow their husbands to control everything just to demonstrate their 'love' and 'trust'. The few women who expressed the above view of love and trust were, incidentally, still within

the first two to three years of their married life and were equally not highly educated (secondary school and below). There were a few women though, who after series of disagreements either decided to settle for joint accounts or were loaded with extra financial responsibilities. In fact, it was gathered from the interviews that most men would insist on controlling family expenditure in order to conserve money for building houses in the village or township or for such similar projects. One unhappy woman mentioned that her husband branded women as mere spendthrifts and so, it was better to take their salaries from them, to avoid their spending all on clothing or jewellery or make-up.

With respect to decision on number of children, Table 12(iii) shows that 83% of the women who responded indicated that such a decision was jointly made. While 13% had the decision made by their husbands, only 4% of the women indicated that they made the decision on their own. During indepth interview, one of the few women who decided on number of children to have confessed that she secretly went on contraceptive device after their fourth child. She was aged 35 years, had a university education and a good job in a private company. She was advised against having more children to avoid the sort of complications she had during her last childbirth which nearly claimed her life. Her husband, however, did not believe that her last

experience would necessarily repeat itself. Being an only son, he wanted many children to keep his lineage going. The point is that this woman's claim that her family size of four children (three girls and one boy) was enough was not shared by her husband, who as a matter of fact, was expecting the wife to become pregnant soon. Meanwhile, this woman rationalized that she had to resort to this type of deceit (with some other women) because her husband was 'selfish or unreasonable and would not mind jeopardizing her life just to have all the children in this world' (interview with Mrs. S in Ehugu). What this means is that this woman cannot be said to have made a decision as to the number of children to have in the family because the husband had not agreed to the suggestion. It was only through deceit that she had managed not to have more children.

It was also revealed that where there is a disagreement on number of children, women usually give in to their husbands in order for peace to reign. Some women also continue to have children because they believe that children are God's gifts and so, God would provide for their upkeep. One is not surprised at this type of reasoning because even well educated men and women in my sample who had six, seven, eight and even nine children

believed (and emphasized) strongly that children were God's gifts and He would train them. Thus, decision on number of children was jointly made by couples according to 83% of the respondents and this finding is in agreement with those of Opong (1981), Karanja (1983) and Sudarkasa (1981).

Again, on the question of whether working women have power to decide on or have a say in the running of their homes, issues like (a) decisions on major family expenditure or project, (b) children's education, (c) extended family members and (d) househelp issues were considered. (These are of course in addition to decisions on number of children to have and proportion to contribute towards housekeeping already discussed). Data from the indepth interviews on the above issues are summarized below.

Respondents in all the categories were asked whether they had power to decide on or have a say in the running of their homes. Decisions on running of the home included power to decide on issues like number of children (family size), proportions to contribute towards housekeeping and control over one's income. These issues have already been looked at separately as reflected in the relevant tables. Other areas of decision-making like major family expenditure or projects, children's education, extended family members and househelp issues are discussed below.

(a) Major family expenditure/projects:

Decisions on purchase of cars, land, building of houses, etc were said to be made by husbands and this was the view of most of the respondents. This was because these projects involved a lot of money, a greater proportion of which was provided by their husbands. There were instances, of course, when a few women had access to a lot of money (through doing lucrative business or travelling abroad on fellowships etc) and so provided money for such family projects. Such gestures were appreciated by their husbands, while for some other women, these gestures boomeranged. This was because their husbands saw their actions as a usurpation of man's power or role. These women were seen as being too forward or trying to give the impression that their husbands were incapable of providing such things. In short, it was seen as a 'challenge to their husband's manhood' according to one of the respondents. However, 40% of the respondents said their husbands informed them of their intentions to embark on such projects, just for their information, more so if the wives were not likely to be able to make any financial input.

(b) Decision on children's education

The issues here are who pays the school fees, which schools to attend and who does the school run. Generally, mothers did the school run (at least 60% of the time as the women indicated) except where the husband had an official vehicle, in which case the driver did the run. Then on which schools to attend, the issue was jointly decided on. But in terms of school fees, 70% of the respondents in the employed categories (WE and SE) said that their husbands usually took a decision that they would pay the school fees while the women were left with the responsibility of providing school uniforms and books. The non-employed wives (FW) also said their husbands generally provided school fees and some few textbooks, while these women were expected to provide uniforms and exercise books from the little money they realized from farm work and/or kiosks. It was mostly from this group of women that we found children who were sent out of schools because of lack of uniforms or books.

(c) Relationship with the extended family

Decision making as regards the extended family members was related to how much to expend on them and whether they would live under the same roof with the couple. Data from the respondents showed that wives did not normally control

how much their husbands spent on their parents and other relatives. In fact the wife was not normally informed at all, especially if the couple did not have a joint account or common purse. Only occasionally did husbands mention such things in passing, ie if they were sure their wives would not make trouble. On the other hand, majority of the respondents noted that their husbands would want to limit financial commitment to their wives' families as much as possible. Not only that some of the men might not be inclined to send any money to their parents-in-law, but would frown against their wives sending money to their parents and relatives. This usually resulted in wives sending money in secret to their people (ie without their husband's knowledge). This is certainly not to say that there were no husbands who took good care of their parents-in-law and other relations. The point to note is that women did not make the decision on how much to be expended on their husbands' relations or their own for that matter.

With respect to living arrangement, it was found that husbands did not always discuss with their wives before accepting to bring in their relations to live with them. In fact, some women said that their approval was not sought because the house belonged to the man and, therefore, he could bring in his relatives to live there. The husbands owed it to the extended family system to take care of their

relatives particularly if they were the first son. However, their wives had no such right to bring in their relatives without their husbands' knowledge and approval, except such wives were set for problems in their marriages. Again, as has been noted for other issues on decision-making already discussed, there were a few exceptions, where wives made such decisions (both on living arrangements and how much to expend on relatives). Such women had a lot of money and made a lot of financial contributions in the family, meaning that their opinions had to be reckoned with. However, even when these few women are accorded some recognition because of their economic resources, they still wielded their influence in the family with caution. This is because the society (both men and women) are ever ready to frown at or castigate them as unfeminine in behaviour or even brand them as 'women libers'. Nevertheless, it should be borne in mind that, even though this seems to be in line with the idea that the greater the wife's economic resources, the greater her influence in decision-making, the number of women in this group is too few to make any significant difference in family decision-making.

(d) Finally, househelp related matters, although handled mainly by women (as indicated by majority of the women), were not entirely decided upon by them. For instance, it is the women who have the need for househelps because of their inability to cope with their multiple roles, yet, the choice of whether male or female househelp was not always left for them to decide. It was reported that at times a woman might desire a girl who would look after the children and kitchen affairs while the husband wanted a boy who would wash his car and iron his clothes etc. If the couple was not able to hire two domestic helps, the wife would be expected to give in to her husband in order to avoid disagreement or quarrelling or, as one respondent put it, to avoid her husband cancelling the whole idea of domestic help entirely. Again, according to the women, some husbands decided on certain activities the househelps should not perform. For example, some husbands would not eat meals cooked by house maids, nor allow their clothes to be washed by them because the clothes would lose their luster. In a few cases, some husbands tried to 'protect' their housemaids from their 'wicked' wives. Indeed two of the employed women recounted their own experiences, how they discovered that their husbands were actually having affairs with their housemaids whom they were protecting from their wicked wives!

To summarize the findings on decision-making on household issues:

- (a) decisions on major family expenditure like purchase of cars, house or land were taken by husbands and only occasionally were wives involved;
- (b) On children's education, husbands mostly decided that they would pay school fees while their wives would provide books and uniforms. Joint decisions were however made on which schools to attend.
- (c) Husbands made decisions on how much to expend on their own relatives without consulting their wives, while some husbands would want their wives to render minimal financial assistance to their parents and other relatives. In other words, women did not make decisions on how much to be expended on extended family relations on either side.
- (d) Although, women had greater control over househelp matters, their husbands still made input in certain areas.

Therefore, based on the above, one can conclude that, with the exception of domestic help matters, women did not really have much say in the running of their homes. In other words, wives did not have power to take decisions on these issues on their own unless their husbands gave them a free hand to act.

This fact is more strengthened by the findings already discussed that women did not make decisions on their own regarding family size, and proportions to contribute towards family upkeep.

Thus, Table 12(iv) which is a summary of the responses on the four issues discussed above shows that generally, irrespective of employment status, women indicated that they did not have power to decide (for their own) on issues concerning the running of their homes as defined. This is evidenced by the high proportion of those who indicated so (75% of 842 respondents). This finding is in contrast to those of earlier studies, most of which were based on Blood and Wolfe's (1960) 'resource' theory which holds that the resources of husband and wife largely determine their relative power in family decision making. For example, Lupri's (1969) study of authority situation among German families noted that husbands whose wives were gainfully employed had much less power than those whose wives were not gainfully employed. Again, it was noted that 'husband and wife relationships tend to develop along equalitarian lines; they became more democratic and joint decision-making becomes the most dominant characteristics' (Lupri, 1969:144). Similarly, Lamotse (1969:150) also concluded from another study in Germany,

that 'at every level of the social strata, the husband's authority decreases when his wife is working'.

Again, in Ghana, Oppong (1970) did a study in family decision-making using male civil servants to test the afore-mentioned resource theory. She equally arrived at the same conclusion, that when husband and wife are closer in educational level, occupational status and income level, they are more likely to share the joint (syncratic) mode of decision-making. Her later study (1981) of some specific families among a middle class matrilineal group showed basically the same findings which emphasized the resources of spouses as determining their relative power in family decisions and domestic organizations. Oppong also brought out the importance of the kin members (extended family) in exerting influence on couples' decisions.

The point is that this present study does not show such a positive relationship between ownership of economic resources by the woman and power to decide on family matters. For example, this study did not show that husbands of employed wives had less authority or power in decision-making than those whose wives were full-time housewives. In fact, there are no noticeable changes in the family power structure.

Table 12(v): Proportion contributed by Husband by Employment Type

Husband's contribution	Employment Type			
	Self-Employed (SE)	Wage Earner (WE)	Full-Time Wives (FW)	Total
Low	108 (36%)	86 (30%)	39 (15%)	233 (27%)
High	196 (64%)	202 (70%)	226 (85%)	624 (73%)
Total	304 (100%)	288 (100%)	265 (100%)	857 (100%)

$\chi^2 = 32.53$ df = 2 Sig = .0000 (for differences in categories)

$\chi^2 = 178.38$ df = 1 $P \leq .05$ (for significance of proportion)

Table 12(vi): Proportion contributed by Wife by Employment Type

Wife's contribution	Employment Type			
	SE	WE	FW	Total
Low	252 (83%)	265 (92%)	263 (99.2%)	781 (91%)
High	52 (17%)	22 (8%)	2 (0.8%)	76 (9%)
Total	304 (100%)	287 (100%)	265 (100%)	857 (100%)

$\chi^2 = 47.64$ df = 2 Sig = .0000 (for differences in categories)

$\chi^2 = 579.94$ df = 1 $P \leq .05$ (for significance of proportion)

Some explanation for the observed lack of power by women to decide on certain issues could be found in Tables 12(v) and 12(vi) above. Table 12(v) shows that a high proportion of respondents

(73% - 624 out of 857) indicated that their husbands contributed more towards family upkeep. Looking at the various categories of women, it is observed that while husbands of SE contributed 64% toward family upkeep, a much higher figure of 85% contributed under FW category. This shows some differences in the response patterns of these categories and this is confirmed by the high χ^2 of 32.53 which is equally very significant (Sig = .0000). Similarly, the proportion contributed by wives towards family expenditure was generally low as shown by the high proportion 91% (781 out of 857) who indicated so (Table 12(vi)). Note again the figure for FW category where wives (99.26) contributed so low.

It should, however, be pointed out that the generally low contribution of women seen in the above table does not reflect the fact that women in the study areas engage in farm work especially the FW, at least, for family sustenance which is their own contribution. Even some employed women (SE & WE) do find time to make family vegetable gardens. It was, however, found out during interviews that women were aware of their contributions towards family upkeep. But because most of their husbands expended more especially on major family projects, some of these wives viewed their

own contributions as very low. In addition, a few women could not fix a percentage to what they contributed. For instance, one seamstress and one petty trader said they never kept records of the number of clothes or food items they had bought because these items (especially food stuffs) were taken from the quantities being sold. Nevertheless, the point is noted that even though women earn income and so contribute towards family up-keep, their contributions are somewhat low compared to those of their husbands. This is in agreement with the finding of Karanja-Diejomaoh's (1980) study in Lagos, that working women contributed proportionately less to household upkeep. Therefore, the finding from Tables 12(v) and 12(vi) that the bulk of the financial responsibility in the home is being shouldered by the man may well be the reason for the women's lack of power in decision making. This being the case, the view that whoever calls the piper dictates the tune is appropriate here.

Again in explaining the unequal power situation between couples (item 46) women in all the categories said that it was because of the cultural and religious beliefs which hold that man is the head of the family. Therefore, women ought to be submissive even if they contribute 50% or more towards family upkeep. Indeed, data from the indepth

interview of the eighteen women revealed almost the same trend of arguments, namely, that lack of power to decide in the running of the home is the result of our cultural/traditional emphasis on male authority.

It is necessary to check the income levels of wives to ascertain if there is any relationship between high or low income levels and authority in the family. For the husbands, the previously cited study by Karanja (1983) on civil servants found lower income males supporting greater levels of husband dominance, while the higher income males approved to a greater extent, joint conjugal decision making. One of the explanations offered by her for this apparent 'liberal' attitude of the men is the influence of westernization - the adoption of European cultural norms for conjugal relations by those with higher education and exposure to foreign models. It has been observed from Table 1 (a) & (b) that while 61% of the women were in the low income group (as defined at the time of the study), only 40% of their husbands were in this income group. Thus, more men earned income at a higher level. The relationship between wife's level of income and power to decide on family issues is depicted in Table 12(vii).

Table 12(vii): Power to Decide on Running of the Home
by Wife's Level of Income

Do you have much say in running your home?	Wife's Level of Income		
	Low	High	Total
No	369 (74%)	139 (81%)	508 (76%)
Yes	132 (26%)	32 (19%)	164 (24%)
Total	501 (100%)	171 (100%)	672 (100%)

Differences in Categories - $\chi^2 = 3.9$ $df = 1$ $P \leq .05$

Differences in Proportions - $\chi^2 = 176.094$ $df = 1$ $P \leq .05$

Phi (ϕ) = -0.08

It can be seen that 76% of the 672 women who responded indicated that they had no say (or power to decide) in their family matters. Of greater interest is the fact that both the high and low income earners have equally high proportion who responded negatively - 81% and 74% respectively. This means that a wife's earning of income, even at a higher level, does not really seem to confer on her any more powers in deciding on the running of her home than does her earning of low income. Again, this does not support the findings of Opong (1970 & 1981), Lupri (1969) and even Karanja (1983). In fact, the pattern of responses points to a negative relationship between wife's income and having

much say in the running of the family. That is, a lower percentage of the high income earners (19% as against 26% of low income earners) agreed that they had much say in the running of their homes. This negative relationship is equally seen in the application of Phi (Φ) statistic which showed a value of -0.08 . One explanation for this negative association could be the awareness, on the part of wives, of the sensitive nature of husband-wife power relations. That is, some women have observed that a lot of men would want to maintain their position of control in the family. Women, therefore, would not usually allow their high income position in the family to engender any feelings of inferiority on their husbands in order not to 'rock the boat of family power relations'.

Indeed, two of the 18 women interviewed in depth, said they had, on certain occasions, acted or played dumb - ie not so smartly in order to give their husbands the feeling of having the upper hand as heads of the household. For example, one of these two women who had university education and was in private business, said that from time to time she had had to allow her husband to make decisions for her on some aspects of her business. Although her mind had already been made on what she wanted to do, she gave her husband the impression that she did not know which way to

go. She reasoned that some men needed to know that their wives were not completely independent of their (husbands') financial and/or intellectual support.

Again, it was noted in Onyema's (1989) earlier reported study on civil servants from the then Anambra State, that the stereotype of the 'ideal woman' discouraged the expression of women's capabilities. Thus, in some organizations, 'most intelligent women act empty-headed in order to fulfil the expectations of male superiors'. Put in another way, 'women sometimes act dumb just to fan male superior egos' (Onyema, 1989:120).

Similarly, a comparison of the educational levels of both husbands and wives (Table 1 (a) & (b) showed that while 43% of wives had post secondary school education (including university and professional certificates), a higher percentage of husbands (58%) again had similar qualifications. In other words, not only that more men were educated, but that they were educated at a higher level. The relationship between wife's level of education and power to make decisions on family issues is shown in Table 12(viii) below.

Table 12(viii): Power to decide on Running of Home by Level of Education

Do you have much say in the running of your home?	Wife's Educational Level		
	Low	High	Total
No	346 (71%)	288 (74%)	634 (79%)
Yes	139 (29%)	75 (21%)	214 (25%)
Total	485 (100%)	363 (100%)	848 (100%)

Differences in Categories - $\chi^2 = 7.041$ df = 1 P \leq .05

Differences in Proportions - $\chi^2 = 208.018$ df = 1 P \leq .05

The Table shows that despite the unequal proportions of women in the 'low' and 'high' education categories (485 and 363 respondents respectively), equally high percentages responded negatively in each category as was seen with level of income. What this implies is that power to decide on family issues is only mildly related to a woman's level of education for a majority of the respondents. This is reflected in the somewhat low χ^2 value (7.041) reflecting differences in levels of education. This weak association between educational level and power to share in decision making is equally surprising because it is generally believed that educated women are more exposed and so, are more likely to be aware of their rights and may demand concessions from

their husbands. Indeed, the responses on Table 12(ix) actually confirm this belief.

Table 12(ix): Demand for share in decision making by Employment Type

An educated wife is more likely to demand a share in decision	Employment Type			
	SE	WE	FW	Total
Disagree	70 (23%)	29 (10%)	43 (16%)	142 (17%)
Agree	228 (77%)	251 (90%)	218 (84%)	697 (83%)
Total	298 (100%)	280 (100%)	261 (100%)	839 (100%)

Difference in Categories - $X^2 = 17.761$ $df = 2$ $P \leq .05$

Difference in Proportion - $X^2 = 367.132$ $df = 1$ $P \leq .05$

It can be seen from the above that 697 out of 839 respondents (83%) agreed with the statement that an educated wife is more likely to demand a share in family decision making. This high rate of agreement cuts across the three categories of women with the WE scoring 90%. There are however some differences in the responses of the categories of women (SE 77%, WE 90%, FW 84%) and hence the X^2 of 17.61. The obvious explanation is that there is a difference between what people believe in and what they actually practice. In other words, since women agreed that education disposes a woman to demand a share in decision making in the family,

it would have been markedly reflected in the data on Table 12(viii) which related level of education to power to make decision on family matters. Again, an application of the phi statistic (ϕ) to Table 12(viii) showed a negative relationship between education and power to decide on running of the home (-0.04) as was found with level of income. The same explanation of women not wanting to be too assertive (despite their high education) in order not to upset the family authority relations, holds here also. As already noted, this study does not support the findings of earlier studies that women with high educational attainment and who are in prestigious jobs (and of course with high income) were less likely to state that their husbands should make decisions alone. That is to say that husbands generally have the upper hand in decision making despite wives' educational/income levels. Indeed, Lu (1984:365) aptly stated that 'whether women participate in the workforce or not, whatever their employment status, categories of occupation, location of work, or level of income, there are no significant differences in women's familial power and role playing'. To summarize authority relations in the family,

1. decisions on family housekeeping budget were made jointly (63%) more than by wife alone (10%) or husband alone (27%).

2. more than half of the women (57%) had control over their income and so could disburse them the way they wanted, although we eventually found that husbands sometimes determine how the income is to be spent indirectly;
3. decisions on number of children were also jointly made (83%) rather than by husbands alone (13%) or wives alone (4%);
4. data on the various aspects of decision making in the family show that 75% of the women did not have power to make decision on their own;
5. husbands made greater contributions towards family upkeep and projects while the contributions of wives whether working or not were generally low, and this could partly explain their lack of power to make decisions on their own;
6. wives' high levels of education and income did not confer on them any more powers to make decisions, even though they claimed that being educated disposed a woman to demand a share in decision making.

Therefore, with respect to authority relations in the family, employed wives do not really participate more in decision making than their non-employed counterparts.

It was however observed by the present writer that the joint decisions undertaken by couples on some issues in this study could be said to signify a concession on the part of husbands, especially in a society with strong male dominance ideology. This is considered so, bearing in mind one of Karanja's findings that a woman's major sphere of authority in the family decision making is domestic food menu - what meals to cook and serve.

Therefore, the presence of joint decision making could be

a sign that there might be further changes for the better.

The next hypothesis was aimed at examining the relationship between a wife's income-earning status and the authority position of the husband in the home (item 48).

Hypothesis 5

Wife's earnings act as a threat to her husband's traditional authority position.

The above hypothesis is necessitated by the views that a wife's earnings:

- (i) enhance her power position while decreasing that of her husbands (Oppong, 1970);
- (ii) enable her to have control over financial decisions, more familial power and to become more assertive.

In other words, the aim was to ascertain whether this situation is obtainable in our own social context.

Table 13: Wife's Income as a Threat by Employment Status

Wife's Income is a threat to husband's authority	Employment Status			
	SE	WE	FW	Total
No	174 (58%)	169 (59%)	165 (63%)	508 (60%)
Yes	125 (42%)	116 (41%)	98 (37%)	339 (40%)
Total	229 (100%)	285 (100%)	263 (100%)	847 (100%)

Differences in Categories - $\chi^2 = 1.285$ df = 2 Sig = 0.525

Differences in Proportion - $\chi^2 = 33.72$ df = 1 $P \leq .05$

From Table 13, it can be observed that irrespective of employment status, 60% of the respondents (508 out of 847) did not believe that wives' earnings threaten their husband's position as heads of the households. This is borne out by the high χ^2 value (33.72) which is highly significant even at .001 level. An examination of the responses of the different categories, showed some similarity in response patterns (SE 58%, WE 59%, FW 63%) and the very low χ^2 value (1.285) confirms this lack of significant differences in the responses of the three groups of women. In other words, majority of all the categories - individually and collectively - disagree that husband's authority position is threatened by wife's earnings.

However, of interest is the response of the FW category. The expectation is that being in this situation (of non-employment), it would not have surprised anyone if all the full-time housewives viewed employment and wives' income as constituting a challenge to their husbands' authority in the home. This is because most of the women in this category have the lowest income and education, and, thus, may be more tradition-bound in their attitudes. That is, they may be more likely to view outside employment and income as potential threats to the normal traditional family set-up. Rather, we find that 63% - 165 out of the 263 FW respondents - do not believe that their earning an income would be a problem to their husbands. Even further discussions with women during indepth interviews showed almost all of them (15 out of 18) maintaining that their earnings did not pose a threat to their husbands' authority position. The three cases out of the eighteen mentioned things like 'inferiority complex' or feelings of insecurity as the cause of their husbands' dissatisfaction. These women said they were accused or suspected of carrying on extra marital affairs with their male colleagues or other men. They were also accused of swollen-headedness and stubbornness and all these their husbands linked to the fact that they were employed

outside the home - meaning continued contact with other men. The three women included a lecturer, a successful business woman and a full-time housewife who worked formerly as a receptionist in Ehugu but whose husband insisted should withdraw (ostensibly) to look after the children. Worthy of note is the role of marital infidelity, whether suspected or real, as a potential source of conflict in marriage.

Again, it was decided to check husbands' income level (whether high or low) and its effect (if any) on the perception of income as threatening to male authority. The data on Table 13(a) depicts the relationship.

Table 13(a): Wife's Income as a Threat to Husband by Husband's Level of Income

Wife's Income is a threat to husband's authority	Husband's Income Level		
	Low	High	Total
No	245 (61%)	205 (57%)	450 (59%)
Yes	154 (39%)	157 (43%)	311 (41%)
Total	399 (100%)	362 (100%)	761 (100%)

Differences in Categories - $X^2 = 1.79$ $df = 1$ $P \leq .05$

Differences in Proportion - $X^2 = 25.36$ $df = 1$ $P \leq .05$

It is observed that a total of 450 respondents (59%) fall into the 'No' response category and that the husbands to these women were almost equally distributed to the 'low' and 'high' income level (61% and 57% respectively). What this means is that there is no significant difference in the opinions of wives of husbands from different levels of income (ie high or low) to the effect that their wives' earnings do not constitute a threat to the husbands' authority in the home.

In general then, one can attempt to explain the finding that wives' earnings do not constitute a threat to their husbands' authority position by referring to our traditional practice which emphasizes male dominance ideology (Hoffman, 1960). That is to say that Nigerian married women are aware of how the society expects them to behave - which is to submit to their husbands' authority no matter the positions they (women) have attained in the society. Therefore since most of them cherish the traditional ideal of staying married, they are likely not to exhibit any behaviour that will engender feelings of insecurity in their husbands as these would threaten the foundations of their marriage.

At this point, it was necessary to find out the feelings of husbands of employed (SE, WE) and non-employed (FW) wives on the issue of working wives and husbands' authority. Therefore the issue was raised with the 40 husbands, 33 (83%) of who were married to employed wives (SE & WE) while the remaining 7 (17%) were married to full-time housewives (See Appendix B). The discussion with them yielded virtually the same views. For example, the 17 husbands of salary earners both at Enugu and Nsukka (ie 43% of the men) said they were still the authority figures in their respective homes. While they all agreed that their wives' earnings were a welcome extra source of income to the family, 8 of them (20%) whose wives were nurses or bank workers complained about the inconvenience of shift duties for nurses and overtime (including weekend work) for the bankers.

The 16 husbands of the self-employed women (which is 40%) equally expressed no fear or threat to their authority as heads of their households. By chance, the husband of the FW in Enugu who was not happy about stopping work, was included and he complained about his wife's unco-operative attitude which was a challenge to his authority, although the other husbands had no problem as authority figures. The point here is that the FW wife was

protesting being stopped from working and so was purposely being confrontational. The lesson from the attitude of the protesting FW is the confirmation of the view that very few Nigerian women would want to fold their arms, waiting for or depending on their husbands' income.

Thus, on the whole, it can be seen that the responses of these husbands agreed with those of the wives with respect to husbands' authority at home despite wives' employment.

Now, from the foregoing discussions on authority relations in the family, it becomes obvious that the question of conflict arising from 'power tussle' between husband and wife may not really be relevant here. That is, the observation from the responses is that in a number of cases, decisions are jointly made by couples and since husbands contribute a higher proportion of money towards family upkeep (even when wives earn income too) they (husbands) are accorded the position of authority at home. Indeed, as already noted a few women indicated that their husbands contributed up to 99% towards family upkeep although, that did not mean that those women were totally dependent on their husbands. In fact, Parpart (1990) noted that the totally dependent wife is a rarity in southern Nigeria of which Igboland is a part.

Furthermore, it is also observed that inspite of a wife's earning of an income, she still does not pose a threat to her husband's authority position in the family. Perhaps, this may be because she has largely imbibed the societal (cultural) norm of male dominance in a patriarchal society. Therefore, by implication, the stability of the family may not be threatened by the wife's earning of an income.

4.7 Wives' employment and role strain and Conflict

In order to determine the relationship between wife's employment and role strain and conflict in the home, the following hypotheses are examined.

Hypothesis 6

Employed mothers experience greater role strain and conflict than non-employed (FW) mothers.

Hypothesis 7

The greater the number of children, the greater the role strain and conflict.

Taking hypothesis 6, Table 14 below shows the responses to the statement that working mothers' multiple roles of wife, mother and worker make them more prone to role strain and conflict than FW (item 51).

Table 14: Responses on the relationship between Employment and Role Strain and Conflict

Employed mothers experience greater role strain and conflict	Employment Type			
	SE	WE	FW	Total
Disagree	72 (24%)	57 (20%)	71 (28%)	200 (24%)
Agree	225 (76%)	226 (80%)	185 (72%)	636 (76%)
Total	297 (100%)	283 (100%)	256 (100%)	836 (100%)

$X^2 = 4.283$ $df = 2$ $Sig = 0.117$ (for differences in categories)

$X^2 = 227.38$ $df = 1$ $P \leq .05$ (for significance of proportions)

$C = 0.46$

From the above table, it is observed that irrespective of the category of employment (ie whether SE, WE or FW) 76% of the 836 respondents agreed that employed mothers suffer from role strain and conflict as a result of their various roles.

This is as would be expected. The X^2 value (227.38) for the significance of the total proportion in agreement (636 out of 836) confirms that there is an association between being employed and increase in role strain and conflict. The association is fairly strong as shown by the coefficient of contingency which is $C = .46$. This feeling of greater strain and conflict for employed mothers is shared by all the categories of women as is evidenced by the high percentages of agreement in each category (SE 76%, WE 80%, FW 72%).

Thus, with respect to hypothesis 6, there is an association between being employed and increase in role strain and conflict. This finding is in agreement with those of earlier studies (Sales, 1969; Hall, 1972 and that of Okeke, 1994). Now, with the above relationship between employment and role strain and conflict established, it was naturally assumed that employed wives (SE & WE) would have difficulty combining their jobs and housework (item 19). However, this assumption was not confirmed by the observed distribution of responses in Table 15 which shows 84% (476 out of 587) of the two employed categories indicating that they had no difficulty managing job and housework.

Table 15: Distribution of Responses on Wife's employment and difficulty with combining job and housework

Do you find it difficult combining job and household work?	Employment Type		
	SE	WE	Total
No	255 (84%)	221 (78%)	476 (81%)
Yes	47 (16%)	64 (22%)	111 (19%)
Total	302 (100%)	283 (100%)	587 (100%)

$\chi^2 = 4.544$ df = 1 Sig = .0000 (for differences in categories)

$\chi^2 = 226.94$ df = 1 $P \leq .05$ (for significance of proportions)

The χ^2 value for the significance of differences in proportion who responded 'Yes' or 'No' shows a high value of 226.94 meaning that the difference is really significant.

This lack of relationship between employment and difficulty in combining job with housework, surprising as it may be, could be related to the availability of different options for childcare while mother is at work (already discussed - Table 7). Experience - including that of the researcher and buttressed by the responses in Table 7 - has shown that there is a greater reliance on househelps who help with childcare and housework.

Some employed mothers even have two or more househelps to share the burden of childcare as well as the drudgery of housework. This arrangement leaves the working mothers with some time to devote to those chores that require their particular attention and also for supervision.

Despite the claim of no difficulty in combining job with household work, it is still of interest to ascertain whether number of children contributes to role strain and conflict for the mother. This is the essence of hypothesis no. 7 already stated. Table 16 shows the responses.

Table 16: Distribution of Responses on Role Strain and Conflict by Number of Children

Employed mothers experience greater role strain and conflict than FW	Number of Children		
	Smaller	Greater	Total
Disagree	122 (26%)	79 (21%)	201 (24%)
Agree	344 (74%)	306 (79%)	650 (76%)
Total	466 (100%)	385 (100%)	851 (100%)

$\chi^2 = 3.437$ $df = 1$ $P \leq .05$ (for differences in categories)

$\chi^2 = 236.88$ $df = 1$ $P \leq .05$ $C = .46$ (for Sig. of proportions)

A look at the table above would lead one to conclude that there is a relationship between number of children and experiencing of role strain and conflict especially since a high proportion (76%) of the 851 respondents are in agreement. Again, though the table shows that there are more women with fewer number of children (466) as shown in the column for 'fewer' number of children, a greater percentage of them (74%) agreed with the statement just like those with greater number of children (79%). This means that there is no difference in the pattern of responses ($\chi^2 = 3.347$). Therefore, it can be said that women generally believe that the greater the number of children, the greater the role strain and conflict.

Again, the extent of the strain of the multiple roles on women is brought out by the distribution of responses shown in Table 17, (item 52 in the questionnaire).

Table 17: Responses on physical and mental strain by Employment Type

Multiple roles lead to physical and mental strain for the woman	Employment Type			
	SE	WE	FW	Total
Disagree	104 (35%)	71 (25%)	69 (27%)	224 (29%)
Agree	197 (65%)	213 (75%)	185 (73%)	595 (71%)
Total	301 (100%)	284 (100%)	254 (100%)	839 (100%)

$$X^2 = 7.115 \quad df = 2 \quad P \leq .05 \quad (\text{for differences in categories})$$

Table 17 above shows 71% of those who responded (595 out of 839) agreeing that the numerous roles of women lead to both physical and mental strain for the women more than for the men. Although the percentage in agreement in each category is high (SE 65%, WE 75% and FW 73%), there are yet slight differences in degree of agreement with SE having the lowest figure (65%). The X^2 value (7.115) points to the existence of such differences among the categories.

It was also decided to check if role strain and conflict are associated with level of income, and Table 18 shows the distribution of the responses.

Table 18: Responses on Employment leads to role strain and conflict by Level of Income

Employment leads to role strain and conflict	Wife's Level of Income		
	Low	High	Total
Disagree	119 (23%)	43 (29%)	161 (24%)
Agree	393 (77%)	130 (75%)	523 (76%)
Total	512 (100%)	173 (100%)	684 (100%)

$\chi^2 = 1.193$ $df = 1$ (for differences in categories)

$\chi^2 = 191.58$ $df = 1$ $P \leq .05$ $C = .46$ (for sig. of proportions)

From Table 18, it is observed that

- (i) a majority of the respondents (76% - 523 out of 684) agreed that employed mothers experience greater role strain and conflict;
- (ii) most of the respondents are from the low income level category (512 out of 684) as against 173 out of 684 in the high income category.

However, inspite of the unequal proportion of respondents under level of income - which is 512 and 173 for 'low' and 'high' categories respectively - it is noted that the same high proportion are in agreement with the statement (77% and 75% for 'low' and 'high' columns). What this suggests again is that this problem is equally experienced by both

low and high income earning women. Indeed, the very low value of X^2 (1.193) points to the lack of significant differences between the responses of the two categories of income level. Therefore, from the table, it can be concluded that irrespective of level of income, majority of women believe that employment leads to role strain and conflict. In summary, the examination of the relationship between wives' employment and presence of role strain and conflict reveals that:

- (i) employed mothers do experience greater role strain and conflict than non-employed mothers;
- (ii) the greater the number of children, the greater the role strain and conflict;
- (iii) in spite of (ii) above, women still claimed they had no difficulty combining employment and housework;
- (iv) the multiple roles of women lead to mental and physical strain for the women more than for the men. This explains why women said that their husbands should help out with some household work;
- (v) the view that role strain/conflict results from the multiple roles of women is perceived equally by women from both low and high income groups.

At this point it was necessary to check a tacit assumption in this study, that role strain and conflict

affect the stability of the family; ie leads to family instability (item 53). This relationship is depicted in Table 19.

4.8 Role strain/conflict and family instability

Table 19: Responses on Role strain/conflict leads to Family Instability by Employment Type

Role strain/ conflict leads to family instability	Employment Type			
	SE	WE	FW	Total
Disagree	119 (43%)	126 (46%)	107 (46%)	352 (45%)
Agree	160 (57%)	148 (54%)	125 (54%)	433 (55%)
Total	279 (100%)	274 (100%)	232 (100%)	785 (100%)

$\chi^2 = 0.837$ $df = 4$ $P \leq .05$ (differences in category)

$\chi^2 = 8.35$ $df = 1$ $P \leq .05$ (significance of proportion)

The above table shows that in the opinion of the respondents, there seems to be an association between role strain/conflict and family instability as can be seen from the proportion of those who agreed with the statement (433 out of 785 - 55%) and the χ^2 value (8.35) for the significance of proportion. However, there is no significant difference in the response patterns of the three categories of women both for agreement and disagreement with the

statement - notice the closeness of the percentages. Indeed, the X^2 value (0.837) for the differences in the categories confirms this lack of relationship between type of employment and perception of role strain/conflict in family instability. In other words, both employed (SE, WE) and non-employed women agree that role strain/conflict leads to family instability.

4.9 Wives' Employment and Marital Satisfaction

In order to determine the contribution (if any) of wife's employment towards marital discord or dissatisfaction, the question was posed on whether dissatisfaction in marriage is more likely to occur if a woman has a job outside her home (item 50). This relationship is reflected in the following hypothesis.

Hypothesis 8

Dissatisfaction in marriage is more likely to occur in employed-wife family than in that of full-time housewife.

The responses are shown in Table 20.

Table 20: Responses on Dissatisfaction with marriage by Employment Type

Dissatisfaction in marriage is more likely to occur if a woman has a job outside the home	Employment Type			
	SE	WE	FW	Total
No	207 (70%)	199 (71%)	162 (62%)	568 (67%)
Yes	89 (30%)	83 (29%)	101 (38%)	273 (33%)
Total	296 (100%)	282 (100%)	263 (100%)	841 (100%)

$\chi^2 = 6.188$ df = 2 Sig = .045 (differences in categories)

$\chi^2 = 103.47$ df = 1 $P \leq .05$ C = .33 (for significance of differences in proportions)

From the table above, one observes that 568 (67%) out of the 841 women who responded do not believe that marital dissatisfaction is more likely to occur if a woman is employed outside the home than if she were a full-time housewife. Note the slight differences in the proportions of those who responded 'yes' or 'no' in the different categories of wives - 62% for FW as compared to 70% and 71% respectively for SE and WE categories. This difference in categories is equally reflected in the χ^2 value (6.188) which is greater than the critical value (5.991). Again the high χ^2 value of 103.47 for significance of differences in proportion shows that the difference is really significant even at .0001 level.

Thus, with respect to hypothesis 8, the data indicate that marital dissatisfaction is not related to wife being employed outside the home. This view is equally held by most of the forty men interviewed (37 out of 40 ie 93%). The three exceptions included a man who stopped the wife from working and so the wife became confrontational, the man whose wife is a lecturer and therefore travels out frequently for conferences and workshops and another man whose wife is a successful business woman who has wide business contacts and thus, is well known to business associates of the opposite sex. It was equally necessary to determine the effects of employment on the occurrence of family disagreement (item 56) and this is shown on the table below.

Table 21: Responses on Family Disagreement by Employment Type

Do you have major disagreements?	Employment Type			
	SE	WE	FW	Total
No	242 (81%)	213 (75%)	222 (84%)	677 (80%)
Yes	57 (19%)	71 (25%)	41 (16%)	169 (20%)
Total	299 (100%)	284 (100%)	263 (100%)	846 (100%)

$X^2 = 7.805$ $df = 2$ $P \leq .05$ (differences in categories)

$X^2 = 305.04$ $df = 1$ $P \leq .05$ $C = .51$ (sig. of proportion)

This table shows that a high proportion of the respondents (677 out of 846 - 80%) indicated that they did not have major disagreements, which of course, did not preclude occasional disagreements. Major disagreements were described as those that could shake the foundations of their marriages. Although, the responses of the three categories do not show marked differences (SE 81%, WE 75% and FW 84%) the observed χ^2 value of 7.805 shows that there are some slight differences among the categories. Indeed, the WE category has a lower figure of 75% as compared to those of SE - 81% and FW - 84%. What this implies is that although majority of the women indicated that they did not have major disagreements this view is not shared equally by all the categories of women - with the wage earners (WE) agreeing less.

Further enquiry on the reasons for these disagreements (reported by 20% of the respondents (item 57) revealed several of them. The most frequently mentioned by these women was interference from their husband's extended family members especially mothers - and sisters-in-law. This was followed by inadequate housekeeping money/salary disputes, extra marital affairs (ie infidelity)/keeping late nights on the part of their husbands, and the issue of bringing in a second wife. Only occasionally did issues like wife

working late, refusal to wed in the church by husbands and number of children to have in the family cause serious disagreements or quarrelling.

Again, interview with the forty married men revealed that 30 out of 40 (75%) of them said they did not have major disagreements. The 25% who claimed they had major disagreements that shook their marriages mentioned accusations of infidelity mainly against husbands although some were against wives. Another major source of disagreement was wives' insubordination or what some men called claim of equality with men. Most men complained of interference from their wives' extended family members, again, especially mothers- and sisters-in-law. Of course, there were two cases of wives' relations organizing and beating up their sons-in-law. In one case, the marriage ended immediately while in the other case, the marriage managed to survive somehow, due to serious intervention and negotiations for reconciliation by members of the lineages of both husband and wife. Most of the disagreements were, however, resolved by the couples themselves. Interference from a man's extended family relations occurs especially if the wife is childless or does not have a male child, in which case his relatives will advise him to marry another wife. The disagreement arises if the wife is not consulted by her

husband, and if that happens, it is usually an indication that the man is no longer interested in the marriage, otherwise, the first wife's approval would normally be sought for another wife to be brought in.

It was also necessary to ascertain whether the respondents were satisfied with their marriages or not (item 67) and their responses are shown in Table 22 below.

Table 22: Responses on Marital Satisfaction by Employment Type

Are you satisfied with your marriage?	Employment Type			
	SE	WE	FW	Total
None of the above (ie Neither satisfied nor unsatisfied)	50 (19%)	58 (23%)	46 (21%)	154 (21%)
Unsatisfied	23 (9%)	11 (4%)	16 (7%)	50 (7%)
Generally satisfied	190 (72%)	189 (73%)	156 (72%)	535 (72%)
Total	263 (100%)	258 (100%)	218 (100%)	739 (100%)

$X^2 = 4.828$ df = 4 P \leq .05 (differences among categories)

$X^2 = 529.38$ df = 2 P \leq .05 C = .65 (sig. of proportions)

From the above table, it is observed that 72% of the total who responded (535 out of 739) indicated that they were generally satisfied, and this high positive response cuts across all the categories - SE 72%, WE 73%, FW 72%.

Not only that the X^2 value is extremely high but that the difference in the proportion of those satisfied with their marriage and those unsatisfied or undecided was significant even at .0001 level of significance. Again, looking at the columns, only 9% of SE and 4% of WE said they were unsatisfied while 19% and 23% of SE and WE respectively were neither satisfied nor unsatisfied (ie 'none of the above'). The FW category had a similar response pattern in terms of proportions unsatisfied and undecided as can be seen from the table. The picture above suggests a lack of difference in the response patterns of the three categories of women. Indeed, the X^2 value (4.828) confirms this lack of significant difference and thus, leads to the conclusion that satisfaction in marriage is not dependent on (or related to) whether one is employed (SE, WE) or unemployed (FW).

Although, the literature showed contradiction in findings, this study supports the findings of Wright (1978); Zimmerman et al (1980); Blau and Ferber (1986), and even more recent studies done in Nigeria (Andah, 1990 on Port Harcourt and Okeke, 1994 on Lagos) of no significant difference in the reported marital happiness of employed and non-employed wives. This means no association between employment and marital satisfaction, thus suggesting that wife's employment has no negative influence on family stability.

This question on marital satisfaction was posed to the 18 women selected for indepth interview. Although they all felt that there was still room for improvement in their marriages, 13 (72%) felt that inspite of everything, they would still describe themselves as somewhat satisfied. Of the five who were unsatisfied, one was a FW in Enugu, the other a business woman in Enugu too. One of the three WE women was from Enugu while two were from Nsukka. Asked why they were unsatisfied, the FW in Enugu who was formerly a secretary was unhappy about being made to stop working by her husband, ostensibly to take care of the children. She wanted to work to be financially independent. The business woman could not get a reliable househelp particularly since she travelled out quite a lot. She complained that her husband was not concerned enough to help her with some household duties. The female lecturer's unhappiness (according to her) stemmed from constant harrassment from her husband who accused her of being swollen headed and obstinate. Her participation in conferences and workshops took her out of her home from time to time for some days or weeks. Another wage earner who also did private business complained that she was saddled with extra financial responsibilities because her husband accused her of sending her salary to her own parents. The point noted from these

discussions is that these people had one or two complaints about their marriages but they would rather continue to make adjustments to keep the union going.

Again, the sample of forty husbands were equally asked whether they were satisfied with their marriages. Twenty four (60%) out of forty said they were generally satisfied; 12 (30%) were just managing to go along (patching up) while 4 (10%) said categorically that they were unsatisfied (ie unhappy with their marital relationship). One of the 4 unsatisfied men - the husband to the FW woman who herself was also unsatisfied - complained bitterly about the wife's 'stubborn' and 'confrontational' attitude, by insisting that she must go back to work when he felt it was not necessary for her to do so since he was earning enough. For this man, his wife should be home to take care of the children who were still young, until they finished their secondary education. The others (men) complained also of insubordination, (their wives were employed), nagging and quarrelsomeness and extended family interference. One also complained of lack of a male child. It is interesting to note that two of them who were from the lower income group were already thinking of marrying another wife which they believed would make their present wives sit up (ie shape up or ship out).

Perhaps, Blau & Ferber's (1986) observations need to be emphasized: that satisfaction with marriage for the woman, is influenced by such factors as the reason(s) for taking a job in the first place, the availability and quality of substitute care while mother is at work and husband's support. Husband's satisfaction is also influenced by whether he wants a partner whose independence and accomplishments he can respect (and I would add, whose financial contribution he values) or a help mate who devotes herself to creating a warm and relaxed home for him. Their view is that hasty conclusions should be avoided because of the inconsistency in findings of studies on marital satisfaction.

It was also necessary to find out the extent to which Ferree's (1976a) image of the 'bored', 'lonely' and 'socially isolated' full-time American housewife is true of their Nigerian counterparts. Therefore FWs from both zones were asked whether they felt lonely or bored staying at home (item 71). Their responses show that slightly more than half (56% - 152 out of 272) of those who responded indicated that they did (Table 23 below).

Table 23: Distribution of Full-time Housewives on Feeling of Boredom/Loneliness by Residence

Do you ever feel bored or lonely?	Full-time Housewife		
	Residence		
	Enugu	Nsukka	Total
No	50 (40%)	70 (47%)	120 (44%)
Yes	74 (60%)	78 (53%)	152 (56%)
Total	124 (100%)	148 (100%)	272 (100%)

As already noted, FW as conceived in America is rare in Nigeria and particularly in the part of the country where the study took place. This may have helped to reduce the proportion who responded positively to the question. In addition, the issue of being socially isolated does not arise for the major reason that our extended family system makes for constant association or contact with others (even in big cities). For instance, one is in constant touch with co-wives in a polygynous set up, as well as wives and daughters of a lineage. Besides, there is also the larger town union found both in the villages and cities. Indeed, the cultural practice of 'Onye ayana nwanne ya' - one should not abandon his relatives - is still being practised. Therefore, it is only a person (male or female) who chooses to and insists on being isolated that remains so in our society.

4.10 Wives' Employment and Propensity toward Marital Break up

This study also examined the relationship between being employed and propensity (disposition) towards marital break up and two major hypotheses are proposed.

Hypothesis 9

Employed wives are more likely to end unsatisfactory marriage than full-time housewives.

Hypothesis 10

The higher the wife's educational level, the greater the propensity to end unsatisfactory marriage.

Table 24 shows the responses to hypothesis 9 (item 49(iv)).

Table 24: Responses on Propensity to end Marriage by Employment Type

Employment increases the propensity to end unsatisfactory marriage	Employment Type			
	SE	WE	FW	Total
Disagree	149 (52%)	117 (44%)	128 (50%)	394 (48%)
Agree	139 (48%)	149 (56%)	130 (50%)	418 (52%)
Total	288 (100%)	266 (100%)	258 (100%)	812 (100%)

$\chi^2 = 3.506$ $df = 2$ $P \leq .05$ (differences among categories)

$\chi^2 = 0.704$ $df = 1$ $P \leq .05$ (significance of differences in proportions)

From the above table, one notes that there are no significant differences in the total proportion of those who agreed or disagreed with the statement, nor are there any real differences in the responses of the three categories as seen from the percentages. First of all, the proportion of those in agreement (52%) - 418 out of 812 - is only slightly higher than those who disagreed (48%) - 394 out of 812, and indeed, the χ^2 test for the significance of differences in proportion (0.704) confirms that there is no significant difference. Then, among the different categories of employed women, slight differences are seen only for the SE and WE in terms of the proportion who agree or disagree. In any case, the χ^2 value of 3.506 confirms that there is no

significant difference in the response patterns and therefore, no association between being employed and tendency to break up unsatisfactory marital relationship. In other words, the expectation that being employed and earning an income would make a wife more ready to get out of a marital relationship (because of her potential to take care of herself and her needs) appears not to be supported. This finding is not in agreement with those of Booth & Johnson (1983), Booth & White (1980) and Huber & Spitze (1980) which found a positive relationship between wife's employment and propensity to divorce among American families. According to Booth & Johnson (1983), they are however unable to determine the specific mechanism which enhances the probability of divorce, ie whether it is the wife's income, job commitment or work history (how long she has been working). With the observed lack of relationship between employment and propensity to break up marital relationship in this present study, it was decided to find out the relationship (if any) between wife's educational level and propensity to divorce. The data are shown in Table 25 below - item 49 (v).

Table 25: Responses on Propensity to end Marriage by Level of Education

Wives with higher educational level have greater tendency to end unsatisfactory marriage	Level of Education		
	Low	High	Total
Disagree	222 (48%)	178 (50%)	400 (49%)
Agree	244 (52%)	176 (50%)	420 (51%)
Total	466 (100%)	354 (100%)	820 (100%)

$\chi^2 = 0.461$ $df = 1$ $P \leq .05$ (differences between categories)

$\chi^2 = 0.48$ $df = 1$ $P \leq .05$ (sig. of differences in proportions)

Again it is observed that the proportions of those in agreement (51% - 420 out of 820) and in disagreement (49% - 400 out of 820) with the statement are virtually equal, meaning that there are no significant differences. This is equally confirmed by the very low χ^2 value of 0.48. It was earlier established from Table 1(a) that majority of our respondents (57%) had low level of education (ie below or up to secondary school). Table 25 also reflects this proportion in the level of education - 466 (which is 57%) for Low and 354 (which is 43%) for High categories. It can be seen that under the two levels of education, the percentages of those who agree or disagree with the statement are similar.

All these point to the lack of real difference between the

responses of the two categories of educated women, and therefore, to the decision that there is no association between the two variables. Indeed, the extremely low χ^2 value (0.461) leads to the inevitable conclusion that there is no relationship between a wife's level of education and propensity to end an unsatisfactory marriage. Thus, the findings from the data on Tables 24 and 25 do not support the relationships proposed in hypotheses 9 and 10. In other words, the propensity to end even an unsatisfactory marriage is not related to wife's employment or educational level, and these have implications for family stability. First, the negative views about educated women in Nigeria portrayed in the writings of Ifeagwu (1982) and Udeala (1978 as cited by Azikiwe, 1988) do not seem to have been subjected to rigorous statistical testing in order to show that these views are not just mere stereotypes which may have emanated from the actions of a few employed or highly educated women. For instance, Ifeagwu's view that educated women were 'contributors to broken home' (1982:15) is not supported by the data.

Secondly, the findings also point out that Nigerian women especially from the study area, respect the sanctity of marriage and would, therefore, want to stay married. This was also found out in the discussion on the authority relations between husband and wife where it was noted that

most women in Nigeria, at least from the study areas, cherished the idea of staying married and would, therefore, not exhibit behaviours that would engender feelings of insecurity on their husbands. Indeed, as was found out from the indepth interviews there are quite a few women who because of the stigma attached to being divorced would rather suffer in silence in their marriages.

The reluctance to break up a marriage is even more so if there are children to take care of. This is, in fact, reflected in the responses depicted in Table 26 on why women continue to 'patch up' unhappy marriages (item 65). Though, other reasons were suggested viz: religious beliefs, poor financial status, cultural values and personal security, only the presence of children was considered worthy of the effort. Below is the relevant table.

Table 26: Distribution of responses on Reasons for 'Patching up' unsatisfactory marriage by Employment Type

percentage 'Yes' N = 856 df = 2 (differences in categories)
df = 1 (differences in proportion)

Reasons	SE	WE	FW	Total	χ^2 for Categories	χ^2 for proportions who said 'Yes'
Religious beliefs	140 (33%)	153 (37%)	125 (30%)	418 (49%)	3.978	0.46
Children's sake	224 (37%)	215 (35%)	167 (28%)	606 (71%)	9.291	148.04
Poor financial status	46 (30%)	50 (32%)	60 (39%)	156 (18%)	5.446	
Cultural values	94 (34%)	105 (38%)	79 (28%)	278 (33%)	3.232	
Personal security	60 (32%)	77 (40%)	53 (28%)	190 (22%)	5.183	

Critical $\chi^2 = 5.991$ $P \leq .05$

The Table above shows the total percentage of those who responded 'Yes' to 'children's sake' to be higher (71%) and is also reflected in the high χ^2 value of 148.04, showing the significant difference in the proportion who responded Yes/No. Note however, that the χ^2 values for differences in the response in the various categories of women show no significant differences as can be seen from the percentages. In other words, their responses were almost similar, except for 'children's sake'

which were slightly unequal - SE = 37% while FW = 28%. Nevertheless, the highly significant X^2 value for the proportion of respondents who said 'Yes' for 'children sake' confirms that children are an important consideration for sustaining marriages in general, at least in the study area. This is indeed reflective of our traditional attitude towards marriage which is viewed as mainly for purposes of procreation. One should, however, note the observation by Booth and White (1980) that enduring marriage should not be confused with satisfactory marriage and this equally applies to Nigerian situation. In other words, although only 3% and 1% of all the respondents were separated and divorced respectively as shown in Table 1, a lot of women made it clear during indepth discussion that their staying married was mainly because of their children and not necessarily because they were totally satisfied. Yet about 90% of all those who responded to the question (number 59) on whether they had had some thoughts or feelings of separation or even divorce indicated they had never done so. This negative response cuts across the different categories of women; notice the similarity in proportions - SE 89%, WE 91%, FW 92% - in Table 27.

Table 27(a): Responses on Feelings/thoughts of separation/divorce by Employment Type

Have you ever had some feelings or thoughts of separation or divorce?	Employment Type			
	SE	WE	FW	Total
No	266 (89%)	257 (91%)	241 (92%)	764 (90%)
Yes	34 (11%)	26 (9%)	21 (8%)	81 (10%)
Total	300(100%)	283(100%)	262(100%)	845 (100%)

$\chi^2 = 1.864$ $df = 2$ $P \leq .05$ (differences in categories)

$\chi^2 = 552.056$ $df = 1$ $P \leq .05$ (significance of proportions)

In other words, there are no significant difference in the responses of the three groups of women to the question and the very low χ^2 value (1.854) confirms it. However, the very high χ^2 value for the significance of differences in the proportions of respondents who said 'No' or 'Yes' shows that most of the women never gave a thought to breaking up their marriages.

Similarly, an examination of whether either spouse had openly expressed the desire or intention to separate or divorce (question 60) yielded the distribution of responses in Table 27(b) below.

Table 27(b): Responses on expression of desire for separation/divorce by both couple by Employment Type

Has either your husband or yourself openly expressed thoughts of separation/divorce?	Employment Type			
	SE	WE	FW	Total
No	271 (90%)	255 (90%)	248 (94%)	774 (92%)
Yes	29 (10%)	27 (10%)	15 (6%)	71 (8%)
Total	300 (100%)	282 (100%)	263 (100%)	845 (100%)

$\chi^2 = 3.64$ $df = 2$ $P \leq .05$ (differences in categories)

$\chi^2 = 584.86$ $df = 1$ $P \leq .05$ (differences in proportions)

The above Table shows that the majority (92%) of the women indicated that neither them nor their husbands had ever openly expressed any thoughts of breaking up their marital relationship. This is irrespective of wife's employment status - ie whether employed (SE or WE) or full-time housewife. Thus, the interpretation is that majority of these respondents (and their husbands) probably believe in enduring marital relationship - ie keeping one's marriage by all means.

Again, this issue of 'patching up' unhappy marriages was also raised with the men, and again, the most important single reason was for the sake of the children. This is true for all the forty men. Any other reason was considered secondary,

for example, reasons like religious beliefs, 'so-called love' (as one of the men had put it) and cultural values. Some men felt that though the desire to remain married is stronger for the women, men are not always comfortable with divorce situations. Indeed, one man gave an example of a divorced man who was referred to as being unable to keep his family together. In terms of religious beliefs, only the Roman Catholics among the men (22 out of 40 - 55%) mentioned this as the second most important reason.

It should, however, be noted that most of the men interviewed gave the impression that they would not patch up an unhappy marriage for ever, probably because there is this option of polygyny for them. In other words, it is the women who do the 'patching up' for ever just to keep their families together (ie to avoid broken homes). Women especially those with young children, noted the difficulty or inconvenience of bringing the children from a previous marriage into another marital relationship. They recounted the experiences of people around, like rejection of these children by the men's family or the man himself not wanting to be saddled with responsibility for another person's children.

4.11 Interview with the Divorced Men

Inspite of the observed general reluctance to break up marriage, marital dissolution still occurred. In fact, as found in Table 1(a), of the total sample of 874 women 38 (4%) were not living with their husbands. Twenty six out of this 38 (representing 3% of the total population) were separated while 12 (1% of total population) had actually got their divorce. Thus, it was necessary to find out from these divorced/separated men and women whether their marital break up had any relationship with the women's employment.

For reasons already explained under the 'Limitation of Study', only twenty one divorced men could be reached and/or were willing to be interviewed. They were aged 30 - 50 years; 10 had university education/professional certificates; 4 had diploma certificates; 5 had secondary school education while 2 had only primary school education. There were 2 medical doctors, a bank accountant, 8 university workers, 4 school teachers, 5 businessmen and a farmer who also did contract work. Number of children ranged from 1 - 5 children. There were four, though, who had no children at all. For length of marriage before the break up, the range was from 2 to 18 years while 18 of the 21 men had remarried. In terms of income, the men were relatively well to do since most of them were of the high income group. However, the school teachers and the farmer cum contract worker were not

that rich. Background information on these men's former wives revealed that 3 of the wives were nurses; 4 were university workers (including 2 lecturers); 6 were school teachers; 6 were business women (including petty traders) and 2 were full-time housewives.

As previously stated, it was difficult getting the few divorced men to open up. Indeed, the initial encounter with them (explaining my mission to them) was somewhat embarrassing. It was more embarrassing when some of them bluntly said they would rather not rake up old wounds; that, that was a chapter of their lives they would prefer to remain closed. That of course, meant that the matter was closed and so no discussions. Although, a number of them granted me audience and filled the questionnaire on the spot, for others, I had to go through their friends before they accepted to complete the instrument. Such men were in no mood to talk to any researcher. Eventually, only six of them - 3 from Ehugu and 3 from Nsukka could be discussed with.

On the issue of whether their wives' employment contributed to their marital break up, data from the questionnaires showed that about 90% of these men (19 out of 21) did not link their marital dissolution to their wives' employment per se. The remaining 10% (2 men) alluded to their wives' jobs being responsible for their being 'swollen

headed' and thereby, abandoning their primary (family) responsibilities. They (the two men) also claimed that their wives were having extra marital affairs since they were in constant contact with other men in their work places. Of these two men, one (a university worker) was married to a business woman while the other man (an accountant) was married to a lecturer.

Again, with respect to the factors that had contributed to their marital break up, the most frequently mentioned factor by these men is insubordination on the part of the wives (which some men interpret to mean 'women's claim of equality with men'. Examples of acts of insubordination include a wife challenging/disagreeing with the views of her husband on certain issues or insisting on her own point of view. In short, as found out from the sample of 21 men, this is also referred to as disobedience. Again, accusation of insubordination was levelled on wives who were highly educated and who had relatively well paying jobs (like the lady lecturer and the business woman). Indeed the husband of the lecturer held that his wife was claiming equality with him because she was highly educated, even though he himself had a university degree too.

The other factor frequently mentioned as having contributed to their marital demise is interference from

their wives' relatives, especially mothers - and sisters-in-law. The rest, in the order of frequency of mentioning are: childlessness, nagging/quarrelsomeness which some men claimed drove them out of the house (into another woman's arms), marital infidelity on the part of the wife, lack of male child, religious differences (eg, wife changing to another religious sect without husband's consent), lack of communication or understanding between the couple and, finally wife being accused of witchcraft, which was mentioned by a local farmer husband.

Since there had been an instance (at Nsukka) when a couple, after obtaining a divorce from the court, still remarried and had more children, the question was asked whether they would want to make up with their former wives if given another opportunity. Surprisingly, none of the men ever wanted to go back. They had had enough. Their suggestions for stability in marriage were, first and foremost, understanding between husband and wife, consideration and compromise. According to them, understanding involves knowing the moods of each other, when to insist on one's views and when to let go. Consideration and compromise are closely related in that spouses ought to be aware that their partners are human beings with feelings

and should therefore be ready to make compromises. All these are in addition to being alive to one's family responsibilities.

4.12 Interview with Divorced Women

As stated earlier, the inclusion of the 38 separated/divorced women was to find out their views on why their marriages were unstable to the extent of breaking up. Their ages ranged between 30 and 50 years while length of marriage before the break up ranged from 2 to 20 years. In terms of education, 15 of them had university education; 11 had teacher training/diploma certificates, 10 had secondary school education while 2 had only primary school education. With respect to occupation, there were 5 bank workers, 6 nurses, 10 university workers, 7 school teachers, 8 self-employed and 2 non-employed (FW) women. With the exception of the school teachers and the petty traders who were not very rich, the rest were relatively well-to-do. Number of children ranged from 1 to 7 children although, there were two women who had no children at all. Again, only 3 out of the 38 women had remarried. According to the women, the reason for the disinclination towards re-marriage is that it is not convenient to pack another man's children into another marriage. From experiences around

them, such actions sometimes cause friction, either from the man's children who may be resenting their new mother, or from the man himself who may be unwilling to take responsibility for training another man's children. Therefore, divorced women with children generally decide to live alone to raise their children.

The responses of these women on the factors that contributed to problems in their marriages are somewhat similar to those of men. For example, interference from the man's extended family (especially mothers - and sisters-in-law was mentioned). That is, these people were always putting pressure on their brother (the husband) either to marry another woman to bear children or to bear a son or sons as the case may be. In fact, generally, a lot of mothers-in-law (and sisters-in-law) are there to point out the negative behaviours of the woman and unless the man takes charge of his family, they usually cause problems for the conjugal unit. Again, women mentioned cruelty/wife beating as a factor for divorce, and this could be as a result of feeling of insecurity (inferiority) on the part of their men. Mention was also made of abandonment of family responsibilities which was usually accompanied by drunkenness and extra marital affairs. Some women (two of them) mentioned husband's impotence especially where the

man refuses the traditional practice of allowing the wife to be made pregnant by another man through giving tacit approval. Finally, five of the women broke up their marriages because their husbands married new wives without their consent.

On the specific reasons that led to their own marital dissolution, a combination of factors mentioned above is involved. For example, one of the divorced women interviewed, mentioned that she could not have children after ten years of marriage and this was a source of anxiety to the husband who then started having affairs with other women. He was keeping late nights and came back sometimes drunk only to start harrassing her that late in the night. In addition, her husband's relatives mounted pressure on him to send her packing in addition to their hostile attitude towards her. The last straw was when her mother-in-law brought in another women with a baby boy and then ordered her to leave the house because 'two males cannot be living together as husband and wife'. She packed out after that and continued to run her well patronized restaurant.

Again, as was the case with the divorced men, it was only in 5 cases out of 38 (13%) that the employment of wife was linked, even so indirectly, to marital break up.

For example, there was the case of a lecturer who said her husband accused her of marital infidelity because she was always travelling out for conferences/workshops. This woman had acquired so much self-confidence and financial independence that her husband felt there was something behind it all. Despite her denial of any affairs with other men, the husband was convinced that her job was exposing her to temptations and, therefore, the wife should quit her job. Of course, she refused to yield to her husband, and after some periods of disagreement and tension, she finally moved out of the house. Information from the 12 divorced women showed that 100% of them would not want to go back to former marriages if given another chance. They too have had enough. Even 20 of the 26 separated women (about 77%) were either in the process of getting a divorce or filing one while the remaining 6 were doing nothing yet. Their suggestions for stability in marriage were in line with those of the men - understanding/patience and consideration for the other partner.

4.13 Summary of Findings

The above analyses of data show that:

1. The hypothesised relationship between employment and family size is not supported. In other words, the data showed that employed wives do not have fewer number of

children but rather, that large or small family size can be found both in employed and non-employed-wife families.

2. Self-employed wives do not spend more hours on childcare and house work than wage earners. That is, that self-employment does not seem to provide wives with greater hours for domestic duties than do wage earning jobs.

3. There are no significant differences in the responses of the 3 categories of subjects with respect to mother's employment and presence of juvenile delinquency. In other words, majority of the respondents (in all the categories) are of the opinion that juvenile delinquency is not higher among employed-wife families than in those of the full-time housewives.

4. Employed wives do not really participate more in decision making in the family than do their full-time wife counterparts.

5. Wives' earnings do not seem to constitute a threat to their husbands' traditional authority positions.

6. Employed mothers do experience greater role strain and conflict than full-time housewives.

7. And the greater the number of children, the greater the strain and conflict, and yet women claimed that they did not have any difficulty combining childcare with housework.

8. Marital dissatisfaction is not related to wife being employed outside the home and the view is shared by majority of respondents in each category despite some slight differences in figures or proportions.
9. There is no significant association between being employed and tendency to break up unsatisfactory marriage.
10. There is no significant relationship between wife's education and propensity to end even an unsatisfactory marriage.

4.14 Indices of Instability/Coping Strategies

On the question of what they view as the greatest contribution to family instability (Question 54), the distribution shows that, of the 13 items, fighting was most frequently mentioned as number one indicator by 43% of those who responded. This was the greatest score for any item and this was followed by the husband complaining that his wife's family roles were neglected. The third item in the frequency of mentioning (importance) are interference from the extended family members and salary disputes between husband and wife. However, from discussions during the indepth interviews, all the women mentioned interference from their husband's relatives as the greatest threat to the stability of the family. They also mentioned wife beating and husband's marital infidelity especially coupled with

abandonment of family responsibilities and drunkenness. These factors were mentioned as leading to disagreement in the family.

From discussions with these men, an interesting observation has been made: that marital infidelity is culturally determined. That is, while adultery on the part of the wife is abhorred among some people, for example Nsukka people, it is not a big deal among some groups in Orlu area of Igboland. What this means is that marital break up may not occur among this latter group simply on the basis of wife's adultery only. In addition to the other indices of family instability, childlessness and absence of male children were considered strong factors that could shake the foundations of a marriage. For stability in marital relationships, these women mentioned patience and understanding as the most crucial factors. Mention was also made of a couple trusting each other as well as ability to talk things over.

Generally, employment of wives outside the home was not directly linked to instability in marriage especially if the woman is able to combine her job with her family duties with minimum of complaints from her husband. However, the employed categories (SE and WE) stressed that their husbands' understanding and cooperation were needed

if they were to manage the multiple roles effectively. They reasoned that since they were working for family improvement, it would help them a lot if their husbands could chip in a bit with childcare or any other household work they choose.

Nevertheless, the employed women (SE & WE) mentioned that their best strategy for coping with their multiple roles is the use of househelps or relatives who handle the endless drudgery of housework while these women are away. In the absence of househelps/relatives, the employed wives would establish priorities for roles - choosing which tasks needed their immediate attention. Some women also felt they would discuss their difficulties with their husbands in order to have their suggestions. Not surprisingly, most of the full-time housewives believed they would work harder to accomplish all their responsibilities probably because they have all the time at home.

4.15 Relationship between Key variables and Family Instability

From the summary of findings above, one observes that most of the hypothesized relationships are weak and/or insignificant, with the exception of role strain/conflict which in the opinion of the respondents is associated with wives' employment, and which is also increased by an

increase in number of children. It was, however, thought necessary to check if there is a direct relationship between some of the key or relevant variables and family instability. Such variables include:

1. employment status,
2. number of children,
3. wife's income level,
4. husband's income level,
5. wife's educational level,
6. husband's educational level,
7. role strain/conflict,
8. wife's income as a threat to husband's authority in the family,
9. marital dissatisfaction,
10. propensity to end unsatisfactory marriage,
11. fighting between couple,
12. salary disputes between couple,
13. interference from extended family members,
14. satisfaction with childcare arrangements,
15. husband's satisfaction with childcare, and
16. feeling guilty about leaving children for a job.

The above variables were cross-tabulated with family instability. Of all these variables, only role strain/conflict, wife's income as a threat, marital dissatisfaction

and propensity to end unsatisfactory marriage had significant relationship with family instability as was seen from their χ^2 values. In each of the cases above, the Table shows a significant difference in the responses among the categories of the independent variables. See Table 28 below.

Table 28(i): Distribution of Role Strain/Conflict by Family Instability

Family Instability	Role Strain/Conflict		
	Disagree	Agree	Total
Disagree	152 (71%)	284 (43%)	436 (50%)
Agree	63 (29%)	375 (57%)	438 (50%)
Total	215 (100%)	659 (100%)	874 (100%)

Differences in Categories - $\chi^2 = 48.305$ df = 1 Sig. = .0000

Table 28(ii): Distribution of Wife's income as a threat by Family Instability

Family Instability	Wife's Income as a threat to Husband		
	No	Yes	Total
Disagree	310 (59%)	123 (36%)	433 (50%)
Agree	215 (41%)	221 (64%)	436 (50%)
Total	525 (100%)	344 (100%)	869 (100%)

Differences in Categories - $\chi^2 = 44.172$ df = 1 Sig. = .0000

Table 28(iii): Distribution of Marital Dissatisfaction by Family Instability

Family Instability	Marital Dissatisfaction		
	No	Yes	Total
Disagree	339 (58%)	97 (33%)	436 (50%)
Agree	245 (42%)	193 (67%)	438 (50%)
Total	584 (100%)	290 (100%)	874 (100%)

Differences in Categories - $\chi^2 = 45.926$ df = 1 Sig. = .0000

Table 28(iv): Distribution of Propensity to end unsatisfactory Marriage by Family Instability

Family Instability	Propensity to end unsatisfactory Marriage		
	Disagree	Agree	Total
Disagree	255 (56%)	181 (43%)	436 (50%)
Agree	196 (44%)	242 (57%)	438 (50%)
Total	451 (100%)	423 (100%)	874 (100%)

Differences in Categories - $\chi^2 = 15.965$ df = 1 Sig. = .0001

Table 28(v): Distribution of Responses on Feelings of Guilt about working by Family Instability

Family Instability	Feelings of Guilt		
	No	Yes	Total
Disagree	345 (51%)	91 (46%)	436 (50%)
Agree	330 (49%)	108 (54%)	438 (50%)
Total	675 (100%)	199 (100%)	874 (100%)

Differences in Categories - $X^2 = 1.572$ df = 1 Sig. = 0.20

For example, Table 28(i) shows that there is a very significant relationship between role strain/conflict and family instability as shown by the X^2 value of 48.305 and with a significance level of .000. This means a highly significant relationship.

Similarly, the responses on Table 28(ii) show that there is a difference in the responses among the categories with respect to the variables 'wife's income as a threat' and family stability. The high X^2 value (44.172) which is equally highly significant (.0000) confirms this relationship.

Again, the relationship between marital dissatisfaction on the one hand and propensity to end unsatisfactory marriage on the other, with family instability as depicted in Tables 28(iii) and Table 28(iv) respectively show the same trend of significant relationship among the variables. The rest of the

variables had X^2 values that were near zero relationships and which were not significant at all.

Nevertheless, it was felt that the expression of guilt about leaving one's children for outside job could be an indication of conflict in roles, which would affect the stability of the family. Therefore, it was necessary to check the existence or otherwise of such a relationship between guilty feeling about working and family instability. Recall, however, that a majority (63%) of the respondents had previously indicated that they did not feel bad or guilty about working - see Table 8(i). Their main reason was that they were working for the benefit of their families, in addition to the fact that substitute care was provided for their children. Even though, one can interpret the absence of guilt about working to imply absence of role conflict, and thus no effect on family stability, it is still proper to check the possibility of a direct relationship between feeling guilty about working and family instability. As can be seen from the data in Table 28(v), there is no significant association between the two variables - $\chi^2 = 1.572$. Well, this is expected based on the fact that the respondents had said they did not feel guilty about being employed outside the home.

It was also deemed necessary to check the magnitude of the relationship found between not only these variables but a host of other relevant ones that had been cross-tabulated with family instability. The result of the regression analysis showed a total explained variance (r^2) of .14324, ie 14.3%. The analysis also showed that only five of the variables had strong relationship with family instability as seen from their Beta values. These are role strain/conflict (.17579), income as a threat (.19993), and marital dissatisfaction (.15961) all of which had shown a relationship with the dependent variable (family instability in the tables). The others are: fighting between couple (.22139) and interference from extended family relations (-0.13913) which has a negative relationship. Further regression analysis was done with these 5 variables being regressed on family instability (Table 29). The total amount of variance (r^2) on family instability explained by these 5 independent variables together amounted to 0.13426 which is 13.4%. This is, however, slightly lower than the initial r^2 of 14.3% seen when all the variables were used.

Again, a closer look at the summary table - ie Table 29 below shows the individual effect of each variable on the dependent variable (family instability) under the 'B' values - ie the partial regression coefficients.

Table 29: Multiple Regression Analysis (5 variables)

Dependent Variable: Family Instability

Multiple R = 0.36642

R Square (R^2) = 0.13426

Standard Error = 0.45683

Independent Variables	Multiple R	R^2	Simple R	B	BETA
Extended Family interference	0.03980	0.00158	0.03980	.4449732	.04391
Fighting between couple	0.13341	0.01780	0.13084	.1401055	0.13406
Wife's income as a threat	0.25744	0.06628	0.22767	.1671477	0.16332
Role strain and conflict	0.33219	0.11035	0.23775	.2151161	0.18529
Marital dissatisfaction	0.36642	0.13426	0.23166	.1706613	0.16072
(Constant)				1.144753	

The relative impact or contribution of these independent variables on family instability is represented by the Beta values. From this table, it is observed that the most important contributor to family instability; with the highest Beta value of .18529 is role strain/conflict. This is followed by the variable - wife's income as a threat to husband's authority (.16332), and so on down the line, with the variable interference from the extended family members showing the least contribution (inverse) on family

instability. Thus, it is observed that the variable role strain/conflict is associated with wife's employment as found in Table 18. It is also directly related to family instability (Table 28(i)) and has shown the greatest contribution to family instability as seen from Table 29. In other words, role strain/conflict has consistently appeared to be related to family instability.

Chapter 5

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

5.1 Discussion

In this section, focus is on some of the relationships investigated in this study as well as their practical implications. First of all, this study shows that employment of wives has not impeded their reproductive responsibilities nor has it led to a reduction in family size, in contrast to Euro-American studies some of which were examined in this work. However, of paramount importance is the discovery that marriage within the study areas, and perhaps largely so far other groups in Nigeria, is contracted mainly for purposes of procreation. Therefore, it becomes inconceivable that a Nigerian woman would allow her job to take priority over having children in her marriage. Indeed, there is an Igbo adage which says that 'the only benefit in marriage stems from having children'. Shapiro and Tambashe (1994) suggested that the active involvement in family planning of women with high education and income in Kinshasa, Zaire could signify fertility decline in that country. But data from this present study do not suggest such a trend in the study areas, probably because the proportion of women with high education and of high economic status is still too small

to make any significant impact in terms of a decline in family size (or fertility). Thus, since employment has not affected childbearing role of women, it means then that there is no conflict in this aspect of family life, and therefore, the stability of the family is not threatened.

Again, from the discussion on employment and hours women spend on family duties, it was noted that Nigerian men are traditionally not expected to take part in household chores. However, interviews with some men quoted them as saying that

Nigerian men have become very understanding and are willing to help even with household chores ... but women abuse this (gesture). They tend to see themselves as equal to the men just because they contribute their own financial quota to the family finance. The man is still the head of the household and should be treated as such (Onwuchekwa, 1988:17).

The point here is that while one is aware that some men are willing to and do help with some household chores, this study shows that not many of them are that willing to help with these tasks. As such, working wives in both formal (wage) and informal (self) employment still bear the greater burden of domestic tasks.

With respect to decision making, it is noted that although decisions are jointly made on a few family issues, most decisions are husband-dominated, leading to the

conclusion that employment (or even high income) and education do not significantly increase a woman's share in decision making. However, of greater importance is the theoretical implication of this finding. That is, the observation that authority between husband and wife is mainly culturally determined in contrast to Oppong's (1981) view of economic resources as determining the relative power in decision making. Although, this study did not focus specifically on matrilineal groups in Nigeria, this system of descent clearly brings out the incontestable fact that power is culturally determined. For example, Kayongo-Male et al (1986) noted that the Aboure' women (a matrilineal group from Ivory Coast) had more powers in the family than their patrilineal Bete' counterparts. The matrilineal system in Nigeria seems to be a different variant. For example, among the Chafia Igbo, the earlier impression is that authority over children rests with the wife's brother and not the children's father (Nsugbe, 1974). However, it has been pointed out that this group of people (Chafia) actually practices double descent system. In other words, children inherit both from their father's and mother's sides; they can be trained by either their fathers or maternal uncles depending on who has the wherewithal while fathers still

exercise control over them (Discussion with Dr. Egbeke Aja of the Department of Philosophy, University of Nigeria, Nsukka). It was equally noted that divorce rates tended to be high in matrilineal societies. In fact, Nsugbe (1974) also noted that divorce was easy among the matrilineal Igbo group he studied (ie Ohaia) compared with their patrilineal Igbo counterparts. Well, the view is that since women do not lose much (as neither the children nor land is lost in matrilineal societies), they may not bother to strain themselves just to maintain an unsatisfactory marriage.

Another example to support the cultural determinism view of husband/wife power relations is the practice among the matrilineal group - the Luapula of Zambia - of a husband confessing his acts of marital infidelity to the wife's mother, particularly if the woman experiences difficulty in childbirth. Compare this practice with the Igbo practice of a wife confessing her acts of infidelity to her husband, ie "isa asisa" which may require some ritual cleansing of that wife. In fact, repeated difficulty in childbirth gives the Luapula women right to divorce her husband. The extent of women's powers (as a function of cultural practice) is also seen in the practice under this descent system where a wife may or may not live with her husband. Aboure women are said to live separately from their husbands who are not even

allowed to visit them. This practice, indeed, gives these women more independence and control (Kayongo-Male et al, 1986). Thus, in relation to this present study, the practice of patriarchy emphasizes male dominance ideology in the study areas. As such, whatever a woman's social status in this society, she is still subject to her husband's authority if the union is to survive. This is what the culture dictates and, this also supports the 'cultural mandate' thesis of Coser and Rokoff (1970). This prevailing ideology of inequality between sexes is brought out by a saying among the Cwerri Igbo, that 'a woman is not greater than her husband', or 'a woman's husband is her god' (Mere, 1985:2).

Another finding from this study is that even though the respondents agreed that working mothers experience greater role strain and conflict than non-employed mothers, and that this condition increases with an increase in number of children, majority of them still indicated that they had no difficulty combining their jobs and housework. Although, this appears contradictory, it is understandable, perhaps, because of the presence of househelps who ease off the excess workload. However, the relationship consistently found between role strain/conflict and family instability underscores the fact that women really suffer from role

overload. As already noted, literature showed that working women battle with four major roles of wife, employee, mother and housewife, such that they suffer from inter and intra role conflicts which result from role overload (multiple roles). Thus, whether working wives realize it or not, they go through a lot of strain or agony (Obi, 1988), thinking of how to juggle their times or supervise their domestic help(s) to achieve maximum results. This constant strain may be responsible for the consistent relationship (found both in the cross tabulations [χ^2] and the regression analyses) between strain/conflict and family instability. Indeed, this situation of pressure from home and work is felt by married women all over the world as seen from the review of literature.

It is also noted that the African family system emphasizes the place or importance of the extended family both in the initial marital arrangements/ceremonies and in the lives of the couple after marriage (wedding). In effect, the conjugal family is never isolated from the larger family group. Although, this has the advantage of helping members to maintain close ties and to render financial assistance to the poorer ones, the extended family ties have been viewed even by some of our people as a form of parasite, capable of retarding the economic progress of the couple.

In other words, the fact that a husband is saddled with training/setting up his relatives, may not only set him back but may also bring about family friction if his wife resents his extra family commitments. In addition, parents and other relatives of the man (and woman) do feel obliged to interfere with the activities or the marital lives of the couple, thereby causing problems. This is probably the reason this variable - interference from the extended family relations - came up as the second most frequently mentioned (after fighting) as an index of (contributor to) family instability both by employed and non-employed wives from the questionnaires and interviews. Even the nuclear (conjugal) family is very much aware of the fact that kin members do influence the process of decision making within the conjugal unit. The implication is that the extended family system in Nigeria is not about to die simply because it is viewed as being responsible for a lot of strains and conflict in the family. Rather, although people still feel disposed towards helping their relatives, some have started to adopt the current pattern now in other parts of Africa, which is feeling more able to reject some extended family demands and select those relatives who they feel are more worthy of receiving help (Kayongo-Male et al, 1986).

Again, it was observed that feeling dissatisfied with one's marriage was mentioned as an indicator of instability in marriage. Being employed was however, not related specifically to marital dissatisfaction as evidenced from several studies already mentioned. This implies that dissatisfaction with marriage occurred both in families of working and non-working wives. Similarly, tendency (propensity) to break up even an unsatisfactory marriage was not related to the fact that a woman was earning an income (high or low) or that she was highly educated. Now, it should be borne in mind that this reluctance to break up a marriage does not signify that couples are quite happy or satisfied with their marital relationships, nor does it imply absence of disagreements between couples. Indeed, a lot more attention is being drawn to the phenomenon of 'stable but unhappy marriages'. In fact, the health risk for people (or couples) who pretend that they are happy with their family situations when they are really miserable has been pointed out by Kayongo-Male et al (1986). A similar point was made by Sales (1969) that conflict arising from multiple roles brought about social and psychological problems for different family members and could lead or contribute to coronary disease for the wife. The implication of this tendency to stick to marriage is the recognition of the sanctity of marriage (whether

traditional, christian or statutory) which is not just contracted by the couple concerned but by the extended families of both partners.

With respect to the issue of marital break up (divorce/separation), this study found that wife's employment, per se, does not lead to the break up of the marriage. This idea was confirmed by interviews with divorced men and women - 90% of men and 97% of women who did not link their marital break up to wife's job. In other words, marital dissolution is not really a function of wife being employed outside the home. This author observes that marital break up seems to leave a bitter after-taste in women's mouths more than the men. That is, most divorced women harbour a lot of resentment and bitterness against their former husbands especially if things have not been going easy for them. Perhaps, this could be because men remarry more often than not, and thereby get over the divorce 'hang over' faster, while women do not easily remarry. The main consideration for women is the inconvenience of taking children of a former marriage to a new one. The very small percentage of women in this sample who are divorced seems to imply that contrary to the 'widespread view of an increasing incidence of divorce in contemporary Africa' (Nwanunobi, 1992:37), including Nigeria, the divorce rate

explaining instability in working-wife families.

Nevertheless, it is contended that these strains and conflicts may not necessarily lead to marital dissolution (which is the ultimate or end point of instability) in all cases as evidenced by the low proportion of couples who are separated or divorced in this study and as noted by Andah (1990). This is one of the significant contributions of this study to knowledge. In other words, this study shows that more marriages still remain intact than are broken up despite the strain and conflict that are observed as a result of women's multiple roles, and in contrast to the belief that divorce rate in our society is generally catching up with those of the Euro-American countries. This study also brings out the point that the low proportion of marriages that have broken up does not in any way imply that the rest are all happy with their marital situation. In fact, a lot of couples experience the various symptoms or indicators of instability but still prefer to keep 'patching up' the relationship for reasons already discussed.

Another contribution of this study relates to the authority relations in the family, namely that allocation of power/authority between husband and wife is mainly culturally determined more than by wife's economic resources.

This is particularly so in our society with its male dominance ideology.

Finally, with respect to the main objectives of this study - whether wives' employment contributes to family instability, the circumstances under which this can happen and the strategies for coping with multiple role situation - it has already been stated that there is no direct relationship between wives' employment and family instability. Even, the intervening variables through which the major independent variable (wife's employment) and the dependent variable (family instability) are expected to have some relationship, equally show weak or insignificant relationships, with the exception of role strain/conflict. Therefore in relation to objective number two, the circumstance or condition under which wives' employment is related to family instability is through the presence of strain and conflict arising from the multiple roles of wife, worker, mother and home maker, leading to role overload. The culturally sensitive strategy for coping with the strain and conflict (objective number four) is the use of domestic helps who assist in easing the workload at home. Most wives had relatives living with them who took care of their household work and childcare while, in return, the couple took care of their education and/or job

is not likely to increase significantly for reasons such as maintaining the sanctity of marriage, among others already mentioned. Thus, it is advocated that the concern should be with the number of intact but unhappy couples who, for various reasons, do not have the courage to break up their marriage.

5.2 Conclusion

The original impression which informed this study is that the involvement of wives in employment outside the home leads to instability in the family. It was thought necessary to examine this relationship through a number of related intervening variables through which wife's employment might affect family stability. These are: number of children (family size), juvenile delinquency, authority (power) relations between husband and wife, wife's income and education, dissatisfaction in marriage and propensity to end unsatisfactory marriage and role strain/conflict resulting from multiple roles of women.

With the exception of role strain/conflict, all the above variables had weak or very insignificant relationships. It is noted that the consistent relationship found between role strain/conflict and family instability confirms that role conflict framework is, indeed, an appropriate tool for

training. However, women who have had ugly experiences with househelps, would rather establish priority for roles - ie choosing which roles are more important and then devoting their immediate attention to them. There were others who felt that discussing with their husbands their difficulties in order to have their suggestions was a better strategy. However, most of the non-employed wives felt they would work harder in order to take care of their domestic responsibilities. Being full-time housewives, it is not surprising since they are supposed to have all the time to do everything.

5.3 Recommendations

From the finding (from questionnaire and interviews with the men) that juvenile delinquency is not solely related to mother's employment since children of both employed and non-employed-wife families engage in delinquency, it is recommended that parents take the responsibility of censoring the type of films their children watch, the companies they keep and generally, their movement. This is in line with the observation of the male respondents that lack of parental guidance and censorship contribute immensely to delinquency. In addition, Table 10 shows that 36% of the women actually feel that mother's employment outside the home contributes to delinquent behaviour in

children. This is a recognition of some negative relationship between the two variables. Thus, it is recommended that activities - both recreational and intellectual (academic) - be provided to keep children occupied and thus, away from mischief.

Again, the very sensitive nature of divorce which probably accounts for the difficulty with getting divorced men and women who are willing to be interviewed makes one hesitant to recommend studies in this area. Yet, information from those who have had the experience would be of help in averting future occurrence. However, it is recommended that marriage workshops be organized from time to time at the community level by the local churches or organizations. In this type of workshop, couples could discuss what they perceive as others' faults (and the good points too). They will share their marital experiences with others during the workshop and this will be accompanied by counselling sessions. This will serve to invigorate couples whose marital spirits are down or low. It will also help to reduce ill-health caused by tension within the family so that we do not just have 'stable but unhappy' families but indeed have more 'stable and happy' families. It is also recommended that policy makers (government) think seriously again on the issue of setting up daycare centres

(or creche) to help the small but increasing number of mothers who have problem with getting/keeping househelps. Although there are daycare centres run by individuals, a number of them are ill-equipped and high standards are not maintained. As such, children are prone to mishaps in these centres. Therefore, government should carry out spot checks on these centres with a view to closing the substandard ones.

5.4 Suggestions for further research

It is suggested that a cross-cultural or cross-national validation of this research be carried out not only on the relationship between wives' employment and family instability, but on the relationship between family instability and the other intervening variables used in this study. Although, a study had been done in Lagos which showed a relationship between role conflict and family instability (Okeke, 1994), the sample size was small (360 women). Therefore, such a validation study should, of necessity, involve a larger sample size than presently used. It will also be interesting to find out if differences in cultural practices would influence the responses of the working wives on the issues investigated here.

Again, it is suggested that a typical rural area (not a university town with workers who are quite exposed to western cultural ideals) be used to check the effect of rural residence on responses of these subjects.

Finally, a further study is suggested concerning the matrilineal groups in Nigeria to cross check the present finding that husband/wife power/authority relations are culturally determined rather than by economic resources [as was found earlier by Oppong (1981) among Ghanaian matrilineal groups].

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Appendix 1

Distribution of Full-time Housewives' (FW) Responses on Selected Variables - Enugu & Nsukka Combined N = 274

	Responses		
	Fewer Hours	Greater Hours	Total
Hours spent on childcare/ house work	44 (30%)	101 (70%)	145
	Enough	Not Enough	Total
Hours enough for childcare/ house work	97 (70%)	41 (30%)	138
	No	Yes	Total
Man should help with house work	45 (24%)	143 (76%)	188
	No	Yes	Total
<u>Assistance from Husband</u>			
Childcare	107 (71%)	44 (29%)	151
Cooking	103 (90%)	11 (10%)	114
Laundry	94 (75%)	32 (25%)	126
Dish washing and house cleaning	144 (99%)	2 (1%)	146
Household shopping	134 (82%)	29 (16%)	163
Supervising children's work	124 (62%)	76 (38%)	200
None	77 (81%)	18 (19%)	95
<u>Amenities at Home</u>			
	No	Yes	Total
Househelp/paid domestic help	116 (68%)	55 (32%)	171
Refridgerator	120 (62%)	74 (38%)	194
Freezer	144 (96%)	6 (4%)	150
Adequate water supply	177 (89%)	31 (15%)	208
Television	126 (59%)	87 (41%)	213
Car(s)	181 (91%)	18 (9%)	199
Telephone	96 (91%)	9 (9%)	105
Gas/Electric Cooker	82 (88%)	11 (12%)	93

Appendix 2

Questionnaire for working wives

Dept. of Sociology/Anthropology,
University of Nigeria,
Nsukka.

Dear Madam,

I am a graduate student of the Department of Sociology/Anthropology, University of Nigeria, Nsukka. I am doing a research on women who are employed outside the home. The study is purely for academic purposes.

You have been selected as one of the respondents in this study. I would appreciate it if you would answer the following questions as honestly as you can. Your co-operation will be very much appreciated.

You are not required to disclose your identity and all information will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Thanks for your co-operation.

Yours sincerely,

Veronica I. Okeke (Mrs).

Questionnaire for Married WomenWife's Background Data

Please circle or tick (✓) opposite the appropriate answer.

1. Please indicate your age group.

- i) 21 - 30
- ii) 31 - 40
- iii) 41 - 50
- iv) 51 and above.

2. Highest Educational Qualification.

- i) No Schooling
- ii) Primary Schooling
- iii) Secondary School Certificate/TC II
- iv) OND/NCE/Diploma
- v) Bachelor's Degree/HND
- vi) Master's Degree
- vii) Doctorate Degree
- viii) Professional - ACCA, ICA, etc.

3. Are you presently:

- i) Married?
- ii) Separated?
- iii) Divorced?
- iv) Widowed?

4. Please what is your income per annum?

- i) Below ₦3,000
- ii) 3,001 - 6,000
- iii) 6,001 - 9,000
- iv) 9,001 - 12,000
- v) 12,001 - 15,000
- vi) 15,001 - 18,000
- vii) 18,001 - 21,000
- viii) 21,001 and above.

5. Number of children and their ages

	Male	or Female	Age
1st	_____	_____	_____
2nd	_____	_____	_____
3rd	_____	_____	_____
4th	_____	_____	_____
5th	_____	_____	_____
6th	_____	_____	_____

6. Religious affiliation
- i) Christianity
 - ii) Moslem Religion
 - iii) Traditional Religion
 - iv) Others (Specify) _____

Husband's Background Information

7. Please indicate your husband's age group.

- i) 21 - 30
- ii) 31 - 40
- iii) 41 - 50
- iv) 51 and above.

8. Husband's Highest Educational Qualification

- i) No Schooling
- ii) Primary School Certificate
- iii) Secondary School Certificate/TC II
- iv) O/NCE/Diploma
- v) Bachelor's Degree/HND
- vi) Master's Degree
- vii) Doctorate Degree
- viii) Professional - ACCA, ICA, etc.

9. Husband's Occupation

- i) Medical Doctor
- ii) Architect
- iii) Lawyer
- iv) Accountant
- v) University Lecturer
- vi) Primary/Secondary School Teacher
- vii) Self-employed (Businessman)
- viii) Administrative Staff
- ix) Secretarial Staff
- x) Others (Please specify) _____

10. What is his income per annum?

- i) Below ₦3,000
- ii) 3,001 - 6,000
- iii) 6,001 - 9,000
- iv) 9,001 - 12,000
- v) 12,001 - 15,000
- vi) 15,001 - 18,000
- vii) 18,001 - 21,000
- viii) 21,001 and above.

11. (a) For how long have you been married? _____
 (b) What year was that? _____

For government worker, private company workers and self-employed

Please supply the following information.

12. (a) Place of Work _____
 (b) Who is your employer? _____
 (c) Nature of work _____

13. Women work for various reasons; which of the following apply to you?

- i) Supplement husband's income
 ii) Support self and children
 iii) Personal need satisfaction
 iv) Utilize training/help develop nation
 v) Help extended family members
 vi) Escape boredom at home
 vii) Self-realization (Self-fulfilment)
 viii) Others (specify) _____

14. How many hours per day do you spend on your job? _____

15. What are your specific duties? _____

16. What problems do you have with your work?

- i) Working late/working over the week-end
 ii) Shift duties
 iii) Problems with management/employer
 iv) Transportation
 v) Distance from home
 vi) Delay in payment of salary
 vii) Overdue promotion
 viii) Others (Specify) _____

Relationship between Employment and Childcare/Household Activities

17. Has your employment affected the number of children you have?

Yes { }
No { }

18. If 'Yes', in what way(s)? _____

19. Do you find it difficult to combine your job with childcare?

Yes { }
No { }

20. If 'Yes', what type of problems do you encounter?

21. How do you normally take care of your children while at work?

- i) Entrust them with relatives living with you
- ii) Entrust them with househelps
- iii) Take them to daycare/nursery schools
- iv) Bring them to work
- v) Others (Specify) _____

22. Are you satisfied with your present arrangement for childcare?

- i) Not satisfied
- ii) Averagely satisfied
- iii) Very satisfied

23. What are your husband's feelings about your childcare arrangement?

- i) Not satisfied
- ii) Averagely satisfied
- iii) Very satisfied

24. If childcare arrangements are unsatisfactory, what improvement would you suggest?

25. Do you feel that a wife's employment outside the home has some effect on her children?

Yes ()
No ()

26. If 'Yes', state the type of effect.

27. Do you experience any feelings of guilt about leaving your children and going to work?

Yes ()
No ()

28. If 'Yes', how do you compensate for your absence?

29. What is your husband's attitude towards your employment/career?

- i) Approves/supports
- ii) Tolerates
- iii) Complains
- iv) Seriously opposed to it.

30. How many hours per day on the whole do you spend on your childcare/household activities?

31. Do you feel this time is enough for these activities?

Yes ()
No ()

32. Do you share the view that men should help their wives with housework or look after the children after work when wives are also employed?

Yes ()
No ()

33. What sort of assistance (if any) does your husband render at home? Tick (✓) as appropriate.

- i) Childcare
- ii) Cooking
- iii) Laundry
- iv) Dish washing/house cleaning
- v) Household shopping
- vi) Supervising children's school work
- vii) Others (Specify) _____
- viii) None

34. Who does the cooking in your house? _____

35. Number of people in the household cooked for? _____

36. Amenities/household aids in your home.

- i) Househelp/paid domestic help
- ii) Refrigerator
- iii) Deep freezer
- iv) Washing machine
- v) Adequate water supply
- vi) Television
- vii) Car(s)
- viii) Telephone
- ix) Gas/Electric Cooker

Influence of work on mother/child Relationship

37. Looking at the increasing number of juvenile delinquents (young offenders), do you think that mother's employment contributes to child delinquency?

Yes ()
No ()

38. If 'Yes', in what way? _____

39. Please give your opinion on these statements by ticking (✓) ones appropriate to you.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Dis-agree	Strongly Disagree
i) Working mothers are always tired, impatient and irritable.				
ii) Children feel neglected.				
iii) Children are neglected.				
iv) Children misbehave in the absence of their mother.				
v) Working mothers cannot share school experiences with their children.				
vi) Working mothers have no time to teach their children socially approved behaviour.				
vii) Standard of living is higher in working mother homes.				
viii) Children of working mothers enjoy improved care in nutrition and health.				

Authority (Power) Relations between husband and wife

40. Who decides how much to be spent on house keeping?

- i) Self
- ii) Husband
- iii) Both

41. What proportion does each spouse contribute towards the running of the home?

- 1) Husband _____%
- ii) Wife _____%

42. Who makes the decision on the proportion each should contribute?

- i) Self
- ii) Husband
- iii) Both

43. Do you have absolute control over how to disburse your income?

Yes ()
No ()

44. Who decides on number of children in the family?

- i) Self
- ii) Husband
- iii) Both of us
- iv) Extended family members

45. Despite their economic contributions towards family upkeep, women still do not have much say in the running of the home. (eg major family projects, children's education, extended family members, househelp issues). Do you agree?

Yes ()
No ()

46. If 'Yes', what in your opinion are the reasons for this unequal power situation?

47. What remedies do you suggest for the above?

48. It has been suggested that women's income or earning power can act as a threat to their husbands' traditional authority in the family. Do you agree?

Yes ()
No ()

Education and Family Instability

49. Please give your opinion on the following statements by ticking (✓) one(s) appropriate to you.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Dis-agree	Strongly Disagree
i) Education generally makes a woman aware of her rights both in the family and in the society.				
ii) An educated wife (being aware of her rights) demands that her husband should participate in some housework.				
iii) An educated wife is more likely to demand a share in decision making than an uneducated wife.				
iv) Employed wife has greater propensity to end an unsatisfactory marriage because of her potential ability to take care of herself.				
v) The more educated the more likely she will be to disregard some of the traditional ideas about a married woman's roles.				

Role strain/conflict and General Satisfaction for Working Wives

Please tick (✓) the appropriate answer from the following:

50. Do you feel that dissatisfaction in marriage is more likely to occur if a woman has a job outside the home?

Yes ()
No ()

51. Because of working mothers' multiple roles (wife/mother and worker) they are more likely to experience greater role strain and conflict than non-working wives.
- i) Strongly agree
 - ii) Agree
 - iii) Disagree
 - iv) Strongly disagree
52. These multiple roles lead to both physical and mental strain for the women than the men.
- i) Strongly agree
 - ii) Agree
 - iii) Disagree
 - iv) Strongly disagree
53. The strain and conflict so experienced may lead to family instability.
- i) Strongly agree
 - ii) Agree
 - iii) Disagree
 - iv) Strongly disagree
54. Please rank the under-listed items according to how strongly they contribute to family instability. For example, 1 is given to the item that contributes most to instability, while 2 is given to the next, and so on.
- () presence and frequency of quarrelling and physical fighting between husband and wife;
 - () husband complaining about wife's neglect of her family roles;
 - () husband eating outside because of late preparation of meals since wife is at work;
 - () wife's feeling of resentment because husband does not help out with household duties;
 - () salary disputes between husband and wife;
 - () husband's feeling of status loss because of wife's earnings;
 - () wife feeling over-burdened with financial responsibilities;
 - () interference from extended family relations;

51. Because of working mothers' multiple roles (wife/mother and worker) they are more likely to experience greater role strain and conflict than non-working wives.
- i) Strongly agree
 - ii) Agree
 - iii) Disagree
 - iv) Strongly disagree
52. These multiple roles lead to both physical and mental strain for the women than the men.
- i) Strongly agree
 - ii) Agree
 - iii) Disagree
 - iv) Strongly disagree
53. The strain and conflict so experienced may lead to family instability.
- i) Strongly agree
 - ii) Agree
 - iii) Disagree
 - iv) Strongly disagree
54. Please rank the under-listed items according to how strongly they contribute to family instability. For example, 1 is given to the item that contributes most to instability, while 2 is given to the next, and so on.
- () presence and frequency of quarrelling and physical fighting between husband and wife;
 - () husband complaining about wife's neglect of her family roles;
 - () husband eating outside because of late preparation of meals since wife is at work;
 - () wife's feeling of resentment because husband does not help out with household duties;
 - () salary disputes between husband and wife;
 - () husband's feeling of status loss because of wife's earnings;
 - () wife feeling over-burdened with financial responsibilities;
 - () interference from extended family relations;

- () househelp related problems;
- () parent-child conflict;
- () general feelings of unhappiness or dissatisfaction expressed by husband, wife or both;
- () strong feelings or thoughts of separation expressed by spouses;
- () couples in the process of separation or divorce.

On Stability of Marital Relationship

55. It is suggested that a certain degree of conflict (in form of disagreement, quarrelling, etc) is desirable for couples' proper adjustment. If so, do you agree?
- Yes ()
No ()
56. Do you have major disagreements?
- Yes ()
No ()
57. If so, over what? _____
58. How are those resolved and how have they affected your marital relationship?
- _____
- _____
59. Have you ever had some feelings or thoughts of separation or even divorce?
- Yes ()
No ()
60. Has either your husband or yourself openly expressed such thoughts?
- Yes ()
No ()

61. If so, what was/were the reason(s) for the expression?

62. Are you presently separated or divorced?

Yes { }
No { }

63. If 'Yes', for how long? _____

64. If separated, are you in the process of

- i) making up?
- ii) finally getting a divorce?
- iii) doing nothing?

65. Sometimes couples feel very unsatisfied with their marriage and yet would prefer to stick it out. What in your opinion are the reasons for continuing to 'patch up' unhappy marriage? Tick (✓) as appropriate.

- i) Because of religious beliefs
- ii) For the sake of children
- iii) Because of poor financial status especially for the wife
- iv) Because of cultural values attached to a woman staying married
- v) For personal security
- vi) Others (Specify) _____

Strategies for coping with strain and conflict arising from multiple roles

66. From the underlisted, please tick (✓) the strategies you do (or would) adopt in coping with the strain and conflict of multiple roles, in order of importance using the number '1' for the most important and '2' for the next, etc.

- () Establishing priorities for roles, that is, choosing which ones are of importance;
- () Eliminating or delegating the not very important roles to others;
- () Discussing the conflict with your husband in order to have his suggestions;

- () Developing new attitudes towards roles, eg ignoring some societal expectations;
- () Adopting the attitude of doing one thing at a time and not worrying too much ie time will take care of all problems;
- () Working harder to meet all role demands both office work and house work;
- () Simply resigning yourself (eg to God's will);
- Others (Please specify) _____

Satisfaction with Marriage

67. Would you describe yourself as:

- i) Generally satisfied?
- ii) Unsatisfied?
- iii) None of the above.

For full-time Housewives (ie non-employed)

Questions 68, 69 and 70 are supposed to show whether the reasons for stopping work (where this has happened) are related to the woman's inability to cope.

68. Have you ever worked before?

Yes ()
No ()

69. If 'Yes', why did you stop working? _____

70. If 'No', why haven't you worked at all?

- () Lack of necessary skill;
- () Husband dislikes the idea of a working wife;
- () To take proper care of the children;
- () Can't cope with the double role of employment and home making.

Others (Please specify) _____

71. Do you ever feel lonely or bored staying at home all day?

Yes { }
No { }

72. If 'Yes', how often?

- i) Occasionally
- ii) Frequently
- iii) Very frequently

73. What would you say are the best things about being a full-time housewife?

74. What are the worst things about it?

75. If given the opportunity, would you like to work?

Yes { }
No { }

Appendix 3Questionnaire/Interview guide for divorced men

Dept. of Sociology/Anthropology,
University of Nigeria,
Nsukka.

Dear Sir,

I am a graduate student of the Department of Sociology/Anthropology, University of Nigeria, Nsukka. I am doing a research on the effects of a married woman's employment on the stability of the family. The study is purely for academic purposes.

You have been selected as one of the respondents in order to get the views of men on this issue. I would therefore appreciate it if you would give the following information as honestly as you can. Your co-operation will be very much appreciated.

You are not required to disclose your identity and all information will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Thanks for your co-operation.

Yours sincerely,

Vernica I. Okeke

Please tick (✓) opposite the appropriate answer.

1. Please indicate your age group.

- i) 20 - 30
- ii) 31 - 40
- iii) 41 - 50
- iv) 51 and above.

2. Highest Educational Qualification

- i) No Schooling
- ii) Primary School Certificate
- iii) Secondary School Certificate/TC II
- iv) CND/NCE/Diploma
- v) Bachelor's Degree/HND
- vi) Master's Degree
- vii) Doctorate Degree
- viii) Professional - ACCA, ICA, etc.

3. Occupation - You are a/an:

- i) Medical Doctor
- ii) Architect
- iii) Lawyer
- iv) Accountant
- v) University Lecturer
- vi) Primary/Secondary School Teacher
- vii) Self-employed (Businessman)
- viii) Administrative Staff
- ix) Secretarial Staff
- x) Others (Please specify) _____

4. What is your income per annum?

- i) Below ₦3,000
- ii) 3,001 - 6,000
- iii) 6,001 - 9,000
- iv) 10,001 - 12,000
- v) 12,001 - 15,000
- vi) 15,001 - 18,000
- vii) 18,001 - 21,000
- viii) 21,001 and above.

Former Wife's Background Data

5. Age Group

- i) 21 - 30
- ii) 31 - 40
- iii) 41 - 50
- iv) 51 and above.

6. Educational Qualification

- i) No Schooling
- ii) Primary School Certificate
- iii) Secondary School Certificate/TC II
- iv) OND/NCE/Diploma
- v) Bachelor's Degree/HND
- vi) Master's Degree
- vii) Doctorate Degree
- viii) Professional - ACCA, ICA, etc.

7. Occupation _____

8. What was her income per annum?

- i) Below ₦3,000
- ii) 3,001 - 6,000
- iii) 6,001 - 9,000
- iv) 9,001 - 12,000
- v) 12,001 - 15,000
- vi) 15,001 - 18,000
- vii) 18,001 - 21,000
- viii) 21,001 and above.

9. Number of children of the marriage _____

and their ages _____
_____10. Number of years married before the break-up of your marriage.

11. Did your wife's employment contribute in any way to your separation/divorce?

Yes ()
No ()

12. If so, in what way(s)? _____

13. Some people have suggested a number of factors which contribute to problems in marriage, which may lead to the break up of marriage. These are listed below. Tick (✓) which one(s) that apply to you.

- i) Women's claim of equality with me
- ii) Interference from extended family members especially mothers- and sisters-in-law
- iii) Marital infidelity on the part of wife
- iv) Absence of children in the marriage
- v) Lack of male child(ren)
- vi) Problem of communication/lack of understanding
- vii) Insubordination on the part of wife
- viii) Religious difference eg wife changes to another religious sect without husband's consent
- ix) Nagging/quarrelsomeness
- x) Wife is a witch
- xi) Any other (Please specify) _____

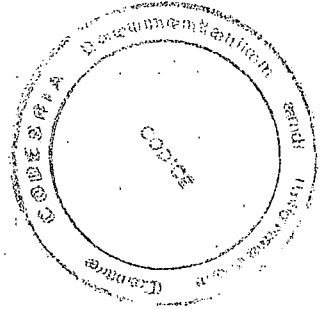
14. If given another chance, would you want to make up with your wife?

Yes ()
No ()

15. What are your suggestions for stability in marriage?

Appendix 4Interview Guide for Married Men

1. Age.
2. Educational level.
3. Occupation.
4. Income level.
5. Number of children and their ages.
6. Length of marriage.
7. Do you think that the employment of wives outside their homes contributes to juvenile delinquency?
8. Do you think that a wife's earnings can be a threat to her husband's traditional position as authority figure in the family?
9. Bearing in mind wife's employment, are you satisfied with your marriage?
10. Do you have major disagreements, and if so, over what?
11. What in your opinion are the reasons people continue to put up with marital relationship even when they are no longer satisfied with it?

Appendix 5Interview Guide for Married Women

1. Age.
2. Educational level.
3. Occupation.
4. Income (level).
5. Number of children and their ages.
6. Length of marriage.
7. In spite of women's contribution towards family upkeep, they still do not have much say in the running of their home. Do you agree and if so, what are the reasons for this unequal power situation?
8. Do you feel that a wife's earnings can act as a threat to her husband's traditional authority position in the family?
9. What are the indices (symptoms) of:
 - (a) instability in the family?
 - (b) stability in marriage?
10. Do you think that the employment of a woman outside the home can contribute to instability in marriage?
11. Have you ever had any thoughts or feelings of separation or divorce?
12. Are you satisfied with your marriage?
13. What strategies do you employ in coping with your marriage?

Appendix 6Interview Guide for Divorced Women

1. Age.
2. Educational level.
3. Occupation.
4. Income.
5. Number of children and their ages.
6. Number of years married before divorce.
7. What factors contribute to problems in marriage?
8. What specific reasons led to the break up of your marriage?
9. (If not already mentioned), did your job contribute to your divorce?
10. If given another chance, would you want to make up with your husband?
11. What are your suggestions for stability in marriage?

Appendix 7Background Information on Married Men and
their responses to selected questions

Married to WE women

Enugu	-	9	
			17
Nsukka	-	8	

Married to SE women

Enugu	-	9	
			16
Nsukka	-	7	

Married to FW

Enugu	-	2	
			7
Nsukka	-	5	

Age: 36 - 55

No. of children: 2 - 7

Educational Level:

Primary Education	-	3
Secondary School	-	14
Diploma/TC II	-	8
University education	-	15

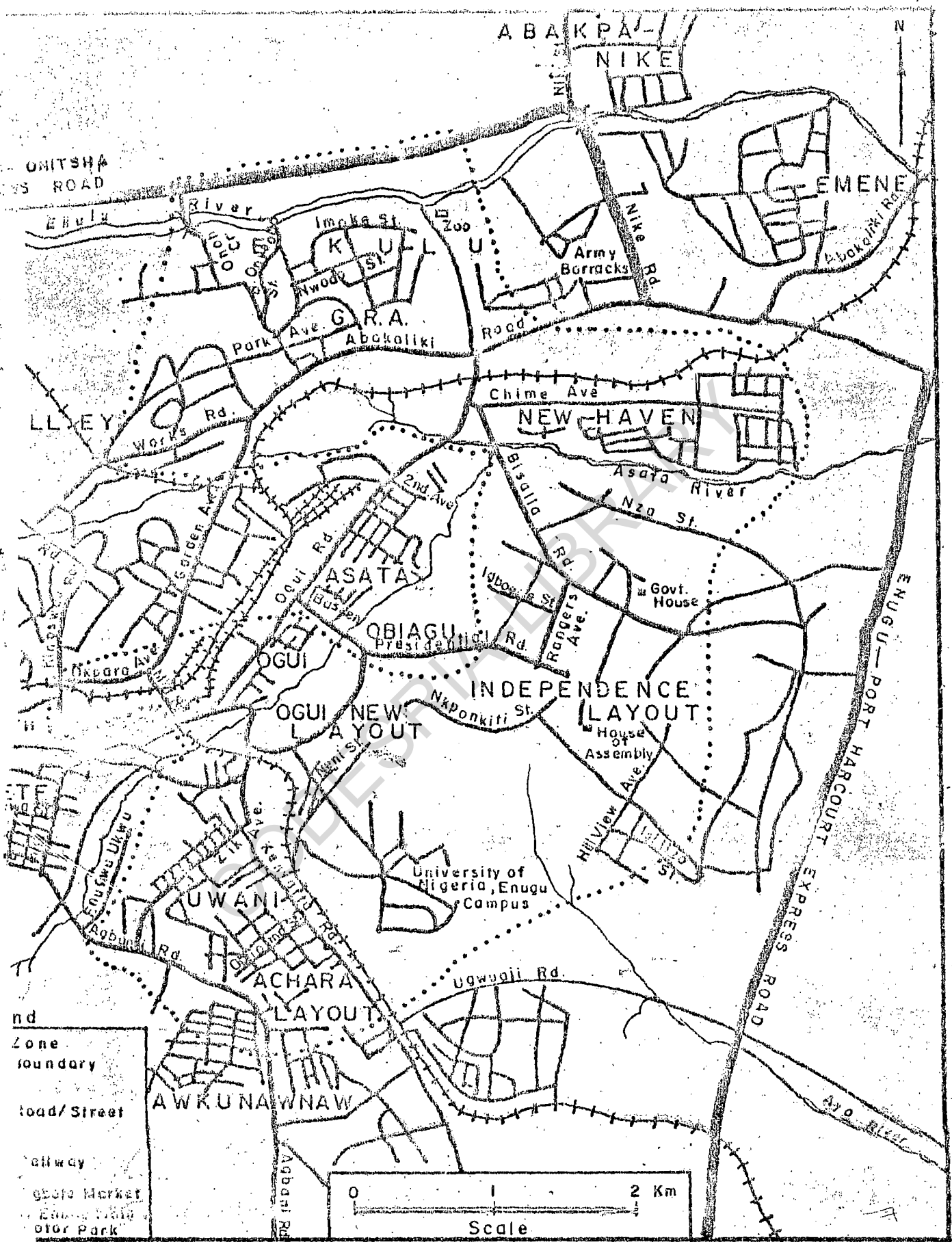
Occupation:	Farmer/contract worker	-	4
	Traders/artisans	-	16
	Teachers/Civil Servants	-	10
	University workers	-	10

Income: They were relatively well to do except the farmers who were doing odd jobs to make ends meet.

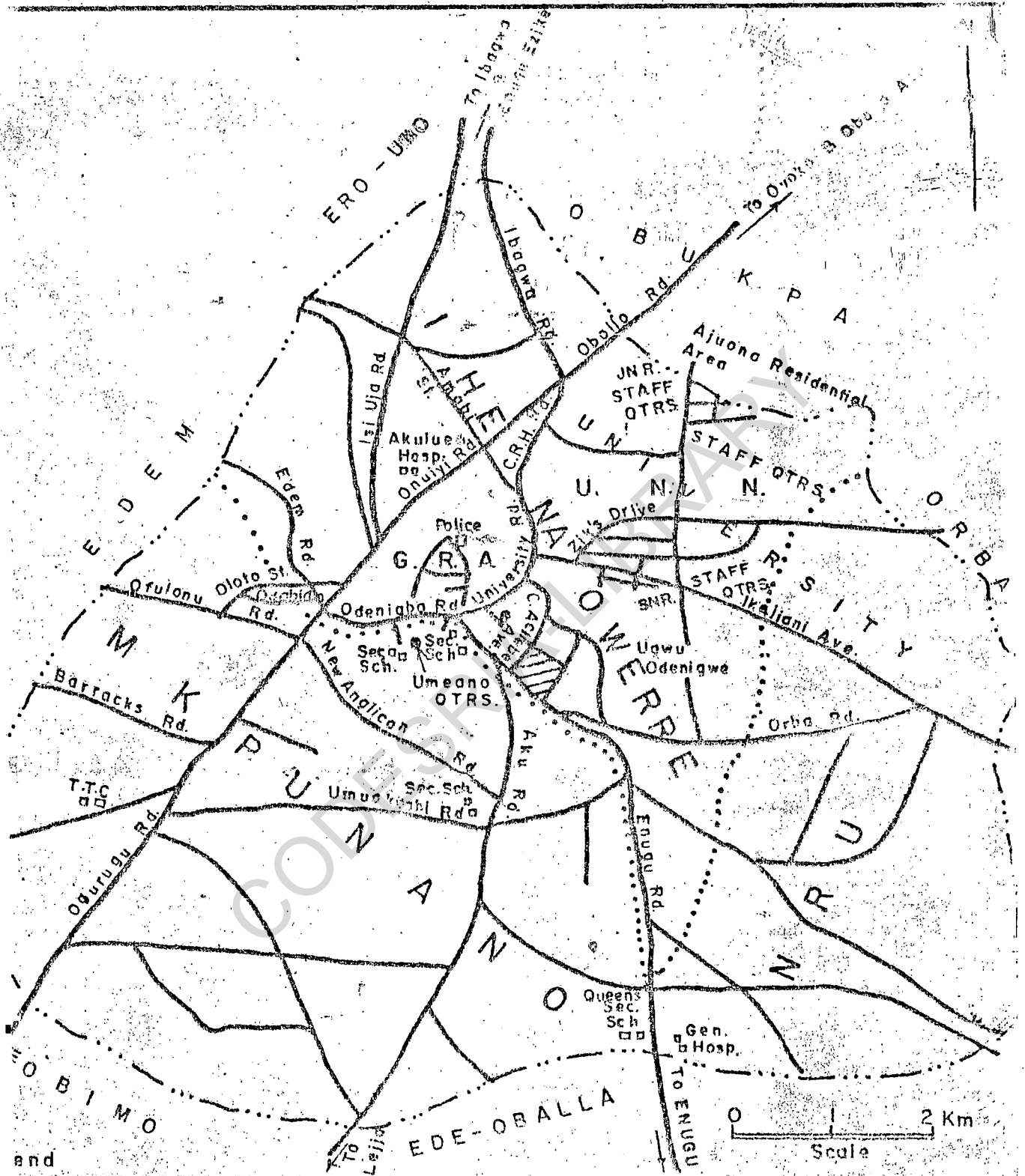
Length of marriage: 3 - 20 years.

Appendix 8Responses of men on selected issues N = 40

	% Agree/Yes	% Disagree/No
1. Mother's employment leads to juvenile delinquency.	28 (70%)	12 (30%)
2. Wife's earnings do not constitute a threat to husband's traditional authority position	39 (98%)	1 (2%)
3. Do you have major disagreements?	10 (25%)	30 (75%)
4. Bearing in mind your wife's employment, are you satisfied with your marriage?	24 (60%)	4 (10%)
5. <u>Reasons for 'patching up' Marriage</u>		
For children's sake	40 (100%)	-
Religious beliefs	22 (55%)	-
For the sake of love	10 (25%)	-
Cultural values	8 (20%)	-



ENUGU URBAN



Nsukka Town Boundary		Road/Street
Zone Boundary		Nsukka Market Motor Park Ogbona Ani/Ajuona Residential Area

NSUKKA URBAN