



A PILOT STUDY OF PATTERNS IN HOME MANAGEMENT  
OVER A PERIOD OF THREE GENERATIONS IN A  
SELECTED GROUP OF FAMILIES

by

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AN ABSTRACT

Submitted to the College of Home Economics  
Michigan State University of Agriculture and  
Applied Science in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Home Management and  
Child Development

1959

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ABSTRACT

It is generally assumed that if girls have the manipulative skills of homemaking the ability to manage their own homes will come naturally. This study was undertaken to seek indications as to whether homemaking skills and managerial patterns tend to be passed on from mother to daughter or whether certain basic family values which affect managerial practices are passed on.

The selected sample consisted of six families in each of which grandmother, mother, and daughter were managing their own households. No attempt was made to secure a random sample. The case study procedure was followed. Information was obtained from unstructured interviews with the eighteen homemakers. A general outline was used to guide the interviews.

Data were organized to compare the six families as to continuity in the process of management, the decision-making process, goals and values, and management of home resources. The three generations were likewise compared in these same areas for indications of a general trend in change of these patterns over the years.

None of the families showed complete continuity in the management aspects compared over the three generations. There was evidence of a more than fifty per cent carryover of ten selected family values, namely: comfort, health, ambition, knowledge, love, play, religion, art, efficiency,

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ABSTRACT

and security. In one-half of the families studied there was continuity of some skills. This seemed to suggest that homemakers do not acquire management patterns with acquisition of skills, but that skills and values persist from generation to generation in a family while patterns of management tend to be influenced by the times and culture.

In comparing the three generations with each other two trends were verbalized by the respondents: (1) an increased tendency in the second and third generation to include children in the family decision-making, and (2) to give children an allowance.

The limited nature of the study precludes any definite conclusions. However, support was indicated for two hypotheses, namely: (1) that certain family values persist from generation to generation, and (2) that home management practices of a given generation tend to be shaped by the culture of their own generation rather than by the practices of the preceding generation.

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to express her appreciation to the following people without whose help this thesis could never have been written:

To Dr. Irma H. Gross, head of the Department of Home Management and Child Development, for her interest and supervision until the time of her retirement;

To Dr. Alice C. Thorpe, who succeeded Dr. Gross as acting head of the department, for her encouragement and helpful suggestions;

To Dr. Beatrice Paolucci for her supervision, advice, and guidance throughout the writing of the dissertation;

To Mrs. Thelma Dunn for her suggestions and help as a member of the advisory committee;

To friends of the author who helped locate suitable families;

To the eighteen homemakers who so graciously supplied the data which served as a basis for the study;

And to her family and friends for their understanding help and encouragement.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Home management, as defined by Gross and Crandall, consists of a series of decisions making up the process of using the family resources to achieve family goals. The process consists of three more or less consecutive steps; planning; controlling the various elements of the plan while carrying it through, whether it is executed by oneself or others; and evaluating results preparatory to future planning.<sup>1</sup>

It is always a mental means for reaching toward some end, which may be clearly defined or only vaguely felt.<sup>2</sup>

Frank says:

Problems of home management are concerned with ways of meeting the fundamental and unchanging needs of human beings, considering the rapidly changing tools, equipment, technics, and housing, and fostering as well the human relations in the family.<sup>3</sup>

The family is the child's first teacher. By a process which we call acculturation, children learn their language, manners, values, preferences, and aversions from those with

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<sup>1</sup>Irma H. Gross and Elizabeth W. Crandall, Management for Modern Families (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1954), p. 4.

<sup>2</sup>Irma H. Gross, "Home Management in Family Living," Marriage and Family Living, XIII, No. 3 (August, 1951), p. 104.

<sup>3</sup>Lawrence K. Frank, "The Philosophy of Home Management," Seventh International Management Congress: Home Management Papers, VII (September, 1938), p. 5.

whom they associate in early life.<sup>1</sup> As a child grows older many of the responses he adopts are the result of imitation. Boys play at driving cars or smoking pipes in imitation of their fathers and little girls dress up and play house in imitation of their mothers.<sup>2</sup> Children are most likely to identify with the persons whom they esteem most highly, be they parents, teachers, or peers. Myers says children are "the mirrors of their mothers."<sup>3</sup>

It seems possible, then, that patterns of home management and the process by which decisions regarding the use of resources in the home are made, may be shaped in childhood as mothers teach their daughters to cook and sew, or as daughters identify with their mothers. There appears to be less emphasis on teaching management in the home than on teaching manipulative skills. Parents seem to feel that once these skills have been acquired the ability to manage will come naturally.

On the other hand, David Reisman theorizes that the present generation in the United States takes its direction

<sup>1</sup>Howard Lane and Mary Beauchamp, Human Relations in Teaching (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1955), p. 12.

<sup>2</sup>Paul Henry Mussen and John Janeway Conger, Child Development and Personality (New York: Harper Brothers, 1956), p. 131.

<sup>3</sup>Gary Cleveland Myers, The Learner and His Attitudes (New York: Benjamin H. Sanborn Co., 1927), p. 241.

from mass media, and members of this generation tend to conform to the patterns of their peer-group rather than the patterns of their parents.<sup>1</sup> Seeking insight into the causes of juvenile tensions in our culture, Margaret Mead in Coming of Age in Samoa says:

We must turn all our educational efforts to training our children for the choices which confront them. . . . The children must be taught how to think, not what to think.<sup>2</sup>

This study will seek indications as to which of these opposing positions applies to home management practices. Very little research has been done on continuity of values and nothing has been done on continuity of home management patterns. This pilot study was undertaken in the hope that it would shed light on continuity in two particular areas: (1) values, and (2) patterns of home management as indicated by decision-making in use of resources.

The word "pilot" means to steer or direct the course of, to guide or conduct through unknown places. A pilot study, then, conducts the researcher through unknown places. It is a pioneering effort to secure information on some subject not heretofore investigated. Its purpose is to shed light on the subject, to suggest possible hypotheses, and to open avenues for further study. Jahoda classifies

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<sup>1</sup>David Riesman, Nathan Glazer, and Reuel Denney, The Lonely Crowd (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1955).

<sup>2</sup>Margaret Mead, Coming of Age in Samoa (New York: The New World Library of World Literature, 1928), p. 161.

research according to its purpose as "formulative" or "exploratory" when its purpose is to gain insight. Such a study is characterized by flexibility of approach and intensive study of a wide variety of materials. It provides information about existing situations but does not attempt precise measurement of the factors involved.<sup>1</sup> This pilot study will seek information on continuity of values and home management practices.

Value is defined as that property of a thing by virtue of which it is esteemed, desirable, or useful. A value brings satisfaction. Different persons may hold different values, or the same values in varying degrees of importance. There are many possible lists of values. One proposed by Parker includes love, health, comfort, ambition, ethical value, knowledge, and wisdom, technological interest or efficiency in work, play, art, and religion.<sup>2</sup>

Patterns or practices of home management, as used in this study, denote the typical configurations of activity by which the family moves toward value-inspired goals.

Two hypotheses suggested by readings in Lane, Mussen and Conger, Myers, Reisman, and Mead, are these:

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<sup>1</sup>Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch, and Stewart W. Cook, Research in Social Methods (New York: Dryden Press, 1951), pp. 28-33.

<sup>2</sup>DeWitt H. Parker, Human Values (published by George Wahr, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1944, by permission of Harper Brothers, New York, 1931), p. 46.

1. Certain family values tend to be passed from one generation of a family to the next.
2. Home management practices of a given generation are shaped by the patterns of their own generation rather than by the practices of the preceding generation.

The purpose of this study is to seek evidence in support of these hypotheses by tracing patterns of home management found in the same family, for three generations, and by comparing the three generations with each other for indications of a general change in home management patterns and values over the years. It will seek to provide insight into values and goals of these families, and their processes of home management as indicated by their decision-making in the use of the specific resources of time, energy, money, and skills.

A pilot study can do no more than indicate possible trends by disclosing what appears to be true for a particular sample, and suggest topics for further research.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Literature was reviewed with three purposes in mind, (1) review of previous research on continuity of family values and patterns of home management, and on the process of decision-making in the family; (2) selection of the most appropriate method for this study; and (3) development of the instrument for securing data.

#### Review of Research

Studies of home management patterns in a particular stage of the life cycle have been made, but no research could be found on continuity of home management practices from generation to generation. Very little has been done on continuity of values and attitudes.

Research by Fisher in California compared two generations of the same family with respect to a wide range of attitudes and investigated the intra-family correlations. Data was secured from five hundred four students. Results showed that for most attitudes mothers were more of an influence on their daughters than on their sons. It was decided that inter-generational differences might be due

either to changing pressure from the social environment, or to a complete change in total social environmental pattern.<sup>1</sup>

Hirschberg and Gilliland studied the attitudes of two hundred Northwestern University students and their parents toward religion, the New Deal, and fascism using questionnaires to secure information. In these attitudes there was a carry-over from parent to child, with the mother having greater influence than the father.<sup>2</sup>

Research on methods of managing the family income was not reviewed because this study was concerned with the process of management and decision-making rather than with method.

In 1953, Denise Francq Moore at Michigan State University sought information as to the role of high school students in family financial decisions. She interviewed students and parents in twelve upper-middle class families and found that, to the majority of persons interviewed, "family financial management" meant only the first step of the management process, the planning or budgeting. They did not consider the other two steps, controlling the plan

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<sup>1</sup>Sarah Carolyn Fisher, Relationships in Attitudes, Opinions and Values Among Family Members (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, Publications in Culture and Society, 1948), No. 2.

<sup>2</sup>Grace Hirschberg and A. R. Gilliland, "Parent-Child Relationships in Attitudes," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 37 (1942), p. 130.

in action and evaluation as part of the financial management. Furthermore, in most cases "family" was ignored completely, few recognizing management of family income to be a project in which the entire family cooperated. Money management habits of the parents tended to differ from those with which they had been familiar in childhood. Many of the students had no interest in family finances unless they were directly concerned with the decisions. Even then they were likely to help select only the physical characteristics of the purchase while monetary details were left to the parents.<sup>1</sup>

Wittler, in 1952, studied a method of identifying home management problems at Iowa State College and, in the course of this research, brought out certain information about family decision-making and home management. Out of ninety-nine families having children over the age of six, more than one-third made family plans together. In seventy-eight per cent of the total one hundred fifty-two families studied, the father and mother decided together how to spend the family income. Nearly eighty-three per cent of the women conserved time and energy by preparing food for

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<sup>1</sup>Denise Francq Moore, "Roles and Attitudes Toward Their Roles of Selected Upper-Middle Class Families, Particularly the Junior and Senior High School Students, in Family Financial Management," (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Home Management and Child Development, Michigan State University, 1953).

more than one meal at a time, and over ninety per cent of them did some advance planning of daily activities.<sup>1</sup>

In 1956 Margaret Steckle at Cornell University tested five techniques for studying decisions in household processes. Questionnaires administered to fifteen students in a class in "Management Problems in the Home" showed that in most of their families actual decision-making was limited to one or two persons. Steckle summarized as follows:

The study is not large enough to draw any conclusions; however, it does raise some questions. Does it imply that good decision-making is vested in one or two persons in the home? We tend to think of our family as a democratic organization with the children participating; can a family group actually make a good decision, or does the family merely set the stage for the decision-maker to make the good decision? Is it the nature of the decision-making process to be personal?<sup>2</sup>

### The Case Study Method

According to Jahoda the case study is an appropriate procedure for evoking insights both because of the receptive, seeking attitude of the investigator and because of the intensity of the study of each individual.

One attempts to obtain sufficient information to characterize and explain both the unique features

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<sup>1</sup>Waneta A. Wittler, "Development of a Method of Identifying Home Management Problems of Farm Families" (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Home Management, Iowa State College, 1952).

<sup>2</sup>Jean Margaret Steckle, "Five Techniques Tested to Study Family Decisions in Household Processes" (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Home Economics, Cornell University, 1956), p. 29.

of the case being studied and those which it has in common with other cases.<sup>1</sup>

This may entail not only a study of the present situation, but also the past history of the individual.

The interview approach is more flexible than the questionnaire, and gets more responses. Questions can be rephrased if not understood, or probed for further information. The interview is a far superior technique for the exploration of areas where it is difficult to know exactly what to ask or how to ask it to bring forth the information desired.<sup>2</sup> Disadvantages of the interview which are pointed out by Jahoda are these: the questionable accuracy of the respondent's memory, the time required to talk with each case, the difficulty encountered in classifying the wide variety of response, and the fact that the personality of the interviewer enters into every interview.

The Steckle study testing five techniques for studying family decisions in household processes pointed out that the unstructured interview with homemakers offered great potentialities for securing new information about decision-making.<sup>3</sup> The informal nature and lack of structure of the

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<sup>1</sup>Jahoda, Deutsch, and Cook, op. cit., p. 43.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 157.

<sup>3</sup>Steckle, op. cit., p. 24.

interview made it possible for the discussion to include many things which were important, but which might not have been included if the discussion had been limited to a schedule.<sup>1</sup>

A study of three methods of research in home management done in 1940 at Michigan State University compared the personal interview, the questionnaire, and the diary methods for obtaining information. Fifty rural women took part in the study, which covered money management, use of goods and services, use of time and energy, and long-time plans. Results showed the interview to be the most satisfactory method for obtaining home management information.<sup>2</sup>

#### Development of the Interview Schedule

Two Michigan State University studies investigated management of time, energy, and money, and were, therefore, helpful in planning the interviews. Thorpe and Gross in 1950 investigated the managerial practices of married students at Michigan State University. Data were gathered by means of questionnaires from four hundred eighty-four families living in the university trailer camp. Aspects

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>2</sup>Irma H. Gross, et al., A Study of Three Methods of Research in Home Management, Michigan State College Agricultural Experiment Station, Technical Bulletin 171, February, 1940, p. 19.

covered were management of money, time, and energy. No information was sought on values and little was forthcoming on the decision-making process. Most of the students had goals of home ownership and raising a family. In general, financial plans were made by the husband and wife together.<sup>1</sup>

In 1955, Gross compared home management practices of working and non-working mothers. After interviewing twenty-two families of working and twenty-two families of non-working mothers of small children, Gross concluded that there was great similarity between the two groups in amounts of household equipment owned, in household routines, money plans, and life insurance of the husband. The working wives were able to spend on the average between one and two hours a day with their children exclusive of physical care, whereas the non-working mothers averaged more than two hours, but more of these mothers mentioned becoming upset due to children's behavior.<sup>2</sup>

Possible ways to secure information on values and goals were suggested by another Michigan State University study. Van Bortel and Gross compared home management in two socio-economic groups. In so doing, they investigated similarities and differences among forty-six women equally

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<sup>1</sup>Alice C. Thorpe and Irma H. Gross, "Managerial Practices in the Homes of Married Students at Michigan State College," Michigan Agricultural Experiment Sta. Quarterly Bulletin, Vol. 32, No. 2 (February, 1950), pp. 288-306.

<sup>2</sup>Irma H. Gross, "Home Management of Working and Non-Working Homemakers with Young Children," Michigan

divided between the upper-lower and upper-middle classes with regard to: (a) how they carried out their managerial responsibilities, (b) their use of time, (c) the goals and values which affected their managerial activities, (d) their concept of what it means to be a homemaker, and (e) the satisfactions and dissatisfactions associated with homemaking. Data were collected by interviews, projective instruments, rating scales, and time records. Sentence-completion tests, direct, and open-end questions were methods used to obtain information on goals and values. The concept of values was so vague in the minds of the women questioned that for the most part it was found necessary to deduce the presence of values from the goals which resulted from them. The list of values used by Van Bortel and Gross was modified from the one suggested by Parker as being "major values which guide human conduct."<sup>1</sup> The modified list included: love, health, comfort, ambition, knowledge, technological interest or efficiency in work, play, art, religion, and security. Both groups of women were found to consider these values important. Managerial activities compared were making budgets, planning menus, planning work schedules, making

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Agricultural Experiment Station Quarterly Bulletin, Vol. 37, No. 3 (February, 1955), pp. 324-334.

<sup>1</sup>Parker, op. cit., p. 46.



shopping lists, shopping, banking, and supervising help of hired assistants or family members.<sup>1</sup>

### Summary of Review of Literature

The literature reviewed was divided into (1) that which dealt with continuity of values and home management practices, and with decision-making in the family; (2) that which concerned methods for exploratory studies in the field of home management; and (3) those research projects which offered helpful suggestions in developing instruments to secure data in this field.

Nothing could be found on continuity of home management patterns and very little on continuity of values. That research which had been done on value carry-over, covered only two generations. A study of the role of the high school student in family financial management showed that in most cases the father and mother made the financial decisions with little help from the high school student. Another study found that in more than one-third of a group of families having children over six, family plans were made together.

Review of literature dealing with methods showed the case study to be recommended for exploratory research. The

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<sup>1</sup>Dorothy Greey Van Bortel and Irma H. Gross, A Comparison of Home Management in Two Socio-Economic Groups, Michigan State Agricultural Experiment Station, Technical Bulletin 240, April, 1954, pp. 19-21.

interview approach was found to be the best method for obtaining home management information, with the unstructured interview offering great potentialities for securing information on decision-making.

Three Michigan State University studies proved helpful in developing the plan for the unstructured interview. Two of these dealt with management of time, money, and energy. The third investigated the values and goals which affected managerial activities.

## CHAPTER III

### METHODOLOGY

The case study was selected as the most appropriate method for research involving an intense study of each individual. Because of its flexibility the unstructured interview seemed the best instrument for securing data.

A plan for the interviews was needed although the information was to be secured insofar as possible from free conversation. It was essential that information be secured on the topics of values and goals, and management and decision-making in the use of the resources of time, energy, money, and skills in the home. To insure productive interviews a list of questions was prepared, not to be asked directly, but to serve as a guide in order that desired information would be secured and nothing overlooked.<sup>1</sup>

Families were selected on the basis of four requirements: (1) there must be three generations of women represented; (2) grandmother, mother, and granddaughter must each be managing her own household; (3) their place of residence must be within accessible driving distance for the interviewer; and (4) the persons must be willing to cooperate.

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<sup>1</sup>Outline for interview appears in Appendix A.

Families who met the above requirements were suggested by persons interested in the study. The homemakers were contacted by telephone. The reason for the call was explained and they were told who had suggested their names. A brief explanation was given of the study and of the type of information desired. If they were willing to cooperate, and if all three generations were available, an appointment was made for an interview. Six families were selected.

All interviews took place between January first and July first of 1958. They were held in the homes of the respondents and were, in most cases, private. Small children were present during two interviews and in two cases the husband was in an adjoining room. At no time did anyone other than the woman herself enter the conversation. The answers, therefore, were her own. Interviews averaged about an hour in length.

Notes were taken during the interviews. Each woman was asked about the other two generations of her family. First and second generations were asked about both past and present patterns of management, and whether they could see carry-overs in their daughter's patterns from their own. Second and third generations were asked what practices they thought they had copied from their mothers.

When conversation lagged the interviewer undertook to revive it by asking a question from the interview plan. Before closing the interview the plan was checked to be sure all topics had been covered.

After going over the data obtained from the interviews it was decided that more information about past history would be helpful in indicating the presence of values and goals, so second interviews were arranged with at least one generation of each family.<sup>1</sup>

By the second visit, the interviewer was looked upon as a friend and the second meetings proved much more fruitful than the first. The women talked freely and many clues to values came out in their conversation. Most of them appeared to be genuinely interested in the study and some of them asked to be informed "what you find out." One telephoned later to offer additional information which she thought might be valuable.

Each of these eighteen women was managing her own household. None had hired help, although one grandmother with failing eyesight had a hired companion. One grandmother, one mother, and one granddaughter were holding full-time jobs outside the home. Six of the eighteen had worked at some time since marriage but were not employed at the time of the interview. One mother and two granddaughters said they occasionally worked part-time.

For convenience throughout the study these women have been identified by letter for family and number for generation. The six families have been designated as A, B, C, D, E, and F. All grandmothers have been designated 1, their

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<sup>1</sup>Outline for second interview in Appendix B.

daughters 2, and granddaughters 3. Thus, the grandmother in the first family interviewed has been called A1 and so on.

Table 1 shows the approximate age of each respondent by decade,--20 indicates that her age fell in the decade between 20 and 30, and so on.

TABLE 1  
AGE OF RESPONDENTS

Generation	Families					
	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	80	70	80	80	70	60
2	50	50	50	50	40	40
3	20	20	20	20	20	20

A spread of more than twenty years lay between the youngest of the first generation, who had just reached sixty, and the oldest who had passed eighty. In the second generation there was a spread of about fifteen years. All of the third generation were between twenty and thirty years of age. The elapsed time from the early housekeeping days of the grandmothers to the present, ranged from about forty years for the youngest, to about sixty-five for the oldest. These years covered a period of rapid change in "tools, equipment, technics, and housing," to borrow a phrase from Frank.<sup>1</sup> Because of the intervening years it is quite

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<sup>1</sup>Frank, op. cit., p. 5.

possible that some of the responses by the older women concerning their former home management practices were not entirely accurate.

## CHAPTER IV

### CASE STUDIES

This chapter contains the case studies of the six selected families which have been designated by the letters A, B, C, D, E, and F. The generations have been numbered 1, 2, and 3. The grandmother of family A has been called A1, her daughter A2, and so on.

The outline for the interviews is given in the Appendix. Information was secured through free conversation, the outline being used merely as a check to be sure all topics were covered.

A1 Age: 80's Family Unit: Self and hired companion

A1 was a spry little lady, quite stylishly dressed. She wore her white hair curled softly around her face, done in a knot on top. She was a little hard of hearing, and because of failing eyesight, her family insisted that she have a hired companion. It was hard to find a suitable person, she said. Some had taken advantage of her poor eyesight by petty thievery. She liked to have a companion with whom she had something in common intellectually and whose personal appearance was reasonably attractive. Such persons were seldom looking for a position as companion. She could, however, "put up with anyone if they were honest"!

The first interview was on a cold winter's day, but the inside front door stood open to permit admiration of a new storm door installed that morning. Because the top of the door was curved, the storm door had to be made to order. Al was well pleased with it. A fat friendly cat dodged in when the door was opened, making himself perfectly at home. He belonged to a neighbor, she said.

Al had lived all her life in the vicinity of the same large city. She completed ninth grade, went to business college, then took further business training at Ypsilanti, and went to work in a lawyer's office. For about two years she worked for a lawyer in Petoskey (the only period of her life when she was away from home) but returned to be near her family.

Her father operated a Grange store at the edge of town. It was here she met her husband. He was from Vermont where he had attended an academy and Middlebury College. He had come to Michigan to teach a course in apiary at the state agricultural college. He walked from the college town six or seven miles to give a talk about bees at the Grange Hall. In the store above the Hall he met the manager's daughter.

Al's father died when she was 21 and she took over management of the family finances because her mother was "no business woman." By that time they had moved to the farm just outside the city and her father had built the

house there. After her father's death they continued to live on the farm. Al was the manager and her brother worked the land.

She was married when at 24. Her husband wanted to go back to Vermont, but she felt she could not leave her mother, so he opened a store and they all lived in the house her father had built. The family consisted of Al, her husband, her mother, a sister of her mother, and her brother. The latter was a restless fellow who came and went. He decided to go west to seek his fortune. After his departure they rented out the acreage because Al's husband could not run his business and work the farm, too. After a few years they moved into the city so he could be nearer his store, renting the farm house as well as the land. Al continued to manage her mother's business affairs and those of her own household. In those days stores kept open evenings and her husband had little time at home, so she made most of the decisions alone, consulting him only on major issues. Her daughter said, "Mother has always managed everybody."

After her husband's death Al moved into her present smaller house. She missed her piano, which was stored at her daughter's because the living room was small for a piano.

The house was two-story, neat in appearance, and located in a good neighborhood. There was a large super

market just across the street on the corner. This was handy for Al to purchase her groceries. She said she did most of the shopping weekly, but could run over any time she needed perishables. The carry-out boys brought her purchases home for her, she said, and were very accommodating. However, convenient as the market was, she would have preferred to have the corner remain as it was when she moved into the neighborhood. Then the lot was occupied by a large home with landscaped grounds and Al liked to look across at this pleasing sight.

The furnishings of her house were of very good quality, but appeared to have been in use for some thirty years or so. They were a bit large in scale for the rather small rooms. She had a radio and television. She had purchased both on the advice of someone whom she considered to be an expert in the field. She did not look at any other makes, and she was well satisfied, in fact, she highly recommended both as the best available.

She had an automatic washer, which she preferred to use once a week on Mondays. She sorted the clothes and put them in; her companion hung them up. She planned the meals mentally, but she did not like to cook. She preferred management activities and had always directed others in carrying out her plans.

She did not remember ever being tired from doing housework. She had her mother and aunt to help, and then her two

girls, and hired help at times when there was illness in the family or extra work for some other reason. They had bought labor-saving appliances as they came on the market.

The girls did not have an allowance and were not included in family planning. They were not expected to help much at home, but were given music lessons and encouraged in their social life and educational pursuits.

Al kept detailed financial accounts. She said that she missed this activity since failing eyesight had necessitated turning it over to others. Their savings had been invested in real estate which she held jointly with her husband. At his death she was left "comfortably situated." Al went by plane every winter to visit her daughter living in Texas. She never stayed very long because she always felt that she ought to "get home to see to things."

When the children were small the family spent summers at her mother's cottage on a nearby lake. After her mother's death, the cottage went to her brother. He burned to death there shortly after. The cottage was never rebuilt, because by this time the girls were grown. They sold the lot.

Al had never become accustomed to using frozen foods or mixes. She bought them sometimes at her daughter's suggestion, but she could not seem to remember to use them. She used her automatic washer just as she had grown accustomed to use her old one, doing several loads on Mondays rather than distributing the work over the week.

Her daughter said she objected to having her companion attend church with her because the companion did not dress tastefully, and "What would people think!" Al had always been interested in social events and community activities, and liked to keep up appearances.

A2 Age: Between 50 and 60 Family Unit: Self and husband

A2 was a woman of medium height, slim and energetic. Her graying hair was worn in a casual style. She said it had been auburn when she was younger. She was dressed neatly, with more thought for comfort than for style.

As a girl she lived in a city not far from a college town. She lived at home and attended college, going to classes by street car. (She said her expenses for fees and books for the year of 1916 were \$99.00,--quite different from current costs.) She graduated with a B.S. in Home Economics and taught eight years before her marriage. During this time she attended summer school and got her Master's degree from Columbia.

Her husband had a B.S. in Agriculture. The first six years of their marriage they lived in a large city where he worked for a seed company. They lived first in an unfurnished three-room apartment, then a four-, and finally a five-room apartment after two children were born. Family ties were close and they spent the week-end with her family at least once a month.

In 1933 the company for which he was working went bankrupt, owing him \$1000 in salary. For a time he worked at tree trimming with a W.P.A. crew, then got a job with another seed company. They rented a five-room house in the city where he worked. It was sold over their heads within a year, just about the time the third baby was born. Inasmuch as they had to move anyway, they moved to an adjoining state where he was able to get a more remunerative position. They rented a six-room house, but the location on a busy street did not seem safe for small children, so they found a large, old-fashioned house in a nearby town. Her husband had to go eight miles to work, but they enjoyed the quiet neighborhood. The house was roomy and only one block from school. The fourth baby arrived while they lived here.

In 1940 they returned to the city where she grew up. He took a position with the State Department of Agriculture. The family moved into her mother's house on a farm just outside the city. The acreage was rented, but they kept chickens and a cow. The boys were active in 4H Club. They put quite a little money into repairs to the house which had been rented for several years. They had a big garden from which she canned over three hundred quarts of produce a year. A2 remembered the twelve years they lived there as a time when she worked from dawn to dark. They were happy years. She said, "It was a good place for children to grow up."

The city expanded around them. The farm land was sold for building lots. A2's mother sold one area very cheaply for a school site because she wanted to further good education in that neighborhood. Eventually the old home too was sold. A2 and her husband purchased their present home for cash. Her mother advanced them the money because they had invested so much in repairs to her home.

They were living on five acres about a mile from town. Some of it was planted to small fruits. The house had been the farm house. It was spacious, two-story, set in pleasant grounds. The house had been remodeled by the former owners. It had good storage and the kitchen was as convenient as limitations of the original plan would permit. There were four bed-rooms and bath upstairs; kitchen, dining-room, living-room, work-room, and toilet facilities on the first floor.

A2 had an automatic washer, dryer, and freezer in the work-room. Furnishings were good quality, comfortable and well cared for. They were probably about fifteen years old. They had television, radio, her mother's piano, mangle, electric sewing machine, and vacuum cleaner.

Both daughters were married, one son, who was in college was about to be married and only at home week-ends. The other boy was in the service.

A2 had done quite a lot of substitute teaching of Home Economics and English since the children were grown.

She had been an Extension leader, and was interested in community affairs, politics, church, and P.T.A. She tiled the bathroom herself. She sewed for herself and the grandchildren, liked to bake, cook and can. Since they had the freezer, she froze some things instead of canning. She kept baked goods and casserole dishes in the freezer.

There was an outdoor fireplace in the yard where both they and the children liked to entertain informally. A2 served tea and cookies to the interviewer at the kitchen table, from exquisite china cups.

She was accustomed to marketing once a week after making general plans for the week. She watched for good buys and if she had an unexpected opportunity to get into the city she liked to "pick up something" there. She usually bought at a supermarket because she felt it was less expensive. She read labels and compared weights to be sure she got her money's worth.

When the children were small they helped around the home. She posted jobs on a kitchen bulletin board. They were given an allowance, and were encouraged to have money-making projects when they were old enough. A2 said they had a general spending plan, but did not keep detailed accounts. They had insurance and retirement, but no other plans for the future. She said she supposed that now they did not need such a big house, but they had made no plans to find a smaller place. "It is nice to have the room

when the children come to visit," she said.

She used to wash on Mondays and iron on Tuesdays when the children were small and before she had the automatic washer. She liked to clean near the end of the week when the family was larger. Since the children had left home and she had been doing substitute teaching it had been more convenient to follow a more flexible plan. She "picked up" a little every day and cleaned thoroughly about once a week. She did laundry whenever a washer load had accumulated if she was going to be at home. It was no longer quite as necessary to get everything done. She did not consciously plan her energy, but admitted that she alternated sit-down tasks with more strenuous ones, and spread the work throughout the week.

She and her husband made decisions together after considering several alternatives. They were usually satisfied. The children were included when they were home if they showed any interest. She said, however, that about all they were interested in was selection of their clothing and redecorating their own rooms. She expressed the opinion that, while children should not be excluded, most decisions in the average home tended to be made by the parents.

When asked how her mother had influenced her management, she said her mother had taught her NEVER to run up a grocery bill, or buy on time any item that would be used up by the time it was paid for. She said her mother was so

superstitious she would not go back after a forgotten item if she had started on a trip, nor would she begin any job on a Friday. She, herself, on the other hand did not feel that way at all. She also mentioned a difference in attitude toward the children's friends of the opposite sex. Her husband had never been permitted to stay at her house over night when he visited her before their marriage. He had to go to considerable inconvenience to get a room nearby. Their children's friends had often spent the night in their home. It seemed perfectly proper to her as long as the parents were present.

A2 mentioned that she, her mother, and her daughter were inclined to use the very same decorative design on pie crust. This was the only three generation carry-over she could think of.

A3 Age: Early 20's Family Unit: Self, husband, baby

A3 was an attractive young woman, with a poised and gracious manner, neatly dressed in slacks. She had finished two years of college as a clothing major, before dropping out of school to follow her husband during his military service. For a time she lived in a small furnished apartment in Phoenix, Arizona, then he was transferred to Maine. She had a small apartment in Bangor, Maine, which was within a few miles of his parents' home. The baby was born in Maine. After his discharge from the service they spent one summer with her parents until he entered college again

in the fall and they moved into student housing. He was a junior in electrical engineering.

Their quarters were in the barracks, all on the first floor, small, but fairly convenient. She said storage was adequate. The only new furniture they bought was a sectional davenport. They refinished an old kitchen set of her mother's, a second-hand desk, and a bed that was given to them. Her husband had made a good-looking square step-table to fit into the corner between the two sections of the davenport. They had a small television and a radio. The furnishings showed evidence of good taste in color co-ordination and careful planning to make the best use of limited space.

A3 went to her mother's to do laundry. Because of the baby she needed to wash every four or five days. She and her mother had a good visit on laundry days while the appliances were running. They sometimes entertained at her mother's because their quarters were too small to do it at home.

She bought groceries once a week after partial planning of the week's meals. The store was chosen for convenience and a good selection of foods. A3 watched for good buys and tried to adjust her menus to foods that were plentiful and cheap. Her husband liked to cook--he had learned at camp--and he was able to help her in almost any capacity when needed. She said he was particularly good with the baby. She enjoyed baking pies and cakes. When baking she

planned to have the oven full rather than baking just one thing. She also thought she would like to can, but they had been moving about so much she had not had a chance to try.

She did a thorough cleaning once a week, and "picked up toys all the time." Their home was neat and attractive, showing evidence of interest and care. The little girl would help when she was old enough, partly to learn how to keep house. They would give her an allowance and help her go to college if she wanted to do so. If the child was interested in music they would give her musical training.

A3 sometimes made lists of things to do, especially when entertaining. They liked to entertain. She was a gregarious person who loved social contacts. Her husband was inclined to be shy, according to her mother, but she was able to draw him into the group and make him feel at ease. She planned to read or rest while the baby took her nap, and she saved time by ironing while she was baking cookies in the kitchen.

They did not have a budget; they had barely enough money for necessities while he was in school. They hoped to buy a home after he was established in a job. They wanted a large lot with trees. Both enjoyed out-of-doors activities--sports, fishing, and camping. On vacation they liked to visit some place of interest.

They made decisions together after careful consideration of many alternatives. They made a "sort of mental list" of requirements and tried to select the alternative which came nearest to filling them. So far they had been well satisfied.

When asked what she did like her mother, A3 mentioned the habit of sitting at the breakfast table for a last cup of coffee and a chance to read the paper after the men of the family had gone to work. It was a good way to start the day, she said. She thought that differences in their way of doing were caused by her lack of space and equipment, and the fact that she had a small child. The possibility of finishing her education was suggested, but she did not seem enthusiastic. This appeared to be a slight difference in values from her mother who seemed to feel that education was very important.

B1 Age: Between 70 and 80 Family Unit: Self

B1 was short in stature and somewhat plump. She was neatly dressed and wore her gray hair short and curled. She had been a widow for two years.

Her education ended with eighth grade. She was married young to a neighborhood boy. They lived on rented farms until they had saved enough money to buy their own. Houses on the rented farms were old and not very convenient. B1 worked hard. They raised eleven children, seven boys and four girls. The children helped in the house and on the

farm and boys as well as girls learned to cook and do housework. They did not have allowances, but as soon as they were old enough they were encouraged to go to work for others and their wages were their own to spend as they chose. Tasks around the home were not assigned, but mother and children worked together at the job of the moment. They had a garden and used to put up over 1,000 quarts of food annually. There was much baking, cleaning, laundry, and sewing to do for such a large family.

At first they did not have money for labor-saving equipment, but she resolved to get it as soon as they were able. She said they went into debt and "worked themselves out of it." At her husband's suggestion she took over management of the family finances early in their marriage. She bought groceries once a week, without a list because she had a good memory. She shopped around carefully for clothing and food in order to stretch their income. They did not have a money plan, but bought necessities as they were required. There was not much left over.

She did not have any work schedule, and did not recall ever being very tired. If she did become tired, she was quickly rested.

When they bought their own farm, she planned remodeling the kitchen for greater convenience. The woman who was living in the house at the time of the interviews (A2) felt that, taking into consideration the limitations imposed by

the original plan, Bl had done a very satisfactory job in making the kitchen as convenient as possible. Bl enjoyed planning color schemes for the rooms, and selecting harmonizing draperies and furniture. She said that visitors to her home had often commented favorably on her selection. These decisions were largely her own. Her husband was willing to help carry them out but was not much interested in the selections. He was handy with tools and did much of the remodeling work himself with the help of the sons. The children were not included in the decision-making. Bl did not say whether they were not interested, or whether they were not invited to participate.

After the children were grown the parents sold the farm, reserving several building lots along the road. On one of these lots they built the house in which Bl was living at the time of the interview. It was planned by Bl and her husband and constructed by their sons and her husband of the very best materials available. No expense had been spared to make it exactly as they wanted it. Her daughter said they had put "all the money from the sale of the farm" into that house and its equipment. It was an attractive one-story home. There was a stone fireplace in the living-room. Each of the two bedrooms had a tiled bath. She had a tub in hers; his had a shower because "that was what he liked." The kitchen was convenient and well equipped. She had an automatic washer, dryer, and freezer, besides the

usual stove and refrigerator. All appliances were new at the time they moved into the house six years before.

New furniture in the house was fine quality and harmonious in color and design. A few pieces brought over from the old house were large in scale for the rooms. Bl proudly displayed two end-tables made by her husband which were beautifully executed and finished.

The grounds surrounding the house were large and landscaped with care. There was a two-car garage attached to the house by a breezeway which was screened in summer and enclosed in winter.

Since her husband's death Bl's income had been very limited. He left only a little insurance. She could not afford to hire the yard work done in summer, and the upkeep of the house was becoming a burden. She had offered the home for sale, but her family was doubtful that she could get her investment out of it. The house had been built around the needs of a specific family and would not appeal to everyone. It was several miles from a small town and, as she had no car and could not drive, she was dependent on neighbors or her daughter who lived about twenty miles away for transportation. Her children said they knew she would hate to give up her home, on the other hand they did not see how she could afford to remain there.

People who had known Bl for years said she had always been inclined to have what she wanted for herself, even when the children went without.

Cleanliness was very important to her. Bl said she did not "merely slick up" the house, but always did a thorough cleaning. The house was spotless at the time of the interview. She said cleanliness was also a factor in her selection of a grocery store.

Child training was important to Bl. She told of visiting school one day and being shocked at the lack of respect for authority and bad manners exhibited by some of the children. Her daughter told that she had caused hard feelings by telling her sons-in-law to wash their hands before eating.

When their children were old enough to leave alone, Bl and her husband took trips for vacations. She would like to travel now, she said, if she had the money. Since her husband's death she had become interested in the women's organization of the church, an activity for which she never found the time before. She made paper flowers, crocheted, worked cross word puzzles, and watched television to pass the time. She displayed a chair she had re-upholstered.

All the children who lived near enough came home for all the holidays, Mother's Day, and her birthday. Their gifts to her were usually money because they knew she needed it.

B2    Age:    About 45    Family Unit:    Self and husband

B2 was a small, dark-haired woman. She was neatly dressed. Her manner was pleasant, but she was not entirely at ease with a stranger. During the interview she occupied herself with hand sewing. She said she had made the living-room curtains and made cotton dresses and aprons for herself. She did not attempt anything beyond simple sewing.

She had completed eighth grade. Her husband went to high school and then took further work in chemistry. He had worked as a chemist in an automobile factory ever since their marriage.

Their first home was a rented two-story house located about a block from the one in which they were living. They had bought their present home seventeen years before. It was probably five or ten years old when they bought it. The neighborhood was a quiet one in which all the houses were of moderate cost and kept in good repair, however, B2's house stood out as being particularly well-kept.

In the early years of their marriage they bought a "houseful of furniture" on contract. When they owed only \$100 on it her husband was laid off and they could not meet the payments. All the furniture was repossessed. The company gave them two months to pay the bill. They were not able to do so. Since that experience they had bought nothing on time.

They did not have a written money plan. They kept records, however, and cancelled checks. The children, a boy and a girl, both married, were brought up to help at home. When they were old enough they worked outside to supplement their allowances. The boy went to college for two years; the girl did not wish to. B2 said their daughter did a better job of managing her family than their son who was inclined to spend too much time reading.

B2 had worked part time in a neighborhood drug store when the druggist needed someone to help out. She did not particularly care to work outside the home, nor did her husband especially wish to have her. Of course, they could have more nice things if she worked, she said, but she was satisfied to stay at home with what she had.

They went to church, but she had never been active in church or community affairs. She liked to visit with her friends and enjoyed playing bridge. They did little entertaining because he came home from work tired and wanted to watch television. (The television was turned on during the interview.) He liked to fish, so every summer they spent one week of his vacation with a group of friends fishing in the Upper Penninsula. The remainder of his vacation and summer week-ends they went to their cottage. When the children were young they used to spend their vacations camping. One summer they were taking care of a younger child for relatives and felt they could not manage

the camping trip. It was at that time that they bought the cottage. Her daughter met the boy she married while staying at the lake one summer.

B2 said she did not plan her house work, but did things "when she took a fancy." She had a conventional washer and a dryer. When the washer gave out she planned to buy an automatic. She washed once a week, but not on a regular day. She bought groceries once a week, planning meals from day to day around "the meat, the weather, and what was left over." She selected the market for its convenience. She did not shop around or watch for sales; she felt it cost as much in gasoline to go to a distant store after a bargain as she might save on the price. She did not do much canning because she thought there was not enough saving when one had to purchase the food to can. She said she was not fond of baking as some women are, but she did what was needed for the family. When asked if housework tired her, she said she was always tired, then laughed and said, "Or maybe it's lazy!" During the conversation she showed no enthusiasm for any phase of homemaking activity that was mentioned. The appearance of the home indicated an interest in order, cleanliness, and attractive color combinations.

The furnishings of the home were of good quality but appeared to be at least fifteen years old. Furnishings were comfortable and looked well cared for.

They were remodeling the kitchen a little at a time as plumbing or equipment needed replacement. A new sink had been put in not long before. They hired a contractor to do most of the work after they had worked out the plans. Because B2 was quite short, they were lowering the work surfaces. The next project would be the side of the kitchen where the refrigerator stood; they would do this when they bought a new refrigerator.

When they made a major purchase they looked around at several possibilities together. After they made a decision he was satisfied, but she kept wondering if another selection might not have been more satisfactory.

They had "all kinds of insurance" and he had retirement where he worked.

B3 Age: Early 20's Family Unit: Self, husband, girl 2,  
boy 3 months

B3 was a slim, neat appearing young woman. She was dressed in clean, casual clothes. Her light hair was neatly arranged. She was taller than her mother and had a warm, out-going personality and friendly manner.

The children were immaculate. Their clothes indicated that their mother took pride in their appearance. Neither child showed any shyness.

Both B3 and her husband had high school educations. He was employed at the city utility company. She had learned to operate a key punch machine and worked until the

babies came. She had recently begun working three nights a week at the Service Bureau "to keep her hand in." Her wages went into savings.

When first married they had lived in an apartment over his family. Threemonths before the little boy was born they had moved into a two-story house which they were buying. It had been built about fifty years ago and needed some fixing up, which her husband planned to do himself. They had two bedrooms and bath upstairs, living- and dining-rooms and kitchen down. The lot was of moderate size with six large trees. They planned to fill in the back and fence it to make a safe play yard for the children because their street was a busy one which would be dangerous for little'folks. There was a screened porch across the front of the house. Furnishings were inexpensive and limited in number, but they appeared to have been selected with care.

There were no toilet facilities on the first floor. Since this was inconvenient with the children, they planned to build on a small toilet room as soon as they could afford it.

The kitchen was convenient and the house had adequate storage. The people who lived there before them put the stove and refrigerator in the back room in order to eat in the kitchen. B3 preferred to have the stove in the kitchen and eat in the dining-room. The kitchen was so small it was still necessary to keep the refrigerator in the back

room, but she tried to remember to bring everything she needed at one trip.

The house was located near a school, stores, and a city park where they expected to enjoy many picnics. In the winter they were near a municipal skating rink. They planned to make the most of these inexpensive recreational opportunities, which were factors in choosing that location.

They had enjoyed entertaining since they had been in their house. They did not invite guests to dinner, but for the evening when light refreshments would be sufficient, because they had to watch their budget carefully.

They did not have a written spending plan, but "Planned to meet their obligations." After that there was not much left to plan. They had insurance and hospitalization. They would help the children go to college if they wished to do so. B3 would like to attend night school, she said. She would like to learn more about cooking and wanted to learn to swim. She liked to sew and wished she had more time to devote to it. She had played the violin in high school and would like to find time to do that again, too.

She said she needed to plan her work for the week in order to get everything done. She had an automatic washer and dryer in the basement. She washed twice a week, aside from baby laundry. They bought groceries every other week with a list at a chain store. She thought it was partly habit to go to a certain store, but she liked the "nice

fresh vegetables" and the brands of canned goods they carried. They did not go to the nearest store--inasmuch as they took the car it did not make much difference. It saved time to go where she knew just where to find things.

Her husband was fond of cookies, and so was the little girl. B3 had made nine dozen cookies the week of the interview. She liked to bake. She was seldom tired and rested quickly, she said. She dove-tailed tasks to save time.

She planned to have the children help when they were old enough. The little girl already tried to help wash dishes. They would have an allowance and a voice in family decisions. She had not as a child, but in her husband's family the children were included.

Her husband was a Catholic and she had joined his church. As the children became older she expected to be active in P.T.A.

B3 did not think she did things like her mother--she planned more than her mother and she liked to cook better. She did not think there was much resemblance between her mother and her grandmother. She suggested that both of them liked to make paper flowers and watch television. She felt that her grandmother and grandfather had not planned well to put so much money into the house which she could not afford to keep up and which she would probably have difficulty selling for what it was worth.

C1 Age: About 80 Family Unit: Self, husband,<sup>1</sup> and sister

C1 was a spry little lady. Her long hair was coiled on top of her head. She was at work on a braided wool rug in her cheerful living-room. The west window of her living-room was full of African violets, many of them in blossom.

C1 had married at 25 after teaching country school for several years. She had completed high school and passed teacher's examinations--the only requirements for teaching at that time. Her husband left school at the end of the fifth grade to go to work in the woods. He was interested in education and wanted to finish school but his father believed that boys should go to work as soon as they were old enough. The first three years of their marriage they lived in a log cabin. In 1906 they moved into the farmhouse in which they still live.

It was a large two-story frame house painted white, sitting on a slight rise above the road. The grounds and farm buildings were well-kept. It was located several miles from a small village.

The original floor plan had been modified to make part of the first floor into an apartment for a maiden aunt who had lived there until her death in 1940. C1 had always planned to remodel the rest of the house for greater convenience. After the aunt's death they did the remodeling,

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<sup>1</sup>At the time of first interview the husband, a diabetic who had had an amputation, was alive. His death occurred before the second interview.

making the apartment larger and the kitchen of the other section of the house more convenient. However, C1 never had a chance to use the "new" kitchen for she and her husband moved into the apartment and their son came to work the farm and live with his family in the rest of the house. During the years, electricity had been brought into the house and modern plumbing added, also closets and storage space had been built in.

The apartment in which C1 and her husband lived was composed of living-room, kitchen, and bedroom all on the first floor. They shared a bathroom with their son's family.

Her husband was a diabetic, who had had an amputation, and was confined to his bed. C1 took entire care of him, preparing his special diet and doing daily laundry. Her 88-year old sister, a deaf-mute, had a room in the other part of the house but ate with them and helped some by doing dishes and preparing vegetables. C1 had a washer-dryer combination in the kitchen. It had been selected to fit into the available space, to avoid the necessity of going to the basement to wash, and to save lifting the wet clothes from one appliance to another. At that time it was necessary to wash every day, but C1 said she ordinarily tried to choose different wash days than her daughter-in-law to avoid using so much hot water all at once.

Since her husband's illness C1 had not been able to leave him to do her shopping. She made out a list for her

daughter who shopped for her. Before he became ill she had been in the habit of shopping once a week, at a chain store, where she knew "just where to look for everything." She had a large freezer in which she stored large quantities of fruit and vegetables from the farm, as well as baked goods.

Her daughter said that every year before her father's illness, her mother had prepared the family Christmas dinner alone for about thirty-four persons. She made her plans early in November and each week she did one special thing toward the dinner. She kept everything in the freezer until the holiday. The Christmas their father was in bed, she planned the meal and told each one what to bring. Before that she had refused any help saying, "When I need your help, I'll ask you." She prepared some specialty every year--one year it was fancy breads, another year a special salad. She took great pride in this dinner and always liked to try out new recipes, or new combinations.

Cl was in the habit of cleaning once a week. She read articles in women's magazines suggesting new and easier ways of doing things, and tried to follow suggested methods for most effective use of her appliances. She kept hand work to do when she sat down to rest from a heavy job. She was making a rug to order at the time of the interview. The proceeds were to go to her church circle. She planned to embroider a lunch cloth to be sold at their bazaar, but wanted to select a pattern that would not strain her eyes.

She had learned upholstering in an Extension class and re-covered some of their furniture. She sewed for the children when they were small, but did not sew much any more.

There were five children. Two of them went to college. One took farming short courses and was running the farm. One daughter started teachers' college but did not finish. She said "three or four" of the children had taken music lessons. Her husband had always been interested in education and had served as moderator of the school board for years.

They did not use a written money plan, but kept fairly detailed records. They had one insurance policy and savings invested in savings and loan. She said they had always planned together. The children did not have allowances, but they helped with the work in the house and on the farm and were given what money they needed.

C1 said that although farmers do not often have vacations, they had gone to California three times to visit a brother and sister there. They made the trip once in the early years of their marriage, drove out in 1941, and had gone out once since then.

During her husband's illness C1 had their property put into joint ownership with rights of survivorship, to make it easier for her after his death. At the time of the second interview she was making a good adjustment to widowhood.

Her daughter said that at one time C1 operated quite an extensive poultry business on her own. It was successful financially, but she decided it was too hard work. Her daughter felt that C1 had capabilities which had never been realized because she was a young woman at a period when women were thought "forward" if they expressed interest in things outside the home.

C2 Age: Early 50's Family Unit: Self, husband, teenage son

C2 was a woman of medium weight and height. Her manner was friendly and pleasant. Her dress and person were neat. At the time of the second interview, which was a hot day, she was clad in shorts and sleeveless blouse. The family had returned from a camping trip the night before and she had been washing. She wore her hair short, in a casual style.

She had finished high school and started teachers' training but did not finish. She said her health was not good and after she got to feeling better she was "out of the notion." She married in 1932. Her husband had entered college, but during the depression left school to work for \$6.00 a week in his father's grain elevator in a small village.

The first year they were married they lived in this small village in a small, old house which they rented. The next year they bought a house behind his father's home and next to the elevator. This house was built "at least fifty years ago" before closets and storage space were considered

essential, but was light and airy, and they found it a pleasant place to live. They had two bedrooms upstairs, no modern plumbing, but a convenient kitchen, and electricity.

In 1940 his father retired. They moved into his house and rented the house in the back. This house, too, had been built in the days before closets, but his father had remodeled the first floor to add storage space, and had put in a bathroom. She said some people would not consider it a desirable location because only a driveway separated the house from the elevator, behind which ran the railroad tracks. They were used to the noise, however, and found it convenient to live close to the business. They owned all the stock in the elevator, having bought it from his father, the two houses, and 60 acres of land which was farmed by their son.

Their home was comfortably, though modestly furnished. Some of the furniture appeared to date from their marriage. A new dining-room suite and wall-to-wall carpeting indicated a desire to keep the home attractive. Everything had the appearance of being well-kept. They had a television set, which was not turned on during either of the interviews. They had an electric organ in the dining-room. They started with a chord organ replacing it with a better one as they progressed. It was an integral part of their family life. C2 had taken piano lessons as a girl. She set aside half an hour from her housework every morning to play the organ.

Her husband played by ear and the two younger children had taken organ lessons. They used it daily for enjoyment and musical therapy. At the start of the first interview, the son was playing softly, but stopped at his mother's request. The second interview was scarcely finished before the lovely chords began to float on the summer air. C2 said she thought the first suggestion that they get an organ came from her husband. There was "more music in his family," she said. He was in the habit of playing for relaxation, after a busy day. Their daughter came to play the organ whenever anything bothered her. She was not inclined to talk about her troubles, but would sit down to play, stormily at first, then gradually more softly as she worked off her emotional strain or solved her problems.

They had been trying to plan some way to shut off the dining-room during the evenings so their son could enjoy television without interfering with his father's organ playing. They thought perhaps an accordion door would be the answer.

There were four children in the family. The oldest boy was a farmer and had never considered any other occupation. The second boy was at home temporarily, helping in the elevator until time to begin an electrical apprentice course in the fall. He had just returned from military service and was having a hard time deciding what he wanted to do. Their daughter was married and lived down the road

about half a mile. The youngest son was still at home. None of the children had gone to college, although their parents would have been glad to help them had they wished to.

Life had not been all rosy for this family. Their first big misfortune had been a fire which destroyed the elevator. Then C2 had an illness which dragged on for about ten years, with the doctor offering little hope for recovery. At one time she was not expected to live longer than a year. She was just getting back on her feet when her husband required a spinal fusion. She said that only the fact that they owned their home, and did not give up, enabled them to come through. However, they had been too engrossed in their problems to give much thought to the children's education during the years when they were growing up and she felt that this had had a great influence on the children's lives and personalities. She thought it might be the reason the second son was having such a hard time deciding what he wanted to do, and was perhaps why the daughter married very young and seemed to be somewhat immature and lacking in confidence. The girl had to shoulder responsibilities beyond her years at an early age, and her mother had been too ill to teach her how to keep house, but had expected her to do what was essential without guidance.

The father had been in his second term as township treasurer when he became ill and C2 had to help with the bookkeeping. Then she had been elected to succeed him in

office. As the township grew from a rural area to an urban community the work of the treasurer multiplied until she needed to take a correspondence course in bookkeeping to be able to handle the job. She believed that this work and the necessity for her to help in the elevator office while he was laid up for a year, were largely responsible for her recovery because she had been forced to return to contacts with people at a time when she could have easily become a chronic invalid.

C2's health appeared to be good, and to all appearances her life was full and rewarding. She said she was so busy she made plans while driving or ironing. She planned meals mentally, about a week ahead, and shopped once a week at a chain store. She was in the habit of watching for good buys, especially in meats, which she stored in the freezer. She always had baked goods in the freezer, too, for unexpected guests, and preserved fruits and vegetables there. She liked to bake.

She had a weekly work schedule when they were first married, but it had become less conscious and more flexible through the years. She said it seemed to work out better to do laundry the first of the week, and baking and cleaning the latter part of the week. She had an automatic washer purchased when her husband was sick. She kept soiled clothes sorted into white, colored, and work clothes and when one basket was full, she did that amount. During the

time that she spent most of her time at the elevator and at times when the township treasurer's job was particularly heavy, she had had hired help.

They kept a general budget. C2 did the bookkeeping, but her records for the household were not detailed, she said. They had insurance. The children were expected to help at home, and were given an allowance. For certain jobs they were paid extra. During her long illness her daughter had to take over most of the housekeeping, however, whether from lack of guidance or because she was unsuited temperamentally to the job, she never learned to do it well or easily. Her attitude still seemed to be one of rebellion and distaste.

The family planned together. However, in purchasing equipment her opinions carried greater weight in selecting the appliances she used and his in selecting television or radio. They had begun to plan for the future of their business which was changing with the community they served. They were trying to foresee what lines would continue to be profitable.

The family participated actively in church, and community activities.

C3 Age: 21 Family Unit: Self, husband, two small children

C3 was a shapely young woman, with a pretty face and carefully styled blond hair. She appeared to take pride in her personal appearance. Her children, a boy of one, and a

girl of two were clean and well-behaved, but their mother seemed to take less pride in their appearance than her own.

She married as soon as she was out of high school. Her mother said she had not known the boy long. He had finished high school and was an electrical apprentice.

They rented a small four-room house several miles from the village. It was the only place they had lived since marriage. With two children, it was crowded. C3 had an automatic washer in the basement, but as there was insufficient room to dry clothes there, during bad weather she had to hang them over bars in the living-dining area. The winter afternoon of the first interview laundry was hanging in the dining area. The children were napping. Toys cluttered the floor, the tables were laden with an assortment of objects and every chair was draped with something. C3 sat in a rocking chair mending. She showed no concern for the general disorder. She said, "I can't imagine why you want to interview me. I am the world's worst manager."

She said she had taken one year of home economics in high school, but she did not mention the fact that her mother's illness had made it necessary for her to do housework at home.

She said she planned meals partially and shopped once a week at a chain store. Because she had no freezer she had to rely on canned foods rather than frozen. Her kitchen was small, but she found it convenient except that shelves

were too deep and she had to reach over or remove the front items to get at those in the rear. She did not like to cook and did little baking. She did not can, partly because she was too busy with the children and partly because she had little storage space for canned goods. Her mother theorized that she was afraid of failure and so did not attempt to bake or can.

C3 had a sewing machine and did some sewing for the children. Her husband was able to do redecorating and minor repairs around the house.

They had a "partly written" money plan, but after paying rent and necessary bills "there was not much left to budget." She said she made the plans and he checked them before they were put into operation. They had a little insurance and planned to get more as they could afford it. They wanted to buy a house as soon as they can manage to do so. When they were older, the children would have an allowance, be allowed to help choose their own clothes, and would be included in family decisions. They would like to send them to college.

C3 said she had no work schedule, but did things "by inspiration." She was likely to try to do everything on one day. She would start more than she could finish and end up so tired she would have to rest up for a day or two. By that time everything needed doing again and it was a vicious circle.

Their recreation was of necessity inexpensive. They went roller skating once a week in winter and summer vacations were spent camping. Sometimes they left the children with her mother for a few days to take a week-end trip with another couple. Lack of space, plus the fact that she did not like to cook, kept them from entertaining their friends at home.

When asked what she thought she did like her mother, she said, "Well, not cooking, certainly!" She bought a washer like her mother's because she had used it and liked it. She was no hand to bring her troubles to her mother or to seek advice. When disturbed she played the organ until she had worked out a solution. Her mother said her attitude towards the children vacillated between extreme casualness and smothering them with attention in an apparent attempt to make up for fancied neglect. This was not good, and her mother hoped she would soon develop more maturity in handling them. Moving into each new phase of development had been hard for her ever since childhood. She seemed to lack confidence in herself, her mother said.

C3 enjoyed being with people and sometimes appeared to resent staying at home so much with the children. Her mother wondered if she would have been happier in some career other than homemaking for which she showed little talent or inclination. She sometimes helped a neighbor who served smorgasbords and enjoyed that very much. Her husband stayed with the children while she did this evening work.

D1 Age: Widow in her 80's Family Unit: Self and sister

D1 was a heavy-set woman with her white hair pulled into a severe knot at the back of her head. She had been in poor health and her daughter said she had lost interest in her personal appearance.

She married young. Neither she nor her husband had completed grade school. He was a widower with one son at the time of their marriage. They lived the first few years in a rented farmhouse not far from a small village, then moved to another farm in a northern county. That house was newer and better built, although there was no modern plumbing. It was fairly convenient, large and roomy, and there was a pump in the kitchen. The family consisted of three girls and one boy; the two youngest were born while in this home.

In 1918 they moved back to the vicinity of their former home and took up residence in the "old homestead" which had been in the family over 70 years. D1 still lived there. It was a story-and-a-half frame building, rambling, weathered, and unpainted. It was located about a mile and a half from the village. The yard was a tangle of lilacs and rosebushes, with a grape arbor and vegetable garden at the rear. The house was heated with a coal stove. Water had to be carried from a well in the yard--until two years before it had to be carried from the well at the old barn across the road.

Furnishings were old and well-worn. There was little attempt at artistic arrangement, but the house was comfortable by standards of the past.

A few years ago the children had electricity put into the house and got D1 an electric refrigerator. They wanted to install plumbing, but she objected. She had an old style washer, which had to be filled and emptied by hand since there was no running water available. She washed on Monday and ironed on Tuesday--she always had. She bought groceries on Saturday night which used to be the only time farmers got to town. She did not plan meals ahead, but she had them on time. Bottled gas was used for cooking. She enjoyed food--the doctor wanted her to lose weight but she could not seem to diet, she said.

When her family was at home she did a lot of canning and preserving. She still went out to pick wild berries for jam.

She had never consciously conserved energy but was accustomed to work hard. Her sister, who was 68, lived with her and helped with the work. Lately D1 had taken to lying down for a nap after dinner, or sleeping in her chair, while her sister did dishes. She never used to do this when her family was at home. She did not recall that she used to be tired, either. The children were brought up to help at home, both in the house and on the farm.

They never kept a budget, but she was a close planner

and very conservative in her purchases. The children never had allowances. They earned their spending money peddling vegetables from the garden or hiring out to help the neighbors. The family members always had enough to eat and wear, but very little cash. Dl had always been careful with money and did not believe in spending it on such luxuries as bathrooms. She owned her home and had sold off the acreage of the old farm at a good price for building lots. She put the money in the bank, but not trusting investments, she kept it in a savings account. She never bought on time because "it cost more that way." She did not believe in charge accounts and did not have insurance.

The children had talked her into buying a television, which she watched some, but would not admit she enjoyed it. She made her selection on the advice of someone whom she considered to be an expert and did not look at any others. It suited her as well as any, she said. (Her daughter said the girls thought their mother was very stubborn and unreasonable. She would take suggestions from an outsider but never thought the children knew anything.) Even while her husband was living she made the household decisions. He decided about the farm. The children were not included in family decisions.

Dl had never had a vacation, nor taken part in any social life or church activities. She had no interest in new clothes, labor-saving devices, politics, or new ideas.

She still worked in her garden and did some canning. She did not like to see anything go to waste. She was in the habit of working hard and she could conceive of no other way of life.

D2 Age: 50's Family Unit: Self and husband

D2 was rather tall, with a wholesome face devoid of make-up, dark hair and lively brown eyes. Her dress was neat and showed thought for color combination. She had been cook and manager of the village school cafeteria ever since it started in spite of the fact that she had no special training and had not gone to high school. She was understandably proud of having held an office in the School Service Association, which indicated that she was accepted by persons with more formal training in the field.

When she was a girl she hired out to do housework and she had worked most of the time since her marriage. Her husband had a high school education and was employed in a dairy. He had undergone six operations on his eyes, with another scheduled in the near future. Until cataracts impaired his eyesight he had done interior painting and minor repairs around the house. They had five children, two boys and three girls, all grown and away from home.

They had purchased a garage when they were married in 1929 and had made it over little by little as their family grew, into a comfortable two-story house. It was

finished with asphalt shingles and maroon shutters outside. The large yard was well-kept, although she said they did not have as many flowers as they had when he could see to work with them. Back of the house there were several fruit trees and a big patch of raspberries from which they harvested about 500 quarts a year.

Their house had a kitchen, dining-room, living-room, and one bedroom downstairs, and three bedrooms and bath upstairs. The rooms were small and the arrangement not ideal due to the limitations imposed by the original structure. The home showed evidence of taste in furnishings and decorating. The furniture was of moderate price and quality. Everything looked well-kept. The kitchen was convenient and colorfully decorated. D2 had planned it herself and displayed it with pride. The entire home was the result of years of planning and working together. They had done much of the work themselves.

Because of her cafeteria job, D2 had a schedule for weekly tasks. She marketed once a week without a list, buying from an independent grocer. She said she did not have time to "chase bargains" and she felt that sometimes one used up as much as they saved. Large equipment was the only thing they had bought on time. They had a small freezer in which she kept baked goods in case of unexpected company.

They rose regularly at 5:30 A.M. to have time for a good breakfast and a chance to read the paper before she took him to work. She did not like to feel rushed, she said.

When the children were at home they helped around the house and yard. The family went on camping vacations together. The children had a voice in deciding where to go. She used to do a lot of baking and canning, but with the two of them it was no longer necessary. She did quite a lot of sewing for the children and looked forward to sewing again when she retired. Because they never had much money she felt she had to bake, sew, and preserve food to stretch their income.

Their budget was a mental one. The children did not have allowances "because we just did not have the money." Both D2 and her husband will have Social Security and she will have school retirement. They were in the habit of making decisions together after carefully considering alternatives and weighing probable results. They were satisfied with their decisions.

They had television and radio for recreation at home. D2 attended church circle and was interested in community affairs. Most of their entertaining was of family members. An unusual feature of their family was the large number of multiple births. One son had twins and triplets, and one daughter had twins, and there were others among near relatives. Family ties were close.

Their concern at the time of the interview was for her husband's eyesight. They had been told that the next operation would either improve his sight greatly or leave him blind.

D2 thought she was much more progressive than her mother and less miserly and penny-pinching, although she was careful with money. She thought her daughter was more like the grandmother, and expressed the opinion that her daughter's family would be happier if she were less of a perfectionist.

D3 Age: About 25 Family Unit: Self, husband, twin boys 6,  
boy 4, girl 2

D3 was a slim energetic young woman. She was dressed in a bright play suit. Her home, the twins, and her person were all immaculate. She said she could scarcely spare the time for an interview, however, she agreed to cooperate.

Their home was a story-and-a-half house in one of the newer sections of the city. It appeared to have been built within the last five years. When first married, they lived in a small apartment. When the twins were born they rented an older two-story house, and as soon as they thought they could manage it financially, purchased this home, which had three bedrooms and a large basement. It was near a shopping center and school.

D3 had a high school education and did office work until the babies began to come. Her husband was a mortician.

He had completed two years of college, two years of mortuary training, and one year's apprenticeship.

They lived within walking distance of a grocery store, but she usually waited for him to take her and look after the children because she had found it was "next to impossible" to take them all to the store with her. She planned her meals about a week ahead and when meal time approached she planned the rest of the menu around the meat dish. She shopped once a week for staple groceries. She did much baking and canning to help stretch the family budget. She sewed for the children and wished she could find time to sew for herself. This, too, was done to stretch their income. She said they did not have a written budget, but as they are buying their home, they had to plan rather carefully to "make ends meet." She picked up windfall apples to can for sauce, and salvaged the last of her mother's raspberry crop to can and freeze. They were trying to save for the future but had no definite plans for the education of the children. They had insurance, she said. As the children got older she thought they would have an allowance, and they would be brought up to help around the home. Her husband did painting and minor repairs in his spare time.

She had an automatic washer and a dryer. She washed whenever the dirty clothes accumulated, and was "never caught up on ironing." They had recently moved the dryer from one side of the basement to the other for added convenience.

She said she took the children to the basement to play while she did the laundry. She tried to do as much as possible during their nap time and was looking forward to the next year when the twins would be in school all day.

She said she was often tired although she got enough sleep at night. (Her mother commented that she was a perfectionist who wore herself out over details.) During the interview she continually cautioned the twins not to track dirt on the freshly waxed kitchen floor. The davenport and chairs were covered with protective covering "because the children will climb on them, and I try to keep things nice." The furnishings of the home were of good quality and carefully selected for style and color, but showed the wear of four lively children.

The appearance of the home and the woman, indicated that she appreciated neatness and beauty. If they ever bought another house, she said, she would like to have a fenced play area off the kitchen where she could keep an eye on the children while working. She would like a large yard and would favor a Colonial type rather than a modern or ranch-type house.

In making any large purchase husband and wife looked at several alternatives. Price and quality were of prime consideration to them. She said they were accustomed to evaluate their purchases and decisions to see if they might have done better, and also with a view to doing better in the future.

Their entertaining was limited to family and she had no outside activities. She implied that she did not have time for outside activities if she kept the house and family clean and prepared nourishing meals. She thought as the children got older she would have to participate in P.T.A. or other things at school.

They had a television set which was on during the interview although no one appeared to pay any attention to it.

El Age: Middle 70's      Family Unit: Self and roomer

Her figure was shapeless, she wore no make-up, but her fine head and intelligent face gave her a dignity of appearance. Her head was crowned with luxuriant iron-gray hair which waved above her forehead and was braided into a coronet.

Her home was a well-kept one-story, two bedroom house in a modest section of the city. It overflowed with African violets, hand-crocheted tidies, and the type of oil paintings where one fills in the colors according to a numbered chart.

The extra bedroom was rented to an elderly woman whom El described as a pleasant companion who "works right along with me." El did not like to live alone and tried to keep the room rented. She liked to have someone to cook for, she said. Although the doctor wanted her to reduce she could not resist good food. She said she would consider marrying again if she could find a man who had a little more

money than she, and who did not drink. She would also prefer a man who did not smoke because she disliked the smell, but smoking was not as bad as drinking.

As a girl, El lived in a small town in northern Michigan. She quit school after the fifth grade to take care of the younger children while her mother worked. Her first husband was a mason who worked away from home much of the time. They lived in a rented house outside a little northern town.

After his death she married a widower with seven children and went to live on the farm he owned near the little town. She raised ten children of her own and the seven stepchildren who loved her like their own mother and still kept in touch with her. She had 69 grandchildren and 119 great-grandchildren.

She lived 39 years on this farm. The house was large, two-story, and not new. It was without electricity and plumbing. The children helped in the house and on the farm. The older ones took care of the younger ones. They had meat, fruit, and vegetables from the farm. She canned immense quantities of food. She sewed for the children, making all the clothes for the girls and sitting up late at night to piece quilts from the scraps for bedding. She could remember that there was a time when she owned only two dresses so that when she put on a clean one she immediately washed the other. There was always laundry to be done and she

washed several times a week, scrubbing on a board for years until they were able to buy a washing machine run by gasoline motor. Her husband was a good, hard-working man who loved the children and took much pleasure in them, but he drank, and she would never again marry a man who drank, she said.

Ten years ago she came to the city (her husband being dead) to keep house for an unmarried son. She had never had any new furniture until her son bought a new davenport and chair. He had died three years before leaving the house to her. She did not remember ever buying a new dress--she wore garments given her by the girls, and she used some of their discarded furniture.

She had never planned meals more than a day at a time. On the farm there was always plenty and it was not necessary. She had a large freezer given her by the children, and kept it well-stocked with fruit, vegetables, meat, and baked goods. She lived within walking distance of the store, but usually shopped once a week when her daughter took her to a supermarket. She preferred a clean store, she said, where prices were reasonable. She liked to can, and preferred the flavor of some fruits canned to frozen. Last summer she and her roomer picked enough strawberries to make 13 pints of jam and freeze 45 pints. El liked to work and did not recall ever being very tired.

She had no written money plan. Her only income was from her son's disability payment from the government and

pension from his job. In the winter when she had fuel bills, the money just about went around. In the summer, if the extra room was rented, she could save a little. She kept her savings in the bank--there was not enough to invest. She had no insurance. At one time she had hospitalization, but when she had to have a gall bladder operation that was not covered, she dropped the insurance. She said she was never sick anyway. She had always lived frugally and she was satisfied.

For a time she offered the house for sale and thought she would return to the little northern community where she had lived so long. Many of her children and grandchildren lived near there. She found, however, that no one wanted to pay cash or make a large enough down payment to enable her to feel secure about buying another home up north. Her present home was on the bus line and if she moved she would have to depend on friends for transportation. She hated to leave her church and kind neighbors. She had decided not to sell.

She had an automatic washer and dryer installed in her kitchen by her children. She liked to get the laundry out of the way early in the week and do cleaning and baking near the week-end. Her kitchen was convenient, and with her appliances her work was much easier than it used to be.

She said she had no time plan, but she always got up at 7:00 A.M. and kept busy until 11:00 P.M. In the last six

months she had pieced ten quilts. Some of them she planned as birthday presents for her granddaughters.

She enjoyed the neighborhood children, both white and Negro. When hers was the only television in the block she had youngsters sitting in front of it every afternoon and evening. Her only stipulation was that they be clean and behave while in the house.

She said her girls cooked and baked the same way she did. If she and one of them made pies no one could tell which was which. They would look and taste alike.

When the second interview took place E1 came in from working in her roses. She had a flower bed along the driveway about 6' x 50' full of all kinds of roses and other flowers.

E2 Age: About 45 Family Unit: Self, husband, and teenage daughter

E2 had a good figure and luxuriant wavy hair like her mother. Her personal appearance and that of her home indicated thought for color, balance, and proportion. Much of the furniture looked new and had probably been purchased when they moved into the house two years before.

E2 said she married soon after finishing high school. For the first few months they lived with her married sister on a farm and her husband drove a milk route. Then they rented a small house in a small city where he worked in the creamery. Shortly before the war they moved to a larger

city and bought a two-story house. Her husband had to go to the service. His mother came to stay with the two little girls while she worked in a factory. She missed her husband terribly, worried constantly, and did not like her job. Her mother told of seeing her come home night after night to throw herself sobbing on the floor. He was sent overseas, but the Armistice came before he saw active service. It was a joyous day when he returned to his family. Her health, undermined by a year and a half of worry and loneliness remained poor for some time. Her mother said her husband was "the best in the world," in more than twenty years of married life he had never spoken a cross word to his wife and they were a devoted couple.

Two years ago they sold the two-story house and moved into a new story-and-a-half home in the outskirts of a village.

The older daughter had married and only the seventeen-year old remained at home. The father was a crane operator and loved his work. It took him away from home part of the year when the weather permitted outside work, but he nearly always got home for week-ends. He planned to build a garage adjoining the house, and finish the basement himself during the winter. Later he might finish the upstairs, but as they did not need the room, there was no hurry about that.

E2 said the house was fairly convenient, but the new one was much better. She had an automatic washer and dryer.

She preferred to wash on Monday, and usually had the ironing and mending done before night. If she were going out in the evening she postponed some of her scheduled tasks, so she would not be too tired and she had plenty of free time. The house was easy to keep clean and she did not ask her daughter to help because "there was not enough to keep two women busy."

E2 was active in her church circle, Eastern Star, P.T.A., and community activities. Her hobby was gardening--in this respect she resembled her mother--she enjoyed canning, making pickles and freezing fruits and vegetables. She did some sewing, she said.

Her daughter came in during the interview to say that she has secured her first job for the coming summer. The girl was embarrassed to be seen in old clothes and needing a shampoo. Her mother said there was not much to keep the young folks busy during vacation and she was glad to have the girl occupied. She said her daughter was not a good student and did not plan to go to college. She had not decided what she would do after graduation from high school.

E2 did not plan meals ahead, but bought groceries once a week. She was in the habit of driving quite a distance to a certain store she liked, a large supermarket that carried good meats. They often bought a quarter of beef at a substantial saving. She did not particularly look for bargains

in other areas. Her family liked everything and was easy to cook for.

They did not have a written money plan. They owned their home, and had insurance and retirement. The girls had always had an allowance.

In making a major purchase they looked at several possibilities, considered name brands, past performance of old equipment, availability of service, and price. They were usually well satisfied with their purchase. They had a seven year old television-radio-record player combination which was one of their good buys. It had never needed repairs.

E2 thought she was like her mother in having "lots of nervous energy" which required that she keep busy all the time. Both liked to raise flowers. The whole family enjoyed nature and liked to go trailer camping on vacations. They often took her mother with them on trips. Her husband went hunting every fall. She said their married daughter also loved the out-doors.

Her daughter said E2 made detailed plans and lists.

E3 Age: Early 20's Family Unit: Self and husband

E3 was a pleasant young woman with wavy auburn hair and a peaches-and-cream complexion. Both she and her husband were high school graduates. She was working in the office of a large city high school. He was a painter who worked in a factory during the winter. They had been married a little

more than a year at the time of the interview.

Her husband was the only child of a widowed mother. The first year of their married life they lived in a small apartment upstairs in her home. They had recently bought a house just outside the city limits which had an apartment upstairs for his mother. She was working full time and perfectly capable of living alone, but they could foresee the time when she would need to be near them and had made their purchase with this in mind.

The house had been built for twenty-five years or so and needed some repairs and redecorating which her husband intended to do himself. She planned to make draperies and recover some furniture. There was room for a garden and they were looking forward to fixing up the yard. The kitchen was convenient; she could hardly wait to begin canning and freezing as soon as they could get a freezer.

She bought food weekly at a supermarket, which she chose for convenience and reasonable prices. She said she would not go as far to a store as her mother did; while she was working she did not have time. She planned meals from day to day. During the week she ate lunch at her grandmother's house. Her husband took his lunch.

E3 had an automatic washer and washed once a week, usually on Saturday when she could hang clothes outside. If they had week-end plans, she washed at night during the week. She thought they would do more entertaining now

that they had more room. She had already given a shower for a friend. She made lists whenever she planned extras to be sure nothing was forgotten.

They had a written budget and carried insurance. She thought when they had children they would give them an allowance and include them in the family planning. E3 thought it was important that "boys especially" have a college education. Her husband regretted that he had not been able to go to college.

They made decisions together. They had recently bought a kitchen table and chairs. They listed the qualifications they wanted and considered several, trying to choose the one which came nearest to fitting the requirements. She believed that too hasty decisions were likely to be less satisfactory than more thoughtful ones. They were aware of the pitfalls of installment buying and planned to save their money to pay cash whenever possible. If they bought on time they planned to figure out how much they were paying for carrying charges. She thought a credit union was the cheapest way to finance large purchases.

Her hobby was collecting china dogs; his, china mugs. Some were souvenirs of trips. They both enjoyed watching and participating in sports. They liked camping and traveling to parts of the country they had not seen but did not care to vacation in large cities. They were not interested in night clubs, shows, or big city forms of entertainment.

E3 thought she resembled her mother in making detailed plans and lists. Appearances indicated that both E3 and her mother felt the importance of attractive home surroundings.

The differences in their time planning was due to E3's job which limited the time she could spend in household activities.

F1    Age:    60    Family Unit:    Self

F1 was a plump lady, only 4'10" tall, with short, curled white hair and a pleasant face. She was proud of the fact that at 60 she did not need glasses for reading.

She married young and had not gone to high school. Her husband's family came from Germany. His mother ran a bakery. He learned from her to cook and bake, and always enjoyed doing it. His mother's mother lived with them over the bake shop. This lady was Dutch and a "religious fanatic" who did not miss a Sunday service at the Methodist church in seventy-five years. She insisted that the entire family attend services and her strictness was a strong influence on her grandson in his youth which carried over into his family life after marriage. He, too, insisted that his children attend church regularly. He was a sign painter whose work was irregular and whose income was small. He died when his wife was thirty-three leaving six children and no savings.

They lived in a village where everyone knew everyone else. The entire village population rallied to the support

of the widow and helped her keep the family together. She was energetic and had been brought up to work hard, but twenty-five years ago, in a small village there were few jobs available for a woman. She was willing to work at anything, and did.

An uncle furnished them with meat from his farm. They had a garden and the children peddled any extra produce from door to door. They picked berries for their own use and to sell. They wore hand-me-down clothing passed on from other families.

Fl always hated to cook. While her husband was living he did most of it. After his death she turned it over to the two oldest girls. They baked as many as seven loaves of bread a day and there were times when that was about all they had to eat. They canned prodigious amounts of fruit and vegetables, both from their own garden and from friends' who gave them what they could spare for the picking.

The girls took care of the house while their mother went out to work. When W.P.A. came along she got work sewing in a small pants factory. She was still employed there.

One girl worked her way through high school by helping in the principal's office. Two of the six children finished high school. They never had an allowance, but worked at whatever odd jobs they could find to earn money for their clothes and books.

In accordance with old German custom, Fl's husband made all family decisions while he was living. She found it difficult to take over after his death, but she was always one to make the best of the situation. The older children helped decide the smaller matters. The children were always sent to Sunday school and Church, but their mother did not attend. She never belonged to any kind of social organization. Not long ago her family insisted she get a telephone. She never wanted one to visit with friends, but she had used it to call members of the family.

Fl owned the two-story house in which she lived. Several years before it had been remodeled into an upper and lower apartment. One of her sons lived upstairs. The house was neat and well-kept both outside and in. Wall-to-wall carpeting and nearly-new furniture indicated an interest in comfort and appearance.

Fl took care of the yard herself and had a large garden every summer which was her pride and joy. She had a freezer and an automatic washer. Her job made a plan of work helpful. She planned to do one extra job each day after work. She bought groceries once a week.

Her granddaughter said she had a "gentleman friend" of many years standing who took her wherever she wanted to go, including a trip to the supermarket for groceries on Saturdays.

Now that the children were grown she did not have to work as hard, but she liked to be busy. She always

walked to work the year around, and might come home and paint a room in the evening. She said she did not recall ever being very tired.

F2 Age: 40 Family Unit: Self, husband, teenage boy and girl

F2 was a jolly, buxom woman with dark hair and a friendly countenance. She was dressed in a crisp cotton housedress and had an air of busy-ness about her. During the interview she rocked vigorously.

Her father died when she was twelve and she had to help at home while her mother went out to work to support the family of six children. She and her sister did the cooking and housework. They used to bake six or seven loaves of bread every day. In summer they picked berries and worked in the garden. She and her sister canned a large amount of food to provide for the family in the winter. She worked hard to finish high school and was married soon after graduation.

Her husband was a plumbing contractor. He, too, had a high school education. When first married they lived in a small rented house in a small village, then for a while they lived with her mother in the big family house in another village. Her husband went to work for his uncle on a farm and they moved into the tenant house. When he took up plumbing they moved to a small one bedroom apartment in the village. The family soon outgrew these quarters, so they built a cinder-block garage-house with bedrooms upstairs for

the two girls. Finally, they bought his mother's home and were still living there.

This house was an old two-story building, quite ordinary in appearance, the outside being weathered and unpainted. Inside, the house was comfortable and welcoming. The front door opened into a large square room centered by a big round table. Here the family ate (often with one or two guests), the children studied, and the mother kept books for her husband's plumbing business. The convenient kitchen which she had planned ran across the back of the room and was only partially separated from the rest of the room by work counters. The living-room adjoined. The furniture was well-used in appearance. The floors were covered with linoleum. She said they had never had rugs because her husband "imagined he was allergic" to rugs.

The atmosphere was hospitable, cherry, and informal. The neighborhood children drifted in on their way home from school for a snack. She told them to help themselves from the cookie jar and did not interrupt her rocking or the ready flow of conversation.

F2 washed once a week. In her remodeled kitchen, which she characterized as "a good one-woman kitchen" she had a conventional washer and a dryer. She bought groceries twice a week, from an independent grocer. Since her husband was in business for himself they wanted to maintain goodwill in the community. She planed meals partially, in her head.

They were in the habit of having two large meals a day. She had always loved to cook, she said, and the children felt free to bring home friends to meals unannounced. She bought canned goods in case lots when there was a sale, and they got eggs and potatoes from her brother's farm. She used to can large quantities of fruits and vegetables, but since they bought the freezer she had been freezing these items. She baked her own bread. She said she enjoyed seeing people eat and enjoyed eating herself, as her ample figure testified.

F2 belonged to, and was active in, every organization in the village--church, Literary Club, Girl Scouts, Boy Scouts, 4H Club, Eastern Star, et cetera. They took all the daily papers and the table was piled with magazines. She said she read them all. She had no work schedule. Her daughter said the house was always full of people of all ages, all of whom were welcomed heartily. The table was always set for one or two extra and food prepared accordingly. She was not fussy about the house and was never disturbed by unexpected guests.

Much of the time since her marriage F2 had worked, as a waitress, in a factory during the war, or taking care of children in her home.

Family finances were not rigidly planned. She kept records. The children did not have an allowance, but were given money as they needed it. They had worked out rules

of conduct for the children. They were permitted one show a week and there was an understanding as to how often they could go out and what time they should be home. F2 said she had found this a satisfactory method for controlling teenage activities. Sometimes special circumstances required a modification of the rules but it was good to have a basis for regulation.

F2 made the decisions for the family. She said the children were not interested and her husband preferred not to be bothered with them. The children selected their own clothes within certain limits. They did not help at home because she could do things quicker and easier herself.

She did little sewing, but tried to purchase at the end of the season when prices were most reasonable. Her talents ran to cooking, and she was "in on" all the church suppers, et cetera.

She could not understand her mother's lack of social contacts, but thought it was because her mother had been so busy earning a living for the family she had gotten out of the habit. She thought there was a great difference between her ways of doing things and her mother's.

Her husband's hobby was raising riding horses, which he exhibited at horse shows. The children shared his interest. They took camping vacations with the horses in a group with other horse fanciers. F2 did not care for horses herself, but often went along to enjoy the social contacts and

to prepare food. Her husband was also fond of hunting, but she did not share this interest either. She expressed herself as being perfectly willing to help him get ready and then remain at home herself.

Because the old house had sagged and warped they were planning to build within the next five years or so. They had been saving for this for some time. Her husband wanted a location where he could keep horses. If they built in the village he would have to rent a place for the horses and go back and forth to look after them. So far they had not purchased a site for their new home. They had been thinking about house plans. F2 wanted a family room, and she hoped she could persuade her husband to try living with carpeting. She wanted to get new furniture for the new home. They were still using what they got when they were married. It was cheap to begin with, she said, and well-worn through many moves and the activities of growing children. She would have bought new before, but wanted to be sure it would fit into the new house.

Besides the savings for the new house, they had insurance and hospitalization.

F3    Age: 21    Family Unit: Self, husband, and small baby

F3 was a quiet friendly young woman, neat and pleasant in appearance. After high school she took a course in beauty culture and worked at this profession until the baby came, about a year after her marriage. Her husband graduated from

high school and worked in a factory. She said he would like to find "something better," but she did not specify exactly what he wanted.

For the first eight or nine months after they were married they lived in an unfurnished first floor apartment in the city in which they both worked. They found they could rent a new bungalow in a village within driving distance of their work, at a much lower rent. They decided they could save money by driving back and forth, and made the change.

It was a small, but convenient two bedroom house. Their furniture was inexpensive in quality, however, it appeared to have been chosen with thought for color and pleasing effect. Everything was sparkling clean. The house was filled with the fragrance of fresh baking.

F3 said she had never done much baking as a girl at home and was having fun learning. She planned to try some canning, too. While she was working she had used mixes and partially prepared foods to save time, but she thought it was cheaper to do her own preparation. She bought groceries once a week from an independent grocer who was a friend of her family. She made a mental plan for meals before marketing.

They did not use a written money plan. After allotting necessary amounts for rent, insurance, and payments on furniture and the car there was just about enough left to buy

food, she said. They wanted to buy a house, and when the furniture was paid for, would start saving for that. She did not plan to return to full time work although her mother and her husband's mother were both willing to take the baby. She thought she might like to work occasionally to help out her friends or make a little extra money.

She washed every other day, but hoped soon to be able to get along with less frequent washings as the baby grew older. She had a conventional washer which they had purchased secondhand, but no dryer, and, as the house had no basement, drying diapers was a problem in bad weather. The baby was as clean and fragrant as a little blossom, and was never left wet for a minute.

F3 was fond of horses and loved to ride, a hobby learned from her father who raised riding horses. Her husband shared her enthusiasm for animals. They had recently acquired a puppy. Both enjoyed sports and the out-of-doors. They enjoyed camping with the horses, in a group of other riding enthusiasts.

Husband and wife planned together, and made major purchases after considering several alternatives. They were usually well satisfied. She thought they paid too much for the car and said when they got another it would be a second-hand or else a smaller car than the one they had.

F3 enjoyed people and missed the contacts she made while working in the beauty parlor. She attended the women's

organization of her church and sometimes went to a show or a shower with a girl friend while her husband stayed with the baby. They sometimes got together with other young couples. Her husband was rather quiet and inclined to be shy with strangers, she said.

She did not have a conscious time plan, but did "try to see that things got done." She said she "could never stand" having people drop in on her at all times of day as they did at her mother's house. She thought she did things quite differently from her mother. She liked more order and system to her life, she said.

She had no conscious plan to conserve energy. Before the baby was born she got very tired, but ordinarily she was seldom tired, and rested quickly.

## CHAPTER IV

### FINDINGS

#### The Home Management Process

The home management process consists of a series of decisions concerning use of family resources to achieve family goals. There are three steps to the process; planning, carrying out the plan or controlling it in action, and evaluating results with a view to future planning.<sup>1</sup>

In this study planning was said to have taken place when the family used a money plan, when the woman planned menus ahead, shopped with a list, followed a weekly or daily work schedule, or said she had mentally planned some course of action.

The second step in home management involves activating the plan--making it work. In this study evidences of control of the plan were found in the following situations: Shopping for a piece of equipment with a list of the requirements they would like to find, but facing the fact that they might not be able to find all desired characteristics in one item; remodeling the kitchen a bit at a time as appliances or plumbing needed to be replaced, hiring some work

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<sup>1</sup>Gross and Crandall, op. cit., p. 4.

and doing the rest themselves; postponing some scheduled household tasks on a day when the homemaker wanted to go out in the evening without being too tired to enjoy herself; and other similar activities.

This step includes an evaluation of the plan when it is partly carried out which may bring about a change in the original plan. Thus, the steps controlling and evaluating often overlap and it becomes difficult to categorize these steps.

The third step, evaluating, is looking back over what has been done to see whether progress has been made toward family goals. Satisfaction expressed implies that progress has been made. Any verbal expression of satisfaction or dissatisfaction by a respondent was considered evidence of evaluation; as, for example, "I was left comfortably situated at the death of my husband" implied satisfaction with the money plan used by this family. "Remodeling the house gave us better storage" showed evaluation of the plan and satisfaction with results. "Next time we will buy a used car or a less expensive make of new car; that car threw our budget out of kilter" was an example of evaluation showing dissatisfaction with the plan followed, and a definite influence on future planning.

Chart I gives the indications of the three steps of home management planning, controlling, and evaluating, as they were found in the interviews with the eighteen women.

# CHART I

## INDICATIONS OF HOME MANAGEMENT STEPS

Families	Planning	Controlling	Evaluating
A1	Written budget Written accounts		"Comfortably situated"
2	Mental menu plan Mental money plan Weekly work schedule	Shopped in city when unexpected opportunity arose Directed children's tasks Alternated light and heavy tasks	Old home "a good place to grow up"
3	Partial menu plans Partial money plans Planned furniture purchases with list	Took a different color than originally planned	Pleased with results "saves space"
B1	Planned clothing purchases Planned remodeling and color schemes		"Better storage" "More convenient" Liked colors
2	Planned kitchen changes Partial money plans Partial records	Did some work themselves hired some Made changes "bit by bit"	
3	Planned to fix up house Planned to meet obligations Planned to grade yard and fence it	Revised plans for furniture arrangement Took inexpensive forms of recreation as budget allowed	"Satisfied" to eat in dining room when kitchen found too small Enjoyed skating, picnicking in city park, etc.

# CHART I--Continued

Families	Planning	Controlling	Evaluating
C1	Planned remodeling house Shopping lists Planned for appliances Planned ahead for holi- days Financial plans	Did extra baking each week and put in freezer	Satisfactory Less effort required
2	Plan remodeling kitchen Planned privacy for organ practice Planned future business development Money plans	Food in freezer for un- expected guests or if interruptions occur	House has better storage Satisfied with washer- dryer
3	Partial money and menu plans		
D1	Work schedule Saving plan		
2	Planned building garage onto house Planned meals partially Partial money plans	Baked goods in freezer for unexpected guests so she can alter menu plans quickly	
3	Partial money plans Planned sewing and food preservation to save money Partial time plan, dove- tailed tasks		

# CHART I--Continued

Families	Planning	Controlling	Evaluating
E1	Planned to sell house Planned quilt for each granddaughter Planned time; partial money plan	Changed plan after finding it difficult to get a large down payment	Decided better not to sell
2	Planned to build garage Partial money plan Partial time plan	If going out in evening she postponed some plan- ned work	
3	Planned for home for his mother upstairs Written money plan Mental time plan Planned purchase kitchen table	Adjusted wishes to what was available in tables	Pleased with kitchen table
F1	Partial money plan Weekly work schedule		
2	Kitchen remodeled for convenience Plan to build Money plan (records) Set up dating rules	Sometimes had to make allowances and adjust dating rules	"A good one-woman kitchen" Saves arguments--a "good idea"
3	Planned ahead for furniture Work schedule Partial money plan	Had to buy a car, so had to readjust money plan (Wife worked part-time to help)	Will not buy such an expensive car next time

Table 2 shows how many generations of the three in each family showed evidence of these three steps.

TABLE 2  
NUMBER OF GENERATIONS OF EACH FAMILY INDICATING  
EVIDENCES OF MANAGEMENT STEPS

Families	A	B	C	D	E	F	Total
Planning	3	3	3	3	3	3	18
Controlling	2	2	2	1	3	2	12
Evaluating	3	2	2	0	2	2	11

It was noted that all eighteen women did some conscious planning for the use of resources. Without exception they used some type of money plan, but their responses indicated that they were less conscious of plans for use of time, energy, and skills than of material resources. Some of their patterns, however, showed unrecognized planning in these areas.

Twelve of the eighteen, or two-thirds, showed evidence of controlling the plan in action but did not appear to be aware of this step as part of the home management process.

Eleven women expressed verbal satisfaction with the results of their plans. However, few of them showed a consciousness of the aid of evaluation to future planning. One woman said they would not repeat the mistake of paying such a high price for a car.

None of the six families had continuity in all three steps of the home management process throughout the three generations. Only one family showed indications of controlling the plan in each of the three generations, and only one of evaluating in each of the three generations.

Table 3 compares the three generations as to evidences of planning, control, and evaluation.

TABLE 3  
NUMBER OF WOMEN IN EACH GENERATION INDICATING  
EVIDENCES OF HOME MANAGEMENT STEPS

Generations	Steps of Home Management		
	Planning	Controlling	Evaluating
1	6	2	4
2	6	6	3
3	6	4	4

In comparing the three generations planning was the one step common to all the women in the three generations. There was greater evidence of controlling in the second generation than in the first or the third. It is possible that the older women experienced difficulty in recalling how they had put their plans into action in past years.

There did not appear to be continuity from generation to generation in a given family, nor was there an observable pattern of development from past to present across the three generations.

### Decision-Making in Home Management

As a further comparison of the home management of these women, their decision-making was investigated. Decisions take place in every step of home management process. For the purposes of this study the process of making decisions was divided into four steps: seeking alternatives, thinking through each alternative, making a choice of one alternative, and finally accepting the consequences of this choice or finding satisfaction in it. Decision-making so defined was a new concept to these women. To make it easier for them to discuss this topic, the questions were centered around a certain choice they had made, such as purchase of a major piece of equipment. They were also asked who usually made the family decisions--the mother or the father, the mother AND the father, or mother, father, and children.

In several of the third generation families the children were as yet too young to have a part in decisions, but parents were asked if they planned to include them when they were older.

In some cases the women gave examples of their use of the decision-making steps, in others they merely answered in the affirmative. Two of the younger women told of considering two or three items before purchasing one. El had planned to sell her home and move "up north" where she used to live. Moving meant leaving her present church and friends in order to be near relatives. She lived on the busline and

if she moved she would have to rely on her neighbors to take her to church and after groceries. If she sold her present home she wanted to get a large enough cash payment to make a substantial down payment on a new home. This was not going to be easy because her present home was small and not new enough to appeal to the average family having sufficient money for a large down payment. After thinking through these alternatives and the probable results of staying and of moving, she decided not to move. She said she was glad she had made this decision.

Chart II shows how these families made their decisions and who made them. An x indicates that the woman replied in the affirmative, but did not give an example. A blank space shows that no definite response was elicited.

Decisions to purchase equipment had been made by these women in three ways: (1) by considering various possibilities, looking into the future to predict the probable results of each course of action, selecting one, and evaluating the choice for satisfaction; (2) on the basis of previous experiment; and (3) on the advice of an authority. Method (1) carried through the steps of the decision-making process. When (2) was followed, it was necessary to evaluate previous experience to ascertain that it had given satisfaction, and to weigh this satisfaction against the possible satisfaction resulting from a different choice by looking into the future. Thus (2) included all the elements of (1). When method (3)

# CHART II

## EVIDENCES OF USE OF THE STEPS OF DECISION-MAKING

Families	Who Decides	Sought Several Alternatives	Thought Through Several Alternatives	Followed Advice of Expert	Satisfaction Indicated of Choice
A 1	M			x	x
2	M F C	Considered ways to make kitchen more convenient	No improvement possible by changes in arrangement		x
3	M F C	Style, color, size and price of davenport considered	Sectional fit space best Chose color that did not show soil easily		x
B 1	M	Shopped around for children's clothes			
2	M F	Looked at several television sets			(He was, she not)
3	M F C	Inspected many houses	Wanted yard, trees, near school, right price		x
C 1	M F	Considered several makes and styles	Washer and dryer? Combination? In basement? Kitchen?		x
2	M F C	Considered several			x
3	M F C	(Bought washer like her mother's because she had used it and liked it)			x

CHART II--Continued

Families	Who Decides	Sought Several Alternatives	Thought Through Several Alternatives	Followed Advice of Expert	Satisfaction Indicated of Choice
D 1	M			x	x
2	M F C	Considered various plans for house	x		x
3	M F C	Considered value for the money			x
E 1	M	Considered selling and moving or remaining	x		x
2	M F	X			x
3	M F C	x	x		x
F 1	M				
2	M	Considered building in village or outside, or renting	x		x
3	M F	x	x		x

was followed the process called for the evaluation of authority, evaluation of the homemaker's past experience in this area, weighing her knowledge against that of the authority and predicting which would be more likely to bring her satisfaction. Again, the four steps of the decision-making process were involved.

Two women of the first generation said they had made their choice on the advice of someone whom they considered to be an authority. They had not considered any items other than the one advised, and they were well satisfied with their purchases. C3 bought a washer on the basis of past experience. She had used her mother's washer and liked the way it performed, so she purchased the same kind of machine.

Table 4 shows the number of generations in these families who said they used the steps of decision-making.<sup>1</sup>

TABLE 4  
NUMBER OF GENERATIONS USING THE STEPS OF  
DECISION-MAKING

Decision-Making Steps	Families						Total
	A	B	C	D	E	F	
Seeking alt.	2	3	2	2	3	2	14
Thinking through	2	1	2	1	2	2	10
Finding satisfaction	3	1	3	3	3	2	15

<sup>1</sup>There are actually four steps of decision-making as defined in this study: seeking alternatives, thinking

None of the six families showed continuity in the process of decision-making throughout the three generations. It appeared that thinking through probable results of the various alternatives was the step most often neglected. This step may be the most difficult to accomplish because it involves a look into the future and forecasting future events. It seemed significant that all of those who did think through alternatives were among those who expressed verbal satisfaction and twelve of the fifteen who were satisfied usually considered several alternatives.

One woman said she was not satisfied with results of family decisions and "kept worrying about it and wondering if another choice would have turned out better," but her husband never gave it another thought after the decision had been made. It was concluded that this reaction was due to the personality of the woman rather than to an unsatisfactory decision.

Table 5 shows the number of women in each generation who sought several alternatives, thought them through, and evaluated results when making decisions concerning home management.

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through the probable results of each alternative, making a choice, and finding satisfaction or accepting the consequences of the choice. Because the discussion in these interviews centered around a choice which had been made by the homemaker, that step was omitted from the tabulation.

TABLE 5  
NUMBER OF WOMEN IN EACH GENERATION USING THE  
DECISION-MAKING STEPS

Generations	Steps			Total
	Seeking Alternatives	Thinking Through	Finding Satisfaction	
1	3	2	4	9
2	6	4	5	15
3	5	4	6	15

The older generation may have had difficulty understanding this unfamiliar concept clearly or in recalling how they had made decisions. In comparing the generations there was no trend toward increased or decreased expressed use of the steps of decision-making. The third generation, however, expressed greater satisfaction with their decisions.

In addition to information about the steps of the decision-making process, each woman was asked how many persons in the family, and which ones, usually made the family decisions. This information is summarized in Table 6. The number of persons is shown, with "2+" indicating that children were included if they were interested, or would be included when they were old enough.

This table clearly indicates a trend to include more persons in the decisions from generation to generation. All of the women in the first generation said they had made most of the family decisions alone, the father being content

TABLE 6

NUMBER OF PERSONS MAKING FAMILY DECISIONS IN  
EACH GENERATION OF THE SIX FAMILIES STUDIED

Generations	Families					
	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	2+	2	2+	2+	2	2
3	2+	2+	2+	2+	2+	2

to make only those decisions concerning his business. There was one exception, F1, whose husband came from a European heritage in which it was customary for the father to make all family decisions. However, he died while the children were young and the mother was forced by circumstances to take over the decision-making.

It appears significant that the third generation showed a tendency to include the children in family decision-making and this generation expressed greatest satisfaction in their decision. However, all of the children in the third generation families were as yet too young to actually participate in family discussions. Of greater significance is the fact that the second generation of families A, C, and D had included the children in family decisions, had considered several alternatives, and thought them through, and these families had found satisfaction in the results.

### Goals and Values

A goal is something definite toward which the family works. Goals grow out of values.<sup>1</sup> For example, a family which values security may have a goal of home ownership. Goals which became evident during the interviews with these families were: home ownership, raising a family, providing pleasant home surroundings in which the family members could enjoy emotional security and find fulfillment, educating the children so that they could become independent, and being of service in the community. Home ownership was a goal growing out of the value of security to each of these families.

Values are vague and in most cases must be deduced from the appearance of the home, the personal appearance of the woman, and clues picked up from her conversation. When a goal is expressed it is sometimes possible to guess at the values behind it.

There are many possible lists of values. For this study the author has taken the one used by Van Bortel and Gross in their comparison of home management in two socio-economic groups. These ten selected values and some of their indicators noted during the interviews were:

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<sup>1</sup>Gross and Crandall, op. cit., p. 37.

Comfort--Interest in improving the home, new furniture or equipment.

Ambition--Interest in getting ahead, savings, interest in work, social advancement.

Health--Health insurance, interest in mental health, cleanliness, nutrition.

Knowledge--Education of parents and children, interest in adult education, teaching.

Love--Close family ties, gregariousness, community responsibility, child training.

Play--Recognition of need for recreation and creative expression.

Religion--Interest in religious groups, church attendance, religious training of children.

Art--Artistic appearance of home, handicraft, personal appearance, music.

Efficiency--A work schedule, use of appliances, interest in up-to-date methods, orderliness.

Security--Home ownership, insurance, savings.

At the outset, this list of values appeared to be quite comprehensive, but during the course of the study values were revealed which did not seem to fall logically under any of these headings. Items which proved particularly puzzling were love of nature, orderliness, conspicuous consumption, and miserliness. In view of the difficulty of classification one might question whether the findings

represent a true picture of the values of these women. Chart III shows indications of these ten values in the three generations of the six families studied. In some cases the value may have been present, but if no clue indicated its presence, it was not checked. The presence of a value is shown by +; indications of its absence by -. Since a value may be present in varying degrees, ++ indicates that it seemed particularly strong. Absence of any sign indicates that there was no observable evidence either for or against presence of that value.

Ambition, love, and security appeared to be values of seventeen of the eighteen women. Sixteen valued play, as evidenced by their recognition of the need for recreation and creative expression. Fifteen valued health and art; fourteen, efficiency; and thirteen, religion. Knowledge was valued by seven, and to four of these it was a very strong value.

Chart IV shows five goals--home ownership, family, home atmosphere, education, and community service as they were indicated by each family interviewed. Values contributing to these goals might have been as follows:

<u>Goal</u>	<u>Value</u>
Home ownership . . . . .	security, ambition
Raising a family. . . . .	family affection, love
Home atmosphere . . . . .	comfort, health, religion, art, play
Education . . . . .	knowledge, efficiency
Service. . . . .	love (in the broader sense), religion

## CHART III

INDICATIONS OF CERTAIN SELECTED VALUES IN THE THREE GENERATIONS OF THE SIX FAMILIES

Family Gener- ation	Values										Three- Gener- ation Carry- overs
	Comfort	Health	Ambition	Knowledge	Love	Play	Religion	Art	Efficiency	Security	
A1	+	+	+	++	+	+	+	+		+	8
2	+	+	+	++	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	
B1	++	++	+		+		+	+			5
2	+	+	-		+	+	+	+	+	+	
3	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
C1	+	+	+	++	+	+	+	++	+	+	7
2	+	+	+	++	+	+	+	++	+	+	
3		+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	
D1	-	+	+		+	-		-		++	3
2	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	
3	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	
E1	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	7
2	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	
3	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	
F1	+	+	+		++	+	+		+	+	5
2	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	
3	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	
TOTAL	16	15	17	7	17	16	13	15	14	17	

# CHART IV

## GOALS INDICATED BY THESE FAMILIES

Family	Generation	Home Ownership	Family	Home Atmosphere	Education	Service	Three Generation Carryovers
A	1	+	+	+	+	+	5
	2	+	+	+	+	+	
	3	+	+	+	+	+	
B	1	+	+	+			3
	2	+	+	+			
	3	+	+	+	+		
C	1	+	+	+	+	+	2
	2	+	+	+	+	+	
	3	+	+				
D	1	+	+				2
	2	+	+	+		+	
	3	+	+	+			
E	1	+	+	+		+	3
	2	+	+	+		+	
	3	+	+	+		+	
F	1	+	+	+		+	2
	2	+	+	+	+	+	
	3	+	+			+	
TOTAL		18	18	15	7	10	

Home atmosphere refers to both the physical attractiveness of the home and to the mental and spiritual climate. As in Chart III, if there was no definite indication that the goal was there, it was not checked, although it might have been a family goal less obvious than the ones indicated. Some of the grandmothers, although they might have been in sympathy with the education and community service, had lived during the early years of their marriage under conditions which made it quite difficult, if not impossible, for them to further their education or participate in community affairs. Habits established in the past may have hindered them from renewing these interests when conditions changed to make participation possible.

Chart IV shows that all eighteen families shared the goals of home ownership and raising a family. Fifteen set a high standard for the atmosphere of their homes. Seven stressed formal education and keeping up-to-date on home-making information. Ten participated in community affairs.

Charts III and IV show carryovers in these families of the ten selected values and five family goals. These have been summarized in Table 8, which expresses the carryovers in terms of percentages.

Comparing the three generations as to values, there appeared to be a slight increase in the value of health, education, of recreation, and of art from first to third generations. There was no observable pattern of change in

TABLE 7

PERCENTAGE CARRYOVER OF TEN SELECTED VALUES  
AND FIVE INDICATED GOALS IN THESE FAMILIES

Families	A	B	C	D	E	F	Average
Values	80	50	70	30	70	50	57.3
Goals	100	60	40	40	60	40	56.6

goals from generation to generation. The second generation showed greater participation in community service--possibly because these women had more time than their daughters and more energy than their mothers. The second generation also placed greater stress upon the atmosphere of the home. No explanation for this has been suggested.

#### Management of Resources

The resources considered were time, energy, money, and skills. ~~In this study it was assumed that management had~~ taken place when one or more of the steps of management was apparent, or when the respondent said she had performed one of the steps of management; planning, controlling the plan in action, or evaluating results.

Indications of management of time were weekly or daily work schedules, dovetailing tasks, or making lists of things to be done. Management of energy was indicated by such practices as alternating heavy tasks with lighter ones, taking rest periods, remodeling for greater convenience, or

using labor-saving appliances. A budget or spending plan indicated conscious management of money. Work schedules, lists, and budgets could be on one of three levels: written, verbal,<sup>1</sup> or mental. Each level could vary in amount of detail. Use of family skills to achieve family goals indicated management in this area. The women frequently spoke of using their skills to save money. For instance, canning garden produce saved on grocery expenditures, sewing provided garments at less cost, doing their own painting was cheaper than hiring a painter. Use of skills required a greater outlay of time and energy, so these resources were interdependent and plans for the conservation of one often involved plans for expenditure of another.

Chart V shows indications of management of the resources of time, energy, money, and skills by the three generations of the six families.

All of these women consciously managed money by means of a more or less detailed spending plan. They made most of the family purchases, which was, in effect, controlling the plan in action. They also did a certain amount of evaluating as regards their purchases. They were less aware of management of time, energy, and skills. Those who held jobs outside the home or had small children seemed most likely to budget their time, probably because they felt the limitations

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<sup>1</sup>A verbal plan implies that the woman talked it over with other family members.

# CHART V

## HOME MANAGEMENT OF RESOURCES

Families	Time	Energy	Money	Skills
A 1	No plan	Appliances purchased as available	Detailed written budget and records No allowance for children	Bookkeeping social skills
2	Conscious management of time, especially while teaching	Alternated light and heavy tasks Children helped Appliances used to advantage Sought efficient arrangement of kitchen	Partial written records Allowance for children	Baking, sewing, food preservation, teaching, interior decoration, social skills
3	Plans to read or rest during the baby's nap time	Detailed tasks, baking while in kitchen ironing	Partial written records Children will have an allowance	Baking, sewing, food preservation Social skills
B 1	No plan	Children helped Had all appliances at present Planned for kitchen convenience	Mental plan No allowance for children	Baking, sewing, food preservation, fancy work, painting, upholstery
2	No plan	(Always tired) Remodeled kitchen for convenience	Partial plan, written records Allowance for children	Sewing, food preservation
3	Conscious mental time plan for week	Used appliances Rests	partial plan, Allowance	Sewing, baking, food preservation; key-punch operator

CHART V--Continued

Families	Time	Energy	Money	Skills
C 1	Conscious mental time plan	Planned use of appliances Remodeled for convenience Alternated light and heavy tasks	Kept written records, partial plan No allowance for children	Sewing, baking, food preservation, gardening, fancy work, upholstering, business ability
2	Partial time plan	Conscious energy conservation	Written records Partial plan, allowance	Cooking, food preservation, bookkeeping (Township Treasurer)
3		(Always tired)	Verbal plan, allowance Written records	Sets her own hair
D 1	Regular wash day, meals on time		Very frugal, no allowance No budget	Cooking, sewing, gardening, food preservation
2	Time planned	Appliances used	Partial plan, no allowance Written records	Cooking, sewing, mgt. of cafeteria; planning remodeling garage into house
3	Partial plan	Planned for convenient location of washer and dryer	Very frugal, allowance Written records	Cooking, sewing, food preservation

CHART V--Continued

Families	Time	Energy	Money	Skills
E 1	Planned slightly, not consciously	Abundant energy	Partial plan, no allowance	Cooking, sewing, food preservation, gardening painting, handwork
2	Weekly schedule, but not conscious of plan in this area	Some unconscious planning to save energy Appliances used	partial plan, allowance for children	Gardening, cooking, sewing, food preservation, interior decoration, social skills
3	Time plan	Abundant energy, no plan	Partial written plan, probably will have an allowance	Cooking, sewing, office work
F 1	Partial, because she works and has to	Uses appliances	Partial plan, no allowance	Factory work, gardening, interior decoration
2	No plan	Uses appliances Abundant energy	Partial plan, allowance	Cooking, baking, food preservation Social skills
3	Partial plan	Uses appliances, rests	Verbal plan; not decided about allowance yet	Beautician, baking

of it most keenly. There was a tendency for women with abundant energy to use it freely, while those in poorer health were inclined to think about conserving energy. The limitation of a resource requires more conscious management. Skills were managed for two purposes, to stretch another resource (usually money), or for the satisfaction derived from creative expression. It seemed significant that the two women who said they were always tired were the only two of the group who showed no enthusiasm for any phase of homemaking, and both these women said they did household tasks whenever the notion struck them without any plan.

Chart V also shows that some skills were common to all three generations of families A, B, D, and E. This seemed to indicate that daughters tend to acquire the skills of their mothers.

Table 8 shows how many generations of the three in each family showed evidences of management of the resources of time, energy, money, and skills.

TABLE 8  
NUMBER OF GENERATIONS IN EACH FAMILY MANAGING  
TIME, ENERGY, MONEY, AND SKILLS

Resources	Families						Total
	A	B	C	D	E	F	
Time	2	1	2	3	3	2	13
Energy	3	3	2	2	1	2	13
Money	3	3	3	3	3	3	18
Skills	3	3	2	3	3	3	17

No family showed complete continuity; families A and D came very close. All eighteen women consciously managed money. Seventeen of the eighteen used their skills to move toward family goals. There was continuity in management of skills throughout three generations in five of the six families.

Table 9 shows how many women of the six in each generation showed indications of management in the areas of these resources.

TABLE 9  
COMPARISON OF GENERATIONS IN MANAGEMENT OF THE  
RESOURCES OF TIME, ENERGY, MONEY, AND SKILLS

Generations	Resources			
	Time	Energy	Money	Skills
1	4	3	6	6
2	4	6	6	6
3	5	4	6	5

There was no marked generational trend from past to present. One more in the third generation planned for use of time and one less in the third generation planned for use of skills. More women of the second generation planned use of energy.

As a particular phase of money management, each woman was asked if the children were given an allowance to spend as they chose. In comparing families it was found that none of these families followed the same plan through the

three generations. In comparing generations, it seemed significant that none of the first generation gave the children allowances, four of the second gave allowances, and five of the third generation planned to do so. One member of the third generation was not sure yet what they would do about it.

No conclusive evidence of continuity of the practices of management of the specific resources of time, energy, money, and skills was found. There was no evident pattern of change with the passing of time over the three generations. There were, however, definite indications of an increasing tendency to give allowances to the children. This change in patterns of the families interviewed was from none in the first generation to five out of six in the third generation.

#### Summary of Findings

All of the eighteen women did conscious planning for use of resources. They were familiar with planning for material resources, especially money, but less aware of plans for use of time, energy, and skills. Two-thirds showed evidence of controlling their plans in action in their patterns of home management, and eleven of the eighteen showed evidence of evaluating. They were less aware of the controlling and evaluating steps of the management process than of planning.

None of the six families showed complete continuity of home management patterns throughout the three generations. In comparing the three generations, there was a slight increase from the first to the third in the total number of women giving indications of controlling and evaluating (eleven in the first generation, fourteen in the second and third). This might be attributable to inability of the older women to recall how they managed their households in the past.

None of the six families showed complete continuity in the decision-making process. Fourteen of the eighteen women sought several alternatives, fifteen expressed satisfaction, and twelve were common to both lists. The ten who said they thought through several alternatives were all satisfied with their decisions. This may be an indication that those who consider several alternatives and think them through tend to make more satisfactory decisions than those who omit these steps. Only one family approached continuity in the number of persons who made the family decisions.

Generationwise, there was a slight increase from first to third generations in the total number of women who showed evidence of the various steps of decision-making (nine, fifteen, fifteen), which might possibly have been due either to lapse in memory of the first generation or to better understanding of the process by the younger women.

There was a trend in these families toward including more persons in the family decisions. This could have been due to a change in the general social pattern.

There was a definite indication of carryover of the ten selected values in the three generations of these six families. Five of the six evidenced continuity in half or more of the ten values. All six families, likewise, passed on goals from one generation to the next. This was not surprising since goals stem from values.

All of these women consciously managed the resource of money; all but one of the eighteen made use of their skills in moving toward the achievement of family goals. They did less planning of time and energy and were less aware of the need to plan in these areas. None of the six families showed complete continuity in patterns of management of resources throughout the three generations. Skills appeared to go from generation to generation in four of the six families, either by teaching or by imitation.

In one particular phase of money management, that of giving an allowance to the children, there appeared to be a trend to do so increasingly, from none in the first generation to four in the second, and five in the third.

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The hypothesis that certain values tend to be passed on from one generation of a family to the next was supported by the study. Five of the six families showed evidence that half or more of the ten values studied had been carried over through the three generations.

The hypothesis that home management practices of a given generation tend to be shaped by the patterns of their own generation rather than by practices of the preceding generation was supported by evidence that home management practices were not passed on in these families. Two practices in home management, giving an allowance to children and including children in family decision-making appeared to be somewhat dependent upon the patterns prevalent at a given time. There was some evidence that skills may have been passed on.

In view of the difficulty encountered in categorizing values, further study in this area is recommended. The investigator needs to probe deeply and intensively to become aware of the presence of values because people seem to have difficulty stating what they esteem, consider desirable, and find useful.

From this study it seems possible that certain values may be acquired from the parents early in life. Further research might be able to establish this as a probability, and shed light on the manner in which these values are transmitted. Is it by example, by admonition, or other means? Do values tend to undergo a change as a child grows older? What factors in the environment are most influential in the acquisition and/or modification of values?

Home ownership was important to all these families. The question may be raised as to whether home ownership tends to be a primary goal for families living in a certain geographic area. Is it general for the United States? Or is it related to the economic status of the family rather than to the geographic location?

If, as this study seems to indicate, home management practices are not learned at home, how and where are they picked up? Not all girls study home management in school, yet most women do eventually manage a home. Do they learn by trial and error, from mass media, from other homemakers, or some other source? Frank says that fostering human relations in the family is a problem of home management.<sup>1</sup> The present wide-spread concern about juvenile delinquency and mental health calls attention to the home as a place in which family members should be able to find a climate

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<sup>1</sup>Frank, op. cit., p. 5.

conducive to personal fulfillment. If research can establish the source or sources of home management patterns a channel will have been provided for bringing to the homemaker helps for strengthening the influence of the family for good.

Management in the financial area was common to all three generations of these six families. This study did not investigate the mechanics of budgeting and bookkeeping employed. A study of methods used might show a continuity of pattern.

In the third generation of these families the children were as yet too young to help in family decisions. Five of the six families, however, said they planned to include them when they were older. A later study of these same families when the children are older could ascertain if the parents followed through with their plans, and whether they found satisfaction in decisions made by the entire family group.

To summarize--evidence was found in support of both hypotheses stated in the introduction, namely:

1. Certain family values tend to be passed on from one generation to the next in a family.
2. Home management practices of a given generation are shaped by the patterns of their own generation rather than by the practices of the preceding generation.

From the findings of this study further research in these fields is suggested:

Values.--Very little is known about values. Information is needed as to (a) how they are acquired; (b) how they are transmitted from one person to another; (c) whether values undergo changes during the life cycle of the individual; and (d) if changes take place, what factors are influential in bringing about these changes.

Goals.--This study raised the question of the relationship of the goal of home ownership to geographic location. It is possible that economic status has a relationship to this goal. Further study could shed light on these points.

Home management practices.--Research is needed to discover from what sources homemakers derive their patterns of home management. This study seems to indicate that girls do not learn from their mothers. Since all girls do not study home economics in school, they must acquire their patterns from some other source. If, then, helpful information on home management is to be disseminated, it is necessary to know through what channels to provide it. This implies a study of the influence of mass media upon home management patterns.

Continuity in the methods of budgeting and bookkeeping within the family.--This study seemed to indicate a continuity of money management in these six families. No attempt was made to compare methods of budgeting and bookkeeping from one generation to the next. It would be helpful to know whether these were carried over, whether attitudes toward money were passed on, or whether bookkeeping was done in all these families merely because income tax reports make it necessary.

Decision-making.--Further study is needed to ascertain possible relationship between the number of persons making family decisions and the satisfaction derived from these decisions. There are indications in this study that degree of utilization of the steps of decision-making influences the degree of satisfaction derived. This hypothesis might be tested in a later study.

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## APPENDIX A

### OUTLINE FOR FIRST INTERVIEW

#### Time:

Do you have a time plan or work schedule? Daily? Weekly?  
Complete or partial? Written? Lists of tasks to  
be done?  
Do you make it alone? Consider plans of other family members?  
Do you dovetail tasks?  
Do you find time for hobbies? Social events? Community  
activities?  
Do you often feel hurried?  
How often do you market? Do laundry? Clean?  
Do you plan meals before marketing? Shop with a list?

#### Energy:

Do you often feel tired? Do you get enough hours of sleep?  
Do you take rest periods? Alternate heavy jobs with light?  
Do other family members help?  
Do you use labor-saving equipment? Have you remodeled for  
more convenience or better storage? Do you have  
adequate storage?

#### Money:

Do you use a financial plan? Complete or partial? Written?  
Do you have plans for the future? Retirement? Insurance?  
Who makes the financial plan? Do children receive an  
allowance?  
Do you plan for future education of children? Do children  
help make the financial plan?  
Do you keep records? Complete or partial?  
Do you watch for sales? Buy in large quantity?

#### Skills:

Do you bake? Sew? Preserve food? Make a garden? Redecorate?  
Do family members help with maintenance and upkeep of home?  
Do you work outside the home? Entertain much?

#### Decisions:

Who makes family decisions? Children included?  
Do you investigate alternative choices? Many or few?  
Do you evaluate decisions with a view to improvement?  
How do you select an item of household equipment?

Values and Goals:

Do you plan to educate your children?

Do you own your home? Have savings? Take vacations?  
What kind?

What type entertainment do you enjoy? Attend church?

General Information:

Family composition, education of homemaker, age?

Type housing? How long at this residence?

## APPENDIX B

### OUTLINE FOR SECOND INTERVIEW

Occupation of husband?

Description of woman--home, et cetera

Education of both husband and wife?

Living quarters throughout marriage.

Conscious carryovers from preceding generation?

Conscious changes from preceding generation?

What does your daughter do like you?

What does she do differently?



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