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NEELY, BECKY GLASS. A Re-examination of the Institutionalization of Equalitarian Marital Role Norms. (1976)  
Directed by: Dr. Dennis Orthner. Pp. 147.

It was the purpose of this study to replicate the research done by Dyer and Urban (1958) on the institutionalization of marital role norms, and to extend that research by more representative sampling and by using a contemporary theory to interpret the degree of equalitarianism in the husband-wife relationship.

The sample was selected chiefly from church rolls and public engagement notices, and consisted of 233 married men and women, and 157 unmarried men and women. One hundred and sixty-six of the married respondents were Caucasian and 67 were Negro; of the unmarried respondents, 99 were Caucasian and 58 were Negro.

The data were collected by means of a self-administered questionnaire which included items about family activities and decisions in six areas: recreation, general decision-making, traditionally male household tasks, traditionally female household tasks, finances, and child rearing. The married men and women answered with the proportion of responsibility they "actually" had in each area and the proportion they "desired" they had. The unmarried men and women answered with the proportion of responsibility they "expected."

It was hypothesized that if marital role norms were institutionalized there would be no differences between

the proportion of responsibility reported by married and unmarried respondents, nor between the "actual" and "desired" proportions of responsibility reported by married respondents, nor between the proportions of responsibility reported by Negro and Caucasian respondents. Further, it was hypothesized that, if the institutionalized marital role pattern was one of equalitarianism, there would be no differences between the proportions of responsibility reported by husbands and wives in the six areas of family activities and decisions.

T-tests for differences between means were used to determine statistical significance. A significance level was set at the .05 critical level for a two-tailed test.

The hypotheses which dealt with the institutionalization of marital roles were substantially, but not totally, supported by the data. The hypotheses which dealt with the equalitarianism of marital roles were supported for the areas of recreation and finances, but not for the remaining four areas of decision-making, traditionally male and traditionally female household tasks, and child rearing.

It was concluded that marital role norms have been institutionalized, as Dyer and Urban (1958) contended, but that the degree of equalitarianism in the marital roles requires additional investigation before a definite conclusion can be reached.

A RE-EXAMINATION OF THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION  
OF EQUALITARIAN MARITAL ROLE NORMS

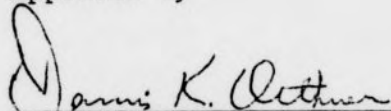
by

Becky Glass Neely

A Thesis Submitted to  
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APPROVAL PAGE

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### Statement of the Problem

For many years, authors have written that, in conjunction with sex role changes, the husband-wife relationship has been changing (Bernard, 1968; Brenton, 1966; Burgess and Locke, 1953; Clavan, 1972; Goode, 1963). Most agree that the changes have been away from a patriarchal relationship and toward an equalitarian arrangement. However, due to the paucity of empirical research in the area, there is general disagreement about the current state of the relationship, how much change has occurred, how rapidly it has occurred, and how husbands and wives react to the change.

The subject of this research is the investigation of the husband-wife relationship from the perspective of male and female sex roles. The design of the investigation includes not only the relationship of married men and women, but also the expectations of unmarried men and women for their future marital relationship. The relative proportion of responsibility which husbands and wives actually have and desire to have, and which single men and women expect to have, in a variety of family activities, chores, and decisions is the measure of the role relationship.

### Purpose of the Investigation

The general purpose of this study is to replicate an earlier study which investigated the "marital role expectations of married and unmarried college students" (Urban, 1956; published by Dyer and Urban, 1958). The present study uses the items from Urban's questionnaire and retests his hypotheses that marital roles have been institutionalized for both married and unmarried people. In its extension of Urban's research, this study samples a more representative group of respondents, includes both black and white respondents in its sample, and tests additional hypotheses which are derived from a role theory interpretation of the marital role relationship.

As a replication, the present study has two primary purposes: to provide empirical evidence on the rate and extent of marital sex role change; and to determine whether equalitarianism of roles of husband and wife has been institutionalized in a sample of American families.

The first purpose has been adopted because, while it is generally agreed that marital sex roles are changing, the rate of the change and the extent of the change have not been systematically documented, resulting in a profusion of contradictory conclusions: as early as 1945, the marital roles of men and women were said to be changing toward greater equality of authority (Burgess and Locke,



1945), and as late as 1975, they were said to be very unequal, heavily biased to the male's advantage (Bernard, 1975). Hartley (1960) observed that in order to correctly evaluate the degree and direction of change, it is necessary to compare systematically collected information about contemporary behavior and norms with systematically collected information about previous behavior and norms. By replicating Urban's research, the responses he received twenty years ago may be compared with contemporary responses and an indication given about the extent of marital sex role changes which has occurred over that time period.

Urban's (1956) central thesis is that equalitarian marital roles are institutionalized in the American family, meaning that equalitarian norms are socially accepted and internalized standards of behavior for the husband-wife relationship. While this is an important concept to the study of sex roles, of family change as described by Burgess and Locke (1953) and others, and of the husband-wife dyad, it has not been re-investigated since Dyer and Urban (1958) presented their findings in support of institutionalized equalitarianism. The importance of re-testing an initial finding, particularly when it is important in interpreting other data, has been well established (cf., Wilson, et al., 1973) and thus one of the purposes of the present study is to determine the extent to which marital role norms are institutionalized in contemporary families.

As an extension of the original study, the present study's sample is composed of largely non-student, middle class married and unmarried men and women, which provides a sounder base for inferences about the larger population than the college student sample.

Black as well as white husbands and wives are included in the sample, both to permit further testing of the hypothesis that marital role norms are institutionalized for all segments of society, and to supplement the sparse and conflicting data which has been collected on the black family. In the last ten years, only three percent of the papers published in the Journal of Marriage and the Family have included black respondents (cf., Journal of Marriage and the Family indexes, 1965-1975; Billingsley, 1970). Those studies that have investigated black families have provided opposing interpretations about the nature of their structure and internal functioning, particularly about their marital power structure and husband-wife relationships (cf., Staples, 1971a). Therefore, both for purposes of more representative sampling, additional proof for the institutionalization hypothesis, and to fill a gap in the family literature, the sample of the replicated study was expanded to include blacks.

The third area of extension from Urban's research is in the conceptual framework of the present study. A

paradigm about the husband-wife relationship developed from role theory by Scanzoni (1972) is utilized to interpret some of Urban's findings. In Scanzoni's paradigm, the institutionalized marital role relationship is not an equalitarian one, but is one in which the husband has greater role rights and fewer role responsibilities than the wife. Additional hypotheses are included in this study to test the paradigm and its utility in explaining the results of the original and the present studies.

#### Scope of the Study

In summary, the scope of this research encompasses the subjects of institutionalization of sex roles in the family setting, the anticipations of never-married persons about their sex roles in marriage, and the family sex roles of blacks as compared to whites. The subjects of marital expectations and racial comparisons of marital sex roles are undertaken to provide data where there are significant gaps in the published literature. The subject of institutionalization of marital roles is undertaken to provide additional evidence on a subject which importantly influences the concept of the family.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

#### Sex Role

The role which individuals enact as a function of their sex is the most pervasive of the roles society assigns. The behavioral expectations associated with the social positions of male and female influence role performance in virtually all relationships. The importance of sex role in the study of society and personality is attested by the volume of research which has been published on the subject. Hochschild (1973) in a "broader (than most), but more selective" (1973: 1011) review examined over 156 articles on sex role, most of which were published after 1960.

Aspects of sex role which have received much attention from researchers include biologically or socially induced sex differences, status differences between men and women, women as a minority, the relative power of men and women in the existing social structure, the effects of contradictions in women's role, sex role socialization of children, and working women (cf., Hochschild, 1973). The family as an arena for the study of sex roles has primarily been investigated as it contributes to the sex role socialization of children (e.g., Aberle and Naegele, 1968) or as the "other

role" in the study of working women's dual roles (e.g., Clavan, 1970). Family sex roles have also been examined through studies of sex role norms, attitudes, and stereotypes.

While the interest in empirical investigation of sex roles, both within the family and within society, has recently awakened, subjective observation and interpretation has been going on for many years, such that theories and essays on the subject are abundant. Almost universally, the theoretical papers hold that family sex roles have been, and are currently, in transition toward male and female roles which have equal rights and responsibilities. Their central theme lies in describing the causes behind the transition. Most of the papers take the perspective that factors in the larger society directly or indirectly led to the changes in sex role. Consequently, they present a variety of historical accounts of the effect of technological and ideological advances on the family and/or on the sex roles of its members. They also share the opinion that the transition to equal expectations for male and female behavior has not been completed and that some degree of patriarchy exists in most families.

The classic work by Burgess and Locke (1953) was one of the earliest to address the question of family sex roles. The central thesis of the book was that the family



of historical times, which was unified by formal, external forces, was being replaced by a type of family which derived its unity from the interpersonal relations of its members. While the traditional, institutional family was characterized by the subordination of all family members to a male head who made decisions autocratically, the companionship family would be characterized by the assumption of equality between the husband and wife and by decisions made through consensus of the adult family members. Burgess and Locke reached their conclusions from the theoretical perspective that changes in the positional arrangement and relationships of the family members are a result of changes in the functions of the family which are in turn due to changes in the larger society. The authors emphasized that the family had not completed its conversion from institutional to companionship and in most cases the institutional expectation that the husband receive more rights than the wife continued to be the norm.

Another noted volume which addressed the subject of sex role was Goode's (1963) World Revolution and Family Patterns. Goode's observations about the emergence of a conjugal family unit with fewer kinship ties and with an ideology of male-female equalitarianism were very similar to those made by Burgess and Locke. While noting the extreme difficulty of disentangling cause and effect surrounding the changing family, Goode also held, with Burgess

and Locke, that the main causes for the mutating family and sex role expectations were outside the family system. He too identified urbanization and industrialization as fundamental causal factors in the appearance of the conjugal family. But he maintained that the ideology of Western Protestant society, as espoused by John Locke, was the most important variable behind the changing expectations of male and female behavior in marriage. Goode concluded, as did Burgess and Locke ten years earlier, that although sex role definitions were being reformulated, most Westerners continue to hold values supporting a modified patriarchal family with a differential distribution of rights and obligations to husband and wife.

Unlike Burgess and Locke and Goode, who wrote on the reasons for sex role change, Clavan (1972) theorized about the results of sex role change, specifically the effect on the family. She focused on the female sex role, under the presumption that social expectations for the female had been subject to more drastic alterations than those of the male. She suggested that the greater sexual freedom of women, which was usually thought to follow feminine gains made in legal, economic, and social spheres, may have actually preceded these more material gains, or have occurred simultaneously with them. Traditionally, sexual behavior has been viewed solely as an adjunct to the existing, institutionalized family structure (thus, the terminology "premarital,"



"marital," and "extramarital"). By viewing sexual behavior independently of family structure, Clavan visualized that new sexual attitudes and behavior would encourage professionalization of child care and would undermine the contemporary norm of a modified patriarchy, thereby leading to a major modification in family structure.

Most of the remaining essays on family sex role may be divided into two categories: those that delineate the extent to which females have not achieved some measure of equality and the obstacles to achieving that equality, and those that discuss the role of the adult male within the family.

The papers on the male role in the family share the conclusion, consistent with opinions of Goode and Burgess and Locke, that the husband-father has been moving from a situation of abundant rights and minimum obligations to one of lesser privileges and greater responsibility. LeMasters (1971), Josephson (1969), and Mogey (1957) described the characteristics of the authoritarian patriarch and chronicled historical events and changes in society which led to the passing of this dominant figure. LeMasters concluded that the male roles are still in transition, which leads contemporary family men to be characterized as weak and ineffectual. Mogey and Josephson drew conclusions that were different from LeMasters. Both concluded that although the husband-father's historical role was disappearing, a newer

male role was emerging that included greater participation in home activities and a re-integration into the life of the family. In addition, Josephson suggested that, rather than indicating ineffectiveness, men's participation in household chores actually increased their power by enlarging the domains in which they exercised prerogatives and made decisions.

Brenton's (1966) approach in his book on The American Male differed from that taken by the other discussants of male role in that he questioned whether the power of the male had ever been as absolute as commonly assumed. In a deduction similar to Josephson's, Brenton argued that rigid sex role differentiation of the patriarchal family, designed to highlight man's superiority by removing him from the menial chores of housework, actually served to enhance the female position. Brenton's primary theme, however, was that men had idealized the patriarchal image and therefore were having difficulty adapting to the changing expectations for male behavior. He described the American male as being faced with a multiplicity of demands and choices, but at the same time being restrained by antiquated notions of what a man should do and be. Brenton concluded that the male's inability to accept these changes induced unnecessary stress, and advocated that the nostalgic image of the powerful patriarch be discarded.

The paper by Bernard (1968) is an example of the essays which discuss the historical changes in sex role from the feminist perspective. Bernard wrote that the "material culture" of industrialization allowed women to take on the same rights and obligations as men, but more subtle obstacles blocked the achievement of full equality. She named two of these obstacles, which Goode had also identified as "roadblocks to equality": (a) the family base requires that housework and child rearing be handed over to women (and men have no eagerness to assume these tasks), and (b) families rear daughters to take only a modest degree of interest in careers which provide equal responsibilities with men. Bernard felt that the first roadblock was manageable due to technological advances in household articles and to increasing child care services and smaller families. However, the consensus of Bernard and several authors she cited was that the more serious obstacle was that women themselves have rejected any radical reorganization required for the achievement of full equality, and, while they have demanded more rights, they have refused to take on the reciprocal responsibilities necessary for equal male and female roles.

These scholarly theories have received considerable attention and have been used as inspirations and justifications for further study of sex roles. However, their

speculations about the historical, macrosociological origins of sex role transition cannot be empirically tested and therefore empirical investigators have pursued a different subject--the description of contemporary aspects of sex role. In the realm of family sex roles, these investigations are chiefly in three areas: norms, attitudes about sex role, and sex role stereotypes.

#### Sex Role Norms

The studies dealing with norms have generally investigated perceptions about the societal expectations for male and female behavior (e.g., Brogan and Kutner, 1976; Scanzoni, 1976, 1975b). Brogan and Kutner (1976) reviewed existing scales on sex roles and determined that most of the scales in the sociological literature tended to confuse the concept of "sex role orientation" with "sex difference stereotypes," and to concentrate on the female role to the neglect of the male. The authors, therefore, developed a new sex role questionnaire, which was composed of a variety of norms for both male and female behavior. Two hundred and fifty-three undergraduate students, graduate students, student dating couples, and forty-five married couples completed the instrument. The scores for the total sample were correlated with sex and educational status, age, religious affiliation, and authoritarian child rearing ideology. Associations were found in the expected direction. In

general, more females supported the non-traditional normative statements than males, and more graduate students supported the non-traditional items than undergraduates. Older respondents were more traditional in sex role orientation than younger respondents, as were Catholics in comparison with other religious affiliations. And respondents who were more authoritarian in child rearing ideology were also more traditional in sex role orientation. Career aspirations were unrelated to sex role orientation.

Scanzoni (1976) used a similar instrument to compare two groups of undergraduate students over a three-year period, and to study the associations between sex role change and birth intentions. He factor analyzed the responses to his instrument and found that the twenty-six normative statements loaded on seven dimensions, "traditional wife role," "wife self-actualization," "problematic husband alterations," "institutionalized equality," "traditional husband role," "religious legitimation of mother role," and "traditional mother role." The first two dimensions were composed of measures of the wife role, the next three factors consisted of statements about the husband role, the last two factors included norms about the mother role. For the 1971 sample, there was "no consistent support for the hypothesis that women are more oriented toward social changes that would result in equalitarianism"



(1976: 49), that is, women responded no differently from men. However, in the 1974 sample, while both men and women supported more modernistic norms, women were consistently and significantly more equalitarian in their norm preferences than men. For both samples, role modernity was positively related to "expected female work frequency" and to the perception of population growth as a social problem. It was negatively correlated to Catholic religion and birth intentions. These connections were more pronounced for female respondents because, Scanzoni reasoned, the variables involved (sex role norms and expectations about working and having children) are more salient for women, who must confront the trade-off between individualistic and familistic rewards and costs. Men, on the other hand, are not so directly affected by the sex role norms they hold.

Another study by Scanzoni (1975b), using the same instrument described above, was a notable exception to the usual procedure of using college students in the study of sex role norms. His sample consisted of 3,100 married men and women in five states. Their responses were analyzed for the effects of age, sex, religion, education, and race on the seven dimensions of wife role, husband role, and mother role. On the "traditional wife" dimension, there was no difference between males and females. Females gave more modern responses than males on the "wife self-actualization" factor, which included norms about individualistic rewards

for women. On the three dimensions comprising the husband role, men were more non-traditional. Men were also more modern on "religious legitimation of motherhood" but were less modern on the other dimension of mother's roles, "traditional mother." Younger respondents gave more modern answers for both dimensions of the wife role and for the "traditional husband" dimension of the husband role. Younger men, but not younger women, were more modern for both dimensions of the mother role. Religion had no effect on responses about the wife role or on the "traditional mother" dimension. Catholic men were less modern on the "religious legitimation of motherhood" dimension. Education was positively related to all dimensions of the wife role, mother role, and husband role, except "institutionalized equality."

#### Sex Role Attitudes

Another area of sex roles which has been heavily researched is that of attitudes toward the roles associated with each sex. The instruments used in the attitude studies are similar, in many cases, to the questionnaires used in the studies of sex role norms. However, the purposes of the two types of studies differ. Brogan and Kutner (1976) were interested in finding out just what the "normative conceptions of appropriate behavior for males and females" were, and what effect certain sociological variables had



on the normative conceptions. Scanzoni (1976) used responses to normative statements as a means of measuring and studying roles, based on the role theory concept that roles are closely correlated to the norms that structure them. The sex role attitude research, on the other hand, rather than studying the content of sex roles, investigates sociological and personality variables associated with the attitudes respondents hold toward these roles. Most of the studies examine the attitudes of female college students toward the female role (e.g., Alper, 1973; Kammeyer, 1964; Lipman-Blumen, 1972; Parelius, 1975), or the attitudes of college students of both sexes toward the female role (e.g., Bayer, 1975; Meier, 1972; Osmond and Martin, 1975).

Although they also investigated the female role to the exclusion of the male role, the study by Steinmann and Fox (1966) was an exception in that they used a more representative sample, including two races and a wide range of educational level and age. Their instrument was a schedule of statements about women similar to those used by Scanzoni (1976) and by Brogan and Kutner (1976), but phrased without the word "should." Two examples are, "A capable woman has a duty to be active," and "A woman who works can't be a good mother." Their hypothesis that women share similar values about the female role, regardless of differences in socioeconomic status, racial background, education level, age, and occupational and professional status,

was supported. Most of the women perceived themselves to be balanced between active and passive elements of the female role and most indicated that their ideal woman was similar to themselves, albeit somewhat more active. On the other hand, they indicated that they thought men's concept of the ideal woman was very passive and subordinate. In contrast, the male respondents answered that their ideal woman also was balanced for active and passive components. Steinmann and Fox's interpretation of their results, that women feel "I'm pretty much what I would like to be, but I'm not what men would like me to be," was supported in more recent studies by Rappaport, Payne, and Steinmann (1970) and Parelius (1975).

Using the same instrument as Steinmann and Fox (1966), Rappaport et al., (1970) sampled forty-five married and forty-five single college student women. They found that the married respondents perceived themselves and their ideal woman as more self-achieving and less domestically oriented than the single respondents. However, both single and married groups believed men's concept of the ideal woman had a strong domestic and familial orientation.

Parelius (1975) used samples of college women from 1969 and 1973. The women responded to "short descriptions of various women," in terms of whether they were like the women described and whether men would like to marry the

women described. The themes of the descriptions fell into three areas: work and finances, division of household labor, and marital and maternal role supremacy. Most of the items showed a significant increase in "feminist" or modern responses from 1969 to 1973, but for both samples, men were seen as basically traditional in the person they wanted to marry, although the 1973 sample perceived them to be more accepting of women sharing financial support of the family. From these findings, Parelus reached the same conclusion as Steinmann and Fox (1966), that females hold relatively modern attitudes about their role but feel that males hold relatively traditional ones, and therefore believe that men do not want to marry women like themselves. Parelus further reasoned that this belief is a source of strain for young females, since the majority of women in both samples were unwilling to forego marriage and children for occupational success.

The two items in Parelus's study which showed the smallest shift toward "feminist" responses were those positing a choice between occupational success and familial roles. That is, although many of the women rejected economic dependence and a traditional household division of labor, they remained positive toward marriage and motherhood. Osmond and Martin (1975) noted the same phenomenon in their data. Their findings were based on responses

from 480 male and female university students, who answered a sex role attitude questionnaire made up of propositional statements ("Men should have more freedom to do such things as cook and care for children."), situational statements ("I would feel uncomfortable if my supervisor at work was a woman."), and declarative statements ("Women really like being dependent on men.") about female roles. For analysis, the items were grouped in four categories: familial roles, extrafamilial roles, stereotypes of male/female nature and behaviors, and social changes as related to sex roles. The researchers found that there was greatest consensus between the sexes in the categories of familial roles and social changes related to sex roles, and that familial roles elicited the most traditional responses. Osmond and Martin construed this as evidence that the family is the most conservative of the social institutions and predicted from the sex-typed responses of their highly educated young respondents that family sex roles would be the slowest to undergo change. Their judgment is supported by Poloma and Garland (1971), O'Neill (1969), and de Beauvoir (1953), as well as by Parelus. Osmond and Martin's results also showed that there was least agreement between the sexes in the area of extramarital roles, where females held more modern attitudes than males toward women in professional and leadership positions outside the home.

An analysis of a national probability sample of women by Mason and Bumpass (1975) investigated what several of the previously discussed studies inferred--that the gender role ideology of women is not organized along a single dimension. The seventeen statements used to measure sex role attitudes were similar to those used by Scanzoni (1975b) and were analyzed for never-married women under forty-five years old. The purpose of the study was to determine if women's sex role attitudes have some kind of ideological basis, meaning that what is viewed as the desirable organization of sex roles is "supported by rationalizing beliefs" which "reflect group norms, or collective perceptions or values." The results indicated that their attitudes were at least partially organized around an ideology, for the authors found that the variables which seemed most clearly indicative of membership in groups varying in social values (such as education level, race, and religiosity) were "also the ones most strongly related to women's sex role attitudes." They also found, however, that women's gender role ideology was not organized along a single dimension of sex role. The women seemed to have separate ideologies for the two dimensions of "women's labor rights" and "sex based division of household responsibilities." As in other studies (Osmond and Martin, 1975; Parelius, 1975), their attitudes tended to be more traditional on the division of labor



dimension and more contemporary on the labor market rights dimension.

Lipman-Blumen (1972) was also interested in the ideologies that predict the values and behavior of women. She attempted to determine the demographic and sociological variables that are associated with what a woman considers to be appropriate role behavior. Her measure of women's female role attitudes was two-dimensional; one dimension dealt with task-sharing between husband and wife, while the other dealt with patterns of female behavior outside the home. The sample consisted of 1,012 college educated wives of graduate students. Neither parental income, occupation, or education, maternal employment, sibling configuration, parental divorce, childhood religion, or rural background were associated with female role ideology. However, women with contemporary ideologies were more likely to have dominant mothers or no parent dominant; mothers who were dissatisfied with life and with housekeeping; and mothers, or mothers and fathers jointly, who had encouraged them to attend graduate school. They also tended to have a lower opinion of their parents, to have been lonelier during adolescence, and to have an adult religion different from their childhood religion due to conversion, which the author interpreted as indicating that they had been in the process, since adolescence, of disengaging themselves from

the family values and patterns with which they had grown up. Contemporary women had higher educational aspirations, were less likely to use a vicarious mode of achievement, derived less satisfaction from being with other women, and were less satisfied with the role of housekeeper than traditional women, but both types were equally satisfied with their husband and children and had similar self-esteem profiles.

As did Lipman-Blumen, Meier (1972) studied characteristics of parents in relation to the sex role attitudes of their children, and developed the hypothesis that the high salience which mothers have in shaping their children's attitudes may not be detrimental as is often supposed, but may actually result in the children having relatively more equalitarian attitudes about the social roles of women, particularly if the mother displays attributes of social achievement, such as a college education or prestigious occupation. He gave a schedule of "situational and propositional" statements, similar to those used by Osmond and Martin, to 219 male and female undergraduates to measure attitudes toward "Feminine Social Equality." Parental salience was determined by a single question about "which parent seems most influential in shaping your attitudes and general outlook." As was true for Osmond and Martin, females held more modern attitudes than males, overall. As



predicted, maternal salience in the respondent's childhood was associated with more equalitarian sex role attitudes. Respondents whose mothers had worked, especially if their occupation was prestigious, and whose mothers were college educated, held more equalitarian attitudes than other respondents. From these findings, Meier suggested that mothers possessing attributes of achieved status articulate their maternal roles in distinctive ways from other mothers. He also proposed that the modes the mother used to accommodate her domestic and community roles may be a key element in explaining the attitudes of the children. While Lipman-Blumen (1972) wrote that disengaging from parental influence and values was associated with more equalitarian attitudes, Meier interpreted his findings as indicating that "the most important vehicle for producing a more equalitarian concept of feminine roles is through motherhood . . . in a style that is apt to be untraditional" (1972: 120).

Another researcher who sought to identify the "pockets of resistance to women's equality" and to characterize "those who endorse sexism in American society" used data from a nationwide survey of college freshmen (Bayer, 1975). His analysis was based on a subsample of freshmen who answered "strongly agree" to the statement that "the activities of married women are best confined to the home and family." The stereotypes generally applied to "chauvinists" were found to be true. For example, the students in

Bayer's sample were from lower socioeconomic backgrounds and rural areas, were likely to be members of fundamentalist Christian sects, and to be politically conservative. In addition, they tended to be non-white, to have been less successful academically in high school and to have lower aspirations in college. One of the most notable features about the "sexist" students was that they tended to enter the fields of business, health, and education, fields that provide a high degree of contact with people in the process of developing their sex role attitudes.

#### Sex Role Stereotypes

The study of sex role stereotypes is a third method of researching sex roles which has been widely used. Defining sex role stereotypes has been the purpose of most of these studies (e.g., Bem, 1974; McKee and Sherriffs, 1957b; Williams and Bennett, 1975). However, favorability of the stereotyped traits, and consequences of the stereotypes for behavior and self-concept have also received attention (e.g., Bem, 1975; McKee and Sherriffs, 1957a, 1959; Rosenkrantz, et al., 1968; Williams and Best, 1976).

Regardless of the method used to determine the lists of stereotypes, the results were very similar. Most of the studies agreed that the male stereotype was more favorable than the female stereotype, whether using student ratings or standard ratings of the adjectives used to describe

each sex (McKee and Sherriffs, 1957a, 1957b, 1959; Rosencrantz, et al., 1968).

Rosencrantz, et al., (1968) discussed the implications of their data, which showed masculine characteristics to be significantly more socially desirable than feminine characteristics for self-concept. They pointed out that their respondents' self-concept scores were correlated both with their respective stereotypes and with social desirability ratings, which implies that women hold a negative value of their worth relative to men.

McKee and Sherriffs' (1959) data showed a related phenomenon. Their respondents marked four adjective check lists, to describe "real self," "ideal self," "ideal member of the opposite sex," and "belief about how men (women) describe their ideal woman (man)." In their descriptions of their "real self," women chose more unfavorable characteristics than did men, and chose fewer sex inappropriate words, indicating a somewhat rigid concept of self. The findings about the "ideal member of opposite sex" and "belief about what the opposite sex thinks is ideal" corroborated again the findings of Steinmann and Fox (1966). The females believed, as in Steinmann and Fox's study, that males wanted their "ideal woman" to have only "feminine" qualities, while the males wanted an "ideal woman" who was not nearly as restricted as the females thought. On the

other hand, females wanted their "ideal man" to have favorable qualities from both sexes equally, which is exactly what the males believed they wanted. The authors suggested that men's knowledge of women's desire for a "balanced man" may put them under pressure to incorporate more expressive qualities into their make-up. Unlike other researchers who state that females have more impetus to change because they have more to gain, McKee and Sherriffs made the unique suggestion that the sex with the higher status is in a more secure position and may be able to express overt role change sooner than the sex with the inferior status.

Two studies on family sex roles which do not fit into the categories previously discussed were done by Lovejoy (1961) and Komarovsky (1973), on college students' conceptions of the husband and wife roles. In Lovejoy's study, the students' perceptions of their parents' respective roles in twenty family decisions were tapped, as were their expectations about how the same decisions would be made in their future families of procreation. It was found that they expected more decisions to be made jointly than was true in their family of orientation. The two exceptions, items on which the students expected to be similar to their parents, were that they anticipated the husband alone to determine the nature of his job and the wife alone to decide what food to buy. There were some differences by sex within

the college sample: for almost all items, a greater percentage of females thought the decisions should be joint ones. The students were also asked about their anticipated participation in seven household tasks: washing the car, cleaning the garage or basement, making small appliance repairs, keeping records of family expenses, getting breakfast, making the beds, and dusting and cleaning the house. "Keeping record of the expenses" was the only task both sexes expected to do jointly. On the three traditionally male tasks, more females expected joint participation, while more males expected to take sole responsibility themselves. Analogously, for the three traditionally female items, more males expected equal participation, while more females expected taking sole responsibility themselves. The author concluded that, while the data supported the concept that marital roles are changing, as suggested by other authors, the resolution of the change appeared to be in the direction of marital accord rather than toward greater conflict.

Komarovsky (1973) interviewed sixty-two college men to determine how they were integrating the relatively new norm of intellectual and emotional companionship between the sexes with previously established norms such as male intellectual superiority and male occupational authority. She found that, in the abstract, the men espoused egalitarian views and supported career-oriented women, but in



their own marriages, they expected the traditional pattern of male rights and responsibilities. Eighty-eight percent were either strict traditionalists, modified traditionalists who accepted a sequential pattern of working-then-mothering-then-working for their wives, or pseudo-feminists, who touted the new ideology but were unwilling to make necessary compromises. Only seven percent were willing to modify their life according to the needs of their wives. Komarovsky concluded that "ideological support for the belief in sharp sex role differentiation in marriage has weakened, but the belief itself has not been relinquished."

The studies of sex role norms, attitudes, and stereotypes have attempted to answer the various questions of: which sex has the least traditional view of sex roles, which ones of a multitude of dependent variables are associated with either the modern or traditional view of sex role, what psychological effects result from either the fact that sex roles are changing or the fact that females have a less prestigious status, what the dimensions of sex role ideology are, how various known groups differ in their view of sex roles. In other words, copious research has been done on the relationships surrounding sex role, but relatively little has been done on what sex roles family members enact as a function of their sex, and on the expectations of unmarried respondents about their future roles.



Blood and Wolfe (1960) included a list of eight household tasks in their study of decision-making to determine how husbands and wives usually divide these chores. The following tasks were included: household repairs, shoveling the sidewalk, mowing the lawn, grocery shopping, getting the husband's breakfast, straightening the living room for company, and doing the evening dishes. The responses showed a high degree of specialization along traditional sex lines, a specialization which was not observed in the decision-making data. The contrast indicated to Blood and Wolfe that the typical family is "like a corporation that makes its decisions in staff conferences, but executes them through technical experts" (1960: 53).

Olsen (1960) investigated the association between division of family responsibilities and social stratification. Almost 400 wives from five socioeconomic strata were asked which family member was responsible for each of about 100 household tasks. It was found that the middle strata husbands had greater participation in the tasks than either the high or low strata husbands. The difference was due to greater participation by the middle strata husbands in traditionally male tasks, such as mowing the lawn, for middle strata husbands were no different from the other husbands in their participation in traditionally female tasks, such as washing the dishes.

A study which investigated the behavior of respondents by sex and also included the anticipations of single respondents about their marital roles was done in 1955 by Dyer and Urban (1958) who sampled one hundred married student couples and three hundred single students at Brigham Young University to test the hypothesis that an "equalitarian family arrangement has been established and institutionalized for some segments of society" (Urban, 1956: 1). Their questionnaire contained items about behavior in the five areas of child rearing, decision-making, finances, recreation, and household tasks. Single respondents were asked for their expected behavior in their marital role; married respondents were asked for their actual behavior, and for what they desired their role to be. Chi-square analysis was used to compare the various responses on each item. If a majority of the respondents in each comparison agreed that an item was performed equally by husband and wife, equalitarianism was said to be institutionalized for the item. Recreation was the area showing the greatest institutionalization of equalitarian norms. The child rearing and decision-making areas also showed substantial agreement among the respondents that the activities were done equally, although there were exceptions within each area. The questions about finances demonstrated less institutionalization of equality, with considerably more disagreement than was evident in the

other three areas. There was relatively high agreement about household task items, but the direction was toward separation by sex rather than shared participation, so that this area displayed the least institutionalization of equalitarian norms.

To obtain information about the role behavior of husbands and wives, and to compare today's marital roles with those of twenty years ago, the present study was designed after the research reported by Dyer and Urban.

A body of literature which does not come under sex roles directly but which is necessarily closely related to the subject is that of "family power." One of the more important rights which has historically been ascribed to the male role has been the possession of relatively greater power over the female. Consequently, since most of the family power researchers focus on the husband and wife, their discussions of their relative power also imply information about the relative power of males and females.

By far the most common measure of family power structure employed by researchers has been the relative degree of participation by husbands and wives in family-oriented decision-making.

About half of the items on Dyer and Urban's marital role questionnaire were questions about how various family decisions are made. For this reason, the family

decision-making literature is reviewed in conjunction with this study of sex role.

#### Family Decision-Making

The number of decisions on which respondents have been questioned by family power researchers varies from eight (Blood and Wolfe, 1960) to twenty-one (Burchinal and Bauder, 1965), but the form and content of the decisions have been similar, with most of the decisions coming from the categories of household tasks, recreation/social activities, family purchases/financial activities, and child control/child care (e.g., Blood and Wolfe, 1960; Centers, et al., 1971; Mack, 1974; Safilios-Rothschild, 1969). The most frequently used method of obtaining decision-making data has been the structured interview or self-administered questionnaire (cf., Safilios-Rothschild, 1970a; Schlesinger, 1962). And the most frequently used source of information has been the wife (cf., Safilios-Rothschild, 1969), although data has also been gathered from adolescents (e.g., Papanek, 1969), college students (e.g., Kenkel, 1957), and husbands (e.g., Centers, et al., 1971; Turk and Bell, 1972).

The classic study by Blood and Wolfe (1960) is the prototype of these generalities. Their interviews of 909 urban and rural women in the Detroit area included the following eight decision-making questions: "Who usually makes the final decision about what car to get, . . . whether or

not to buy life insurance, . . . what job your husband should take, . . . whether or not you should go to work or quit work, . . . how much money your family can afford to spend per week on food, . . . what doctor to have when someone is sick, . . . where to go on a vacation, . . . what house or apartment to get?" The possible responses were "husband always," "husband more than wife," "husband and wife exactly the same," "wife more than husband," and "wife always." When responses to the eight questions were combined to give a single decision-making score, 22% of the families scored as "wife dominant," 22% as "husband dominant," and 46% as "equalitarian" but slightly skewed in favor of the husband. Farm wives, Catholics, recent immigrants, older wives, and less educated wives, who were originally expected to subscribe to a more patriarchal system of decision-making, responded in the same way as the urban woman. After an examination of various personal resources associated with power in decision-making, the authors concluded that "contemporary married couples are freed from (the) patriarchal tradition . . . which arbitrarily installs one sex in power" (1960: 44).

Middleton and Putney (1960) used both husbands and wives in their study of power. Their respondents completed a questionnaire individually, then jointly, and the proportion of disagreements resolved in favor of the husband



was used as an indication of his power. The fifteen items were somewhat different from those used in later studies in that they were "designed to elicit disagreement" and, in general, did not ask which spouse made certain decisions. Two examples are "Should toilet training for a child begin before one year old?" and "Should an engaged couple ask for gifts such as silver pieces or for practical things like towels and sheets?" Their sample consisted of ten black, ten white college professors, and ten black, ten white skilled workers. No difference was found for the four groups on the relative dominance of husbands and wives; all had a predominantly equalitarian family power structure. When the four areas of questions (recreation, child care, purchases and living standards, and role attitudes) were examined separately, the existence of equalitarianism was essentially supported, with husbands winning from 35% to 64% of the disagreements.

In a study by Safilios-Rothschild (1969), fourteen decisions were used as a measure, five of which came from Blood and Wolfe's instrument. The areas covered were rearing children, use of available money, relations with parents and in-laws, use of leisure time, family size, choice of friends, purchase of clothes, purchase of furniture and household items, purchase of food, choice of doctor, purchase of car, purchase of life insurance, selection of



house or apartment, selection of job husband should take. The author interpreted the responses to these decisions as indicating that "important" decisions are made jointly (e.g., family size, choice of house or apartment) or by the husband (e.g., purchase of car, life insurance), but time-consuming, non-crucial decisions are the wife's responsibility. Contrary to Zelditch's (1955) proposition, the instrumentality or expressiveness of the decision did not differentiate the decision-maker by sex. A factor analysis revealed that most of the decisions loaded on more than one factor, suggesting that more than one dimension was being tapped by a single decision question.

Centers, Raven, and Rodriques (1971) patterned their research after Blood and Wolfe. However, they included men as well as women in their sample and they added six items to Blood and Wolfe's list of decisions: "Who usually makes the final decision about who you invite to the house, . . . how to decorate or furnish the house, . . . which TV program to watch, . . . what the family will have for dinner, . . . what type of clothes you will buy, . . . what type of clothes your spouse will buy." These items were thought to be areas where wives exert substantial influence and were added to give the wife's power a better chance to manifest itself than in the Blood and Wolfe study. Their results on the "balance of power" were very similar to Blood

and Wolfe, although the new items did shift the power distribution in the direction of the wives, resulting in scores almost exactly equal rather than slightly skewed toward husbands. The percentages of "power type" for the Los Angeles sample, based on fourteen questions, gave a different picture from that based on only eight decisions. There were significantly fewer "husband dominant" (43% compared to 9%) and "syncratic" families (34% compared to 18%), significantly more "autonomic" families (29% compared to 68%) and no change in the number of "wife dominant" families (4%). They suggested that this may be a better reflection of reality than the proportion reported by Wolfe (1959), due to their "better balanced sample of decisions."

Turk and Bell (1972) also used Blood and Wolfe's list of decisions, as well as eight other measures of power, in their interviews with husbands and wives in 211 families. When they used the same method of grouping scores as Blood and Wolfe, they had identical percentages of "husband dominant," "wife dominant," and "equalitarian" families. But when they divided the scores more symmetrically, the number of "husband dominant" and "equalitarian" families increased significantly at the expense of the number of "wife dominant" families. Their second measure originated with Heer (1962) and was based on responses to the question, "When there's a really important decision on which you two disagree, who usually wins out?" Turk and Bell's respondents

answered "husband" and "wife" about as often as Heer's sample, but considerably fewer answered "neither."

The third measure used by Turk and Bell (1972) asked "Who is the real boss in your family?" Of the nine measures, the responses to this question gave the greatest amount of power to the male, with "husband" named 76% of the time and "husband-wife equally" named only 13% of the time. The fourth measure, an observational measure, was replicated from Kenkel's (1957) research which had couples decide how to spend an imaginary gift of \$300.00. Turk and Bell included the couples' children in the discussions and found that they had an influence not revealed in the interview measures. The fifth measure, a revealed difference observation measure, also demonstrated the contribution of children to the family power structure. For this measure, wives were found to "win" slightly more often than husbands. The remaining four measures were based on observed aspects of group behavior during decision-making discussions.

In summary, Turk and Bell reported that, when used and analyzed in their original form, the nine measures gave results similar to those found in the earlier studies. However, on all the survey measures, up to one-half of the husbands and wives gave different or opposite answers, indicating that previous analyses of only one family member

may have led to invalid conclusions. Another observation was that similar responses were obtained whether respondents were asked for information about "reality" or about their "ideal." Finally, they determined that the nine measures of power were not equivalent, that each dealt with a different aspect of the general phenomenon of power.

Like Turk and Bell, Mack (1974) used both survey and observational methods in her study. Her sample of 80 couples was equally divided for working class and middle class, and for blacks and whites. Their first task was to answer individually, "Who usually makes the final decision," for eighteen questions in the areas of recreation, household tasks, and family purchases. They then answered the questionnaire jointly and the measure of husband's power was the percentage of resolutions decided in favor of the husband. Their next task was to discuss the subjects of child care/discipline, and President Nixon in order to reach a joint conclusion. The proportion of time the husband talked defined his power. A bargaining situation where one spouse role-played the customer and the other the salesman was the third measure. Both were instructed to make the best possible deal for themselves with a given minimum and maximum amount of money, and power was determined by the total selling price. In the post-inquiry, each husband and wife was asked to rate the overall dominant spouse in the marriage. Class differences were found, for husbands, in the

survey method and the bargaining task; working class husbands were more powerful in the number of questionnaire decisions decided in their favor while middle class husbands had greater power in the bargaining situation. Both husbands and wives reported that they had essentially equal power, only slightly favoring husband dominance, which supports Blood and Wolfe's findings.

A third subject of research which is linked to Dyer and Urban's thesis that a pattern of marital role behavior has been institutionalized, is that of black family functioning. By definition, all groups that are governed by the same norms should behave in similar ways, if the norms are institutionalized. Therefore, the literature on black families was reviewed to determine if they had marital role norms similar to whites.

#### Sex Role and Decision-Making Among Blacks

Much of the research on black families has dealt with their composition and with the reasons for their so-called pathologies in structure. Another large portion has been concerned with dating and sexual behavior and with marital instability rates (cf., Staples, 1971a). Other than the myth that black families are predominantly matriarchal, which has been convincingly dismissed (cf., Frumkin, 1954; Hyman and Reed, 1969; Mack, 1971; Staples, 1971b), little research has been done on the internal functioning of the



black family. These studies will be reviewed: first, those that describe the marital roles of the black family only; secondly, those which compare the marital roles of blacks and whites.

Two of the studies of black families had the same purpose as Lovejoy (1961) and Komarovsky (1973)--to study the marital role expectations of unmarried respondents. The first was by Frumkin (1954) who asked forty black college students, "What type of intrafamily leadership and control do you think is generally best for successful family life?" and "What type do you want for your own future family?" For the type of leadership that was "generally best," "equalitarian" was named most often, but "paternal," "maternal," "democratic," and "conditional" were cited by a few respondents. However, for the type of leadership they desired for themselves, no one selected "paternal," or "maternal," and 80% said "equalitarian." The remainder chose "democratic." Those who desired an "equalitarian" relationship were of all intelligence levels and socio-economic statuses.

The second study on marital role expectations used a sample of twelfth graders (Rook and King, 1973). The questionnaire had 71 items comprising seven subscales on authority, housekeeping, care of children, personal characteristics, social participation, education, and economic support



and employment. Half of the questions represented equalitarian expectations and half represented traditional expectations. As in Lovejoy's study, the females were more traditional on the housekeeping scale than the males; they expected to do more of the work themselves, while the males expected to share those tasks. There were no sex differences for the other six scales; both males and females anticipated sharing roles. Also in agreement with Lovejoy's data, the power structure in the respondent's family of orientation had no effect on the power structure they anticipated for themselves. There was no difference between the expectations of females of different socioeconomic classes. Middle and lower class males differed only in the area of economic support and employment, with lower class males being more traditional, that is, expecting sole responsibility for the family income. In summary, although the equalitarian items did not have absolute agreement overall, there was consistently greater support for the equalitarian ones than for the traditional ones.

In a study of black family decision-making, King (1969) used adolescents as his source of information about marital power structure. He asked ninth graders, "Who in your family makes the decisions concerning these items?" The items included what TV program to watch, what large purchases to make, what punishments the child received, what jobs the

child did around the house, and how late the child was allowed to stay out. The possible response categories were: father autonomous, mother autonomous, adolescent alone, father and adolescent shared, mother and adolescent shared, and syncratic (mother and father shared, with or without child's input). The respondents' families were grouped by father's occupation into "white collar," "blue collar," and "unskilled" categories. For all items, and for all occupation levels the adolescents saw their parents' power structure as mainly syncratic. A sex difference among respondents was found, in that males reported more father participation in decision-making and females reported more mother participation.

Two studies have been conducted on the sex role norms and attitudes of blacks in comparison with whites. The first was by Steinmann and Fox (1970). They administered their "Inventory of Female Values" to black and white female college students and had them respond with their self-perceptions, the responses of their ideal woman, and their perceptions of the responses of men's ideal woman. Male black and white students answered the inventory in terms of how their ideal woman would respond. The responses of black and white females about themselves and about their ideal woman were similar and were balanced between intra-familial and extrafamilial orientations. However, white

women felt that men's concept of the ideal woman was highly intrafamiliially oriented, while black women perceived her to be balanced. The black females' perceptions were more accurate in that both black and white males described an ideal woman who was oriented to intrafamily and extrafamily satisfactions equally.

The second study on black and white marital sex roles was by Scanzoni (1975a). The data came from the survey of 3,100 people described in an earlier section, and was obtained on the same seven dimensions of the husband role, wife role and mother role. Also, responses were obtained on two dimensions of self-concept: instrumental, indicating task orientation, and expressive, indicating person orientation. Thirdly, wives evaluated themselves, and husbands evaluated their wives, on eight specific abilities both intrafamiliially and extrafamiliially oriented. White respondents were found to be less traditional than blacks on the dimensions of "traditional wife (TM)," "traditional husband (TH)," and "religious legitimation of mother role (RLM)." Conversely, the black respondents were significantly less traditional on "self-actualization (SA)," "problematic husband alterations (PHA)," and "institutionalized equality (IE)." Black women were also more modern than white women on "traditional mother (TM)." The author described this division in the black-white response pattern by noting that the TM, TH, and RLM dimensions

represented more general, formal ideologies about male and female roles than the SA, PHA, IE, and TM dimensions, which involved specific, radical behavioral prescriptions. He interpreted this to mean that blacks tend "to opt for more fundamental and basic changes in marital role structure" while whites prefer "more moderate or neo-traditional forms of the wife role" but "lean toward more equalitarian ideologies of both the husband and mother roles" (1975a: 135). Racial differences also emerged from the self-concept scores and the wife's "ability evaluation." Blacks of both sexes perceived themselves to be more instrumental, or activist, than whites, but, in addition, black females saw themselves as more expressive, or nurturant and supportive, than white females. On the ability evaluation questions, black women saw themselves as more task-capable, a response which is congruent with the answers on another item--relative conjugal authority. Respondents were asked what one thing they and their spouse disagreed about most often; and then, which one usually got his or her way. Black women claimed more authority for themselves than did white women, and this was supported by the men's answers, for black men claimed less authority for themselves and more for their wives than white men.

Four studies on decision-making in black and white families used husband and/or wife responses. One used

the perceptions of adolescents: King (1967) used the same instrument as in his other study to compare the conjugal authority structure of black and white low income families. By father's occupation, the families were divided into semi-skilled and unskilled groups, but no consistent differences were found in the power structures of the semi-skilled and unskilled families. Both black and white ninth graders reported mostly syncretic relationships in their families, but a significantly larger percentage of mother autonomous and father autonomous decisions were made in the black families.

Blood and Wolfe (1960) found the "balance of power" reported by Negro wives to be significantly different from that reported by white wives. Among the black respondents, there were fewer "husband dominant" families (19% vs. 26%) and "equalitarian" families (28% vs. 54%), but significantly more "wife dominant" families (44% vs. 20%). The reduced power of the Negro husband held true across all three occupational statuses, "low blue collar," "high blue collar," and "white collar." Regardless of the status indicator used (income, social status level, occupation), white husbands had more power than black husbands who were equal in status. The authors attributed these findings to the black males' poor education, experience with discrimination in housing and jobs, and lack of prestige in society.



Middleton and Putney (1960) found only one racial difference among the ten black and ten white college professors, and ten black and ten white skilled workers. Based on a behavioral measure of the proportion of disagreements that were resolved in favor of the husband, white professors had more power than black professors in the area of purchases and living standards. The authors cautioned that statistical significance may have been reached in this case by chance alone.

Unlike Middleton and Putney, Mack's (1974) two survey and two observational measures did result in some class differences between the working class and middle class samples. But like Middleton and Putney, there were no racial differences among her respondents; all displayed an essentially equalitarian power structure.

Scanzoni (1971) interviewed one spouse in each of 400 black households. He compared the rights and privileges of the black husband and wife with those of the white husband and wife, and found them basically the same. For example, although more black women were employed, they were not socialized to be the family provider and so role specialization was present, just as in the white family. In answer to the item about "Who usually gets his or her way over the thing you disagree about most often," 46% of the black husbands and 33% of the black wives replied "equally."



This was very similar to the percentages given by white husbands and wives. Scanzoni's investigation concluded that there were more "similarities than differences in black and white conjugal relations."

Two other pieces of research on black women suggest that black male-female relationships may be different from white male-female relationships. Bernard (1975) distinguished "pioneer" or "role transcendents" from "traditionalists" on an instrument asking about civil rights and campus issues, libertarian issues, and feminist issues. Twice as many black women were role transcendents as were traditionalists, and blacks scored especially high on achievement orientation and aspiration measures.

Fichter (1967) analyzed data from a national survey sample of educational institutions, which included fifty all-black colleges and universities. Forty-two percent of the black women students said that their husbands would prefer them to work regularly or occasionally throughout married life, compared to 20% of the white women students. In addition, almost fifty percent of the black women, but only 22% of the white women, expected and preferred to combine familial and occupational roles. In the area of childbearing, racial differences were more significant than sex differences--a larger proportion of blacks, both men and women, wanted to have children, in spite of the

fact that the black women were more likely to be employed while the children were young. Finally, the respondents were given a list of eight occupations and were asked which ones they either lacked the ability or "suitable personality" to do. In results corroborated by Scanzoni (1975a), black women had greater confidence in their abilities than white women.

The conflicting information derived from the various studies comparing white and black conjugal relations has given rise to two theories of black family behavior. One theory is that social class is the determining variable and that most of the difference between black and white families can be explained by the fact that a larger proportion of blacks than whites are members of lower socioeconomic classes. The opposing theory is that black families are governed by a distinct subculture which developed out of the black historical experience and therefore their behavior is distinct from white behavior at all socioeconomic class levels (Staples, 1971a).

Due to the paucity and inconclusiveness of the data on black marital role norms, black families are included in this study, since this will provide additional information about the content of marital roles and help determine whether sex role norms are similar or different to whites.

### CHAPTER III

#### CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND HYPOTHESES

There are two variables involved in Dyer and Urban's (1958) conclusions; one is that a pattern of marital role behavior has been institutionalized, and the other is that the institutionalized pattern is one of equalitarianism. The present research is expected to confirm that the norms for marital role behavior have been institutionalized, but it is not expected to corroborate that the institutionalized norm is one of equalitarianism.

The first two major hypotheses of this study deal with what norms actually do govern marital role behavior; the last three major hypotheses deal with whether the norms are institutionalized.

Urban's (1956) conceptual reference was Burgess and Locke's proposition that the family was changing from a patriarchal system toward a companionship system, characterized by equality between husband and wife. Urban used the terms "companionship" family and "equalitarian" family interchangeably when describing his sample, but the evidence indicates that while "companionship" was probably an accurate modifier, "equalitarian" was not. First, the numbers of responses indicating equal husband-wife roles were

probably overrepresented in Urban's study for two reasons: (a) all respondents were college students, a population that particularly idealizes equality and is sensitized to individual freedoms; and (b) the possible choices of responses ("Mate alone," "Mate mostly," "You and mate share equally," "You mostly," and "You alone") were especially vulnerable to answers based on the social desirability of equalitarianism (cf., McKee and Sherriffs, 1957a). Even with this bias, however, the responses were not wholly equalitarian. The data showed that his respondents equally shared the decisions and activities in the area of recreation more than in any other area. The areas of child rearing, finances, and general decision-making received mixed responses; some of the decisions and activities were equally shared, some were generally shared, but skewed toward one spouse or the other, and some were not shared but were exclusively the realm of one spouse or the other. The fifth area, household tasks, had no items that were equally shared. Finally, in answer to a question about the "head of the family," Urban's respondents overwhelmingly named the husband most often, none named the wife, and only about 20% said "both equally."

While the marital roles described by Urban's couples and unmarried individuals could not justifiably be called "equalitarian," the pattern of their responses indicated

that they had, or anticipated, a relationship similar to one described by Scanzoni (1972).

Scanzoni used role theory in his conceptualization of the past and present roles of husband and wife; that is, that social relationships are composed of complementary pairs of social positions, such as husband and wife, student and teacher. "Role" is defined as the sum of behavioral expectations associated with the various positions (Banton, 1965), and the roles for the two position-incumbants in a social relationship are highly interdependent--each position is entitled to certain rights in the relationship which the other is obligated to provide (Banton, 1965; Goode, 1963). Scanzoni divided the rights and obligations of the husband-wife relationship into two dimensions, the instrumental and the expressive. Instrumentality refers to power, decision-making, the performance of household duties, etc., while expressiveness refers to sexual behavior, companionship, and other indicators of marital satisfaction. Nineteenth century marriage was characterized by an "owner-property" relationship between husband and wife. The wife's instrumental and expressive obligations to her husband were maximal, while her corresponding rights were almost nonexistent. As women's status improved, the "head-complement" relationship emerged. Although the expressive rights and obligations of both husband and wife are approximately



equivalent in this relationship, the instrumental rights of the husband still exceed the wife's in that she must defer to his authority derived from his role as economic provider, and is confined to the marriage relationship for her life's satisfaction. The third relationship identified by Scanzoni is the "junior partner-senior partner," where the wife's instrumental rights are increased by her holding an outside job. She is not considered a family provider, though, so her instrumental duties and, consequently, some of her rights, are not equal to her husband's. Finally, the "equal partner" relationship is characterized by equal expressive and instrumental rights and obligations.

By Scanzoni's model, for "head-complement" and "junior partner-senior partner" relationships, those questions that tap the expressive dimension should yield equalitarian responses, since the expressive rights and obligations of husband and wife are approximately equal in these two types of relationships. By the same reasoning, those questions representing the instrumental rights and obligations of husband and wife should yield non-equalitarian responses. Urban's results were congruent with this definition in that he found equalitarianism to be highly institutionalized for the recreation items, and less established for the more instrumentally oriented areas. The mixed responses in three of the areas may have been due to the inclusion of both expressive and instrumental behaviors in the same area.

The question of interest in this study is whether the "head-complement" and "junior partner-senior partner" relationships are still the marital role norm. Scanzoni's perspective would indicate that this is so. As recently as 1972, he estimated that most marriages are of the "head-complement" or "junior partner-senior partner" variety. The observations of various family scientists on the speed of social change also suggest that, although twenty years have passed since the data was collected for Urban's study, the marital roles of the present study's respondents are probably virtually the same as the roles of his respondents. For Bernard (1968) has written that:

. . . in discussing change over time, it is important to remind ourselves of the enormous stability of social forms. The modal or typical segments of the population show great inertia; they change slowly . . . what does change, and rapidly, is the form the nontypical takes. It is the nontypical that characterizes a given time; that is, the typical tends to be stable, and has to be distinguished from the characteristic or characterizing, which tends to be fluctuating.

In conjunction with this, she wrote that, while the legal rights of women (the "enacted" rules) have been established, the "crescive" rules of society (the mores, customs, tradition) are much more difficult and slow to change. In the same vein, de Beauvoir (1953) observed:

Many young households give the impression of being operated on the basis of perfect equality. But as long as the man retains economic responsibility for the couple, this is only an illusion. It is he who decides where they will live, according to the demands of his work; their standard

of living is set according to his income;  
daily, weekly, annual rhythms are set by his  
occupation . . .

And Rapaport and Rapaport (1971), Holmstrom (1972), and others have pointed out, those families attempting changes in husband-wife roles through dual career marriages receive no societal support and find it harder to practice an equal division of rights and responsibilities than to conform with the typical pattern in which rights and responsibilities are unequally distributed.

On this evidence, the marital roles of the present sample are expected to be indicative of a 'head-complement' or 'junior partner-senior partner' relationship. That is, the husbands and wives are expected to report equal participation in the recreation area, which represents the expressive dimension, but to report less equal participation in the areas of finances, decision-making, and household tasks, which represent the instrumental dimension. This expectation is submitted to empirical test by means of the following hypothesis:

1. There is no significant difference between husbands and wives in their relative proportion of responsibility for family recreation, finances, decision-making, and household tasks.

Of the areas showing mixed responses in Urban's study, the child rearing area was the one that most obviously included items tapping both the expressive and instrumental dimensions. Some of the child rearing activities which

were included were highly instrumental, similar to household tasks, such as "caring for the child's physical needs," while others dealt with the emotional relationship between husband and wife, or between parents and child, such as "Being the child's playmate." Thus, it is expected, by Scanzoni's model, and supported by Urban's findings, that those child rearing items which deal with instrumental behaviors will be characterized by less equality in relative husband-wife contributions than the child rearing items which deal with expressive behaviors. The formal hypothesis for this expectation is:

2. There is no significant difference between husbands and wives in their expressive child rearing responsibilities and their instrumental child rearing responsibilities.

It was a second purpose of the present study, as a sequel to Urban's research and in view of the widespread theorizing and empiricizing about sex roles in transition, to determine if contemporary marital role norms are institutionalized. Institutionalized norms are defined as "standards which have been internalized by members of a society and which orient their behavior. Conformity to these standards both satisfy the needs of the individual and maximize the favorable reactions of others with whom he is interacting" (Dyer and Urban, 1958: 53).

Urban hypothesized that if companionate marital roles had been institutionalized, then the expectations of single

respondents about their future marital roles should be very similar to the roles reportedly assumed by married respondents. His hypothesis was confirmed; the unmarried group and the married group in his sample held the same beliefs about what were appropriate marital roles. On those isolated items where there was a difference between the two groups, it was due to the greater sharing expected by the single students, especially the females.

Subsequent studies about the attitudes of unmarried respondents toward their marital role had conflicting findings. A more recent investigation than Urban's suggested that unmarried individuals no longer share the same marital role norms as married people (Lovejoy, 1961). Lovejoy found that the college students in her sample expected to engage in significantly more joint decision-making than their parents had, and thus, by Scanzoni's definition, have a more nearly 'equal partner' relationship. However, another, even more recent study by Komarovsky (1973) found that the great majority of single college men she interviewed expected some version of the 'head-complement' or 'junior partner-senior partner' relationship for their marriage. While these two studies are at odds about the current status of the institutionalization of marital role norms, it is very possible that Lovejoy's results were affected by her design, and therefore, were less valid.



Her respondents were at an age, and in an environment, that was highly conducive to the rejection of parental values. When they were asked to compare their future marriages with their parents' marriages, the ethic of idealism and having a better life than one's parents may have become salient considerations and motivated them to answer with more socially desirable, peer supported responses.

As means of establishing the degree of institutionalization of marital roles, married and single respondents are compared to determine if they hold similar marital role expectations, as was found for Urban's sample and indirectly supported by Komarovsky's study. This comparison is expressed in the following hypothesis:

3. There is no significant difference between unmarried men and women in their proportion of responsibility for family recreation, finances, household tasks, decision-making, and child rearing.

Another indication of institutionalization of marital role norms in Urban's sample, although he did not present it in a formal hypothesis, was that there were very few differences between the reported actual roles of the husbands and wives and the roles they desired, in the areas of general decision-making, finances, recreations, and household tasks. (Although his sample had more statistically significant differences between "actual" and "desired" responses in the child rearing area, the differences were mainly due to respondents who did not give an

answer about their actual role, but did answer about the role they desired. In most cases, they gave "husband and wife equally" as their desired role, either for reasons of social desirability or because they had no children and were idealizing their future roles as parents. This situation resulted in a greater number of differences, probably unwarranted, for "actual" and "desired" roles in the child rearing area.) The overall similarity between the responses about actual behavior and desired behavior indicates that the respondents were generally satisfied with their role relationships, which suggests that the norms for that behavior had been institutionalized. For, by Sirjamaki's (1948) observations, internalized norms usually remain unchallenged, and by the definition of institutionalization, conformity to internalized norms yields personal satisfaction.

Studies have not directly researched the satisfaction or dissatisfaction of married people toward their marital role arrangement. Questions about "How happy is your marriage?" or "How satisfied are you with your marriage?" tend to elicit responses based on personal feelings about the spouse, rather than about the distribution of rights and obligations. Turk and Bell (1972), however, did find that questions about "real" decision-making in families evoked similar answers to those questions about "ideal" family decision-making.

By the definition of institutionalization, and supported by Urban's data, agreement between the "actual" and "desired" responses of married couples may be considered an indication of the institutionalization of marital roles. Thus, the following hypothesis is proposed as a test of institutionalization:

4. There is no significant difference between the actual and desired responses of husbands and wives in the areas of family recreation, household tasks, decision-making, finances, and child rearing.

Race is the third variable used by this study to determine if marital role norms have been institutionalized. If it can be said, from the scarce and confusing data on black families, that blacks adhere to the same norms as whites, then comparisons of whites and black respondents should provide one further test of the institutionalization hypothesis--if a norm is institutionalized, all segments of society should conform to it (Urban, 1956).

Billingsley provided a basis for interpreting the opposing theories and conflicting data about black family behavior. He explained that confusion arises because of a "failure to make distinctions between different types of identity people share" (1968: 10). The ethnic or racial group is the locus of "historical identification" or a "sense of peoplehood," while social class is the locus of "participational identification," or behavioral similarities. That is, people of the same ethnic group, but of

different social classes share a sense of peoplehood, but do not necessarily act alike. And members of the same social class, but of different races, act in similar ways, but do not feel a oneness with each other. Thus, while the theory of a racially distinct subculture is defensible in terms of a sense of unity among blacks, the theory of social class superceding race is more justifiable for behavioral considerations.

If Billingsley's theory, that the black historical experience has not resulted in a different set of norms for black behavior than for white, is correct, then the marital role norms which Urban found to be institutionalized for white respondents should be institutionalized for blacks as well. Therefore, it is expected that:

5. There is no significant difference between black husbands and wives and white husbands and wives in their proportion of responsibility for family recreation, finances, decision-making, household tasks, and child rearing.
6. There is no significant difference between the actual and desired responses of black husbands and wives and the actual and desired responses of white husbands and wives in family recreation, decision-making, finances, household tasks, and child rearing.
7. There is no significant difference between black unmarried men and women and white unmarried men and women in the proportion of responsibility they expect in the areas of family recreation, finances, decision-making, household tasks, and child rearing.

## CHAPTER IV

### DESIGN AND METHOD

#### Sample

Dyer and Urban's respondents were either college students or married to college students and almost all were members of the Church of Latter Day Saints. In order to obtain a more representative sample, this study used largely non-student respondents. Most of the respondents were members of Protestant denominations, which is typical of the geographical area from which they were chosen. A third way in which the present sample differed from the earlier sample was in the selection of the never-married respondents. Dyer and Urban distributed their questionnaire to all single students in various university classes. To get a sample of unmarried individuals who were more homogeneous in terms of their stage in the mate selection process, this study sampled single persons who were either engaged to be married or were steadily dating a particular individual. This method had two further advantages. First, the nearness of marriage enhanced the possibility that these respondents had already done some thinking about the roles they would play as husband and wife, and therefore, their



responses would be more likely to reflect genuine expectations rather than hasty guesses. In conjunction with this, it was felt that people preparing for marriage would have more interest in, and attribute greater importance to, the type of questions asked and thus provide more valid answers than other singles. Secondly, engaged people have a particular individual to use as a referent when responding to questions about their life with a spouse. This allows their expectations to be more specific and probably more accurate than if they were based on estimates of a generalized person of the opposite sex, estimates which Steinmann and Fox (1966) have indicated would probably be fallacious.

A fourth way in which the present study attempted to improve the representativeness of its sample was by including black as well as white respondents.

The sample was composed of four subsamples: white married couples, black married couples, white never-married couples who were either engaged or steadily dating, and black never-married couples who were either engaged or seriously dating. The married respondents were identified through the pastors of nineteen Greensboro, North Carolina area churches and synagogues, and through five United Day Care child care centers. The white never-married respondents were selected from those who placed engagement notices in a Greensboro daily newspaper between February 22, 1976 and March 29, 1976, and from those who applied for

marriage licenses in Forsyth County during a three week period in February and March, 1976, and from those identified by the pastors of the church in which they were to be married. Black never-married respondents were also selected by these three methods. In addition, students of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro and of North Carolina A and T University were also included in this subsample. The total usable sample consisted of 166 white married respondents, 67 black married respondents, 99 white never-married respondents, and 58 black never-married respondents. Fifty-seven returned questionnaires were unusable, either because the single respondents had been previously married or were already living with their fiancée, or because essential classification information had been omitted, or because the instructions had been misunderstood.

Most of the descriptive information about the sample is given in Table 1.

The occupations of the respondents were categorized according to the Nam, et al., (1976) 'Occupational Status Index.' The nine categories of occupations were defined as follows: (a) professional, technical, and kindred workers, (b) managers and administrators, (c) sales workers, (d) clerical and kindred workers, (e) craftsmen and kindred workers, (f) operatives (e.g., in factories) and

transport operatives (e.g., truck and bus drivers), (g) laborers, (h) farmers, farm managers, farm laborers, (i) service workers and private household workers. The white unmarried males were distributed across all the categories, but most were in categories (d) and (e). The majority of white single females were either unemployed or in clerical occupations. Black never-married men were evenly distributed across all categories except farmers and service workers. In addition nine of the twenty were students. Most of the black never-married females were university students. A slight plurality of the black married men were in professional occupations, with most of the remainder in clerical and operative work. The black married females were evenly distributed among unemployed, professional, clerical, mill operative, and service worker categories. A plurality of white married males also were in professional occupations, with most of the remainder in sales and management. The majority of white married females were unemployed, with most of the remainder divided between professional and clerical occupations.

Table 1  
Description of the Sample

	White		Black	
	Married	Unmarried	Married	Unmarried
Number of respondents	166	99	67	58
Sex				
Male	48.5%	46.5%	47.8%	34.5%
Female	51.5%	53.5%	52.2%	65.5%
Mean Age	31.0	21.4	30.5	20.8
Mean number of years married	8.5	-	7.7	-
Mean number of children	1.7	-	1.7	-
Religion				
Protestant	87%*	92%	78%	64%
Jewish	4%	-	-	-
Catholic	5%	3%	1%	3%
Other or none	2%	4%	15%	28%
Mean number of years of education completed	14.5	13.3	14.5	14.1
Mean annual income	\$15,000- \$17,999	\$13,000- \$14,999 <sup>a</sup>	\$13,000- \$14,999	\$11,000- \$12,999 <sup>a</sup>

\*Percentages may not sum to 100%, due to rounding off and missing data.

<sup>a</sup>Of parents.

### Instrument

Marital roles of married couples and expected marital roles of unmarried couples were measured by a self-administered questionnaire (Appendices A and B). The first section of the questionnaire consists of fifty-seven items dealing with common decisions and activities within the family, which were taken from the instrument used by Urban (1956). Urban's instrument, in turn, was taken from E. E. Dyer's research (1955). Urban revised Dyer's instrument slightly after interviewing students, teachers, and married couples. He pretested the revised questionnaire on a sample of students who were from a population similar to that of his later respondents. The categorization of the fifty-seven items into five general areas of family activity (recreation, household tasks, child rearing, finances, and general decision-making) was originally made by E. E. Dyer and was maintained in Urban's study and in the present study.

Each of the items was followed by a straight line labeled from 0% to 100%. Married respondents put an "A" at the point on each line that indicated the "percentage of time, effort, responsibility" that they actually contributed in each of the fifty-seven situations. In addition, they put a "D" on each line to indicate the "percentage of time, effort, responsibility" that they



desired or wished that they contributed. When there was no discrepancy between "actual" and "desired" contributions, both letters were placed together on the continuum. Never-married respondents were instructed to put an "E" at the point on each line that indicated the "percentage of time, effort, responsibility" they expected to contribute in each situation after they were married.

The second section of the questionnaire consisted of four vignettes, two of which depicted situations in which the respondent's children desired occupations that are stereotypically linked to the opposite sex. The remaining two sketches depicted situations in which the respondent had the opportunity to reverse his or her role in the family. Each hypothetical situation was followed by a straight line on which the respondent indicated the point "that best describes your reaction." The continuum of possible reactions ranged from disapproval of non-stereotypic roles at one end of the line to acceptance of non-stereotypic roles at the other. For example, the response set for one of the vignettes ranged from "I would try to talk him out of being an elementary school teacher," through two intermediary responses to "I would encourage him to be an elementary school teacher."

The third section of the questionnaire was comprised of ten statements of sex role norms. Five of the statements were phrased to support a traditional view of the

roles of husband and wife, for example, "The husband should be the head of the family." And five were phrased to support a syncratic view, for instance, "The husband should take equal responsibility for housekeeping when his wife works full-time." Each norm was followed by a straight line, one end of which was marked "strongly agree," while the other end was marked "strongly disagree." The respondents placed an "X" at the point on each line that "best describes your feelings about each of the following statements."

Questions seeking demographic information were included after the normative statements.

#### Procedure

The married couples, whose names had been obtained from church directories, were informed by letter (Appendix C) that they had been selected for participation in the study. Within four days, the researcher hand-delivered two questionnaires and two stamped, addressed envelopes. All deliveries were made after 5:00 p.m. or on the weekend, when the likelihood of both husband and wife being home was greater. If the couple was not home on the first attempt to deliver the instruments, one return visit was made. If the delivery could not be made on the second visit, another couple was selected from the same church to be included in the sample. This procedure was followed

until the desired sample size was obtained. At the time of delivery, it was stressed to both spouses that they should answer the questionnaires separately. In six cases, the pastors preferred to present the questionnaires and envelopes personally to their participating members. However, care was taken to inform the potential respondents that the pastor would not see the completed questionnaires. Finally, in two churches, the researcher addressed the "Young Couples" Sunday School classes and handed out the questionnaires and envelopes to those who were present. One week after they received the questionnaires, a follow-up postcard was sent to those couples who had been visited at home, and who had not returned both questionnaires. The following week those who still had not responded were telephoned. The pastors and Sunday School teachers of the other respondents reminded them for two consecutive weeks to return their questionnaires.

The married couples who had children in one of the five child care centers sponsored by the United Way agency, United Day Care, were contacted by their center director and given the questionnaires and envelopes. The sealed envelopes were returned to the directors' offices where the researcher collected them.

An overall return rate of 60% was obtained from the white married persons. This resulted in 134 completed,

usable instruments from both members of 67 couples, and 32 completed instruments from only one member of 32 couples. The return rate for black married persons was 54%, which resulted in 60 completed questionnaires from both members of 30 couples, and 7 completed questionnaires from only one member of 7 couples.

The men and women in the never-married sample who were identified through the engagement notices in the newspaper, and through their pastors, were initially telephoned and asked to participate in the study. If both members of the couple were willing, a questionnaire and stamped, addressed envelope was sent to each. A cover letter was included (Appendix D) that again described the study, encouraged cooperation, and reminded the respondents not to discuss their answers with their fiances. One week after mailing the questionnaires, the non-respondents were telephoned to encourage them to return their questionnaires. Those who still had not responded seven days later were sent a follow-up postcard.

The black never-married respondents who were students at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro were identified by their dorm counselor and were visited in their dorm rooms by the researcher who described the study and asked them to participate. Those who agreed were given two questionnaires and two envelopes, one for themselves and one

for their boy friend or girl friend. The researcher returned five to seven days later to retrieve the completed questionnaires. Those who did not have both questionnaires completed were revisited two to three times in an effort to secure the questionnaires. The black never-married respondents who were students at A and T State University were given the questionnaire outside of class, by one of their instructors, who subsequently collected them and returned them to the researcher.

Completed questionnaires were also obtained from couples who were waiting in the marriage license bureau for their marriage licenses to be prepared.

A return rate of 73% was obtained from the white never-married group. This resulted in 86 completed, usable instruments received from both members of 43 couples, and 13 single instruments. The black never-married group had a return rate of 63%, which resulted in 40 completed instruments from both members of 20 couples and 18 single questionnaires.

#### Analysis of the Data

The questionnaire responses were coded by dividing each continuum into ten divisions. Each answer was given a number from 1 to 10, according to where the respondent had placed it on its continuum. When an answer fell on the line between two divisions, it was given a score half way



between two numbers, for instance, 2.5 or 3.5, etc. The numbers correspond to percentages, for instance, a score of 10.0 is the equivalent of 100%. The coded data for the main part of the questionnaire and for the demographic information were summarized and manipulated by means of the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (Nie, et al., 1975). The mean score for each item was computed for the four subsamples, by sex. The scores for the sex role areas (finances, recreation, decision-making, household tasks, and child rearing) were computed by taking the means of the scores for the items in each area. For each hypothesis, the two-tailed t-statistic for differences between means was used to identify statistically significant differences. An alpha level of .05 was required for significance.

#### Operational Definitions

Each of the fifty-seven items was classified into one of six areas which are identified below. In most cases, the items were classified in the same way as in Urban's research. For those items which had been up-dated and therefore were different from Urban's, the researcher made the decision on categorization, based on face validity.

Child rearing area or responsibilities: A classificatory term for nine items in Appendix A dealing with child rearing activities--numbers 2, 7, 8, 10, 30, 32, 44, 46, and 52.

Finances area or responsibilities: A classificatory term for eight items in Appendix A dealing with family financial matters--numbers 14, 16, 19, 25, 26, 28, 35, and 43.

Decision-making area or responsibilities: A classificatory term for twelve items in Appendix A dealing with general family decisions--numbers 3, 9, 15, 17, 27, 31, 37, 38, 45, 50, 54, and 56.

Recreation area or responsibilities: A classificatory term for twelve items in Appendix A dealing with family recreational activities--numbers 1, 4, 11, 23, 24, 29, 33, 41, 47, 48, 55, and 57.

Female household tasks area: A classificatory term for ten items in Appendix A dealing with chores traditionally delegated to the wife-mother of the family--numbers 12, 13, 21, 22, 36, 39, 40, 42, 49, and 53.

Male household tasks area: A classificatory term for six items in Appendix A dealing with chores traditionally delegated to the husband-father of the family--numbers 5, 6, 18, 20, 34, and 51.

Instrumental behaviors: The performance of tasks for coping with the objective environment; that is, subject-to-object behaviors. Behaviors which are performed in response to the environment in which the family exists are instrumental, such as household tasks, manipulations of

finances, physical care of spouses and children, and decision-making which is required by the objective environment (cf., Levinger, 1964; Scanzoni, 1972).

Instrumental child rearing responsibilities: Those six child rearing responsibilities necessary for coping with the environment (see above)--numbers 2, 10, 30, 44, 46, and 52 in Appendix A.

Expressive behaviors: Behaviors directed to maintaining the social relationships among family members; that is, subject-to-subject behaviors. Behaviors depicting companionship, communication, and understanding are expressive. Recreation is a companionship behavior, therefore, decisions, suggestions, etc. about recreation for spouses or between parent and child are of the expressive dimension. Decisions about when to have children and how many to have can most accurately be described as subject-to-subject behaviors between spouses and thus are expressive behaviors (cf., Levinger, 1964; Scanzoni, 1972).

Expressive child rearing responsibilities: Those three child rearing responsibilities directed to maintaining the social relationships among family members (see above)--numbers 7, 8, and 32 in Appendix A.

## CHAPTER V

## RESULTS

The first hypothesis postulates that there is no significant difference between husbands and wives in the proportion of responsibility that each contributes to the areas of family recreation, finances, decision-making, and household tasks.

It should be noted here that it was necessary to divide the household tasks area into two parts, one including the tasks traditionally performed by women and the other including the tasks traditionally performed by men. The use of a generalized household tasks area would have resulted in misleading mean scores, due to a crossover effect in which each sex had high scores on its sex-appropriate household task items, but low scores on its sex-inappropriate items (Table 2).

Table 2

Differences Between Mean Scores on Combined  
and Separated Household Task Areas

	Married Males	Married Females
Household Tasks	4.99	6.16
Male Household Tasks	7.62	4.08
Female Household Tasks	2.35	8.25

The first hypothesis is supported for the recreation and finances areas, but not for the decision-making and household tasks areas (Table 3). In other words, for this sample, approximately the same amount of "time, effort, and responsibility" is contributed by husbands as by wives in recreational and financial activities. But husbands and wives do not have equal proportions of responsibility in making general family decisions, and in performing household tasks. The men have greater responsibility for decision-making and for doing traditionally male household tasks than the women, while the women have more responsibility for performing traditionally female household tasks.

Table 3

Differences Between Contributions by Married Men  
and Women in Five Areas (Mean Scores)

	Males	Females
Recreation*	5.03**	5.12
Finances	6.03	5.82
Decision-making	6.23 <sup>a</sup>	5.28 <sup>a</sup>
Male Household Tasks	7.62 <sup>b</sup>	4.08 <sup>b</sup>
Female Household Tasks	2.35 <sup>c</sup>	8.25 <sup>c</sup>

\*The higher the score, the more "time, effort, responsibility" that was contributed to the activities within the area, with 5.0 being the midpoint.

\*\*"Actual," rather than "desired" responses.

a-a, b-b, c-c: Significant at p .001.



The second hypothesis proposes that there is no significant difference between husbands and wives in their relative responsibilities for expressive and instrumental child rearing activities. The hypothesis is not supported for white husbands and wives, for either the instrumental or the expressive dimensions (Table 4). In both dimensions, white women have significantly greater responsibility than white men. For black husbands and wives, the hypothesis is supported on the expressive dimension, but not on the instrumental dimension. That is, black married men and women have about the same amount of responsibility for expressive child rearing activities, but black women have significantly more responsibility for the instrumental child rearing activities than their husbands.

Table 4

Differences in Relative Contributions by Married  
Males and Females for the Expressive and  
Instrumental Items in the Child  
Rearing Area (Mean Scores)

	White		Black	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Expressive	4.93 <sup>a</sup>	5.70 <sup>a</sup>	5.33	6.11
Instrumental	4.26 <sup>b</sup>	6.93 <sup>b</sup>	4.42 <sup>c</sup>	6.77 <sup>c</sup>

a-a: Significant at p .01.

b-b, c-c: Significant at p .001.

The third hypothesis submitted that there is no significant difference between the proportions of responsibility that unmarried men and women expect to have in the six sex role areas and the proportions of responsibility that married men and women actually have in those areas. The hypothesis is supported for both sexes only for the areas of finances and male household tasks (Table 5). For those two areas, the single respondents' expected proportion of responsibility and the married respondents' actual proportion of responsibility are about equal.

Table 5

Differences Between Unmarried and Married Respondents  
in Their Actual and Expected Contributions  
in Six Areas (Mean Scores)

	Male		Female	
	Married	Unmarried	Married	Unmarried
Recreation	5.03 <sup>a</sup>	5.43 <sup>a</sup>	5.12 <sup>b</sup>	5.77 <sup>b</sup>
Finances	6.03	6.08	5.82	5.99
Decision-making	6.23	6.06	5.28 <sup>c</sup>	5.70 <sup>c</sup>
Male Household Tasks	7.62	7.64	4.08	4.41
Female Household Tasks	2.35 <sup>d</sup>	3.36 <sup>d</sup>	8.25	7.96
Child Rearing	4.56 <sup>e</sup>	5.64 <sup>e</sup>	6.51	6.21

a-a: Significant at p .02.

b-b, d-d, e-e: Significant at p .001.

c-c: Significant at p .05

For the remaining areas, the hypothesis is not supported, for at least one sex. Unmarried males are significantly different from married males in the areas of female household tasks and child rearing; unmarried females are significantly different from married females in the decision-making area. In the area of family recreation, both unmarried males and unmarried females are significantly different from their married counterparts.

In all cases where there is a significant difference between married and unmarried respondents, the direction of the difference is toward the unmarried respondents anticipating greater responsibility for themselves than was reported by the married respondents.

Hypothesis 4 posits that there is no significant difference between the "actual" and "desired" responses of married men and women in the six sex role areas. The hypothesis is supported for the areas of finances, decision-making, and male household tasks, for both sexes. The actual amount of responsibility held by husbands and wives in these three areas is about equal to the amount of responsibility they desire (Table 6).

For the areas of recreation and child rearing, the "actual" and "desired" responses for the males are significantly different. In both instances, the men wish to have more responsibility than is actually the case (Table 6).

The females' "actual" responses are different from their "desired" responses in the areas of female household tasks and child rearing. Their "desired" scores are significantly lower than their "actual" scores in these two areas; that is, they desire less responsibility than they report they actually have (Table 6).

Table 6

Differences Between "Actual" and "Desired"  
Contributions by Married Respondents  
in Six Areas (Mean Scores)

	Male		Female	
	Actual	Desired	Actual	Desired
Recreation	5.03 <sup>a</sup>	5.55 <sup>a</sup>	5.12	5.47
Finances	6.03	6.17	5.82	5.77
Decision-making	6.23	6.30	5.28	5.46
Male Household Tasks	7.62	7.33	4.08	3.92
Female Household Tasks	2.35	2.39	8.25 <sup>b</sup>	6.82 <sup>b</sup>
Child Rearing	4.56 <sup>c</sup>	5.46 <sup>c</sup>	6.51 <sup>d</sup>	5.79 <sup>d</sup>

a-a, b-b, c-c, d-d: Significant at p .001.

The final three hypotheses deal with the question of whether blacks are significantly different from whites for those areas covered by this study.

The fifth hypothesis postulates that there is no significant difference between black and white married men and women in their proportion of responsibility for the six sex

role areas of family recreation, finances, decision-making, child rearing, and male and female household tasks. The hypothesis is supported for males in all areas but female household tasks, and is supported for females in all areas but decision-making (Table 7). The differences are in the direction of black males having significantly more responsibility in female household tasks than white males, and in the direction of black females having significantly more responsibility in decision-making than white females.

The sixth hypothesis proposes that there is no significant difference between blacks and whites in the proportion of responsibility they desire to have in the six sex role areas. For males, the hypothesis is supported for all areas but female household tasks, in which black males desire significantly more responsibility than white males (Table 7). For females, the hypothesis is supported in all areas but two--decision-making and finances. In these areas, black females desire significantly more responsibility than white females.

Hypothesis 7 states that there is no significant difference between white and black unmarried men and women in the proportion of responsibility they expect to have in the six sex role areas. This hypothesis is supported for both sexes, for all areas; black single men and women expect to have essentially the same amounts of responsibility in



Table 7

Differences Between Married White and Black  
Respondents in Their Contributions  
in Six Areas (Mean Scored)

	Male		Female	
	White	Black	White	Black
Recreation				
"Actual"	5.05	4.98	5.08	5.25
"Desired"	5.48	5.79	5.36	5.77
Finances				
"Actual"	5.92	6.33	5.85	5.77
"Desired"	6.08	6.49	5.63 <sup>c</sup>	6.16 <sup>c</sup>
Decision-making				
"Actual"	6.23	6.22	5.19 <sup>d</sup>	5.77 <sup>d</sup>
"Desired"	6.29	6.32	5.32 <sup>e</sup>	5.89 <sup>e</sup>
Male Household Tasks				
"Actual"	8.19	7.82	3.61	3.94
"Desired"	7.79	7.30	3.40	4.09
Female Household Tasks				
"Actual"	2.43 <sup>a</sup>	3.19 <sup>a</sup>	8.18	7.66
"Desired"	2.52 <sup>b</sup>	3.33 <sup>b</sup>	6.89	6.21
Child Rearing				
"Actual"	4.50	4.70	6.49	6.54
"Desired"	5.21	5.73	5.77	6.02

a-a, b-b, c-c, d-d, e-e: Significant at p .01.

family recreation, male and female household tasks, decision-making, finances, and child rearing as white single men and women expect to have (Table 8).

Table 8

Differences Between Unmarried Black and White Respondents in Their Expected Contributions in Six Areas (Mean Scores)

	Male		Female	
	White	Black	White	Black
Recreation	5.46	5.36	5.75	5.79
Finances	6.00	6.25	6.01	5.97
Decision-making	5.98	6.23	5.57	5.88
Male Household Tasks	7.90	7.64	4.29	4.05
Female Household Tasks	3.56	3.20	7.82	7.61
Child Rearing	5.58	5.78	6.19	6.24

In summary, married men and women have approximately equal proportions of responsibility in family recreational and financial activities, but have significantly different proportions of responsibility in making family decisions and in performing traditionally male and traditionally female household tasks. Females of both races have significantly more responsibility than males on the instrumental child rearing dimension. On the expressive dimension of the child rearing area, white wives are significantly different from

their husbands in proportion of responsibility, while black husbands and wives are about equal.

It was also found that males desire significantly more participation in the areas of recreation and child rearing, and females desire significantly less participation in the areas of female household tasks and child rearing. For the remaining sex role areas, "actual" and "desired" responsibilities are similar.

In the comparison between married and unmarried respondents, unmarried males expect to have significantly more responsibility than married males in three areas--recreation, female household tasks, and child rearing. Unmarried females expect significantly more responsibility than married females in two areas--recreation and decision-making.

Black married respondents are very similar to white married respondents in both their actual proportions of responsibility and their desired proportions of responsibility. In their actual amounts of responsibility, whites and blacks differ significantly in only two areas--female household tasks for the males, and decision-making for the females. For their "desired" proportion of responsibility, white and black males again differ significantly only on female household tasks. White and black females' desires differ significantly on decision-making and finances.

Black and white unmarried respondents show no differences in any of the six sex role areas.

## CHAPTER VI

### DISCUSSION

The comparisons of husbands and wives on recreation, finances, decision-making, and household tasks, and on expressive and instrumental child rearing activities are tests of the proposition that a "head-complement" or "junior partner-senior partner" relationship characterizes contemporary American marriages. By the theory behind the proposition, it was expected that there would be no difference between husbands and wives in those areas representing the expressive dimension of marital rights and obligations, that is, recreational activities and expressive child rearing activities (Scanzoni, 1972). Conversely, husbands' and wives' proportions of responsibility were expected to be different in the areas representing the instrumental dimension, that is, financial matters, family decision-making, traditionally male household tasks, traditionally female household tasks, and instrumental child rearing activities. Husbands were expected to have greater responsibility for finances, decision-making, and traditionally male household tasks, while wives were expected to have greater responsibility for traditionally female household tasks and instrumental child rearing activities.



The results partially support the proposition. The husbands and wives in this investigation do have equal responsibility for recreational activities, while husbands have greater responsibility for making decisions and performing male household tasks, and wives have greater responsibility for performing instrumental child rearing activities and female household tasks. However, contrary to the proposition, husbands do not have more responsibility than wives in the finances area. And on the expressive child rearing activities, white husbands and wives are not equal in their proportions of responsibility.

No distinctive pattern emerges for the findings in the finances area, but the discrepancy between husbands and wives in the expressive child rearing area seems to be due to the wives having more responsibility for "being the child's playmate" ( $\bar{X}$ s = 4.9 for white males, 5.7 for white females). In view of the fact that the questionnaire instructions read "What percentage of time, effort, responsibility do you contribute . . .?" this may indicate that married women simply spend more time with their children during the day, rather than indicating that expressive rights and obligations are unequally distributed for husbands and wives. This explanation may also be used for black husbands and wives, for although their scores on this item do not reach significance due to the size of

the subsample, the absolute difference between their scores is similar to the whites. Without further investigation on this interpretation, however, the evidence of a "head-complement" or "junior partner-senior partner" marital relationship is not unequivocally supported by the results of the tests of the first two hypotheses.

The comparisons between "actual" and "desired" responses, married and unmarried respondents, and black and white respondents are tests of the proposition that marital role behavior is institutionalized in American society. By the definition of institutionalization, it was expected that there would be no difference between the "actual" and "desired" responses of married respondents, the responses of marrieds and unmarrieds, and the responses of blacks and whites. The results of the tests give substantial, although not complete, support to the proposition.

For both sexes, there is no difference between "actual" and "desired" responses in the areas of finances, decision-making, and male household tasks. This finding in the decision-making area lends support to the proposition that the "head-complement" or "junior partner-senior partner" relationship is the institutionalized pattern. For even though men have greater responsibility for general family decision-making, neither males nor females exhibit a desire to change their relative contributions. The same holds

true for the male household tasks; there is apparently no desire to change the males' traditional role in the household division of labor toward more equal sharing.

The "actual" and "desired" responses are not the same for the remaining three scales--recreation, female household tasks, and child rearing. On the recreation scale, all respondents desire more participation than they actually have. Although most of the twelve items within the recreation scale show higher "desired" responses for both males and females, the item showing the most dramatic increase is "Working on hobbies together," in which both males and females have relative participations of about 30%, but desire participations of about 50%. This connotes that the difference between "desired" and "actual" contribution in recreation merely reflects a desire for greater companionship, thus reinforcing Scanzoni's theory that the expressive rights and responsibilities in marriage are equal for the husband and wife.

In the area of female household tasks, the males are apparently satisfied with the extent of their responsibility; there is no difference between their "actual" and "desired" responses. Females, however, wish that they had less responsibility for the female household tasks. It is important to note, though, that even their "desired" contribution is greater than 50% (Table 5). This may be

interpreted to mean that although women want less participation in female household tasks, they do not desire reduced responsibility to the extent of equal sharing with their husbands. If this interpretation is accepted, it would support the concept of the institutionalization of a non-equalitarian norm.

The one area on which males and females clearly desire less differentiation of responsibility and more equal roles is child rearing. Males desire more participation in child rearing than they actually have, and females desire less participation. It has been suggested that men take a lesser role in child care because their wives, either consciously or unconsciously, prevent them from participating, possibly for fear their chief source of status will be usurped (cf. Bernard, 1968). The interpretation that women are consciously impeding the males from taking a greater part in child rearing was not supported by the present data, however, for although the men desire more participation, the women desire less. Another possibility is that it is the structure and composition of the nuclear family, in which the husband, as primary provider, is away much of the time, that prevents the males from participating in child rearing as much as they would like.

Based on the similarity between the roles the married respondents report they have and the roles they wish they had,

the institutionalization of married role norms is supported in at least four sex role areas and there is some evidence that the institutionalized norms are of a non-equalitarian nature. The one area which does not support this conclusion is the child rearing area, in which the differences between "actual" and "desired" responses are significant for both males and females.

The comparison between married and unmarried respondents supports the concept of institutionalization of marital role behavior in the areas of finances, decision-making, and male household tasks for males, and in the areas of finances, male household tasks, female household tasks, and child rearing for females. That is, in these areas, single respondents expect to have about the same proportion of responsibility as married respondents have.

The differences between married and unmarried males and females in the recreation area can be attributed mainly to differences in the question "Working on hobbies together," on which married respondents had a mean score of 3.37 and unmarried respondents a mean score of 5.95. This may better be an indication of the characteristics of the dating and courtship process than of the degree of institutionalization of marital roles. Dating partners and prospective mates in American society spend most of their time "doing things together," particularly recreational activities. Therefore,



it may be logically assumed that the engaged couples projected their current degree of "courting" companionship into their future marital relationship. In terms of marital role institutionalization, it should be noted that although the differences in the recreation area are statistically significant, the scores for both the married and unmarried groups are within the fifty percent range, and, hence, practically speaking, both groups have evidently internalized the norm of equality of expressive rights and obligations.

While the basic pattern of role relationship remains intact for both married and unmarried respondents in the household task area--each sex claiming to do 80% of the chores traditional for own sex--the unmarried group's responses are apparently affected by a pre-marriage idealism, which dictates that each sex also helps with the traditional tasks of the other. This is particularly true for the males, who expect to have more responsibility for female household tasks than already-married men. The trend is also visible in the single females' responses about male household tasks, although their differences from the married females are not significant. Again, the unique experience of the courtship period, which may be epitomized by the scene of a young woman handing tools to her boyfriend who is working under a car, may be partially responsible for the idealism. Whatever the reasons for the

idealism, however, the sharing and helping relationship for household tasks does not last long after the individuals are married. The mean score on male household tasks for females married four years or less is 3.61, which is identical to the mean score for all married females but lower than the mean expectations of unmarried females ( $\bar{X} = 4.41$ ). Similarly, on female household tasks, males married four years or less have a mean score of 2.84, which is very close to the mean score for all married males, but lower than the mean expectations of single males ( $\bar{X}_s = 3.70$ ).

In the child rearing area, unlike the roles the married men report, unmarried men anticipate equal participation with their wives. Also, although not statistically significant, unmarried women anticipate less participation than married women.

Although it may be argued that these differences are due to the idealism of the unmarried respondents toward parenthood, this possibility is negated by the fact that the desires of the married men and women are very close to the expectations of the single men and women (Tables 5 and 6). That is, if they could arrange it, the married respondents would like to have the same child rearing role relationship that unmarried respondents want. It appears, then, that while child rearing is a generally female responsibility in American society, this is not an institutionalized norm. Evidently, circumstances which become manifest

after marriage, such as the composition of the nuclear family and the husband's normative role as provider, have resulted in married women taking most of the responsibility for child rearing, but this male-female division is not accepted by married and unmarried couples as the preferable way to raise children.

A revealing relationship is discovered in terms of the existence or non-existence of a "male superior" marital relationship, when the male responses to the child rearing questions are analyzed in view of the responses to a vignette-style question in another section of the questionnaire. The vignette describes a situation in which the wife has a high-paying job and is willing to support the family, and the husband has the opportunity to stop working and participate in other activities, such as being with the children. The continuum ranges from "I would keep my job; I couldn't let my wife's money pay the bills" through working part-time to "I would quit my job and enjoy my freedom." As predicted, the great majority of men responded that they would keep their job. This held regardless of level of education or occupational status. However, many respondents, especially the professional men, wrote that they would keep their job because they really enjoyed it or because two incomes would enable them to afford special luxuries, not because they would feel threatened.

This vignette, in a sense, offered the husbands the hypothetical chance to overcome the disadvantage of being sole provider and to spend more time raising their children. Their responses to the vignette clearly establish, though, that even under the best of circumstances, the males are not willing to exchange the status they receive as a job holder for the status or satisfaction they might receive as a more active father.

This linking of two different groups of responses supports the proposition that a "head-complement" or "junior partner-senior partner" marital role relationship is the norm, for although men are dissatisfied with their relationship in the child rearing, they view their family economic provider role as their first priority.

The results of the comparisons between black and white respondents largely support the proposition that marital roles in American families are institutionalized. Black and white married respondents differ in their "actual" responses for only two areas and in their "desired" responses for only three areas.

On the decision-making items, black married women have more actual responsibility than white married women. The black females claim higher responsibility on all but one of the twelve items in the decision-making scale, but they have especially greater contribution in "Deciding if spouse

should go to work," "Deciding what job spouse should take," and "Planning what insurance to buy." Mean scores for the black females are 4.69, 3.70, and 4.57 on these items, and for the white females, 3.22, 2.76, and 3.05. Moreover, the percentages of contribution they desire on these three items are greater than those desired by the white women. The "desired" mean scores for black women are 5.40, 4.17, and 4.69 on the three items; the white women's "desired" scores are 3.52, 2.93, and 3.64. The black women's desired contributions are also greater for the item "Having the final word in family decisions" ( $\bar{X}$ s = 6.17 and 4.71). One explanation for these differences is that they are due to more white females than black females being unemployed; only 17% of the black women are unemployed, compared to 59% of the white women. Based on the resource theory of power and decision-making, the black females would be expected to have a larger part in decision-making due to the resources they acquire from being employed. However, separate analyses of the decision-making items for employed and unemployed females shows that, in this case, the data does not support the resource theory. The theory does hold for the white respondents; those who are employed have greater responsibility for making family decisions than those who are unemployed. But for the black respondents, working women report they participate less in decision-making than non-working women (Table 9).



Table 9

Differences Between White and Black Females  
on Their Relative Contributions in the  
Decision-making and Finance Areas  
by Employment Status (Mean Scores)

	White		Black	
	Employed	Unemployed	Employed	Unemployed
Decision-making				
"Actual"	5.36	4.91	5.73	5.93
"Desired"	5.37	5.28	5.90	5.87
Finances				
"Actual"	5.93	5.80	5.75	5.85
"Desired"	5.52	5.70	6.16	6.15

When comparing blacks with whites the theory is further refuted; black women make a greater contribution to their family's decision-making than white women, regardless of employment status. In lieu of an adequate explanation by resource theory, the results appear to support the observations of Bernard (1975), Fichter (1967), Foster (1973), Noble (1966), and Staples (1971b), that, due to various historical and economic circumstances, the black female is more independent and less constrained by sex role stereotypes than her white counterpart. This interpretation is further confirmed by the fact that the black females have a greater desire to take responsibility in family decision-making than white females, which corroborates Scanlon's

(1975a) finding that black women feel more capable and claim more authority for themselves than white women.

Another difference between blacks and whites which seems to indicate that black women are governed by different behavioral expectations than white women, is that the married black females desire more participation in financial activities than the married white females. Again, a possible interpretation is that, because more black women work and contribute to the family budget, they feel entitled to a significant role in managing the finances. As before, separate analyses were computed for the employed and unemployed groups of married women, but again it was found that employment status has no effect on the difference between blacks and whites; under all circumstances, black women want more responsibility for financial activities than white women (Table 9).

The only other racial difference is between married males on the female household task area; black men report higher "actual" responsibility and higher "desired" responsibility than white men. To control for the fact that more black women are employed and therefore may require more help in maintaining the house, wife's employment status was held constant. However, the black males still help more with female household tasks than white males (Table 10).

Table 10

Differences Between White and Black Males in  
Their Contribution to Female Household  
Tasks, by Wife's Employment Status  
(Mean Scores)

	White		Black	
	Wife Employed	Wife Unemployed	Wife Employed	Wife Unemployed
Female Household Tasks				
"Actual"	2.63	1.80	3.07	2.83
"Desired"	2.77	1.80	3.13	2.82

While some studies of lower class blacks have found that the black husbands demand a traditional division of labor in the house to compensate for their inferior status in the outside world (e.g., Liebow, 1966), this arrangement does not apply in the case of these middle class husbands, who appeared, like their wives, to be adhering to a somewhat less traditional norm than the white husbands.

The comparisons between white and black unmarried respondents especially support the proposition of institutionalization; no differences are found in any of the six sex role areas, for either sex.

While some differences are found between blacks and whites, and other research can be cited to support the direction of the differences, the numbers of comparisons which are not significantly different outweigh those few

that are. Indeed, the fact that thirty-six t-tests were computed between blacks and whites suggests that some number of them would be expected to reach significance by chance alone. Therefore, the proposition that marital role norms have been institutionalized between blacks and whites is supported.

In summary, the results of this study were almost identical to the results reported by Dyer and Urban (1958). Even the expectation that their findings were skewed toward equalitarian responses due to the selectiveness of their sample was not entirely borne out. An item by item analysis of the two sets of responses revealed no consistent pattern of fewer equalitarian answers by the more representative sample. It may be concluded, then, that over a span of at least twenty years, about one generation, the marital role relationship in American families has remained essentially unchanged for the areas covered by this study. And, apart from the area of child rearing, husbands and wives have no particular desire to change their relationship. Thus, it appears that a workable arrangement for the maintenance of the family has evolved and been institutionalized.

The autonomous, but unequal division of household labor, the unwillingness of husbands to relinquish their provider role to raise children, and the numbers of women

who are unemployed or have part-time jobs are indications, by Scanzoni's (1972) definition, that the institutionalized, model family arrangement is one in which the husband is the head or senior partner while the wife is his complement or junior partner. Nevertheless, there are only slight differences between males and females in the management of family finances and only somewhat greater differences in general family decision-making. Although these are instrumental factors by Scanzoni's definition, it appears that wives have obtained equal partnership in these areas.

A possible explanation for this inconsistency is that two levels of the concept "equality" are involved. Although wives are junior partners to husbands in an economic sense, in that their job prestige and financial contribution to the Gross National Product and to the family are inferior to their husbands', in an interpersonal and intrafamilial sense, wives consider themselves and are considered by their husbands as equal partners. Accordingly, they are equally involved in financial affairs affecting the family and in general family decisions. The circumstances of growing up in America are such that women are as well trained as men to make these kinds of decisions. They attend the same public schools and universities as men, and work at the same summer jobs during high school and



college. They have cars and the relative freedom to travel and be exposed to the same experiences, and many, if not most, are employed full-time for at least one or two years between graduation and the birth of their first child. In a society where Locke's principle that individuals have a right to determine their own destiny is patronized, and where expertise is a source of power, this kind of background entitles women to equal influence in family decisions; a right which is recognized by their husbands.

The distinction that there are two levels from which to approach "equality" helps in interpreting the conflict between the subjective observations and much of the empirical data, in the areas of family decision-making and sex roles. The data have usually shown an equal husband-wife relationship (e.g., Blood and Wolfe, 1960; Mack, 1974; Middleton and Putney, 1960), while the subjective observers have cited example upon example of the inequality of the relationship (e.g., Bernard, 1968; Peal, 1975; Rossi, 1965). The contradiction may be explained by the fact that the empirical researchers were looking at the microcosm of the equality between two individuals, while the non-empirical researchers were looking at the macrocosm of the equality between two sexes. de Beauvoir (1953) said, "Many young households give the impression of being operated on the basis of perfect equality. But as long as the man retains

economic responsibility for the couple, this is only an illusion." To the couples involved, their equality does not seem an illusion. They each have their responsibilities for the survival of the family--his to provide an income, hers to maintain the house and care for the children--and they decide together their plans for the future, how to spend their money, how to spend their leisure time, etc. Although the distribution of household tasks is unequal in that those involving the greatest time expenditure belong to the wife, the women have little desire to redistribute the chores because they apparently perceive this to be unfair to their husbands, who have their own time-consuming responsibility of maintaining a job.

This conceptualization of the relative contributions of husband and wife was confirmed by many of the respondents' editorial comments on the normative statements. It was especially evident for the statement, "If the wife works full-time and a child gets sick, her husband should be just as willing as she to stay home from work and care for the child." Several respondents qualified their responses by saying "It depends on who makes the most money," thus emphasizing the reciprocity of roles. That is, they seemed to be saying that as long as the husband is primarily responsible for the family's level of living, for the benefit of the family, it is the wife's responsibility

to allow him to fulfill his obligation by handling the problems which arise at home.

The possibility of interpreting equality from two different perspectives also explains the observation by Bernard (1968) and others that married women are apparently complacent about their inequality. In fact, wives do participate equally in having the final word in family decision, in deciding when to make large purchases and how much to spend for them, deciding what furniture to buy, what house or apartment to get, how much to spend for necessities, luxuries, and vacations, and what the family budget will be. So in terms of their personal experience, the women have not felt subjected to gross subordination.

From this perspective of equality, it becomes clear also why the suggestions for a re-arrangement of the husband-wife relationship, advanced by those whom Bernard calls the "nontypical," have been rejected by the great majority of husbands and wives. Their present relationship is realistic and practical in terms of the constraints imposed by an industrialized economy which separates the home from the site of production. Their relationship receives societal support, from the fact that all deliveries are made during the day, to the scarcity of qualified professional child care. The difficulties associated with adopting an arrangement different from the institutionalized one makes the suggestion unpopular, especially in

view of the couples' perception that they do have an equal relationship and see no great improvement to be gained by changing their marital role pattern.

The impracticality of most alternative husband-wife relationships, as described by some of the norm statements, was repeatedly noted by the respondents, generally not as a defensive reaction, but as a fact, regrettable or not. For example, in response to the statement that "A wife should be able to make long-range plans for her occupation in the same way that her husband does for his," the respondents pointed out that in many cases this would result in the husband and wife living apart, an undesirable situation. And, as already discussed, the suggestion that the husband should stay home with a sick child raised many questions about the economic practicality involved. Thus, the respondents, particularly the professionals, made it known that talking about alternatives was one thing, but putting them into practice was probably more trouble than they were worth.

The idea of the designation of two referents for the term "equality" has implications for future research in sex roles and decision-making. For conclusions about the extent of "equalitarianism" or "non-equalitarianism" would need to be qualified in terms of whether equality in the economic sense or in the interpersonal sense was being

measured. And a new research design would be required to study equality in the economic sense, as most of the previous decision-making and sex role research has been on the interpersonal equality of husband and wife.

In addition to the primary interpretations of the data, an additional observation was made, which speaks to one of the solutions that has been suggested by scholars (cf., Rapaport and Rapaport, 1971) to equalize the economic and parental responsibilities of spouses--that both husband and wife work part-time. This would yield a livable income, while exposing the children to both parents for large parts of the day. Responses to one of the vignette questions in this study, however, showed that virtually no man is willing to forego a job or to reduce his working hours to part-time in order to be more active in raising his children. Based on these findings, the arrangement of both husband and wife working part-time and parenting part-time may be regarded as a very remote possibility. Rather, the use of professional home workers and professional day care centers will probably be the most common method of child care if sufficiently large numbers of young mothers remain in the work force.

#### Suggestions for Further Research

In an additional analysis, "number of years married" was used as an independent variable. The married respondents



were separated into three groups--those who had been married four years or less, those who had been married five to ten years, and those who had been married eleven years or more. The three groups were compared, by sex, on the six areas of decision-making, finances, traditionally male and traditionally female household tasks, child rearing, and recreation. No significant differences were found by number of years married. Since this finding is contrary to what was expected, based on the family life cycle literature (e.g., Rollins and Feldman, 1970), it is suggested that future research, in which cell sizes by "years married" are large enough to make finer discriminations (such as "married one year or less," "married two to four years," and so on), also include an analysis by "number of years married."

Another variable which may have an effect on the data is the employment or non-employment of the wife. Due to the statistical test used in this research, it was not possible to determine the effect of multiple variables simultaneously on the dependent measure and time constraints restricted the number of possible independent variables which could be analyzed individually. However, it is suggested that the variable of wife-employment may be an important one and should be considered in future research.

Finally, some of the features of this study's questionnaire which were new and untested require further discussion.

The newly developed vignette items gave several indications that they were evoking valid responses and were measuring what they were designed to measure. However, some of the respondents' written comments indicated that they were reading the situations in a too personal light, which would make generalization to a whole sample difficult. For example, a male high school teacher wrote next to his answer of "displeased" on the first story, "I wouldn't want any of my children being a teacher in N. C.; the pay doesn't compensate for the time and effort." And a woman was "reluctant" for her husband to go back to school because "He should have thought of that before we had the baby." This kind of information suggests that further testing should be done with the hypothetical situations to determine if this extreme personalization of the questions is a general trend or if these instances simply represent the type of isolated aberration which occurs in all data.

The kinds of responses obtained by the use of a continuum from 0% to 100% requires additional investigation due to the novelty of this method of recording responses. The response scores were derived by dividing the continuum lines on each completed questionnaire into ten equal

lengths and noting into which division the respondent's marks fell. Since no intermediate marks were on the lines on the blank instruments, it might be argued that the percentages which the respondents meant to indicate do not coincide with the same percentages on the researcher's divided continuum. However, the appropriateness of the responses to the questions and the similarity of this study's findings to what other studies have found suggest that the researcher's coding of responses was essentially valid. Of course, because of the unusualness of the continuum technique, variations, such as the use of intermediate markings, need to be tested to determine optimum reliability and respondent affinity. To avoid wherever possible the suggestion of a so-called "right" answer to the respondents, it is suggested that dividing the line at 20%, 40%, 60%, and 80% rather than the more trite 25%, 50%, and 75%, would be preferable in the re-testing.

A feature of the data which was linked to the use of the continuum was that the husbands' and wives' responses together totaled slightly more than one hundred percent. This is particularly notable since husbands and wives married to one another comprised the largest percentage of respondents, and, therefore the difference cannot be attributed to the possibility that the men and women came from different populations. The modes and medians of the

individual items were checked to determine if this phenomenon was due to some physical characteristic of the continuum or questionnaire that caused the respondents to place an answer to the right of center when they intended to be marking 50%. This was found not to be the case. On many of the items, the majority of both sexes gave a response of 5.0; on any item where the majority of one sex gave a response greater than 5.0, the majority of the other sex gave a response correspondingly lower than 5.0. Thus, there was no general tendency to misjudge the middle of the scale. It is not possible from the data in this study to ascertain the reasons for this mild incongruence between husband and wife, but further research may be warranted to determine if the pattern recurs, and if so, what factors underlie it. The fact that this phenomenon became manifest only when a choice of responses other than the usual five ("Husband only," "Husband mostly," "Husband and wife equally," "Wife mostly," "Wife only") were allowed, suggests, however, that a continuum or other alternative may be a more desirable means of tapping respondents in order to allow the expression of a more complete range of behavior and attitudes.

#### Limitations of the Investigation

The ten statements of sex role norms used in this research were taken from the norms most commonly used in

several studies of sex role norms and attitudes on the assumption that they would be the most reliable and valid questions for determining the societal expectations for behavior according to sex. However, an important weakness of the normative statements, which is shared by practically all studies on sex role, is that they deal only with wife's role, accommodations to her role, and by her role. Almost all of the norms begin with phrases like "If the wife wants a small family so she can work, . . ." or "If the wife works full-time, . . ." or "A woman should give up her job if . ." Some of the respondents noticed the one-sidedness of the statements and commented on it. For instance, in response to the item that "If the wife works full-time, her husband should take equal responsibility for the house work," a male respondent asked "Who will do the yard work?" With the sensitivity of the general population toward the subject of sex role, the statements as they are usually phrased may alert followers of the Feminist Movement to the "good" answer and put other respondents on the defensive. Some examples of possible statements which would get at the same kinds of information, from a different perspective, are:

1. If both husband and wife work full-time, the housework and yardwork should be evenly shared.
2. If a father wants to bathe, feed, dress, and supervise the children when he's home, his wife should not encourage him, because these duties are part of her job.



3. A wife should be willing to work in a job outside the home, to relieve her husband from some of the burden of being the family's only financial provider.
4. A husband's most important task should be taking care of his wife and children.
5. If a husband wants to take a job with shorter hours and comparatively lower salary in order to spend more time with the children while they are small, his wife should be willing to do some work outside the home to allow him to do this.
6. If a husband wants fewer children so he won't have to work so many years to support them, his wife should be willing to have a smaller family.
7. A father can develop just as warm and secure a relationship with his children as a mother can.
8. If a husband's job inconveniences his wife and children, he should change jobs as soon as he can do so without taking a major pay cut.
9. A father can do as good a job of raising children as a mother, if he is able to spend the same amount of time with them.
10. If a husband dislikes doing some household repairs and upkeep (such as changing light bulbs, putting up curtain rods, clipping the hedge, being responsible for taking the car to be tuned and oiled), his wife should be willing to exchange some of her duties for the ones he dislikes.
11. If a wife dislikes some housekeeping chores (such as vacuuming, doing laundry, dusting, washing dishes), her husband should be willing to exchange some of his duties for the ones she dislikes.

The use of statements like these, depicting the "other side" of the sex role issue, may show that some of the conclusions which have been drawn when using women's role statements only, need to be re-evaluated. For instance, the statement "A woman's most important task in life should

be taking care of her husband and children" is considered a traditional norm and respondents who agree with it are classified as "less modern." However, if this statement and the statement about "A husband's most important task in life should be taking care of his wife and children" were both included in a list of norms, both could receive "agree" responses, which would demand a different conclusion than the one statement only. (The objection that the statement about "a husband's most important task" taps only his economic responsibility to his family could be countered by including a statement like "Being a success in his job should be a married man's most important task in life," to ascertain the relative priority of family and job to married men. Bailyn's (1970) research has indicated that, like women, men place family over career and it is anticipated that the "family" statement would have the highest priority.)

The last two statements are less involved with tapping societal expectations about the male role, but would probably measure the relative acceptability of men doing "women's things" versus women doing "men's things." They may also show that as long as the distribution of house and job responsibility is "fair," as discussed previously, the household chores are less rigidly sex-segregated than most research portrays them.

The statements about fatherhood and the possibility that men are as emotionally involved with their children as women, were inspired by the males' responses to this study's child rearing scale. A somewhat common notion is that men receive considerably less satisfaction from their children than women; this notion is tacitly supported by the female role norms used in most studies. But married men's "desired" responses about child rearing indicated this was not at all true; therefore, norm statements about fatherhood are necessary to permit a representative expression of social expectations.

One of the most important factors limiting the generalizability of the results of this study is the non-random sampling procedure. The married sample was selected in such a way that the respondents were all church members or regular church attenders. As religiosity has been shown to be correlated to sex role attitudes (Scanzoni, 1975a), this bias must be taken into account when reviewing the results of this study. The unmarried respondents also were selected in a way which may have introduced systematic, uncontrolled variance. Most of the white unmarried sample was identified through the engagement notices in the newspaper. Although the fact that the data were collected in the late winter reduced the proportion of upper class announcements, which are usually associated with the "society

pages," other variables undoubtedly are associated with this group of people, for which no controls were imposed. Finally, the black sample was atypical in its relatively large numbers of highly educated and college student respondents. Although this characteristic made it more comparable to the white sample, its representativeness of blacks as a whole was diminished.

A second factor limiting the validity of inferences from this sample to the larger population is the questionnaire return rate. While the return rate for the unmarried sample was reasonably high, a fairly large number of married people did not return their instruments, probably because of the necessity of using some pastors as intermediaries in distributing the questionnaires. Since it is not known in what way those who did respond differ from those who did not, the results obtained may inaccurately represent the population to the extent that the two groups are dissimilar.

Thirdly, this study is limited by the highly sensitive nature of the subject of sex role for most contemporary Americans. Although the mention of sex role or sex role change was studiously avoided in the introductory letter, on the questionnaire, and in the researcher's conversation, the questions themselves necessarily were susceptible to interpretation in terms of the current issues surrounding sex roles. Evidence of this was very clear in

the comments of the respondents, particularly on the point of the researcher's neutrality. In intensity, the opinions of the respondents ranged from mild to vehement; in attribution, they ranged from the conviction that the researcher was highly and detrimentally traditional to the belief that she was highly and detrimentally modern. The contradictory assumptions provide some assurance that neither the researcher nor the questionnaire was eliciting systematic bias, however, it is apparent that the respondents were answering the instrument from a much amplified frame of reference than the one provided by the researcher, and it is not known how their interpretation of the study influenced their responses. To lessen the influence of this factor, it is suggested that future sex role researchers acknowledge to respondents that sex roles are being studied, but emphasize the point that there are no "right answers."

Finally, a factor which may have had an effect on the data from the black respondents is the fact that the researcher is Caucasian. In studies of observational research, race of observer has been shown to affect subjects, although the exact nature of the effect is not known (Summers and Hammond, 1966). While, in this study, the researcher was not present when the questionnaires were completed, most of the black respondents knew that the instruments would be read and "scored" by a white person. Indeed,



many of the black couples who were approached about the study, were very interested in whether the data from blacks and whites would be combined and how blacks and whites would be compared. It is possible that they were aware of some of the earlier studies done by white researchers about black family pathologies. Whether this specifically entered their thinking or not, however, their experiences with general exploitation at the hands of whites may well have influenced their responses to the questionnaires. As the extent and nature of this extraneous influence is unknown, it must be considered a limiting factor in the data.

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## APPENDIX A

## Instrument Distributed to Married Respondents

This questionnaire does not require any name or other identifying information. Your answers will be completely anonymous, so please answer all the questions as truthfully as you can. Please do not discuss this questionnaire with your husband or wife until you have both completed your questionnaires and have returned them. It is very important that you answer every question. If you feel that you would like to expand on a particular answer in order to clarify it, you are welcome to do so on the back of the page or in the margins. As soon as you have finished, please seal the questionnaire in the envelope and return it immediately.

1. PLEASE INDICATE THE PERCENTAGE OF TIME, EFFORT & RESPONSIBILITY THAT YOU CONTRIBUTE IN THE FOLLOWING SITUATIONS. WE ARE INTERESTED IN THE ACTUAL PERCENTAGE OF CONTRIBUTION YOU MAKE, AS WELL AS THE PERCENTAGE OF CONTRIBUTION YOU WISH OR DESIRE THAT YOU MAKE. PUT AN 'A' AT THE POINT ON THE LINE THAT INDICATES YOUR ACTUAL CONTRIBUTION; PUT A 'D' AT THE POINT THAT INDICATES YOUR DESIRED CONTRIBUTION. (IF YOU DO NOT HAVE CHILDREN, PLEASE ANSWER THE QUESTIONS ABOUT CHILDREN WITH "DESIRED" CONTRIBUTION). This is a sample answer of someone who contributed 75% to the discipline of the children, but would have preferred to contribute only 50%:

a. Disciplining the children

	D	A
	0%	100%

OTHER:

- |   |    |      |
|---|----|------|
| 1. Suggesting that you and your spouse go shopping (other than for groceries) | 0% | 100% |
| 2. Deciding the type and number of jobs the children will have in the home    | 0% | 100% |
| 3. Deciding whether your spouse should work or stay at home                   | 0% | 100% |
| 4. Deciding how often to entertain friends                                    | 0% | 100% |
| 5. Planning maintenance of the car  | 0% | 100% |
| 6. Taking the car in for maintenance  | 0% | 100% |
| 7. Deciding how many children to have   | 0% | 100% |
| 8. Deciding when to have children   | 0% | 100% |
| 9. Deciding what job you should take  | 0% | 100% |
| 10. Deciding which children your sons and daughters may play with             | 0% | 100% |
| 11. Deciding which television program to watch                                | 0% | 100% |
| 12. Sewing and mending  | 0% | 100% |
| 13. Planning and organizing housework   | 0% | 100% |
| 14. Deciding how much to spend on personal items for yourself                 | 0% | 100% |

15. Deciding which personal items will be bought for yourself	0%	100%
16. Deciding how much to spend on personal items for your spouse	0%	100%
17. Deciding which personal items will be bought for your spouse	0%	100%
18. Moving furniture in the home	0%	100%
19. Deciding how much to spend for your vacations	0%	100%
20. Working in the yard and/or garden	0%	100%
21. Doing your spouse's laundry	0%	100%
22. Doing your own laundry	0%	100%
23. Suggesting that you and your spouse go to a concert, play, or to the movies	0%	100%
24. Working on hobbies together with your spouse	0%	100%
25. Deciding how much money to spend on necessities (for example, food, fuel, rent)	0%	100%
26. Paying the bills	0%	100%
27. Deciding what job your spouse should take	0%	100%
28. Planning the family budget	0%	100%
29. Suggesting that you and your spouse entertain friends	0%	100%
30. Disciplining the children	0%	100%
31. Planning what insurance to buy	0%	100%
32. Being the children's playmate	0%	100%
33. Deciding where to go on vacations	0%	100%
34. Doing "heavy" odd jobs in the home	0%	100%



35. Deciding how much to spend for family extras and luxuries (for example, magazines and records)	0%	100%
36. Doing general housecleaning	0%	100%
37. Deciding when to make large purchases (for example, T.V., freezer, washer-dryer)	0%	100%
38. Deciding whether to go to work or stay at home	0%	100%
39. Ironing your own clothes	0%	100%
40. Ironing your spouse's clothes	0%	100%
41. Deciding how leisure time is to be spent	0%	100%
42. Doing the grocery shopping	0%	100%
43. Deciding how much to spend on a large purchase	0%	100%
44. Deciding how much spending money the children may have	0%	100%
45. Deciding what location of the country to live in	0%	100%
46. Determining and supervising the kinds of games the children play	0%	100%
47. Deciding what kinds of recreation to engage in	0%	100%
48. Suggesting you and your spouse go for a walk or hike	0%	100%
49. Planning and cooking meals	0%	100%
50. Deciding what furniture to buy	0%	100%
51. Making household repairs	0%	100%
52. Taking care of the children's physical needs (such as feeding, bathing, dressing)	0%	100%
53. Washing the evening dishes	0%	100%

- 100%

II. PLEASE FOLLOW THE INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN AFTER EACH PARAGRAPH. PLEASE ANSWER AS REALISTICALLY AS POSSIBLE.

59. The school your 17-year-old son attends offers him a chance to spend a day learning about a career he is interested in. Your son tells you he signed up to go to a grade school because he wants to be an elementary school teacher.
- PUT AN 'X' AT THE POINT ON THE LINE THAT BEST DESCRIBES YOUR REACTION:

I would encourage him to be a graduate school teacher.

99. Your daughter, who is a senior in high school, decides to enter a college that offers a major in drafting. She tells you that she plans to be a draftsman.  
PUT AN 'X' AT THE POINT ON THE LINE THAT BEST DESCRIBES YOUR REACTION:

I would encourage he to be a draftsman

- PUT AN 'X' AT THE POINT ON THE LINE THAT BEST DESCRIBES YOUR REACTION:

unwilling;  
dislike  
necessity of  
getting a job

- Her salary can easily support the family and she is willing to take this responsibility. You now have the opportunity to quit your own job to do things

you are really interested in, for example, do more with your children, participate in community or church affairs, work on the house.

PUT AN 'X' AT THE POINT ON THE LINE THAT BEST DESCRIBES YOUR REACTION:

I would keep my  
job; I couldn't  
let my wife's  
money pay the bills

I would reduce  
my working hours  
to parttime

I would quit my  
job and enjoy  
the freedom

III. PLEASE PUT A MARK AT THE POINT ON THE LINE THAT BEST DESCRIBES YOUR FEELINGS ABOUT EACH OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS...

SA = strongly agree; SD = strongly disagree

This is a sample answer of someone who agreed, but not strongly agreed, with the statement that the husband should be the head of the family:

a. The husband should be the head of the family                     X                      
SA SD

BEGIN:

62. If a married woman wants to have a small family, so that she can have a career, her husband should be willing to have fewer children.                     SA                     SD

63. A married woman should give up her job when it inconveniences her husband and children.                     SA                     SD

64. A working woman should be able to make long-range plans for her occupation, in the same way her husband does for his.                     SA                     SD

65. A husband should take equal responsibility for housekeeping when his wife works fulltime.                     SA                     SD

66. A woman should not support the family if her husband is able to do so.                     SA                     SD

67. Even when excellent care is available for the children, a married woman should not have a fulltime job while the children are young.                     SA                     SD

68. A married woman's most important task in life should be taking care of her husband and children.                     SA                     SD

69. If a married woman works fulltime, and a child gets sick, her husband should be just as willing as she to stay home from work and care for the child.                     SA                     SD

70. If a married woman wants a career, her career should be considered just as important as her husband's. SA \_\_\_\_\_ SD

71. The husband should be the head of the family. SA \_\_\_\_\_ SD

IV. PLEASE CIRCLE THE APPROPRIATE ANSWER.

Sex: M F

Age: A. 18-20 years B. 21-25 C. 26-30 D. 31-35 E. 36-40  
F. 41-45 G. 46-50 H. 51-55 I. 56-60 J. 61---

Religious affiliation: A. Protestant B. Jewish C. Catholic D. Other \_\_\_\_\_

Number of years of education completed: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 +  
grade school high school college graduate

Type of community you have lived in for the longest period of time:

A. large city (500,000 and over) B. medium city (100,000 to 500,000)

C. large town (10,000 to 100,000) D. small town E. farm F. other \_\_\_\_\_

Approximate family income: A. Below \$6,000 B. \$6,000-\$7,999 C. \$8,000-\$10,999  
D. \$11,000-\$12,999 E. \$13,000-\$14,999 F. \$15,000-\$17,999 G. \$18,000---

PLEASE FILL IN THE APPROPRIATE ANSWERS.

Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_

Your spouse's occupation: \_\_\_\_\_

Your father's occupation: \_\_\_\_\_

Your mother's occupation: \_\_\_\_\_

Number of years you have been married: \_\_\_\_\_

Have you been married before? \_\_\_\_\_

How many sons do you have? \_\_\_\_\_ What are their ages? \_\_\_\_\_

How many daughters do you have? \_\_\_\_\_ What are their ages? \_\_\_\_\_

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION. PLEASE SEAL THIS IN ITS ENVELOPE AND RETURN IMMEDIATELY TO:

Becky G. Neely  
Box 44, Stone Building  
University of North Carolina at Greensboro  
Greensboro, North Carolina 27412

University of New South Wales  
Sydney, N. S. W.

APPENDIX B

Cover Letter Distributed to  
Married Respondents



# FAMILY COUNSELING AND RESEARCH CENTER

138

*Department of Child Development and Family Relations*

University of North Carolina  
GREENSBORO, N. C. 27412

Dear Friend,

There has been much discussion in recent years about what America's families are like. It is a subject on which everyone has an opinion, but on which we have very little actual information. It is therefore difficult for the various agencies concerned with meeting the needs of families to know what services and facilities families would most benefit by.

We are conducting a study to answer some of the questions about what North Carolina families are like. You and your spouse have been selected to participate in this study. Your participation will take very little time and will be greatly appreciated. In a few days, a researcher will come by your home to deliver two questionnaires and two addressed envelopes. At your convenience, please fill out your questionnaire, seal it in the addressed envelope, and mail it.

Your replies will be completely anonymous and confidential. Your participation will not lead to further contacts by any other organization. The responses of all participants will be combined to give an overall picture of North Carolina families and expectations for families; no individual or family will be singled out.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Very sincerely,

Becky G. Neely  
Research Director

## APPENDIX C

Instrument Distributed to  
Unmarried Respondents

140

This questionnaire does not require any name or other identifying information. Your answers will be completely anonymous, so please answer all the questions as truthfully as you can. Please do not discuss this questionnaire with your fiancée until you have both completed your questionnaires and have returned them. It is very important that you answer every question. If you feel that you would like to expand on a particular answer in order to clarify it, you are welcome to do so on the back of the page or in the margins. As soon as you have finished, please seal the questionnaire in the envelope and return it immediately.

1. PLEASE INDICATE THE PERCENTAGE OF TIME, EFFORT & RESPONSIBILITY THAT YOU EXPECT TO CONTRIBUTE IN THE FOLLOWING SITUATIONS AFTER YOU ARE MARRIED. PUT AN 'X' AT THE POINT ON THE LINE THAT INDICATES YOUR EXPECTED CONTRIBUTION. This is a sample answer of someone who expected to contribute 75% to the discipline of the children:

a. Disciplining the children

0% X 100%

NOTE:

1. Suggesting that you and your spouse go shopping (other than for groceries) 0% X 100%
2. Deciding the type and number of jobs the children will have in the home 0% X 100%
3. Deciding whether your spouse should work or stay at home 0% X 100%
4. Deciding how often to entertain friends 0% X 100%
5. Planning maintenance of the car 0% X 100%
6. Taking the car in for maintenance 0% X 100%
7. Deciding how many children to have 0% X 100%
8. Deciding when to have children 0% X 100%
9. Deciding what job you should take 0% X 100%
10. Deciding which children your sons and daughters may play with 0% X 100%
11. Deciding which television program to watch 0% X 100%
12. Sewing and mending 0% X 100%
13. Planning and organizing housework 0% X 100%
14. Deciding how much to spend on personal items for yourself 0% X 100%

15. Deciding which personal items will be bought for yourself	0%	100%
16. Deciding how much to spend on personal items for your spouse	0%	100%
17. Deciding which personal items will be bought for your spouse	0%	100%
18. Moving furniture in the home	0%	100%
19. Deciding how much to spend for your vacations	0%	100%
20. Working in the yard and/or garden	0%	100%
21. Doing your spouse's laundry	0%	100%
22. Doing your own laundry	0%	100%
23. Suggesting that you and your spouse go to a concert, play, or to the movies	0%	100%
24. Working on hobbies together with your spouse	0%	100%
25. Deciding how much money to spend on necessities (for example, food, fuel, rent)	0%	100%
26. Paying the bills	0%	100%
27. Deciding what job your spouse should take	0%	100%
28. Planning the family budget	0%	100%
29. Suggesting that you and your spouse entertain friends	0%	100%
30. Disciplining the children	0%	100%
31. Planning what insurance to buy	0%	100%
32. Being the children's playmate	0%	100%
33. Deciding where to go on vacations	0%	100%
34. Doing "heavy" odd jobs in the home	0%	100%

35. Deciding how much to spend for family extras and luxuries (for example, magazines and records)	0%	100%
36. Doing general housecleaning	0%	100%
37. Deciding when to make large purchases (for example, T.V., freezer, washer-dryer)	0%	100%
38. Deciding whether to go to work or stay at home	0%	100%
39. Ironing your own clothes	0%	100%
40. Ironing your spouse's clothes	0%	100%
41. Deciding how leisure time is to be spent	0%	100%
42. Doing the grocery shopping	0%	100%
43. Deciding how much to spend on a large purchase	0%	100%
44. Deciding how much spending money the children may have	0%	100%
45. Deciding what location of the country to live in	0%	100%
46. Determining and supervising the kinds of games the children play	0%	100%
47. Deciding what kinds of recreation to engage in	0%	100%
48. Suggesting you and your spouse go for a walk or hike	0%	100%
49. Planning and cooking meals	0%	100%
50. Deciding what furniture to buy	0%	100%
51. Making household repairs	0%	100%
52. Taking care of the children's physical needs (such as feeding, bathing, dressing)	0%	100%
53. Washing the evening dishes	0%	100%



- 0% 100%

II. PLEASE FOLLOW THE INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN AFTER EACH PARAGRAPH. PLEASE ANSWER AS REALISTICALLY AS POSSIBLE.

58. The school your 17-year-old son attends offers him a chance to spend a day learning about a career he is interested in. Your son tells you he signed up to go to a grade school because he wants to be an elementary school teacher.
- PUT AN 'X' AT THE POINT ON THE LINE THAT BEST DESCRIBES YOUR REACTION:

I would try to talk him out of being an elementary school teacher	I would not say anything, but would be disturbed by his career choice	I would be pleased with his choice	I would encourage hi to be a grad school teach
---	---	--	---

5. Your daughter, who is a senior in high school, decides to enter a college that offers a major in drafting. She tells you that she plans to be a draftsman.  
PUT AN 'X' AT THE POINT ON THE LINE THAT BEST DESCRIBES YOUR REACTION:

I would try to talk her out of a career in drafting	I would not say anything, but would be disturbed by her career choice	I would be pleased with her choice	I would encourage her to be a draftsman
---	---	------------------------------------	---

60. Women Only answer this question:

After discussing it with the family, your husband has decided to go back to school fulltime. It is necessary for you to take a full time job and support the family for four years.

PUT AN 'X' AT THE POINT ON THE LINE THAT BEST DESCRIBES YOUR REACTION:

willing, and eager	willing, but unsure of my capabilities	reluctant	unwilling; dislike necessity of getting a job
-----------------------	--	-----------	--

6. Men Only answer this question:

Her children are almost grown and your wife has taken a well-paying, fulltime job. Her salary can easily support the family and she is willing to take this responsibility. You now have the opportunity to quit your own job to do things

you are really interested in, for example, do more with your children, participate in community or church affairs, work on the house.  
PUT AN 'X' AT THE POINT ON THE LINE THAT BEST DESCRIBES YOUR REACTION:

I would keep my job; I couldn't let my wife's money pay the bills	I would reduce my working hours to parttime	I would quit my job and enjoy the freedom
--	---	---

III. PLEASE PUT A MARK AT THE POINT ON THE LINE THAT BEST DESCRIBES YOUR FEELINGS ABOUT EACH OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS.

SA = strongly agree; SD = strongly disagree

This is a sample answer of someone who agreed, but not strongly agreed, with the statement that the husband should be the head of the family:

a. The husband should be the head of the family X  
SA SD

BEGIN:

62. If a married woman wants to have a small family, so that she can have a career, her husband should be willing to have fewer children. SA SD
63. A married woman should give up her job when it inconveniences her husband and children. SA SD
64. A working woman should be able to make long-range plans for her occupation, in the same way her husband does for his. SA SD
65. A husband should take equal responsibility for housekeeping when his wife works fulltime. SA SD
66. A woman should not support the family if her husband is able to do so. SA SD
67. Even when excellent care is available for the children, a married woman should not have a fulltime job while the children are young. SA SD
68. A married woman's most important task in life should be taking care of her husband and children. SA SD
69. If a married woman works fulltime, and a child gets sick, her husband should be just as willing as she to stay home from work and care for the child. SA SD

70. If a married woman wants a career,  
her career should be considered just  
as important as her husband's. SA \_\_\_\_\_ SD \_\_\_\_\_
71. The husband should be the head of  
the family. SA \_\_\_\_\_ SD \_\_\_\_\_

IV. PLEASE CIRCLE THE APPROPRIATE ANSWER.

Sex: M F

Age: A. 18-20 years B. 21-25 C. 26-30 D. 31-35 E. 36-40  
F. 41-45 G. 46-50 H. 51-55 I. 56-60 J. 61---

Religious affiliation: A. Protestant B. Jewish C. Catholic D. Other \_\_\_\_\_

Number of years of education completed: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 +  
grade school high school college graduate

Type of community you have lived in for the longest period of time:  
A. large city (500,000 and over) B. medium city (100,000 to 500,000)  
C. large town (10,000 to 100,000) D. small town E. farm F. other \_\_\_\_\_

Approximate family income: A. Below \$6,000 B. \$6,000-\$7,999 C. \$8,000-\$10,999  
D. \$11,000-\$12,999 E. \$13,000-\$14,999 F. \$15,000-\$17,999 G. \$18,000---

PLEASE FILL IN THE APPROPRIATE ANSWERS.

Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_

Your spouse's occupation: \_\_\_\_\_

Your father's occupation: \_\_\_\_\_

Your mother's occupation: \_\_\_\_\_

Number of years you have been married: \_\_\_\_\_

Have you been married before? \_\_\_\_\_

How many sons do you have? \_\_\_\_\_ What are their ages? \_\_\_\_\_

How many daughters do you have? \_\_\_\_\_ What are their ages? \_\_\_\_\_

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION. PLEASE SEAL THIS IN ITS ENVELOPE AND  
RETURN IMMEDIATELY TO:

Becky G. Neely  
Box 44, Stone Building  
University of North Carolina at Greensboro  
Greensboro, North Carolina 27412

# ADOLESCENT COUNSELING AND RESEARCH CENTER

Department of Child Development and Family Services

146

University of North Carolina  
CHICKSAND, N. C. 27519

Dear Friend,

There has been much discussion in recent years about the adolescent family unit. It is a subject on which everyone has an opinion, and it is with some very little actual information. It is therefore difficult for the various groups concerned with solving the needs of children to know what response the adolescent family unit should have.

## APPENDIX D

### Cover Letter Distributed to Unmarried Respondents

The purpose of this study is to determine the relationship between the adolescent family unit and the parent family unit. Your participation in this study will be limited to the study. Your participation will be very little and will be greatly appreciated. Simply fill out the questionnaire, send it to the address enclosed, and return it.

Your response will be completely anonymous and confidential. Your participation will not lead to further contacts in any other way. The responses of all participants will be combined and given an overall score of North Carolina families and associations for children to determine if family will be singled out.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Very sincerely,

Dr. J. C. Kelly  
Research Director

# FAMILY COUNSELING AND RESEARCH CENTER

147

*Department of Child Development and Family Relations*

University of North Carolina  
GREENSBORO, N. C. 27412

Dear Friend,

There has been much discussion in recent years about what America's families are like. It is a subject on which everyone has an opinion, but on which we have very little actual information. It is therefore difficult for the various agencies concerned with meeting the needs of families to know what services and facilities families would most benefit by.

We are conducting a study to answer some of the questions about what North Carolina families are like. As someone who is planning to marry, your expectations about the family formed by you and your fiance will be important to this study. Your participation will take very little time and will be greatly appreciated. Simply fill out the questionnaire, seal it in the addressed envelope, and return it.

Your replies will be completely anonymous and confidential. Your participation will not lead to further contacts by any other organization. The responses of all participants will be combined to give an overall picture of North Carolina families and expectations for families; no individual or family will be singled out.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Very sincerely,

Becky G. Neely  
Research Director