

LEVELS OF FAMILY ROLE DIFFERENTIATION AND
EQUALITY IN A DUEL-CAREER FAMILY: A PARTICIPANT
OBSERVATION

Dissertation for the Degree of Ph. D.
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GAIL LOCKWOOD IMIG
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ABSTRACT

LEVELS OF FAMILY ROLE DIFFERENTIATION AND EQUALITY IN A DUAL-CAREER FAMILY: A PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

by

Gail Lockwood Imig

Undertaken in a real, but fictitiously named family, this research attempted to describe and explain the role structure of a dual-career family and the major themes and components of family process and environment which influence that structure. The conceptual framework was based on Harold Christensen's equality-differentiation paradigm and an attempt was made to integrate this paradigm into a holistic description of the family and its environment.

The methodology incorporated was participant-observation and extended over a six week period. Observations were conducted in the suburban home of a four-member dual-career family. Both spouses in this family had active careers in higher education.

Sex Role Differentiation referred to the degree to which behaviors were divided and performed exclusively by one partner. Undifferentiation referred to the degree to which behaviors were shared and performed by both partners. Specific behaviors were recorded on a behavior observation

guide developed for this study. Behaviors were then grouped into a classification system of fifteen categories of household tasks.

Inequality and equality were defined as the degree to which restrictions were placed or not placed respectively on valued positions and rewards or status. Data collection relevant to this variable included extensive recording of overt and covert communication, and observations of the physical and social context in which these occurred. Also included were interviews to determine each spouse's perception of behaviors.

Based on an analysis of role behavior in each category, it was concluded that the measure of sex role differentiation for the family was a rather static measure of partial differentiation with considerable role overlap.

With respect to the equality dimension, the researcher concluded that this family had achieved greater equality in roles related to their careers and to the larger society than in their family related roles. Family role behavior was found to be bound by traditional expectations and attitudes, especially on the part of the wife. Her dominance in family role behaviors led the researcher to expand on the Christensen model to include the dimension of female dominance.

The patterns of equality for this family were found to be dynamic and to change with circumstances and individual needs. It was concluded that a monolithic definition of equality leaves much to be desired and a dynamic multidimensional definition of equality is called for.

The researcher concluded in support of Christensen's premise that some sex role differentiation need not preclude the achievement of sex-role equality. The research suggests that it is the element of compulsion in fulfilling sex role expectations that inhibits the attainment of equality.

It was further concluded that the participant-observation methodology can be successfully applied to the study of changing family forms in this culture. An understanding of the personal reality of family life can contribute valuable information to men and women that will encourage the awareness of true potential, self determination and openness of options to enhance happiness and self-actualization.

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IN A DUAL-CAREER FAMILY: A PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

By

Gail Lockwood Imig

A DISSERTATION

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1977

DEDICATION

To my own precious family, David,
Jenifer and Matthew, each of whom
gave up so much so Mommy could
achieve this goal.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Much effort of many people goes into the making of a Ph.D. In my case this is especially true.

I am grateful to my committee members, Dr. Jane Oyer, Dr. Peter Gladhart and Dr. Mason Miller, who supported my efforts and explorations with the methodology. I am especially grateful to my chairman, Dr. Margaret Bubolz, who has supplied tremendous support, insight and encouragement, not only for this endeavor, but throughout my career.

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To my husband, Dr. David Imig, gratitude is expressed for his patient criticism and constant support.

Special thanks are extended to the wonderful family, fictiously named "Morgan." Their genuine concern for other families struggling with emerging lifestyle and willingness to share provide the real meaning of this study. I will always be grateful for their help and for the new understanding which they have provided for me, and I hope for others who read this thesis.

I am deeply grateful to Claudia Arnold, who for seven years has helped me to accomplish what seemed at times to be impossible. Her tireless efforts and deep friendship are extremely appreciated.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Background and Problem Statement

This century can be characterized as one of continued changes in social structures, influenced by technical, economic and social factors pressing for new roles and new rights for individuals, especially women, all over the world.

The development of societal role structures is dependent upon the economic, political and religious institutions, the kinship patterns, and the child rearing practices which exist in the society (Blood, 1976; Blood and Wolfe, 1960; Bronfenbrenner, 1961; Kohlberg, 1966; Mead, 1935). Changes in these factors result in changes in role patterns. The social ferment of the 60's over the quality of life influenced all facets of society. The cry for equality for minority groups and women has brought about changes in our social system.

John Platt (1975) calls today a "new situation." He contends that changes of consciousness and social structure are occurring which are more profound, more worldwide, and more permanent than anything that has gone before. Platt goes on to say that many of these changes are the result of great technological changes after World War II. New agricultural techniques, medicines, contraceptives, mass higher education, supermarkets, shrinking family size, along with the switch from manual labor to the services and communications industries have made it easier to get out of housewifery and into careers.

The trend toward increased participation of women in the work force continues. U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics figures for 1975 indicate that 44.4 per cent of married women are in the labor force - an increase of 16 per cent over 1970. As of March 1975, 36.6 per cent of mothers of preschool children were reported in the labor force (U.S. Department of Labor, 1975). Affirmative Action programs are intended to advance sizeable numbers of these working women to leadership, supervisory and decision-making positions. In addition, the goal of the women's movement is equal status for women. Through legislation, such as liberalized abortion laws and the Equal Rights Amendment, women are gaining greater control over their own lives and are becoming less dependent on men.

The social movement toward equality had its impact on families. During the late 60's and early 70's the popular literature was referring to the death of the family. More recently, the view has turned to alternate family patterns which allow for a freer expression of equality.

With the movement toward equality for women, new alternatives to marriage are gaining acceptance in society. It is increasingly acceptable for women to remain single (whether divorced, widowed or never married) and to pursue careers. Opportunities are available for women to achieve economic equality, with less dependence on men to achieve economic security and social status. Wolfe proposes that the balance of marital power is determined by the resources each spouse can obtain through transactions with the environment external to the family (Blood and Wolfe, 1960). Many women are moving into new positions of equality with men, not at the expense of marrying, but with the expectation of combining marriage and career.

The dual-career family was identified by Rapoport and Rapoport (1969) as that pattern in which both husband and wife are committed to careers. This is a growing phenomenon which is more of a break with conventional family patterns than has prevailed heretofore.

As identified earlier, in contemporary society, egalitarianism is becoming a dominant ideological theme, but complex relationships exist between ideology, social structure and behavior. The dual-career family is one of the units innovating toward the sex-role ideal at the micro-social level, while mediating the many varying expectations which still may exist within the social environment.

The commitment of the female spouse to a career strikes at the very essence of the instrumental-expressive division of roles which has dominated our social system. There exist no institutionalized role prescriptions to solve the problems such couples face (Holmstrom, 1973; Rapoport and Rapoport, 1969).

Rapoport and Rapoport and Holmstrom all found that in almost all cases, the woman's career had a secondary position in the family and the male's role in household situations was found to be one of a helping pattern rather than equal responsibility. Both of these studies took place too early to tap the influence of the Women's Liberation Movement and recent societal changes. The question remains, what are the effects of social change on role patterns within new family forms?

The focus of this study is on a dual-career family in which spouses have equal careers, both in economic and prestige dimensions and are attempting to realize an equalitarian relationship.

More information is needed about the role changes, innovative behaviors, dominant themes and patterns of accommodation of this family

form to assist the development of further understanding of family relationships and interaction patterns.

This researcher, using the methodology of participant observation, attempted to explore and describe the role structure of a dual-career family and the major themes and components of family process and environment which influence that structure.

Research Questions

The research was guided by a number of basic exploratory questions:

1. How do family members organize and perform tasks?
2. What forms of support does the family use and for what tasks?
3. What are the levels of role differentiation and equality in the family?
4. How is the role differentiation determined?
5. What are the major family themes (shared goals) and how do they encourage or discourage differentiation and equality?

The data related to each of these questions are reported in Chapters 4 and 5.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework for this study is based on the recent work of Harold Christensen (1975). Christensen's major premise rests on an examination of equality within a differentiated sex-role structure. The basis of Christensen's framework is Peter Blau's concept of social structure. "Social structure" according to Blau (1974) "is the population distribution among social positions among various lines -- positions that affect people's role relations and social interaction. To speak of social structure is to speak of differentiation among people. An undifferentiated social structure is a contradiction of terms."

Blau distinguishes between horizontal and vertical differentiation in social structure. Horizontal differentiation is referred to as "nominal parameters" and includes such examples as sex, religion, race, occupation. These parameters divide the population into subcategories which have boundaries but in which rank order is not inherent. Vertical differentiation is referred to as "graduated parameters" and includes age, education, income, prestige and power. Rank order is inherent and the subcategories are arranged in a hierarchy (Blau, 1974).

Within the framework are nominal parameters which result in horizontal differentiation or heterogeneity and graduated parameters which result in vertical differentiation or inequality. Although two types of differentiation are identified, it is stressed that only the vertical type infers inequality.

Sex roles are one type of social role and as such may be organized on either a horizontal or vertical axis. Blau refers to the sex factor as a nominal parameter, which means that being male or female does not automatically assume a superordinate or subordinate position, except in the case of imposed cultural imperatives. The sex parameter, according to Blau, is not intended for rank ordering, but rather is valid for differentiation on a horizontal axis.

Taking the concepts of equality and differentiation as separate concepts, Christensen goes on to distinguish ways they might be inter-related to examine sex role structure. Building upon the notion that equality implies the total absence of superordination and subordination, a horizontal bar is used to picture it. A vertical bar is used to picture the opposite - inequality. A lined bar is used to designate the differentiated male role and a white bar represents the differentiated

female role. A shaded or black bar is used to picture role overlap or roles that are undifferentiated by sex.

Figure 1 presents models of the equality-inequality and differentiated-undifferentiated structures superimposed upon each other. Christensen notes that E, the center cell, is the only one which allows varying the equality and differentiation factors at the same time. This model, he contends, is the one which comes closest to empirical reality and is the most useful when dealing with actual cases, since it does not deal in ultimate extremes of "all or none."

A, B, and C in the figure picture the differentiation factor as varying while assuming complete equality and G, H, and I do the same while assuming complete inequality. A, D, G and C, F, I, picture the equality factor as varying while assuming complete differentiation and complete nondifferentiation respectively.

Christensen refers to the four corner cells as what Weber referred to as "ideal types" or logical constructs which describe ultimate extremes. It is not expected that many, if any, actual cases will fall at these extremes; their mental formulations, however, can give meaning to the actual situations studied, which are expected to fall in the remaining cells, especially in E. Christensen notes that each of the four middle border cells (B, D, F, and H), combines one extreme with one partial position. He considers it probable that few empirical cases would fall precisely at any one of these points, since each model assumes some kind of absolute position. Note that F and I might be eliminated because, in the strictest sense, they represent a superordinated-subordinated sex-role structure which is a contradiction of terms. Cell

Degree of Role Differentiation

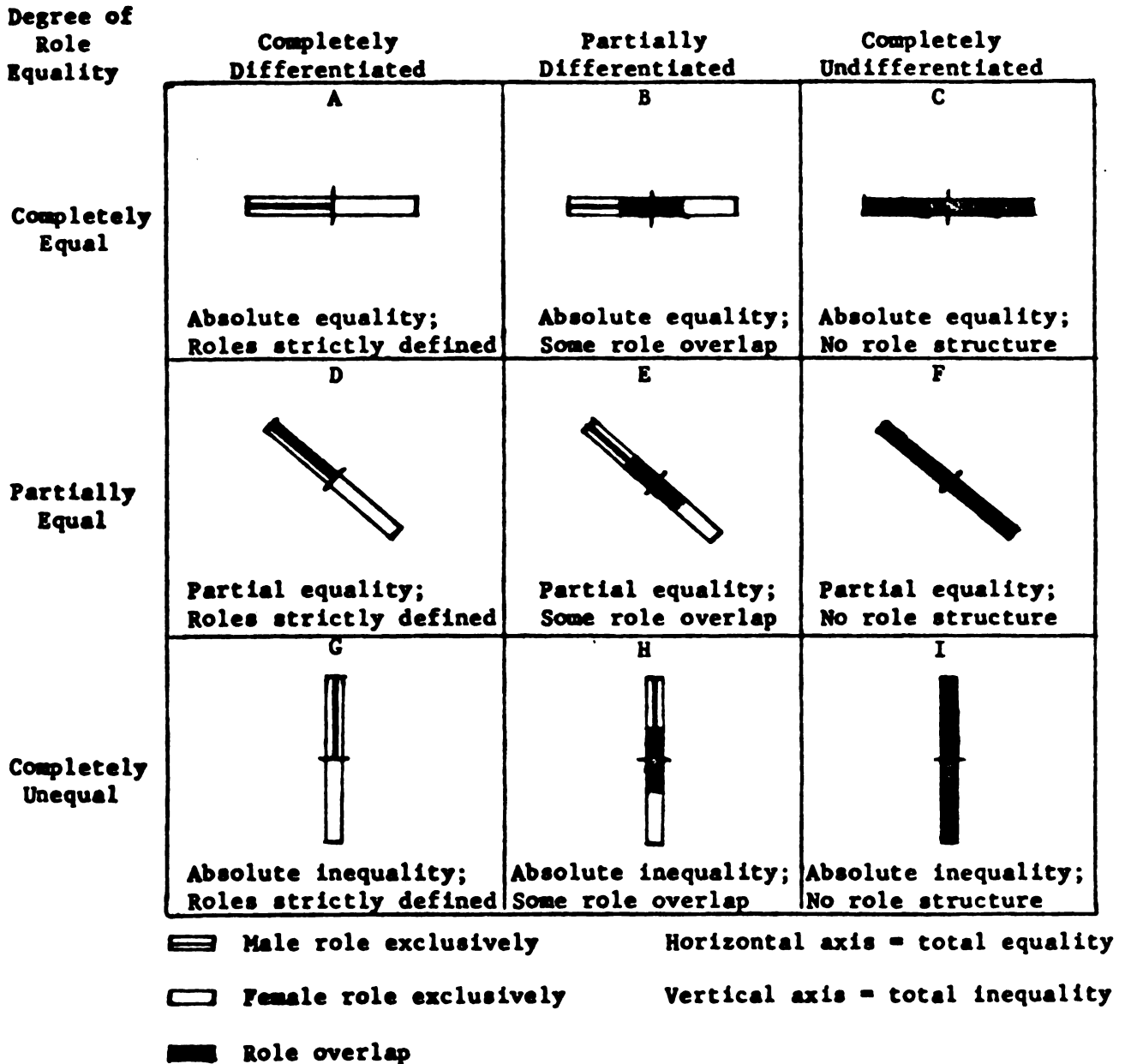


Figure 1. Models of Sex Role Structure, Showing Interrelationships Between Equality and Differentiation

Source: H.T. Christensen, "Are Sex Roles Necessary?" Institute for the Study of Social Change, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Purdue University, Institute Monograph Series No. 5, 1975.

C does not represent a contradiction of terms since, according to Christensen, equality cannot be considered as precluding a non-differentiated structure nor vice-versa.

Christensen cites two limitations for his schema. The first, which will be discussed later in this text, is that it does not include the female superordinate position. The second limitation is that the middle categories - B, D, E, F, and H - which are labeled partially, do not picture the full range of variability that is possible. Figure 2 is an elaboration of model E and illustrates the point just made.

Figure 3 builds on Figures 1 and 2, but carries the analysis one step farther by applying the schema to the phenomenon of social change. Model G, which represents the vertical axis with differentiation complete, and Model C, which represents the horizontal axis coupled with no differentiation, are carried over from Figure 1 and used to represent the logical extremes. Models E₃, E₅ and E₇ are carried over from Figure 2 and additional bars inserted for showing an even finer breakdown to picture the trends that are presumed to have occurred.

Christensen estimates the sex role structure of colonial America to fall at about E₇ and of contemporary America somewhere between E₃ and E₅. The schema, according to the author, suggests two, possibly three, trends in the sex role structure of our society. The first is a tipping of the axis in a vertical-to-horizontal direction or a move toward greater equality. The second is an expansion of role overlap. The third is a decline in cultural ascription to allow for greater individual choice.

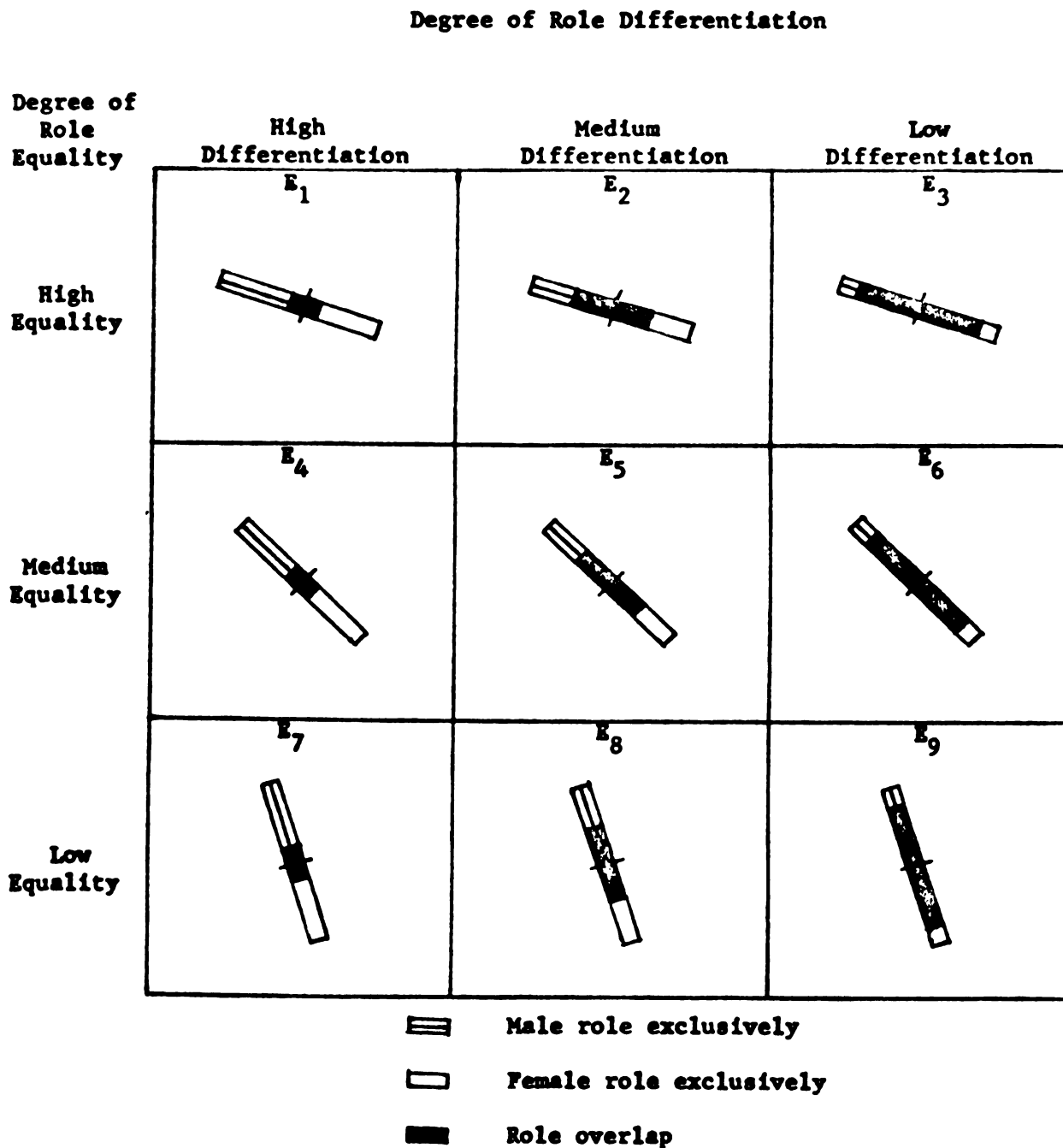


Figure 2. Models of Partial Equality Combined with Partial Differentiation
(An Elaboration of E from Figure 1)

Source: H.T.Christensen, "Are Sex Roles Necessary?" Institute for the Study of Social Change, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Purdue University, Institute Monograph Series No. 5, 1975.

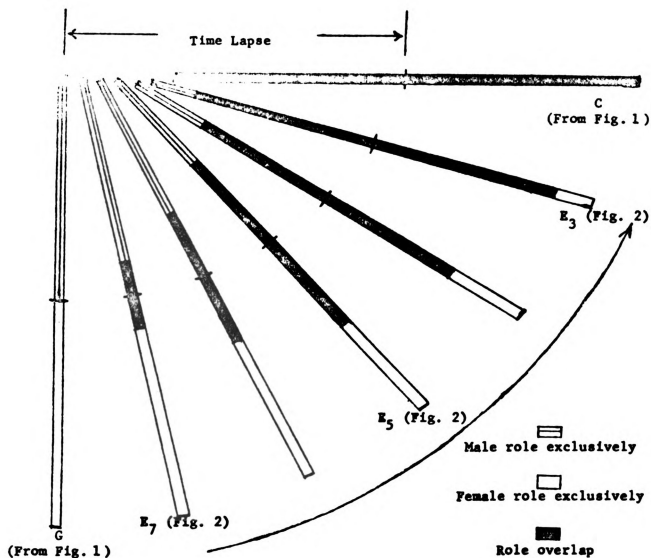


Figure 3. Model of Changes in the Sex Role Structure of the United States, Showing Trends Toward Equality and Overlap

Source: H.T. Christensen, "Are Sex Roles Necessary?" Institute for the Study of Social Change, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Purdue University, Institute Monograph Series No. 5, 1975.

This schema, therefore, accounts for the examination of equality and differentiation within sex role structures and attempts to place it in a context of social change. The role behaviors of the family will be analyzed and interpreted within this schema. The exploratory nature of the study encourages the secondary examination of intervening variables and environmental factors which influence the family life pattern.

Definition of Terms

Nominal Definitions

Social Structure refers to population distributions among social positions among various lines - differentiation among people.

Social Differentiation is an intrinsic part of social structure and refers to the division of society into component parts.

Social Positions are the patterned locations of people in the component parts of the social structure.

Social Roles are the patterned behavioral expectations that adhere to these positions.

Horizontal differentiation derives from nominal parameters which divide the population into subcategories, such as sex, religion, race, occupation and place of residence; rank order is not inherent.

Vertical Differentiation derives from graduated parameters which divide the population into subcategories such as age, education, income and prestige; rank order is inherent.

Sex Roles are behavioral expectations lodged within the social structure that are differentiated according to sex or gender.

Sex Role Differentiation refers to the distribution of role behavior based on sex.

Role Behavior is conscious or unconscious behavior of members of a particular position, in accordance with, or in violation of, a given set of organizational norms, that are relevant to the prevailing social structure.

Equality is a situation in which either there are no restrictions upon valued positions and rewards, or the person's ascribed status, which determine such restrictions, is a relevant consideration.

Inequality is a situation in which a person is restricted in access to legitimate valued positions or rewards in society for which their ascribed status is not a relevant consideration.

Dual-Career Family is defined as one in which both spouses pursue careers while at the same time maintaining a family life together (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971).

Career is defined as those types of jobs which require a high degree of commitment and which have a continuous developmental character.

Participant Observation is a process in which the observer's presence in a social situation is maintained for the purpose of scientific investigation. The observer is in a face-to-face relationship with the observed and by interacting with them in their natural life setting, gathers data.

Operational Definitions

Equality is measured by the absence of restrictions on behavior placed by one spouse upon the other. Evidence for the absence is the lack of permission granting or permission seeking between spouses to perform

certain behaviors and the lack of previously established restrictions. Individual decisions as determinants of behaviors are considered as evidence of equality.

Inequality is measured by the presence of restrictions on behavior placed by one spouse upon the other. Evidence for the presence of restrictions is permission granting and permission seeking between spouses to perform certain behaviors and the presence of previously established restrictions. Lack of individual decisions as determinants of behavior is considered as evidence of inequality.

Partial equality is measured as the presence of partial restrictions on behavior placed by one spouse upon the other. Evidence for the presence of partial restriction is some permission granting and permission seeking between spouses to perform certain behaviors and the presence of some previously established restrictions. Some individual decision making as determination of behavior performance is seen as evidence of partial equality.

Female superordinate-male subordinate position refers to the female partner placing restrictions on the male partner. Evidence for this position would include permission granting by female and permission seeking by the male partner and the presence of previously established restrictions placed by the female on the male.

Male superordinate-female subordinate position refers to the male partner placing restrictions on the female partner. Evidence for this position would include permission granting by male and permission seeking by the female partner and the presence of previously established restrictions placed by the male on the female.

Sex role differentiation is measured by the observation of behaviors and patterns which are distributed according to sex.

Complete differentiation refers to behavior categories which are performed by only one sex partner.

Complete undifferentiation refers to behavior categories which are performed by both sex partners.

Partial differentiation refers to behavior categories in which behaviors within the category are divided by activities, some of which are performed by one sex partner and some by the other.

Limitations of the Study

There are two standard objections to participant observation studies which may, by some, be considered as limitations. One is that participant observation studies, dealing with a limited and perhaps unique population, may be ungeneralizable. However, given that, while an instance of social phenomena may be unique, it need not prevent one from learning about it from a carefully designed study. Although the situation may be unique, human reaction to it is quite common. A basic humanness transcends social settings and enables one living in Kansas to understand Greek drama and Etruscan art. The uniqueness lies not in the social setting but in the human action and a good description of social phenomena is quite intelligible to one who never participated.

A second limitation has to do with the absence of standardized tests of validity and reliability on the method. As one lives close to a situation, the description and explanation of it have a first person quality which other methodologies lack. As the researcher continues to

live close and moves more intimately into that situation, perceptions have a validity that are unapproachable by so-called standardized methods. Blumer (1966) asserts that no one can describe a social phenomena better than one who takes part in its creation. As the researcher's validity becomes better, so too does reliability. Since the researcher is the actual instrument, as validity increases, so does reliability.

In addition, this particular study has several limitations. One limitation is time. Six weeks is admittedly a short time in the life of a family. The study would be strengthened if the research could be extended over a longer period. The fact that the family was observed only in the summer months is another limitation. The summer months may be unique in that the family members, especially the children, spent a great deal of time outside.

Another limitation which needs to be considered is that the family knew when the researcher was coming. This meant that there was time to make special preparations and/or plans. There were no unexpected visits which might have resulted in some additional data.

This is a study of one family representing a particular situation and social class and as such is limited in scope. The researcher also recognizes that her presence in the family may have altered family behavior and interaction from what it otherwise would have been.

Finally, there is the limitation of studying only the family situation. The observations were all conducted in the home and the only data related to the career setting are based on self reports.

Overview of the Thesis

The content of this thesis is presented in six chapters. The first chapter includes the introduction and discussion of the conceptual framework. The second chapter presents the review of literature. Chapter three is a review of the methodology, including criteria and selection of the family and data collection, recording, tabulation and analysis. Chapter four discusses family background information, brief life histories and the discussion of the first two research questions which refer to family organization and support. Chapter five presents the data relevant to role differentiation and equality: research questions 3, 4, and 5. Summary and implications for further research are discussed in chapter six.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The first part of this review of literature is concerned with the conceptual and theoretical issues related to the term "role" and to the concept of gender roles in particular. Part two is a review of literature related to the dual-career family; the third part is a review of literature on participant observation methodology.

Conceptual and Theoretical Issues Related to Role

The concept of role comes originally from the theater and represents a part to be played and the certain prescribed words and actions necessary to play it. Role theory is structured on the fact that there are certain kinds of transactions described for certain kinds of relationships.

Most of the work on gender roles had its beginnings in the work of George Herbert Mead. Mead's most influential work, Mind, Self and Society (1934) included his propositions that an individual (a) will conceive of himself much as he believes significant others conceive of him, and (b) will tend to act in accord with expectations he imputes to these significant others concerning the way he should act. Mead called this process of putting oneself in the place of the other person and getting an impression of what the other person is thinking or feeling, role-taking.

Ralph Linton introduced the structural approach to the study of roles when, in 1936, he distinguished status as a collection of rights and duties and roles as the dynamic aspect of status.

Parsons, in 1945, defined role from the view of the action, as the normative expectations of the members of the group as formulated in its social traditions. Parsons and Bales (1955) asserted that there are two main roles in marriage - the instrumental and the expressive. The husband's role is specialized more in the instrumental direction, while the wife's role is more in the expressive direction. They did not mean to imply that these functions are exclusive. The theory suggests that each person assumes primary responsibility for a general area. "We would expect, by and large, that other things being equal, men would assume more technical, executive, judicial roles; women more supportive, integrative, and tension-managing roles " (Parsons and Bales, 1955, p. 101).

It should be noted that for Parsons and Bales, the husband and wife occupy positions of equal power. The difference between them is one of primary responsibility; the husband is primarily concerned with instrumental functions and secondarily with expressive functions, while for the wife the situation is reversed (Swenson, 1975).

The Parsons and Bales theory did provide a basis for extensive research. Zelditch (1955) reviewed cross-cultural research on families and found support for their theory. Tharp (1963) in his review of theory and research on marriage concluded in support of Parsons and Bales. Emmerich (1966) studied 225 children and found that children perceive power relationships in the family as Parsons and Bales described them. Heiss (1962) conducted a study of fifty-four dating couples and found evidence to support Parsons and Bales. He did find, however, that the more intimate the couple was in their relations, the less likely each sex was to dominate in its own area (instrumentality for males; expressiveness for females).

During the 60's - and especially the late 60's - studies began to appear which challenged the Parsons and Bales theory. Among the studies which took issue with Parsons and Bales was one by Goodrich, Ryder and Raush (1968) who found differing kinds of role orientations. Leik (1963) found the instrumental-emotional dimension tending to disappear in families. Barry (1970) reviewed the research related to the Parsons and Bales theory and concluded that there was doubt that their model actually typifies spouse interaction. At that point he found the field to be wide open to speculation.

With the advent of the 70's many attacks on the Parsons and Bales framework, along with concern among feminists and others for sex-role equality appear in the literature. Laws (1971) in her feminist review of marital adjustment literature pointed out how the institutional model based on Parsons and Bales dichotomy has become an over-simplified ideology. She indicated that the facts of Bales' original research are forgotten: the essential diphasic nature of the group (and individual) includes the alternation of task and social emotional emphasis. She indicated further that the notion of an individual's specializing in one function does not preclude the presence and valuing of traits associated with the other function. Much research based on the role reversal hypothesis makes such an assumption. There is a trend for researchers to assume that equality among the sexes meant sameness. The contention is that sex-roles are a barrier to male-female equality.

Rossi (1964) has criticized the lack of attention to the instrumental aspects of the wife-mother role and the assumption that the occupational role defines the content of the husband-father role. Millman (1971) observed that sex-role research has been biased by the Parsons and Bales

model of differentiated roles which serve historical and psychological needs that are no longer appropriate. She offered Rossi's hybrid model of social equality as one where men and women pool the previously segregated traits.

McIntire, Nass and Dreyer (1972) evaluated the Parsons and Bales model cross-culturally and their data supported Broderick's (1971) conclusions that the instrumental-expressive role model is no longer viable. They cited the need for more information regarding actual role behaviors as a basis to develop new models.

During recent years much research has focused on sex role attitudes and attempts to develop a sex role attitude continuum. One attempt at this conceptualization is the equality versus inequality continuum (Meur, 1972; Lipman-Blumen, 1972; Bayer, 1975). The conceptualization, which is in keeping with the framework selected for this study, is a continuum with dichotomous differentiation and typing of social roles on the basis of sex at one end and non-differentiation and/or nontyping of roles on the basis of sex at the other end (Brabant and Gardin, 1974; Kutner and Brogan, 1974; Lipman-Blumen, 1973; Chafe, 1972).

Writers such as Hefner et al, 1974; Brabant and Garbin, 1974; Kutner and Brogan, 1974; Lipman-Blumen, 1974; and Chafe, 1972, focus on the equality-inequality continuum which attends to the female roles. The notion of egalitarianism seems to refer to the acceptance of females in the occupational sphere. Seldom is there a reference to how male roles will change. Within this frame of reference, the idea that women remain home is considered as traditional or sexist, while the idea of equality between the sexes is considered as liberal or modern.

For this researcher the continuum of lesser or greater degrees of sex role differentiation is selected as a conceptual basis. Hefner, et al. (1974) refer to the "traditional" end of the continuum as a dichotomous conception of sex role, while the "modern" on the other hand, reflects flexible and dynamic transcendence of sex role constraints.

Harold Christensen (1975) offers a model which explores male-female equality through a re-examination and re-working of the sex role structure. He makes reference to the tendency in the literature to confuse the meanings of social differentiation and sexual inequality and to assume that they are one and the same. This lack of clarity has led to the conclusion that to have equality, differences must be eliminated. To explore role structure Christensen begins by defining social structure according to Peter Blau. Blau (1974) equates social structure and differentiation, and indicates that differentiation among people is a basic element of social structure. The Christensen model is described at length in Chapter 1.

Christensen (1975) takes the position that sex roles are necessary because of biological differences and the need to avoid ambiguity and inefficiency. Differentiation need not result in inequality, although in reality this has frequently been the case. The trend toward equality as Christensen sees it could be hastened by increasing role overlap, freedom of choice and women's access to prestigious opportunities. He also indicates that the prestige level of traditional female tasks must be increased to preserve an essential sex role structure.

There are several criticisms of Christensen's model. Komarovsky, in Christensen (1975), insisted that the value system prevalent in American

society today would not allow for increased prestige of child care and domestic tasks. Rossi (1975) agreed with Christensen's basic premise that equality is consistent with total sharing or highly differentiated home tasks, but saw the root of equality in economic self-sufficiency rather than social policy designed to increase the prestige of the full-time housewife.

The research reported indicates conflicting findings related to sex role differentiation. The literature also reflects criticism of the Parsons and Bales model as inadequate for exploring contemporary role patterns. With the advent of the women's movement there has been increased attention focused on the quality dimensions of sex roles.

Christensen's model allow for an exploration of equality and differentiation similar to that conceptualized by Parsons and Bales and has been selected as the conceptual framework for this study. It is hoped that this study will shed some light on the argument over the viability of the equality-differentiation model as a framework for the study of families today.

Much of the research in sex roles has focused on sex role attitudes and perceptions of sex role behavior. This research will add to the literature by focusing on actual performance of role behaviors. The research will also add to the literature by operationalizing and expanding the concepts of the Christensen model.

Dual-Career Family

The second part of this review will include literature related to the dual-career family.

A major work on dual-career families is that of Rapoport and Rapoport (1971). Their book is a collection of five case studies of families in which both the husband and wife pursued active careers and family lives. They found that variance from the stereotyped sex role patterns led to internal doubts and ambivalence, giving rise to guilt, anxiety and tensions of various kinds. Two of the families studied made a sharp segregation between work and home roles. It was evident in all the families that they were involved in the process of creation of a new family form. The development of new role patterns is a part of this process. The Rapoport's study was conducted in England and the data were collected too early to tap the influence of the woman's movement and the growing egalitarian ideology.

Holmstrom (1973) explored the question of what actually happens in the day-to-day life of the two-career family in our society. She interviewed husbands and wives in their homes and places of work. Husbands and wives were interviewed separately. The interviews were flexible, guided only by a general list of topics to be discussed, to allow for the inclusion of topics brought up by the respondents themselves.

Holmstrom, like the Rapoports, found that these couples had to develop their own solutions and arrangements as they went along. There were no pre-existing patterns or models. The professional couples organized their lives in ways to combat the barriers to the two-career family. Among the professional couples studied, the wives were not exclusively responsible for the domestic chores. They received assistance from hired help and from their husbands. Holmstrom found the husband's attitude was an important factor in making the two careers possible. The dual-career husbands were highly supportive of the wives' career.

When comparing the men and women, Holmstrom found that relative to men, the professional women fare less well. Although they deviated from middle class norms, typically the man's career was more important. Wives were found to accommodate to their husband's needs more than vice versa. The domestic realm was defined in all cases as the woman's responsibility. Husbands were willing to share in the work, but not in the responsibility. Holmstrom, finding that dilemmas in the dual-career family were resolved in favor of the husband, was struck with the inequality of male supremacy.

She concluded her study by proposing Rossi's hybrid model of equality for the future. She saw this model as shifting emphasis from the older issue of rights to the newer issue of changing sex roles. She went on to propose changes in the society and the occupational world to facilitate the two-career family form. The changes she proposed were an attempt to replace the strictly individual solutions of each family with collective and institutionalized ones.

Ridley (1973) in a study of the relationship between work and family found that for males there was a positive association between job satisfaction and marital adjustment. For females the relationship was more complex and the positive relationship was significant only during the school age years. When viewing married pairs higher marital adjustment was reported when wives were low on job satisfaction and the husbands were high on job satisfaction. When both spouses were high on job satisfaction the combination produced high marital adjustment. In summarizing his findings, Ridley noted that it is possible to maintain high marital adjustment when work is dominant to both, but it is still more important that the husband be satisfied with his job. Although attempts toward new role patterns are evident, societal pressures still strongly indicate

the major importance of the man's career and male dominated role patterns.

Recent studies have also focused on the higher stress levels among dual-career families. Pahl (1971), in reviewing "Dual Career Families" in New Society, says, "I find the bustle and strain of the couples lives created an infectious exhaustion." Bebbington (1973) found in a study focusing on stress in the dual-career family, that the degree of stress inherent in the system functions as an integral determinant of the system rather than as a mere side effect. For each of the individuals in the dual-career families, he found an origin in his or her early background that involves conditions which create tension with the conventional normative pattern and which provide the conditions for the development of new role patterns. He concludes that stress plays a particular adaptive part in evoking a new pattern.

Rosen et al., (1975) point out that there are social and psychological barriers which still exist for women hoping to combine family life with career. The barrier investigated in this study was the managerial stereotype concerning the appropriate role for women in society. It was found that managers are skeptical about women's abilities to balance work and family demands. They also discovered less organizational concern for the careers of women as compared with men.

Attempts at truly collaborative means for meeting family role demands are likely to conflict with employer's expectations and negatively affect the husband's career progress. The result is stress for those couples who pursue two careers without sacrificing the importance of family life and child care.

The dual-career literature reported reflects findings which indicate male dominance in family role patterns. In the families studied, although

both spouses had careers, the man's career was found to be dominant, reflecting a continuation of the traditional pattern. The recent emphasis on wider career opportunities for women suggests the need to study families where spouses have equal status careers.

Participant Observation

The third body of literature consists of a number of works in which field researchers, using the method of participant observation, described the processes by which people interact in various physical and social settings.

Application of the methodology in industry resulted in the now famous "Bank Wiring Room Study" (1939), which was an experiment in which an observer was placed in a room with fourteen workers involved in wiring banks of telephone equipment. The observer noted, over time, that the fourteen had separated themselves into two cliques and a few social isolates. The workers developed norms and adherence to the norms was rewarded by high esteem within the group. The researchers concluded that the "informal organization" was created to allow the individuals to gain some control over their environment as well as to protect themselves from the formal organization.

Goffman (1961), in another social setting, studied mental hospitals from the patient's point of view. He stated that any group of persons, prisoners, primitives or patients develops a life of its own that becomes meaningful, reasonable and normal once you get close to it.

Another work which made an important contribution to the understanding of life in a large city slum is The Urban Villagers by Gans (1962), who lived in the predominantly Italian west end of Boston for a period of six months. Gans's study had two purposes: to find out what a slum

was like; and to see if the lives of the people varied from the middle class norm. Gans found that the Italian westenders had a peer group orientation which evolved from their roots in the "old country." The peer group actually insulated the individual from a foreign and hostile environment and determined his behavior. Gans found that the westender did not consider himself to be a slum dweller. Gans concluded that those with power over public institutions need an understanding of the ways in which their clients develop their own interpretation of their environment.

In Whyte's Street Corner Society (1955), the author lived in the Italian section of Boston's north end and explored the inner workings of a group of young men whose central interest in life was associating with their friends on the corner. From the viewpoint of the group members, Whyte described whole areas of city life. He carried out a detailed description and analysis of the inner workings of the group including issues such as leadership, communication patterns and instances of group influence which affect the behavior of the member. Whyte's study became a prototype of participant observation of small groups because he was able to demonstrate the workings of the group from within as well as its relations to the larger society.

After discussing the impracticality of using questionnaires, census data or interview in certain instances, Liebow (1967) concluded that participant observation may be the only viable method with which to study the more elusive figures of our society. In Tally's Corner he described the daily life of streetcorner men in the Negro ghetto of Washington, D.C. His study was concerned with "the daily face-to-face relationships with wives, children, friends, lovers, kinsmen and neighbors." Liebow concluded that the behavior of the streetcorner man was not so much

related to his sub-culture as it was his way of attempting to achieve many of the goals and values of the larger society, or of concealing his failure from others.

Variations on the method of participant observation have been incorporated in the study of the family. Freeman (1964) studied a family in an Israeli kibbutz to determine whether a family exists in a kibbutz in the form in which we know it in the Western world; and, if it exists, to describe it in terms of the relationships existing with the family. Her methods included living on the kibbutz for eight months and conducting daily interviews with family members. The author was able to create a complete picture of family life and to conclude that a family with a similar form to what we know exists in the kibbutz. She was also able to describe and explain the dynamics and structural elements of these families.

In Blue Collar Marriage, Komarovsky (1967) attempted to discover the flavor of working class family life, to dissect, compare, abstract, generalize and isolate the influence of social class upon marriage. Observations in this study were accompanied by flexible interviews. This study was one of the first to include interviews and observations on husbands. The other provided a picture of life with the blue collar family and was able to reveal from their perspective how they live in their world.

Lewis' study, Five Families, (1959) is a classic work in the application of participant observation methodology to the family. The study provided a living picture of one segment of the millions of poor villagers in underdeveloped nations. Lewis' purpose was to contribute to an understanding of the culture of poverty in contemporary Mexico and, insofar as

the poor throughout the world have something in common, to lower-class life in general. The methodology included four separate but related approaches to provide a well-rounded and integrated study of family life:

1. Topical approach including the conceptual categories applied in the study of an entire community to a single family.

2. Authobiographies of each family member of the purpose of seeing the family through the eyes of each of its members.

3. Intensive study of a problem, special event or crisis to which the family reacts.

4. Detailed observation of typical days in the life of a family.

In a similar study, La Vida, (1966) where Lewis studied urban slum life in San Juan, Puerto Rico, the same four approaches were used. The day was again used as a unit of study, since it orders family life. It was a small enough time unit to permit the method of direct observation and was well-suited for controlled comparisons, according to Lewis.

In the selection of his samples Lewis indicated willingness to cooperate as one of the main criteria. He felt that his studies involved the establishment of personal ties with the family in order to obtain the intimate data. The assistants in his studies spent many hours with the families before the observations were begun. Both of Lewis' studies contributed to an understanding of family life among lower class people. They also contributed to developing a comparative literature on intensive family studies, to devising field methods and ways of organizing and presenting family data and to testing and refining the concept of a culture of poverty by a comparison of Mexican and Puerto Rican data.

Nelson (1963) incorporated the method of participant observation in an exploratory study which reported the development and application of

techniques for discovery of the daily activity patterns of a selected group of homemakers. Nelson's methodology included observations of minute-by-minute behavior of homemakers. The time span observed was a day and the emphasis was on direct observation which had time as its emphasis and minutes as a measure. The concept of activity patterns was found to be a useful tool for organization and analysis of observational data to explore implications for application to the field of home management.

Inside the Family by Kantor and Lehr (1975) incorporated observational methods to focus on the intrinsic nature of family process. The goal was to focus on the commonplace in family process and to encompass as broad a range of data as possible.

The authors included five kinds of data:

- ...participant observer reports
- ...tape recordings and videotapes
- ...interviews of the whole family, subgroups and individuals
- ...projective test results
- ...self reports by individual family members

The commonplace was defined as the dynamics and interactions that take place; the small events that occur from moment to moment. The observers were trained university students who sought information on a wide range of areas; including the performance of roles and whether role conceptions were traditional or equalitarian.

This study necessitated a comprehensive design in order to accomplish the purpose of developing descriptive theory. Many methods were employed. The method used to obtain role behaviors and role conceptions was that of participant observation. The authors were able

to develop a model or descriptive theory of family process and to reveal the major themes and components of family process and to show how they are employed in regulating members' behavior.

The important common element in all of these works is the author's commitment to the idea of doing research while living as close to the social unit under study as possible. The techniques vary from total participation to highly structured observations. The advantages of this field work methodology are that it (1) enables the researcher to retain the unitary character of the social unit under study while observing it under a variety of conditions, (2) enables the researcher to record the group processes as they occur over an extended period of time, (3) contains a description of the social unit as seen by members of that unit, and (4) approximates the description of the total environment as seen by the members of the social unit (Scott, 1965).

In addition, all the works cited in the third body of literature are instances of studies dealing with the individuals and families as they see themselves.

Taking a dual-career family as the basic social unit, this research will apply the research techniques similar to those presented here to explore the equality-differentiation dimensions of role patterns and family environment as described in the first and second bodies of literature. New understanding will be gained of the family's perspective of role patterns.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The methodology incorporated in exploring the role behavior patterns of a dual-career family is described in seven major divisions of this chapter. A general discussion of the methodology and sampling procedure of participant observation, selection process and criteria, exploratory interview to determine equalitarian relationship, recording the data, coding, tabulation and analysis, entry into the field, and reflections on the procedure will be presented. Further discussion of the methodology is contained in Appendix A.

Participant Observation

According to Becker (1958) the participant observer gathers data by participating in the daily life of a group or organization. The researcher observes the people to see what situations they ordinarily meet and how they behave in them and enters into their conversations and discovers their interpretations of the events observed. This method is used when researchers are especially interested in understanding a particular organization or phenomenon rather than demonstrating relations between abstract variables. It is assumed that an exploratory study is necessary to describe the phenomenon and to identify relevant problems and hypotheses which will be discovered in the course of the research.

Participant observation methodology was selected for this study for several reasons. First, since the focus of this study was on role behaviors, survey methodologies were rejected in favor of direct observation of role

performance. Another focus of this study was on the dynamics of the family interaction patterns. Participant observation methodology allowed the researcher to enter into the family to observe the dynamics and processes of setting and changing role patterns. In addition, the method of participant observation was selected to allow the researcher to explore role behaviors within the whole family setting. This afforded the opportunity to observe other factors or variables which have a significant influence on role behavior. Finally, it was the intent of this research to explain the role patterns from the perception of the family members. This could be accomplished by being present when role behaviors occurred and asking family members to explain activities and role behavior patterns from their standpoint.

Blumer (1966) states,

the study of action (behavior) has to be made from the position of the actor. Such action is forged by the actor out of what he perceives, interprets and judges; one has to see the situation as the actor sees it. You have to define and interpret the objects as the actor sees them.

Participant observation enables the researcher to get close to the social situation from the actor's point of view.

The methodology works at two levels: (1) description of a social situation through the senses of the researcher and the subjects, and (2) explanation of the situation from the point of view of both the researcher and subjects. This methodology, as indicated in Chapter II, has been used in a variety of studies from small groups to cultures. The question remains as to the reliability and validity of the method. According to Kerlinger (1966), participant observation can help assure the validity of what is being measured. He states,

the more realistic the situation, the more valid are generalizations to other situations, likely to be,...the realism

of field studies is obvious. Of all types of studies, they are closest to real life.

Bruyn (1966) indicated that the participant observation approach has been demonstrated to be more reliable than other formal, empirical methods.

In the subject's natural setting, the participant observer is in a unique position to evaluate any rationalizations which the subject may make to a response to a questionnaire or formal interview.

Blumer (1966) also supports the reliability of the participant observation methodology when he states:

To try to catch the interpretative process by remaining aloof as a so-called 'objective' observer and refusing to take the role of the acting unit is to risk the worst kind of subjectivism - the objective is likely to fill in the process of interpretation with his own surmises in place of catching the process as it occurs in the experience of the acting unit which uses it.

There are a number of variations to the methodology of participant observation. Four variations of the observational role can be distinguished. These range from complete participation where the observer never makes his true identity known to the complete observer as seen in an experimental setting where the researcher does not directly participate in the events studied. Between these two extremes there exist the participant-as-observer and the observer-as-participant. The latter role is best seen in the survey where the interviewer only meets his respondent once in a fleeting, often stranger-like relationship. The participant-as-observer represents a common use of the observational method. The observer makes his presence known, but attempts as fully as possible to become a "normal" and "acceptable" person within the group's activities.

The researcher, in this study, used a role of participant-as-observer. Entrance into the family was explained on the basis of the

role as an observer. As preparation for such a project and to test the researcher's ability, a pilot study with a family as part of a course in research methodology was conducted. The family was not a dual-career family, but the emphasis of the pilot project was to develop skills in methodology rather than to gather relevant data.

Criteria and Selection Process

Since the intent of this study was not to prove or disprove hypotheses, but rather to develop a model explaining relationships between concepts, randomness of selection was not important.

The researcher who generates theory need not combine random sampling with theoretical sampling when setting forth relationships among categories and properties. The relationships are suggested as hypotheses pertinent to directions of relations, not tested as descriptions of direction and magnitude. Conventional theorizing claims generality of scope; that is, one assumes that if the relationship holds for one group under certain conditions it will probably hold for other groups under the same conditions. (Glaser and Strauss, 1970)

What is important is that one find situations wherein the subject phenomenon occurs. The following criteria were established as the basis for selection of the family to be studied:

1. Professions which were affiliated with an institution or organization, with both spouses engaged full time.
2. Marriage of partner.
3. Children, preferably children of early elementary school age or below. Since the focus was on role behavior, a family which included an array of conjugal roles was desired.
4. Locale. A family which lived within a twenty-five mile radius of the researcher's location, to allow for each of data collection, was necessary.
5. Willingness to cooperate.
6. Equal or superior status and income of the wife's position.

7. Self described attempt at building a relationship based on equality.

In addition to these criteria, it was the intent of this researcher not to include families which represent ethnic or racial minorities, since these factors would add additional variables with which the researcher was not prepared to deal.

The initial process began with the compilation of a list of possible families. Names were solicited from local churches, faculty groups, the local urban woman's commission, University Women's Program Coordinator and selected contact persons known by and suggested to the researcher. Professional directories or associations, college catalogues, newspaper articles, recommendations from colleagues and students were also used. Holmstrom (1973) used similar methods and referred to these means as a modified network approach with the researcher as the common link in the chain.

A list of twenty-six dual-career families was developed. Nine of these families were eliminated because the children were beyond the age desired for the study. Of the seventeen remaining, six more were eliminated because the wife's career was real estate sales, which had very flexible hours and commitment and did not quite meet the criteria of a profession.

The eleven remaining families were contacted by the researcher.¹ The contacts were made by telephone to the wife. Two of the eleven families were eliminated as a result of the initial contact because the wives' careers were found to be less than full time.

¹Details of process used to contact families included in Appendix A, which discusses the methodological procedures at length.

The remaining nine families were contacted.² The first call resulted in the response that this wife held a major administrative position and had moved to a separate apartment two weeks prior to that time. Her husband indicated a great deal of interest in the study and a willingness to contribute in any way he could to the study of the dual-career family. He explained that although they were having difficulty, he believed there must be family forms which allow for the pursuit of careers for both husbands and wives.

Three other wives were contacted; each indicated they were experiencing marital difficulties and were in the process of considering a divorce. One wife explained that she was "doing it all." "I've just had it," she said. "He doesn't have any time for me or the children and his career is going nowhere. I'd be better off on my own." "You wouldn't want to study us...things are a mess right now," was the comment made by another wife.

The wife in each of the five remaining families was interviewed at length over the phone. The first wife indicated that their relationship was in no way equalitarian. "My husband I have agreed that I'll work as long as it doesn't interfere with the family or his career." She described the relationship as traditional, with his career dominating.

The second wife indicated that she would be willing, but that she wasn't sure about her husband. She was sure that he would have reservations about invasion of their privacy, but indicated she would talk with him. On a call back two days later she said her husband agreed to take part in the study, but there would be a schedule problem. During the next two months they would be gone on vacation for three weeks and their little boy who was 5 1/2 would be gone for a month with his grand-

²All families referred to in this text are disguised to insure anonymity.

parents. She seemed somewhat relieved when told that the scheduling problems would make it impossible to observe their family. "To be honest," she said, "it would have been difficult for me to be observed. As a psychologist, I am so accustomed to analyzing behavior, I am sure I would be constantly trying to analyze what you were seeing."

The third couple contacted was affiliated with the University. They were both well-known professionals in their own fields and very committed to their careers. They had one child, a girl, who was four years old. After discussing the study at length, she indicated that unless her husband had any serious objections, she would be willing to take part in the study.

Two days later she indicated they were both willing to sit down to discuss the research. While visiting further about schedule, however, they revealed that they would soon both be on summer break. She indicated that they would both be working, but at home and at a leisurely pace. She said that their daughter would still be spending days with the babysitter so that they could catch up on professional reading and writing. Although this would have been a very interesting family to study, the situation was less than ideal, with work schedules interrupted by summer break.

The fourth family contacted was a family of four in which both had 12-month careers. The wife in this family held an administrative position in one of the colleges of a large university. The husband was employed at a community college as an instructor and was the author and director of two major grants through the college. He was also in the process of completing a Ph.D. There were two children in the family - a girl, 6 and a boy, 4. When the wife was contacted about the study she

indicated that she felt they would be willing to cooperate in the study. She commented, "We are kind of proud of the fact that we are making the dual-career lifestyle work. I'm sure both Bob and I would be willing to cooperate." It was interesting to note that she was certain her husband would be willing to cooperate.

When presented with the researcher's desire to study a couple who were attempting an equalitarian relationship, the wife replied that this had been the basis of their relationship right from the start. "We were married later in life than many couples," she said. "We both had established careers and living patterns. The only way we could enter into the marriage was with an understanding that we would both continue to pursue our careers and individual interests and maintain a certain degree of independence. We enjoy and encourage each other's professional growth. If it wasn't this way, it would never work."

Upon discussing scheduling there did not appear to be any conflicts. June and July were busy times for Mary and Bob would have a busy summer teaching schedule and the grant programs continued through the summer.

The wife in the fifth family contacted was a lobbyist who worked for a firm which represented several interests in the Michigan legislature. She was a well-established lobbyist who was well-known in political circles. Her husband was a local business executive. They had one son who was six years old. The wife expressed interest in the study. "There is a need for studies of this type," she replied. "I would like very much to reach your thesis when you complete it." She went on to say that she and her husband had many struggles, but usually managed to work things out. "I would not be willing to expose our relationship to this kind of pressure. Having someone in our home observing us would just make things more difficult and I'm afraid it wouldn't work. We are very

interested and would be willing to be interviewed, but I'm afraid that's as far as I'd be willing to go at this time."

Because of the personal nature of the methodology, the writer found that many of the families were reluctant to allow a study to be carried on within their homes. After contacting the twenty-two families on the original list, the one family who met the initial criteria and was willing to cooperate fully was selected for the study. They will be called the Morgan family. Willingness to cooperate, the researcher quickly learned, was a prime consideration in a participant observation study. Reluctance to cooperate might result in an incomplete study.

The Morgan family met the criteria identified for the study family:

1. Both husband and wife had full time professions which were affiliated with institutions of higher education.
2. They had been married for ten years.
3. They had two children - a girl, 6, Becky; and a boy, 4, Mark.
4. The family resided in a sub-division in a small residential community approximately 15 miles from the researcher's location.
5. The family indicated that they were very willing to cooperate.
6. The couple considered their relationship to be equalitarian.

The Exploratory Interview

Based on the dimensions identified by Holmstrom (1973), a very informal interview was conducted to determine if, in fact, theirs was an equalitarian relationship.

1. In what ways do each of you accommodate to your spouse's career?

"When we were first married, Bob gave up an excellent teaching job in another state to move closer to the University so that I could continue my job in the College. I was especially pleased because I had my master's

and I really wanted Bob to have a chance to work on an advanced degree." "It did work," said Bob. "I found a teaching job at a local high school and did start work on my master's." "The thing is, we didn't plan it that way. Well, maybe Mary did, but it just worked out. We always looked for the best opportunities for both of us. She really had a better job than I did, more money, more prestige, why should she give it up? It was easier in those days for me to find a high school job than for her to find another university position. It's never been discussed as a male-female thing, but rather as what's best. Since the children have come we've made lots of accommodations for the family. The careers are a part, yes, but the accommodations the last few years have been to make things work at home."

2. Whose time do you consider to be more valuable?

"How do you mean 'valuable'?" commented Bob. "She makes more money if that's what you mean. She also is much more conscientious about her job than I have ever been. It takes more time for her to do a good job. She would never take time off during the workday to play golf or goof off. She worries about what people will think. I will take time for myself and for family things. In guess in that sense, I have more time. There is a difference in us - as people. I'm much more flexible, any job I have I'll always find free time from. Mary manages to get all her work completed during the day so that she very seldom has any work at home. I bring lots of work home and do it when I feel like it.

Mary went on to say that he has never asked her to play the hostess role. Neither one of them has expected the other to entertain business associates. The only entertaining they do is what is mutually agreed upon and that is very little.

3. Who is ultimately responsible for the domestic realms of your family life?

Bob replied first, "When we were first married I took the major initiative for domestic chores. I had been living alone for years and was an excellent cook and housekeeper. As a matter of fact, I was much better at it than Mary. I want you to know that that caused us no end of problems. Mary couldn't stand it...she wanted to take care of me and the home."

Mary interrupted, "That's right. It made me feel very inadequate that he was doing everything...and better. I finally blew up and told him 'Hands off! Give me a chance!'"

They went on to explain how she took over and did things herway and became very proficient at it. It had been hard for Bob to keep "hands off," but he did and Mary took over. "This lasted until the kids came," said Bob. "Then Mary wanted and needed help."

"We've worked it out," said Mary. "Bob takes initiative whenever there's an opening and he fixes lots of meals. He gives me the chance first and that's what I want. It's important to me to be responsible at home. I've often asked myself why...I guess it has to do with the kids."

4. Bob, do you have any objections to your wife traveling overnight alone?

He immediately replied, "Yes!" He went on to explain, "I don't care where she goes on business or with whom, I just don't care to be left home for any length of time with the children, neither does she...ask her." Mary blushed a little and flashed a nervous smile at Bob. "You addressed that question to the wrong one. It's me. I won't let him

travel either. We decided this early after the kids were born. It's a real pain to be left at home alone with a job and two very demanding little kids. Even though the kids go to the sitter every day, it's a real chore to get them there in the morning." Bob quickly adds, "It's hard enough to get through the day with both of us here and damn near impossible with one. I guess we've sort of agreed that neither of us likes to have the other one travel. Thank God we've been able to have jobs that don't require much travel. Now that the kids are getting a little more independent I imagine we could work something out if necessary."

From the responses to these questions it was assumed this couple was indeed attempting to build a relationship based on equality. As Mary had indicated over the phone, they weren't consciously pursuing an equalitarian mode, but rather were just operating on a basis of assumed equality and basing decisions on what works out best for them.

Entry Into the Field

As in any anthropological study, whether in this culture or a far away jungle, entry into the field of study must be planned very carefully. This was especially true in the case of a family. Families are open systems in some respects, but are a tightly knit emotional system and are cautious about allowing others to permeate their boundaries. With this in mind, a gradual entry into the field was planned after the exploratory interview.

The first step was to invite Bob and Mary Morgan to come to the researcher's home for a Saturday afternoon to have a picnic to meet the family and to discuss the research. Mary accepted the invitation.

Saturday, June 5, the Morgan family arrived at 4:00 - right on schedule. When they arrived David³ was busy fixing the garage door and I was just putting the finishing touches on the salads and deviled eggs for supper. Our children were in the yard playing on their swings. Before introductions were complete, Bob was helping David figure out how to fix the garage door. The children all went off to play on the swing set and Mary came into the kitchen to see if she could help me. We talked about jobs and kids and weather and about how Bob liked to fix things and would help David figure out that door. The door got fixed by the men and the dinner was prepared by the women, while the children, who were all near the same age, played in the yard.

During dinner we discussed mutual acquaintances, teaching experiences, Ph.D. programs and job opportunities. After dinner we showed them around our home, sat down with a drink and discussed my study and whether or not they would be willing to cooperate. I explained my interest in roles and role patterns and the dual-career family and the nature of a participant observation study. They both seemed somewhat familiar with the methodology and were willing to have me come to their home. "We've thought about this some," Bob said, "and there's something that worries us. We have had several of our friends' marriages break up and we've watched it happen. It seems as if in every case, they were analyzing everything. We've gotten the impression that when couples start analyzing their relationship and everything that goes on, they start to have problems. They stop enjoying it and living it and accepting it. We don't want this to happen to us. It's fine if you are

³David is the researcher's husband. Due to the personal nature of this methodology, from this point on the writer will assume the first person singular.

observing roles and role behavior and how we make it work, but don't ask us to analyze our psyches and explain our inner thoughts." I assured them that this was not a psychological study, but rather a sociological one and that it was their behavior I would focus on and although I would be asking them questions, they would focus on explaining the behavior. Mary went on to explain again that they were pleased to be asked and that they were proud of "making it work so well," and she thought it would be fun. "Besides," she said, "we have very few friends and this will give us a chance to get to know another family."

Observation Schedule

The decision was made to work out an observation schedule which would meet the observer's needs and also be agreeable to the family.

The 1976 schedule agreed upon was as follows:

May 28	-	Initial telephone conversation
June 5	-	Picnic and visit to researcher's home
June 8	-	Observation - P.M.
June 10	-	Observation - P.M.
June 17	-	Observation - A.M.
June 18	-	Observation - A.M.
June 21	-	Observation - P.M.
June 22	-	Observation - A.M.
June 24-29	-	Continuous observation - Stay at home with family
July 2-6	-	Extended Observation - Family vacation
July 12	-	Observation - A.M.
July 15	-	Observation - P.M.
July 22	-	Observation - P.M.

July 23	-	Life History - P.M.
July 26	-	Observation Interview and Report of Findings

Morning (A.M.) observations began when the first family member awakened for the day. The researcher would arrive at the home at 6:00 a.m. and remain to observe until everyone had left for the day, about 8:30 a.m.

Afternoon-evening (P.M.) observations began when the first family member arrived home from work and continued until the last family member retired for the evening, about 11:00 p.m. It was agreed that the researcher would move in with the family for one extended field visit to last from Thursday P.M. to Tuesday A.M. A second lengthy field visit took place when the researcher accompanied the family on their vacation with extended family.

The Morgans plan to spend every 4th of July weekend at Bob's mother's cottage, which is located 150 miles north of the research site. It had been a tradition in the Morgan family for the extended family to gather at this lake on weekends and holidays. Several families still have their permanent homes in the area and, since Bob spent much of his youth there, he has many friends and acquaintances.

Plans had been made for this 4th of July. The extended family situation would afford a wealth of data and the researcher asked to accompany the family on this trip.

Bob was concerned. "I don't see how I would explain the presence of another woman to my family. I am sure they wouldn't have the vaguest idea what a participant observation study is. They would simply be convinced I had a three-some going. It wouldn't work."

His concern was discussed and the fact that it would be an excellent environment for observation, therefore the researcher's whole family was invited. There would not be any problems explaining a family of guests.

We took a camper and followed the Morgans north and parked in the front yard of the cottage. The men played golf together while the women shopped and played on the beach with the children and prepared picnics. I frequently returned to the camper to make some notations. Long hours were spent in the evening, after everyone retired, recording notes and observations which my spouse, David, had made. Since the relatives were Bob's, much interaction took place among the men and David was with them the majority of the time. David, who has training and experience in research and counseling with families, assisted me greatly in data collection. He was invited to join in activities which would have been otherwise impossible for me to observe.

There were some limitations. My children made many demands on my time and frequently diverted my attention. One minor crisis when my son was hurt and had to be taken to the emergency unit at the local hospital meant time away from the field.

A total of 155 hours of observation was completed by the researcher. In addition, during the same six week period, there were 12 occasions when my spouse accompanied Bob and his friends on golf outings. His observations totaled 56 hours. The total observation time was 211 hours.

Recording the Data

The research questions formulated for this study were used to guide and focus the observations and the recording of data. The observations centered on behaviors and behavior patterns related to the performance

of conjugal roles. Behaviors were recorded as actions on a form (Appendix B) developed by the researcher to assist in recording the observations. The form includes information regarding who performed the action, who made the decisions about the action, how it was carried out and for whom. Each of these dimensions was thought to be necessary in order to insure a complete description of actions within the context of the family interaction. The information relative to How the Action is Carried Out was thought to be especially helpful in understanding the resources and supports employed by the family in achieving its goals and is related to research question #2.

The original plan was to use a tape recorder to record discourse. It soon became evident, however, that the tape recorder made family members quite uncomfortable. Many of their comments regarding work and superiors were highly confidential and this researcher did not want to be responsible for records of personal conversation. In lieu of tape recordings, the researcher took extensive notes on the overt and covert communications, along with the physical setting and social context within which the exchange took place. As often as possible, direct quotes were noted in an effort to insure validity.

Coding, Tabulation and Analysis

To facilitate coding, tabulation and analysis of the detailed observation data, some means of classification of actions had to be developed.⁴ Fifteen categories were established by the researcher prior to the observation to include the varied actions of the family members. The 15 categories, with suggested subordinate activities, are included.

⁴The classification system was discussed with Elizabeth Goldsmith who was developing a system for time use categorization. The system used in this research was based on these discussions. Goldsmith is a Ph.D. candidate, Department of Family Ecology, Michigan State University.

1. Food Preparation and Cleanup - All preparation of food, such as breakfast, noon, and evening meals; snacks, packed lunches; food baked, canning or freezing; cleanup incidental to meal preparation; setting the table; serving the food; after-meal care of table, dishes, leftovers, kitchen equipment and refuse. Also include unloading dishwasher and dish drainer.

2. Physical Care of Family Members - All activities related to physical care, such as: bathing, feeding and dressing of family members; giving bedside care; first aid; taking family members to dentist or physician, beauty or barber shop.

3. Intentional or Planned Interaction - Includes affection giving, emotional support, listening, information, conversation, planning, conflict resolution.

4. Regular Housecare - Usual daily or regular cleaning of house and appliances, such as: mopping, dusting, vacuuming; making beds; putting rooms in order; caring for houseplants or flowers; tending the house heating system.

5. Care of Clothing - Washing clothes and household textiles at home or at laundromat: collecting and sorting soiled things for washing; pre-treating; loading and unloading washer or dryer (leave out time taken by machine); hanging things on line and taking them down; clean-up incidental to washing; folding; ironing clothes; storing clothes; mending, sewing, use of dry cleaners.

6. Intentional Socialization and Education of Children - Talking, playing, reading; individual or group attention; helping with lessons; taking children to social and educational functions.

7. Marketing - Shopping and procurement of services for home. All activities related to shopping, whether or not purchases are made. Include time for shopping in person, by telephone, mail, home sales or delivery. Time for putting purchases away; arrangements for appliance repair-maintenance.

8. Management and Record Keeping - Linkages with family-related agencies and organizations. All management activities of the household, such as: thinking about and discussing alternative plans; planning menus; making out shopping lists; looking around for ideas; measuring space for something; figuring out how much money is available; checking plans as they are carried out; supervising the work of other family members; thinking back to see if plans worked.

Also, all record keeping activities, such as: paying bills; making bank deposits; making and working on records of receipts and expenditures.

9. Care of Yard and Car - Daily and seasonal care and maintenance of yard, garden areas, walks, garage, car, and equipment for these activities. Also include buying gasoline for the car, care of garbage and trash.

10. Other Recreation or Play - Relaxation activities not mentioned previously, such as: hobbies, child playing with toys, indoor or outdoor sports, playing musical instruments.

11. TV, Radio, Reading, Writing - All use of media.

12. Family Social Activities - Contacts with friends, neighbors, kin; entertaining business colleagues; visiting or talking on the phone with friends or relatives.

13. Special House Care and Maintenance - Occasional or seasonal care and cleaning of house, other upkeep, such as: washing windows;

cleaning closets; waxing floors; defrosting and cleaning freezer or refrigerator; special cleaning of oven; painting and papering; repairing furniture or equipment; reupholstering; redecorating; creating household goods (needlework, crafts, sewing).

14. Volunteer Work, Clubs, Church - Includes time going to and from these activities.

15. Other - This was left open for activities which did not fit the above categories.

Discourse and observations to enhance an understanding of actions and the total ecosystem were noted and the events and statements were combined into a tentative statement concerning a particular situation. Extensive effort went into a careful sifting and coding of data. The data were read and reread many times to locate statements and observations which supported or refuted tentative conclusions. Statements and observation records were grouped and regrouped as insights were gained. Tentative conclusions were checked by asking family members about applicability to a particular situation.

Reflections on the Procedure

Early in the study it became evident that I was directly confronted by research ethics. I wanted very much to be able to have free access to the family at any time and yet I did not want to cause them unnecessary stress. For this reason, the schedule of visits was carefully worked out with the family, taking into account their needs. They were very flexible except for a few items. Mary requested that I select the days for the extended weekend observation at a time when their "nosey next door neighbors would be on vacation." "It's fine if you're here observing when they're here," she said. "I would just prefer that we pick a

weekend when they're gone. She is very nosey and quite a neighborhood gossip and I'm sure would never understand how I could let another woman move right in. She frowns on our lifestyle anyway. She's always giving me pointers on how to clean house."

Several of my colleagues had warned me that the whole issue of "another woman in the house" would be a problem. I attempted to minimize these feelings by making the original contact through the wife and by always checking schedules and arrangements carefully with her first. I did note that on several occasions my observations included times when the wife was alone at the home. The observation times when the husband was home alone were carefully avoided. I became concerned that I would have a limited view of the male perspective.

In our culture, as in many other cultures, there are some situations which are not readily accessible to the opposite sex or in which the presence of a member of the opposite sex would be extremely conspicuous and disruptive to the situation. I learned, as have many anthropologists, that my spouse was welcome in certain places where I was not, and he became an invaluable observer. By having the two families meet at the onset of the data collection process, several advantages were realized. The two husbands discovered that they had many similar interests and struck up an immediate relationship. There were several golf outings with Bob and friends, which provided a wealth of data.

A final note. The fact that my husband and I are a dual-career couple known in the community for our interest and knowledge in family studies was a tremendous advantage in gaining accessibility to families. Our status as faculty members in the Department of Family and Child Sciences, Michigan State University, afforded us a degree of credibility.

CHAPTER IV

THE FAMILY - PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT AND ORGANIZATION

Beginning with a description of the family, the community and the physical setting, this chapter will include brief life histories and a section on the organization of the family.

Community and Home

The study began early in June 1976. Most of the observations were conducted in the home of Bob and Mary Morgan, which is located in the Riverview Subdivision in the suburb of Bowen,⁵ approximately ten miles from Michigan State University and six miles from downtown Lansing. The community of Bowen has a population of approximately 1,200 and the village shopping area includes only a few country stores. The area is developing rapidly, however, and there are several new large shopping malls within a few miles of the home. The area includes many sections such as Riverview which are being developed for suburban living as well as a great deal of farm land. The region around the Morgan home is hilly and a small river runs through their subdivision. There are woods to the north of their home.

The subdivision's inhabitants represent a cross-section of middle and upper middle class families. The neighbors include business executives, dentists and directors of local government agencies. The most expensive homes are those which are built on the river. The Morgan

⁵Names of suburb and subdivision are fictitious.

home is built back off the river on a hill with a view of the subdivision and the river. New homes in the area are selling in the \$50,000 to \$60,000 price range.

The Morgans bought their home from a builder, unfinished, and finished the inside themselves. They are proud of the fact that their mortgage is only \$23,000. They consider their home to be worth twice that amount at this time. They consider their location to be ideal since it is only a 20-minute drive to campus and a 10-minute drive to "the city."

The Morgan home is a brick ranch located on a 3/4 acre lot. There are homes on both sides, but not behind the house. They have obtained permission to use the lot behind the house for a large vegetable garden. Bob mows a large area to the rear of several houses which he uses for a golf driving range.

Appendix C shows the floor plan of the house. The front entry of the house leads into a hallway across from which is the living room. A left turn in the hall leads to a small kitchen and a family room. Another left turn leads down a hallway to 3 bedrooms and 1 1/2 baths. The stairway from the family room leads to a large unfinished basement. Two rooms, a large laundry room and a small office for Bob, are finished. The office is packed full of books and papers and the desk is piled high with materials. Bob does not use it much anymore; he works upstairs at the dining room table, which is located in a small area adjacent to the family room and kitchen. The kitchen wall facing the family room is open to allow free exchange of conversation during meal preparation and serving time. A large sliding glass door leads off the family room to a patio area which includes patio furniture and a play area with sand

for the children. Steps lead from the patio to the yard which includes a swing-set and the large garden. Most of the activity takes place in the family room, kitchen area and in the yard. The living room was not used once during the observation period. Other than the laundry room, which is frequently used, the basement is used only for storage.

Behind the two-car garage is a large fenced-in pen for the family's two dogs - a large St. Bernard and a small poodle. The dogs are kept in the pen most of the time. On one occasion during the research period, the St. Bernard was out playing and bit the neighbor's dog. The little dog was hurt quite badly and the neighbors complained and insisted that the dog be kept penned. Bob and Mary were discussing the possibility of giving the dog away, but had not done anything definite. The other family pet was a large, white female cat which Mary had brought home. The cat gave birth to three kittens which was a very exciting event for the family.

Brief Life Histories

In order to understand the current family situation it is important to include historical information which helps to place the data in perspective with the family's development.

Bob Morgan

Bob was born in a small town in Michigan in 1936. He was the oldest of three children born to the family. The middle child died at birth. His brother is nine years younger. Bob's mother was a high school home economics teacher off and on until her retirement in 1971. During his long career, the senior Morgan held various positions in the field of education. The positions included football coach, principal, superintendent of schools and state representative of the Michigan Education Association. He passed away a few years ago.

Because Bob's mother worked, he had to develop a fair amount of responsibility for himself. At an early age his responsibilities included babysitting for his brother till Mom got home and assuming responsibility for a large number of household chores.

Bob attended public school where he was a B+ student. He elected a college prep program and was very active in the small school. Standing 6'1" and weighing 200 pounds, Bob was active in sports in high school. He refers to himself as a "jock" who had starring positions on the baseball and football teams. He was a part of the "in crowd" and dated quite frequently. Even in high school, however, he placed a high value on lasting, secure relationships. His family moved several times during his youth, but he does not remember the moves as being traumatic and he was easily able to adjust to each new situation. He was always able to maintain his status as a good student. Bob refers to his family of orientation as "not very close." He refers to his parents' relationship to each other as well as to the children as "warm, but distant," and "not very affectionate." His father's career was the dominant one. It was "OK" for his mother to work as long as her work did not interfere with household duties. He characterizes their roles as "very traditional." Even though mother worked, she still did everything at home. "I can never remember my dad helping around home, but I sure did."

Bob speaks of his relationship with his brother as a distant one. This was partly due to the nine year difference in their ages. It was also due to the fact that their personalities were quite different. His brother was not very athletic, was introverted and had difficulty with his studies. He recalls that his parents gave very little time and attention to his younger brother. In later years his parents began to feel guilty about the lack of attention and babied his brother.

Bob recalls close ties with the extended family. "The family had a cottage at the lake and we always spent summers there, no matter where we lived." Those summers he recalls as providing continuity and stability in their lives. The extended family situation provided an opportunity for Bob to develop close ties with family and friends in the vicinity of the summer home.

The extended family group was very religious - strict Baptist. Bob's parents became turned off with organized religion because of the strictness and intensity they experienced and abandoned formal religion. Bob considers his parents and himself to be religious, but not in a formal sense.

It was always assumed that Bob would go to college and study education. He began his college training at an expensive prestigious, private college in the midwest. After one year he was forced to drop out because his parents were not able to afford the expense. His parents did not want Bob to work while in school. He transferred to another midwestern college for a couple of terms, then, on an impulse, transferred to a small southern college with a friend, and completed a bachelor's degree in education.

Upon completing his degree Bob returned to Michigan to teach science for two years in a small community high school. He applied for and was awarded a NSA fellowship to study science at a southern university, but became ill and was forced to drop out. Two years later he again applied for a similar fellowship and was awarded an opportunity to do some work at a western university.

Bob has been plagued with health problems throughout his life. Recently the problems were diagnosed as related to severe allergic reactions. Treatment for the allergies has greatly improved his health.

The installation of air-conditioning in their home has also helped to improve the situation.

Bob obtained his master's degree in educational curriculum and is currently working on a Ph.D. in the same field. He began teaching part-time at a nearby community college evenings during his last three or four years of public school teaching. When he resigned his public school job to pursue his Ph.D., he expanded his teaching role at the community college and is directing two research grants.

Bob's mother lives in the local community and remains an important influence in his life. She calls frequently to obtain his assistance with personal and business matters. There is frequent exchange especially at the cottage.

Mary Morgan

Mary was born in a small midwestern community. Mary was an only child and her parents were married 5 1/2 years before she was born. When she was very young her parents moved to a mid-sized city, which was the state capitol as well as the home of a Big Ten University. Mary's father was a carpenter who was self-employed for most of his working life. During the last few years, before retirement, he worked for a building firm. Mary described their family as lower-middle class.

Mary's mother did not work after Mary was born. She had gone to school and received a teaching certificate and taught in an elementary school prior to Mary's birth. The family agreed that her mother should be at home taking care of Mary and the home. Mary describes her parents' relationship as very traditional. It was her father who made all the decisions and, in general, controlled the money. Her mother made most of the household decisions, but only with the approval of her father.

Mary's maternal grandfather was a Methodist minister. Her grandparents were very religious. Her parents were not as dedicated to one church and attended several different churches of various denominations. Mary considers herself to be privately a religious person, but not committed to organized religion.

Mary attended a cooperative nursery school the year before she entered kindergarden in the public school. She was always a good student; mostly A's. Extra-curricular activities were limited for Mary because she lived in a rural area and transportation was not readily available. She did participate in musical activities and enjoyed horse back riding with local friends. Many of the children who attended Mary's school were "well-to-do" from the suburbs. Mary perceived that she was not as well thought of since she was among the "rural kids" of a lower economic situation.

In high school Mary's extra-curricular activities were again limited because she had quite a distance to commute. She was a good student and did continue her pursuit of music. She was very shy and had a small circle of close friends. There were few neighborhood children her age. Mary did not date at all in high school, nor did any of her close friends.

Mary commuted to the local university and received a B.S. in education. Her parents had always expected that she would go to college. Her mother held a two-year teaching degree and her father had started college, but was forced to drop out to help out with the family bills. He had always felt badly that he had not been able to finish and wanted to make certain that Mary would.

Mary's student teaching experience was not a pleasant one and she decided against teaching as a career. She was offered a graduate

assistantship, helping to teach a college course, so she returned to the same university to complete her master's degree. For the first time, she moved away from home for a year to share an apartment near campus with a friend. The next year she moved back home in order to save money for a trip to Europe. Mary had begun dating while in college, although there had never been any "serious" relationships. Upon completion of her master's degree, Mary moved to a Big Ten University to accept a 10-month academic appointment, which she continued for six years. During these six years, prior to marriage, she "ran with the crowd," was a member of an "in group" or "party group" of singles. Mary thoroughly enjoyed these years. She did begin to have thoughts of marriage; but no significant relationships developed during these years. She was feeling pressure to earn a Ph.D., but was reluctant to do so because the Ph.D. might further jeopardize her chances for marriage and her motivation to return to school was very low.

She met Bob the summer of her fifth year of teaching and they were married the following spring break.

The Family

When Bob and Mary first met, he was teaching high school in a nearby community. They describe their courtship as "comfortable," with "few ups and downs" and "none of the fights and questioning that so many couples go through." They were married in a small chapel with about 100 guests.

Mary resigned her position at the University to move to the community where Bob was teaching. The plan was that she would find a job near Bob's. They both assumed that she would continue working after marriage. They had not given any thought to Bob resigning his job to move to the university, until they were confronted with the idea by Mary's department

chairman. While they were at Mary's office packing her materials, her chairman indicated that he had been unable to fill her position and encouraged Mary to re-apply. He assured Bob and Mary that there were many teaching positions in the vicinity of the University and pointed out opportunities for Bob to begin graduate work. They talked it over and decided that Bob would try to look for a position near the University.

His first inquiry resulted in a job offer and so the decision was made. They would rent the little home they had purchased and find an apartment near the University. Mary was reinstated in her former position and Bob began his new teaching job and started taking courses toward his master's degree.

The couple described a number of adjustment problems which they encountered during the first years of marriage. The main problem which caused a great deal of conflict was the matter of the household duties. Bob had been accustomed to doing housework and for awhile had prepared meals for himself and several housemates. He had become very proficient in these skills. His mother had taught him a great deal since she expected him to assume major responsibility at home. After their marriage, Bob continued in his pattern of cooking and housekeeping and Mary resented it. Even though he was more experienced and proficient at cooking and housekeeping, she felt that these should be her responsibilities. She wanted to "take care of her home and her man" and resented the intrusion. She was threatened by the fact that he performed these tasks. Bob enjoyed these responsibilities and did not want to give them up. To "keep peace in the family" he finally gave up all his domestic efforts and Mary took over. There were some disasters at first, especially in meal preparation. Bob recalls there was a tremendous lack of planning

and Mary went grocery shopping nearly every day. Gradually she became more proficient and by the time the children came she "was doing a great job - especially cooking."

The question of children was thoroughly discussed. They planned carefully to wait until they were ready and decided that Mary would take "the pill." Bob completed his master's degree in 1970, and their first child, Becky, was born that same year. Two years later they had Mark. Mary took a short leave for the birth of each child and returned to full time employment. Mary wanted to return to work after the children were born. Bob supported her decision to return, partly for financial reasons and partly because he recognized Mary's desire to work. A year before their first child was born they had purchased their home based on both their incomes. Four years after they purchased the home Bob resigned his full time high school teaching position to commence work on a Ph.D. The part time college position he assumed, plus the two grants he was awarded, resulted in full time employment, which allowed him some flexibility to continue work on his degree. The fact that Mary was employed at a salary level of \$17,000 afforded the family the financial stability to allow for enough flexibility so that Bob could return to work on his degree. Bob has established himself very well at the community college in the interim and the past year his income from teaching and grants also was approximately \$17,000. The family income for 1976 was \$34,500.

Bob and Mary are discussing the possibility of Mary beginning work on a Ph.D. when Bob completes his degree. On the basis of her skills and ability, she has been promoted to a high level professional position for which she is concerned that she does not have the credentials she feels are necessary. Many other professionals sharing similar administrative positions have Ph.Ds. She is concerned that if she were to move,

another university would require her to have a Ph.D. for a similar position. She would prefer not to return to teaching since she finds the administrative work to be especially challenging and enjoyable.

The Morgans are convinced about the advantages of the dual-career family. They each enjoy their own professional growth and development and take pride in each other's development. Beyond that, they are unwilling to sacrifice the extras which come with the additional income. Additionally, neither parent is willing to stay home full time with the children.

When discussing goals for the next ten years, Bob and Mary see career advancements with additional responsibility and leadership for both of them. This means for Mary, the academic community; for Bob, the State Department of Education; for both, the completion of the Ph.D.

A goal for the family, as the children get older, is to have more time for fun. They haven't been able to play much the past few years. There hasn't been time. Except for the occasional trip to the cottage and Bob's golf outings, all their time has gone to maintaining the family and two careers.

Summary

These life histories provided much information which was helpful for understanding the family. Facts about the role patterns in Bob's and Mary's families of orientation were useful for interpreting determinants of current role patterns. The history of the family provided information related to the ways in which the family established role patterns and added supporting evidence for the observational data.

The Family Organization

Most families develop some forms of organization to accomplish tasks and achieve goals. This section will address itself to the means of organization used by the Morgan family.

RESEARCH QUESTION #1 - How do family members organize and perform tasks?

To describe the family's organization, a schedule for a typical workday is presented. This schedule was found to be deviated from very little during the observation period. The schedule includes time blocks and activities usually performed during these time blocks.

Daily Schedule

6:15 Alarm rings and BOB showers and dresses for the day.

6:30 BOB makes coffee and starts breakfast.

6:30 BOB gets MARY up.

6:30 MARY awakens the children.

6:35- MARY helps children get dressed and straightens up the house.

6:50 Activities: picking up toys, clothes, litter from previous day.

6:30- BOB cleans up kitchen, puts soiled dishes in dishwasher and pre-

6:50 pares breakfast, includes setting the table.

6:50- ALL eat breakfast.

7:00

7:00- MARY packs the kids things for school and the babysitter and pre-

7:15 pares them to leave - jackets, coats, school money, etc.

7:00- BOB gets the car ready and helps load the kids for the sitter.

7:15

7:15 BOB leaves for the day and delivers the children to the baby-sitter on his way to work.

7:15- MARY: clean-up time. Activities include cleaning up breakfast

7:45 dishes, kitchen and bathrooms, making the beds, doing a load of wash and dusting. This time frame may include some meal preparation activities for supper (putting food in crock-pot, cooking potatoes for salad).

- 7:45- MARY showers and dresses for work.
7:55
- 7:55- MARY puts together her sack lunch.
8:00
- 12:00- MARY'S lunch hour frequently includes shopping (groceries and
1:00 children's clothes) and running household errands.
- 5:00- MARY arrives home from work.
5:30
- 5:30- MARY changes clothes and puts away items purchased during lunch
5:40 hour.
- 5:40- MARY begins meal preparation.
6:00
- 6:00 BOB arrives home with children.
- 6:00- MARY welcomes children and discusses their day.
6:05
- 6:00- BOB prepares cocktails for Mary and himself.
6:10
- 6:05- CHILDREN play in the house and/or yard - bikes, sandbox, watch
6:10 Mary prepare dinner.
- 6:10- CHILDREN go off to play with neighbor children.
6:30
- 6:10- MARY and BOB enjoy their cocktails and discuss the day's
7:00 activities, while MARY prepares the meal.
- MARY will intermittently go out to check and see where the children are or ask BOB to check.
- 7:00 BOB calls the children for dinner.
- 7:00- ALL eat dinner.
7:30
- 7:30 CHILDREN go back out to play with friends.
- 7:30 BOB and MARY sit and visit for awhile, then work together to clean up the dinner dishes.
- 8:00- BOB goes outside to work in the garden or sit in the yard.
9:00 Activities include feeding the dogs, weeding the garden, mowing the lawn, hitting golf balls, visiting with neighbors.

- 8:00- MARY may do a few housecleaning chores, usually joins Bob in the
 9:00 yard. Activities include weeding vegetable or flower garden (summer),
 feeding the dog, checking on the children, visiting with neighbors.
- 9:00 BOB and MARY gather the children and begin preparation for bed.
 MARY and BOB both come back in the house at this time.
- 9:10 MARY helps the children to bathe and gets their pajamas.
- 9:30 MARY and BOB put the children to bed. Activities include story
 telling and story reading.
- 9:30- BOB and MARY - relaxation time. Activities include TV watching,
 11:00 listening to music, reading (newspaper and magazines), visiting
 with neighbors. May include work time - preparation for the
 next day.
- 11:00 BOB and MARY prepare for bed.
- 11:15- BOB and MARY go to bed.
 11:30

After the children were born Bob and Mary found that "we were organizing our activities and time more carefully in order to keep the days as orderly as possible and to make time for each other. When things don't go smoothly, there's a lot of hassle and everybody gets upset."

In order to keep things running smoothly, Mary found that she couldn't do it all herself. She began to expect Bob to do things, but not to take over. Bob remarked, "I learned that if I came home and found things undone or half done and finished them up, that was OK. Gradually, Mary has accepted more of my help around the home. She definitely likes it with me helping her and not vice-versa."

Mary commented that "I have come to expect Bob to finish up those jobs I can't get done. I really appreciate it now when he starts dinner. The other night he had chicken going on the barbecue before I

got home and it was great. We don't operate on who does what, but rather who gets around to it."

Sometimes, if Bob's schedule would allow, he would come home during the day to work where it was cool. During these times he would often vacuum, or start dinner or run an errand. There were a couple of days during heavy rains when he came home to work on the basement which was leaking. Other than for needed home repairs the time spent remodeling the house ended when Bob began his Ph.D. and the basement is unfinished.

The family schedule is planned to allow some "sanity" time for Mary. Her remarks about this time go this way: "I just love that half-hour in the morning. I can get more done. It gives me a chance to spruce up the house and get things organized. I'd be lost without that time. There's no one to get in my way and I can really move fast. I seldom do the whole cleaning job at once. I do pieces now and then. The things that bother me the most get done. I don't like to clean house and somehow it's easier to take if I do a little at a time." Mary often commented about how she always gets more done during the week than on weekends. "The organization falls apart on weekends."

Every day Mary would have at least two lists on the kitchen table. "I couldn't live without lists to remind me what to do. When I can, I use my lunch hours to pick up groceries, pay bills, and run other errands. I take care of the money and that's when I get it done. I like to get as much done during the day as I possibly can so that there's time for us later on."

Bob and Mary agreed that Bob would pick up the children after work to allow Mary some time to get supper started. Even if he is at home writing, he won't leave to get the children until after she arrives home.

Bob said, "It's just a Zoo if we all get home at once. Everybody wants to do everything at once, change clothes, eat, talk, and it doesn't work." "Our favorite time of day is around mealtime," Bob commented. "We like to take our time and relax. Mary fixes a nice meal. She likes to cook and fuss in the kitchen and I like to have her do it. The kids run outside to play with their friends and we have a few drinks, discuss the day and un-wind. We often have wine with dinner and just really enjoy the meal."

The children often leave the table before Bob and Mary to resume playing with their friends. They are, however, very involved in the dinner-time conversation. The evenings are kept relaxed, with the children running in and out frequently to touch base.

"We very seldom plan activities to interfere with our routine," comments Mary. "Other than trips to the lake, the weekends include very few activities too. To us it's a luxury to be home and not have to be anywhere or do anything. About once a month we go on a big shopping trip for groceries and necessities - it's a family affair."

Mary and Bob often comment that they wished there were more "family fun activities." They share some concern that there are not more hobbies or activities to experience as a family. Mary laments the fact that "because we're always in a hurry, there's not time to involve the children in what we're doing." At no time during the observation period was either parent observed to directly involve the children in their household activities.

As a matter of fact, the daily schedule allowed for very little time devoted to direct socialization of the children. Socialization took place in an indirect manner around meal times, bed time and departure

and arrival times. The children were never ignored. Their desires were often catered to in order to avoid confrontation. Bob commented, "It takes less time and hassle to give in to Mark than it does to tell him no. Mary doesn't have the energy to put up with his tantrums, so she gives him what he wants." This pattern was often repeated during the observation period in incidents of Mark's demands for treats or privileges. Bob is much more firm with the children, but he is hesitant to interfere with Mary.

There are some things about the organization that bother Mary. She often complains that the laundry never gets done. There is always a pile of laundry around. She does a load of wash nearly every day. She also complains that the house never gets really clean. She's learning to live with lower standards. "It would be nice to have someone come and clean and for awhile that worked out very well." She went on to say that since then she hadn't been able to find anyone. Now it would entail getting someone on a regular basis and that would cost from \$10 to \$20 a week, more than she was willing to pay.

"Unexpected events throw us for a loop now and then," Mary remarked. "We are blessed with very healthy children and so there have been few times when health emergencies demanded our time. Our babysitter is great about taking the kids, even when they are a little under the weather." Mary and Bob have been able to share the responsibility for unexpected events since both of their careers allow some flexibility. Since Bob quit his full time teaching job, he's had time and flexibility to assume most of the responsibility for the extra unexpected activities.

The daily schedule is planned to allow time for Mary to "get things together" so that things will run smoothly. The organization is designed

to minimize conflict and stress. A high premium is placed on time to unwind - relax and be there at home together. This dual-career family allows for very little outside of career and family to interfere with their time and organization.

RESEARCH QUESTION #2 - What forms of support does the family use for tasks?

The major form of support used by the family is full-time babysitting. The children are taken each day to a home care situation. The same woman has been caring for the children since right after Becky was born. The Morgans have been very pleased with the service. They feel the children receive excellent care. They are somewhat concerned that the babysitter may not provide as much intellectual stimulation as they would like, but they feel the warm, caring environment and continuity are most important.

The babysitter is located in another suburb eight miles from Bowen. It is somewhat out of the way to take the children there, but again, they feel it is well worth the effort. The school situation may have been a problem except that the local school system in the babysitter's community accepted the children. Bob and Mary were pleased for several reasons. First of all, the school system in the other community is considered to be of higher quality. They were also pleased because this meant that they would not have to search for a new child care situation and disrupt the children. The children are very fond of their sitter and would hate to leave.

Other forms of support include energy consuming appliances, equipment and vehicles. Two cars have always been a "must" for the family and each automobile is driven an average of 20 miles daily. One car is a four

year old middle-sized Chevrolet and the other a two year old compact car. The cars average 12 and 17 miles per gallon respectively.

"We have lots of appliances, like dishwasher and fancy vacuum cleaner and crock-pot and they all help. We love appliances and we would rather spend the money that way. We've been thinking about a microwave oven." Electrical appliances used in the home include dish washer, clothes washer and dryer, double ovens, blender, mixer, crock-pot, and assorted other small appliances. A riding lawn mower, roto-tiller and shredder are used for the garden and outside chores.

Other than babysitting, no other supportive services are utilized by the family. Bob and Mary are quick to admit that they are high energy users. They use every time-saving device they can afford. Their gasoline bill each month is also extremely high. Although they enjoy living in Bowen, they realize that the travel means additional expense.

During the energy crisis, Bob and Mary became very concerned about their life style. They realize that when energy becomes severely limited, their life style will have to change. In the mean time, they are unwilling to make changes. As a matter of fact, near the end of the research period, the family purchased a luxury motor home to be used for family vacations and trips to the lake.

Summary

In summary, this chapter described the Morgan family life style. Included is a description of the home and community in which they live. Brief life histories are included in an effort to understand how family background and early socialization influence behavior patterns. A description of the family's methods of organization is included as a basis

for answering research question #1. The data related to research question #2 included a description of systems of support used by the family.

Family background, organization and support systems were included as items which would assist in the development of a total understanding of the Morgan family life style.

CHAPTER V

EQUALITY AND DIFFERENTIATION

Based on the conceptual framework presented in Chapter I, this chapter will include a presentation, analysis and discussion of data related to the equality differentiation framework - research questions 3, 4, and 5. An attempt is made to describe and classify the family within this framework.

RESEARCH QUESTION #3 - What are the levels of equality and role differentiation in the family?

Role Equality: Observational Data

Equality is defined by Christensen as a situation in which there are no restrictions upon valued positions and rewards; inequality as a situation where restrictions are placed upon valued positions and rewards. Expanding upon these definitions, for the purposes of this research, permission granting and permission seeking are included as evidences of an unequal relationship.

The data are analyzed to determine the level of restriction setting and permission granting exerted by each spouse. The evidences of restriction formation include overt and covert communication and behavior patterns. Evidence was found in three major areas of family life for the Morgans: family financial management, time and housekeeping tasks, and in some specific role behavior categories used for detailed observation.

Family financial management. This is one of the areas where restriction forming and permission granting are most evident. The money

in the family is controlled by Mary. She receives all monies and deposits them in the appropriate accounts. She decides how much will be spent or saved. She has developed a budget as a basis for the family spending behavior. Bob admits that he is vaguely aware that there is a budget, but has little knowledge of the specifics. "When I want something," he said, "I talk it over with Mary and she lets me know whether we can afford it or not. What bugs me is that we can afford for her to go to Saks and buy a goddamn \$300 coat, but we can't afford for me to buy what I want." Comments like the previous one are frequently overheard in the family conversation.

Mary balances the checkbook and pays the bills and keeps close track of expenses. If Bob needs money he comes to Mary for it. There is some money allotted each week, but beyond that amount he consults Mary. Most major purchases are discussed very carefully. "I'm in favor of most purchases," says Bob. "I just like to spend money. Not Mary though. She only wants to spend money on what she thinks is important."

After a decision had been made to purchase a motor home, one evening Bob had been drinking and it was obvious he was upset. Mary was outside checking on the children. "Do you see what's happening?" he said to me. "Selfishness is dominating here. We get that motor home because she wants it. She likes to go to the lake but not to have to be stuck under somebody else's roof. She operates differently than Mom. Now she's got her own kitchen and a place to go while we're there. Sure it's nice and we'll all enjoy it, but it pisses me off! She wants it -- we get it. I want it and it's just too goddamn bad." When Mary came back in Bob had settled down some. She knew we were talking about the new purchase, so she chimed in. "We were going to build at the lake. Now

we won't have to. This is much better. We've got our own place and I can keep it the way I want. We can have our meals on our own schedule, which is very different from Mom's." She went on to comment about the fact that the motor home was better than a cottage. They could take it any number of places. She felt that this would provide more opportunity for family fun and family togetherness. "It will definitely be good for the family," was her final comment. Bob quickly chimed in, "Good for the family, hell. It's good for the 'Bear.' What's good for the 'Bear' has to be good for the rest of us." Mary just grinned at him, gave him a little kiss and said, "That's OK. I love you, too." The discussion ended and Bob went outside to hit some golf balls. Mary commented, "He blows off like that a little; it makes him feel good. The truth of the matter is I really don't think he would want things any other way."

I noted in several discussions that Bob would often refer to the fact that he has no business handling the money. "We'd be in bad shape if I was handling the money. I'm not security conscious like Mary. I just spend money for what ever it is I need - or want. I think everybody else should have what they want too. The trouble with that is there's never enough money to go around with that kind of a policy." In the main, Bob agreed that Mary should control the money. The outbursts, like the one over the motor home, which had been a mutual decision, appear to be Bob's method of dealing with frustration or as Mary says, "asserting his dominance." Although he has agreed to the system, Bob still feels the need to assert some of his feelings about it.

Housekeeping. Another area where there is evidence of restriction formation and permission granting is housekeeping. Mary has placed herself in the position of controlling Bob's contributions in this area.

In the previous chapter there was considerable discussion regarding the early struggles over housekeeping responsibility. Bob often comments about how he gave in to "keep the peace." "She needed to take over. I could see that. So I just sort of stepped back to let her do her thing. Now I just watch her cues. I can tell when she wants or expects me to do things. I do them. I do want to help out and I enjoy it. She runs the house though, and that's OK. She does things the way we like and fixes what I like and that's OK. Besides that, she's getting to be a better cook than me - on most things."

Mary spends all of her time, other than work, in the home. Much of that time is spent in housekeeping and food management activities. She approaches most housekeeping tasks with a relaxed creativity. For each meal there is a little something special, such as a quick bread or dessert. I asked if the meals had been planned or prepared any differently while I was there and Bob indicated that it was not the case. He assured me that Mary always liked to fuss at meal time. She also fusses with the appearance of her home. Mary likes to receive compliments on her home and her meals. This feedback is very important to her. Mary has a strong need to take care of the home and do it well. "She enjoys playing house," said Bob. "It's her way of showing us she cares."

Time. The third major area in which restrictions have been generated is time use. When they were first married, Bob used to play golf quite frequently with his friends. This situation has changed to the point where he now only plays on week days when it won't interfere with family life. "I couldn't stand the costs," said Bob. "I love golf, but it wasn't worth the grief I caught when I got home. Mary just hated it when

I was gone. She'd be home here alone with the kids and that's not how she wanted to spend the weekend. She would just unload her fury on me when I got home. I got to thinking about it and I don't like staying at home with the kids while she's off playing either. She doesn't go off much though and she doesn't want me to."

I noted during my observation that Mary did not leave the house at all other than for work or shopping or errands. And as often as possible she would attempt to get these tasks done during the work day. She valued her time at home - uninterrupted. Now and then Mary would refer to the fact that she felt it was important that she have as much time at home with the family as possible. On occasion she would refer to the fact that she wasn't away from her children any more than some of her socially conscious neighbors who play bridge during the day and have many evening social engagements.

Mary does not have any personal interests or hobbies which take her away from home. She has restricted herself and she restricts Bob. "My main interest in life outside my career is my home and family," Mary would say. "I just love the time we have at home together. It's a treat after a busy day and we all need it. I especially love the time with Bob --- those relaxed together times for talking, caring and putzing. I resent any time he spends away from me. I resent it when he goes off to play golf. I even resent it when the neighbors come into the yard and take his attention away from me and the kids. I want him accessible to me and the children whenever we want or need him."

As I observed their interaction it became evident that Mary put restrictions on Bob's time for anything other than his work or his studies. She wanted very much for him to do well in these two areas and

was willing to permit him "time away" for these items. Bob had adjusted to this by taking time out of the work day for his own personal interests. He did not pack a lunch but rather had lunch with his friends and colleagues. This gave him an opportunity for friendship and exchange during the day. He also planned all his golf outings during the work day. He managed to work out a schedule which would allow him to plan golf games around his class schedule and other professional commitments. He admits that this activity has not been well-received by some of his superiors. It also has become apparent that some of his professional goals and work have suffered because of this. But he contends, "I'll be damned if I'm going to give up all my fun. Athletics have always been a big part of my life. I enjoy golf too much to give it up. It's a hell of a good thing I don't approach my job the way 'Bear' does. She's so conscientious she wouldn't take time out for anything. No job means that much to me that I can't build in any flexibility for myself. Mary doesn't have any personal interests or hobbies other than me and the kids. She does lots for us. She's right, we ought to have that time together on weekends. Besides that I just can't take all that shit. I can't enjoy myself if I think she's miserable at home here and I know she's going to dump a load of shit on me when I get back."

Time, money and shared homemaking tasks are the three main areas where restriction setting and permission granting were evident. In each case I observed that the restrictions were being set by Mary. Two of these main areas - money management and homemaking tasks - were specific role behavior categories used for detailed observation. Time use permeated all categories and restrictions on its use were particularly observed in the category of recreation and play.

Equality in other behavior categories. Evidence of equality and inequality was observed in some of the behavior categories and not in others. Where there was no evidence of restrictions, equality was assumed. The evidence of equality by category is summarized in Table 1.

Role Equality: Analysis and Discussion of Observational Data

Elaboration of the Christensen Model. The data reported above prompted the formulation of a preliminary hypothesis that the role relationship in this family was a female superordinate role relationship. The evidence to support this statement came mainly from observations of role behavior and discourse relative to money, time and household duties.

The early support for this hypothesis indicated that the findings may, in fact, not be accountable within the Christensen framework. Christensen's model includes only those positions with the male in the superordinate position. He indicates that this is not a reflection of any value position, but rather is based on a need to economize. He goes on to indicate that role domination patterns have most generally favored the male. This family reflects a move toward a female dominated role pattern and thus indicates the need for the model to be elaborated. Figure 4 represents an elaboration of Christensen's model to include the female superordinate position.

It is the opinion of this researcher that Christensen's position may, in fact, have been somewhat value bound. A conceptual model should be presented in such a way that it allows for the development of new ideas. Models should be designed to stimulate creative thinking rather than to restrict it. If this is a model designed to look at changes, and if the change is seen as moving toward equality, the possibility that the trend might continue toward females in superordinate role positions should be included.

TABLE 1. Evidence of Equality by Role Behavior Category

ROLE BEHAVIOR CATEGORY	EVIDENCE OF EQUALITY
<u>Food Preparation and Cleanup</u> All behaviors related to the preparation of food, such as: breakfast; noon, evening meals; snacks; packed lunches; food baked, canning or freezing; cleanup incidental to meal preparation; setting the table; serving the food; after-meal care of table dishes, leftovers, kitchen equipment and refuse. Also includes dishwashing and dish draining.	Mary makes all the decisions regarding menus or grants permission for Bob to decide. Bob's efforts in food preparation are made to assist her decisions or are activities which have been previously established without restrictions. Activities which he performs include breakfast preparation and outdoor cookery. This behavior category is classified as <u>partial equality-female dominance</u> .
<u>Physical Care of Family Members</u> All activities related to physical care, such as bathing, feeding and dressing of family members; giving bedside care; first aid; taking family members to dentist or physician, beauty or barber shop.	Mary makes most of the decisions related to the care of the children. She encourages the children to come to her by responding to their demands. Bob helps whenever she requests and occasionally initiates child care activities such as changing dirty clothes and providing play things. This behavior category is classified as <u>partial equality-female dominance</u> .
<u>Intentional or Planned Interaction Between Spouses</u> Includes affection giving, emotional support giving, listening, conversation, planning and conflict resolution.	No evidence of restriction setting. <u>Equality is assumed.</u>
<u>Regular Housecare</u> Usual daily cleaning of house and appliances, such as mopping, dusting, vacuuming, making beds, putting rooms in order, caring for houseplants and tending the house heating system.	The daily patterns of the family are organized to allow time for Mary to tend to house care activities. Dusting, cleaning and other similar activities are carried out each morning after the other family members leave. Bob's house care behaviors are performed in support of Mary's decisions. It has been previously established that Bob will assume those tasks which Mary can't quite get to - such as vacuuming the carpet before guests come. This behavior category is classified as <u>partial equality-female dominance</u> .

ROLE BEHAVIOR CATEGORY

EVIDENCE OF EQUALITY

Care of Clothing

This category included washing clothes and household textiles at home, collecting and sorting the soiled things, pretreating, loading and unloading the washer and dryer, folding and storing clothes.

Mary performs all of the clothing care activities, but there was no evidence of restriction setting so in this case the behavior category is classified as partial equality-female dominance.

Intentional Socialization and Education of Children

Includes talking, playing, reading; individual or group attention; helping with lessons; taking children to social and educational functions

Both parents admit to feeling awkward playing with and socializing children. Both engage in some reading, talking and playing with the children. There is no evidence of restriction setting and the behavior category is classified as equality.

Marketing

Shopping and procurement of services for home. All activities related to shopping, whether or not purchases are made. Includes time for shopping in person, by telephone, mail, home sales, or delivery. Time for putting purchases away; arrangements for appliance repair-maintenance.

Mary does most of the day-to-day marketing activity. She places some restrictions on Bob's shopping activities. He shops for the mutually agreed upon major purchase items such as appliances and cars. No purchases are made, however, until Mary agrees. This behavior category is classified as partial equality-female dominance.

Management and Record Keeping

Linkages with family related agencies and organizations. All management activities of the household, such as thinking about and discussing alternative plans; planning menus; making out shopping lists; looking around for ideas; measuring space for something; figuring out how much money is available; checking plans as you carry them out; supervising the work of other family members; thinking back to see if plans worked.

As noted above, Mary controls the budget and manages the records. This category is classified as partial equality-female dominance.

Care of Yard and Car

Daily and seasonal care and maintenance of yard, garden areas, walks, garage, car and equipment for these activities. Also include buying gasoline

Bob makes the decisions regarding the yard and car. Mary's efforts in this category are made to assist him. He manages the garden, mows the lawn and gives her instructions when she works in the yard. This

ROLE BEHAVIOR CATEGORY	EVIDENCE OF EQUALITY
<u>for the car, care of garbage and trash.</u>	behavior category is classified as <u>partial equality-male dominance</u> .
<u>Recreation and Play</u> Relaxation activities not mentioned previously, such as hobbies, child playing with toys, indoor or outdoor sports, playing musical instruments.	This category is permeated by the factor of time. Mary places many restrictions on the time which Bob has for recreation and play. This category is characterized as <u>partial equality-female dominance</u> .
<u>TV, Radio, Reading, Writing</u>	The radio was played extensively, but very little TV watching and reading activity was observed. Since there was no evidence of restrictions, this category is assumed to be <u>equal</u> .
<u>Family Social Activities</u> Contacts with friends, neighbors, kin; entertaining business colleagues; visiting or talking on the phone with friends or relatives.	One social activity was observed and this was a shared activity. Since there was no evidence of restriction, this category is assumed to be <u>equal</u> .
<u>Special House Care and Maintenance</u> Occasional or seasonal care and cleaning of house, other upkeep such as washing windows; cleaning closets; waxing floors; defrosting and cleaning freezer or refrigerator; special cleaning of oven; painting and papering; repairing furniture or equipment; reupholstering; redecorating; creating household goods (needlework, crafts, sewing).	Very few behaviors were observed in this category. Bob and Mary reported sharing these activities. Since there was no evidence of restriction, this category is assumed to be <u>equal</u> .
<u>Volunteer Work</u> Includes time going to and from volunteer work, clubs, church.	No data.
<u>Other</u>	No data.

The direct observational data indicate that the Morgan role relationship would fit in cell J, K, or L. The relationship is not totally dominated by Mary, but rather is characterized as partial equality with the axis tipped in the direction of female superiority. However, this position was to be modified somewhat by further observations and interviews with Bob and Mary.

Role Equality: Interviews and Self-Report Data

As stated in the first chapter, Becker (1958) indicates that a strength of the participant observation methodology is that it allows the researcher to enter into conversations with the subjects to determine their interpretations of the events observed and the hypotheses formulated. The participant observer is able to obtain a description of reality as the subject perceives it. The additional data presented here formulate the subjects' perception of the reality of their role relationship.

My spouse reported that during the golf games with his buddies, Bob would join in with his friends complaining about not having enough time for golf. He would often comment, however, that he wouldn't want to be at home watching the kids while she was out golfing. He would refer to the need to collect yellow stamps. A yellow stamp is a kind of permission slip that is obtained through some form of exchange. An example became evident during the visit to the lake. The first day of the visit was planned so that the wives could spend the morning shopping at a nearby clothing factory outlet store while the husbands watched the children. During the shopping trip, the women got caught in a local parade and as a result were gone much longer than anticipated. In addition to this, each of the wives spent a sizeable sum of money to purchase some bargain




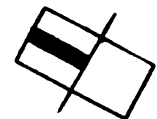
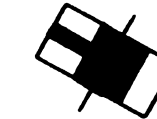

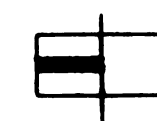
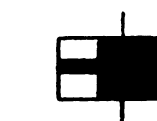







	COMPLETELY DIFFERENTIATED	PARTIALLY DIFFERENTIATED	COMPLETELY UNDIFFERENTIATED
Complete Inequality Male Dominance	A  male dom absolute ineq. rsd	B  male dom absolute ineq. sro	C  male dom absolute ineq. nrs
Partial Equality Male Dominance	D  partial eq./male dom/rsd	E  partial eq./male dom/sro	F  partial eq./male dom/nrs
Complete Equality	G  absolute equality, roles strictly defined	H  absolute equality some role overlap	I  absolute equality, no role structure
Partial Equality Female Dominance	J  fem dom partial equal. rsd	K  fem dom partial equal. sro	L  fem dom partial equal. nrs
Complete Inequality Female Dominance	M  fem dom absolute ineq. rsd	N  fem dom absolute ineq. sro	O  fem dom absolute ineq. nrs

Figure 4. An Elaboration of the Christensen Model to Include Female Dominance

Note: rsd = roles strictly defined
 sro = some role overlap
 nrs = no role structure

clothes at the outlet store. After we arrived back at the cottage and explained the parade predicament and the bargains, Bob was overhead to say to one of his friends, "We should have enough yellow stamps to last this whole trip." When asked to explain yellow stamps, Bob explained that since we had been gone longer than expected and since each of the wives had made several purchases, they would be feeling that it was the husbands turn to do their thing. "The fact that they got back too late for us to play golf today as planned means lots of yellow stamps. They're feeling badly that they messed up our plans so we just draw on those feelings and take off all day tomorrow. After this, believe me, there'll be no load of shit on us. Especially since we were so gracious about the tardiness." Bob was using the term "yellow stamps" to refer to an exchange system or to what is referred to as "quid pro quo" -- something for something. At no time during my observations did I note any reference to yellow stamps or to any form of exchange system made within the family setting. The yellow stamp system represents the fact that within the mutually agreed upon framework, there are exchanges made to gain personal satisfactions.

In another discussion reported by my spouse, Bob remarked, "Mary and I have been talking about the research and about our lives. Maybe it would be wise to conduct research on a newly married couple who was still fighting things out. Hell, we've got pretty comfortable patterns now, but that's because we fought it out before. Sure, Mary handles the money and has me pretty well trained and she's loused up my weekend golf games pretty well, but these things are this way because of some decisions we made awhile back. We fought hard and long about the money thing and I still bitch about it, but we both know that it's best for the family. I

litch and carry on that I'd like to buy a sports car, and I would, but it wouldn't be very practical for the family. We have both made this commitment to the family - to make it go. It doesn't always go the same though, either. These past two years while I've been doing the degree and building up part-time employment, Mary's had the stable, larger income. During this time she's been attempting more control than usual, especially over the money and that's OK. The thing is, thought, that we made some basic decisions years ago that until we decide otherwise it's OK. It didn't used to be OK and there may come a day when it won't be OK again, but for now it works. We make these decisions according to what works for the family to keep things running smoothly."

On another occasion during an evening meal Bob and Mary were discussing their relationship. "One thing that makes it work," said Bob, "is that Mary is dedicated to me and to the kids. Outside of the job this is where all her time and energy goes. I know she loves me. Want to know how? It was that night she was in labor for Becky. It was a breech birth and she suffered long and hard. When she came out of the delivery room she looked at me and said, 'I've got my girl, don't worry, your boy will be next.' It's always been that way - there isn't anything she wouldn't do for me and the kids."

As Bob was talking tears came to Mary's eyes and she and Bob caressed. "It's important to me," he said, "to be cared for and to care for someone." This scene was in contrast to some other scenes where Bob would often make disparaging remarks about Mary or about women in general.

During the vacation at the lake Mary was making some comments about the parade. "Shut up," Bob said, "unless you want to have to drag all these kids to the parade." He turned to the other adults in the room and commented, "Sometimes her brains are all on the end of her tongue."

Another time when we were discussing directions to the cottage, he commented extensively about how one woman giving another woman directions would never work. "Mary can't find her way around the block. This ought to be good. We really won't expect you people until a day late."

Bob would frequently refer to Mary as "a goddamn pushover with the kids - especially Mark. See how they get after her all the time? Not me. If men handled the children of the world they'd straighten up." At times when Mary would make certain decisions or veto some of Bob's suggestions he would become especially verbal and comments would include references to "hair-brained women," "controlling female," and that he had become a "maid."

Mary would not pay any attention to his comments or she'd just laugh them off. Often she'd go over and kiss him and say, "I love you too." I asked her if these comments bothered her. "They used to," she said. "But it's just his way of blowing off. He doesn't mean it. If it makes him feel better, it's OK with me. Maybe it's a way for him to assert his male dominance a little, I don't know. He never does it when we're alone - just to put on a show for other people. I think he feels this is what others expect from him - especially men. It's his way of letting other people know that I don't dominate his life. I think it is something with men."

One evening, a situation in the neighbor's yard prompted a discussion of dominance. It was during cocktails, before dinner. Bob glanced out the patio door into the next yard and exclaimed, "Look, Mary, they're at it again. Come here." Bob said to me. "Look at this. Can you believe that?" In the next yard the husband was dressed in a bathing suit and working in the garden. About ten feet from him sat his wife in a chair

watching him. "I just can't stand that," said Bob. "That woman just follows that man around. That's not a relationship, it's some strange kind of worship. She stays home and takes care of his house and does everything exactly the way he wants it. Then when he gets home, all she does is follow him around and wait on him. It's really a 'sad track' what happens to her. I don't go for this domineering bit. If the man dominates, then the wife either adjusts or becomes submissive like that. If the woman dominates, the man may split or sometimes submit. It's no good either way. One loses out. You can't have one dominating the other. Men have to give up the traditional male role. You find out when you do change that there are some things in life that you've been missing that really count. Things run smoother, happier and life is much less complicated." He paused for a minute and then added, "...at home."

Role Equality: Observation and Self-Report Data

The data presented indicate that the patterns which Bob and Mary are currently following are a result of previous decisions and commitments. It appears that Bob ultimately agreed that Mary should have the right to restrict time, money and household duties. These prior agreements are based on a high degree of concern for, and an overriding theme of, family togetherness and high value placed on family life.

However, the data indicate that there are restrictions placed upon certain behaviors within the family. The restrictions are not set on the basis of sex or position, but rather are based upon a mutual agreement to limit behaviors and activities which would interfere with family cohesiveness. They have decided, in fact, that Mary has better skills and self-control, and along with her current status as wage earner,

these factors have placed her in a position as gate keeper of family resources. Although these decisions have been established at this point in time, some frustration exists. This frustration, expressed especially by Bob, is evidence of the tenuous and dynamic nature of the agreement. They have agreed to these decisions for the present, because other alternatives appeared to be less attractive or less viable. The decisions have changed in the past and will probably change in the future. The state of equality in this sense is dynamic and changes with changing needs and circumstances which bring about new alternatives.

At this point, before determining the level of differentiation, the equality dimension would be characterized as a dynamic concept fluctuating among cell rows D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, in Figure 4. When Bob becomes especially verbose and strikes out with the disparaging remarks as he does, he is attempting to assert some dominance or to tip the scale toward D, E, F or partial male dominance. There are times during discussions of issues and setting plans when the couple functions in a mode of complete equality, as pictured in cells G, H, I. When Mary is asserting control over family resources and in the position of setting restrictions for other members, the scale tips toward cells, J, K, L, or partial female dominance.

Role Differentiation: Observation and Self-Report Data

The data reported in this section are based upon a compilation of observations which were recorded as actions on the behavior observation sheet (Appendix A). Recorded behaviors were grouped into the classification system as presented in Chapter III. Some self-report data are also included.

Food Preparation and Cleanup. Meal preparation activities were carried out by both Bob and Mary. Bob prepared breakfast every morning while Mary helped the children get ready for the day. He also prepared all foods which were cooked outside over the charcoal fire. The main dish for evening meals was prepared outside an average of three times per week. When the main dish was prepared outside by Bob, the accompaniments were prepared inside by Mary. This was the pattern for the evening when they entertained. Bob prepared the meat over the charcoal grill on the patio and Mary prepared the salad, vegetables and dessert inside.

Mary took time preparing food, especially for the evening meal, and would prepare special items. I questioned the family if special meals were prepared due to my presence. They informed me that meal time is considered a special family time and is accorded the time and effort as such.

Mary prepared her own sack lunches each day. Bob purchases his lunches at the college cafeteria where he eats with his friends. Mary does all the family baking and this is usually done during evening meal preparation time. I did not observe any food preservation activities, but I did learn through self-report that they can some foods and that this is a family activity.

Meal cleanup activities were also performed by both Bob and Mary. In the mornings Bob would unload the dishwasher and clean up the dishes from the night before. Mary would complete the meal cleanup activities after Bob left with the children. Most evening meal cleanup was shared by Bob and Mary in a relaxed manner as part of the evening meal ritual.

Decisions regarding menus were made by Mary. If she were indecisive about a particular meal, she would discuss it with Bob and they would

make a mutual decision. They agreed that he was more creative than she in meal planning.

In summary, meal preparation and cleanup behaviors were shared by Bob and Mary and there was little differentiation of roles. Both partners shared preparation and cleanup activities. There was little differentiation in roles relating to food. Mary retained final responsibility for meal plans and decisions, which was her choice, as noted earlier.

The role structure would be defined as having very little differentiation in this category.

Physical Care of Family Members. The child care activities were shared to a limited extent by both parents, but an interesting pattern became evident early in the observations. Any time Mary was present, the children would approach her first to care for their needs. Whether it was a drink of water, help to go potty, change of clothes, permission to cross the street, or a treat, the request would come to Mary first. She would usually take care of their needs, but on occasion would request Bob's assistance.

Each day Bob would take the children to the babysitter and pick them up. They reported that this arrangement had been worked out long ago to leave time for Mary to get the house "under control." Bob would also respond to the children's requests when Mary was busy or away from home. Certain types of requests were directed to Bob first. These included requests for fixing bikes, toys and other items. Beyond these requests there were certain activities which were shared by Mary and Bob; these included putting the children to bed, helping them at meal time and tending to small disasters such as cuts and hurts.

The majority of the child care activities observed were performed by Mary. She awakened the children in the morning, helped them dress and gather their school materials and supplies. It was Mary who made all arrangements with the babysitter. During the periods at home it was Mary who repeatedly checked to see where the children were and what they were doing. On occasion she asked Bob to check, but it is she who kept track of them. Mary also made arrangements with the neighbors for the children to visit with neighborhood kids in their homes. The children often asked Mary for special treats for themselves and their friends. No occasions when they made similar requests of Bob were observed.

If at any time Mary had any difficulty with the care of the children Bob stepped in to help. There were several times when Mark refused to cooperate with activities such as hair washing and dressing in the morning. Whenever these difficulties occurred, Bob would assist Mary with the activity.

In summary, Mary performed the majority of the child care tasks. There were certain tasks such as transporting the children to and from the babysitter, which Bob would perform, but in the main the children looked to Mary for care-taking behaviors.

With reference to child care, Bob would often remark that the children went to Mary because "she's a soft touch." "I won't respond to their needs like she will. I won't get them treats and take them to the neighbors and do the things they want, when they want. Those kids are smart. They know who to go to." The child care pattern, he felt, had evolved in this manner as a result of this behavior. The role structure would be defined as partially differentiated.

Intentional or Planned Interaction Between Spouses. This is the major activity which is carried out in the home. It is shared equally between spouses. Many other activities are planned to allow adequate time for spouse interaction. Each day the time between arrival at home and meal time cleanup is spent on spouse interaction. After the children go to play with their friends, Bob remains near the kitchen area and he and Mary share cocktails and discourse. The conversations begin with a review of the day's activities by one spouse, while the partner listens intently. Discussion of events, strategizing with regard to each of their roles, resolving conflicts and sharing affection took place during this time. Often the conversations would include a discussion of plans for careers and plans for family. During the observations many conversations focused on the relationship and these seemed to be for the benefit of the researcher. However, through interviews it was established that they often discuss their relationship and where it's going. Neither partner dominated. They shared equally, conversing, listening, arguing and sharing affection. There was no apparent role differentiation in this area.

Regular Housecare. As mentioned earlier in the section on organization, Mary took time each morning, after Bob and the children left, to do housework. Most of the regular housework was done by Mary during this time. Mary kept busy doing little jobs after supper and off and on during weekends. She would wash a mirror or window here or there, or wipe a section of paneling that bothered her, or straighten a picture or rearrange papers on the secretary. She liked to "putz," as she would call it - no big jobs - just a little here and there. Bob did not partake in these types of housecare activities. He did vacuum and dust

before guests came to dinner. Through self-report it was learned that Bob often vacuums the house.

As was explained earlier, Bob used to take a more active role in housecare, which Mary resented. At the time of the observations he was performing only those tasks which Mary could not get to or which they agreed Bob would perform. Vacuuming was one of these agreed upon tasks which was observed on the day of the dinner party. Since he had this additional time he vacuumed and dusted the house before Mary arrived home. He also washed the patio and patio furniture.

There was some sharing of housekeeping tasks; the structure in this category would be characterized as partially differentiated.

Care of Clothing. Clothing care activities were daily activities for Mary. Every morning she would remove a load of wash from the dryer and put another load in the washer to be cleaned. She often complained about the laundry never being done. There was always a pile of clothes in the master bedroom. Mary often remarked that there never was time to fold them and put them away. The clothes were in piles all the time. Mary seldom ironed clothes. Most clothing items purchased were wash and wear or knits.

Mary performed all the clothing care tasks. The structure in this category would be characterized as undifferentiated.

Intentional Socialization and Education of Children. Socialization of the children in the Morgan family took place in an informal manner. There were few specially planned socialization or educational activities for the children. A discussion of the day's activities always took place with both parents when the children arrived home. They were encouraged

to participate in mealtime conversation. The children were not ignored, but were encouraged to find their own activities. Requests for assistance, questions and attempts to initiate conversation were met with a ready response from both parents. Much of the socialization activity occurred during child care activities. Both parents helped the children to get ready for bed time and much conversation occurred at this time. Frequently, to the delight of the children, stories were read or told.

Bob and Mary each expressed some feelings of awkwardness about engaging in children's activities. Bob commented, "I'm not very good with kids. It's just not my thing to play with them or involve them in what I'm doing. I love to be with them, but they do their thing and I do mine."

Mary also had some feelings about not being very creative at playing with and planning activities for the kids. "I'm glad we live in this neighborhood so the kids have lots of friends to play with and things to do. We let them roam in the neighborhood quite a bit. They love it and it gives us some time."

Socialization was a shared activity with both parents expressing a strong desire to have the other parent at home to share the activity. No differentiation was evident in this category.

Marketing. Regular marketing activities to procure food and supplies for the maintenance of the home were carried out by Mary. She made out daily lists of needed items and planned to pick them up during her lunch hour or on the way home from work. Occasionally she would ask Bob to shop for certain items.

Major shopping trips were planned monthly to stock up; these were family activities. Mary shops for and purchases all the children's

clothes. Shopping for major purchases such as furniture and appliances is a joint activity and the decisions are thoroughly discussed.

During the observation period, Bob and Mary became interested in purchasing a motor home. Since Bob had more flexible time than Mary, it was agreed that he would begin shopping around to see what was available. When he located several possibilities Mary then entered into the process. Bob and Mary then decided together which alternative to select. Through discussion it became evident this was the same procedure they used when shopping for an automobile. The preliminary shopping for items, about which Mary knew very little, was carried out by Bob, but the decision was made jointly.

The marketing activities were, therefore, differentiated on the basis of interest and skills and were divided into areas which could be considered as based on traditional sex role differentiation. This category would be characterized as extensively differentiated.

Management and Record Keeping. All record keeping activities are taken care of by Mary. Mary opens all the mail and takes care of all the bills and records. As indicated earlier, this is a pattern which she and Bob have elected. There is a high degree of differentiation in this category.

Care of Yard and Car. The yard and garden work are shared by Bob and Mary, but the bulk of the work is done by Bob. Bob spends Saturday mornings and many evenings working in the yard and garden. He assumes the major responsibility for the garden, although Mary does help with the weeding and hoeing. Mary has some small areas in the yard where she planted lettuce and gourds and she tends those. The yard and garden work is a shared activity which serves as a form of recreation.

The Morgans have two cars and they are driven every day. Bob makes arrangements for repair and garage maintenance work when needed. Mary takes care of gasoline and oil for the car she drives. During the observation period, Mary noticed a problem with one of the cars. She pointed it out to Bob and he made all the arrangements and had it repaired.

Other activities in this category include care of garbage or refuse and care of the patio, walks, and dog kennel. The observation records include accounts of each spouse carrying out these duties.

In sum, the yard and car activities were partially differentiated, with Bob performing a majority of the tasks.

Recreation and Play. The only adult recreational activity observed was that performed by Bob. Golf was Bob's hobby and besides going off several times to play golf he frequently hit golf balls in the area behind the house.

The trips to the lake were recreational activities planned for the family. During this trip, however, Mary's activities were observed to be very similar to those at home. She prepared meals, cleaned and tended the children. Time not spent on these activities was spent on the beach with the children and with relatives and friends.

Bob's activities at the lake included boating and golfing. Mary did not desire to engage in either of those activities, but did enjoy the evening beach fires and shopping in the local stores. The time at the lake was relaxed and casual and the conversations seldom included work related concerns.

Recreational activities are shared by family members, but the roles are partially differentiated. Bob performs many more recreational activities than Mary, and they are athletically oriented. Mary explains

that she gains much of her enjoyment from cooking and fixing up the house and she considers these activities to be special interests or hobbies.

This category of activities would be characterized as partially differentiated.

Family Social Management. Only one social activity was observed. Bob and Mary shared activities in this category which is characterized as undifferentiated.

TV, Radio, Reading, Writing. Very few behaviors were observed in this category. There were a few occasions when Bob and Mary watched TV together. The only reading observed was of newspaper and magazines by both Bob and Mary. This category would be non-differentiated.

Family Social Activities. During the observation period Bob and Mary entertained one time. The couple who came for dinner was moving out of town that weekend. The husband was an associate of Bob's at the community college. Mary indicated that they had not socialized with this couple before because they did not want to "complicate the working relationship." Bob had extended the invitation, but had discussed it with Mary first. They discussed the evening plans before the invitation was made. Bob helped prepare the house and the meal. Cleanup activities were also a joint activity. Bob and Mary often commented about the fact that they have few friends and do little entertaining. The main reason for this they felt was lack of time. Another comment they made was that they don't feel they are accepted socially by many people. They knew very few dual-career families and they feel they've been ostracized by families who frown on their life style.

Observations indicated that there is no differentiation in this category.

Special House Care and Maintenance. No behaviors were observed in this category. Interviews and discussions indicated, however, that these tasks are shared. Bob and Mary often speak of how they worked together to finish the inside of their home. This category is undifferentiated.

Volunteer Work. No behaviors were observed in this category. Bob and Mary are not involved in any volunteer activities.

Role Differentiation: Summary

The summaries of the observed behaviors recorded for each role category were classified according to the operational definitions of differentiation.

Based on observations and self-report, categories of behaviors performed by only one partner were considered as totally differentiated. Those which both partners performed were considered undifferentiated. Categories where activities were divided, were considered partially differentiated.

Two categories were totally differentiated: Care of Clothing and Management and Record Keeping. Five categories were undifferentiated: Intentional or Planned Interaction Between Spouses; Intentional Socialization of Children; TV, Radio, Reading, Writing; Family Social Management; and Special House Care Maintenance. Six categories were partially differentiated: Food Preparation and Cleanup; Physical Care of Family Members; Regular Housecare; Marketing; Care of Yard and Car; Recreation and Play.

Based on the summary, the overall pattern would be characterized as partial differentiation with considerable role overlap. In general, Bob and Mary share activities for most family tasks.













Equality and Role Differentiation: Combining the Structural Dimensions


Following the Christensen model, the next step was to combine the qualitative descriptions of equality and role differentiation for each category. Table 2 summarizes equality and differentiation for each role behavior category. Table 2 also includes a symbol representing the degree of differentiation and equality according to the Christensen model, as elaborated by the researcher in Figure 4. As noted throughout the data, decisions were based on two major factors: interests and skills and role expectations. Discourse reported earlier indicated that Bob, for example, was willing to agree to have Mary take care of the financial management since he considered his own skills in this area to be very limited. Mary reported that she realized Bob's skills in the traditionally male oriented domains of yard and car work and expected Bob to assume those tasks.

The issue of role expectations was repeatedly evident in the data. Mary's behavior was somewhat role bound by her personal values and expectations for her own performance. Bob, however, having experienced a less traditional role pattern in his own family background, was much less role bound in his expectations and behavior and more willing to establish flexible role patterns based on skills and circumstances.

After characterizing the role patterns for each behavior category, an overall assessment of role differentiation and equality was formulated. Role differentiation for Bob and Mary Morgan was characterized as partially differentiated. Role equality could not be characterized as singly or simply, nor as fitting any one cell of the elaborated Christensen model. Equality fluctuated between partial equality/male dominance (E) in one behavior category, partial equality/female dominance (K) in

TABLE 2. Equality and Role Differentiation
by Role Behavior Category

ROLE BEHAVIOR CATEGORY	EQUALITY	DIFFEREN- TIATION	SYMBOL
Food Prepara- tion and Clean- up	Part.Equ. Fem.Dom.	Partial Diff.	 (K)
Physical Care of Family Members	Part.Equ. Fem.Dom.	Partial Diff.	 (K)
Intentional or Planned Inter- action Between Spouses	Equ.	Undiff.	 (I)
Regular Housecare	Part.Equ. Fem.Dom.	Partial Diff.	 (K)
Care of Clothing	Part.Equ. Fem.Dom.	Diff.	 (J)
Intentional Socialization & Education of Children	Equ.	Undiff.	 (I)
Marketing	Part.Equ. Fem.Dom.	Partial Diff.	 (K)
Managment & Record Keeping	Part.Equ. Fem.Dom.	Diff.	 (J)
Care of Yard & Car	Part.Equ. Male Dom.	Partial Diff.	 (E)
Recreation & Play	Part.Equ. Fem.Dom.	Partial Diff.	 (H)
TV, Radio, Reading, Writing	Equ.	Undiff.	 (I)
Family Social Management	Equ.	Undiff.	 (I)

ROLE BEHAVIOR CATEGORY	EQUALITY	DIFFEREN- TIATION	SYMBOL
Special House Care and Maintenance	Equ.	Undiff.	 (I)
Volunteer Work	No data	No data	No data
Other	No data	No data	No data

seven categories, and total equality (H) in five categories. Role equality was found to be a dynamic and tenuous state. Figure 5 is a diagrammatic representation of family role equality and differentiation in the Morgan family. At present Mary Morgan is exercising dominance in more behavior categories than is Bob. The arrows indicate, however, that equality and differentiation may shift with changing situations, activities and needs.

RESEARCH QUESTION #4 - How is role differentiation determined?

Role differentiation in the Morgan family is determined on the basis of efficiency, skills, personal expectations and values, circumstances and time available.

Those tasks which were ritualized into a schedule were pre-determined on the basis of what worked best. Bob commented that it's usually in terms of what works best for Mary. The circumstances were such that for the past few years she had been the major wage earner for the family. "She also is the one around whom this family revolves," said Bob. "If Mary can have time to keep the house running smoothly, then everything runs smoothly. So we work out a schedule which accommodates these needs without interfering with the job. I've always been more flexible and I have more flexible time now while I'm finishing the degree."

Mary often refers to the fact that she likes to "run the house." "It's important to me to keep things running smoothly," she said. "To take care of my home and family. My mother always did and maybe that's why I have this strong need to nurture. The other thing is the neighbors. Here's an example," she said. "I never used to make the beds in the morning or at all for that matter. Then Mark's little friend from next door started coming and she'd make comments about the beds not being

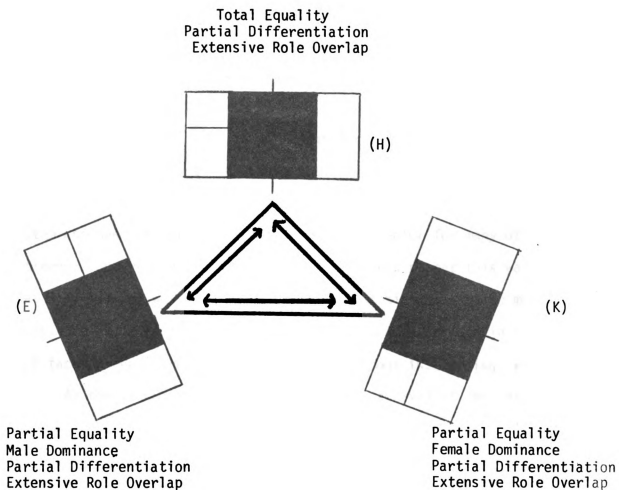


Figure 5. Diagrammatic Representation of Family Role Equality and Differentiation in the Morgan Family

made and how her mother always get the beds made. It bothered me. So I started making beds every morning. I feel lots of pressures. Maybe they're real or maybe just in my head, but there are always these little comments about mothers and wives away from home. I guess that's part of why I feel that way."

Mary had a strong need to do things for the family, to make-up for not being home. She grew up with a value system that included women (wives, mothers) at home to "take care" of their families. This value system and need of Mary's was the determining factor for many of the role patterns. Bob realized early in their relationship that this was a need that Mary had and was willing to alter some of his behavior to meet her needs. He had excellent homemaking skills and would engage in many home care tasks whenever he felt he could help without interfering with Mary. As the circumstances changed, with the arrival of the children and additional job responsibilities, Mary began to rely more on Bob's help and expected him to provide assistance when she couldn't keep up.

Tasks were divided on the basis of interest and skills. Mary performed much of the child care activity. While both parents expressed some feelings of lack of child care skills, Mary felt more comfortable in performing child care activities. Bob enjoyed the yard and car work and had excellent skills in these areas. Mary engaged in and enjoyed the yard activities also, but admitted lack of skills and preference for other tasks.

In summary, the role differentiation in the Morgan family as described earlier is determined somewhat by skills, by what is efficient and by time available. Mary's strong need to fulfill her own role expectations and those which she perceives society places on her is an

overriding factor. Her need to fulfill certain rather traditional expectations places her in a position of controlling and performing most of the household activities. Circumstances have altered this situation somewhat. Mary's need to perform well in her career may bring about circumstances which will force a change in behavior and/or attitudes.

Bob, who came from a different family background, with a working mother, is more accustomed to flexible roles and is willing to share a variety of tasks. Beyond Mary's needs, the differentiation which does exist is based on availability of resources of time, skills and energy.

RESEARCH QUESTION #5 - What are the major themes (shared goals) and how do they encourage or discourage differentiation and equality?

The data indicate that there are several themes which direct the Morgan family patterns. The family discourse is dominated by three major topics of discussion. The first of these topics is careers. Much of Mary's and Bob's evening conversation was devoted to discussions of their work. Each person related a detailed description of the day's activities while the other listened and provided input and suggestions.

It is important to each of them that the other's career goes well. Mary often would encourage Bob to "go after another grant." She was very knowledgeable about Bob's work and when he would give an abrupt answer or make an abrupt comment about his work, she would go on with a lengthy, detailed discussion of exactly what he was doing and how he was doing it. Bob would often comment that he wouldn't have done advanced degrees if it hadn't been for Mary's encouragement and support.

Bob also frequently described Mary's career success and ability. He would comment that "her division would fall apart if it weren't for

her ability. She keeps it together," he would say. "She should be the boss." There were several long discussions planning strategies for Mary to begin her Ph.D. Bob was strongly encouraging her to do so. They were both in agreement that she should move into a position of greater status and responsibility.

"We have had to make some sacrifices for Bob to go to school," Mary said. "We haven't had time for any longer vacations or much family fun. That degree has interfered with our plans to finish the basement. That will have to wait. We don't have a lot of hobbies or activities like other families, but that's OK. We've got some educational goals to achieve. Bob needs that Ph.D. to get that State Department job we'd like him to have. He'll make a wonderful contribution." "And then," Bob chimed in, "Mary can go ahead and work on her degree. It won't take her long, then she'll be set for the rest of her life. We're willing to make some sacrifices so that we can have the kinds of jobs and the kind of income we want. We're not like some dual-career couples we know who are trying to be big wheels nationally and make a name for themselves. We don't get that carried away. But we do want challenging careers where we can have some prestige and security and make a contribution."

This theme of mutual career achievement has facilitated role differentiation. Time demands of the careers have necessitated sharing of household tasks.

The second major theme evident in the Morgan family is the commitment to family life and family cohesiveness. As reported earlier, they structure their lives to allow for as much family time together as possible. Bob and Mary have never taken a vacation away from the children and most vacations are planned with the extended family. During the

last observation, they were planning their first long trip with the motor home - a trip to visit Mary's mother, who is herself a frequent topic of conversation in the family. Mary often refers to the fact that her mother devoted her life to taking care of her father and herself. She remembers her mother as "always being there." Mary's value system reflects her "conservative rural mid-western upbringing" as she refers to it, which incorporated a pattern of "women in the home." Although she has a strong desire to achieve in her career she also expresses her need to "be at home as much as possible." Mary appeared to have a strong need to do well and to meet expectations which she felt society held for her and she had for herself.

Bob shared the value of family togetherness and is willing to give up activities to be at home.

The third major topic of discussion was money and the things it could buy. "You have to understand," said Bob when he was out cooking steak, "that we like to live well. Money is a big part of why we both work. We really enjoy having the money to buy nice things and buy what we want."

Spending money was frequently discussed at meal time. A microwave oven, new golf clubs, garden equipment, a car, and a motor home were among the items considered for purchase. A luxurious motor home was selected as an item for purchase. Mary and Bob both often commented about how they liked to live "nice." They realized that their life style would be drastically impaired if there was only one salary. "Neither one of us has ever made more than \$17,000 and I just can't imagine trying to live on that," said Bob. "I suppose we could," said Mary, "but we sure wouldn't want to. There are so many things we wouldn't be able to have or do."

In summary, three major themes of careers, family and money for a relatively high material level of living are apparent in the Morgan life pattern and each has an influence on differentiation and equality. The importance which is accorded to careers and to each spouse achieving career goals encourages equality as well as differentiation. Equal ability to bring resources into the home permits equal status within the family. Bob and Mary admitted that part of the reason for Mary controlling the finances was the fact that she has a more stable income until Bob finishes his degree. The commitment to career was a factor in promoting less differentiation and more sharing of roles, just to get things done. The desire for "nice things," a little luxury and the money to pay for it was a theme which helped to promote equality. This desire for "the extras" was one driving force for both partners to work in this family and on that basis promoted equality and differentiation. Although Mary controlled the money and was more frugal than Bob, she, too, promoted the purchase and enjoyment of luxury items such as the motor home. The other major theme was that of commitment to family. It was this theme that encouraged differentiation in the Morgan family. Incorporated in this commitment to family life were some role expectations on Mary's part which dictated differentiation of the role of wife and mother to "take care of her husband and children."

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Summary

The purpose of this investigation was to examine the sex role patterns within a dual-career family. Christensen's model, based on a premise of seeking equality through a reexamination and reworking of the sex role structure was the conceptual framework utilized. He contends that there is confusion between the meanings of social differentiation and sexual inequality and offers a framework within which to examine the sex role structure based on both of these dimensions. The framework includes a model which superimposes an equality-inequality structure and a differentiation-undifferentiation structure upon each other. The model permits varying the equality and differentiation factors at the same time. In this study the Christensen framework was operationalized and applied to the exploration of role structure in one dual-career family. The hope was to discover how one family structures role patterns to accommodate to dual-careers and changing social patterns.

The family selected for this study consisted of a husband and wife and two children, a girl 6, and a boy 4. Mary Morgan held an administrative position at a large university and Bob Morgan was an instructor and supervisor of two major grants at a community college.

Five specific research questions guided the research:

1. How do family members organize and perform tasks?
2. What forms of support does the family use for its tasks?

3. What are the levels of role-differentiation and equality in the family?

4. How is role differentiation determined?

5. What are the major family themes (shared goals) and how do they encourage or discourage differentiation and equality?

The methodology used was participant observation with a total of 211 hours of observation for the data collection process over a six week period in the summer of 1976. Specific behaviors were recorded on behavior observation sheets developed for this study. Recorded behaviors were grouped into a classification system of 15 categories. Additional data collection included extensive recording of overt and covert communications and observations of the physical and social context within which behaviors and communication occurred.

The dimension of equality was defined by Christensen as the absence of restrictions placed on valued positions. To determine the level of equality, the data were summarized and analyzed for evidence of permission seeking and permission granting. Within each category the degree of differentiation was determined through a content analysis of the data. A total description of role differentiation was then formulated.

All notes of events and statements were combined into tentative descriptions of the role structure. Tentative descriptions were checked by asking family members about applicability to particular situations. The descriptions were then combined following Christensen's model to provide a description of an overall pattern of levels of equality and differentiation in the Morgan family.

A summary of findings related to research question #1 indicate that the family's days are carefully organized and scheduled to accommodate

the many activities. The daily schedule is planned to allow time for the wife to be alone at home in the morning and evening to perform housekeeping tasks. Emphasis is placed on things running smoothly and on making time for Mary and Bob to share together. Activities are avoided which would disturb the daily routine. The evening routine is planned to be relaxed, comfortable and stress-reducing.

Research question #2 was directed at the forms of support the family uses for its tasks. The main form of support used by the family was child care support. The children spend their days in a day care home in a nearby community. Beyond day care the family employs high amounts of non-human energy to accomplish the tasks. Numerous appliances, two automobiles and an assortment of gasoline powered garden tools are among the time-saving energy consuming devices which the family uses.

Regarding research question #3, which was addressed to the levels of equality and differentiation in the family, the data revealed mixed findings. Equality was defined as the absence of restrictions placed upon valued positions and rewards. Early in the study it was established that neither spouse places restrictions on the other with regard to career functioning or aspirations. Within the home and family setting, however, there was considerable evidence of restriction setting - permission setting and permission granting. The evidence was found in three major areas: family financial management, time (family togetherness) and shared homemaking tasks. In each case control and restrictions are being set by Mary. These data prompted the early formulation of a hypothesis that the role structure in this family was a female superordinate role relationship. The Christensen model, which accounted only for male superordination, was then elaborated upon to allow for the inclusion of

this pattern. Further observations and interviews generated data which did not completely support the hypothesis. The family members' perceptions of reality indicated rather that the restrictions which appeared to be set by Mary were, in fact, pre-determined patterns which had been established through a prior decision-making process. The couple had agreed together that Mary would control these items. Although the decision was mutually agreed upon, there were still some feelings of resentment and frustration expressed within the family, particularly by Bob. These feelings manifested themselves in disparaging comments and occasional expressions of resentment.

The equality dimension in this family was characterized as a dynamic concept fluctuating among partial equality-male dominance, complete equality, and partial equality-female dominance. The husband's attempts at asserting dominance through the use of disparaging remarks is seen as evidence of an attempt toward partial male dominance. Family discussion and decision making processes reflect a mode of complete equality. Mary's assertion of control by setting restrictions is a move toward partial equality with the female in a superordinate position.

Role differentiation behaviors were recorded as actions and were classified into 15 categories of household and family tasks and activities. The degree of differentiation was found to vary among categories as follows: two categories were found to be totally differentiated (care of clothing, management and record keeping), four categories were found to be totally undifferentiated (spouse interaction, use of media, social management, special house care), and seven categories were partially differentiated (meal management, regular house care, physical care of family members, socialization of children, yard and car care, recreation,

marketing). In sum, role patterns were found to be partially differentiated with a considerable amount of role overlap.

A summary of data related to research question #4 indicated that role differentiation is determined by skills and time available, efficiency and circumstances, but also by Mary's strong need to fulfill a set of personal and perceived societal role expectations.

Research question #5 was concerned with the major themes or shared goals and how they encourage or discourage differentiation and equality. Three major themes were found to dominate discussions and decision making; careers, family and money matters. The commitment to careers and to a comfortable life style were found to encourage role equality and limited differentiation. The commitment to family, interpreted by Mary to include tradition-bound role patterns, was found to encourage greater differentiation and less equality within the family setting.

Conclusions

Within the confines of these research, it appeared that this family had achieved greater equality in their roles related to their careers than in roles within the home and family setting. This researcher found no evidence which indicated any restrictions placed by either spouse on the other with regard to career performance or aspirations.

With regard to the performance of family roles, however, there was evidence of restriction setting. The restriction setting on Mary's part appeared to be based on a set of expectations which were role bound by past socialization. There appeared to be a strong need to fulfill a set of expectations about what a wife and mother does.

There was some evidence of tradition-bound role attitudes on Bob's part also, but to a much lesser extent. Bob's disparaging comments about

Mary and sometimes about women in general, they both felt, reflected an expectation of male dominance which they felt still exists among the more traditional male elements of society. The pressures were great among Bob's friends, for example, to join them for golf outings on the weekend in spite of family needs.

It was concluded that equality in the greater society is more easily achieved and accepted than equality in the more personal domain of family role relationships.

Within the family setting it may be further concluded that a monolithic definition of equality leaves much to be desired. The patterns of equality for this family are dynamic and change with circumstances and individual needs. There were times when each spouse dominated the other and there were occasions of complete equality. Taking into account these dynamic states, it may be concluded that the concept fluctuates between a state of equality to states of partial equality with either partner dominating. The level of differentiation is also a dynamic state and was found to approximate a measure of partial differentiation with considerable role overlap.

Returning to Christensen's model, Figure 3, this family would most closely approximate E_3 , which indicates a trend toward greater equality and role overlap. The patterns in this family reflect three trends in society. There is a definite movement or struggle toward greater equality. In this family the struggle is not as much with each other, although this is a part of it, as it is a struggle with past socialization patterns and with traditional sex role related expectations. The trend toward equality is clearly present; circumstances surrounding the dual-career pattern were found to encourage the move toward equality.

The second trend is toward an expansion of role overlap indicating a breakdown of differentiation and that the separate worlds of men and women are tending to merge. In this family there was greater willingness to share roles and tasks on the part of the husband than the wife. Although there are many factors such as personality, which might account for this difference, this researcher will conclude on the basis of the life history data that past socialization patterns are a major factor. In Mary's family, only her father worked outside the home and her mother took care of the family. Bob had early been accustomed to a pattern of change.

The third trend which Christensen identifies is the decline of cultural aspiration to make room for greater individual choice. There may be some elements of society which are becoming less prescriptive and proscriptive concerning relationships between the sexes, but the upper middle class community in which the Morgans reside still exerted pressures for prescriptive behavior. Mary was very sensitive to these pressures and the family sought to exclude itself from as many of the pressures as possible. Self-determination may be desired among families like the Morgans, but there is doubt that it is yet the accepted norm.

Factors such as skills, personal needs, efficiency, circumstances were all found to contribute to sex role equality and differentiation. Conditions under which role patterns develop and function must be discovered and defined so that more inclusive and dynamic concepts and frameworks can be developed. The interplay of past and present life experiences and expectations, however, play an important part in the establishment of gender roles.

Christensen's main premise is that some sex role differentiation is inevitable and may be desirable, and that this need not preclude the achievement of sex role equality. Evidence in this study indicates that Mary's strong compulsion to fulfill a desired role placed her, at times, in a position of restriction setting in the family. The fact remains that she did enjoy many of the household tasks and chose to perform them. It is the dimension of compulsion and ascription within the sex role expectation that generates inequality and forces differentiation. It was her perception of duties ascribed to her as a woman and her strong need to fulfill these ascribed needs which generated the inequality and differentiation.

This researcher agrees with Christensen that the element of compulsion must be removed from sex positions and roles to allow people greater freedom to choose their own slots and live their own lives according to their individual tastes and abilities rather than based on a predetermined set of expectations and behaviors. The researcher agrees with Christensen that sex role specialities need to be turned into sex role alternatives. Like Mary's interest in homemaking skills, and Bob's interest in the yard and car tasks, it seems likely that large numbers of men and women would still gravitate to the traditional interests. The point is that their roles would be chosen and not imposed by any overt or covert societal pressures or socialization practices.

Implications

Implications will be discussed in several sections: theory, methodology, families, socialization and education, and resources.

Implications for Theory. This study has indicated that the Parsons and Bales conceptualization of differentiation as reflected in Christensen's

framework is still viable for the study of the family. Patterns of differentiation were evident in the family studied.

This study extended the Christensen framework by operationalizing the variables of equality and differentiation. This researcher found the permission granting and permission seeking dimension to be useful determinants of equality or inequality. The model was further extended by demonstrating the necessity for expanding the model to include the female superordinate position.

Although Christensen did attempt to develop a dynamic model, the researcher discovered limitations. The model used to illustrate differentiation did not allow for indication of the direction of role overlap. In this researcher's opinion, there is a need to indicate the direction of the role overlap to determine if males are assuming traditionally female tasks, or if females are assuming traditionally male tasks or if both trends are occurring.

The findings related to the equality dimension point to the need for dynamic concepts and models. Static definitions and measures for equality and related concepts cannot account for the dynamic nature of a family's behavior in the process of change. The need is also evident for models which will allow for the free exploration of change within a conceptual framework. Christensen attempts to place the changes of today in an historical perspective of a sex role structure.

Finally, this researcher calls for future research to attempt to quantify the model to allow for further application.

Implications for Methodology. This study demonstrated support for the use of participant observation methodology to study families within our society. The researcher who observes or otherwise studies the family

from the outside is doing so within a framework of his or her own perceptions. It would appear to be of considerable import to gain knowledge of the subjects' perception of reality. Far too many studies are interpreted within the researcher's perception of reality. During times of change the family is not experiencing a static state. A sampling of behavior or attitudes at any one point in time is not adequate to reflect the dynamics of change. If this researcher were to repeat the study, changes would include a greater time span and the inclusion of observations during other seasons of the year and of additional family situations. Longitudinal studies would be most helpful to determine trends and results of change.

Implications for Families. During the sampling procedure it became evident that many dual-career families were experiencing severe difficulties and others were breaking up. Several suggestions were made to the researcher to study the families who were breaking up and to investigate why the break-ups occurred. The decision was made, however, to investigate a family who was making it work in order to develop some insight into what makes the dual-career family successful. This insight into the dynamics of one dual-career family has implications for researchers and agencies who work with dual-career families as well as for the families themselves. As with any new form within society, there are no institutionalized role prescriptions to solve the problems these couples face. The need is evident for role models to help these families develop patterns which will work for them.

In the Morgan family one theme which was very evident throughout their lives was their commitment to family and especially the commitment to their marital relationship. Each day was planned so the couple would have some time together, to share, to communicate. Activities

were carefully avoided which would preclude the time for sharing and intimate communication. The Morgans indicated that the intrusion into the personal time had been the most difficult part of the research for them. They missed having the privacy at meal time to share openly their personal feelings. This research supports the need for time to be allowed and skills to be developed in families to help them to establish open communication patterns. The importance of communication is evident for sharing concerns and adjustments to changing circumstances within the family.

The Morgans noted some benefits of the research experience which have implications for an understanding of this life style. At the conclusion of the research period, Bob and Mary indicated that the opportunity to "get to know" another dual-career family had been a most positive benefit of the research. Dual-career families, it was decided, keep to themselves for various reasons. One of these reasons is the limited time for socializing. Another reason is that many dual-career couples still receive negative feedback about their life style from other couples in social situations. This feedback is upsetting to the family and causes undue stress. Rather than expose themselves to negative social sanctions, they withdraw. Due to busy schedules and the tendency to withdraw from social situations, few dual-career families become acquainted with each other. During one interview near the conclusion of the research Bob decided one answer was housing. We discussed the implications of this life pattern for the housing industry. It was felt that it would be well if dual-career families could share a common life space. If this were possible, they could benefit from each other's experience, support each other and share household duties, especially child care. It would be especially helpful if there could be a central area where children

could play together, be entertained and experience a number of adult parenting figures. It was felt that dual-career couples could enjoy living in partial communes with others who did not place any negative social sanctions on their life style. The positive reinforcement which families could share could be a welcome asset to the families.

Implications for Socialization and Education. This study helped to illuminate the fact that socialization patterns in early life become so imbedded that change at the personal level is difficult. This couple had less difficulty establishing and accepting equality at the career level than at the personal level. Previous socialization patterns and perceived societal expectations regarding sex-role performance kept interfering with the struggle to develop a totally equalitarian relationship in the family. With this evidence of the traditional masculine and feminine roles still exerting a dominant influence on patterning of life expectations, present cultural changes make it difficult to know what role is valid and consistent within individual, group and family situations.

The implications are many. For parents the need to examine socialization patterns for children is evident. Since the basis of our society is the family unit and since the family is the key socializing agent within our society, it is important that research provide evidence regarding parental influence upon sex role attitude and behavior formation.

Further, information related to the manner in which young people form their sex role attitudes and behavior is important to educators and social scientists in planning programs and school curricula. Coordinators for non-formal educational programs such as Cooperative Extension Family Living Program and 4-H Youth Program would benefit from this information and from suggestions on why and how to incorporate sex-role socialization

material into programs. It is important for each young person to be provided with an opportunity to receive information related to human sexuality and family living. Each person needs the opportunity to assess his/her attitudes and values in relation to others of his/her own group and society, as well as to others of differing backgrounds. Curricula and programs that present concepts of sex role ideology and offer opportunities for open discussion of role-related behavior need to be developed throughout the total educational program.

Implications for formal and non-formal education and for agencies and organizations which directly serve the adult family member are evident. Programs are needed to help couples develop communication skills necessary to share feelings, expectations and concerns which are inherent within change and adjustment processes. Parents also need to be helped to gain the knowledge and skills necessary to provide for socialization processes which will not hinder, but rather support a progressive realization of sexual equality.

Resource Implications. Implications related to resource use in the family are also indicated. In the dual-career family, where time is limited, families need to develop management and homemaking skills to accomplish tasks effectively within a limited time frame. Money becomes an important resource to acquire appliances and other services to support the life style chosen. The family studied made considerable use of non-human energy to accomplish tasks. If high amounts of energy are necessary to support the life style desired, a limited energy society of the future may place restrictions on role structure within dual-career families.

If economic resources become limited, adjustments in tasks performed by dual-career family members may be necessary and may affect the equality-differentiation role structure.

Suggestions for Further Investigation

It is hoped that this application of participant observation methodology to the exploratory study of a changing family form and the role relationships within it will encourage others to incorporate this methodology in the study of similar situations and other emerging family structures. Perhaps this beginning will present a challenge to researchers to use their creativity and resourcefulness in developing frameworks and measures for collecting accurate information about the personal reality of family life within a changing social and ecological system.

Based on the findings of this exploratory study, a number of areas for further investigation are suggested.

1. The present study with suggested modifications of the framework should be replicated in order to establish patterns of behavior and perception across dual-career families.

2. This methodology should be used to study role patterns in other family forms, such as single career, dual-career with older children or no children, and families with interrupted career patterns, to determine similarities and differences.

3. The present study should be expanded to include the study of families over a greater time span to develop an understanding of the dynamics of role patterns over time.

4. Research is needed to determine how socialization patterns can be modified to encourage the development of humans with a capacity for individual decision making with regard to role patterns.

5. A study of dual-career families is needed to determine what factors lead to satisfactory marital adjustment.

6. The contacts with dual-career families in the original list suggest the need for research to determine causes for marital dissolution in the dual-career family.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

Discussion of the Methodology

In a study of this type there is a need to discuss the specifics of the methodology incorporated by the researcher to assist other researchers with similar studies. I will describe here procedures incorporated in the study.

Selection of the Family

The initial contacts with families were made in several ways. In most cases the first contact was made by the resource person suggesting the family. For example, a minister who had suggested several families from a dual-career discussion group in his church, made the initial contact with these families. He, and other resource persons, were asked to explain to the couples who the researcher was and the nature of the study. If the couple indicated interest, I then made subsequent contact.

Since my spouse and I had both held positions on the faculty of the Department of Family and Child Sciences at Michigan State University, and had conducted several community programs on marriage, we know and were known by several people in the University community. I contacted dual-career couples in the University community whom I knew. Contacts were made with the wives first. If she was willing and the family met the criteria, arrangements were made to discuss the research with the couple. Everyone contacted was interested in the research topic and evidently several persons told friends about it. As a result, several couples contacted me and volunteered as subjects. To avoid any possible biases related to reasons for volunteering, I elected not to make the selection from this group.

A As mentioned in the text, the family selected for the study was invited to my home before I began visits to their home. This was done in an attempt to help both families become acquainted and to feel more comfortable with the research process. As events progressed, this strategy proved most beneficial since the husbands had mutual interests and my spouse was able to report conversations during their interactions and describe activities which provided additional data. It also proved to be a benefit for the families to be acquainted prior to the vacation trip.

Observation Periods

The observation visits began gradually. The first visit lasted only a few hours. Early visits took place in the morning or evening only. Gradually the observations included both morning and evening. For one extended four-day period, I moved into the home and slept in Becky's room. Becky slept on a cot in her brother's room (which she thought was a big treat).

I would arrive at 6:15 or so in the morning when the family rose for the day. I would sit on a chair in the family room from which I could observe most of the activity areas, including the patio, kitchen, dining area and hallway to the bedrooms. This was where I sat most of the time. When the family moved outside or to another area of the house I would follow. I did not attempt to follow individual family members around the house. The morning observations ended when the family members left for the day. I would also leave and return at the same time as the family did in the evening. The evening visit would last until the family retired for the day. During the period when I stayed with the family I followed the same routine as they did.

Participation

Although I did not want to interfere with family routines, I did participate to a certain extent in family activities. Except for mornings when I arrived early, I ate meals with the family. The family would not accept money for the meals, but I brought food to contribute to the meals. The family was not paid for their participation. When behavior patterns were established for certain tasks, such as meal cleanup and preparation I attempted to assist. The children would frequently ask me for help with dressing, or toys or to read a story and I did respond to these requests. During the vacation trip I joined in activities with Mary and the other women.

Data Collection

Behaviors were recorded on the behavior observation sheet as they occurred. All behaviors were recorded until patterns of performance were established and then only exceptions were noted. For example, I did not record the trips Bob made to the babysitter after I realized that this was a recurring activity. Daily patterns such as transportation to day care, breakfast preparation, Mary's cleaning routine and meal preparation were evident within the first week. Other patterns such as money management and child socialization took longer to observe. When I judged that I had seen recurring practices which indicated a pattern, I would pose a question to the family to see if they agreed that this was, in fact, the case.

Bob and Mary were very interested in the study and frequently offered explanations of behavior. If explanations were not offered and I was puzzled about certain observations, I asked them to explain the behavior. Throughout the research process the family members were

asked to explain their reactions to preliminary perspectives on the findings.

Direct answers to questions and explanations offered were recorded immediately. Conversations and other discourse not directed at the researcher were recorded at a later time. Direct quotes were recorded as often as possible to insure validity. Not all discourse was recorded, but only that which was most pertinent to the study and the research questions posed.

Data Tabulation and Analysis

The behavior observation sheets and records of discourse related to differentiation of roles were sorted according to the 15 categories to determine modes of differentiation.

The additional data consisting of records of discourse and conversations as well as explanations directed to the researcher, were sorted for evidence of restriction setting - permission seeking and permission granting. These data were incorporated into a description of the equality dimension.

The data were then resorted for evidence to describe the family themes or goals.

At the end of the sorting process there was a sizable amount of data related to children's activities, careers and personal conversations which were not included in the study. Only those data which were directly related to the research questions were incorporated into the dissertation.

APPENDIX B

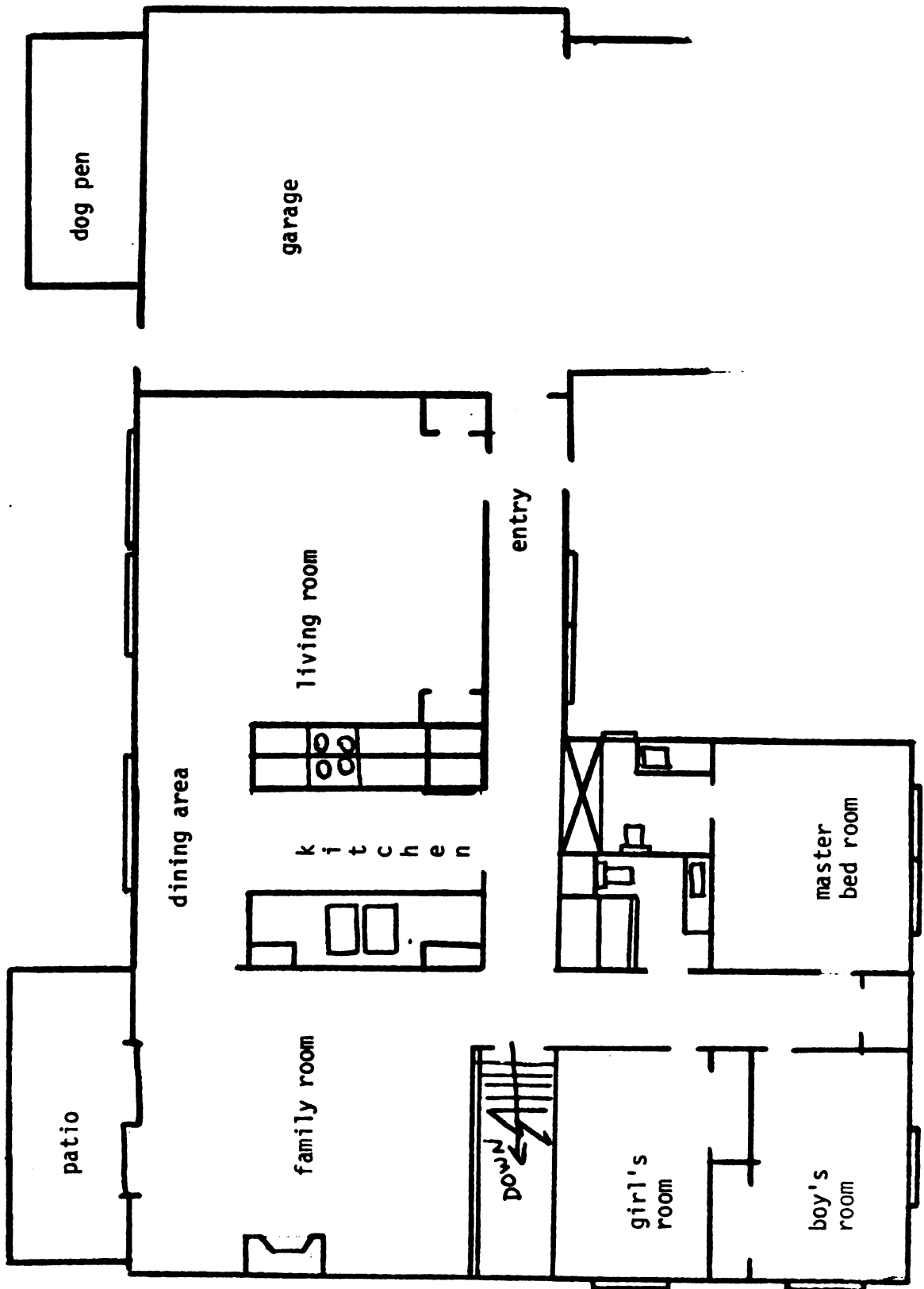
APPENDIX B

OBSERVATION RECORD		DAY	TIME
ACTION			
ACTOR(S)			
STIMULUS (Decision)			
HOW CARRIED OUT (Hired/Personal Labor/Appliances/ Other Help)			
TOWARD WHOM (Family/Self/ Other)			

APPENDIX C

APPENDIX C

House Plan



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