



## **Patriarchy, Employment and Mental Health among Married Couples: Empirical Perspectives from Uttar Pradesh**

Farheen<sup>1</sup>  
Nooreen Zaidi<sup>2</sup>

### **ABSTRACT**

*Employment status of wives in India has been debated vastly, more specifically in northern India, as the societies therein have been patriarchal in nature and function. There has been growing evidence that it affects self-esteem and psychological well-being of husbands in more than one way and more often adversely. The present study attempted to compare working and non-working couples on self-esteem and psychological well-being. The sample size for the study was 40 individuals consisting of 20 married couples (10 couples with working wives and 10 couples with non-working wives). Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale developed by Rosenberg (1965) and Psychological Well-Being Inventory developed by Ryff (1989) were used to obtain primary data. Appropriate statistical methods were put to work for data analysis. The results showed a sharp deviation from the hypotheses which presumed that the wife's employment status could affect self-esteem and psychological well-being of husbands substantially and even cause distress and other psychological conditions leading to domestic violence and separation in some cases.*

**Key words:** Self-Esteem, Psychological Well-Being, Employment, Husbands, Wives

### **Introduction:**

As the world ushers into new era of living standards and lifestyles, societies have been experiencing changes which have redefined the institution of marriage. Men are no longer the sole breadwinner of the household due to the increasing work culture among women. Since the times of industrial revolution, women had remained only a part of labor force which fueled the industrial sectors. The scenario has been changed ever since and representation has become partnership as a result, the world today has witnessed remarkable contribution to the overall development of the society. Women have become the axis of social systems across all walks of life, continuously striving for excellence in their respective fields, often outshining their male counterparts. This sea change in the socio-economic status of women has changed perceptions and dogmas of the familial traditions.

Societies at present have begun adapting to the new gender roles as the women pass by housekeeping and babysitting, which had previously confined them to the precincts of their

---

<sup>1</sup>Junior Research Fellow, Department of Education, University of Lucknow, Lucknow, India, email: edufars@outlook.com

<sup>2</sup> Assistant Professor, Faculty of Law, Shia P.G. College, Lucknow, India

houses. Although this transition in women's vocational behavior has been largely welcomed and appreciated, there have been voices against it. It has resulted in issues which have become concern for behavior researchers. Marital maladjustment arising due to romantic jealousy have largely affected the self-esteem and psychological well-being of spouses among married couples, in the most severe cases, the outcomes are generally separation and divorces. Researchers have found causalities running from female labor force participation (FLFP) to divorce rates and many of them have associated the both while others have kept them aloof and have rather inferred that working women are more independent, (Nock, 2001); the incomes of husbands and wives are largely substitutes, leading to a conclusion and scientific assertion that marriage between equals is less valuable (Becker et al., 1977); there has been increased marital conflict within the couples which have working wives (Mincer, 1985; Spitz and South, 1985), etc. Rising divorce rates have interestingly enabled women to gain increased incentives to be invested in their respective careers which would then serve as an impactful self insurance towards livelihood followed by separation (Greene and Quester, 1982; Johnson and Skinner, 1986).

Marriage has been an integral part of civilizations and societies since time immemorial; it characterizes the sacred union between two persons to begin a family together, often as a social contract. Marriages also lead to the formation of social fabric of societies, changing lifestyles and increased levels of stress have led to a decline in the tolerance of spouses and placed new challenges before the institution of marriage. Consequentially the rates of divorces have been growing around the world and there are increasingly more cases of separations, further adding to the degradation of the social structure of families. This has led to distortion in societies at all levels and its effects have been influencing men and women alike, imposing vulnerabilities upon children of such marriages due to lack of proper parenting and due attention. South Asian societies have always looked upon divorces and it has been a taboo subject for long due to the societal pressure it renders upon the men and women involved. Of late, the societies have begun accepting the divorces as a remedial solution to marital maladjustment due to a plethora of reasons including human rights activism, feminism and media advancements. It has been a matter of great curiosity and research for behavior scientists as to what exactly leads to bad marriages.

Researchers have attempted to answer such questions and one of the answers is the employment status of women in the marriages. A research perspective based upon the dominant male breadwinner/female career economic model of the familial structure suggests that women's employment status has represented a potent force which is believed to be driving divorce rates across the globe (Hobson 1990; Kalmijn and Poortman 2006; Ruggles 1997; Schoen et al. 2002). Another perspective suggests the former and has functionally challenged the microeconomic prediction of a positive association (Cooke 2004; Cooke 2006; Greenstein 2000).

Societies across the civilizations have long remained male dominant and transitions like increased women employment have raised brows and concerns in wake of rising crime incidents against women. People have mixed feelings about the growing work culture among women, there are some who appreciate the fact that women are shouldering responsibilities and then there are others who feel challenged due to the same. Positive and negative effects of growing women employment have been observed and analyzed for a better understanding of the situation but it can't be overlooked that there have been considerable influences of women's employment on self-esteem and psychological well-being of men, in a marriage. This research aims to investigate the effects of working statuses of wives in a marriage on the self-esteem and psychological well-being of husbands and wives.

A Canadian research finding about life expectancy suggested that it is 78.3 years for men and 83.0 years for women (CBC, 2010). At some point of time in their lives, individuals can think of themselves being often single, mostly married, often divorced, in some cases remarried or widowed, often living with children or living with an elderly parent or living alone as the cases may be. So it could be well understood that marriages could be revisited during the course of lives of people due to many other reasons and the interplay of one or more reasons could lead to the annulment of a marriage, the most prominent reason for marital maladjustment being the employment status of women, psychology is interested in finding out what happens when and what behavior interventions could be implied to save a marriage from collapsing.

### **Patriarchy**

Patriarchy is a structured social system existing in most of the societies across world, according to which men have power and control over women, regardless of the relationships between them. As society entails several groups and their relationships within and in entirety giving shape to a community, it does have a character in familial setups and often that is patriarchal. The nature and concept of patriarchy has been defined by different thinkers in different ways, which focus on the different disciplines they came from. Mitchell, a feminist psychologist, has used the word patriarchy so as to refer to the kinship systems in which men exchanged women (Mitchell, 1971). According to modern psychology, women's biology determines their psychology and, therefore, their abilities and roles. Sigmund Freud, for instance, had stated that for women anatomy is destiny. In his view, normal human was male (Freud 1977).

Power is inarguably linked to privileges in most of the societies in India and there are numerous cases in which the use and abuse of power and privileges have caused psycho-social distress. In a patriarchal system where men enjoy power and privileges more than women, it is believed and followed religiously that women are not entitled to perks, privileges and power, whatsoever may be the situation. Although the concept of patriarchy is generally considered as the threshold of feminist movements, yet it has been more informal in nature characterizing the inheritance of losses. With women empowerment round the corner and new waves of feminism, several theorists have attempted to define and decide what exactly patriarchy refers to, and most of them have opined that it is a stratification of power and privileges based upon gender. This envisages quintessential gender discrimination, which has been a social menace resulting into exploitation and harassment in many cases which saw light of the day, notwithstanding those which went unreported. Patriarchy also imbibes privileges of sorts which can be practiced and observed through different objectives and measures but obviously based upon gender. Thus, patriarchy characterizes the institutionalized system of male dominance, thus it could be understood as a set of social relationships between men and women necessarily having a materialistic foundation, and which, though hierarchical in nature and function, establish irrational independence and solidarity among the men, which enables them to dominate women (Jagger & Rosenberg, 1984).

A patriarchal social system boasts of male-dominated power structure across the societies and the relationships enshrined therein as part of its character and functioning. Walby has defined patriarchy as a system of social structures and practices, in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women (Walby, 1990). She has referred to it as a system because this has significantly helped in the rejection of the premise of biological determinism or in other words, the notion that every individual man would always have a dominant position and every woman would have a subordinate one.

Considering the historical premise of patriarchy, during ancient times it was originally a Greek society which went by the name patriarches. The social system in that society had an

arrangement by which power, rights and control was inherited to elder males of the families. So whenever patriarchy is mentioned in research literature, generally it is the society where elder males enjoy privileges and practice controls. A patriarchal society would thus consist of systems that ensure positions of prominence and power which would thus provide more privileges to the elder males. Those positions could invariably include head of the families, leaders of communities and social groups, chief executives in the workplaces, and heads of states.

As the term *pater* refers to father, it is an acceptable wisdom regarding patriarchy that fathers or father figures would be entrusted with authority in a patriarchal setup. Most of the patriarchal societies are usually patrilineal in nature, which signify that the inheritance of titles and property would be essentially through male lines. This kind of inheritance is also imminent in religious traditions and practices where most ceremonies and rituals are presided or performed by males. In contemporary times, it might sound archaic and seem obsolete but the truth stands contrasted, patriarchy has affected the society and social systems in ways which are incorrigible, since they are not just customs but gospels that dictate the modern world.

Sometimes it seems to have come out of the tribal societies where an elder male had the powers and privileges over the rest of tribe that included men and women alike. But as the times changed, things changed, in lieu of liberties women have found them enchained by the shackles of patriarchy. The social arrangement in a patriarchal societies retain a hierarchy among males against the ancient practices where a single elder male exercised control over all others including middle aged and younger male members of the society. In modern times, some males possess more power and privileges ensued by the authorities and positions they hold in the system and such a hierarchy is deemed acceptable to all the members of the societies and groups concerned.

At present there have been reported and unreported examples of cases which have surprised the society in India and in most of them women have faced exploitation and sufferings of all sorts. As women have discrete psychological functions and needs throughout their developmental timeline from childhood to middle age, it is imperative that they must be looked at with a different watch glass. For their welfare and more specifically their mental health, it is necessary that women be considered equals, although slightly different but still equals, since the roles played by women are greater in number than their male counterparts. Women are having an interestingly good share in the gross work force across the sectors hence it is of high importance that their mental health be taken care of, as in some cases they are prime source of income for their families (WHO, 1995). Multiple roles played by women put them under greater stress in their lives and push them at a greater risk of experiencing mental disorders than their male counterparts.

### **Self-esteem**

Self-esteem is a reflection of a person's overall self-appraisal and accounts for his/her own worth. It is an introspective evaluation of worthiness which is expressed in the attitudes the individual holds towards himself/herself. Health and happiness comes home to people who hold a positive view of their own self. People who have high self-esteem are presumed to be psychologically happy and healthy. The word 'self-esteem' traces its footmarks in history as early as 1657, following a long course in proto-psychological lore of phrenology during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the term took refuge in the mainstream psychological glossary and rose to fame with celebrated works of American psychologists and philosophers, Lorne Park and William James in 1890. Morris Rosenberg (1960) defined self-esteem in terms of a strong and stable sense of personal worth and made it measurable through self-report testing. Subsequently it became the most accepted definition of self-esteem across the research

disciplines but it involves phrasal overlapping which makes it indistinguishable from the more popular ideas like narcissism and bragging.

Branden (1969) briefly defined self-esteem as, "the experience of being competent to cope up with the basic challenges of life and being worthy of happiness. It has been considered as a two factor approach that has provided the most balanced definition which is seemingly capable of dealing with limits of defining self-esteem, primarily in terms of competency or worth. Branden's description of self-esteem considers it primarily as a basic human need making essential contribution to life process and is often indispensable to the normal and healthy self-development and has a considerable value or survival. It also explains self-esteem as an natural and inevitable consequence of the total of individuals' choices in using their consciousness and singularity.

Rosenberg's self-esteem scale (1965) and Cooper Smith's self-esteem inventory (1967/1981) feature among the most widely used systems for the measurement of self-esteem. The Rosenberg test is considered as the standard system for the measurement making use of a 10 question battery scored on 4 point response system. Across the world people are adjudged on the basis of high and low self-esteem whenever the need arises to analyze their personality type, as it constitutes a very essential part of human persona.

### **Psychological Well-Being**

Psychological Well-Being is understood as a positive state of mind in which an individual feels competent enough to use his/her cognitive and emotional capabilities, function in society, and meet the ordinary demands of everyday life. Individuals ranking high on psychological well-being are generally considered as happy and satisfied regardless of the environmental settings they dwell in. The World Health Organization (WHO) has defined health as not only the absence of illness but a complete state of mental, physical and social well-being (World Health Organization, 1946), thus psychological well-being could be considered as a dimension of mental well-being as per the definition given by the world health organization.

Psychological well-being also refers to the possession of positive mental health (Edwards, 2005). Contemporary research has shown that psychological well-being is a very diverse multidimensional concept (MacLeod & Moore, 2000; Ryff, 1989; Wissing & Van Eeden, 2002), which continues to develop through a blend of emotional regulation, personality characteristics, identities and life experiences (Helson & Srivastava, 2001). Psychological well-being could also advance with age, education, extraversion and consciousness and fades with neuroticism (Keyes et al., 2002). While in terms of gender, research has shown that there is no significant difference between men and women on measures of psychological well-being (Roothman, Kirsten & Wissing, 2003). There is currently universal consent regarding the conceptual understanding of psychological well-being. Bradburn's (1969) early interventions in this context, provided a depiction of the difference between positive and negative affect. Early research was mainly concerned with the life experiences content with positive and negative experiences, subjective well-being and life satisfaction evolved around the Greek word 'eudemonia', which was thereafter translated as 'happiness' (Ryff, 1989b). Happiness is commonly described as the equilibrium between positivity and negative affect. Most of the early measures, such as Diener, Emmons, Larsen & Griffen's (1985) Satisfaction with Life Scale which has been used extensively, had made use of the subjective concept of well-being (Conway & Macleod, 2002; Diener et al., 1985). The Satisfaction with Life Scale required participants to indicate a cognitive rather than affective response in relation to overall satisfaction with their respective quality of life.

Research has suggested that lowering of self-esteem has had implications over psychological well-being of individuals, which has changed our understanding of what it

means for a person to have high or low self-esteem. Besides all good things working women bring home, it has become accepted wisdom that growing work culture amongst women somehow influences self-esteem and psychological well-being of husbands. Also, too much stress incited by lowering of self-esteem and psychological well-being can even make them ill furthering to domestic violence against women. On contrary to these assumptions, there exists a brighter and positive side too, which asserts that the working women have increasingly supported their marriages and family in an effective manner and have contributed greatly for making their marriages a healthy and successful marriage. This research study explores and investigates the relationship between employment of wives and psychological health of their husbands.

### **Methodology**

It was hypothesized employment status of wives might have causal effects to decrease self-esteem and psychological well-being among the married couples with working wives as compared to married couples which had non-working wives. The present research study sought to compare the observations and as expected, there was enduring evidence that employment of wives didn't incite any decrease in self-esteem and psychological well-being among the husbands. To conduct the study in a scientific manner for yielding most appropriate results, a sturdy methodology is the key, as the research study impresses upon the comparison of variables along the groups, a mixed design was incorporated for working out the sample and the observations were recorded likewise.

#### *Sample:*

The Sample comprised of 40 individuals who further had 20 couples consisting of 10 couples with working wives and remaining 10 with non-working wives in Bareilly and Lucknow districts of the Indian state of Uttar Pradesh. The individuals were approached personally and provided informed consent and the confidentiality was assured following their participation in the research study.

#### *Tools:*

The tools used in the research study were Rosenberg's Self-esteem scale and the Psychological Well-Being questionnaire by Carol D. Ryff.

#### *Rosenberg's Self-esteem scale:*

Rosenberg's Self-esteem scale is a ten item Likert scale with answers on a four-point scaling pattern. The answers range from strongly agree to strongly disagree and are scored forward and reverse. Although the original sample, for which the scale was developed, consisted of students, yet it is the most widely used scale for measuring self-esteem worldwide.

#### *Ryff's Psychological Well-Being Questionnaire:*

The Psychological Well-Being questionnaire devised by Carol D. Ryff has been used in the study consisted of 28 items, which had questions regarding interests and attitudes, the responses were recorded on a two-point scaling pattern- yes or no.

#### *Scoring:*

The items in the Rosenberg's Self-esteem scale were scored in a progressive manner in a descending order. For strongly agree, a score of 3 was given, for agree it was 2, for disagree it was 1 and for strongly disagree a score of 0 was given. The items marked with an asterisk were reverse scored, in that case a score of 0 was given for strongly agree, 1 for agree, 2 for disagree and a score of 3 for strongly disagree was provided. All the scores were added and sum was obtained, higher the sum, higher the self-esteem. The items in the Psychological Well-Being questionnaire were 28 in number and had questions regarding interests and attitudes. For all the projective responses marked by the subjects as 'Yes', a score of 1 was given while for every negative response marked by the subject as 'No', a score of 0 was given

and finally the scores were added to obtain the sum, which resulted in determining the psychological well-being of the subjects. Higher the score, the higher psychological well-being.

*Statistical Analysis:*

The statistical analysis began with the conversion of raw scores into scales scores and means (M) of the scores were calculated for each group, followed by the computing of standard deviation (SD) and finally the t-values (t) were obtained. The results were tabulated in order to administer a comparative analysis within the different groups formed and thereafter asserted for the interpretations.

**Results & Discussion**

In accordance with the research objectives which aimed at determining the effects of employment statuses of women on self-esteem and psychological well-being of their spouses, it was found that, in working wives group, the mean scores of husbands on psychological well-being was 19, while wives scored 18.5, the SD for husbands was 1.76 while wives had 3.34 and t-value was .68 (see Table-I). On self-esteem, the husbands had a mean score of 23 while wives had 22.6, the SD was 2.49 for husbands while it was 2.83 for the wives and t-value was .74 (see Table-I). In the non-working wives group, the husbands had mean score of 17, while wives had 18.1, the SD for husbands was 2.38, while for the wives it was 3.39 and the t-value was .412 (see Table-II). On self-esteem the husbands had a mean score of 21.3 while wives were at 23.5, the SD was 3.40 for husbands while it was 2.79 for the wives and the t-value was .131 (see Table-II).

In the working and non-working wives group, on psychological well-being, the working wives had a mean score of 18.5 while the non-working wives had a score of 18.1, the SD for working wives was 3.34 while it was 3.39 for the non-working wives and the t-value was .79 (see Table-III). In the same group, on self-esteem, the working wives had a mean score of 22.6 while the non-working wives had 23.5, the SD was 2.83 for the working wives while it was 2.79 for the non-working wives and the t-value was .48 (see Table-III).

Among the husbands of working and non-working wives group, on psychological well-being, the mean score was 19 for the husbands with working wives while it was 17 for the husbands with non-working wives, the SD was 1.76 for husbands of working wives while it was 2.38 for the husbands of non-working wives and the t-value was .47 (see Table-IV). On self-esteem, the husbands of the working wives had a mean score of 23 while husbands of non-working wives had a score of 21.3, the SD was 2.49 for the husbands of working wives while it was 3.40 for the husbands of non-working wives and the t-value came out to be .22 (see Table-IV).

On the basis of the obtained scores, it was found that scores were comparatively smaller than the tabulated scores at 0.05 and 0.01 levels of significance with the degree of freedom being 18. Hence it was deduced that the results obtained were non-significant and the hypotheses were rejected likewise.

**Table I-Husbands and Wives in working wives group**

Variables	Group	N	Mean	S.D.	t	p
Psychological Well-being	Husband	10	19	1.76	0.68	n.s.
	Wives	10	18.5	3.34		
Self-esteem	Husband	10	23	2.49	0.74	n.s.
	Wives	10	22.6	2.83		

**Table II-Husbands and Wives in non-working wives group**

Variables	Group	N	Mean	S.D.	t	p
Psychological Well-being	Husband	10	17	2.38	.412	n.s.
	Wives	10	18.1	3.39		
Self-esteem	Husband	10	21.3	3.40	.131	n.s.
	Wives	10	23.5	2.79		

**Table III-Husbands and Wives in working and non-working wives group**

Variables	Group	Mean	S.D.	t	p
Psychological Well-being	Husband (N=10)	18.5	3.34	.79	n.s.
	Wives (N=10)	18.1	3.39		
Self-esteem	Husband (N=10)	22.6	2.83	.48	n.s.
	Wives (N=10)	23.5	2.79		

**Table IV-Husbands and wives in working and non-working wives group**

Variables	Group	N	Mean	S.D.	t	p
Psychological Well-being	Husband	10	19	1.76	.047	n.s.
	Wives	10	17	2.38		
Self-esteem	Husband	10	23	2.49	0.22	n.s.
	Wives	10	21.3	3.40		

### Conclusion & Recommendations:

The results have been non-significant for all the groups and clearly indicate no effect on the self-esteem and psychological well-being of husbands and wives of all the groups taken together. It could be attributed to the metropolitan culture of the cities from where the participants were recruited in the research study. But the fact that there have been incidents of domestic violence and fatal assaults by husbands on their wives due to low self-esteem and psychological well-being cannot be ruled out. So, there is a need to investigate how they are related and are there any transactions between women employment and domestic violence among the couples in which husbands have low self-esteem and psychological well-being.

There is comparatively a greater acceptance of women employment in the metropolitan areas due to the globalization and evolving perceptions about, it could be a reason for the results being non-significant. It could be well stated that across the sample men seem to enjoy the financial liberty and are seemingly relieved of the economical stress, which is otherwise their destiny in case they are the sole breadwinner of the family. Furthermore, it could also be inferred that growing work culture has had positive effects on the self-esteem and psychological well-being among the husbands and wives in metropolitan cities, the case in the semi-urban settings needs an investigation regardless. Since patriarchy refers to the manifestation and institutionalization of male dominance over females and children in the family systems and its extension in society in general, it clearly implies that the men would assume power in all the prominent institutions of society and that the women be denied and deprived of access to similar powers. But it does not essentially imply that the women are either totally powerless or totally deprived of rights, influence, and resources (Lerner, 1989).

As times have changed, perceptions have changed too and women have made their niche in the society on their own through change of roles and personal growth whether through academic or socio-political means. There were limitations in the research study regarding sample specific tool, thus it is recommended that there must be a dedicated tool for measuring such kind of influences in the future researches so as to obtain most appropriate results. Small sample size was another limitation of the study, therefore it is highly advised to the future researchers that they must expand the size of the sample while studying such effects among married couples.

### References

- Becker, Gary S., Elisabeth M. Landes, and Robert T. Michael (1977), "An Economic Analysis of Marital Instability," *Journal of Political Economy*, 85(6): 1141-1188
- Bradburn N.M.(1969). *The structure of psychological well-being*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Canadian Broadcast Company (CBC News). 2010. "Life Expectancy in Canada nears 81," February 23. <http://www.cbc.ca/health/story/2010/02/23/life-expectancy-canada.html#ixzz1B9RCDraH>
- Cooke, L.P. (2004). The gendered division of labor and family outcomes in Germany. *Journal of Marriage and Family* 66(5): 1246-1259.
- Cooke, L.P. (2006). "Doing" Gender in Context: Household Bargaining and Risk of Divorce in Germany and the United States. *American Journal of Sociology* 112(2): 442-472.
- Diener, E., Emmons, R. A., Larsen, R. J., & Griffen, S. (1985). The satisfaction with life scale. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, 49, 71-75.
- Diener, E., Emmons, R. A., Larsen, R. J., & Griffin, S. (1985). The Satisfaction with Life Scale. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, 49, 71-75.
- Edwards, C. (2005). *Research on faith and health: New Approach to old questions*. Faith and Health: Psychological Perspectives. New York: Guilford Press.
- Freud, S. 1977. *On Sexuality*. Harmondsworth : Penguin.
- Greene, William and Aline Quester (1982), "Divorce Risk and Wives' Labor Supply Behavior," *Social Science Quarterly* 63(1): 16-27.
- Greenstein, T.N. (2000). Economic dependence, gender, and the division of labor in the home: A replication and extension. *Journal of Marriage and Family* 62(2): 322-335.
- Helson, S. & Srivastava, S.(2001) Three paths of adult development: conservers, seekers, and achievers. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 80, 995, 1010.
- Hobson, B. (1990). No Exit, No Voice: Women's Economic Dependency and the Welfare State. *Acta Sociologica* 33(3): 235-250.
- Jagger, M. A. and Rosenberg S. P. (ed) 1984. *Feminist Frameworks*. New York : MC Graw-Hill.
- Johnson, William R., and Jonathan Skinner (1986), "Labor Supply and Marital Separation," *American Economic Review* 76: 455-469.
- Kalmijn, M. and Poortman, A.-R. (2006). His or her divorce? The gendered nature of divorce and its determinants. *European Sociological Review* 22(2): 201-214.

- Keyes, C.L.M., Schmotkin, D. & Ryff, C.D. (2002). Optimizing well-being: the empirical encounter of two traditions. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology*, 87, 1007 - 1022.
- Lerner, G. 1989. *The Creation of Patriarchy*. Oxford University Press: New York.
- MacLeod, A. K., & Moore, R. (2000). Positive thinking revisited: Positive cognitions, well-being and mental health. *Clinical Psychology and Psychotherapy*, 7, 1-10
- Mincer, Jacob (1985), "Intercountry Comparisons of Labor Force Trends and Related Developments: An Overview," *Journal of Labor Economics*, 3(1), pt. 2: S1-32.
- Mitchell, J. 1971. *Women's Estate*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Nock, Steven L. (2001) "The Marriage of Equally Dependent Spouses," *Journal of Family Issues* 22(6): 755-775.
- Roothman, B., Kirsten, D., Wissing, M. (2003). Gender differences in aspects of psychological well-being. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 33(4), 212-218.
- Ruggles, S. (1997). The rise of divorce and separation in the United States, 1880-1990. *Demography* 34(4): 455-466
- Ryff, C. D. (1989b). Happiness is everything, or is it? Explorations on the meaning of psychological wellbeing. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 57, 1069-1081
- Ryff, C.D. (1989). Beyond Ponce de Leon and life satisfaction: new directions in quest of successful aging. *International Journal of Behavioural Development*, 12, 35 - 55
- Schoen, R., Astone, N.M., Kim, Y.J., Rothert, K., and Standish, N.J. (2002). Women's employment, marital happiness, and divorce. *Social Forces* 81(2): 643-662.
- Spitze, Glenna, and Scott South (1985), "Women's Employment, Time Expenditure, and Divorce," *Journal of Family Issues*, 6(3): 307-329.
- Walby, S. 1990. *Theorizing Patriarchy*. Blackwell Publishers Ltd.: Oxford, UK and Cambridge USA.
- Wissing, M.P. & Van Eeden, C. (2002) Empirical clarification of the nature of psychological well-being. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 32, 32 - 44.
- World Health Organisation. (1948). *World Health Organisation constitution*. In *Basic Documents*. Geneva: Author.
- World Health Organization (1995). *Women and mental Health*, US Department of Health, The World Health Organization. Retrieved from: [http://www.allcountries.org/health/women\\_and\\_mental\\_health.html](http://www.allcountries.org/health/women_and_mental_health.html)