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THE INTERPLAY OF WORK POWER AND FAMILY POWER: GENDER AND POWER IN AMERICAN DUAL-EARNER FAMILIES

By

Sung-Hoon Lee

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ABSTRACT

THE INTERPLAY OF WORK POWER AND FAMILY POWER: GENDER AND POWER IN AMERICAN DUAL-EARNER FAMILIES

By

Sung-Hoon Lee

The purpose of this dissertation was to empirically test the assertion that men's power in the workplace is perpetuated within the domestic sphere and to extend the argument to include the relationship of work power and family power for women as well. Employing Blood and Wolfe's resource theory and Kohn and Schooler's learning-generalization theory, this researcher examined gender differences in the spillover effects of work power and work-related rewards such as occupational status and income, on power in the family sphere. Gender-role ideology was taken into consideration as an intervening variable in the interplay of work power and family power. The data for the present study came from the U.S. survey in the *Comparative Project on Class Structure and Class Consciousness* (Wright et al., 1989). The final sample for the analysis consisted of 230 men and 196 women who were living with their spouses and were in the labor force.

The findings indicated that significant direct causal relationships did not exist between work power and family power for either men or women. Moreover, the statistical analyses did not reveal a significant indirect causal relationship between work power and family power via gender-

role ideology. Income was shown to have a direct effect on financial decisionmaking and participation in household labor for men, suggesting that men's earnings played a role in defining their role as the main provider. In contrast, none of the exogenous variables had a statistically significant relationship with the endogenous variables for women, indicating that work and family were two separate spheres for women with regard to power relations. Gender-role ideology had a positive direct effect on marital decision-making power for women. Finally, the data showed that the amount of variance in family power was explained primarily by the individual worker's sociodemographic and family characteristics, such as age, education, children, hours in paid work, and spouse's income rather than the experience of power in the other (work) sphere.

Dedicated to the *women* in my family:

grandmother Ok Lee,
mother Jung-Bun Kim,
mother-in-law Soon-Hee Chung,
wife Joong-Hee Kim,
& daughter Amanda Min-Jin Lee

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

Introduction

During the past few decades, there have been crucial changes in work, family and gender relations in the United States. Perhaps the most significant of these shifts is the remarkable growth in female participation in the labor force, particularly among married women with young children. According to the U.S. Bureau of the Census (1996), the proportion of married women with children under six years old who are in the work force increased from 18.6% in 1960 to 63.5% in 1995.[1] The factors fostering married women's increasing participation in paid work are manifold; they include the expansion of employment opportunities through growth of the service economy, rising levels of education, economic pressures created by eroding male incomes, increasing cost of living, and rising divorce rates (Aryee, 1992; Aulette, 1994; Gerson, 1993; Hartmann, 1987; Kelly, 1991; Nieva, 1985; Presser, 1994; Smith, 1981). These trends have been accompanied by a number of additional changes in the

family, such as an increase in the age at first marriage, a delay in the initiation of childbearing, the declining amount of time spent caring for children, and a concomitant increased reliance on sources of nonfamily child-care (Alwin, Braun, & Scott, 1992; England & Farkas, 1986; Fox & Hesse-Biber, 1984; Moen, 1989). In light of all these trends, it is now the norm for women to work outside the family; to wit, employment is now a fact of life for most wives and mothers in the United States.

Significantly, women's growing commitment to paid work has represented a marked departure from their traditional prescribed role as caretaker of the family and household, in general, and of children, in particular. As a result, the once traditional pattern of a male breadwinner and female homemaker has given way to alternative roles and relationships. Prominent among these is the dual-earner family pattern[2], in which both the husband and the wife are employed in paid work (Lewis, 1992). Both spouses in this two-income family experience quite different family lives from those of the once traditional "Dick and Jane" family. It is no longer taken for granted that employed wives must perform all of the onerous, devalued, and unrewarded household work.[3] Moreover, as women work outside the home, their traditionally subordinate status is challenged, marital decision-making is more likely to be shared, and old norms are questioned (Baca Zinn & Eitzen, 1990: 200). In reality, during the last few

decades, spurred mainly by the women's movement, men and women in American society have experienced considerable gender-role ambiguity (Beeghley & Cochran, 1988; Coverman, 1985, 1989; Ross, 1987).

Today, men are more likely to perceive their roles as being threatened in a world that is so different from the past (Goode, 1992:308). That is, men's traditional role of breadwinner, through which men's identity was intimately related to their work outside the family, has been waning, owing to women's increased participation and success in the world of work. Men are experiencing a shift in their priorities away from work, are struggling with balancing work and family life, and are becoming more involved with their families (Gilbert, 1988; Higgins, Duxbury, & Irving, 1992; Pleck, 1979, 1985).[4] Therefore, regarding the changing aspects of gender roles in contemporary American society, Rabinowitz and Cochran (1994) argued that:

> men in today's culture have many more options regarding their choices of work roles and the meaning of work in their lives than their fathers or grandfathers. As women's roles have changed dramatically during the last half of the 20th century, men's options have increased.... Men have crossed the boundary into what was previously considered women's work. A man in today's world cannot assume the simple, secure roles of the past. (p. 117)

Meanwhile, women are also experiencing remarkable changes in their attitudes and roles as mother and wife in the family.

The traditional view of women's roles has begun to break down as more married women are participating in the work force throughout their lives. Women's labor force participation provides them with an opportunity to have different experiences in the workplace from those in the family. Consequently, women employed in paid work are likely to hold somewhat or even drastically different beliefs and values toward gender roles and family lives from both their mothers or grandmothers and their husbands. In short, scholars have speculated that by providing increased economic independence and social status, women's paid employment, to a degree, enables them to challenge men's power and privileges in the home (Brayfield, 1992; Pyke, 1994).[5]

However, with regard to power within the family, it is often said that even though women wield a certain degree of power and control in the sense that the family is women's sphere, and that women are the principal performers of domestic labor, men traditionally have held ultimate power and authority over household and family decisions (Close, 1989; Cohen, 1982; Epstein, 1984; Wolf & Fligstein, 1979).[6] Men historically have controlled women--and women's household labor--by restricting them to "women's sphere" and by becoming "experts in authority through their experience in authority systems of larger scale outside the family" (Curtis, 1986: 172). Principal determinants of male power are those derived from the acquisition of socially valued resources (such as

income, occupational status, and education, as well as skills, knowledge, alliances with nonkin) produced outside the family and control over these resources (Blood and Wolfe, 1960). Moreover, roles in organizations of a larger scale (e.g., army, church, union, government), which traditionally have been occupied by males, have given men even more power (Chafetz, 1990; Curtis, 1986). The gist of Curtis's arguments is in line with the assertion of socialist feminists (e.g., Hartmann, 1981) that men's power in the public sphere is translated into the private sphere. That is, gender disadvantages in the wider society are held in conjunction with the internal power structure of the individual household (Blumberg & Coleman, 1989; Chafetz, 1990; Stets, 1995). As Gerson (1993) pointed out:

> In the public sphere, men enjoy economic and occupational advantages, and in the domestic sphere, they are excused from the least pleasant and most time-consuming tasks. Men's advantages in one sphere contribute to their advantages in the other. Workplace advantages give men the economic and social power to avoid domestic work. (p. 265)

In sum, men's advantages and power in relation to the public sphere of paid employment are translated into the private sphere of the family as women's greater share of the burden of domestic labor and lesser shares of power and authority.

For the past few decades, however, women's situations have significantly changed, and many women now rely on their own work activities as an important mechanism for obtaining

power in society, in general, and in the family, in particular. Currently, even though a large proportion of working women still are employed in low-skill, low-paid, sex-segregated jobs (Bielby & Baron, 1986; England & Farkas, 1986; Jacobs, 1989; Tomaskovic-Devey, 1993), it is noteworthy that a small number of women increasingly are moving into more powerful and prestigious positions in many industries and occupations that traditionally have been dominated by men. In particular, there has been a steady surge in the proportion of women who hold professional, managerial, and administrative positions.[7] Yet, power and authority gaps still exist between men and women in those traditionally male-dominated jobs (Jacobs, 1992; Reskin & Padavic, 1994; Reskin & Ross, 1992). Under these circumstances, it seems to be an important question whether, as in the case of men, those women who have acquired greater power at work can have significantly more power in the family than those who do not have power at work. In other words, do women's experiences of higher levels of job authority and autonomy provide them with a growing chance to have greater marital power and allow them to be less involved in household labor?

The researcher's main purpose in this study was to empirically test the assertion that men's power at work is perpetuated within the domestic sphere and to extend the argument to include the relationship between work power and family power for women as well. This study was not designed

to explore factors that favor or hinder the access of men and women to power in the spheres of work and family, but rather to assess whether a person's power at work spills over into his or her power within the family. In short, this is a study about gender and power, paying special attention to the possible transition of power from the work to the family domain.

Statement of the Problem

In this study, the researcher systematically examined the theoretical and empirical links between work and family in terms of power relations between husbands and wives in dual-earner families. Numerous researchers have explored various aspects of the interface between work and family (Burke & Greenglass, 1987; Greenhaus, 1989; Hertz, 1986; Hughes, Galinsky, and Morris, 1992; Kanter, 1977b; Pleck, 1977; Voydanoff, 1988).[8] The increased interest in the interpenetration of work and family has been accompanied by major changes in the nature of work and family in the past few decades.[9] The most significant among the consequences of these shifts are the unprecedented increases in married women's, especially mothers', participation in the labor force, and in the number of dual-earner couples. These demographic shifts may have important implications for marital power and household division of labor within the family sphere.

Traditionally, work and family were viewed as two separate and independent worlds, with men occupying the work world as breadwinners and women primarily responsible for the family as homemakers. To wit, work and family life were seen as two distinct spheres, and men and women, respectively, were viewed as the appropriate occupants of these two different worlds (Bose, 1987; Mintz & Kellogg, 1988). Husbands exercised authority over wives by virtue of their higher social status as economic actors as well as their roles as husbands and patriarchs (Hert, 1986: 30). Yet, as the twentieth century has progressed, due to demographic and societal changes, the traditionally dichotomous world view has become increasingly mythical. Recently, feminist scholars have begun to consider work and family as interrelated social systems that are inseparable in real life; work shapes and penetrates families, and families influence and overlap work (Aulette, 1994; Bose, 1987; Chow & Berheide, 1988; England & Farkas, 1986; Gerson, 1985; Gerstel & Gross, 1987; Ishii-Kuntz, 1994; Voydanoff, 1987).

With more wives and mothers working outside the home, the normative ideal division of labor characteristic of the first half of the twentieth century has yielded somewhat to an alternative view of marriage based on the gender equality of husbands and wives.[10] Hence, in dual-earner families, many people assume that there is an "increasing convergence of sex roles" (Kamo, 1988: 177), and marital decision-making power is

more likely to be shared and household tasks more equally divided between husbands and wives than they were a generation ago. Yet, is it true that there is little or no power differential in marital decisionmaking in contemporary American dual-earner families? Is household work performed equally by husbands and wives? Although employed wives seem to have a significant amount of equality in decision-making power, unfortunately, the answer to the second question appears to be negative.

Research from the 1960s through the 1980s revealed that although women's opportunities and participation in the work force have risen remarkably, employed women still bear their traditional responsibilities for performing most of the housework and child care (Bielby & Bielby, 1989; Coverman & Sheley, 1986; Hardesty & Bokemeier, 1989; Leslie, Anderson, & Branson, 1991; Spitze, 1988). Women's increased participation in the labor force has not led to a substantial change in domestic labor, despite some husbands' perceptions that they are participating more (Calasanti & Bailey, 1991; Hiller & Philliber, 1986).[11] Most women still face a "double burden," with responsibilities at work (paid labor) added onto their responsibilities at home (unpaid labor), and still fill the *second shift* (Hochschild, 1989) with the excess of domestic work brought about by the stalled revolution in the home. Although men with working wives usually perform more family work than their fathers did, the majority continue to offer

"help" rather than taking over true responsibilities for the full range of activities necessary to feed a family or care for children (Goodnow & Bowes, 1994; Hochschild, 1989; Lewis & Cooper, 1988; Rapoport & Rapoport, 1976; Thompson & Walker, 1989).[12] This may be partly because men are still perceived as the main providers by both men themselves and women despite the waning of the doctrine of separate spheres. Even men who believe that they support their wives' employment tend not to view women as equally responsible for being family breadwinners (Tompson & Walker, 1989).

According to Hochschild (1989), how much responsibility men assume at home is related to the deeper issue of male power. Perceived as the main providers, until recently, men who held more power and authority in the marital dyad could avoid or minimize their participation in unrewarded and devalued household work. However, women today are establishing a new basis of power and identity that is different from the old basis, which was attractiveness to men or influence over children and kin (Hochschild, 1989:241). Employed women now base their power more on wages or authority on the job, upon which men traditionally have relied as "good providers" (Bernard, 1981). Hence, women's move into the economy and acquisition of earning power and authority provide them a growing resource to challenge men's power and privileges, and to press men to be more involved directly or indirectly in the second shift at home. In short, the family

can be understood as an arena in which men and women are associated with power relationships around marital decisionmaking and household labor.[13]

The study of marital power and domestic division of labor has been based mainly on the resource theory of the early 1960s as the overarching theoretical framework with which to explain conjugal role organization (Blood & Wolfe, 1960) and several other theoretical approaches such as normative resources, gender-role ideology, time-availability, and Marxist/socialist feminist perspectives.[14] Although research findings have been mixed and have not pointed to one explanation as clearly better than others, a commonly accepted crucial finding is that, coupled with education and employment status, income provides many women with an increased sense of competence and independence, giving those women more power within the marriage and increasing their influence in decision making (Blood & Wolfe, 1960; Brayfield, 1992; Calasanti & Bailey, 1991; Coverman, 1985, 1989; England & McCreary, 1987; Hardesty & Bokemeir, 1989; Kamo, 1988; Ross, 1987; Spitze, 1988).

In the present study, an additional theoretical perspective was adopted, coupled with the resource theory, to examine the translation of work power into family power. This research was based on the work of Kohn and Schooler (1983), who posited a link between the structural conditions of work and the values held and behaviors exhibited in the family. An

individual worker's occupational conditions and work-related rewards--job authority and autonomy as well as income and occupational status--were hypothesized to influence his or her values and attitudes, which in turn affect conjugal role behavior, which is reflected in family power. In sum, this researcher took into consideration not only resource theory to explore direct effects of work power on family power, but also Kohn and Schooler's theory of learning-generalization, to investigate the indirect carryover effect of work power on family power through the gender-role ideologies of husbands and wives in dual-earner families.

Importance of the Study

This study was intended to fill two gaps in the research on family power. First, previous researchers on family power have paid little attention to the relationship between the worlds of work and family with regard to power. Although a significant number of researchers have explored the influence of paid employment outside the home on marital power and household division of labor, few theoretical or empirical studies have been done regarding the ways in which power in the workplace is translated into power in the family. In this study, the main concern was with the unidirectional carryover effect--from work power to family power. When scholars (e.g., Duffy, 1986) indicate that, overall, women hold less power than men at work and that wives have less power than husbands

at home, as was revealed in the assertions of Curtis (1986) and Gerson (1993), one may infer that men's work power is translated into their family power, whereas women's powerlessness at home is associated with their powerlessness at work. In other words, it may be speculated that, because men have more power than women at work, they have more marital power and, in turn, are less obligated to perform household labor; conversely, because women do not have much power at work, they have less marital power and are more obligated to do domestic work. Yet these seem not to be the complete stories about the interplay between work power and family power. For example, how can one interpret the facts that although some women have greater power at work, they still take the primary responsibility for performing household work and child care, and that although some men have little or no work power, they are still relieved of this family work?

Previous researchers have neglected the gendered nature of power relationships between men and women in the family. Although, through nearly three decades of intensive research, sociologists have established that employed women hold less power than their husbands in the family by showing the mixed effects of economic resources (e.g., income, employment status, education) on marital power, they have not considered systematically how these factors differentially affect men's and women's power in the family. Besides, in dual-earner families, it does not appear that marital power and the

household division of labor can be explained simply through economic resources. Namely, husbands of employed women with more economic power do not necessarily share household tasks more. And women with non-traditional gender-role attitudes are not necessarily relieved of domestic duties. What will build on previous family power studies is an explicit consideration of the ways in which the power relationship is translated from public (work) to private (family) spheres. In particular, if one considers the steady increase in the number of women holding positions of power and authority in professional, administrative, and managerial occupations during the past several decades, it appears to be a critical question whether, as is the case with men, these women's power in the workplace is carried over into their power in the family. Moreover, it is significant to examine the ways in which men who lack power and authority on the job exercise power in the home. It can be argued that values or attitudes are mediated in the process of spillover or translation of work power to family power.

In this study, authority and autonomy on the job were considered as two crucial dimensions of work power and were examined empirically to determine whether there was a gender difference in the ways in which a person's power, through the experiences of authority and autonomy on the job, was translated into his or her power in the family. Kohn and Schooler's (1983) seminal work enabled this researcher to

formulate a theoretical link in the relationship between work power and family power. As Kohn and Schooler indicated, if job conditions can resocialize individuals through the "learning-generalization process"(p. 142), then the acquisition of new values, orientations, and norms at work may affect power relations in the family as well. Thus, the indirect spillover effect of work power on family power through gender-role ideology was investigated in this study.[15]

Because the influx of females into the labor force and their success in the work domain might bring about striking changes in the attitudes and behaviors of employed men and women, it is important to explore how people's gender-role attitudes differentially affect their behaviors in the family domain. In other words, it is worthwhile to investigate how a person's gender ideology differentially affects his or her marital power and household division of labor. The investigator expected that men who endorse a traditional gender-role ideology will claim their patriarchal power in the family and thus will not accept equal participation in housework, whereas those with more egalitarian gender-role attitudes will evidence egalitarian behaviors in sharing marital decisionmaking and household labor. In contrast, it was expected that women with egalitarian gender-role attitudes will expect to have equal decision-making power and an equal share in household labor with their spouses. On the other hand, some women with a traditional gender-role ideology will

define their familial role in terms of traditional housewives and mothers. These women will be more likely to perform a full array of household work and to defer to their spouses' marital power.

In summary, the importance and sociological relevance of this study are in exploring the interplay of work power and family power, i.e., the ways in which work power is translated into family power. The investigation of this expected spillover effect will extend the understanding of the influence of social meso-forces (i.e., work power) on family power relations between men and women in dual-earner families.

Organization of the Study

Chapter I contained an introduction to the study, statement of the problem, and importance of the study. Chapter II contains a review of literature on the concept of power, the various theoretical perspectives and related research on work power, family power, the linkage of work power and family power, and gender-role ideology as an intervening variable. Conceptual definitions of key variables used in the study and the 15 research hypotheses are presented in Chapter III, along with the rationale behind each hypothesis. The conceptual causal model tested in this study also is explained. Chapter IV contains a description of the nature of the survey data and characteristics of the sample. The operationalization of key variables and statistical

analytical strategies used in the study also are discussed. The major findings of the study, based on a series of empirical tests, from descriptive analyses to multivariate path analyses, are presented in Chapter V. The main results of the research are summarized and assessed in Chapter VI. Several caveats of this research are discussed, and suggestions are made for future research in the area of work power and family power.

NOTES

1. There has been a marked gender difference in the labor force trend during the last three decades or so. The U.S. Bureau of the Census (1996) reported that, whereas only 37.7% of women aged 16 or older were working or looking for work in 1960, the proportion had grown to 58.9% by 1995. In contrast, the proportion of men aged 16 or older in the labor force had fallen by 8 percentage points, from 83% to 75% in the same period. Russell (1995) indicated that early retirement is the major reason for the decline in men's labor force participation rates over the past three decades. According to his predictions, men's labor force participation rates are likely to stabilize because employers can offer generous early-retirement plans for workers in their 50s and early 60s. On the other hand, women's labor force participation rates will continue to rise slowly in the years ahead as younger, career-oriented women replace older homemakers (p. 134).

It should be noted that the above-mentioned familiar statistics, *labor force participation rates*, present only a snapshot--taken at a specific point in time--of employed men and women as workers. They do not show how much time these men and women spend in market work over any sort of extended period. Thus, for example, using only the participation-rate data makes it difficult to determine the significance of married women's employment with regard to their family lives.

2. Today, the "traditional" family, with the breadwinner father and the stay-at-home mother, accounts for less than 3% of American families. The number of two-income couples has skyrocketed in the last decade from 20.5 million to about 31 million (Barnett & Rivers, 1996: 3). In contemporary American society, combining paid work with family responsibilities is a viable life-style for the majority of men and women; that is, the dual-earner family is the "statistical and ideological norm" (Coleman, 1989: 227).

Meanwhile, it is crucial to make a clear distinction between dual-earner and dual-career families. In general, the term *dual-earner family* refers to the family in which both spouses are employed outside the home, whereas the term *dual-career family* represents more elite groups of middle-class couples in high-status occupations with an opportunity structure, who may be more highly committed to their jobs than

other dual-earners. As one type of dual-earner family, the dual-career family pattern implies that both the husband and the wife are engaged in full-time professional work for which they have a long-term commitment, over and above economic necessity (Lewis, 1992; Williams, 1987). Especially, in dual-career families, wives are more nearly equal to their husbands in terms of educational level, job prestige, and income than are working wives in general (Williams, 1987).

3. One of the best-known studies of the housewife is Oakley's (1974) case study of 40 young mothers with children in a London suburban area, almost all of them full-time housewives. Oakley reported that three-quarters of these housewives were dissatisfied with domestic work because of the long hours of work and perceived low status of the housewife role. Specifically, housewives commonly experienced monotony, fragmentation, loneliness, and excessive pace in carrying out housework tasks. Moreover, housework was characterized as devalued, low-status, and unpaid work. By focusing on the nature and meaning of work in women's lives, Oakley's main concern was to conceptualize housework as work, that is, housewife as an occupation (see pp. 182-184).

4. In the traditional family system, men were thought of as the main providers and defined themselves almost exclusively by their work (Bernard, 1972, 1981). A man's identity was equated with who he was (Rabinowitz & Cochran, 1994) and his self-esteem was derived directly from how he and others valued what he did in the world of work (Skovholt, 1990). As a consequence, many men viewed not being able to provide for themselves or their families as confirmation that they were failures as men (Pleck, 1975). However, the striking burgeoning of married women into the labor force in the last few decades has transformed the meanings of breadwinning, masculinity, and fatherhood. The traditional breadwinner role has become a less important symbol of masculinity than it once was. Today, men are adjusting slowly to the reality that working in stereotypically male environments is not solely a masculine activity. They are learning to value the domestic chores and child care they must share with their spouses in dual-earner families as an expanded definition of what it means to be a man. Hence, more men are deciding that their identity as a man can include being a good father, loving partner, and house cleaner (Cowan & Bronstein, 1988; Pleck, 1985; Rabinowitz & Cochran, 1994).

5. Scholars frequently have pointed out that women's paid employment per se necessarily acts as a significant resource neither for family power nor for the reallocation of household tasks (Brayfield, 1992: 21; Pyke, 1994: 74). That is, it is not the job per se, but the income that the job produces, that is more determinative of the gender balance of power in the

U.S. household (Blumberg & Coleman, 1989: 230). Here, the bottom line is that women's labor force participation provides women with a chance to bring income earned in the market into the family and, in turn, to have more power in marital decisionmaking as well as the power needed to get their husbands to share more of the household chores (Pyke, 1994).

6. According to Johnson (1988: 27), several feminists such as O'Brien (1981), Rich (1976), and Ruddick (1982) have depicted women's mothering as a crucial basis for female power within the family. The power of motherhood lies in the fact that mothers are the primary caretaker of children as well as director of the family and household--shopping, planning meals and vacations, directing bedtime and homework time, and the like. However, other scholars have maintained that as long as men are the sole breadwinners and therefore control the resources, the ultimate power belongs to them (see Cantor & Bernay, 1992: 53; Kammer, 1994: 148-150). In regard to the nature and basis of men's ultimate power and authority in the family sphere, Close (1989) noted that:

> women as wives and mothers have conditional, regulated and delegated domestic power, which is limited to being exercised within the boundaries marking the private sphere of the family. But, men as husbands have *domestic dominance*, which entails holding and exercising power over family life. Men's domestic dominance is held and exercised in conjunction with the sources, distribution and exercise of power within the public sphere of, for instance, the *external economy*. Or, to put it another way, the ultimate power and control exercised over the private sphere of family life, relationships and labor is articulated with the main contours of power and control exercised in the public arenas of *the economy*, *the state*, and so on, through the mediation of men (as husbands, fathers, employees, employers, managers, capitalists, civil servants, members of parliament, the judiciary and more). Men enjoy overall and ultimate power and control in both spheres, where that which they hold in each is supportive of the other. (p. 24)

In short, men's traditional authority and power in the family have stemmed from their role as the main provider and their success in the occupational world (Gerson, 1993; Izraeli, 1994; Szinovacz, 1987).

7. According to Powell (1993), "in 1940, this proportion was only 11%, or about 1 in every 10. In 1970, it was 16%, or 1 in every 6. In 1980, it was 26%, or 1 in every 4. By 1992,

it has increased to 42%, or 2 in every 5 and ten times the proportion for 1900" (p. 22).

8. Many changes in employment and household arrangements during the last few decades have induced scholars to recognize the interconnection between employment conditions and family life as a critical issue. Much of the research on the work/family interface has focused on issues such as the effects of spouses' socioeconomic resources on family life (Booth, Johnson, & White, 1984; Komarovsky, 1964; Mortimer, Hall, & Hill, 1978; Mortimer & London, 1984; Oppenheimer, 1977; Simpson & England, 1982), the organization of market labor with family responsibilities (Ericksen, Yancey, & Ericksen, 1979; Hartmann, 1981; Scanzoni, 1982; Stafford, 1980; Walker & Woods, 1976), work-family role conflict (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Kelly & Voydanoff, 1985; Pleck, 1985; Pleck, Staines, & Lang, 1980; Voydanoff, 1987), and the effects of job structure and employment conditions on family lives (Eckenrode & Gore, 1990; Kohn & Schooler, 1983; Miller, Schooler, Kohn, & Miller, 1979; Seccombe, 1986; Staines, Pleck, Shepard, & O'Connor, 1978; Staines, Pottick, & Fudge, 1985). For a discussion of work-family interfaces, see Aldous (1982), Bielby (1992), Ferree (1990), Gutek, Nakamura, & Nieva (1981), Menaghan & Parcel (1990), Piotrkowski, Rapoport, & Rapoport (1987), Voydanoff (1987), Walker & Thompson (1989).

9. See Aulette (1994) and Baca Zinn & Eitzen (1990) for the effects of several macrosocial forces on families.

10. For a detailed discussion of value, role, and behavioral changes in contemporary American men and women, see Cowan & Bronstein (1988), Gilbert (1988), Pleck (1975, 1985), Rabinowitz & Cochran (1994), Ross & Huber (1985), and Williams (1987).

11. According to Shelton & John (1996), "current estimates are that men do between 20% (Robinson, 1988) and 35% (Presser, 1994) of the housework" (p. 299). On the average, employed wives are responsible for more than 70% of household labor (Coverman, 1989; Coverman & Sheley, 1986; Ross, 1987). In short, employed women still do the majority of domestic work. Moreover, this pattern is likely to continue in the next generation: Daughters of mothers who work full time spend 10.2 hours a week on housework, in contrast to sons' 2.7 hours (Exter, 1991). See Reskin & Padavic (1994: 151).

12. The distinction between men "helping out" and women "being responsible for" household labor is reinforced by gender-role ideology. The position of women is thought of primarily in terms of home (wives) and children (mothers), whereas the position of men is equated with wage labor (worker). Gender ideology is integral to the practice of

domestic labor and reinforces conventional gender-roles in the home and the wider society (Baxter, 1993: 49-50; Collins, 1985: 63).

13. Williams (1987) indicated that marriage, being the most common and intimate of all human interactions, is a relationship in which roles are invested with greater or lesser power. He defined (marital) power as the ability of one person to influence or control the behavior of the other, or to make more of the important decisions.

14. See Calasanti & Bailey (1991), Coltrane (1996), Coverman (1985), Hardesty & Bokemeier (1989), Hiller (1984), Kamo (1988), Lam & Haddad (1992), Ross (1987), and Spitze (1986) for succinct reviews of these theoretical perspectives.

15. In accounting for the unequal household division of labor and marital power, many family sociologists have employed gender-role ideology as a crucial independent variable, coupled with economic resource factors. In the present research, the nature of work, specifically workplace power, was taken into consideration as an important determinant of gender-role attitudes for working men and women. Although early childhood socialization and education play a role in forming gender-role attitudes, work experiences also appear to influence the continuing formation of gender-role attitudes (Gerson, 1985; Macke, Hudis, & Larrick, 1978; Tallichet & Willits, 1986; Thornton, Alwin, & Camburn, 1983). Thus, this researcher considered gender-role ideology as an important intervening variable between work power and family power.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The first part of this chapter contains a discussion of the concept of power. Then the major sociological literature on work power is reviewed, focusing on job authority and job autonomy, followed by several major theoretical perspectives on family power. Finally, the interrelationship between work power and family power, as well as gender-role ideology as an intervening factor, is discussed.

Power

Definitions of Power

The exercise of power is evident in almost every aspect of people's interactions with others, from micro to macro levels. As Hawley (1963) expressed, "every social act is an exercise of power, every social relationship is a power equation, and every social group or system is an organization of power" (p. 422). In short, as a property of social relations, power exists in every aspect of day-to-day life. Yet, like so many of the phenomena researched by social scientists, power cannot be directly observed. One infers its existence when social actions consistently fall into patterns

that reveal that one party (either an individual or a group) gets its way despite the contrary wishes of another party. The theoretical literature on power contains a wide variety of conceptualizations of power, ranging in focus from the micro (Dahl, 1957; Emerson, 1962; French & Raven, 1959; Kohn & Schooler, 1983) to the meso (i.e., organizational and workplace) (Hage, 1980; Perrow, 1986), to the macro (Boulding, 1989) levels. Hence, power has been shown to be a complex concept to grasp, and a considerable amount of controversy has arisen concerning the definition and use of the term (Hardy, 1985: 384). As a result, there has been a proliferation of definitions being used by scholars, with little, if any, agreement among them (Nagel, 1975). This is why Lukes (1974) indicated that the concept of power is "radically evaluative and essentially contested" (p. 9).

Most definitions of power include an element indicating that power is the ability or capability of social actor(s) to influence others to achieve a desired objective or result.[1] Namely, when person A is able to get what he or she wants despite the objections of persons B and C, one is likely to assume that person A has power over persons B and C. Power is also frequently referred to as "any process in which a person or group determines, that is, intentionally affects, the behavior of another person or group" (Tannenbaum, 1968: 5). The classic definition of power, which has been used most often, was given by Max Weber (1947): "Power is the

probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests" (p. 152).

In a similar context, Dahl (1957: 202-203) defined the power of "person A" over "person B" as the extent to which he or she can get B to do something that he or she would not otherwise do. With an emphasis on power-dependence relations, Emerson (1962) defined power and dependency as the inverse of one another, such that individuals hold power to the degree that others are dependent on them to achieve the goals they desire. Meanwhile, Kanter (1977a) saw power as "the ability to get things done, to mobilize resources, to get and use whatever it is that a person needs for the goals he or she is attempting to meet... and it is 'mastery' or 'autonomy' rather than domination or control over others" (p. 166). In sum, for the present study, power refers to the capability of an individual to get things done by mobilizing resources in relationships with other individuals and by changing the behavior of others.

Gender and Power

Thus far, scholars commonly have indicated that men have greater power than women, in both the public and private spheres. Yet, feminist scholars recently have begun to challenge fundamental beliefs long held about power by claiming that traditional theories of power are androcentric,

making them insensitive and inapplicable to women (Chow & Berheide, 1994; Deutchman, 1991; Duffy, 1986; Flammang, 1983; Hartsock, 1983). Feminists have asserted that because sociological theory and research were developed almost exclusively by men, there has been a tendency to view the world through men's eyes, to focus on their concerns, and to concentrate on their interests (Acker, 1988, 1990; Duffy, 1986; Smith, 1974). Given this masculine context, when turning to specific areas of inquiry such as power, the (male) theorists of power did not see gender as a critical aspect of power relations and did not recognize gender as a construction of power itself. Thus, while recognizing that the genderedness of power has been missing in traditional theories of power, feminist theorists have asserted that "to talk about power is to discuss gender--i.e., power relations are themselves gendered" (Deutchman, 1991: 2).[2]

According to Lipman-Bluman (1984), "gender roles are considered as the model for power relationships between generations, socioeconomic classes, religious, racial and ethnic groups, as well as between imperial powers and their colonies, and between less developed and post-industrial societies" (p. 5). Hence, using gender as a model implies that the dominance-subordination roles that men and women play are the basis for power relations of all kinds. Also, because men and women do not have the same access to resources that are associated with power, "gender becomes implicated in the

conception and construction of power itself" (Scott, 1986: 1069). In other words, women do not have much power because their gender has denied them access to resources (such as equal wages and legitimate political power) that often yield power. Implicit in this argument is the assumption that the public realm is the source of power and prestige, and that certain universal features of their roles cause women to be exclusively or primarily associated with the private sphere and to wield less power than men. The distribution of resources and accepted norms of society often give men more sources of family power than women (Lips, 1991).

It should be noted that, due to both the lack of power for women as a group in the public sphere and the bureaucratic nature of work organizations, some women who have successful careers may face formidable difficulties in holding and maintaining power at work. As feminists frequently have asserted, modern bureaucratic work organizations have a male orientation and a male bias (Ferguson, 1988; Kanter, 1977a). This male bias has led some career-oriented women to become like men in their behavior in order to meet the male-centered standard. As a result, women who behave similarly to men occasionally are faulted for being "unfeminine, bitchy, and bossy" (Kanter, 1977a; Kelly, 1991). Moreover, women with work power are also expected to follow the traditional roles of wives and/or mothers (Epstein, 1989), and this "mommy track" reinforces the superiority of the male work model,

preventing married women and mothers from developing a more appropriate female work model (Schwartz, 1989). However, although women are expected to approach their jobs and to exercise power differently from men, a number of studies on gender differences in power orientation have shown no significant differences between men and women in power salience, power drive, power enjoyment, or power style (see Kelly, 1991: 100).

Work Power

As the major manifestation of social stratification, power in the work setting generally designates the degree to which workers are able to control resources, people, and things. In generating a definition of work power, sociologists of work and organization have paid special attention to control over the work process (Wolf & Fligstein, 1979) and control over organizational resources (Spaeth, 1985). Hence, individuals' ability to shape their own work environments and to control resources and people were taken into consideration as the key determinants of work power.

Previous researchers have found that a person with more power in the workplace is likely to have higher rank, status, and earnings than a person with less power (Kluegel, 1978; Spaeth, 1985; Wolf & Fligstein, 1979; Wright & Perrone, 1977). More important, "people with differing amounts of power on the job not only hold very different positions in the work

setting, but also behave differently in situations outside work. Work power has implications for behavior outside the workplace: for example, class consciousness, values, voting behavior, social participation" (Wolf & Fligstein, 1979: 96). From this argument, one can infer that a person's power in the workplace might affect his or her gender-role attitudes and familial behaviors. Although there are a number of aspects of power in the work setting, this study was concerned primarily with two of these aspects: job authority and job autonomy. In other words, in the present research, work power was conceptualized as the degree to which workers are able to control their subordinates' work activities and their own work processes.

Authority at Work

Students of the sociology of work generally take into consideration authority, or legitimate power, as one of the major aspects of power in the work setting. As one crucial way of getting things to happen, authority is "clearly the most salient of all aspects and the most important for locating individuals in the hierarchy of work" (Wolf & Fligstein, 1979: 97). In a broad sense, authority is a person's ability to control the work process of others. Specifically, authority at work means having power, that is, the capacity to mobilize people, to get their cooperation, and to secure the resources to do the job (Kanter, 1983). A person with greater job authority is one who sets policy or

makes decisions about organizational goals, budgets, production, and subordinates (e.g., about hiring, firing, and pay) (Reskin & Padavic, 1994:91). In this study, special attention was given to supervisory authority. Supervisory authority is conceptualized as a form of immediate, "other-directed" power, which enables the worker to control the work of others in a direct manner (Adler, 1990; Wright, 1985). Workers with supervisory authority have frequent interactions with subordinates, and their decisionmaking is mainly on the interpersonal level. In other words, supervisors do not necessarily make organizational decisions contrary to policy makers who have strategic power, but they do enforce those decisions. Supervisors are involved in the actual labor process and apply organizational rules and policies to the daily labor process itself (Adler, 1990: 65).

Significantly, the supervisor is the person in the middle, caught between the workers and higher-level managers. By nature, supervisors are identified as holding contradictory locations in neo-Marxist class analysis (Wright, Costello, Hachen, & Spraegue, 1982). As employees, supervisors are like workers in that they do not own the means of production, but, like employers, they have employees below them who are organizationally defined as their subordinates. It is this authority distinction between superordinates and subordinates that clearly demarcates supervisors from workers.

Wright (1985) distinguished between sanctioning authority

and task authority when supervisors control labor power.[3] Sanctioning authority refers to "the degree of constraint with which supervisors can impose significant sanctions on their subordinates" (p. 338) and includes the determination of promotions and raises, as well as dismissals and warnings, as outlined by company policy. Furthermore, other responsibilities of these supervisors include hiring, transferring, evaluating and setting pay rates. On the other hand, task authority implies direct supervisory activities, such as assigning task and work paces, and directing and monitoring subordinates.

Autonomy at Work

Another indicator of work power in the present study, job autonomy, is considered as a form of personal power because it entails independence and self-direction for the worker in the work context (Adler, 1990; Hage, 1980). Occasionally, autonomy on the job is regarded as a type of work-related reward like authority, income, and occupational status. Those who study the sociology of work and organizations consider job autonomy, or occupational self-discretion, as an organizational feature that allows control over one's own work (Adler, 1993; Hage, 1980; Hall, 1986). Hence, job autonomy generally refers to the extent to which workers are able to use their own initiative or exercise discretion in carrying out work activities (Hall, 1986; Parmelee, 1978).

In a similar vein, while defining autonomy as the "power

to make work decisions relative to the specific task at hand performed by the worker," Hage (1980: 102) understood job autonomy as simply the freedom the worker has to make his own decisions. Moreover, Hage distinguished between "job autonomy as a measure of power, and various mechanisms of control such as close supervision (how often checked), job codification (how many job prescriptions), and so forth" (pp. 102-103). Hence, an individual worker may be under the control of superiors, but also is able to exert some influence on how and when he or she does the work. This is an important point because the fact that an individual worker is supervised by his or her own superiors does not necessarily mean that the worker lacks autonomy on the job. Namely, supervisory authority is "other-directed" power, whereas autonomy entails the worker's immediate decisions about his or her own work situations, or the degree of independence in performing the job, and therefore it is "self-directed" (Adler, 1990).

According to Wright (1985), job autonomy takes two forms: conceptual and time-related autonomies. Conceptual autonomy[4] refers to the extent to which an individual controls the conceptual aspects of work, whereas time-related autonomy represents the ability to influence scheduling and free time at work. Time-related autonomy includes control over when to start and stop working, when to take time off, and when to slow down the work pace. This characteristic of job autonomy is crucial for the analysis of gender-related differences at

work because societal norms about family responsibilities may require women to have more flexibility in setting their work schedules (Adler, 1993). In this study, job autonomy refers to the worker's ability to design aspects of work, implement ideas, introduce new tasks and assignments, decide on work hours and time off, and decide on the work pace.[5]

Last, it should be pointed out that researchers have suggested that autonomous work conditions affect workers' sense of self-worth, self-efficacy, and overall emotional well-being (Gecas & Seff, 1989; Hibbard & Pope, 1987; Lennon, 1987; Menaghan, 1991; Mortimer & Borman, 1988; Mortimer, Lorence, & Kumka, 1986; Spenner & Otto, 1985). In particular, scholars have asserted that greater opportunity to exercise self-direction at work improves people's cognitive habits and skills (Kohn & Schooler, 1983; Miller, Slomczynski, & Kohn, 1985; Naoi & Schooler, 1985; Schooler & Naoi, 1988). It also has been indicated that the degree of self-direction exercised on the job shapes more general attitudes and values: People are believed to generalize attitudes, values, and approaches learned or encouraged on the job to other settings as well, including family life (Schooler, 1987). In contrast, lower opportunities for self-direction shape more socially conservative and guarded orientations to society (Kohn et al., 1990). Thus, in this study, based on these statements, an individual worker's job autonomy was expected to affect the person's holding of an egalitarian gender-role ideology.

Work Power and Gender

Previous studies on gender differences in work power have revealed that men generally have more power and authority at work than do women (e.g., Parcel & Mueller, 1983; Spaeth, 1984, 1985; Wolf & Fligstein, 1979). Historically, women as a group have been subordinated by men as a group, mainly because of being confined within the private sphere of family and excluded from the male world of paid work. Even, since they massively entered the workforce, women have been concentrated in certain sex-segregated industries and occupational sectors, typically characterized by low-skill and low-paid service jobs (England & Farkas, 1986; Hareven, 1982; Hartmann, 1976; Reskin & Padavic, 1994; Roos, 1985). Scholars like Tomaskoviv-Devey (1993) have pointed out that job-level segregation by sex continues to be the norm rather than the exception in U.S. workplaces.[6] This sex segregation at work has been significantly associated with gender inequalities in the labor market. Thus, it should come as no surprise that, until recently, those occupations such as professional and managerial jobs that may provide workers with high levels of work-related rewards--i.e., earnings, power, status, and autonomy--have been out of reach for most women.

Furthermore, owing to patriarchal capitalist relations, women have been substantially denied access to significant positions of power and authority within male-centered work organizations (Hartmann, 1976; Kanter, 1977a; Kelly, 1991).

In "gendered" organizations, the most powerful positions and rewards have been occupied almost entirely by men (Acker, 1990).[7] Especially with regard to gender differences in authority at work, scholars have indicated that women are allowed to exercise less authority than men, in general, and are over-represented in lower authority occupations, in particular (Coverman, 1986; Jacobs, 1992; Kanter, 1977; Reskin & Padavic, 1994).[8] Historically, women's access to jobs with authority and their chances to exercise power have been blocked by employers for the benefit of preserving men's power and privileges. Employers disproportionately reserve authority-conferring occupations for men and within occupations tend to place men rather than women in jobs that involve final decisions (McGuire & Reskin, 1993: 489). Consequently, despite the steady increase of women in management occupations during the 1970s and 1980s, "invisible barriers [that] separate women from top jobs and genuine authority" (Reskin & Ross, 1992: 343) still exist and limit women's acquisition and exercise of power in today's workplaces. To a degree, the above-mentioned facts regarding gender and work power appear gloomy in the light of women's persistent effort to achieve gender equality at work.

Family Power

The family is not only a system in which a group of people live out power relationships but also a context that

sets the stage for future power relationships by transmitting shared understandings about power from one generation to the next (Lips, 1991). In a broad sense, power in the family signifies the ability of individual members to change the behavior of other family members and is generated by acquiring skills, resources, and status outside the family (Kranichfeld, 1987; Lips, 1991; McDonald, 1980; Szinovacz, 1987).[9] Power relationships in the family has been one of the most frequently studied topics in family sociology for the past three decades or so. In the present research, family power represents marital power between husbands and wives in dual-earner families. Marital decision-making power and contribution to household labor were used as two major indicators of family power. Hence, previous theoretical approaches and empirical studies on decision-making power and household division of labor in the context of family power are discussed in this section.

Marital Decision-Making Power

Until recently, sociological explanations for the persistence of power differential have concentrated on the issues of conjugal roles, marital equality, and marital power (Bott, 1957; Pahl & Pahl, 1971). Specifically, researchers studying marital power have focused mainly on spousal household decisionmaking, adopting the "resources theory of marital power" (Blood & Wolfe, 1960; McDonald, 1980; Szinovacz, 1987). While recognizing that the balance in

marriage is influenced by the comparative "valued resources" of the spouses, researchers have sought to reveal the ways in which couples negotiate their relationships and exercise power through decisionmaking. According to Gelles (1995), students of family relations have focused on decisionmaking as a window into understanding the power structure of families, the sources of power, and the consequences (p. 213). Thus, marital power and decision-making power are concepts that family sociologists often have used interchangeably since the early 1960s (Safilios-Rothschild, 1970). One commonly used definition of power in a marital dyad is the ability of one person to modify or influence the behavior of another (Cromwell & Olson, 1975). Concisely speaking, marital decision-making power refers to the relative ability of one individual to obtain intended outcomes (i.e., having a final say in marital decisionmaking) in the husband-wife relationship.

During the past several decades, even though the resource theory of marital power has been criticized extensively, marital decision-making power continues to be used (Allen, 1984) as one crucial dimension of power in the family. In this section, the essential points of two major theoretical perspectives on marital decision-making power are discussed: resource theory (Blood & Wolfe, 1960) and normative resource theory (Rodman, 1972).

Resource theory. The basic idea of resource theory (Blood & Wolfe, 1960) is that the decision-making power of each spouse is directly dependent on the extent to which that spouse contributes valuable socioeconomic resources (such as education, income, or occupational status) to the marriage. That is, a spouse's power in the marriage is contingent on his or her absolute or relative resources. Hence, a woman's power in decisionmaking is assumed to increase as her absolute resources increase relative to her husband's resources (Berardo, Shenhan, & Leslie, 1987; Kamo, 1988; Sabatelli & Shehan, 1993).

Previous empirical studies have indicated that the more prestigious the husband's occupation, the more likely he is to dominate decision making at home (Blood & Wolfe, 1960; Gillespie, 1971). As a form of economic power, income is an even better predictor of decision-making power than is occupational prestige (Izraeli, 1994). Blumstein and Schwartz (1983) reported that money and income establish the balance of power in marital relationships. Husbands who earn higher incomes are more likely to dominate in family decisionmaking as compared to men who earn smaller incomes. Similarly, wives with high incomes gain greater financial autonomy and marital power in the family. Finally, the spouse with higher education generally has been found to dominate marital relations (Atkinson & Boles, 1984; Blumberg, 1991; Ericksen, Yancey, & Ericksen, 1979; Gillespie, 1971; Pahl, 1983; Steil

& Weltman, 1991).

Resource theory has been criticized on several grounds, mainly because of its methodological and conceptual problems (see Eichler, 1981; McDonald, 1980; Mizan, 1994; Safilios-Rothschild, 1970; Szinovacz, 1987). Of the major criticisms of research on family decision-making power, the first problem pertains to investigators' frequent reliance on one spouse's responses, typically the wife's, for measuring the husband's and wife's relative status in a marriage. In several studies of family power, in which husbands and wives were used as subjects, there were large discrepancies in the responses of husbands and wives (Monroe et al., 1985). Also, some researchers have reported social desirability or perception biases in the couples' responses (Turk & Bell, 1972). Olson (1969) pointed out that husbands often overestimate and wives often underestimate their actual power in conjugal life. Other authors have noted that a person tends to underreport his or her own power and to overreport his or her spouse's power (Heer, 1962; Szinovacz, 1987; Turk & Bell, 1972). Moreover, with regard to the method of data collection, in some family power studies a striking difference was found between an observational measure and a self-report measure in a joint family discussion situation (Kenkel, 1963). Other researchers noted a significant discrepancy between the reports of outside observers and those of the couples themselves (Hill, 1965; Safilios-Rothschild, 1970).

The second frequently identified problem concerning resource theory is with regard to the conceptualization of power. McDonald (1980) argued that researchers using decision-making indicators may measure only a unidimensional aspect of power and neglect the multidimensional, dynamic nature of power. Reacting to this problem, Cromwell and Olson (1975) tried to develop a more sophisticated conceptualization of power. That is, by dividing power into three components--power bases, power processes, and power outcomes--Cromwell and Olson sought to demonstrate the importance of the dynamic nature of power.

Another conceptual problem is the researchers' interchangeable use of terms such as "influence" and "authority" for "power," even though they have attempted to measure those concepts with items regarding conjugal decisionmaking at the household level (Safilios-Rothschild, 1970). Thus, several researchers (Buric & Zecevic, 1967; Hill, 1965) have equated decisionmaking with marital authority, or have made no distinction between decision-making power and authority, even though they have primarily attempted to measure spousal decision-making power. In addition, the oversimplication of marital power, in which the quantitative aspect of marital power is measured, has been criticized for neglecting to consider hidden power (Komter, 1989; Pyke, 1994). By employing qualitative measures of marital power in order to go beyond the superficial indicators of power, Pyke

(1994) examined the symbolic and gendered meanings that married couples give to their individual contributions to their marriages, i.e., marital dynamics that reveal hidden power, most of which were developed by Komter (1989).

The third problem concerning resource theory is the lack of a systematic theory. This theoretical problem of marital power has led to a number of inconsistent results when researchers have examined the influence of employment, earnings, and other resources on marital decision-making power. Besides, the problem of generalization has occasionally been indicated: i.e., the findings on family power in the U.S. cannot be applied to other cultures (Coleman, 1988). Finally, from a feminist viewpoint, Kranichfeld (1987) criticized the resource theory of power on the grounds that power has been masculinized. While indicating that power tends to be defined as whatever rights men have but women generally do not, Kranichfeld argued that women are, by definition, powerless.

Normative resource theory. According to Rodman (1972), the relationship between resources and marital power depends on societal gender-role norms. Rodman's "theory of marital power in cultural context" posited that the effects of resources on power are different under different cultural or normative conditions. With respect to husbands' power, he showed that resources are positively related to power in relatively egalitarian cultures but negatively related to

power in "modified patriarchal" cultures, in which norms are changing from patriarchal to egalitarian. This is because high-resource persons in such societies are strongly influenced by the newer egalitarian norms.

However, in fully patriarchal societies that have not been influenced by egalitarian norms, marriage will be almost uniformly husband-dominated, regardless of either the husband's or the wife's resources. In patriarchal societies, traditional gender-role norms predominate in their influence on marital power relationships and render resources relatively unimportant. In other words, the strong and unambiguous patriarchal norms create or reflect the situation of "a spontaneous consensus" (Scanzoni, 1979) in which the interests of the husband are paramount; wives cannot influence marital decisions because the norms prevent them from doing so, irrespective of their relative contribution of resources to the marriage. Indeed, the acceptance of more egalitarian norms among higher status groups in patriarchal societies may result in a negative relationship between a husband's resources and his wife's marital power (Rodman, 1967). Rodman compared available data on the situation in the United States, France, Yugoslavia, and Greece. It appeared that the association between measures of the husband's authority and his educational and occupational statuses was positive in the United States and France, but appeared to be negative in the other two nations.

Rodman's normative resource theory can be criticized for its formulation of a gendered marital power perspective. To some extent, it is questionable, as in the case of men, whether the effects of resources on wives' power in the normative context emerge from cultural expectations about the distribution of marital power. In this sense, this researcher would support the assertion of Hardesty and Bokemeier (1989) that one needs to move beyond Rodman's analysis and to examine how "structural sources of inequality between the sexes shape cultural norms and influence the marital dyad" (p. 254). While adopting Marxist-feminist theory to account for the distribution of household labor in nonmetropolitan marriages, Hardesty and Bokemeier pointed out that "women's subordinate position within the paid labor force promotes patriarchal social norms that justify an inequitable distribution of household labor" (p. 254).

Household Labor[10]

Despite many changes in the family sphere, it is frequently noted, at least one characteristic of family life has remained stable--the division of household labor (Perry-Jenkins & Folk, 1994). In dual-earner families, even when both spouses are employed outside the home, wives continue to perform the majority of household tasks. Moreover, even though husbands of employed wives tend to spend significantly more time doing housework than husbands of nonemployed women, overall, men's involvement in household tasks is slowly

increasing (Pleck, 1985; Shelton & John, 1996). Some scholars have suggested that the division of household activities is reflective of power relations between husbands and wives in the modern family system (Barrett, 1980; Berk, 1985; Hartmann, 1981). Unlike in pre-industrialized societies, where domestic labor was naturally considered to be women's work and responsibility, in contemporary dual-earner families, who does and should do devalued and unrewarded household chores reveals a power struggle between men and women.[11] Hartmann (1981) asserted that "the family is a primary arena in which men exercise their patriarchal power over women's labor...[and] time spent on housework... can be fruitfully used as a measure of power relations in the home" (p. 377). Similarly, while underscoring a close connection between unequal division of domestic labor and male power, Shreve (1987) indicated that "housework has always been a servant task... and it has so long been associated with the powerless that to invest in it may suggest a relinquishing of one's own power within the family" (p. 175).

Historically, it has been men's ability to delegate household labor to women that has placed them in a position of power. Hence, for men, freedom from doing devalued, unrewarded, and menial household tasks can be understood as having power within the family. Building on the assumption that household work is onerous and necessarily is avoided by those with the power to do so, scholars like Piotrkowski and

Repetti (1984) treated household division of labor as an indicator of family power (p. 103). Berk (1985) also suggested that household labor allocation can be characterized as "a locale for the exercise of power" (p.12). The allocation of household labor tasks is an outcome of differential power between the spouses (i.e., the less "powerful" spouses do more household labor) and is sometimes cast as an indicator of differential spousal power (i.e., if wives do more household work, they must wield less power). In discussing the treatment of household labor within the family power framework, Berk made the following point:

> Regardless of the way in which household-labor allocation is conceptualized and measured, the result is the same; household labor is *about* power. That is, the perspective requires that one view the work of the household as a mirror--reflecting power relations--rather than as a window, revealing what and how everyday work is accomplished.(p. 12)

During the last three decades or so, several theoretical models have been employed to explain how household work is unequally shared between spouses. Although many specific factors affect the division of family work (see Hiller, 1984), the literature on this topic offers three theoretical approaches to household labor: the resource, time-availability, and gender-role ideology perspectives (Brayfield, 1992; Calasanti & Bailey, 1991; Coverman, 1985; Hardesty & Bokemeier, 1989; Kamo, 1988; Ross, 1987; Shelton, 1992; Spitze, 1986). The central ideas of each perspective

are described in the following section.

Resource theory. Since the seminal work of Blood and Wolfe (1960), resource theory has constituted the primary orienting framework for the empirical study of household division of labor and conjugal power. With resources typically operationalized as tangible socioeconomic characteristics (income, education, and occupational status) of members, a vast number of studies were undertaken to explore the efficacy of "resource theory" during the 1960s and 1970s (e.g., Safilios-Rothschild, 1967; Scanzoni, 1972). Resource theory posits that household labor is allocated based on the power of each spouse (Ross, 1987). That is, in absolute terms, those with greater resources (i.e., higher education, higher income, and more prestigious occupations) have greater social power and thus can compel those with fewer resources and less power to undertake the devalued, unrewarded, menial, and onerous work of the household (Coverman, 1985; Huber & Spitze, 1981; Ross, 1987). In short, resource theory assumes that housework is viewed negatively by both women and men and that they are therefore motivated to avoid doing it (Hood, 1983). The fact that power through economic resources is translated into the ability to avoid household work is an important point for the present study.

Previous empirical studies have revealed that men's educational attainment is positively associated with their participation in household labor (Berardo et al., 1987;

Bergen, 1991; Brayfield, 1992; Brines, 1993; Haddad, 1994; Hardesty & Bokemeier, 1989; Kamo, 1988; Presser, 1994; South & Spitze, 1994) and negatively related to their spouse's contribution to household work (Kamo, 1991; Shelton & John, 1993). These findings are inconsistent with the expectations of the resource theory and can be interpreted as indicating the relationship between education and ideology (Shelton & John, 1996). Ross (1987) also noted that well-educated husbands and husbands with nontraditional gender-role attitudes are more likely to participate in household work.

With regard to income, most researchers have found that differences between husbands' and wives' earnings were positively related to the division of household labor (Berk & Berk, 1978; Blair & Lichter, 1991; Brayfield, 1992; Kamo, 1988, 1991, 1994; Maret & Finlay, 1984; Presser, 1994; Ross, 1987). That is, "the more the husband's earnings exceed his wife's, the less housework he does" (Ross, 1987: 827). Similarly, Bird, Bird, and Scruggs (1984) found positive associations between the wife's income and the degree to which cooking and cleaning tasks are shared by the spouses. Yet, other researchers have reported no relationship between spouses' income level and their household labor (e.g., Berardo et al., 1987). Some studies that assess the effect of earnings on men's and women's household work separately have revealed that earnings have a greater effect on women's household labor than on men's (Shelton & John, 1996).

Finally, research findings regarding occupational status have shown that occupational status is less consistently associated with household labor than are earnings or educational level (Shelton & John, 1996). Some researchers have found that men's occupational status is negatively associated with their contribution to household work (McAllister, 1990), whereas others have reported that it is either positively (Berk & Berk, 1978; Deutsch et al., 1993) or not associated with household labor (Aytac, 1990; Coverman, 1985). Few researchers have revealed no association between women's occupational status and their participation in household labor (Calasanti & Bailey, 1991; McAllister, 1990). In sum, the findings of previous studies on the effects of socially valued resources on household work have been less consistent with the predictions of the resource theory.

Gender-role ideology perspective. The gender-role ideology hypothesis suggests that household tasks are divided on the basis of gender-role attitudes of husbands and wives; i.e., men and women with more egalitarian attitudes have a more equal division of household labor than those with more traditional attitudes (Berardo et al., 1987; Finley, 1989; Huber & Spitze, 1983; Stafford, Backman, & Dibona, 1977). If both spouses believe that the husband should work outside the home as breadwinner and that the wife should be responsible for homemaking and child care, they may expect the wife do a larger proportion of the household work. In contrast, if both

spouses hold egalitarian gender-role attitudes, they may be equally involved in performing household labor (Calasanti & Bailey, 1991; Ross, 1987). Bird et al. (1984) found that husbands with more egalitarian views were more willing to help their wives in such "female" tasks as meal preparation, child care, and cleaning, whereas wives with such views tended to participate more in financial-management tasks.

It has also been found that husbands' and wives' gender-role attitudes are associated with some sociodemographic characteristics. For example, well-educated men and those in high-status occupations tend to endorse nontraditional gender-role attitudes, and thus perform more household labor (Calasanti & Bailey, 1991; Coverman, 1985; Farkas, 1976). Moreover, both spouses' earnings affect their gender-role orientations; i.e., men with higher earnings tend to have traditional gender attitudes and, in turn, perform less household labor, whereas women with higher earnings tend to hold egalitarian gender-role ideologies and are less involved in domestic labor (Kamo, 1988).

The gender-role ideology perspective has been criticized owing to its inconsistent findings. Some researchers have found that it is the husband's gender-role ideology that matters with regard to household labor; a wife's ideology has no effect (Finley, 1989; Ross, 1987). In contrast, other investigators have found that the wife's attitudes have a significant direct effect on the husband's contribution to

household labor (e.g., Hardesty & Bokemeier, 1989). Besides, some crucial issues like "where ideology comes from, what purposes it serves, and who benefits from it" are not addressed by the gender-role ideology perspective (Calasanti & Bailey, 1991: 37).

Time-availability theory. Proponents of the time-availability theory argue that the extent to which husbands and wives contribute to household work is subject to time constraints (Blood & Wolfe, 1960; Scanzoni, 1970). The time-availability theory assumes that people who have more time at home will be more involved in household work; if husbands and wives are employed an equal number of hours, they should both perform equal amounts of domestic labor (Coltrane, 1996; England & Farkas, 1986; Hiller, 1984; Ross, 1987; Spitze, 1986). The indicators of time constraints include employment status, hours worked, presence or number of children in the household, and work schedule (Shelton & John, 1996). Blood and Wolfe (1960) asserted that men have little time to do the "humdrum and menial" household work that needs to be done everyday within the home due to their intensive involvement in breadwinning activities. However, although the person with the most time is usually the wife, if she works outside the home, "the husband incurs a moral obligation to help her out in her exclusive task areas" (p. 73).

Previous studies conducted in the 1970s and 1980s have

found a negative association between the number of hours men spend in paid work and their contribution to household work (Fox & Nickols, 1983; Hardesty & Bokemeier, 1989; Kamo, 1988; Spitze, 1988; Walker & Wood, 1976). As coltrane (1996) pointed out, because most men did so little family work, and because the majority of men were employed full time outside the home, the relationship between husbands' paid work time and family work time has tended to be small or nonsignificant. In contrast, wife's paid work hours and housework hours have been found to be significantly related (p. 159). Most researchers have revealed that women's paid work hours are negatively associated with their housework (Acock & Demo, 1994; Almeida et al., 1993; Bergen, 1991; Brayfield, 1992; Brines, 1993; Demo & Acock, 1993; Kamo, 1991; Rexroat & Shehan, 1987). Regardless of women's paid work hours, the literature commonly has indicated that women continue to do the majority of household work (Shelton & John, 1996). Research findings of the relationship between women's paid work hours and their spouses' participation in household labor have been mixed. Some researchers have reported that women's paid work hours are positively associated with their husbands' household work (Blair & Lichter, 1991; Brines, 1993; Nickols & Metzen, 1982), whereas others have found no or weak associations (Brayfield, 1992; Kamo, 1991; Levant et al., 1987; Shelton, 1990).

In summary, the review of the literature on theoretical

and empirical work on the allocation of household labor demonstrate that a number of specific factors affect the extent to which husbands and wives perform household work. It should be noted that when researchers employ the three theoretical perspectives in conducting empirical studies with regard to the allocation of household labor, they need to take into consideration how the factors of resources, gender ideology, and time constraints are interrelated in accounting for the patterns of family work. As Coltrane (1996) indicated,

> It is important to remember that they [i.e., the three theoretical perspectives] operate simultaneously and can only be analytically separated by oversimplifying real world processes. Rather than assuming that one of these factors can fully "explain" how household work get divided, it is more fruitful to ask questions about their relative mix and the social contexts that might privilege one factor over the others. (p. 161)

Linkages Between Work Power and Family Power

The researcher's main objective in the present study was to examine whether men's and women's power at work spills over into their power within the family. In this section, after a brief description of the interplay between work and family, the writer discusses how power in one setting (work) is translated into another (family) setting--i.e., the nature of unidirectional power transition from the work domain to the family domain. Before the main discussion, it should be indicated that, although the concept of power per se can be

conceptualized similarly in both spheres, scholars like Dexter (1985) have suggested that the exercise of power in work organizations should be distinguished from that in families.[12] Dexter's argument is crucial in the sense that social relationships in one domain (work organizations) substantially differ from those in another (families) in a number of ways. However, the goal in this study was to explore gender differences in the translation of work power into family power, not gender differences in power relationships within each sphere.

In characterizing the processes through which work and family are interrelated, various researchers have relied on three distinctive conceptual models: segmentation, compensation, and spillover (Burke & Bradshaw, 1981; Champoux, 1978; Chow & Berheide, 1988; Crouter, 1984; Kando & Summers, 1971; Kanungo & Misra, 1984; Levinson, 1995; Piotrkowski, 1979; Staines, 1980; Zedeck, 1992). Scholars have offered these specific models or views to account for the relationships or lack of relationships between work and family. The earliest view of the relationship between work and family is the *segmentation* (or separate sphere) *model*, in which work and family are two distinctive systems, and thus work and family do not affect each other (Lambert, 1990). The two domains are independent so that an individual can be successful in one without any influence on the other. The two spheres exist side by side and for all practical purposes are

divorced from each other (Zedeck, 1992: 9-10). That is, work and family "constitute two separate and nonoverlapping worlds, with their own functions, territories, and behavioral rules" (Kanter, 1977b: 8). The segmentation model is also described as the separateness, independence, compartmentalization, and neutrality (Staines, 1980).

According to the segmentation model, the work world is viewed as impersonal, competitive, and instrumental rather than expressive, whereas the family is the realm of affectivity, intimacy, and significant ascribed relations (Piotrkowski, 1978). Thus, this model postulates that the work is a public arena for men and family is a domestic heaven for women. It is also recognized that, for societal stability, family and work should remain separate in order to function properly and the division of labor by sex should be maintained in order to avoid conflict (Chow & Berheide, 1988; Parsons & Bales, 1955). Significantly, the segmentation model has a crucial implication for power relations between men and women with regard to gender roles and division of labor by sex. Women's position is accounted for in terms of their specific role within capitalism and their family work is not regarded as a form of production with exchange value in the labor market. Conversely, as breadwinners, men are seen as producers who are associated with the economic system (Benston, 1969). In fact, much of the "domestic labor debate" centered on the question of whether domestic labor is

productive or unproductive (Berk, 1985: 17).[13] Primacy of producer over reproducer is embedded in the social structure and gives rise to the differential allocation of rewards, resources, and power that leads to male dominance and female subordination in the family sphere (Chow & Berheide, 1988: 24).

Second, the *compensation model* postulates that there is an inverse/negative association between work and home, such that work and nonwork experiences tend to be antithetical. In this view, individuals make differential investments of themselves in the two settings; thus what is provided by one domain makes up for what is missing in the other domain (Zedeck, 1992: 9). The compensation model is also recognized in the literature by terms such as complementarity, contrast, opposition, competition, regeneration, and heteromorphism (Staines, 1980; Zedeck, 1992). Workers may seek to compensate for a lack of satisfaction at work or home by seeking to find more satisfaction in the other; e.g., when workers do dull work and are unable to achieve gratification from their work roles, they might achieve alternative gratification by seeking stimulation and variety in their leisure-time pursuits at home (Kohn & Schooler, 1983: 218). This implies that people compensate for unsatisfying and undesirable conditions in one sphere by finding greater satisfaction in another sphere.

Previous researchers like Dubin (1967) and Young and Willmott (1973) have noted that, viewing their families as

"havens" from work, men in blue-collar jobs compensate for the lack of job-related ego involvement by more involvement and investment in wives and children at home. Many lower-level manual workers see their homes as places to relax and as sources of satisfaction lacking in the occupational sphere. The role of father-husband is more "salient" to them than their work role and they receive more satisfaction from it than from their jobs (Piotrkowski, 1978: 99). However, people's desire to treat their families as havens does not necessarily imply that they have the means or resources to accomplish this. Both structural and psychological aspects of jobs may interfere with workers' capacities to treat their families as compensation for work (Levinson, 1995).

Finally, the most popular view on the relationship between work and family is the *spillover model*: i.e., the effects of work and family carry over from one to the other. According to this model, there is a similarity between what occurs in the work sphere and what occurs in the family sphere (Burke & Bradshaw, 1981; Staines, 1980; Voydanoff, 1987); e.g., happiness at work leads to happiness at home. The essence of the spillover model is also described as "extension, generalization, familiarity, identity, isomorphism, continuation, and congruences" (Zedeck, 1992: 8).

Scholars who employ the spillover model not only recognize system permeability and simultaneous membership of individuals in multiple social systems, but they also

emphasize the social and psychological consequences of simultaneous membership. Unlike the separate sphere model, the spillover model sees the major issue of system relationship as a matter of priority rather than of boundary (Chow & Berheide, 1994: 24).[14] Hence, the crucial point is that the spillover model refutes the idea of separate sphere of work and family. In addition, the spillover model suggests that workers carry the emotions, attitudes, skills, and behaviors that they establish at work into their family lives (Belsky, Perry-Jenkins, & Crouter, 1985; Kelly & Voydanoff, 1985; Piotrkowski, 1979), and vice versa (Belsky et al., 1985; Crouter, 1984). This situation is interpreted as the outcome of a direct process of "learning-generalization," by which the lessons in one sphere of life are carried over to other spheres of life (Kohn & Schooler, 1983: 218).

It needs to be noted that the spillover model has focused exclusively on the influence of the workplace on workers and family life, and often fails to recognize the importance of the reverse effects of family life on workers and the workplaces (Barnett, 1994; Bielby, 1992). Besides, this model has not adequately dealt with the reciprocity of the interwoven relationship between work and family systems (Ishii-Kuntz, 1994). Recently, feminist scholars have recognized the mutual interdependence between work and family, taking into account the reciprocal influence of work and family and acknowledging their independent as well as their

joint effects, directly and indirectly, on the psychological state and social conditions of individuals (Chow & Berheid, 1988: 25).

In sum, the models of segmentation, compensation and spillover represent three different ways to conceive of the linkage between work and family. Thus far, scholars have relied on these theoretical models to specify the various dynamics of the work/family system (for reviews see Bielby, 1992; Lambert, 1990; Menaghan & Parcel, 1990; Piotrkowski et al., 1987; Voydanoff, 1987). Some researchers have been concerned with unraveling the relations between structural aspects of work and family (e.g., Kohn & Schooler, 1983; Pittman & Orthner, 1989; Spitze & South, 1985). Others have explored the relations between psychological aspects of work and family (Barnett, 1994; Eckenrode & Gore, 1990; Staines et al., 1985). Yet, those few researchers (e.g., Ladewig & McGee, 1986; Mottaz, 1986; Pleck & Staines, 1985) who explored the relationship between work and family for both men and women have paid little attention to how men's and women's experience of power at work is translated into their power relations at home.

With regard to gender and work, it should be mentioned that, traditionally, research on work has been limited to the experiences of men and often has been based on the assumption that work is men's primary life interest. Consequently, research on women workers has tended to focus on how

employment, regardless of the type of job held, is related to family adjustment and on how women are affected by the conflict they experience between their roles as workers and as wives and mothers (see Hoffman & Nye, 1978).[15] Hence, it is not surprising that scholars have paid little attention to how specific characteristics of women's jobs affect them and their family lives (see Bronfenbrenner & Crouter, 1982). However, during the past few decades, many researchers have begun to be more concerned with gender differences in the effects of the nature and conditions of work on personality as well as on family lives (e.g., Kohn & Schooler, 1983; Seccombe, 1986). Given these circumstances, while speculating that both men's and women's experience of power at work, especially authority and autonomy on the job, influence their power relations within the family, this researcher assessed gender differences in the translation of work power to family power.

The investigator adopted Kohn and Schooler's (1983) theory of resocialization--i.e., what they called "learning-generalization" model to conceptualize the translation of work power into family power. During the last three decades, the Kohn-Schooler model has become the dominant approach to the study of work, personality, and social stratification (Spenner, 1988), and a major approach to the study of social structure and personality (Kohn, Naoi, Schoenbach, Schooler, & Slomczynski, 1990; Kohn & Schooler, 1969, 1978, 1983; Miller, Slomczynski, & Kohn, 1985; Schooler & Naoi, 1988). In

a nationwide study of over three thousand American men, Kohn and Schooler's initial cross-sectional (1969, 1973) and subsequent longitudinal (1978, 1982, 1983) analyses have shown that occupational characteristics influence individual personality traits. Particularly, while proposing a close link between structural variables and value formation, Kohn and Schooler have noted that parents of different social classes held different values and engaged in different behaviors toward the socialization of their children. Parents from higher social classes placed greater emphasis on self-directed behavior and thought patterns, whereas lower social classes placed greater emphasis on conformity, obedience to external authority, and external appearances (Spenner, 1988: 71). Such a difference in the parental behavior stems from the fact that higher social-class jobs tend to allow, or demand, self-direction, whereas lower-class positions more often require the following of directions established by someone in authority, and employees may be penalized for initiative or independent thought (Seccombe, 1986: 840).

In the present study, the Kohn-Schooler model was expanded to include the power relationships between husband and wife in family sphere. Kohn and Schooler's work allows one to formulate a theoretical link in the relationship between work characteristics (work power) and conjugal marital behavior (family power). That is, the structural imperatives of jobs--occupational self-direction and position of

supervisory authority--affect a worker's values, and orientations to self and society, through a direct process of learning from the job and selected "generalization" of what has been learned, consistent with psychological theories of reinforcement and social learning (Kohn, 1987; Kohn & Schooler, 1983; Spenner, 1988). As Kohn and Schooler indicated, if work conditions can resocialize individuals, then the acquisition of new norms and values may affect marital behaviors as well. In this study, job autonomy and supervisory authority were considered as two important conditions of work that imply power relations in the workplace.

With respect to job autonomy, Kohn and Schooler (1983) indicated that "doing occupationally self-directed work results in valuing self-direction, both for oneself and for one's children, and in haivng self-directed orientations to self and society" (p. 2). They further noted that:

> such attribute as self-direction at work is a central value for men of higher social-stratification positions who are more open-minded in their views of what is socially acceptable and in their tolerance of nonconformity, whereas conformity is a central value for men of lower social-stratification positions who hold more authoritarian views of what is acceptable and more rigidly reject behavior that does not conform to the acceptable (pp.15 & 33).

In addition, men with a greater amount of autonomy at work see themselves as more competent and more in control of the forces that affect their lives than do men with lower self-direction.

Thus, in the present study, through the processes of "value transmissions," those men with a great amount of self-direction were expected to endorse a more egalitarian gender-role ideology and, in turn, to be more involved in household labor and to have greater marital power. In contrast, men with lower amount of autonomy were expected to hold more traditional gender-role attitudes and to seek to compensate for their lack of power (at work) in the family by insisting on more marital power and being less involved in household work.

With regard to women, Kohn and Schooler (1983) pointed out that the relationships between psychological functioning and the structural imperatives of the job are generally similar to the case of men (p. 207). Hence, women with a greater amount of self-direction at work are likely to be nonauthoritarian and to have confidence in themselves. In this study, it was expected that such women would endorse more egalitarian gender-role attitudes, have more marital power, and be less involved in household labor. On the other hand, unlike Kohn and Schooler's argument, it was expected that the work of women in lower autonomy positions would be "uninvolving and unsatisfying" and that, for them, the segmentation of work and home would be "a natural process" (Lambert, 1990: 241). Therefore, these women would be more likely to endorse more traditional gender-role attitudes, and thus to be more involved in household work and to have less

marital power. In sum, in this study, for both men and women, a greater amount of work autonomy was expected to be a significant predictor of egalitarian gender-role ideology and thus, consequently, of greater marital power and less participation in household labor.

Unlike job autonomy, such an attribute as supervisory authority on the job may serve to sustain authoritarian conservatism. In bureaucratic work organizations, supervisors receive orders from the above (i.e., corporate elite), then pass along orders to the below (i.e., workers). Supervisors are expected to control important organizational resources, and to oversee the processes of performance evaluation and reward allocation (Miller, 1986: 24). The bureaucratic organizational structure and their position in authority affect supervisors' values and orientations to self and society. Merton (1957) suggested that "bureaucracy has certain effects on its members' personalities, that it encourages the tendency to adhere rigidly to rules and regulations for their own sake" (Gross & Etzioni, 1985: 18). Thus, men in supervisory authority positions are liable to have "bureaucratic personalities." The individual high in the bureaucratic personality trait is prone to be conservative and rigid in their beliefs, and tend to place a high value on conformist behavior and on being systematic and orderly (Allinson, 1984: 48).

Besides, the seminal research by Adorno et al. (1950) on

"authoritarian personality" suggested that authoritarians tend to take structures and hierarchies very seriously, they like order and predictability and tend to be rigid and conventional. The authoritarian personality might be typified by the person who is intolerant and repressive to subordinates at work. In short, for men, a greater amount of job authority was expected to be a significant predictor of traditional gender-role ideology and thus, consequently, of greater marital power and less contribution to household work.

In contrast, the researcher expected women in higher supervisory authority positions to have egalitarian gender-role ideology than do women in lower authority positions. Unlike male supervisors, authoritarian conservatism inculcated from the experience of bureaucratic personalities does not seem to be a crucial value for female supervisors. This is because women who have a greater amount of supervisory authority "see themselves as more competent and more in control of the forces that affect their lives" (Kohn & Schooler, 1983: 18). Having an authority at work enables women to reject the traditional ideology that the proper role for women is that of homemaker, while men are to provide the family with income. Such an anti-traditional ideology, even though most women supervisors and bosses learn bossiness as a leadership style, may induce women to endorse egalitarian gender-role attitudes. In short, for women, a greater amount of job authority was expected to be a significant predictor of

egalitarian gender-role attitudes and thus, consequently, of greater marital power and less contribution to household work.

During the past decade, a small number of empirical studies were conducted on the effects of occupational conditions on the division of household labor, using Kohn and Schooler's theory (e.g., Aytac, 1990; Seccombe, 1986). Seccombe examined the effects of three specific conditions of work (i.e., work autonomy, work component, and work complexity) on the division of household labor, using separate models for husbands and wives. The results showed little support for Kohn and Schooler's theory; in particular, the data did not fit the female model, for which none of the path coefficients was found to be significant. Moreover, the explained amount of variance in the housekeeping role was very low in both the male (6%) and female (3%) models in Seccombe's study. Part of the reason for this result seems to be that Seccombe did not consider sociodemographic characteristics in her model.

Aytac (1990) assessed the effect of the wife's two occupational conditions (decisionmaking at work and income) on the husband's share of household labor. The results revealed partial support for Kohn and Schooler's theory: When wives had decision-making responsibility at work, their husbands shared more of the domestic chores. However, Aytac employed Kohn and Schooler's theory of resocialization without including women's or men's gender-role ideology as a mediating factor in the

regression analyses. Also, if one thinks of decision-making responsibility at work as a nonmaterial resource, Aytac's research could indicate only how a wife's material (income) and nonmaterial (decisionmaking at work) resources in the workplace influence her husband's contribution to household labor.

In summary, while expecting unidirectional power transition from the work sphere to the family sphere, the researcher considered two specific theories: the resource theory and Kohn and Schooler's learning-generalization theory. The resource theory was employed in order to explore direct effects of work power on family power, whereas Kohn and Schooler's resocialization theory was adopted to investigate the indirect effect of work power on family power through gender-role ideologies. Specifically, the investigator predicted that men's and women's job authority and autonomy influence their values and attitudes on gender roles, which in turn affect their marital decision-making power and contribution to household labor.

It should be noted that, to some degree, the resource theory and Kohn and Schooler's resocialization theory may share their theoretical directions of the translation of work power to family power with the three general theoretical models of segmentation, compensation, and spillover models. First, the predictions of the resource theory may reflect the view of the compensation model among the three theoretical

models which characterize the work-family linkages. Proponents of the resource theory argued that the marital partner with the greater resources (education, occupation, and income) would have greater marital power and thus perform less household work (Blood & Wolfe, 1960). And the model of compensation postulated that people seek greater satisfaction from their work or family life as a result of being dissatisfied with the other. Hence, it can be inferred that people who lack decision-making power from their work roles may take advantage of their resources in achieving marital decision-making power in the family sphere. Also, as Menaghan (1991) indicated, workers in low-paying jobs may work longer hours to increase earnings, whereas many high-wage occupations also demand extensive time commitment (p. 432). Yet, because most employed men and women may suffer from fatigue and stress, caused by long work hours and job demands, they are induced to avoid tasks such as devalued and onerous housework at home. That is, due to the socially valued resources, people with the greater resources can compensate for unsatisfying conditions in the workplace by achieving alternative gratification in the family sphere. This implies that the resource theory reflects the compensatory nature of work-family linkages in terms of the power relationships between husbands and wives.

On the other hand, Kohn and Schooler's resocialization theory appears to illustrate the view of spillover model. The

key argument in Kohn and Schooler' theory is that if the conditions of work can resocialize individual workers, then the acquisition of new values and attitudes may affect their marital behaviors and domestic roles as well. Similarly, as the most popular view of the relationship between work and family, the model of spillover posited that the effects of work and family spillover from the one domain to the other domain. More specifically, workers carry the emotions, attitudes, skills, and behaviors that they establish at work into their family life, and vice versa (Lambert, 1990: 242). Thus, based on Kohn and Schooler's theory, the investigator predicted that worker's authority and autonomy at work influence their values and attitudes toward appropriate gender roles, which in turn affect their marital power and contribution to household labor. Kohn and Schooler's theory of resocialization enabled this researcher to formulate a theoretical link in the relationship between work power and family power: i.e., the indirect spillover of power from the work sphere into the family sphere through gender-role attitudes.

Finally, it is important to make a clear distinction between the theoretical direction of Kohn and Schooler's theory and that of Rodman's (1972) normative resource theory. The crucial factor that differentiates the two theories is individual workers' gender-role ideologies. In Kohn and Schooler's theory of resocialization, gender-role attitudes

plays a role as an intervening variable between work power and family power. That is, work power affects gender-role attitudes and, in turn, gender-role attitudes influence family power. However, Rodman asserted that the relationship between the socially valued resources and marital power depends on societal gender role norms. In normative resource theory, gender-role ideologies play a role as a mediating effect between work power and family. In other words, the association between work power and family power would be more pronounced among gender role egalitarian than among gender role traditional couples (i.e., work power times gender role ideology interactions). For example, when some men have higher job authority in the workplace, if they endorse traditional gender-role attitudes, they would have a greater family power; if those men hold a more egalitarian gender ideology, they would have lower marital power in the family. In a similar vein, some women who have greater job authority at work would have lower family power if they hold traditional gender role attitudes. As an empirical study, based on normative resource theory, Szinovacz and Harpster (1993) found that the positive association between a husband's retirement and his spouse's perceptions of his dependence on the relationship predominates among those couples in which one or both spouses abide by traditional gender role attitudes. In short, theoretically speaking, gender-role ideology is a significant factor that may differentiate Kohn and Schooler's

theory of resocialization and Rodman's normative resource theory.

Gender-Role Ideology

In this study, gender-role ideology was considered as a crucial intervening variable between work power and family power. An individual worker's gender ideology is expected to be influenced by his or her power in the workplace, and, in turn, gender ideology affects his or her power in the family. In an abstract sense, an ideology is a set of ideas that explains reality, provides directives for behavior, and expresses the interests of particular groups (Kammeyer, Ritzer, & Yetman, 1990: 645). More formally, ideologies represent "systems of belief that distort reality while they maintain it by justifying status quo social, economic, and political arrangements" (Peterson & Runyan, 1993:26). Peterson and Runyan underscored the significant nature of ideologies as a mechanism of power maintenance as follows:

> Ideologies are context dependent and alterable to suit the interests of those with power. Depending on what the situation calls for, gender ideology may promote women as physically strong and capable of backbreaking work, as competent to do men's work. . . Ideologies are reconfigured to suit the changing interests of those in power, not those whose lives are most controlled by them. (p. 27)

In a similar vein, gender-role ideology refers to "belief systems that explain how and why males and females differ; specify on that basis different (and inevitably unequal)

rights, responsibilities, restrictions, and rewards to each other, and justify negative reactions to nonconformists" (Chafetz, 1990: 35). Men and women internalize distinctive and appropriate gender roles to varying degrees depending on their early life experiences through a wide variety of social practices, both within and outside the family. These resulting gender identities of people are shown to be correlated with their gender-role expectations for themselves and others (Hiller, 1984). Gender-role ideology defines women primarily in terms of their position as wives and mothers and men as breadwinners and wage earners (Baxter, 1993). This ideology of gender roles not only maintains the distinction between men's and women's work and lives in the separate spheres of work and the family, but also reinforces men's patriarchal power and women's economic dependence.[16]

Thus far, a number of researchers have found that the ideology of gender roles plays an important part in family decisionmaking and household division of labor. Like men, women who hold more egalitarian gender ideologies have been found to have greater marital power than women who have less egalitarian ideologies (Blood & Wolfe, 1960; Peplau & Campbell, 1989). Moreover, an ideology of gender is integrated within the practice of domestic labor and perpetuates broad social definitions of male and female roles. According to Hochschild (1989), "a woman's gender ideology determines what sphere she wants to identify with (home or

work) and how much power in the marriage she wants to have (less, more, or the same amount)" (p. 15). Today, the fact that increasing proportions of married women are employed reflects the prediction that more people of both sexes will endorse an egalitarian gender-role ideology. Young and Willmott (1973) argued that, as employment increases among middle-class women, the traditional division of labor is being swept away. Consequently, egalitarianism is becoming the norm, husbands are taking on domestic work formerly reserved for wives, and males' power is becoming reduced.

Yet, despite the increasingly egalitarian ideology of conjugal relationships in the United States, this ideology is not always reflected in family role behavior (Bahr, 1991). Many contemporary husbands, no matter how little housework they do, are apt to think that they are an improvement over males of past generations and should get some appreciation (Menaghan, 1991: 437). However, previous researchers have suggested that attitudes toward family roles may be moving in the direction of egalitarianism, but that behavior does not always correspond with these attitudes (see review in Bahr, 1991). That is, changes in role behavior lag behind changes in role attitudes; attitudes and behaviors are not always congruent. Why is this so, and how does this influence family relationships? Despite the rather large changes that have taken place in attitudes, some scholars have indicated that husband and wife role behaviors have not been converged within

the family sphere (e.g., Coverman & Sheley, 1986). Hochschild (1989) found that there were contradictions between what people said they believed about their marital roles and how they seemed to feel about those roles. She pointed out that:

> by itself, a gender ideology doesn't tell us how much of the second shift the husband of a working mother will do. . . . What tells us more about how much the husband of a working mother does at home is the interplay between the couple's particular gender ideologies, the economic realities of their lives, and the gender strategies through which they consciously or not reconcile these. (p. 73)

In short, the household division of labor still is divided along gender lines. The social context in which household labor is performed supports the fact that men are sharing or helping, but not taking over, household responsibilities. Men's relatively low involvement in household labor is reinforced by an ideology that identifies men primarily as breadwinners and women as homemakers as well as providers of child care.

Moreover, the division of household labor appears to reflect dominant images of masculinity and femininity outside the home. For example, the culture of the workplace may encourage the expression of particular masculine and feminine traits. Willis (1977) argued that male workers in traditionally blue-collar occupations are bound up with the machismo of manual labor, which is a form of masculine expressivity, with its emphasis on toughness and assertiveness. Thus, he argued that men who have internalized

the culture of the workplace are unlikely to participate in the women's world of domestic labor because this would threaten their masculine identity. Although some men may participate more in household labor, many are not eager to relinquish their authority by doing so. This is especially the case when men lack authority on the job and can exercise authority only in the home (i.e., compensation).

In contrast, some successful women who have acquired power at work encounter problems in maintaining power at home because of their own and their spouses' gender-role ideologies. In the case of female supervisors in a telephone company whom Epstein (1992) interviewed, spouses' gender-role ideology had a negative effect on women's power in the home. Those women with supervisory positions at work reported difficulties in maintaining the boundary between work and home. Namely, when their new selves were activated at home, their husbands and male companions tried to reinstate the traditional pattern if they could, and sometimes they did act as a constraint on women's exercise of altered behavior (p. 250). Epstein presented the segmented nature of women's power within the family as follows:

> One woman talked about how the air of authority she had cultivated at work to "get things done" was carried over at home and rebuffed by such comments as, "You're talking to your husband, you're not talking to your employees." Or another, "A guy I was dating . . . said to me . . . 'I don't work for you!'" (p. 250)

This illustration suggests that men's traditional gender-role ideology prevents women supervisors from successfully carrying the power they have acquired at work over into the family sphere. Hence, regardless of women's power and status at work, it appears that men's gender-role ideology is crucial in marital power relations.

Meanwhile, women's gender ideology also plays a negative role in the translation of power from the work to the home sphere. As discussed earlier, although the differential socialization of men and women and inequitable power relations in the workplace explain at least part of the reason, women's fear of upsetting the authority structure at home is frequently indicated as a crucial underlying factor (Epstein, 1989; Hochschild, 1989). That is, although they usually take on an unfair burden of responsibilities at home, many women would rather not jeopardize a stable marriage in the pursuit of an equitable one (Carter, 1994). With regard to this fear of women, Epstein (1989) illustrated the experiences of female supervisors at home as follows:

> I worry about what would happen if I work my way [up] and become a supervisor. . . . Some women can do that--they figure, well, women's lib: they worked their way up. . . . I don't think I could do that to him [my husband] as a man. . . . Every week my paycheck is a little more than his because of all the time he takes off. I know it aggravates him--if I make a dollar or two more, he's frustrated that I'm making more than him. (p. 250)

The preceding statements imply that when women earn more than their husbands, women's traditional gender-role ideology may act as a negative predictor of their family power. Traditionally, (working-class) men's incomes have long been justified as "the family wage," which "was supposed to provide a man with enough to keep his wife at home raising the children and maintaining the family" (Baca Zinn & Eitzen, 1990:59). Moreover, the idea that men are the main providers in the family led to defining women's earnings as "pin money" or secondary incomes for both. This notion ultimately made women feel more feminine, even when they were providing more reliable incomes than their husbands in the family.[17] In sum, coupled with men's gender ideology, women's gender-role ideology appears to be significantly associated with their marital decision-making power and participation in household labor. Yet, because the original data set did not allow the researcher to consider both husbands' and wives' gender ideologies, this study was focused on the intermediating role of gender-role ideology between work power and family power for men and women.

NOTES

1. In a general sense, power is understood as "the ability to command--to get others to do what you want them to do, when you want them to do it, and in the manner you prescribe" (Plunkett, 1989: 61).

2. It should be mentioned that feminist theorists such as Flammang (1983) and Hartsock (1983) indicated that women define power as empowerment or "power to," whereas men see power as domination or "power over." Essentially, empowerment is a feminist concept that stands in striking opposition to masculinist or androcentric ideologies of power. Rather than seeing that one person's gain necessitates another's loss (i.e., domination--a zero-sum game), these feminist critics of power asserted that everyone can win (i.e., empowerment--a shared or cooperative effort). Thus, as Flammang noted, "the best way to put an end to the theory and practice of masculinist 'power over' is to bring into being the theory and practice of feminist 'power to' (p. 74). Besides, recognizing that some feminist arguments about power are themselves deeply problematic, Deutchman (1991) pointed out that "we need a feminist approach to power that is nonessentialist, structural, and historical" (p. 2).

3. Similarly, Mueller and Parcel (1986) made a distinction between supervisors' "span of responsibility" and their "span of control" as dimensions of work power. Span of responsibility refers to "the degree to which a supervisor has the power and responsibility to make decisions that directly affect subordinates" (p. 200) and includes both sanctioning and task authority, whereas span of control refers to the number of subordinates a supervisor directly controls.

4. High conceptual autonomy is indicated by extensive design and planning of significant aspects of work, whereas low conceptual autonomy is reflected by high routinization, and limited planning and designing activity (Wright, 1985).

5. In conceptualizing job autonomy, the researcher employed those five items shown in the Wright's data set with regard to time-related autonomy (Wright, 1985).

6. For the extensive review of job- and occupational-level sex segregation, see Tomaskovic-Devey (1993), Reskin and

Hartmann (1986), Reskin and Padavic (1994), and Tomaskovic-Devey (1993).

7. According to Acker (1990), organizations are *gendered*, meaning that "advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity, are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine" (p. 146). Seeing gender as an integral part of those processes, Acker was specifically concerned with the interacting processes through which gendering occurs in organizations. According to the theory of *gendered organizations*, organizational hierarchies, job descriptions, and informal workplace practices all contain deeply embedded assumptions about the gender and gendered characteristics of workers (Williams, 1995: 9). See Acker (1990, 1992) and Williams (1995) for a detailed discussion of the perspective of gendered organizations.

8. There are three explanations of an authority gap by gender: human-capital inequities, segregation, and cultural bias.

> Authority is allocated unequally because of women's deficiency in necessary qualifications or relevant experience....Sex segregation produces an authority gap because women are less likely than men to hold positions that confer authority.... Most cultures share the social value that women should not exercise authority over men. (See Reskin & Pedavic, 1994: 95-96; Reskin & Ross, 1992: 343-344)

9. Specifically, "power is the ability to achieve desired goals or outcomes; is a system property, rather than the personal attribute of an individual; is dynamic, rather than static; is both a perceptual and a behavioral phenomenon; always involves asymmetrical relations; and is multidimensional in nature" (McDonald, 1980: 842-843).

10. In this study, several terms were used interchangeably--household labor and housework, domestic labor and domestic work. Household labor simply refers to a variety of household activities required for the maintenance of a household and typically accomplished without remuneration. It is generally regarded as a necessary evil--work that must be done but is relatively unrewarding and unpleasurable (Baber & Allen, 1992). Thus, Ferree (1990) argued that housework is socially constructed as "women's work" and is simultaneously an expression of both love and subordination. Besides, Baxter (1993) asserted that:

> housework is a recent invention, created in part by the rise of industrialization and the redefinition of work as activity performed outside the home in exchange for a wage, and in part by the emergence of a new family ideology which defined the family as a private refuge separate from the public world of work. (P. 5)

11. Previous researchers on the household division of labor have emphasized the interactional and symbolic aspects of producing gender, suggesting that doing household work is also "doing gender" (Berk, 1985; Hochschild, 1989; Hood, 1983; Pyke, 1994). Coltrane noted that:

> Family work offers people a prime opportunity to 'do gender' because of our cultural prescriptions about the appropriateness of men and women performing certain chores. Doing household chores or caring for children allows people to reaffirm their gendered relation to the work and to the world. Thus, women can create and sustain their identities as women through cooking and cleaning house and men can sustain their identities as men by NOT cooking and cleaning house. (P. 50)

12. Dexter (1985) made a distinction between bureaucratic work organizations and other types of social affiliation such as families, focusing on several different social relationships revealed in each domain as follows:

> The number of personal activities subject to organizational control are fewer than those subject to family control. One's boss can demand only specific types of on-the-job activities. Parents can demand a limitless range of compliance, from what one studies to whom one marries. Second, the character of organizational social relationships. . . . [is] universalistic rather than particularistic. . . . However, in families the norm is that members of one's own family should be treated preferentially compared to members of other families. In organizations one's interaction with other members is expected to be determined by their official rights and responsibilities. . . . The exercise of power in organizational relationships also varies from that in family relationships. Two types of power have been identified: Formal power based on the status one occupies and informal power based on the rights of interaction with others. (p. 242)

13. The domestic labor debate was initiated in the late 1960s

(Benston's [1969] "The Political Economy of Women's Liberation") as an attempt by Marxist feminists to provide an account of the oppression of women in capitalist society. This was to be achieved primarily through a systematic analysis of women's unpaid work in their homes or domestic labor as it came to be called. Central to the debate over domestic labor has been its relation to (Marxist) labor theory of value: whether unpaid domestic labor produces value and surplus value like paid wage labor. For instance, Dalla Costa and James (1973) asserted that housework creates both value and surplus value, and that women's work is central to capitalism, whereas Seccombe (1974) argued that domestic labor produces value but not surplus value. For the detailed review of the domestic labor debate, see Baxter (1990), Bubeck (1995: 45-82), and Fine (1992: 169-191).

14. According to Chow and Berheide (1988), the issue of priority becomes evident when examining male and female roles in the family and work systems. For example, in the case of men and women in dual-earner families, the perception of employed men and women varies as follows:

> Married men who are employed usually are called working men; they are seldom referred to as "working husbands" or "working fathers." In contrast, married women who are employed are often called "working wives" or "working mothers." (pp. 24-25)

That is, women's employment is not only regarded as secondary to caring for the home and children, but it is also assumed to have negative effects on family life and children. However, previous researchers have found that women's employment typically has more positive effects than negative ones on themselves, their children, and their marriage (e.g., Acock, Barker, & Bengston, 1982; Moore, Spain, & Bianchi, 1984).

15. Two principal models have been used to explain the observed gender differences in subjective work experiences: the *gender model* (the differential gender-role socialization position) and *the job model* (the structural position) (Feldberg & Glenn, 1979). The gender model emphasizes personal characteristics and differential gender-role socialization and argues that men and women bring different perspectives into the work situation and consequently react differently to working conditions. Men are raised to believe their appropriate social role is to build a career in the work world and to play a role of main provider for their families. On the other hand, women are raised to accept family roles as their preeminent life concerns. According to this model, women's lower subjective work attachment is due to these

diverse socialization experiences. Besides, family responsibilities faced by employed women generate conflicts between their domestic and work roles which presumably decrease their job involvement (Becker, 1985; Kaufman & Fetters, 1980; Lorence, 1987).

Alternatively, the job model takes a structuralist position and argues that working conditions per se, and not gender, determine perceptions of and reactions to work. Therefore, men and women in the same job are thought to have similar subjective work experiences. Proponents of the job model maintain that disparities in job conditions are the major sources of gender differences in work orientations (e.g., Kanter, 1977a). They also contend that women exhibit lower levels of work involvement because they are segregated into the less rewarding and motivating jobs (Simpson & Mutran, 1981).

16. Hochschild (1989) made a distinction among three types of ideologies of marital roles--traditional, transitional, and egalitarian--as follows:

> the "pure" traditional wants to identify with her activities at home, wants her husband to base his at work and wants less power than he. The traditional man wants the same. The "pure" egalitarian wants to identify with the same spheres her husband does, and to have an equal amount of power in the marriage. Some want the couple to be jointly oriented to the home, others to their careers, or both of them to jointly hold some balance between the two....A typical transitional wants to identify both with the caring for the home, and with helping her husband earn money, but wants her husband to focus on earning a living. A typical transitional man is all for his wife working, but expects her to take the main responsibility at home too. (p.15)

17. This may make some women compensate for their husbands' sense of failure by deferring to their husbands, especially when their husbands are unemployed. In a recent study (Pyke, 1994), women who had experienced male-dominant first marriages replied that their husbands responded by taking control over their wives' earnings, demanding a cleaner house, becoming physically and verbally abusive, and/or abusing drugs and alcohol (p. 74). Feeling sorry for their husbands or guilty for contributing to their sense of failure, those women would often submit to their dominance without any resistance. In seeking to bolster her husband's sense of self-worth, a laboratory assistant married the first time to a minimum-wage-earning lumber salesperson said (Pyke, 1994): "I allowed him to be in charge of everything and I had absolute no authority

and no responsibility. When I didn't do exactly what he wanted, he slapped me around and I put up with it" (p. 80). The inclination for women in male-dominant marriages to compensate by allowing the husband the authority at home often takes the form of physical violence, which implies the expression of male power within the private family sphere. Pyke indicated that spousal abuse and physical violence are especially high in marriages between a high-achieving wife and an underachieving husband (p. 80).

CHAPTER III

DEFINITIONS AND HYPOTHESES

Definition of Terms

In this section, the conceptual definitions of key variables used in this study are given. As discussed earlier, these definitions are consistent with those employed by other researchers in the areas of work, organization, and family. First, work power was conceptualized as the degree to which workers are able to control resources, people, and things in the workplace. In this study, two main indicators of work power are job authority and autonomy. Job authority is a form of immediate "other-directed" power, whereas job autonomy is a form of work power that enables a worker to control his or her own work processes--i.e., "self-directed" power. Therefore, in the present study, whereas job authority was conceptualized as one's direct control over others' specific labor power, job autonomy was conceptualized as control over one's own labor power.

Family power was defined as the ability of one individual member to change the behavior of other family members. Family

power has two key indicators: marital decision-making power and contribution to household labor. Marital decision-making power concerns who (husbands or wives) has the final say in making crucial family decisions, whereas contribution to household work was conceived as what spouses do at home. Thus, decision-making power was conceptualized as the degree of influence in family decision making and contribution to household work was conceptualized as the degree of a person's participation in the work that must be done to maintain a household.

Finally, gender-role ideology was conceptualized as a belief or value system that men and women have with regard to their appropriate roles in the home and in the paid workforce. Traditional gender ideology represents views that support the notion of women as full-time homemakers and men as full-time breadwinners. Conversely, egalitarian gender ideology refers to the view that defines men and women as equal sharers in both roles of homemaker and breadwinner.

Hypotheses

Guided by both theoretical arguments and previous empirical research (discussed in Chapter II) on work power, two measures of social-stratification position (income and occupational status), gender-role ideology, and family power, the following 15 hypotheses were suggested by the causal model to be tested in the present study. The first two hypotheses

were formulated, based on Kohn and Schooler's (1983) theory of resocialization, or "learning-generalization," in which people learn from their jobs in a direct fashion and generalize the lessons to off-job realities. That is, an individual worker's power experience through job authority and autonomy was expected to influence his or her values and orientations to self and society through a direct process of learning from the job and selected generalization of what has been learned.

First, regarding the function of supervisors at work, Chackerian and Abcarian (1984) noted that men with supervisory authority on the job are subject to the rules and procedures of bureaucratic control. In applying such rules and regulations, supervisors objectively participate in the exercise of organizational, not personal, power. Bureaucratic rules set out in the most explicit fashion possible the requirements for adequate job performance. Supervisors constantly monitor, assess, and reprimand or praise workers as production occurs. Importantly, they become internalized and are incorporated into the bureaucratic personality while learning the values, norms, and required behavior patterns of the bureaucratic position through organizational socialization (Chackerian & Abcarian, 1984; Merton, 1957). Thus, in the bureaucratic work setting, the individual high in the bureaucratic personality trait is prone to be conservative and rigid in their beliefs (Allinson, 1984). Such authoritarian conservatism inculcated from the experience of bureaucratic

personalities induces men with higher authority to hold more traditional views on gender roles than those who are in positions of lower authority.

On the other hand, for women, the authoritarian conservatism stemmed from the experience of bureaucratic personalities does not seem to be a crucial for female supervisors. This is because women who have higher authority positions at work are more likely to "see themselves as more competent and more in control of the forces that affect their lives" (Kohn & Schooler, 1983: 18), and thus tend to hold nontraditional attitudes and values with regard to gender roles than those who are in positions of lower authority. Namely, they may be strongly disagree with the traditional gender division of men as the main provider and women as homemaker. This is mainly because work power makes female supervisors believe/recognize their capabilities as power holders at work and endorse more liberal attitudes toward appropriate gender roles. Therefore, with regard to workplace authority, it was hypothesized that, *for men, the amount of authority at work is negatively related to the holding of an egalitarian gender-role ideology; for women, the amount of authority at work is positively related to the holding of an egalitarian gender-role ideology* (Hypothesis 1).

Unlike the case of job authority, as Kohn and Schooler (1983) indicated, job autonomy, or occupational self-direction

leads to self-directed orientations to self and society, and thus "men who are self-directed in their work are consistently more likely to become nonauthoritarian" (p. 142). Self-directedness is reflected in not having authoritarian conservative beliefs. Thus, those men with a great amount of self-direction were expected to endorse more egalitarian gender-role attitudes than those with lower self-direction. Previous empirical studies have indicated that, by having a high degree of job autonomy, an individual worker can be more self-directed and independent in performing the actual work activities (Adler, 1993; Meiksins & Watson, 1989; Schwalbe, 1985). In the workplace, autonomy is a badge of status, an indicator of a job's skill and responsibility demands, and a reward for reliable and competent performance (Schwalbe, 1985: 527). Work socialization theorists have emphasized the opportunities for self-direction that a job offers and have argued that the degree of self-direction exercised on the job shapes more general attitudes and values (Kohn & Schooler, 1983; Miller et al, 1985; Parmelee, 1978; Schooler & Naoi, 1988). People who have a great amount of autonomy are believed to generalize attitudes, values, and approaches learned or encouraged on the job to other setting settings as well, including family life (Schooler, 1987). Conversely, lower opportunities for self-direction shape more socially conservative and guarded orientations to society (Kohn, Naoi, Schoenbach, Schooler, & Slomczynski, 1990; O'Brien, 1986;

Spenner, 1988). Hence, in this study, it was expected that men who are highly autonomous in performing their own work activities are more likely to hold a nontraditional gender-role ideology than those who are not as autonomous.

In the case of women, Kohn and Schooler (1983) indicated that the relationships between psychological functioning and the structural imperatives of the job are generally similar to those for men (p. 191). It was speculated that women who have higher autonomy positions at work are more likely to accept egalitarian views on gender roles than those who are in positions of lower autonomy. The reason for this expectation is that because job autonomy entails independence and control for the worker (Adler, 1993), women who are highly autonomous in performing work roles would reject the culturally endorsed ideology of male dominance in both public and private spheres than those who are not as autonomous. Women's job autonomy, or self-directed personal power in the workplace, may therefore induce women to hold an egalitarian gender-role attitudes. In summary, with regard to job autonomy, it was hypothesized that, *for both men and women, the amount of autonomy on the job is positively related to the holding of an egalitarian gender-role ideology* (Hypothesis 2).

In the present research, two measures of work-related social-stratification position--occupational status and income--were employed in order to determine whether

nonmaterial work power and tangible economic resources have differential effects on family power. In American society, occupational status not only represents an individual's level of education and class position, but it also reflects his or her values, attitudes, and social orientation.[1] For example, it was found that, among white Americans, the higher the occupational status, the greater the approval of abortion and birth control (Bock, Beeghley, & Mixon, 1983; Granberg & Granberg, 1980). For the present study, men in higher status occupations were expected to endorse more traditional attitudes about the appropriate gender roles than those in lower status occupations. The presumable rationale for this expectation is that because higher occupational status usually indicates higher level of incomes, men with higher levels of occupational status may perceive that their spouses do not need to work for pay outside the home due to the economic necessities. Rather, they would have a strong belief that women should stay at home and perform their traditional roles as mothers and wives.

In contrast, contrary to the thesis of "working-class authoritarianism" (Argyle, 1994; Lipset, 1960), which represents that the blue-collar or lower class way of life produces individuals with rigid and intolerant attitudes and behavior, this researcher expected that men in lower status occupations may hold non-traditional attitudes on gender roles. Despite the demands made by educated women for

equality of career opportunities, it is lower-class women who work most, presumably because the need for a second income is greater (Argyle, 1994: 82). Mainly because of the economic necessities, men in lower status occupations would be more likely to allow their spouses' paid employment outside the home and to have interests in such issues as equal pay for women and affordable day-care. That is, they would not only perceive that women should not be full-time homemakers in the private domain, but they also support that women should have equal opportunities with men in the public sphere. Hence, with regard to the appropriate gender roles, this speculation implies that men in lower status positions may endorse egalitarian attitudes.

Conversely, women's occupational status was expected to be positively associated with their egalitarian gender-role attitudes. The rationale behind this expectation is that women in higher status occupations may experience a greater sense of well-being and have more liberal life styles than those in lower status occupations (Schoenbach, 1985). Thus, the investigator speculated that women in higher status occupations would reject the traditional division of gender roles (e.g., men as the breadwinner in the public sphere and women as the homemakers in the private sphere) and be more supportive of the beliefs related to gender equality than those in lower status jobs.

It should be noted that, thus far, little has been

clearly known of how men's and women's occupational status directly affect their gender-role attitudes. On the basis of the assumption that both education and occupational status reflect the values and beliefs of people in our society, it would seem more appropriate to use education as a proxy of occupational status. In reality, higher education tends to offer access to greater class privilege and social status. Also, education tends to have "liberalizing" or "modernizing" effect in many spheres of beliefs and behavior (Scanzoni, 1975: 27). Numerous scholars have documented that education influences both men's and women's attitudes (e.g., Fleming, 1986; Gurin, 1985; Klein, 1984), yet tends to have greater effect on women's attitudes (Davis & Robinson, 1991; Kane, 1995; Schreiber, 1978; Smith & Kluegel, 1984). The investigator expected that the effect of education on gender-role attitudes may take on a very different direction for women and men. As Kane (1995) pointed out, the effect of education on men's beliefs about gender inequality follows the pattern predicated by the "reproduction approach" that views education as reproducing social inequalities through solidifying individualistic and meritocratic orientation. On the other hand, "education may both enlighten women and empower them to analyze their structural position more critically" (p. 78). Previous studies have commonly indicated that education is positively associated with women's egalitarian gender-role attitudes (Mason, Czajka, & Arber,

1976; Morgan & Walker, 1983; Tallichet & Willits, 1986; Thornton, Alwin, & Camburn, 1983). In other words, highly educated women are more likely to hold less-traditional gender-role attitudes. Yet, scholars have revealed that men's education is not associated with their gender-role attitudes (Heath & Bourne, 1995; Kane, 1995). Based on the above-mentioned reasonable speculations and the findings of empirical studies, it was hypothesized *that, for men, the level of occupational status is negatively related to egalitarian gender-role attitudes; for women, the level of occupational status is positively related to egalitarian gender-role attitudes* (Hypothesis 3).

It has been indicated that both spouses' personal incomes should affect their gender-role orientations (Kamo, 1988: 182). Yet, the relationship between income and gender-role ideology was expected to be different for men and women. Specifically, men's income was expected to be negatively associated with their gender-role ideology on the ground that men's greater earning at work is reflective of their traditional "main provider role" in the family (Bernard, 1981; Hood, 1986; Hochschild, 1989). Hence, as men's personal income increases, they are more likely to endorse traditional gender-role attitudes. Research findings have been less consistent for men; for example, Huber and Spitze (1981) and Wilkie (1993) have found a positive effect of individual

earning on men's nontraditional gender attitudes, whereas Schaninger and Buss (1986) found that higher earnings are marginally related to holding more traditional attitudes for men.

In contrast, women's greater income was expected to be associated with the endorsement of an egalitarian gender-role ideology. Part of the reason for this expectation is that as women have greater incomes, they may reject the notion of the husband as a good provider, i.e., the husband's unique responsibility for economically supporting other family members (Blumstein & Schwartz, 1991). Such an anti-provider ideology may induce women to endorse egalitarian gender-role attitudes. A few studies have revealed a positive association between women's individual earnings and their egalitarian gender-role attitudes (Huber & Spitze, 1981; Schaninger & Buss, 1986; Tallichet & Willits, 1986). Thus, it was hypothesized that *the more a man earns, the less egalitarian he is, whereas the more a woman earns, the more egalitarian she is* (Hypothesis 4).

With regard to the relationship between job authority and marital decision-making power, for men and women, it was expected that people with a greater amount of authority on the job would have more decision-making power than those with lower authority. The rationale behind this expectation is that, based on the resource theory (Blood & Wolfe, 1960),

men's and women's workplace authority (as a nonmaterial aspect of employment) may translate into an immediate resource for their power in the family (Brayfield, 1992: 28). That is, supervisory authority that reflects power at work plays a role as a crucial resource at home. And people who have greater amount of workplace authority are more likely to make final decisions in areas deemed important in their marriage.

Moreover, it should be mentioned that people with supervisory authority would control the forces that affect their work lives as well as the work processes of other subordinates. Especially, they are not only responsible for assigning the specific tasks and work paces, and directing and monitoring subordinates, they also are involved in making important decisions such as hiring, transferring, promotion, or the pay rates of subordinates in their work roles. Their ability to make decisions that affect the work processes of their subordinates may influence their marital decisionmaking at home. That is, an individual with greater supervisory authority is more likely to make final decisions in important matters such as where her or she live or financial budgets. Thus, it was hypothesized that, *for both men and women, the amount of authority at work is positively related to marital decision-making power at home* (Hypothesis 5).

Similarly, when an individual worker has a greater amount of autonomy at work, he or she was expected to have greater

marital decision-making power at home. As a form of personal power, job autonomy represents the extent to which workers can use their own initiative or exercise discretion in performing work activities (Hall, 1986). Those people who are highly autonomous in performing their own work tend to have greater self-control and self-competence. It is possible that these workers would be fairly challenging and assertive in other domains of their lives. More important, men's and women's job autonomy can be translated into an important resource for their power in the family (Brayfield, 1992). Thus, the investigator speculated that people who have greater job autonomy are more likely to have final say in marital decisionmaking than those who are less autonomous. It was hypothesized that, *for both men and women, the amount of job autonomy at work is positively related to marital decision-making power at home* (Hypothesis 6).

The resource theory suggests that, the greater the absolute and relative levels of resources possessed by husbands and wives, the greater their respective power, typically conceptualized as dominance in decisionmaking in the family (Blood & Wolfe, 1960). Based on the resource theory, it was expected that the higher the husband's occupational status and personal income, the greater his decision-making power; likewise, the higher the wife's occupational status and income, the greater her decision-making power. During the

past three decades or so, a large number of empirical studies based on the resource theory have supported these propositions (e.g., Atkinson & Boles, 1984; Berardo, Shenhan, & Leslie, 1987; Blumstein & Schwartz, 1983; Gillespie, 1971; Pahl, 1983; Philliber & Hiller, 1983). Therefore, the following two hypotheses were formulated: *For both men and women, the level of occupational status at work is positively related to marital decision-making power at home* (Hypothesis 7); *For both men and women, the amount of personal income from work is positively related to marital decision-making power at home* (Hypothesis 8).

For both men and women, job authority was expected to be a negative predictor of contribution to household labor. That is, as husbands and wives have more supervisory authority at work, their participation in household work will decrease. In the case of men, whereas the indirect effect of job authority on household labor through gender-role ideology posited that job authority is negatively related to gender-role ideology (Hypothesis 1) and, in turn, gender ideology is positively associated with household work (Hypothesis 14), the direct effect suggested that job authority translates into a resource for their power in the family. Like tangible resources such as income and occupational status, job authority may provide men with the ability to avoid household work that is onerous and unrewarded. As Blood and Wolfe (1960) indicated, the more

successful a man is in his occupation (i.e., having a greater supervisory authority at work), the less he perform housework.

On the other hand, for women, whereas the indirect effect of workplace authority on household work through gender-role ideology postulated that workplace authority is positively associated with gender-role ideology (Hypothesis 1) and, in turn, gender ideology is negatively associated with household work (Hypothesis 14), the direct effect suggested that job authority is negatively related to household labor. As in the case of men, women's job authority may translates into an immediate resource, and provide them with power to avoid housework. An empirical study has shown that women in higher supervisory positions relative to their husbands are spend less time in performing housework than those with lower supervisory positions (Brayfield's, 1992). Thus, it was hypothesized that, *for both men and women, the amount of authority at work is negatively related to contribution to household labor* (Hypothesis 9).

The investigator predicted that, for both men and women, job autonomy is negatively associated with contribution to household labor. Previous studies on the work-family linkages have indicated that the objective conditions of jobs providing autonomy enable workers to better balance work and family responsibilities (Lambert, 1990; Piotrkowski, 1979). That is, people with a greater amount of autonomy at work are better

able to schedule work tasks and processes, so they would be expected to be more involved in performing household work. This assertion seems to be consistent with the prediction of time-availability theory, which posits that the extent to which husbands and wives can perform household work is subject to time constraints (Blood & Wolfe, 1960; Scanzoni, 1970).

However, in the present study, job autonomy was conceptualized as a form of "self-directed" power which provides an individual worker with self-control and self-competence. People with greater autonomy on the job tend to be independent and responsible for the ways in which they direct their own work tasks. In performing their work roles, many workers seek out challenges and opportunities for self-expression. Although all workers do not seek authority and power over others, it is possible that people who are quite complacent in the workplace would be active and powerful in other spheres of their lives. Work may be viewed by these people as an instrumental activity which enables them to accomplish something else and be powerful in other sphere of their lives (Blauner, 1964). Hence, people who have greater job autonomy to design and direct their own work tasks will have a valued resource which can be translated into their power in the family. These workers were expected to be motivated to avoid tasks such as household work that is devalued and undesirable. It was hypothesized that, *for both men and women, the amount of autonomy on the job is negatively*

related to contribution to household labor (Hypothesis 10).

The literature indicates that the division of household labor in a marriage is based on power relations between spouses (Berk, 1985; Davidoff, 1976; Hartmann, 1981; Shreve, 1987). The underlying assumption is that the spouse who holds more power in the marital dyad can minimize his or her participation in devalued, unrewarded, and onerous household work (Ferree, 1990; Oakley, 1974; Perrucci, Pottes, & Rhoads, 1978). This power framework (i.e., resource theory) suggests that power within a marriage is derived from valuable socioeconomic resources--occupational status and earnings (Blood & Wolfe, 1960). As Brayfield (1992) noted, "whoever brings home the most bacon doesn't have to cook it because they have the power to reduce their workload in the family" (p. 20). To wit, men's and women's occupational status and earnings can be translated into their ability to avoid performing housework. Resource theorists tend to see housework as an unmitigated "bad" that anyone with power would avoid doing (Hood, 1983).

Previous studies have shown somewhat inconsistent findings on the effect of men's and women's occupational status on their household work. Some researchers have found that men's of occupational status is negatively associated with their participation in housework (McAllister, 1990). Yet, contrary to the theoretical predictions of the relative theory, others have reported positive (Berk & Berk, 1978;

Deutsch et al., 1993; Hiller, 1984) and no (Aytac, 1990; Coverman, 1985) associations between men's occupational status and their household work. On the other hand, researchers have revealed that wife's occupational status is linked to more equal divisions of household labor (Maret & Finlay, 1984; Spitze, 1988). Some other studies have found no association between women's ocupational status and their household work (Calasanti & Bailey, 1991; McAllister, 1990). For example, while focusing on women's positions in the sex-segregated occupations, Hardesty and Bokemeier (1989) have found that women employed in male-dominated occupations are not engaged in a nontraditional division of housework.

Based on the resource theory, this researcher expected that, for both men and women, occupational status is negatively associated with participation in household labor. In other words, people in higher status occupations would be expected to perform less household work than those in lower status occupations. Therefore, it was hypothesized that, *for both men and women, the level of occupational status is negatively related to contribution to household labor* (Hypothesis 11).

With regard to income, for both men and women, people with higher levels of earnings would be expected to perform less household labor than those with lower level of earnings. Researchers have found that men's and women's earnings are

negatively associated with their participation in household work (Berk & Berk, 1978; Blumstein & Schwartz, 1991; Maret & Finlay, 1984). Yet, using a different approach (i.e., relative income of husbands), several researchers have revealed that the smaller the gap between husbands' and wives' earnings, the more equal the division of household labor (Blair & Lichter, 1991; Brayfield, 1992; Kamo, 1988, 1994; Presser, 1994; Ross, 1987; Shelton & John, 1993). Also, according to Shelton and John's review article on the division of household labor (1996), those studies that assessed the effect of earnings on men's and women's housework time separately have found that earnings have a greater effect on women's housework time than on men's (p. 304). In the present study, based on the resource theory, it was hypothesized that, *for both men and women, the amount of personal income is negatively related to contribution to household labor* (Hypothesis 12).

By defining women primarily in terms of their position as homemakers and men as main providers (Baxter, 1993), gender-role ideology maintains the distinction between men's and women's lives in the separate spheres of work and family. A culturally endorsed ideology of male dominance provides men with legitimacy in their attempts to exert influence in the family (Lips, 1991). Researchers have found that gender-role ideology plays an important part in family decisionmaking (e.g., Blood & Wolfe, 1960; Peplau & Campbell, 1989; Steil &

Weltman, 1991). It is assumed that a man's egalitarian gender ideology is negatively associated with his marital power. That is, despite the incongruity between attitudes and behaviors (Bahr, 1991; Hochschild, 1989; Menaghan, 1991), for this study, men who accept nontraditional views on gender roles were expected to share more in marital power than those with traditional gender ideology. Part of the reason for this expectation is that men with a more traditional gender ideology may rely on their role of main provider to validate their masculinity, whereas those with a more egalitarian gender ideology may be more likely to relinquish part of the provider role to their wives and thus may be more willing to share in marital power (Hardesty & Bokemeier, 1989: 265).

On the other hand, it was expected that women who hold an egalitarian gender ideology have more power in marital decisionmaking than those with traditional gender-role ideology. Women who reject the traditional feminine role of housewife and mother are also likely to reject the culturally endorsed patriarchal ideology of male dominance and female submissiveness in the private sphere. It may lead to women's greater decision-making power in the family. According to Kamo (1988), "when she works outside her home and/or make significant contributions to the household budget, she will acquire a more egalitarian view of the gender relationship and thus will pursue more marital power over her husband" (p. 183). Thus, the researcher expected the effect of gender-role

ideology on marital decision-making power to operate differently for men and women. It was hypothesized that, *for men, holding an egalitarian gender-role ideology is negatively related to decision-making power; In contrast, for women, holding an egalitarian gender-role ideology is positively related to decision-making power* (Hypothesis 13).

Researchers repeatedly have shown that an individual's gender-role ideology may influence his or her participation in household labor (Coverman, 1985; Hardesty & Bokemeier, 1989; Hochschild, 1989; Huber & Spitze, 1983; Ross, 1987; Stafford, Backman, & Dibona, 1977). When men and women define the wife's primary role obligation as homemaking and child care, and the husband's as breadwinner, women were shown to be more likely to perform household labor (Brayfield, 1992), whereas men were less likely to perform household work (Huber & Spitze, 1983). Most studies have indicated that couples who have more egalitarian attitudes about gender roles tend to have a more egalitarian division of household labor in the home (Blair & Lichter, 1991; Huber & Spitze, 1983; Kamo, 1988, 1994; Presser, 1994; Ross, 1987; Stafford et al., 1977). Thus, this researcher expected that men's egalitarian gender-role attitudes would positively affect their contribution to household work. If an egalitarian gender-role ideology is associated with an egalitarian division of household labor, then this may result in increased involvement for men in

household work as a whole.

In the case of women, some studies have found that a woman's gender role ideology is not associated with her housework time (Ross, 1987; Shelton & John, 1993). Yet, other researchers have revealed that women with more egalitarian gender-role attitudes are less involved in household work (Brayfield, 1992; Presser, 1994). In this study, as women endorse more egalitarian gender-role attitudes, the investigator expected a decrease in their participation in household work. The rational behind this expectation is that women who reject the traditional feminine role of housewife and mother are likely to spend less time on domestic labor and to expect greater help from their husbands in household activities. In contrast, women with traditional gender role attitudes would be expected to adhere more rigidly to divisions between men's and women's work and to spend more time on household labor (Baxter, 1993: 84). Therefore, it was hypothesized that, *for men, holding an egalitarian gender-role ideology is positively related to contribution to household labor; In contrast, for women, holding an egalitarian gender-role ideology is negatively related to contribution to household labor* (Hypothesis 14).

Finally, as Kamo (1988) pointed out, there has been little empirical work on the relationship between marital decision-making power and the allocation of household labor.

When researchers have tried to show the effect of marital power on household division of labor, they have concentrated "legitimacy" and "reward" which may be rooted in earned income and work status or the personalities of the husband and wife as sources of marital power (p. 180). Few researchers have indicated that women with less decision-making power are more likely to perform domestic work than those with more marital power (Garrett & Schulman, 1989; Stafford et al., 1977).

In the present study, for both men and women, marital decision-making power was expected to be negatively associated with participation in household labor. Because domestic work is an aversive practice (Ferree, 1987) and the spouse with the most power and resources uses his or her power to pass the household work on to the other spouse (Brines, 1994; Hood, 1983; Kamo, 1988; Ross, 1987; Spitze, 1988), it was speculated that both women and men with greater marital power are less likely to perform household work than those with less marital power. Hertz (1992) pointed out that "understanding the process by which couples make decisions about financial matters will shed light on the power structure within the family" (p. 133). Hence, those who have the final say in making decisions about important financial and/or family budget matters were expected to hold power, more precisely referred to as "authority", which could lead to delegate some of the housework to their spouses. Especially, when women have as much as or more marital decision-making power than

their husbands, traditional authority relations may be challenged and they are motivated to reduce their share of housework. Therefore, it was hypothesized that, *for both men and women, the degree of decision-making power is negatively related to contribution to household labor* (Hypothesis 15).

In summary, based on the resource theory, Kohn and Schooler's learning-generalization theory, and presumable speculations, the following 15 hypotheses were formulated and tested in this study:

> Hypothesis 1: For men, the amount of authority at work is negatively related to the holding of an egalitarian gender-role ideology. In contrast, for women, it is positively related to the holding of an egalitarian gender-role ideology.
>
> Hypothesis 2: For both men and women, the amount of autonomy on the job is positively related to the holding of an egalitarian gender-role ideology.
>
> Hypothesis 3: For men, the level of occupational status is negatively related to the holding of egalitarian gender-role attitudes. In contrast, for women, the level of occupational status is positively related to the holding of egalitarian gender-role attitudes.
>
> Hypothesis 4: The more a man earns, the less egalitarian he is, whereas the more a woman earns, the more egalitarian she is.
>
> Hypothesis 5: For both men and women, the amount of authority at work is positively related to marital decision-making power at home.
>
> Hypothesis 6: For both men and women, the amount of job autonomy at work is positively related to marital decision-making power at home.
>
> Hypothesis 7: For both men and women, the level of occupational status at work is positively related to decision-making power at home.

Hypothesis 8: For both men and women, the amount of personal income from work is positively related to decision-making power at home.

Hypothesis 9: For both men and women, the amount of authority at work is negatively related to participation in household labor.

Hypothesis 10: For both men and women, the amount of autonomy on the job is negatively related to participation in household labor.

Hypothesis 11: For both men and women, the level of occupational status is negatively related to participation in household labor.

Hypothesis 12: For both men and women, the amount of personal income is negatively related to participation in household labor.

Hypothesis 13: For men, holding an egalitarian gender-role ideology is negatively related to marital decision-making power. In contrast, for women, holding an egalitarian gender-role ideology is positively related to marital decision-making power.

Hypothesis 14: For men, holding an egalitarian gender-role ideology is positively related to participation in household labor. In contrast, for women, holding an egalitarian gender-role ideology is negatively related to participation in household labor.

Hypothesis 15: For both men and women, the degree of decision-making power is negatively related to contribution to household labor.

A Theoretical Causal Model

A causal path model was developed on the basis of the previous theoretical perspectives and the findings of empirical studies. The main purpose of the model was to examine the carryover effect of work power and work-related rewards on family power. Specifically, the causal model tested in this study posits that (a) authority, autonomy,

occupational status, and income are four main predictors of gender-role ideology, decision-making power, and contribution to household labor; and (b) gender ideology is the predictor of decision-making power and contribution to household labor. In addition, marital decision-making power was hypothesized to influence contribution to household labor. In the path model, authority, autonomy, occupational status, and income are considered as exogenous variables; and gender-role ideology (intervening variable), decision-making power, and contribution to household labor are classified as endogenous variables. The fully specified causal model is shown in Figure 3.1. The model is examined separately for men and women because specific variables have different effects for men and women. In addition, separate analyses will enable the researcher to examine differences in the patterns of relationships among the variables for men and women (Baxter, 1993).

As Pittman and Orthner (1989) pointed out, "before a path model can be conducted, a causal ordering must be specified among the endogenous variables, based on logical or theoretical reasoning, to justify when a variable will be treated as dependent or independent" (p. 233). Because the expected relationships among the variables used in this study were discussed in formulating the research hypotheses, the causal ordering of the variables, with their theoretical rationales and reasonable speculations, is described in this

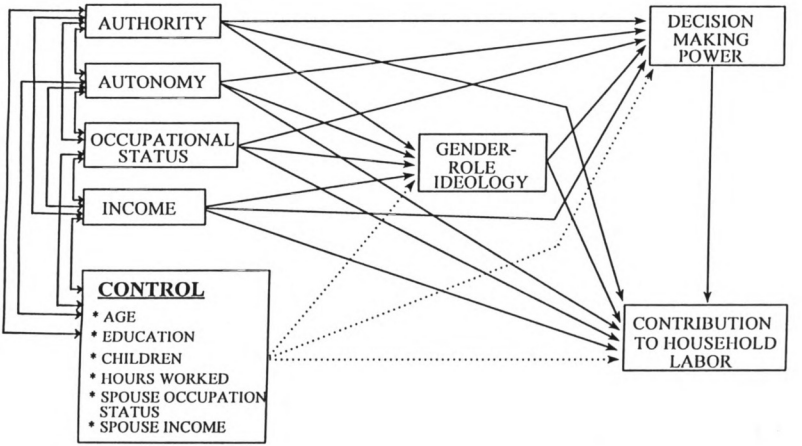

Figure 3.1-Hypothesized path model for the effects of work power, occupational status, and income on family power through gender-role ideology

section. According to literature, three key criteria are used for making causal inferences between two variables X (the independent variable) and Y (the dependent variable): temporal sequence, covariance, and nonspuriousness (Asher, 1983; McClendon, 1994). The first condition of causality requires a temporal sequence or time ordering between the two variables. Despite the potential complexity of the time lag issue, establishing that Y follows X (or that Y does not precede X) is an important criterion for making causal inferences. However, in most nonexperimental researches (e.g., cross-sectional designs), because all of the variables are measured at the same time, it is very difficult to meet the temporal sequence criterion for most variables. As McClendon (1994) indicated, longitudinal designs do not necessarily solve this problem, and researchers have to use good theoretical reasons to make causal inferences, plus empirical supports (pp. 6-7). Here, it should be mentioned that the present study was based on a cross-sectional survey data which originally was collected in the summer of 1980. Thus, making casual inferences among the variables simultaneously may violate the condition of temporal sequence. Yet, the investigator sought to show good theoretical reasons and empirical possibilities for the time ordering among the study variables.

The second condition for making causal inferences states that there must be concomitant variation or covariance between

the two variables. This means that if X is a cause of Y, then there should be some covariance or correlation between X and Y, i.e., they should covary. The third condition of causality is that there must be nonspurious covariance between X and Y. Spurious covariance means that the covariance between X and Y may be caused by a third variable that is a common cause of X and Y. Thus, the third condition requires the elimination of all other possible causal factors that may be producing the observed relationship between X and Y. In order to test for a spurious covariance between X and Y, researchers have to "control" for the variable that they believe may be a source of spuriousness. In nonexperimental research, statistical control through multiple regression is particularly advantageous when it is desirable to control for several variables that may be sources of spuriousness simultaneously (see McClendon, 1994: chapter 1; Pedhaszur, 1982: chapter 5).

The selection of variables in the theoretical model was guided by a review of the literature on dual-earner marriages as well as the more general literature related to family power. In this study, Blood and Wolfe's resource theory and Kohn and Schooler's learning-generalization theory provided the investigator with some theoretical justification for the causal assumptions among the study variables. Proponents of the resource theory argued that those with greater resources will have greater power in the family (Blood and Wolfe, 1960). That is, a spouse's power in the marriage is directly

contingent on the extent to which that spouse contributes socially valued resources (i.e., tangible things like education, income, or occupations, as well as nonmaterial things like physical affection, emotional support, or workplace authority) to the marriage. Based on the resource theory, the researcher assumed unidirectional causalities, with the degrees of work power (job authority and autonomy) and two material resources (occupational status and income) determining family power (marital decision-making power and contribution to household work). The theoretical directions of the predicted relationships among the variables seem to satisfy the first condition for making causal inferences--temporal sequence. In other words, husbands' and wives' power at home are caused by the valued resources they acquire in the workplace, i.e., their family power does not precede their resources derived from the workplace. Thus, no reciprocal relationships were expected among the variables in the present causal model.

With regard to the condition of covariance, previous researchers have shown somewhat inconsistent findings on the relationships between exogenous variables and endogenous variables used in this study. For example, as predicted by the resource theory, some researchers have reported that men's occupational status is negative correlated with their household work (McAllister, 1990), whereas others have found that occupational status is not associated with their

household labor (Aytac, 1990; Coverman, 1985). Yet, a large number of empirical studies based on the resource theory have revealed that there are some covariance between occupational status and earnings, and marital power and contribution to household labor (e.g., Blair & Lichter, 1991; Berardo, Shenhan, & Leslie, 1987; Blumstein & Schwartz, 1983; Gillespie, 1971; Kamo, 1988, 1994; Pahl, 1983; Philliber & Hiller, 1983; Presser, 1994; Ross, 1987). Thus, despite few research findings that showed no covariance, the investigator would say that, in most cases, the variances in endogenous variables are coordinated with variances in exogenous variables. This can be pointed out as a limitation of the present study.

Even though the temporal sequence and covariance criteria seem to be met, there is still another threat to valid causal inference--spuriousness. The possibility of spurious covariance between the study variables was eliminated by controlling the variables that may be sources of spuriousness. Previous researchers have found that an individual worker's socioeconomic and family characteristics such as age, education, presence of children, and hours worked are related to the exogenous variables and endogenous variables employed in this study (see chapter IV). Hence, the investigator included those socioeconomic characteristics as control variables for the benefit of exploring the net effects of the exogenous variables on the endogenous variables.

The current path model includes an intervening variable--gender-role ideology--between work power and family power. In the causal temporal sequence, gender-role ideology is placed in a position ahead of family power, and is expected to be determined by work power and to affect family power. The rationale for this causal assumption was derived from Kohn and Schooler's (1983) theory of resocialization. Kohn and Schooler's theory suggested that structural conditions of work shape an individual worker's values and attitudes, which in turn affect the behaviors he or she exhibits within the family. Thus, men's job authority induces them to endorse traditional gender role attitudes, which lead to having greater decision-making power and to less participate in housework. In contrast, women's workplace authority induces them to hold an egalitarian gender-role ideology, which leads to having greater marital power and to less contribute to household work. Both men and women who have greater amount of job autonomy were predicted to endorse egalitarian gender-role attitudes. However, the direct effect of gender-role ideology on family power was expected to be different for men and women. For men, gender-role ideology was a negative predictor of decision-making power and a positive predictor of household labor. Conversely, for women, gender ideology was a positive predictor of decision-making power, whereas it was a negative predictor of contribution to household labor. In a similar vein, gender-role ideology was expected to be determined by

occupational status and income and to influence family power.

It should be mentioned that there is an obvious constraints in the present study with regard to the covariance criterion. In formulating two hypotheses (Hypotheses 1 & 2) regarding the relationships between work power and gender-role ideology, the investigator speculated that variance in gender ideology may be coordinated with variance in work power without presenting any empirical findings. Because little attention has been paid to how specific characteristics of work power affect people's gender-role attitudes, it seems to be very difficult to meet the covariance criterion for work power and gender-role ideology. Nevertheless, this researcher would assert that good theoretical arguments (Kohn and Schooler's theory) could satisfy the covariance between work power and gender-role ideology. Also, based on reasonable speculations, the investigator was so sure that there are some covariance between occupational status and income, and gender-role ideology. As discussed previously, the findings of the effect of gender-role ideology on family power generally have indicated that there are some covariance between gender-role ideology and marital power and housework.

Finally, for the benefit of meeting the criterion of nonspurious covariance, several control variables were included in the model. The reasons were two-fold: First, previous researchers have found that an individual's socio-demographic variables such as age, education, presence of

children, and hours in paid work affect his or her gender-role ideology, decision-making power, and participation in household labor (see Chapter IV). Second, in multivariate analyses, socio-demographic variables need to be statistically controlled in order to explore the net effects of the exogenous variables on the endogenous variables.

Alternative Causal Model

In the present study, based on the resource theory and Kohn and Schooler's resocialization theory, work power was hypothesized to influence family power directly and indirectly through gender-role ideology. In this additive model, work power and gender-role ideology independently influence family power, such that men would be particularly powerful if they have power in the workplace and if they abide by traditional gender-role ideology. In contrast, women would have a greater family power if they have power in the workplace and they abide by egalitarian gender ideology.

In addition to the present causal model, it is possible that there are mediating effects of gender-role ideology on the relationship between work power and family power (the path diagram was not shown in Figure 3.1). As Rodman's (1972) normative resource theory indicated, the relationships of work power and two economic resources with family power are dependent on societal gender-role attitudes (see Chapter II). In other words, the association between work power and family

power would be more pronounced among gender-role egalitarian than among gender-role traditional couples (i.e., work power times gender role ideology interactions). Hence, for men, the investigator predicted that when people have a higher job authority and autonomy in the workplace, if they endorse non-egalitarian gender-role attitudes, they would have more family power, i.e., greater decision-making power and less contribution to household labor. In contrast, if men hold a more egalitarian gender ideology, they would have lower decision-making power and be more involved in household labor. Conversely, for women, the positive association between work power and family power will be more pronounced for women whose gender-role attitudes are relatively egalitarian. That is, more egalitarian women were assumed to have greater decision-making power and to be less involved in household labor. For example, some women who have a greater job authority and autonomy at work would have lower decision-making power and perform more household work when they hold traditional gender-role attitudes. Namely, their traditional gender-role attitudes may play a role as a mediating effect in involving in their traditionally defined responsibilities of household work and child-care. The results of these alternative analyses will be briefly described in Chapter V.

NOTES

1. Knoke (1979) has reported that occupational status (Duncan's SEI) is negatively related to conservative attitudes on social issues such as environmental protection, defense spending, and racial and gender inequalities. Other scholars like Himmelstein and McRae (1988) have indicated that occupation does not reveal an overall tendency to white-collar liberalism and blue-collar conservatism. Instead, they found the sprinkles of social liberalism on different issues across the occupational spectrum. Based on the results of the 1980 NES (National Election Study) conducted by the Center for Political Studies at the Institute for Social Research, Himmelstein and McRae have shown white-collar conservatism on domestic spending and managerial conservatism on the environment. It also was revealed that professionals are relatively liberal on ERA and defense spending, and clerical workers are liberal on abortion. Different categories of blue-collar workers were shown to be liberal on nuclear power (skilled), the environment (operative), and defense spending (unskilled) (pp. 504-505).

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

The nature of the survey data and the sample are discussed in this chapter. Also, the operationalization of the key variables used in previous studies and the present research is described. Furthermore, the statistical analysis strategies applied in the data analyses are explained.

The Survey Data

The data for this research were obtained from the United States survey contained in the Comparative Project on Class Structure and Class Consciousness (Wright et al., 1990)[1], a cross-national study of class structure in 11 industrialized nations. The original survey of United States data was conducted through telephone interviews under the direction of Erik Olin Wright in the summer of 1980. The survey was based on a two-stage systematic cluster sample of telephone numbers (334 total clusters). The first stage of the survey was to select clusters of 100 consecutive telephone numbers. In the second stage, individual telephone numbers were selected within the sample clusters. The universe of the sample comprised coterminous United Stated residents, 18 years of age

and older, who were either working, not working but wanting to work, or housewives of working spouses. In all, among the total sample of 1,760 adult respondents, 1,275 indicated that they were currently employed in the labor force. Of that number, 223 were self-employed, 92 were unemployed, and 170 were housewives. The overall response rate for the survey was 70%.[2]

Although Wright et al.'s survey was designed specifically for analyzing class structure and social inequality, addressing Marxist theoretical concerns, the data set seemed to be well suited for the present research on the interplay of work power and family power. It included crucial questions tapping respondents' work-related issues such as authority, decisionmaking, job autonomy, occupational status, income, and hierarchical position in the workplace. Besides, the data set contained not only respondents' sociodemographic characteristics such as age, sex, education, race and ethnicity, and children, but also the sexual division of labor at home, marital decision-making, social and political attitudes, and political participation.

The Sample[3]

All statistical analyses conducted for the present research were based on subsamples of the original Wright et al. (1990) data set. Because this study dealt with the issue of gender and power in the workplace and the family, the sample was restricted to cases of dual-earner families in

which respondents were living with their spouses and both people were in the labor force. The main reason for this restriction is that the problems of marital power and equality in the division of labor in housework are more acutely posed when both spouses are in the labor force (Wright, Shire, Hwang, Dolan & Baxter, 1992). Furthermore, because husbands and wives in dual-earner families may have different work experiences in terms of authority and autonomy on the job, it was important to determine whether men's as well as women's power experiences at work were reflected in the private realm, which is traditionally women's sphere.

For the present analysis, additional restrictions were imposed. Because this study focused on power in the workplace and in the home, those over age 65, the unemployed, and full-time housewives were excluded from the analysis. Farm workers also were deleted because this analysis was concerned with organizational employment, and the nature of work as well as the relations of production are different in agriculture than in other economic sectors. Moreover, respondents who were self-employed were excluded due to problems with power specification in the workplace (Spaeth, 1985; Wolf & Fligstein, 1979).[4] Finally, respondents with any missing information were dropped from the analysis so that the same sample of respondents could be used across all statistical procedures, from the descriptive analysis to multivariate path analyses. In sum, these restrictions resulted in an effective

subsample of 426 respondents (230 men and 196 women). The demographic characteristics of the subsample are described in the first part of Chapter V.

Although the data on which this research was based were not couple data, the data set did provide some information on spouses--e.g., the spouses' occupational status, their contribution to family income, and participation in household labor. Hence, the findings from this study may reveal the differential effects of respondents' and spouses' economic resources (income and occupational status) on respondents' family power behavior in light of the relative resources theory.

The Variables and Their Measurement

Dependent Variables

Contribution to household labor. In previous studies on the division of household labor, researchers usually have used the instruments of time diaries (e.g., Harvey, 1993) and direct questions about household work time (Juster & Stafford, 1991; Marini & Shelton, 1993). Some researchers paid attention to who perform specific household tasks rather than how much time is spent on those tasks (Berk & Berk, 1978). Similarly, by calculating an index of segregation, Blair and Lichter (1991) assessed gender differences in how men and women allocate their housework time among tasks. Rather than using an estimate of housework time, some studies used

measures that indicate only the proportions of housework performed by husbands or wives (Brayfield, 1992; Huber & Spitze, 1983; Ishii-Kuntz & Coltrane, 1992; Kamo, 1988; Warner, 1986).

In the present study, respondents were asked to estimate their contribution to five separate traditionally feminine-type household tasks, ranging from 0 to 100%. These tasks were cooking meals, cleaning up after meals, doing laundry, routine general housecleaning, and shopping for groceries.[5] Respondents who had children under 16 years of age in the home were asked an additional question regarding child care. For this study, instead of simply adding respondents' contribution score for each household task, a more accurate weight for each task was sought (Kamo, 1988). In order words, the proportions for each of these tasks were combined into two aggregate household labor scales (Wright, Shire, Hwang, Dolan, & Baxter, 1992: 257). Based on previous time-budget research (e.g., Berk & Berk, 1979; Geerken & Gove, 1983; Pleck, 1985; Robinson et al., 1988; Walker & Woods, 1976), Wright et al. (1992) created two aggregate household labor scales. In each scale, the components were weighted by the relative amount of time these tasks typically take. Numbers in equations were the estimates of hours per day typically allocated to each task, and these were used as weights. For respondents with children under 16 years of age in the home, the total household labor scale included child care, whereas for people without children

it did not (p. 257).

> Routine Household Labor Scale = .32 (cooking meals)+.12 (cleaning up after meals)+.15 (laundry)+.27 (housecleaning)+.14 (groceries)
>
> Total Household Labor Scale = .84 (Routine Household Labor)+.16 (child care)

The result of the reliability analysis revealed a high degree of internal homogeneity among the items (Cronbach's alpha = .93).

Marital decision-making power. The Blood and Wolfe (1960) type of final-say decision measure, based on self-reports of which spouse has the final-say in decisions involving various of married life, has been the most widely used instrument to measure marital power until the mid-1980s (e.g., Cooney et al., 1982; Kumagai & O'Donoghue, 1978; Rank, 1982). Following Blood and Wolfe's pioneering study, most researchers have conceptualized family power as the relative decision-making status of husband and wife in a household as measured by a series of decisionmaking items, such as what house to live in, what car to buy, or how much money to spend on food (Buric & Zecevic, 1967; Lamouse, 1969; Bahr, 1974). The "final say" measures of marital power have revealed a number of methodological problems (see Chapter II), and research to develop better measures has been needed. However, the available empirical evidence has not shown any alternatives that are more valid or more reliable (Mizan, 1994). Recently,

when some researchers measured marital power, they either still used the final-say measure of decision-making power (Sanchez, 1994) or used as combination of several items of decision-making power into the index of marital power (Kamo, 1994).

In this study, decision-making power was assessed through three questions concerning (a) who had the final say in deciding the specific neighborhood where the respondent lived, (b) financial decisions in the household like taking out a loan or buying a car, and (c) overall family budget, i.e., how much of the family income went for different general purposes.[6] Respondents were given three response alternatives: respondent alone, spouse/partner, or both equal. Each question had a subquestion--"If equal, whose opinion would you say carried the most weight in this decision?"--and respondents were given the same three alternatives as in the main question. For the present study, the decision-making power scale was constructed by combining those six items to create five responses.[7] Then, the responses for each item were summed to yield a decision-making power index, ranging from 3 to 15. Simply, low scores represented low decision-making power and high scores indicated high decision-making power. However, the poor reliability of the decision-making power scale (Cronbach's alpha = .47) suggests the need for caution in both testing hypotheses and interpreting the major findings in the present study.

Independent Variables

Job authority. Students of the sociology of work and organizations have measured job authority by using several questions which were designed to capture the level and sources of authority an individual has in the workplace. Researchers in this tradition often operationalized workplace authority dichotomously as whether or not an individual supervises others, hires/fires others, or decides the work tasks and pace of others (Robinson & Kelley, 1979; Wolf & Fligstein, 1979; Wright & Perrone, 1977). Some researchers tried to distinguish between control over subordinates and control over monetary resources to assess categorical differences in a particular form of supervisory authority (Muller & Parcel, 1986; Spaeth, 1985). Other researchers used these measures in the form of ordinal scales, indicating from high to low the extent to which an individual respondent has these forms of authority (Tannenbaum & Rozgonyi, 1986), or as combination of several of the items into an index of hierarchy of authority (Aiken & Hage, 1970; Kluegel, 1978). Wright (1985) has developed an 'authority' index ranging from 1 (non-supervisor) to 9 (self-employed) by employing several task authority questions (work assignment, procedures and speed) as well as sanctioning authority questions (grant raise, prevent raise, fire, warn).

In this study, job authority was assessed through respondents' replies to six dichotomous questions concerning

whether or not they exercised various supervisory responsibilities as part of their jobs. The items used included: (a) granting a pay raise or promotion to a subordinate, (b) preventing a subordinate from getting a pay raise or promotion, (c) firing or temporarily suspending a subordinate, (d) issuing a formal warning to a subordinate, (e) deciding the specific tasks or work assignments performed by subordinates, and (f) deciding on how fast subordinates work, how long subordinates work, or how much work subordinates have to get done. Whereas the first four items indicated respondents' sanctioning authority, the last two items concerned respondents' task authority (Wright, 1985). The job authority scale was constructed by assigning a value of 1 or 0, respectively, to the "yes" or "no" response to each question. All six items (yes = 1; no = 0) were summed in order to form an additive index, ranging from 0 (no job authority) to 6 (highest amount of job authority). The Cronbach's alpha was .80.

Job autonomy. In previous studies, the operationalization of job autonomy has been based on several questions indicating respondents' ability to implement their ideas, introduce new tasks, decide when to work, decide when to take time off, and decide when to slow down the work pace, as well as indicating control over time and conceptual independence at work (Adler, 1993; Eichar & Thompson, 1986; Jaffee, 1989; Tannenbaum & Rozgonyi, 1986; Wright, 1985). Wright (1985) has developed a

detailed job autonomy scale paying attention to control over the conceptual realm of work, ranging from none to the highest autonomy. This measure was derived from respondent's examples of how they design their work and introduce their own ideas. Tannenbaum and Rozgonyi (1986) have sought to assess the degree to which workers have the opportunity to learn, use ideas and skills, decide their work pace and communicate with others. Eichar and Thompson (1986) have also created an autonomy scale, which measures the workers' freedom to decide work tasks, speed and breaks, responsibility for procedures and degree of input on work activities. This scale of autonomy captures both the conceptual and time-related characteristics of job autonomy. Kohn and Schooler (1983) have operationalized job autonomy indirectly by assessing closeness of supervision through questions indicating the degree to which the supervisor dictates procedures, allows freedom to disagree and control work speed, while their complexity index rates time and type of work with data, things, and people.

In this study, job autonomy was measured by five dichotomous items designed to ascertain the amount of self-direction respondents had in the workplace. Respondents were asked to report whether they could implement their ideas, introduce new tasks, decide when to work, decide when to take time off, and decide when to slow down the work pace. The job autonomy scale was constructed by assigning a value of 1 or 0,

respectively, to the "yes" or "no" response to each item. Scores on these items were added together to form a single scale of job autonomy, ranging from 0 (no job autonomy) to 5 (highest amount of job autonomy). The Cronbach's alpha was .65.

Income. In previous studies, income usually has been measured by respondents' annual earnings. Respondents were asked the amount of their yearly total earnings from their jobs, including overtime pay, bonuses, and commissions, before taxes (e.g., Coverman, 1985). Recently, some studies have operationalized relative power in marriage as the ratio of the husband's earnings to the wife's (Brayfield, 1992; Farkas, 1976; Huber & Spitze, 1983; Kamo, 1988, 1994; Ross, 1987). In a similar method, Baxter (1994) assessed marital power in terms of wives' and husbands' relative contribution to the family income in percentage terms. That is, in order to assess the husband/wife income gap, respondents were asked to indicate the percentage of household income contributed by their spouses in the year prior to the survey.

In this study, respondent's personal income was used for the purpose of exploring gender differences in the effects of earnings on the endogenous variables (i.e., gender-role ideology, decision-making power, and household work). Personal income was measured using respondents' reports of their job income, which was defined as the total wages and salary earned by the respondent in the calendar year preceding

the interview (1979 annual pretax income). Respondent's income was then converted into a continuous measure by the midpoints of each actual category: $2,500, $6,250, $8,750, $12,500, $17,500, $22,500, $27,500, $35,000, $45,000, $62,500, and $112,500.

Occupational status. Thus far, although a considerable number of scales and indices of socioeconomic and occupational status have been developed, essentially, two major approaches have been used to assess occupational status, i.e., the subjective and objective approaches (see Powers, 1982). Researchers focusing on the subjective dimension of occupational status have secured from their respondents "prestige" ratings of selected occupations.[8] In the last several decades, this subjective approach has gained recognition through various occupational prestige studies undertaken by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC). In contrast, investigators emphasizing the objective dimension have developed occupational status scores for detailed occupations based on the income and educational characteristics of occupational incumbents. Using data from the 1950 Census, Duncan (1961) has devised the Socioeconomic Index (SEI) for all occupations which integrated (the 1947 NORC) prestige scores with objective data on education and income for a wide range of occupations. Duncan's SEI has become a widely used measure and has provided new direction in the measurement of occupational status. In spite of the

criticism and the shortcomings (see Goldthorpe & Hope, 1972; Haller & Bills, 1979; Powell & Jacobs, 1984), the Duncan SEI scores continue to enjoy widespread use. Since 1961, Duncan's SEI scores have undergone several revisions (Hauser & Featherman, 1977; Featherman & Stevens, 1982; Stevens & Cho, 1985). For the review on the concepts and measurement of occupational status and occupational prestige, see MacKinnon & Lanford (1994), Nam & Powers (1983), Powers (1982), Wegener (1992).

In this study, respondents' occupational status was assessed by the NORC occupational prestige score, which was the result of a recording procedure of the 1970 occupational Census codes according to Duncan's three-digit classification. These status scores, which reflect the hierarchical ranking of respondents' occupation, were available for 412 detailed Census occupations, and the range of values for this ranking was 3.10 to 96.00.

The Intervening Variable

Gender-role ideology. In general, researchers have operationalized gender-role ideology by the degree of respondents' agreement or disagreement with several questions indicating the appropriate roles of men and women in the private and public spheres, and indicating attitudes about ERA, abortion, or children (Blair & Lichter, 1991; Calasanti & Bailey, 1991; Coverman, 1985; Huber & Spitze, 1981; Kamo, 1988, 1994; Mederer, 1993). In this study, respondents'

gender-role ideology was measured by the following four Likert-type items: (a) "All things considered, it is best for the family if the husband works outside the home and the wife takes care of the children"; (b) "If both husband and wife work outside the home, they should share equally in housework"; (c) "There are not enough women in responsible positions in government and industry"; and (d) "Ideally there should be as many women as men in positions of responsibility in government and industry." Respondents were asked to estimate the extent of their agreement with each of these items on a four-point rating scale: strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, and strongly disagree. The scale was constructed by summing the responses to each item; scores ranged from 4 to 16 (Items 2, 3, and 4 were reverse-coded). Thus, low scores indicated a traditional gender-role ideology and high scores an egalitarian gender-role ideology. Cronbach's alpha for this scale was .59.

Control Variables

Previous researchers have found that an individual worker's socioeconomic features like age, education, or hours worked are associated with his or her gender-role attitudes, decision-making power, and household labor. Hence, for this study, several sociodemographic characteristics were included as control variables in order to explore the net effects of the exogenous variables on the endogenous variables. *Age* has

been shown to be a reflection of gender ideology (Calasanti & Bailey, 1991; Coverman, 1985; Kane, 1995); that is, younger men and women tend to adhere to more egalitarian gender-role attitudes than older men and women (Robinson, 1980; Smith & Fisher, 1982). Age has also been shown to influence marital decision-making power, with older people having more decision-making power than younger people. Finally, older men have been found to be less involved in household work than younger men, whereas older women participate more in household labor than younger women, suggesting that age may also reflect resources (Coverman, 1985). In this study, age was assessed as the respondent's age in years.

Education has also been found to have positive effects on gender-role attitudes, decision-making power, and household labor (Blood & Wolfe, 1960; Calasanti & Bailey, 1991; Coverman, 1985; Farkas, 1976; Geerken & Gove, 1983; Hardesty & Bokemeier, 1989; Huber & Spitze, 1983; Kamo, 1988; Kane, 1995; Mason, Czajka, & Arber, 1976; Ross, 1987). It has frequently been indicated that, coupled with income and occupational status, education is a crucial resource that may influence marital power and the degree of participation in household labor (Blood & Wolfe, 1960). Hence, the literature has indicated that a man with higher education will exhibit more power in the marital relationship and can use the resources to minimize his participation in household work. In contrast, women's higher level of education is related to more

liberal gender-role attitudes, and this can be translated into a more equitable distribution of housework. In the present research, education was coded as a continuous measure indicating the number of years of education completed by the respondent.

Hour in paid work also was included as a control variable because the time-availability hypothesis indicates that men and women who spend less time in paid employment will do more work in the home (Clark, Nye, & Gecas, 1978; Ross, 1987; Spitze, 1986). However, contrary to the hypothesis, some researchers have suggested that women's involvement in paid work does lead to their spending less time on housework (Berk, 1985; Berardo et al., 1987; Kalleberg & Rosenfeld, 1990). In this study, paid work time was measured by a single question asking respondents to indicate the number of hours spent on their main job per week, including paid and unpaid overtime.

In addition, *presence of children* has been found to negatively affect gender-role attitudes and household labor. For women, the presence of children in the household is associated with traditional gender-role attitudes, and consequently with greater involvement in household labor. With regard to marital power, women with children have been found to have less marital power than those with no children, probably because they are more likely to be at home with child-care responsibilities and to forgo the resources that work provides--i.e., status and income. On the other hand,

for men, the presence of children has been found to be associated with traditional gender-role ideology, which, in turn, leads to less involvement in household labor (Baxter, 1993; Blood & Wolfe, 1960; Coverman, 1985; Hardesty & Bokemeier, 1989; Ross, 1987). In the present study, the presence of children was measured by a single item--whether there were children living in the household. As a dichotomous variable, it was coded 1 if there were children in the household and 0 if there were no children.

Last, *spouse's occupational status* and *spouse's income* were also controlled because one objective of this study was to explore the differential effects of material (income and occupational status) and nonmaterial (authority and autonomy) conditions of work on family power--i.e., gender differences in the translation of subjective work power and objective employment resources into men's and women's power in the family. Previous studies, based on the resource theory, have indicated that, the higher a spouse's occupational status and proportional contribution to family income, the less the other spouse has marital power and the more he or she is engaged in household labor (Blood & Wolfe, 1960; Ferree, 1987). For the present analysis, spouse's income was operationalized as the percentage of income contributed by the spouse, ranging from 0 to 100%. Spouse's socioeconomic status was measured by Duncan's prestige score based on the 1970 Census occupational three-digit classification. These status scores ranged from

3.80 to 96.00. The variables used in this study are shown in Table 4.1.

Statistical-Analysis Procedures

The data-analysis process consisted of two major steps: descriptive analyses and multivariate analyses. Before the primary analyses testing the hypotheses were carried out, several preliminary analyses were conducted. First, the indicators of work power and family power were factor analyzed using a principal component analysis with oblimin rotation in order to determine whether the chosen items did represent two underlying constructs for each indicator. Confirmatory factor analysis with oblimin rotation was also performed to determine whether the indicator of gender-role ideology did represent one underlying construct. Furthermore, a reliability assessment was conducted for the scales of job authority, job autonomy, gender-role ideology, decision-making power, and household labor developed for the present research. The internal reliability coefficients, or Cronbach's alphas were determined.

In the first main part of the analysis, basic descriptive statistics such as univariate frequencies, means, and standard deviations of the subsample were used to explore gender differences in the given variables. In conducting mean difference analyses, a chi-square test was employed for the dichotomous variable (children in the household), whereas a

Table 4.1. The study variables and their measurement

Variable	Measurement
Contribution to household labor	Index from 0 to 100% indicating respondent's degree of contribution to household labor. (Cronbach's alpha = .93)
Decision-making power	Index from 3 to 15 indicating respondent's degree of final say in marital decisionmaking. Scores ranged from 3 (the least power) to 15 (the highest power). (Cronbach's alpha = .47)
Job authority	Scale from 0 to 6 indicating respondent's amount of direct power over subordinates: (a) granting pay raises, (b) preventing pay raises, (c) firing, (d) formal warning, (e) task assignment, and (f) work pace. (Cronbach's alpha = .80)
Job autonomy	Scale from 0 to 5 showing respondent's amount of implementing own ideas, new tasks, work times, days off, and work pace. (Cronbach's alpha = .65)
Respondent's SEI	Duncan's prestige scale based on 1970 occupational Census three-digit classification (3.10--96.00).
Income	1979 pretax income in dollars.
Gender-role Ideology	Scale based on four gender-role-related items. Scores ranged from 4 to 16. (Cronbach's alpha = .59)
Age	Respondent's age in years.
Education	Number of years of formal education.
Children	Dummy variable in which 0 = no children under 16 years at home; 1 = some children.
Hours worked	Number of hours spent in paid employment per week.
Spouse's SEI	Duncan's prestige scale based on 1970 Census occupational three-digit classification. (3.80--96.00)
Spouse's income	Spouse's contribution to family income. Index from 0 to 100%.

t-test of differences between means by gender was used to determine statistical significance for the continuous variables. Then, zero-order correlations were computed to explore the patterns and directions of bivariate associations among all variables used in this study (Healey, 1993). Here, only statistically significant associations were briefly discussed at the bivariate level.

The second part of the analysis was carried out by conducting a series of multivariate path analyses. Before starting the primary multivariate analyses, correlations among the independent variables were computed to check for the problem of multicollinearity.[9] Then, preliminary analyses were performed with the two key independent variables--job authority and autonomy--to examine whether power at work was translated into power in the home. The main purpose of the preliminary analysis was to replicate Seccombe's (1986) study on the effects of occupational conditions on domestic division of labor, and to extend to include decision-making power as another indicator of marital power in dual-earner families. That is, paying special attention to the interface of work power and family power, the investigator sought to see whether an individual worker's authority and autonomy on the job can influence his or her decision-making power and contribution to household labor in the family. At this stage, two work-related variables (income and occupational status) and sociodemographic control variables were excluded from the

model for the purpose of investigating the interplay of work power and family power.

In the primary analyses, the 15 research hypotheses were tested using the results of a series of ordinary least squares (OLS) regression analyses after sociodemographic features were partialled in each equation (see the fully recursive path model: Figure 3.1). Several employment and family characteristics such as age, education, children, hours in paid work, spouse's occupational status, and spouse's income were statistically controlled in the primary analyses in order to examine the net effects of independent variables on the endogenous variables. After the full investigation of the multivariate regression analysis, the correlation between the exogenous and endogenous variables was decomposed to assess the total effect, direct effect, and indirect effects of the exogenous variables on the dependent variables.

In addition, after the indicators of family power were regressed on the exogenous variables, each decision-making power item and household labor indicators were regressed on the exogenous variables in order to discover whether there were hidden relationships among the variables. The rationale behind this subanalysis was that "different factors explain each of the various household chores" implying "the importance of keeping tasks separate, especially when meaningful differences across predictors might be hidden otherwise" (Calasanti & Bailey, 1991: 49). Besides, while recognizing

that the use of a single item to indicate the division of household labor within the family was one of the major limitations of her study, Seccombe (1986) suggested that "when housework is broken down into various specific tasks, responses are apt to have greater reliability" (p. 847). Separate path analyses for the male sample and the female sample were carried out because, as noted previously, specific variables have different effects for men and women. In addition, separate analyses enabled the researcher to examine the differences in the patterns of relationships among the variables for men and women (Baxter, 1993).

In addition to the main analyses of this study, this researcher conducted additional analyses that may undercover the possible mediating effects of gender-role attitudes on the relationship between work power and family power. First, in both male and female models, by using the stagewise simultaneous entry method, decision-making power and contribution to household labor were regressed on the exogenous variables in order to see whether the mediating effects are different for men and women. Here, several interaction terms such as authority times gender-role ideology, autonomy times gender-role ideology, occupational status times gender-role ideology and income times gender-role ideology were included in the exogenous variables. Second, two indicators of family power were regressed on the exogenous variables for the total sample combining men and women in

order to see whether gender affect those mediating effects. However, the results of these mediating effects were not presented in this study except the significant ones.

NOTES

1. See Wright et al. (1990) for a more detailed description of the data set. The data set is available through the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR), P.O. Box 1248, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106. Since the first ICPSR release, several researchers have used the data set in exploring gender inequality in the labor market and in the family (Aytac, 1990; Brayfield, 1992; Calasanti & Bailey, 1991; Kalleberg & Rosenfeld, 1990; Rosenfeld & Kalleberg, 1990, 1991; Wright, Shire, Hwang, Dolan, & Baxter, 1992).

2. The response rates were 68% for those in the labor force and 86% for housewives. The overall response rate was 70% (Wright et al., 1990: 9).

3. All analyses were performed on a weighted sample. Recognizing that there exists a nonrandomness in the Class Structure and Class Consciousness data set, mainly due to (a) unequal probabilities of being selected into the sample and (b) the disproportionately high representation of respondents with high status, Wright attempted to construct two post-hoc weights for the benefit of adjusting the sample characteristics to the 1980 Current Population Survey for the employed population. See Wright et al. (1990: Appendix II: 8-13) for a detailed discussion of the creation of two post-hoc weights.

4. It is true that self-employed individuals who have others working for them have authority on the job. Nevertheless, this researcher decided to exclude self-employed people from the present analysis, mainly because "the processes by which an individual obtains authority as an employee are probably quite different from the mechanism by which self-employed workers gain authority over others" (Wolfe & Fligstein, 1979: 240).

5. There were two main reasons for using these traditionally female-typed household tasks. First, previous researchers have found that the time spent by couples on "men's work" represents a small fraction of the overall amount of time spent on household labor (e.g., Meissner, Humphreys, Meis, & Sheu , 1975). Second, scholars have asserted that, in addition to being more time consuming, "women's work"

comprises the more repetitive, necessary aspects of household labor that offer little discretion about whether, how, and when they are to be done (Deutsch, Lussier, & Servis, 1993; Meissner et al., 1975).

6. Unfortunately, only three questions indicating the decision-making power were available in the original Wright et al. (1990) data set. Consequently, the lack of questions reflecting various aspects of marital power relations seemed to cause the problem of poor reliability and to make this researcher having difficulties in interpreting the research findings.

7. The following is a portion of SPSS syntax file for the creation of decision-making power indicator in this study:

```
COMPUTE WHLIVE=0.
IF (FSWHLIV EQ 1) WHLIVE=1.
IF (FSWHLIV EQ 2) WHLIVE=5.
IF (FSWHLIV EQ 3 AND EQWHLIV EQ 1) WHLIVE=2.
IF (FSWHLIV EQ 3 AND EQWHLIV EQ 3) WHLIVE=3.
IF (FSWHLIV EQ 3 AND EQWHLIV EQ 2) WHLIVE=4.
MISSING VALUES WHLIVE (0).
VAR LABEL WHLIVE 'DECISIONMAKING IN WHERE TO LIVE'.
COMPUTE FINANCL=0.
IF (FSFINDC EQ 1) FINANCL=1.
IF (FSFINDC EQ 2) FINANCL=5.
IF (FSFINDC EQ 3 AND EQFINDC EQ 1) FINANCL=2.
IF (FSFINDC EQ 3 AND EQFINDC EQ 3) FINANCL=3.
IF (FSFINDC EQ 3 AND EQFINDC EQ 2) FINANCL=4.
MISSING VALUES FINANCL (0).
VAR LABEL FINANCL 'DECISIONMAKING IN FINANCIAL MATTERS'.
COMPUTE BUDGET=0.
IF (FSFMBGT EQ 1) BUDGET=1.
IF (FSFMBGT EQ 2) BUDGET=5.
IF (FSFMBGT EQ 3 AND EQFMBGT EQ 1) BUDGET=2.
IF (FSFMBGT EQ 3 AND EQFMBGT EQ 3) BUDGET=3.
IF (FSFMBGT EQ 3 AND EQFMBGT EQ 2) BUDGET=4.
MISSING VALUES BUDGET (0).
VAR LABEL BUDGET 'DECISIONMAKING IN FAMILY BUDGET'.
RECODE WHLIVE FINANCL BUDGET (1=5) (2=4) (3=3) (4=2) (5=1).
VALUE LABEL WHLIVE FINANCL BUDGET 1 'THE LEAST SAY' 5 'THE MOST SAY'.
COMPUTE MARIPOWR=WHLIVE+FINANCL+BUDGET.
VAR LABEL MARIPOWR 'MARITAL DECISION-MAKING POWER'.
```

8. Although often confused and used interchangeably, as Nam and Terrie (1982) indicated, status (objectively-determined position) and prestige (subjectively-perceived intrinsic worth or value) are two separate and distinct concepts. Occupational status usually refers to the educational requirements and economic rewards associated with an occupation, while occupational prestige refers to an

evaluation people generally have of the occupation's desirability (p. 31).

9. When the correlations among the independent variables are too high, the problem of multicollinearity arises and difficulties occur in drawing inferences on the basis of the regression estimates (Asher, 1983; Blalock, 1963; Lewis-Beck, 1980). Asher indicated that high correlations among the independent variables result in larger standard errors of the estimated regression coefficients. This means that if one were to draw another sample from the same population and reestimate the equation, the new estimates might be substantially different. Thus, multicollinearity makes it difficult to make causal inferences because the path estimates can differ dramatically from one sample to another (pp. 50-51).

As Asher (1983) and Lewis-Beck (1980) suggested, two key procedures of assessing the problem of multicollinearity were conducted in the preliminary analysis stage. First, no correlations among pairs of independent variables were lower than .8, which is the arbitrary correlation level at which to be concerned about collinearity (Asher, 1983: 52). None of the independent variables for the model in Figure 1 was significantly correlated with other independent variables.

Second, when each independent variable was regressed on all other independent variables, none of the R^2 from those equations was near 1.0 which is the sure symptom of high multicollinearity. According to Lewis-Beck (1980: 60), the largest of those R^2 serves as an indicator of the amount of multicollinearity that exists. In sum, it appears safe to assume that problems of multicollinearity should not arise in the regression models.

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CHAPTER V

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The major findings from the data analyses conducted to investigate the carryover of work power into family power for men and women are presented in this chapter. Results of the factor analyses and reliability tests are presented first. The remainder of the chapter is divided into two main sections. General descriptive statistics--frequencies, means, and standard deviations--for all variables used in this study are presented in the first section *(Univariate Analyses by Gender)*. A difference-of-means test was employed to determine whether there were statistically significant differences in the responses given by males and females in the sample. A t-test of the differences between means by gender was used to determine statistical significance for the continuous variables, and a chi-square test of mean differences by gender was performed for the dichotomous variable (children in the household). Next, only statistically significant results on the bi-variate relationships between the selected variables are briefly discussed in the second section. Finally, zero-order correlation coefficients are presented to indicate

gender differences in the relationships among the variables in the models. The first part of second section (*Multivariate Analyses*) contains the results of preliminary analyses exploring the interplay of work power and family power, followed by the main findings from the primary analysis, which tested the fully recursive path models including socio-demographic characteristics and the two employment-related variables used in this study.

Results of Factor Analyses

This study employed confirmatory factor analyses with principal oblimin rotations as the means to determine the structural validity of the indices for work power, family power, and gender-role ideology. All items constituting the indicators of work power and family power were factor analyzed in order to examine whether the chosen items did represent two underlying constructs for each indicator. Also, the indicator of gender-role ideology was factor analyzed for the purpose of determining whether the chosen items loaded one underlying construct. Factor scores were calculated by summing the actual values of the variables that had loadings exceeding a predetermined cutoff point (.40), which is the standard cutoff, to determine which variables loaded on a given factor. Summing the values of high-loading variables allowed the derived factors to intercorrelate, making the expectation of interrelations among the factors testable by multiple

regression (Kim & Muller, 1978; Norusis, 1988; Pittman & Orthner, 1989: 231). In general, factor analysis is used for the purpose of data reduction, explanatory analysis, and confirmatory analysis. Principal components analysis is used in estimating new variables as linear combinations of a series of items. As do other multivariate techniques, factor analysis assumes a normal distribution of the variables, as well as a linear relationship among them (see Kim & Muller, 1978; Revicki, 1987). Results of the factor analysis of each indicator are presented in the Tables 5.1 through 5.3. As seen in Table 5.1, the principal component analysis of the work power items identified two factors with eigenvalues greater than one. They account for 46.5% of the total variance. The first factor comprises the six authority items; the second factor consists of the five autonomy items. The principal component analysis of the family power items also identified two factors with eigenvalues greater than one. They account for 66.1% of the total variance. A oblimin rotation of these factors resulted in the factor loadings shown in Table 5.2. The first factor comprises the six household labor items; the second factor consists of the three decisionmaking items. Finally, the factor analysis suggested that all four items of the gender-role ideology scale loaded on a single factor, which accounted for approximately 46% of the total variance (Table 5.3).

Table 5.1. Factor loadings for the work power items

Item	Factor I	Factor II
Decide tasks of subordinates	.55	
Decide pace of work-subordinates	.63	
Pay raise or promotion	.73	
Preventing raise	.75	
Fire or suspend	.82	
Formal warning	.77	
Required to design work		.52
Decide when work		.68
Decide day off		.61
Decide slow down		.68
Decide new task		.60

Eigenvalues for factor I and II were 3.68 and 1.43, respectively.
Cumulative % of variance = 46.5%

Table 5.2. Factor loadings for the family power items

Item	Factor I	Factor II
Deciding where you live now	.42	
Deciding major financial matters	.76	
Deciding the overall family budget	.80	
Looking after children		.73
Cooking meals		.92
Cleaning up after meals		.87
Doing laundry		.92
Routine housecleaning		.92
Shopping for groceries		.83

Eigenvalues for factor I and II were 4.57 and 1.38,. respectively.
Cumulative % of variance = 66.1%

Table 5.3. Factor loadings for the gender-role ideology items

Item	Factor Loading
Traditional roles benefit family	.56
Equal sharing of housework*	.47
Not enough women in business*	.81
As many women in business*	.81

* For use in the gender-role ideology index, these questions were recoded in the following way: (a) Strongly disagree, (b) Somewhat disagree, © Somewhat agree, (d) Strongly agree.

Cronbach's alpha=.592

Results of Reliability Tests

In general, reliability represents reproducibility, reflecting the consistency of a measure over repeated trials (Carmines & Zeller, 1987; Kachigan, 1986; Norusis, 1988). A certain amount of unreliability is present in every study because of random measurement error, which cannot easily be avoided. As Kachigan (1986) indicated, if measurement of a set of objects cannot be replicated, one must conclude that the scores are extremely unstable or that the score obtained for each object was a matter of chance (p. 218). Hence, a researcher occasionally should take into consideration discarding or must locate and minimize the sources of error. Therefore, a crucial methodological step in this study was to determine the reliabilities of the key indices: job authority, job autonomy, decision-making power, household labor, and gender-role ideology.

According to the literature, there are at least four

different methods of assessing reliability: internal consistency, split-halves, alternative form, and test-retest (see Carmines & Zeller, 1987; Norusis, 1988). Because the method of internal consistency test has been widely used and was most appropriate for this research, Cronbach's alpha was used as the reliability indicator. The Cronbach's alpha coefficients of the indices were .80 (job authority), .65 (job autonomy), .59 (gender-role ideology), .47 (decision-making power), and .93 (household labor). Although the alpha coefficients for decision-making power, gender-role ideology, and job autonomy were lower than desired (a minimum of .70 would have been preferred), they indicated some index consistency and were high enough for the analysis to continue. It can be argued that the relatively poor reliability of decision-making power was partly due to the low number of items included in the index. Also, because of the low reliability, one must be cautious in interpreting the research findings regarding decision-making power. As an alternative to the problem of a low reliability coefficient, in the primary analyses the researcher regressed each item of the decision-making power index as a dependent variable, on the exogenous variables, to see which item was the most significant in explaining marital power relations.

Univariate Analyses by Gender

The descriptive analyses were organized around an examination of gender differences in subsamples of 230 male

and 196 female respondents in this study. Table 5.4 shows for the employment and sociodemographic characteristics of the male and female respondents.

Turning first to the frequency distribution of age by gender, the majority of respondents (72%) were between the ages of 25 and 49; 75.5% of men and 68% of women were in this age group. Only 2% were in the 60-65 age group, whereas 11.8% were between 18 and 24 years of age. It is noteworthy that there were more than twice as many women in the 18-24 age group (17.6%) as compared to men (7%) in the same age group. The mean ages of men and women were 37.6 and 35.5, and the t-test of differences in means showed that gender difference in age was not statistically significant (see Table 5.5).

In these subsamples, most respondents (87.2%) had completed their high school education or above: 86.6% of men and 87.9% of women. More women (39.2%) than men (29.5%) finished high school, whereas more men (31.7%) than women (21.7%) had a college degree or more. Men completed, on average, 13.5 years of education as compared to 13.1 years for women. The mean values for education reflected no significant gender differences; this finding was consistent with those from earlier studies (Coverman, 1986; Parcel & Mueller, 1983; Reskin & Hartmann, 1986).

Regarding the presence of children, the percentages of men and women having children at home was about the same. 60% of male and 51% of female respondents had children under 16

Table 5.4. Distribution of the sample according to employment and socio-demographic characteristics, by gender (in percentage)

Variable	Range	Total (N=426)	Men (N=230)	Women (N=196)
Age (in years)				
	18-24	11.8	7.0	17.6
	25-29	20.4	20.5	20.2
	30-39	31.8	34.5	28.5
	40-49	19.9	20.5	19.2
	50-59	13.5	14.4	12.4
	60-65	2.1	2.6	1.6
Education				
Primary school or less		4.4	4.5	4.2
Some secondary school		8.5	8.9	7.9
Completed high school		33.9	29.5	39.2
Some post-high school		26.2	25.4	27.0
College degree or more		27.1	31.7	21.7
Children				
Children aged <16		55.6	60.0	50.5
All others		43.3	40.0	49.5
Income				
$0-$5,000		7.4	2.3	13.8
$5,001-$7,500		10.0	2.8	19.0
$7,501-$10,000		13.8	5.1	24.7
$10,001-$15,000		20.7	18.9	23.0
$15,001-$20,000		17.1	20.7	12.6
$20,001-$25,000		16.4	25.8	4.6
$25,001-$30,000		7.2	12.0	1.1
$30,001-$40,000		6.9	11.5	1.1
$40,001-$50,000		0.3	0.5	0.0
$50,001-$75,000		0.3	0.5	0.0
Hours worked (in hours)				
15-30		7.8	2.0	14.0
31-40		48.3	38.1	59.1
41-50		29.1	38.6	18.8
51 or over		13.7	20.8	6.4

Table 5.4. (Continued)

Variable	Range	Total (N=426)	Men (N=230)	Women (N=196)
Respondent's occupational status (Duncan's SEI)				
	00-09	4.7	6.1	3.1
	10-19	20.4	21.7	18.9
	20-29	7.5	10.9	3.6
	30-39	5.4	6.1	4.6
	40-49	18.8	15.2	23.0
	50-59	4.7	3.9	5.6
	60-69	18.3	14.3	23.0
	70-79	13.4	10.4	16.8
	80-89	5.4	8.7	1.5
	90-96	1.4	2.6	0.0
Spouse's occupational status (Duncan's SEI)				
	00-09	9.9	7.4	12.8
	10-19	19.2	15.7	23.5
	20-29	4.2	3.0	5.6
	30-39	4.7	3.0	6.6
	40-49	19.2	25.2	12.2
	50-59	5.2	7.4	2.6
	60-69	21.1	23.0	18.9
	70-79	11.3	12.6	9.7
	80-89	4.5	1.3	8.2
	90-96	0.7	1.3	0.0
Spouse's income (% contribution to family income)				
	00-10%	15.4	22.8	6.4
	11-20%	6.1	10.7	0.6
	21-30%	9.0	15.0	1.8
	31-40%	15.4	28.2	0.0
	41-50%	19.1	18.0	20.5
	51-60%	6.4	1.5	12.3
	61-70%	9.0	1.0	18.7
	71-80%	11.9	1.5	24.6
	81-90%	3.4	1.0	6.4
	91-100%	4.2	0.5	8.8

Table 5.5. Means, standard deviations, and t-values for the subsample characteristics, by gender

Variable	Men (N=230) Mean	Men (N=230) SD	Women (N=196) Mean	Women (N=196) SD	t-value
Job authority	3.97	2.10	3.31	2.05	2.07
Job autonomy	2.69	1.63	2.35	1.47	2.20
Respondent SEI	45.71	25.00	47.62	20.69	-.84
Income	20.29	8.74	10.53	6.09	12.50[a]
Age	37.63	10.49	35.55	11.12	1.97
Education	13.51	2.55	13.09	2.27	1.72
Children[b]	0.63	.49	0.51	.50	(NS)
Hours worked	46.64	11.96	39.58	9.46	6.38[a]
Spouse SEI	47.63	20.62	44.40	25.11	1.41
Spouse income	29.52	19.15	63.55	22.94	-15.70[a]
Gender ideology	11.24	2.36	11.94	2.31	-2.97
Decisionmaking	10.42	3.16	8.60	3.11	5.83[a]
Household labor	26.49	17.47	75.42	18.99	-27.38[a]

a $p \leq .001$.
b Gender difference was tested with chi-square (NS = not significant).
Note: Significance of gender differences was based on a t-test.

years old at home. A chi-square test of mean differences showed that the gender difference in presence of children was not statistically significant ($x^2 = 3.860$, $p = .049$).

Almost 85% of respondents in the subsample earned less than $25,000 annually. Although about 17% earned less than $7,500, most workers (54.4%) earned between $10,001 and $25,000. In terms of income difference by gender, as expected, men generally earned more than women. Most men (64%) were in the $10,001-$25,000 bracket, whereas the majority of women (67%) were in the $5,001-$15,000 category. The means for males' and females' income were $20,290 and $10,530, respectively, and the difference in means was

statistically significant at $p \leq .001$ ($t = 12.5$).[1]

Table 5.4 also included the frequency distribution of spouses' contribution to family income. As expected, almost 95% of the men responded that their wives contributed less than 50% of the total family income, whereas 91% of the women indicated that their husbands contributed more than 50% of their family income. Specifically, almost one-third (33%) of the men responded that their wives' income contribution was less than 20% of the total family income. In contrast, 40% of the women said that their husbands contributed more than 70% to the family income. The means for spouse income were 29.52 for men and 63.55 for women. The t-test of mean differences showed that the gender difference in contribution to family income was statistically significant (negative) at $p \leq .001$ ($t = -15.7$).

The majority of men (98%) and women (86%) in this sample worked in full-time employment (defined as 30 or more hours per week). The largest proportion of respondents were in the category of 31 to 50 hours per week; about 77% of both men and women fell in this bracket. Meanwhile, 14% of the women worked as part-time employees (defined as 15 to 30 hours per week), compared to only 2% of the men in this subsample. As expected, average hours per week in paid employment for women (39.58 hours) was less than that for men (46.64 hours). The t-test of mean differences showed that the gender difference in paid work hours was statistically significant at $p \leq .001$

(t = 6.4).

About half of the respondents were employed in lower SEI occupations (SEI 10-49 group): men (54%) and women (50%). In general, women had somewhat higher scores in the middle and upper SEI groups than did males. Whereas 28.6% and 40% of the women were in the 40-59 and 60-89 SEI groups, respectively, 19.1% and 33% of the men were in the same SEI categories. As in previous studies (Hall, 1986; Parcel & Mueller, 1983), the females in this sample had somewhat higher average Duncan SEI scores (47.6) than did their male counterparts (45.7). Yet the t-test of mean differences showed that the gender difference in occupational status was not statistically significant.

With regard to spouse's occupational status, husbands of female respondents (36%) had lower Duncan SEI scores (0-19) than did wives of male respondents (23%). Whereas about one-third (32.6%) of the wives of male respondents fell in the 40-59 SEI-score category, 14.8% of the husbands of female respondents were in the same bracket. Finally, the same proportion (36%) of male and female spouses of respondents had high SEI scores (60-89). The means for the spouse SEI scores were 47.6 for men and 44.4 for women, and, as was the case for respondents' occupational status, the gender difference in the spouse's occupational status was not statistically significant.

Gender differences in work power, family power, and

gender role ideology were assessed next. Table 5.6 contains the frequency distributions of workers on the job authority, job autonomy, gender-role ideology, decision-making power, and household labor scales by gender. From Tables 5.5 and 5.6, it can be seen that although women (mean = 3.31) had, on average, almost an equal amount of job authority as compared to men (mean = 3.97), approximately 70% of the women as compared to 49% of the men, were in the 0-4 category of authority. The gender gap in the high job authority (5-6) category was similar; whereas about 50% of the men reported having high job authority, only 31% of the women did so. Yet, in the middle bracket (3-4), both genders had fairly equal amounts of authority: 21% for men and 26% for women. The t-test of mean differences showed that the gender difference in authority was not statistically significant.

The findings regarding job autonomy showed a somewhat and different picture. From Table 5.6 it can be seen that the majority of respondents of both genders had very little job autonomy. For both men and women, the distribution was even throughout the autonomy categories, except for the highest category (18.5% for men and 9.0% for women). Whereas 66% of men and 75% of women were in the 0-3 category, 33.8% of men and 23.8% of women were in the 4-5 bracket. In general, in those two categories, men had more job autonomy than women. The means for men and women on the autonomy scale were 2.69 and 2.35, respectively; the gender difference was not

Table 5.6. Frequencies for job authority, job autonomy, gender-role ideology, and decision-making power, by gender (in percentage)

Variables	Scale Values	Total (N=426)	Men (N=230)	Women (N=196)
Job authority	0	8.9	8.1	10.4
	1	11.1	10.6	11.9
	2	13.2	9.8	19.4
	3	7.9	8.1	7.5
	4	15.3	13.0	19.4
	5	10.5	12.2	7.5
	6	33.2	38.2	23.9
	N	(190)	(123)	(67)
Job autonomy	0	12.2	12.6	11.6
	1	16.3	13.5	19.6
	2	20.9	18.5	23.8
	3	21.4	21.6	21.2
	4	15.1	15.3	14.8
	5	14.1	18.5	9.0
	N	(411)	(222)	(189)
Decision-making power	3	3.7	1.8	5.9
	4	4.1	1.8	7.0
	5	3.9	2.2	5.9
	6	5.9	3.6	8.6
	7	9.8	10.3	9.1
	8	8.8	9.9	7.5
	9	14.6	12.6	17.1
	11	12.0	9.9	14.4
	12	7.6	9.4	5.3
	13	4.9	4.9	4.8
	14	7.1	10.8	2.7
	15	8.8	13.5	3.2
	N	(410)	(223)	(187)
Gender-role ideology	4	0.3	0.5	0.0
	5	0.3	0.0	0.5
	6	1.0	1.9	0.0
	7	4.5	5.6	3.3
	8	6.3	7.0	5.5
	9	6.6	7.0	6.0
	10	11.6	12.1	11.0
	11	15.4	17.3	13.2
	12	15.2	15.9	14.3
	13	19.7	18.2	21.4
	14	9.1	7.9	10.4
	15	6.1	2.8	9.9
	16	4.0	3.7	4.4
	N	(396)	(214)	(182)

statistically significant. Overall, most respondents in the sample had low degrees of both job authority and autonomy.

With respect to the indicators of family power, the descriptive patterns followed expected lines. As shown in Table 5.6, even though men and women were represented similarly in the middle bracket of decision-making power (42.7% of men and 48.1% of women), about 39% of the men reported having high decision-making power (from 12 to 15), whereas only 16% of the women did so. On the contrary, 27.4% of the women reported having low decision-making power (from 3 to 6), whereas only 9.4% of the men did so. The means on the decision-making power scales were 10.42 for men and 8.60 for women; the gender difference was statistically significant at $p \leq .001$ ($t = 5.83$).

Some interesting gender differences on three items of the decision-making power indicator are shown in Table 5.7. In deciding the specific neighborhood where they lived and making financial decisions to take out a loan or buy a car, men had more say than did women in the sample. In deciding the specific neighborhood where they lived, 26.6% of the men had low decision-making power (1-2) as compared to 42.7% of the women. In contrast, 49.4% of the men had high decision-making power (4-5) as compared to 30.8% of the women. Also, in terms of making financial decisions, 62.8% of the men reported having high power, but only 20.4% of the women did so. Only 12.4% of the men had low decision-making power, as compared to

Table 5.7. Men's and women's responses to subitems pertaining to decision-making power (in percentage)

Range	WHERE-TO-LIVE M	WHERE-TO-LIVE F	FINANCIAL M	FINANCIAL F	BUDGET M	BUDGET F
The least say						
1	16.4 (37)	26.0 (50)	7.5 (17)	36.1 (69)	33.2 (75)	20.5 (39)
2	10.2 (23)	16.7 (32)	4.9 (11)	17.8 (34)	3.5 (8)	11.1 (21)
3	24.0 (54)	26.6 (51)	24.8 (56)	25.7 (49)	17.7 (40)	20.0 (38)
4	17.8 (40)	12.0 (23)	15.5 (35)	6.8 (13)	8.0 (18)	4.7 (9)
5	31.6 (71)	18.8 (36)	47.3 (107)	13.6 (26)	37.6 (85)	43.7 (83)
The most say						
N	(225)	(192)	(226)	(191)	(226)	(190)

Key: WHERE-TO-LIVE:"Who has the most say in deciding the specific neighborhood where you live now?" FINANCIAL: "Who has the most say in making financial decisions in your household like a decision to take out a loan or buy a car?" BUDGET: "Who has the most say about the overall family budget, that is, about how much of the family income goes for different general purposes such as running the house, recreation, new clothes, and so forth?"

53.9% of the women. The means for neighborhood decisions were 3.37 for men and 2.81 for women; this gender difference was statistically significant at $p \leq .001$ ($t = 4.05$). In addition, the means for financial decisions were 3.90 for men and 2.44 for women; this gender difference also was statistically significant at $p \leq .001$ ($t = 11.26$). Meanwhile, in making decisions on overall family budget matters such as running the house, recreation, new clothes, and so on, women appeared to have somewhat more power than men. Whereas there were more women (43.7 %) at the upper end of the budget-decision distribution (5) than men (37.6%), there were more men (33.2%) at the lower end of the significant gender differences in the average values on budget decisions. Men had a mean value of 3.13, as compared to a mean of 3.40 for women.

With regard to gender-role ideology, the majority of respondents (55.1%) were in the 8 to 12 bracket (see Table 5.6). Very small proportions of men (8.0%) and women (3.8%) held traditional gender-role attitudes (from 4 to 7), whereas 32.6% of men and 46.1% of women held highly egalitarian gender-role ideologies (from 13 to 16). Overall, although women appeared to hold a somewhat more egalitarian gender-role ideology than men, the gender difference was not statistically significant in this study.

When the frequency distributions for the four items of the gender-role ideology indicator (Table 5.8) were examined,

Table 5.8. Men's and women's responses to subitems pertaining to gender-role ideology (in percentage)

Values	TRADITION ROLE		EQUAL SHARE		NOT ENOUGH WOMEN		AS MANY WOMEN	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Strongly agree	14.0	19.0	65.3	66.7	33.9	45.4	22.3	27.7
Somewhat agree	16.2	24.3	29.7	25.4	41.7	41.1	33.6	35.1
Somewhat disagree	32.4	22.8	3.6	6.3	16.1	7.0	21.8	25.0
Strongly disagree	37.4	33.9	1.4	1.6	8.3	6.5	22.3	12.2
N	(222)	(189)	(222)	(189)	(218)	(185)	(220)	(188)

Key: TRADITION ROLE: "It is better for the family if the husband is the principal breadwinner outside the home and the wife has primary responsibility for the home and children." EQUAL SHARE: "If both husband and wife work, they should share equally in the housework and child care." NOT ENOUGH WOMEN: "There are not enough women in responsible position in government and private business." AS MANY WOMEN: "Ideally there should be as many women as men in important positions in government and business."

gender differences were not obviously detected. From the table, it was clear that both men and women held egalitarian gender-role ideologies on the four items. Whereas about 70% of the men reported not having a favorable attitude on the item concerning men being the traditional breadwinner and women the homemaker, 56% of the women did so. Significantly, almost all of the respondents (95% of men and 92% of women) showed a favorable attitude regarding the issue of sharing equally in household work. More than over two-thirds of the men (75%) and 86% of the women reported holding a favorable attitude on the item concerning gender inequality in public power positions. Finally, in answering the question regarding the ideal situation of gender equality in public power positions, only about half of the male respondents (56%) expressed a favorable attitude, whereas 63% of the women had a favorable attitude. In sum, men and women, on average, showed favorable attitudes toward specific gender-role-related issues.

Last, regarding household work including childcare, as expected, most women (75.4%) on average were more highly involved in these household activities than men (26.4%). The gender difference in household labor was statistically significant at $p \leq .001$ ($t = -27.3$). Gender differences in the performance of five traditionally female household tasks and childcare are shown in Table 5.9. The table shows the not-surprising finding that wives performed the bulk of

Table 5.9. Men's and women's responses to subitems pertaining to contribution to household labor (in percentage)

Range	CHIDCR		COOKNG		MEALCN		LAUNDY		HUSCLN		GROCR	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
00-10%	4.5	6.3	56.1	6.1	36.7	5.2	57.8	5.1	33.9	7.1	40.9	6.6
11-20%	12.1	1.1	8.3	0.0	8.8	1.6	5.7	0.5	12.2	0.5	6.1	1.0
21-30%	19.7	3.2	12.6	1.5	10.2	3.7	8.3	1.5	19.1	1.5	6.1	1.0
31-40%	18.9	3.2	4.8	0.0	7.5	1.0	4.8	0.0	8.3	0.5	7.0	0.5
41-50%	38.6	34.7	10.0	12.8	28.3	24.1	15.2	12.8	22.6	21.9	27.4	28.1
51-60%	2.3	15.8	0.4	4.1	0.9	2.6	0.0	1.5	0.9	4.6	0.9	4.1
61-70%	1.5	14.7	1.3	2.0	0.9	2.1	0.9	2.6	0.4	4.1	1.7	2.6
71-80%	2.3	16.8	1.7	13.8	4.0	10.5	2.6	8.7	0.9	17.3	3.5	7.7
81-90%	0.0	1.1	1.7	13.3	2.7	8.4	0.4	6.6	1.3	10.2	1.7	9.2
91-100%	0.0	3.2	3.0	46.4	0.0	40.8	4.3	60.7	0.4	32.1	4.8	39.3
N	(132)	(95)	(230)	(196)	(226)	(191)	(230)	(196)	(230)	(196)	(230)	(196)

Key: CHIDCR: child care; COOKNG: cooking meals; MEALCN: cleaning up after meals; LAUNDY: doing laundry; HUSCLN: routine general housecleaning; GROCRY: shopping for groceries.

household tasks and childcare. In particular, almost all men (94%) performed less than 50% of the child care, whereas more than half of the women performed over 50% of childcare activities. Despite slight differences on each item, most women (73%, 60%, 75%, 60%, and 55%) were involved in performing more than 71% of cooking meals, cleaning up after meals, doing laundry, doing routine housecleaning, and shopping for groceries respectively. In contrast, most men (77%, 55%, 70%, 65%, and 53%) performed less than 30% of each of these household tasks. The means for childcare, cooking, cleaning up after meals, laundry, housecleaning, and grocery shopping were 38.8, 21.0, 29.3, 21.2, 26.7, and 31.6 for men and 56.0, 80.7, 73.1, 83.6, 72.9, and 73.3 for women, respectively. The t-test of mean differences on subitems of household labor showed that for all of the individual items, the gender difference was statistically significant at $p \leq .001$ ($t = -7.2, -23.8, -16.6, -23.5, -19.5$, and -14.8, respectively). (see Table 5.10)

The zero-order correlation coefficients for the variables used in the path analysis are presented separately for males and females in Table 5.11. According to the Table 5.11, men's income was negatively associated with their egalitarian gender-role ideology ($r = -.135$, $p \leq .05$), supporting the argument that men's greater earnings on the job is reflective of their traditional main provider role in the family (Bernard, 1981; Hood, 1986). Moreover, men's egalitarian

Table 5.10. Means and standard deviations on items concerning decision-making power and household labor, by gender

Variables	Men	Women	t-value
Decision-making power			
Where live	3.38	2.81	4.05***
Financial	3.90	2.44	11.26***
Budget	3.13	3.40	-1.63
Household labor			
Child care	38.89	56.04	-7.24***
Meal cooking	21.07	80.73	-23.89***
Meal cleaning	29.31	73.18	-16.63***
Routine cleaning	26.71	72.91	19.50***
Doing laundry	21.28	83.69	-23.59***
Grocery shopping	31.67	73.37	-14.83***

***$p \leq .001$

gender-role ideology was positively associated with their contribution to household labor ($r = .177$, $p \leq .05$). In contrast, women's income was positively correlated with their endorsement of egalitarian gender-role attitudes ($r = .156$, $p \leq .05$), whereas it was negatively associated with their contribution to household work ($r = -.233$, $p \leq .01$). Also, women's egalitarian gender-role ideology was negatively associated with household labor ($r = -.278$, $p \leq .01$). These findings were consistent with the predictions of the resource theory (Blood & Wolfe, 1960) and gender-role ideology hypothesis (Berardo et al., 1987; Calasanti & Bailey, 1991; Finley, 1989).

Findings of statistically significant correlations with regard to the sociodemographic characteristics included in this study, and their relationships with endogenous variables at the bivariate level, are briefly discussed in the remainder of this section. First, for men, age was negatively correlated with marital power ($r = -.144$; $p \leq .05$) and household labor ($r = -.192$; $p \leq .01$), indicating that older men had less marital power and were less involved in household labor than younger men. In contrast, for women, age was negatively associated with the holding of an egalitarian gender-role ideology ($r = -.179$; $p \leq .05$), suggesting that older women were more likely to hold traditional gender-role attitudes than younger women. Moreover, women's age was positively related to their marital power ($r = .176$; $p \leq .05$), suggesting that older women had greater decision-making power and than did younger women.

For both men and women, level of education had no statistically significant relationship with gender-role attitudes, decision-making power, and contribution to household labor (see Table 5.11). Hours in paid work was positively associated with women's gender-role ideology ($r = .164$; $p \leq .05$) and negatively associated with their household labor ($r = -.275$; $p \leq .01$), suggesting that women with more hours in paid work held an egalitarian gender-role ideology and were less involved in household labor than those with

Table 5.11 Zero-order correlation matrix for the variables used in the path analysis

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1 Authority	---	.353**	.116	.315*	-.013	.275*	.041	.189	.195	-.235	.012	-.113	-.227
2 Autonomy	.413**	---	.241**	.178*	-.064	.089	.088	.151*	.104	-.052	.036	-.056	-.119
3 SEI	.371**	.476**	---	.381**	-.101	.513**	-.018	.197**	.352**	-.173*	.009	-.048	-.044
4 Income	.298**	.359**	.365**	---	.135	.322**	.124	.380**	.224**	-.237**	.156*	.014	-.233**
5 Age	-.070	-.032	-.044	.197**	---	-.105	.222**	-.119	.016	.240**	-.179*	.176*	.139
6 Education	.264**	.446**	.636**	.356**	-.107	---	.038	.067	.396**	-.064	-.067	.052	-.019
7 Children	-.063	-.019	.042	-.100	.103	.103	---	.113	-.027	-.248**	.116	.064	-.035
8 Hours Worked	.113	.187**	.349**	-.033	-.114	.138	.090	---	.066	-.302**	.164*	.053	-.275**
9 Spouse SEI	.143	.224**	.489**	.240**	-.036	.475**	.028	.218**	---	-.070	-.030	-.116	.019
10 Spouse Income	-.102	-.034	.011	-.290**	-.150*	.042	.203**	.140	.061	---	-.219**	.059	.349**
11 Gender Ideology	-.140	-.078	-.085	-.135*	-.087	-.119	.035	.029	-.122	.170*	---	.011	-.278**
12 Decisionmaking	.124	-.021	.045	.114	-.144*	.013	-.025	-.089	-.048	-.161*	-.106	---	.021
13 Household Labor	-.097	.049	.094	-.114	-.192**	.068	.106	-.096	.039	.278**	.177*	-.027	---

Note: Pearson product-moment correlations for men (n=230) are below the diagonal, and those for women (n=196) are above the diagonal.
*$p \leq .05$ **$p \leq .01$

fewer hours. For men, this was not the case. For both men and women, the presence of children at home had no statistically significant relationship with gender-role ideology, decision-making power, or household labor at the bivariate level.

For both men and women, spouse's occupational status had no statistically significant relationship with men's gender-role ideology, decision-making power, and household labor. However, spouse's income had a statistically significant relationship with men's gender-role ideology ($r = .170$; $p \leq .05$), indicating that men whose wives made a higher contribution to family income were more likely to hold an egalitarian gender-role ideology than those whose wives made a lower contribution. Also, for men, spouse's income was negatively correlated with decision-making power ($r = -.161$, $p \leq .05$) and positively correlated with household labor ($r = .278$, $p \leq .01$), suggesting that men whose wives made a higher contribution to family income had less decision-making power and were more involved in household work than those whose wives made a lower contribution to family income. Spouse's income was negatively correlated with women's gender-role ideology ($r = -.219$; $p \leq .01$) indicating that women whose husbands made a higher contribution to family income were more inclined to hold a traditional gender-role ideology than those whose husbands made a lower contribution. Moreover, spouse's

income was positively related to women's participation in household labor ($r = .349$, $p \leq .01$), indicating that women whose husbands made a higher contribution to family income were more likely to perform household work than those whose husbands made a lower contribution.

Finally, gender ideology was positively related to men's contribution to household work ($r = .177$; $p \leq .05$) and negatively related to women's participation in household labor ($r = -.278$; $p \leq .01$). This finding indicated that men who held an egalitarian gender-role ideology were more likely to participate in household work, whereas women with an egalitarian gender-role ideology were less involved in household labor. Moreover, for both men and women in this study, decision-making power had no statistically significant relationship with contribution to household labor.

Multivariate Analyses

Preliminary Analyses

Before conducting the primary multivariate analyses, the researcher performed a preliminary analysis that included two indicators of work power--authority and autonomy--as independent variables, gender-role ideology as an intervening variable, and two indicators of family power--decision-making power and contribution to household labor--as dependent variables, in order to explore the interplay of work power and family power. The main reason for conducting a preliminary

analysis was that it seemed to be more critical to determine whether an individual worker's power experienced in the work sphere could be translated into his or her power within the family, rather than simply examining the effects of occupational characteristics on the division of household labor (e.g., Seccombe, 1986). The rationale behind this statement is that, today, the lives of men and women in the workplace and in the family are represented as incessant power relations. As feminists have indicated, gender relations are power relations (Deutchman, 1991; Lipman-Bluman, 1984). Customarily, women's place in society--e.g., class and power--has been defined not by women's own experience but by the environment created from the experiences of the men who are important in their lives--that is, fathers and husbands (Schoenbach, 1985: 597). During the past few decades, increasing numbers of women have been moving into more powerful and prestigious positions in work organizations. Hence, it frequently has been recognized that the effects of such moves on their work and family lives often differ from those for men (Kanter, 1977b; Pittman & Orthner, 1988; Pleck, 1977). Yet scholars seem to have neglected an important question--whether women's power at work can be extended into their private family domain. Thus, focusing on two different natures of power at work, authority and autonomy, this preliminary study concerned whether men's and women's experiences of power in the workplace could be translated into

their power within the family. In the present preliminary analysis, work-related rewards such as personal income and occupational status, as well as socio-demographic characteristics of the subsample, were excluded for the purpose of examining the interface of work and power with regard to power.

Men. The direct effects of work power on decision-making power and household labor, as well as the indirect effects through gender-role ideology, are shown in Table 5.12. As shown in Equation 1, there were no direct paths from either authority or autonomy to gender-role ideology, indicating that men's work power was not a significant predictor of their holding an egalitarian gender-role ideology. This finding suggests that Kohn and Schooler's theory of resocialization did not explain the influence of work power on gender-role ideology in this study.

Equation 2 estimates the effects of the three exogenous variables on decision-making power. The results indicated that authority and autonomy on the job were positively (beta = .166, $p \leq .10$) and negatively (beta = -.166, $p \leq .10$) associated with decision-making power, respectively. That is, men with a greater amount of job authority had more decision-making power than those with less authority, suggesting that men's power over others (i.e., subordinates) at work may have been translated into a resource for their decision-making

Table 5.12. Ordinary least squares regression coefficients estimating the effects of the independent variables on men's gender-role ideology, decision-making power, and contribution to household labor

	Gender Ideology (Equation 1)		Decisionmaking (Equation 2)			
			2 A		2 B	
Variables	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta
Authority	.018	.065	.083	.169*	.081	.166*
Autonomy	.024	.056	-.124	-.163	-.126	-.166*
Gender ideology	----	----	----	----	-.086	-.049
Constant	2.979***		3.442***		3.699***	
F	.591		1.906		1.354	
R^2	.010		.033		.035	
Adjusted R^2	-.007		.015		.009	

*$p \leq .10$ ***$p \leq .01$

Table 5.12. (Continued)

	Contribution to household labor (Equation 3)					
	3 A		3 B		3 C	
Variables	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta
Authority	-1.571	-.198*	-1.421	-.178*	-1.351	-.170*
Autonomy	1.682	.136	1.882	.153	1.773	.144
Gender ideology	----	----	8.318	.290***	8.244	.288***
Decisionmaking	----	----	----	----	-.860	-.053
Constant	29.376***		4.589		7.771	
F	2.085		5.046***		3.848***	
R^2	.035		.119		.122	
Adjusted R^2	.018		.095		.090	

*$p \leq .10$ ***$p \leq .01$

power in the family. On the other hand, men with a higher degree of job autonomy were found to have less marital decision-making power, suggesting that their work power through self-direction did not spill over into family decision-making power. According to the literature, men with greater self-direction at work are more likely to hold liberal attitudes and to see themselves as competent than are men with lower occupational self-direction (Kohn & Schooler, 1983: 18). Thus, it can be speculated that men with greater job autonomy may be more willing to share (or even relinquish) family decision-making power with their spouses. However, the resulting *F*-ratio for this analysis was not statistically significant.

Table 5.12 also shows that job authority was a statistically significant negative predictor of household labor (beta = -.170, $p \leq .10$), whereas gender-role ideology was positively associated with household labor (beta = .288, $p \leq .01$). This finding indicates that men with a greater amount of job authority were less involved in performing household work than those with less job authority, whereas men holding a more egalitarian gender-role ideology were more likely to participate in household work than those with a more traditional gender ideology. This suggests that men's authority at work was translated into an immediate resource that provides them with the ability to avoid housework, i.e., being less involved in household labor. However, job autonomy

had a positive effect on household labor, inconsistent with Hypothesis 2, although the path coefficient was small and nonsignificant. In sum, job authority and gender-role ideology were the two statistically significant predictors explaining 12.2% of the variance in household labor. Hence, Hypothesis 9 and 14 were supported for the male sample in the preliminary analysis.

When the separate item of marital power was regressed on the exogenous variables for the benefit of exploring hidden relationships among the variables (Table 5.13), it was found that job authority was a statistically significant predictor of financial decisions (beta = .171, $p \leq .10$) and budget decisions (beta = .248, $p \leq .01$). This finding indicates that as authority at work increased, decision-making power in financial and budget matters also increased. That is, men with greater authority on the job may translate their power into those two family decisions more than those with less job authority. Yet, the *F*-statistic (1.212) for financial decisions was not statistically significant. The explained variances for financial and budget decisions were relatively low: 3% and 7%, respectively.

When each item of household labor was regressed on the three exogenous variables (Tables 5.14 through 5.19), job authority was found to be negatively related to meal cooking (beta = -.195, $p \leq .10$) and doing laundry (beta = -.178, $p \leq$

Table 5.13.Ordinary least squares regression coefficients estimating the effects of the independent variables on men's where-to-live, financial, and budget decisions

Variables	Where-to-live				Financial				Budget			
	Equation 1A		Equation 1B		Equation 2A		Equation 2B		Equation 3A		Equation 3B	
	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta
Authority	-.043	-.066	-.040	-.061	.099	.176*	.097	.171*	.192	.255**	.187	.248**
Autonomy	-.102	-.100	-.097	-.096	-.095	-.108	-.098	-.111	-.175	-.150	-.183	-.156
Gender ideology	----	----	.192	.081	----	----	-.137	-.067	----	----	-.314	-.115
Constant	3.764***		3.191***		3.683***		4.092***		2.880***		3.815***	
F	1.146		1.013		1.567		1.212		3.362**		2.782**	
R^2	.020		.026		.027		.031		.056		.069	
Adjusted R^2	.003		.000		.009		.005		.039		.044	

*$p \leq .10$ **$p \leq .05$ ***$p \leq .01$

.10). That is, men who had greater authority at work were less involved in cooking meals and doing laundry than those who had less authority, consistent with the hypothesis. In contrast, job autonomy was a statistically significant predictor of meal cooking (beta = .186, $p \leq .10$). That is, men with greater self-direction at work were more involved in cooking meals than those with less autonomy. This implies that, inconsistent with the arguments of Blood and Wolfe (1960), time-related autonomy provided men with more flexibility in their work roles and, in turn, lead to more participation in housework like cooking meals. Thus, for men, Hypotheses 9 was partially supported in this preliminary analysis.

Gender-role ideology was a statistically significant predictor of meal cooking (beta = .168, $p \leq .10$), meal cleaning (beta = .267, $p \leq .01$), laundry (beta = .181, $p \leq .10$), and housecleaning (beta = .348, $p \leq .01$). As expected, men with a more egalitarian gender-role ideology were more involved in cooking meals, meal cleaning, doing laundry, and housecleaning than those with a more traditional gender-role ideology. The explained variance for each item in Equation C (Tables 5.15 through 5.19) ranged from 5% to 13%; the least amount of expressed variance was for grocery shopping.

In sum, the preliminary analysis with the male subsample indicated that men's work power, especially job authority,

Table 5.14. Ordinary least squares regression coefficients estimating the effects of the independent variables on men's child care

	Child care					
	Equation A		Equation B		Equation C	
Variables	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta
Authority	-.649	-.006	-.069	-.062	-.613	-.063
Autonomy	.336	.022	.391	.026	.398	.026
Gender ideology	----	----	2.255	.064	2.260	.064
Decisionmaking	----	----	----	----	.055	.003
Constant	24.101***		17.381		17.176	
F	.209		.291		.217	
R^2	.004		.008		.008	
Adjusted R^2	-.014		-.019		-.028	

***$p \leq .01$

Table 5.15. Ordinary least squares regression coefficients estimating the effects of the independent variables on men's meal cooking

	Meal cooking					
	Equation A		Equation B		Equation C	
Variables	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta
Authority	-2.388	-.211**	-2.267	-.210**	-2.103	-.195*
Autonomy	3.209	.192*	3.371	.201**	3.116	.186*
Gender ideology	----	----	6.720	.173*	6.546	.168*
Decisionmaking	----	----	----	----	-2.018	-.092
Constant	22.425***		2.399		9.865	
F	3.029**		3.264**		2.694**	
R^2	.051		.080		.088	
Adjusted R^2	.034		.056		.056	

*$p \leq .10$ **$p \leq .05$ ***$p \leq .01$

Table 5.16. Ordinary least squares regression coefficients estimating the effects of the independent variables on men's meal cleaning

	Meal cleaning					
	Equation A		Equation B		Equation C	
Variables	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta
Authority	-1.005	-.089	-.808	-.072	-.699	-.062
Autonomy	1.857	.107	2.120	.122	1.953	.112
Gender ideology	----	----	10.916	.271***	10.802	.267***
Decisionmaking	----	----	----	----	-1.328	-.058
Constant	30.668***		-1.862		3.051	
F	.663		3.416**		2.647**	
R^2	.012		.084		.087	
Adjusted R^2	-.006		.059		.054	

**$p \leq .05$ ***$p \leq .01$

Table 5.17. Ordinary least squares regression coefficients estimating the effects of the independent variables on men's doing laundry

	Doing laundry					
	Equation A		Equation B		Equation C	
Variables	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta
Authority	-2.560	-.197*	-2.405	-.185*	-2.315	-.178*
Autonomy	2.962	.147	3.170	.157	3.030	.150
Gender ideology	----	----	8.589	.183**	8.494	.181*
Decisionmaking	----	----	----	----	-1.106	-.042
Constant	26.078***		.482		4.575	
F	2.152		2.809*		2.142*	
R^2	.037		.070		.072	
Adjusted R^2	.019		.045		.038	

*$p \leq .10$ **$p \leq .05$ ***$p \leq .01$

Table 5.18. Ordinary least squares regression coefficients estimating the effects of the independent variables on men's house cleaning

	House cleaning					
	Equation A		Equation B		Equation C	
Variables	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta
Authority	-.577	-.060	-.360	-.037	-.461	-.048
Autonomy	-.601	-.040	-.312	-.021	-.155	-.010
Gender ideology	----	----	12.011	.345***	12.118	.348***
Decisionmaking	----	----	----	----	1.240	.063
Constant	32.695***		-3.098		-7.683	
F	.406		5.320***		4.093***	
R^2	.007		.125		.129	
Adjusted R^2	-.010		.101		.097	

***$p \leq .01$

Table 5.19. Ordinary least squares regression coefficients estimating the effects of the independent variables on men's grocery shopping

	Grocery shopping					
	Equation A		Equation B		Equation C	
Variables	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta
Authority	-1.754	-.139	-1.643	-.130	-1.454	-.115
Autonomy	3.226	.165*	3.374	.172*	3.082	.157
Gender ideology	---	---3	6.166	.135	5.966	.131
Decisionmaking	---	----	----	----	-2.315	-.089
Constant	27.759***		9.385		17.949	
F	1.604		1.789		1.568	
R^2	.028		.046		.054	
Adjusted R^2	.010		.020		.019	

*$p \leq .10$ ***$p \leq .01$

appeared to translate into their power in the family. That is, a greater amount of authority on the job enabled men to have greater marital decision-making power and to be less involved in devalued and unrewarded household work. The majority of the influence was direct, implying that there was no indirect effect of job authority on family power through gender-role ideology. Hence, the hypotheses regarding indirect effects, based on Kohn and Schooler's resocialization theory, were not supported for men in this preliminary analysis. In addition, job autonomy was not a significant predictor of the endogenous variables, except in the case of meal cooking, which had a positive relationship with job autonomy. The final model for males, which includes only the significant path coefficients, is shown in Figure 5.1.

Women. As with men, work power was not a significant predictor of gender-role ideology for women (Table 5.20). Although job authority and autonomy, respectively, were positively and negatively related to holding an egalitarian gender-role ideology, the path coefficients were small and nonsignificant (Equation 1). Yet when decision-making power was regressed on the exogenous variables, job autonomy was the only negative significant predictor of decision-making power (beta = -.359, $p \leq .01$), and most of its total effect stemmed from the direct effect (Equation 2). As the amount of job autonomy increased, the degree of decision-making power also

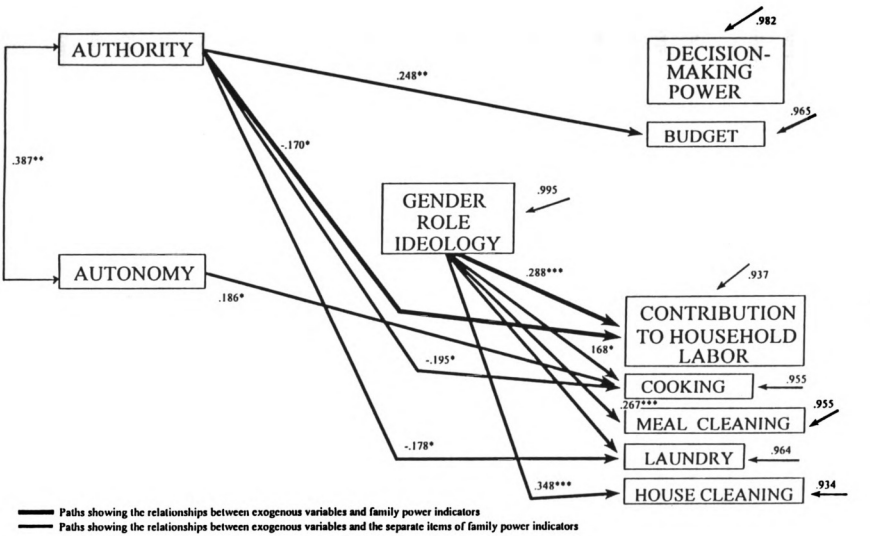


Figure 5.1- Path model for the effects of men's work power on their family power

decreased, implying that work and family are two independent spheres for women with regard to self-directed power, supporting the theory of segmentation. Job autonomy explained about 14% of the overall variance in decision-making power.

Moreover, job authority and autonomy had negative effects on contribution to household labor, consistent with the hypotheses, although the path coefficients were somewhat small in magnitude and nonsignificant (see Table 5.20, Equation 3C). Gender-role ideology was the only significant predictor of household labor; it was negatively associated with household labor (beta = -.222, $p \leq .10$), indicating that women who held a more egalitarian gender-role ideology were less involved in performing household work than women with a more traditional gender-role ideology, consistent with previous theoretical articulations. In sum, this relationship explained only 9% of the variance in household labor for women. However, the *F* statistic of 1.325 indicated the nonsignificance of the model.

When the separate items of marital power were regressed on the three exogenous variables, the results indicated that job autonomy was a statistically significant negative predictor of the where-to-live decision (beta = -.279, $p \leq .10$) and family budget decisions (beta = -.359, $p \leq .01$). This finding suggests that, regardless of her amount of job autonomy, there was a segmented relationship between a woman's power over herself at work and her marital decision-making

Table 5.20. Ordinary least squares regression coefficients estimating the effects of the independent variables on women's gender-role ideology, decision-making power, and contribution to household labor

	Gender Ideology (Equation 1)		Decisionmaking (Equation 2)			
			2 A		2 B	
Variables	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta
Authority	.025	.113	.007	.016	.003	.007
Autonomy	-.064	-.188	-.248	-.375***	-.238	-.359***
Gender ideology	----	----	----	----	.166	.086
Constant	3.248***		3.771***		3.233***	
F	.960		4.353**		3.022**	
R^2	.034		.137		.144	
Adjusted R^2	-.001		.105		.096	

*$p \leq .10$ **$p \leq .05$ ***$p \leq .01$

Table 5.20. (Continued)

	Contribution to household labor (Equation 3)					
	3 A		3 B		3 C	
Variables	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta
Authority	-1.258	-.150	-1.041	-.124	-1.035	-.124
Autonomy	-.733	-.056	-1.296	-.100	-1.750	-.135
Gender ideology	----	----	-8.729	-.230*	-8.412	-.222*
Decisionmaking	----	----	----	----	-1.910	-.097
Constant	81.957***		110.308***		116.483***	
F	.897		1.625		1.325	
R^2	.032		.083		.091	
Adjusted R^2	-.004		.032		.022	

*$p \leq .10$ **$p \leq .05$ ***$p \leq .01$

power at home. The *F*-statistic for autonomy (1.402) in equation 1B in the where-to-live decision was not statistically significant (Table 5.21).

In addition, when each item of household labor was regressed on the exogenous variables (Tables 5.22 through 5.27), the data indicated that holding an egalitarian gender-role ideology had negative effects on meal cooking (beta = -.211, $p \leq .10$) and housecleaning (beta = -.220, $p \leq .10$). However, the *F*-statistic (.970) for the equation of cooking meals was not statistically significant (Table 5.23). Interestingly, decision-making power was a statistically significant predictor of doing laundry (beta = -.253, $p \leq .10$), indicating that women with more marital decision-making power were less involved in doing laundry than those with less marital power. But, the F-statistic (1.309) for doing laundry was not statistically significant. Therefore, Hypotheses 14 was partially supported for women in the preliminary analyses.

Summary. The overall results of the preliminary analyses revealed that a man's work power, especially job authority, was translated into his family power, resulting in his having more decision-making power (budget decisions) and being less involved in performing household labor (such as meal cooking and doing laundry). In contrast, a woman's work power, particularly job autonomy, was not translated into her family power. Namely, for women, self-directed power at work did not

Table 5.21.Ordinary least squares regression coefficients estimating the effects of independent variables on women's where-to-live, financial, and budget decisions

Variables	Where-to-live				Financial				Budget			
	Equation 1A		Equation 1B		Equation 2A		Equation 2B		Equation 3A		Equation 3B	
	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta
Authority	.013	.020	.015	.024	-.009	-.014	-.025	-.045	.017	.026	.019	.028
Autonomy	-.270	-.273*	-.277	-.279*	-.111	-.115	-.069	-.072	-.364	-.356***	-.368	-.359***
Gender ideology	----	----	-.099	-.034	----	----	.649	.232*	----	----	-.053	-.018
Constant	4.048***		4.372***		2.944***		.837		4.320***		4.491***	
F	2.105		1.402		.409		1.285		3.784**		2.484**	
R^2	.071		.072		.015		.067		.121		.121	
Adjusted R^2	.037		.021		-.021		.015		.089		.072	

*$p \leq .10$ **$p \leq .05$ ***$p \leq .01$

Table 5.22. Ordinary least squares regression coefficients estimating the effects of the independent variables on women's child care

	Child care					
	Equation A		Equation B		Equation C	
Variables	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta
Authority	-.081	-.006	-.190	-.014	-.191	-.014
Autonomy	-2.470	-.118	-2.187	-.105	-2.135	-.102
Gender ideology	----	----	4.400	.072	4.364	.072
Decisionmaking	----	----	----	----	.218	.007
Constant	36.898***		22.607		21.899	
F	.405		.359		.265	
R^2	.015		.020		.020	
Adjusted R^2	-.021		-.034		-.054	

***$p \leq .01$

Table 5.23. Ordinary least squares regression coefficients estimating the effects of the independent variables on women's meal cooking

	Meal cooking					
	Equation A		Equation B		Equation C	
Variables	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta
Authority	-.770	-.071	-.507	-.046	-.505	-.046
Autonomy	-1.927	-.114	-2.608	-.154	-2.789	-.165
Gender ideology	----	----	-10.561	-.214*	-10.435	-.211*
Decisionmaking	----	----	----	----	-.762	-.030
Constant	91.353***		125.655***		128.119***	
F	.658		1.302		.970	
R^2	.023		.067		.068	
Adjusted R^2	-.012		.016		-.002	

*$p \leq .10$ ***$p \leq .01$

Table 5.24. Ordinary least squares regression coefficients estimating the effects of the independent variables on women's meal cleaning

	Meal cleaning					
	Equation A		Equation B		Equation C	
Variables	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta
Authority	-2.212	-.174	-2.001	-.157	-2.001	-.157
Autonomy	1.658	.084	1.112	.056	1.132	.057
Gender ideology	----	----	-8.479	-.147	-8.494	-.147
Decisionmaking	----	----	----	----	.088	.003
Constant	72.393***		99.936***		99.651**	
F	.773		.912		.671	
R^2	.027		.048		.048	
Adjusted R^2	-.008		-.005		-.024	

**$p \leq .05$ ***$p \leq .01$

Table 5.25. Ordinary least squares regression coefficients estimating the effects of the independent variables on women's doing laundry

	Doing laundry					
	Equation A		Equation B		Equation C	
Variables	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta
Authority	-1.787	-.176	-1.702	-.168	-1.685	-.166
Autonomy	.169	.011	-.050	-.003	-1.483	-.094
Gender ideology	----	----	-3.398	-.074	-2.399	-.052
Decisionmaking	----	----	----	----	-6.029	-.253*
Constant	90.417***		101.454***		120.947***	
F	.844		.653		1.309	
R^2	.030		.035		.090	
Adjusted R^2	-.006		-.019		.021	

*$p \leq .10$ ***$p \leq .01$

Table 5.26. Ordinary least squares regression coefficients estimating the effects of the independent variables on women's house cleaning

	House cleaning					
	Equation A		Equation B		Equation C	
Variables	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta
Authority	-2.512	-.217	-2.212	-.191	-2.203	-.190
Autonomy	-1.983	-.110	-2.760	-.153	-3.465	-.193
Gender ideology	----	----	-12.049	-.230*	-11.558	-.220*
Decisionmaking	----	----	----	----	-2.965	-.109
Constant	85.768***		124.904***		134.490***	
F	2.245		2.605*		2.097*	
R^2	.075		.126		.137	
Adjusted R^2	.042		.078		.071	

*$p \leq .10$ ***$p \leq .01$

Table 5.27. Ordinary least squares regression coefficients estimating the effects of the independent variables on women's grocery shopping

	Grocery shopping					
	Equation A		Equation B		Equation C	
Variables	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta
Authority	-.291	-.023	-.190	-.015	-.192	-.015
Autonomy	-.684	-.035	-.946	-.048	-.798	-.041
Gender ideology	----	----	-4.063	-.071	-4.166	-.073
Decisionmaking	----	----	----	----	.623	.021
Constant	74.274***		87.470***		85.457***	
F	.064		.131		.101	
R^2	.002		.007		.008	
Adjusted R^2	-.034		-.048		-.067	

***$p \leq .01$

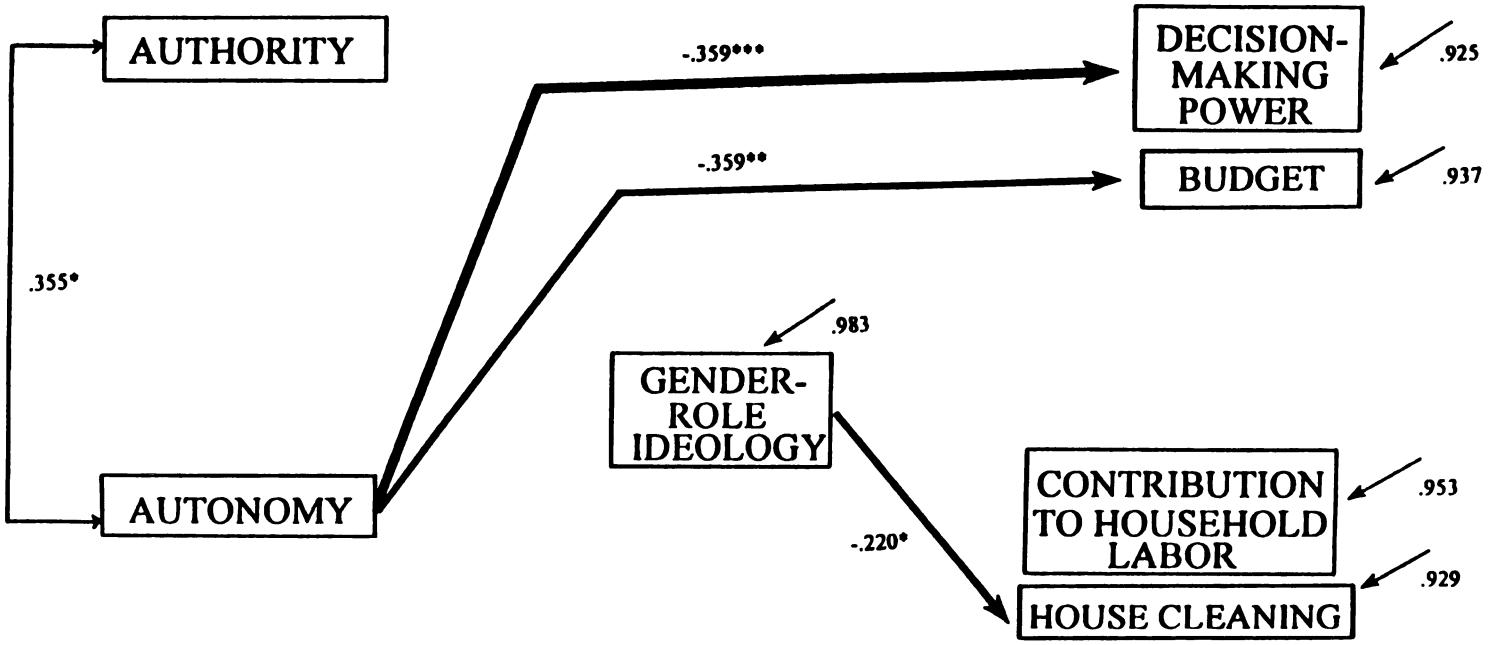


Figure 5.2-Path model for the effects of women's work power on their family power

play a role in heightening the degree of marital decision-making power and decreasing the level of participation in household work. This implies that, in this study, work and family were two separate spheres for women with regard to power.

For both men and women, gender-role ideology was the only significant predictor of household labor, although it showed different relationships (positive for men and negative for women), as predicted. In other words, men who held more egalitarian gender-role attitudes were more likely to contribute to household work (meal cooking, meal cleaning, doing laundry, housecleaning) than were their more traditional counterparts. In contrast, women with more egalitarian gender-role ideologies were less likely to participate in household labor (housecleaning) than those with more traditional gender ideologies, congruent with the hypothesis. Moreover, in this preliminary analysis, authority and autonomy were not significant predictors of gender-role ideology, suggesting that there was no indirect effect of work power on family power through gender-role ideology. Hence, this preliminary analysis did not support Kohn and Schooler's (1983) theory of resocializtion, but it partially supported the resource theory of Blood and Wolfe (1960), and the gender-role ideology perspective (Berardo et al., 1987; Calasanti & Bailey, 1991; Finley, 1989; Ross, 1987).

Finally, the amount of explained variance for each

equation in the models was relatively low, with the highest amount of variance explained by job autonomy for marital decision-making power in the case of women (14%). As a result, it is important to expand the model to allow an examination of the interplay of work power and family power with more variables. The inclusion of other variables may increase the variance explained for marital decision-making power and household labor. Hence, for the benefit of exploring the potential effects of other workplace-related reward factors and several socio-demographic characteristics on family power, the researcher decided to include occupational status and income, as well as several control variables that have been shown to affect the dependent variables, in the primary multivariate analyses.

Results of the Primary Analyses

For the main part of the study, the parameters of the path model were estimated using a series of ordinary least squares (OLS) regression equations in which work power and work-related rewards such as occupational status and income were entered as a set of independent variables after the socio-demographic characteristics had been partialled from the equation. Three key endogenous variables--gender-role ideology, marital decision-making power, and the contribution to household labor--were regressed on the four exogenous variables. Socio-demographic variables (e.g., age, education, hours in paid work) that may have played a critical role in

predicting family power were statistically controlled in all analyses in order to explore the net effects of the independent variables on the endogenous variables. In discussing the main results of the path analyses, the researcher also presents a number of interesting findings concerning the effects of the control variables on the endogenous variables. The results of the path analyses are presented in Tables 5.28 and 5.29 for the male subsample and Tables 5.39 and 5.40 for the female subsample. Tables 5.28 and 5.39 show the standardized path coefficients (betas) of the variables for a series of regression equations for all of the endogenous variables, as well as the R^2, adjusted $\hat{R}$, constant, and *F* statistic for each equation. Tables 5.29 and 5.40 reveal the decomposition of effects for each model into component parts, including total, direct, and indirect effects.

Male Model. The first equation in Table 5.28 estimated the direct effects of the exogenous variables on gender-role ideology for the male sample. None of the independent variables was found to play a significant role in predicting gender-role ideology. That is, men's higher levels of authority and autonomy on the job as well as higher levels of income and occupational status did not have statistically significant effects on their holding egalitarian gender-role attitudes. Contrary to the hypotheses, authority on the job

had a negative effect on egalitarian gender-role ideology; that the path coefficient was small in magnitude (beta= -.120) and statistically nonsignificant. Also, the relationships of autonomy, occupational status, and income with gender-role ideology were negative and nonsignificant. These findings are congruent with the results of Seccombe's (1986) study, in which it was found that the conditions of work had no statistically significant effect on gender-role attitudes. Therefore, Hypotheses 1 through 4, formulated from Kohn and Schooler's (1983) theory of learning-generalization and the idea of men's traditional role as the main provider, were not supported for the male subsample in this study.

Of the sociodemographic characteristics, age was the only statistically significant predictor of gender-role ideology (beta= -.267, $p \leq .05$). As predicted, older men held more traditional gender-role attitudes than did younger men (Davis & Robinson, 1991; Smith & Fisher, 1982). In sum, this relationship explained 14.5% of the variance in gender-role ideology, and the resulting *F* statistic of 1.241 indicated the nonsignificance of the model.

Equation 2 took as the criterion variable marital decision-making power, which was regressed on the exogenous variables entered in the equation. Whereas equation 2A provided estimates of the total effects of the exogenous variables on decision-making power, equation 2B estimates the direct effects of the exogenous variables on decision-making

Table 5.28. Ordinary least squares regression coefficients estimating the effects of the independent variables on men's gender-role ideology, decision-making power, and contribution to household labor

	Gender-Role Ideology (Equation 1)		Decisionmaking (Equation 2)			
			2 A		2 B	
Variables	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta
Authority	-.032	-.120	-.008	-.016	-.010	-.020
Autonomy	-.019	-.048	-.131	-.172	-.133	-.174
SEI	-.003	-.099	.003	.069	.003	.066
Income	-.004	-.054	.033	.265*	.033	.264*
Age	-.017	-.267**	-.016	-.131	-.017	-.139
Education	.045	.153	-.031	-.055	-.028	-.050
Children	.086	.070	.294	.127	.299	.129
Hours worked	-.008	-.162	-.002	-.023	-.003	-.028
Spouse SEI	7.0E-04	.022	-2.2E-04	-.004	-1.8E-04	-.003
Spouse income	.003	.087	-.014	-.210*	-.014	-.207*
Gender ideology	----	----	----	----	-.063	-.033
Decisionmaking	----	----	----	----	----	----
Constant	3.462***		4.266***		4.483***	
F	1.241		1.576		1.422	
R^2	.145		.178		.179	
Adjusted R^2	.028		.065		.053	

*$p \leq .10$ **$p \leq .05$ ***$p \leq .01$

power. Each equation accounted for approximately 18% of the variance in marital decision-making power. When gender-role ideology was entered into the model (equation 2B), it did not add significantly to the amount of explained variance.

As shown in Table 5.28, for men, workplace authority, autonomy and occupational status were not significant predictors of marital decision-making power. In Chapter IV, men's job authority, autonomy, and occupational status were

Table 5.28. (Continued)

	Contribution to Household Labor (Equation 3)					
	3 A		3 B		3 C	
Variables	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta
Authority	-1.373	-.177	-1.308	-.168	-1.307	-.168
Autonomy	1.250	.106	1.289	.110	1.312	.111
SEI	.080	.107	.083	.114	.083	.113
Income	-.212	-.109	-.205	-.106	-.210	-.109
Age	-.404	-.217**	-.370	-.199*	-.367	-.197*
Education	-.368	-.043	-.459	-.053	-.454	-.053
Children	-.119	-.003	-.293	-.008	-.343	-.010
Hours worked	-.286	-.187	-.269	-.176	-.268	-.176
Spouse SEI	.189	.204*	.188	.203*	.188	.203*
Spouse income	.372	.367***	.366	.361***	.368	.364***
Gender ideology	---	---	2.029	.069	2.040	.070
Decisionmaking	---	---	---	---	.168	.011
Constant	42.846***		35.821*		35.067	
F	3.013***		2.755***		2.492***	
R^2	.292		.296		.296	
Adjusted R^2	.195		.189		.177	

*$p \leq .10$ **$p \leq .05$ ***$p \leq .01$

all hypothesized to be positively associated with their marital decision-making power. To wit, it has been predicted that occupational status is a work-related resource (Blood & Wolfe, 1960; Philliber & Hiller, 1983) and that authority and autonomy are nonmaterial aspects of work power that may translate into immediate resources for men's power in the family (Brayfield, 1992). However, contrary to the hypotheses, the data indicated nonsignificant associations of job authority, autonomy, and occupational status with marital decision-making power for the male sample. In particular,

Table 5.29. Decomposition of effects for men's decision-making power and their contribution to household labor (standardized only)

Dependent Variable	Predetermined Variable	Total Effect	Indirect Effect via		Direct Effect
			Gender Ideology	Decision-Making	
Gender-Role Ideology	Authority	-.120	----	----	-.120
	Autonomy	-.048	----	----	-.048
	SEI	-.099	----	----	-.099
	Income	-.054	----	----	-.054
	Age	-.267**	----	----	-.267**
	Education	.153	----	----	.153
	Children	.070	----	----	.070
	Hours worked	-.162	----	----	-.162
	Spouse SEI	.022	----	----	.022
	Spouse income	.087	----	----	.087
Decision-Making	Authority	-.016	.004	----	-.020
	Autonomy	-.172	.002	----	-.174
	SEI	.069	.003	----	.066
	Income	.265*	.001	----	.264*
	Age	-.131	.008	----	-.139
	Education	-.055	-.005	----	-.050
	Children	.127	-.002	----	.129
	Hours worked	-.023	.005	----	-.028
	Spouse SEI	-.004	-.001	----	-.003
	Spouse income	-.210*	-.003	----	-.207*
	Gender ideology	-.033	----	----	-.033
Contribution to Household Labor	Authority	-.177	-.009	.000	-.168
	Autonomy	.106	-.003	-.002	.111
	SEI	.107	-.007	.001	.113
	Income	-.109	-.003	.003	-.109
	Age	-.217**	-.019	-.001	-.197*
	Education	-.043	.011	-.001	-.053
	Children	-.003	.006	.001	-.010
	Hours worked	-.187	-.011	.000	-.176
	Spouse SEI	.204*	.001	.000	.203*
	Spouse income	.367***	.005	-.002	.364***
	Gender ideology	.069	----	-.001	.070
	Decisionmaking	.011	----	----	.011

*$p \leq .10$ **$p \leq .05$ ***$p \leq .01$

unlike the prediction, authority and autonomy on the job were found to be negatively related to marital decision-making power; the path coefficients were small and nonsignificant. These relationships imply not only that men's greater work power did not spill over into their marital power at home, but that occupational status also did not play an important role as a main resource that provides men with power in the family. Kohn and Schooler (1983) found that men in higher stratification positions and with greater self-direction at work were more inclined to hold nonauthoritarian attitudes and to "see themselves as more competent,..., more in control of the forces that affect their lives" (p. 18) than were men in lower stratification positions and with lower occupational self-direction. Hence, it can be speculated that the egalitarian gender-role ideology and higher self-confidence of men who have greater authority and autonomy at work may enable them to share decision-making power with their spouses or even relinquish it to them.

Of the independent variables, only respondent's personal income was found to be a statistically significant predictor of marital power for men (beta = .264, $p \leq .10$). Men with higher incomes had greater marital decision-making power at home than those with lower incomes, consistent with the main argument of resource theory (Allen, 1984; Blood & Wolfe, 1960; Blumstein & Schwartz, 1983; Pahl, 1983; Steil & Weltman, 1991). The majority of this positive influence was direct,

suggesting that a man's personal income was directly translated into his marital power. This finding is important in light of the fact that power and status at work had no direct influence on marital decision-making power, whereas money reflecting economic power significantly affect men's family decision-making power, which traditionally has been associated with their authority in the home. However, the resulting *F* statistic of 1.422 indicated the nonsignificance of the model. Hence, Hypotheses 5 through 8 were not supported for men in the present study.

Equation 2B also revealed that spouse's income was a statistically significant predictor of marital decision-making power (beta = -.207, $p \leq .10$), indicating that men whose wives made higher contribution to family income had less marital power than those whose wives contributed less to family income. The majority of this negative influence derived from direct effects. This suggests that higher proportions of wives' contribution to family income played a significant role in making men exercise a lower degree of marital decision-making power, which reflects their traditional authority at home. This finding is in line with those from previous studies (Bahr, 1974; Blumstein & Schwartz, 1983; Huber and Spitze, 1981). Yet this finding is not consistent with the assertion of Pyke (1994) and Epstein (1988) that women with more income than their husbands try to compensate for their husbands' sense of failure by allowing their husbands to

exercise authority at home.

Equation 3A provided estimates of the total effects of the independent variables on men's participation in household work after the socio-demographic characteristics had been partialled. Equations 3B and 3C were employed to determine the indirect and direct effects on the contribution to household labor. The introduction of gender-role ideology and decision-making power into these equations did not increase the amount of explained variance at all (from 29.2% to 29.6%). Equations 3A to 3C for household labor were statistically significant at the .01 level.

As seen in Table 5.28, none of the independent variables was a significant predictor of men's participation in household work. Although job authority and income had negative effects on contribution to household labor, consistent with previous theoretical articulations, the path coefficients were relatively small in magnitude and nonsignificant. On the other hand, job autonomy and occupational status were positively associated with household labor, although the path coefficients were not significant or large enough to confirm the given hypotheses. These findings suggest that men's work power did not translate directly into their lower participation in household labor, which was one significant aspect of family power in this study. Also, higher levels of occupational status or income did not significantly act as key economic resources for men's power in

avoiding low-status and unrewarded household work within the family. In sum, Hypotheses 9 through 11 were not supported for men in this research. Therefore, it is not safe to conclude that work power on the job is directly translated into men's power within the family.

Several significant effects of sociodemographic characteristics on the endogenous variables are worthy of note. Of the control variables, only three of the derived factors were found to play a significant role in predicting household labor: age, spouse's occupational status, and spouse's income. These three significant predictors explained almost 30% of the variance in men's participation in household work. First, the age of male respondents was negatively related to their contribution to household work (beta = -.197, $p \leq .10$). As expected, older men were less involved in performing household labor than younger men. This is consistent with the finding of previous research (e.g., Calasanti & Bailey, 1991; Coverman, 1985). Here, age may be a reflection of gender ideology; older men tend to adhere to more traditional gender-role attitudes (Smith & Fisher, 1982). Approximately 90% of the total effect of age (beta = -.217) stemmed from the direct effect.

Second, equation 3C showed that spouses' occupational status had a statistically significant association with husbands' participation in household labor (beta = .203, $p \leq .10$). The data revealed that, as wives' occupational status

increased, their husbands' participation in household work also increased, suggesting that a wife's high status in her occupational world plays a role as a key resource in making her husband be more involved in household labor. Finally, spouse's income was a statistically significant positive predictor of men's contribution to household labor (beta = .364, $p \leq .01$), indicating that as wives' contribution to family income increased, their husbands' contribution to household labor also increased (Coverman, 1985; Ross, 1987). This finding was consistent with Blumberg and Coleman's (1989) theory of net economic power by showing that the greater a woman's share of the family income, the less disproportionate was her share of the domestic chores. In short, wives' economic power and status on the job played a key role in making their husbands participate more in household work. The majority of total effects of both spouse's occupational status and spouse's income stemmed from the direct effects.

In summary, the results of the path analysis for the male sample indicated that not one of the hypotheses was supported. Although Hypothesis 10, positing that level of income was positively associated with marital power, was supported, the model was found to be nonsignificant. Nonetheless, the significance of the main provider role was shown for the male sample in this analysis. Yet, unlike the preliminary analysis, no significant spillover effects of job authority on family power were noticed, contrary to the hypotheses.

Moreover, of the socioeconomic characteristics, instead of respondents' occupational status and income, spouses' status and income was found to have significant effects on marital decision-making power and household labor. First, spouse's occupational status was significantly related to men's contribution to household labor. Second, spouse's contribution to family income was a statistically significant negative predictor of men's marital power, whereas it was a significant positive predictor of men's contribution to household labor. Finally, age was a statistically significant negative predictor of men's gender-role ideology and participation in household labor.

Path analyses with separate items of family power.

Because of the overall lack of support for the hypotheses in the primary analyses, a series of additional path analyses were performed for the purpose of identifying presumably hidden effects of the independent variables on the separate items of family power indicators. A number of OLS regression equations were estimated, in which each of the marital decision-making power and household labor items was regressed onto the independent variables after several demographic and family characteristics had been partialled (Tables 5.30 through 5.38). This type of investigation, breaking down the indicator of household labor into various specific tasks, was recommended by previous researchers such as Calasanti and Bailey (1991) and Seccombe (1986) for the purpose of having

greater reliability as well as exploring meaningful differences across predictors. In discussing the outcomes of these additional path analyses, the researcher presents the results for only the significant predictors of the endogenous variables in the remainder of this section.

As shown in Tables 5.30 through 5.32, none of the independent variables was a statistically significant predictor of the where-to-live and overall family budget decisions for men. Of the three indicators of marital decision-making power, income had a statistically significant positive effect on making financial decisions such as taking out a loan or buying a car (beta = .337, $p \leq .05$). That is, men with higher levels of income had more final say in financial decisionmaking than those with lower incomes. Also, unlike in equation 2B (Table 5.28), spouse's occupational status was found to be negatively associated with financial decision-making power (beta = -.269, $p \leq .05$). This indicates that men whose wives had higher occupational status had less final say in financial decisions than those whose wives had lower occupational status. These findings suggest that men's personal income played a role as an immediate resource in exercising their power in crucial rare family decisionmaking such as taking out a loan or buying a car. On the other hand, spouse's occupational status acted as a resource for men not totally to enjoy greater power in making financial decisions; this finding was consistent with the resource theory. In

Table 5.30. Ordinary least squares regression coefficients estimating the effects of the independent variables on men's where-to-live decisions

Variable	Where-to-live decision			
	Equation 1		Equation 2	
	b	Beta	b	Beta
Authority	-.110	-.168	-.102	-.157
Autonomy	-.177	-.179	-.172	-.175
SEI	-.005	-.084	-.005	-.074
Income	.025	.152	.026	.158
Age	-.010	-.065	-.006	-.039
Education	-.033	-.046	-.044	-.061
Children	.126	.042	.105	.035
Hours worked	.011	.087	.013	.103
Spouse SEI	.001	.019	.001	.016
Spouse income	-.016	-.188	-.017	-.197
Gender ideology	---	---	.241	.098
Constant	4.522***		3.687**	
F	1.190		1.141	
R^2	.140		.149	
Adjusted R^2	.022		.018	

**$p \leq .05$ ***$p \leq .01$

Table 5.31. Ordinary least squares regression coefficients estimating the effects of the independent variables on men's financial decisions

Variable	Financial decisions			
	Equation 1		Equation 2	
	b	Beta	b	Beta
Authority	.019	.034	.013	.023
Autonomy	-.076	-.089	-.080	-.093
SEI	.007	.139	.007	.129
Income	.048	.342**	.048	.337**
Age	-.020	-.147	-.023	-.171
Education	-.021	-.033	-.012	-.019
Children	.298	.115	.315	.121
Hours worked	-.011	-.099	-.013	-.114
Spouse SEI	-.018	-.271**	-.018	-.269**
Spouse income	-.009	-.124	-.009	-.116
Gender ideology	---	---	-.196	-.092
Constant	5.092***		5.679***	
F	2.256**		2.104**	
R^2	.236		.243	
Adjusted R^2	.131		.128	

**$p \leq .05$ ***$p \leq .01$

Table 5.32. Ordinary least squares regression coefficients estimating the effects of the independent variables on men's budget decisions

Variable	Budget decisions			
	Equation 1		Equation 2	
	b	Beta	b	Beta
Authority	.067	.088	.060	.078
Autonomy	-.141	-.122	-.146	-.126
SEI	.008	.105	.007	.097
Income	.027	.141	.026	.137
Age	-.017	-.093	-.021	-.115
Education	-.038	-.045	-.029	-.033
Children	.459	.130	.479	.136
Hours worked	-.007	-.045	-.009	-.058
Spouse SEI	.016	.177	.016	.179
Spouse income	-.016	-.163	-.016	-.156
Gender ideology	---	---	-.234	-.081
Constant	3.183*		3.992*	
F	1.414		1.320	
R^2	.162		.168	
Adjusted R^2	.048		.041	

*$p \leq .10$

short, these two predictors accounted for 24% of the variance in financial decisions.

As shown in Table 5.34, of the independent variables, job authority was found to be a statistically significant predictor of meal cooking (beta = -.214, $p \leq .10$), indicating that men with greater authority at work were less involved in cooking meals than those with less authority. The majority of this negative influence was direct. The other independent variables--job autonomy, occupational status, and income--were not significantly associated with meal cooking for men. Of the control variables, spouse's income was the only statistically significant predictor of cooking meals (beta = .280, $p \leq .01$), showing that men whose wives highly contributed to family income were more involved in cooking meals than those whose wives contributed less to family income. However, the resulting F statistic of 1.046 indicated the nonsignificance of the model. Therefore, Hypothesis 9 was not supported.

Work power and income were not statistically significant predictors of meal cleaning for men (Table 5.35). Of the independent variables, occupational status was the only statistically significant predictor of meal cleaning for men (beta = .272, $p \leq .10$), indicating that men with higher occupational status were more likely to be involved in cleaning up after meals than those with lower occupational

Table 5.33. Ordinary least squares regression coefficients estimating the effects of independent variables on men's child care

	Child care					
	Equation A		Equation B		Equation C	
Variables	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta
Authority	-1.370	-.134	-1.435	-.141	-1.438	-.141
Autonomy	2.308	.150	2.260	.146	2.180	.141
SEI	-.124	-.129	-.128	-.134	-.126	-.132
Income	-.102	-.040	-.110	-.043	-.092	-.036
Age	-.237	-.097	-.272	-.112	-.281	-.115
Education	2.361	.209	2.450	.218	2.430	.216
Hours worked	-.192	-.096	-.209	-.104	-.209	-.105
Spouse SEI	-.159	-.131	-.157	-.129	-.157	-.129
Spouse income	-.117	-.088	-.110	-.083	-.116	-.088
Gender ideology	---	---	-2.084	-.054	-2.108	-.055
Decisionmaking	---	---	---	---	-.543	-.027
Constant	21.414		34.674		37.118	
F	.743		.681		.616	
R^2	.083		.085		.086	
Adjusted R^2	-.029		-.040		-.054	

Table 5.34. Ordinary least squares regression coefficients estimating the effects of independent variables on men's meal cooking

	Meal cooking					
	Equation A		Equation B		Equation C	
Variables	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta
Authority	-2.292	-.217*	-2.253	-.214*	-2.261	-.214*
Autonomy	2.290	.143	2.314	.145	2.204	.138
SEI	-.039	-.039	-.036	-.036	-.033	-.033
Income	-.008	-.003	-.004	-.001	-.024	-.009
Age	-.204	-.081	-.184	-.073	-.197	-.078
Education	-.383	-.033	-.438	-.038	-.461	-.040
Children	-.816	-.017	-.921	-.019	-.674	-.014
Hours worked	-.088	-.043	-.078	-.038	-.080	-.039
Spouse SEI	.125	.099	.124	.098	.124	.098
Spouse income	.400	.291**	.396	.289**	.385	.280***
Gender ideology	---	---	1.221	.031	1.170	.029
Decisionmaking	---	---	---	---	-.825	-.039
Constant	25.444		21.216		24.915	
F	1.270		1.146		1.046	
R^2	.148		.148		.150	
Adjusted R^2	.032		.019		.007	

*$p \leq .10$ **$p \leq .05$ ***$p \leq .01$

Table 5.35. Ordinary least squares regression coefficients estimating the effects of independent variables on men's meal cleaning

	Meal cleaning					
	Equation A		Equation B		Equation C	
Variables	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta
Authority	-1.243	-.114	-1.167	-.107	-1.179	-.108
Autonomy	-.033	-.002	-.013	7.7E-04	-.144	-.009
SEI	.270	.263*	.276	.269*	.280	.272*
Income	-.437	-.160	-.428	-.157	-.389	-.143
Age	-.322	-.126	-.288	-.110	-.308	-.118
Education	-.480	-.040	-.587	-.049	-.620	-.051
Children	-1.018	-.020	-1.222	-.024	-.868	-.017
Hours worked	-.307	-.143	-.287	-.134	-.290	-.135
Spouse SEI	.358	.275**	.357	.274**	.357	.274**
Spouse income	.333	.235**	.326	.230**	.310	.218*
Gender ideology	---	---	2.378	.058	2.304	.056
Decisionmaking	---	---	---	---	-1.179	-.054
Constant	36.017		27.784		33.070	
F	2.475**		2.253**		2.062**	
R^2	.253		.256		.259	
Adjusted R^2	.151		.142		.133	

*$p \leq .10$ **$p \leq .05$

Table 5.36. Ordinary least squares regression coefficients estimating the effects of independent variables on men's doing laundry

	Doing laundry					
	Equation A		Equation B		Equation C	
Variables	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta
Authority	-.922	-.073	-.828	-.066	-.835	-.067
Autonomy	.487	.026	.543	.029	.442	.023
SEI	.192	.163	.199	.169	.202	.171
Income	.120	.038	.130	.042	.155	.050
Age	-.763	-.254**	-.713	-.238**	-.726	-.242**
Education	-.887	-.064	-1.019	-.073	-1.040	-.075
Children	6.121	.106	5.869	.102	6.097	.106
Hours worked	-.346	-.140	-.321	-.130	-.324	-.131
Spouse SEI	.078	.052	.076	.051	.076	.051
Spouse income	.614	.376***	.605	.370***	.595	.364***
Gender ideology	---	---	2.943	.062	2.895	.061
Decisionmaking	---	---	---	---	-.761	-.031
Constant	45.020*		34.833		38.246	
F	2.342**		2.138**		1.940**	
R^2	.243		.246		.247	
Adjusted R^2	.139		.131		.120	

*$p \leq .10$ **$p \leq .05$ ***$p \leq .01$

Table 5.37. Ordinary least squares regression coefficients estimating the effects of independent variables on men's housecleaning

	Housecleaning					
	Equation A		Equation B		Equation C	
Variables	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta
Authority	-.479	-.049	-.285	-.029	-.257	-.027
Autonomy	-.174	-.012	-.057	-.004	.319	.022
SEI	.150	.165	.165	.182	.156	.172
Income	-.634	-.263**	-.612	-.254*	-.706	-.292**
Age	-.388	-.168	-.285	-.123	-.237	-.103
Education	-.270	-.025	-.542	-.051	-.463	-.043
Children	4.391	.099	3.871	.087	3.022	.068
Hours worked	-.435	-.229*	-.384	-.202*	-.377	-.198*
Spouse SEI	.310	.268**	.305	.264**	.306	.265**
Spouse income	.287	.228**	.269	.213*	.307	.244**
Gender ideology	---	---	6.069	.166	6.246	.161*
Decisionmaking	---	---	---	---	2.835	.148
Constant	48.500**		27.589		14.881	
F	2.885***		2.899***		2.847***	
R^2	.283		.307		.325	
Adjusted R^2	.185		.201		.211	

*$p \leq .10$ **$p \leq .05$ ***$p \leq .01$

Table 5.38. Ordinary least squares regression coefficients estimating the effects of independent variables on men's grocery shopping

	Grocery Shopping					
	Equation A		Equation B		Equation C	
Variables	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta
Authority	-1.917	-.146	-1.936	-.147	-1.967	-.149
Autonomy	5.071	.254*	5.060	.254*	4.638	.233*
SEI	-.092	-.074	-.093	-.075	-.083	-.067
Income	-.225	-.068	-.227	-.069	-.122	-.037
Age	-.530	-.168	-.540	-.171	-.593	-.188
Education	-.459	-.032	-.431	-.030	-.520	-.036
Children	8.221	.136	8.273	.137	9.225	.152
Hours worked	-.419	-.162	-.424	-.164	-.433	-.167
Spouse SEI	.362	.230*	.362	.230*	.361	.230*
Spouse income	.143	.083	.145	.084	.101	.060
Gender ideology	---	---	-.609	-.012	-.808	-.016
Decisionmaking	---	---	---	---	-3.177	-.122
Constant	52.881*		54.988*		69.231*	
F	1.167		1.047		1.045	
R^2	.138		.138		.150	
Adjusted R^2	.020		.006		.006	

*$p \leq .10$

status. This finding is contrary to the hypothesis that, the greater a man's occupational status, the less he will participate in domestic labor. But this finding is congruent with that of Calasanti and Bailey (1991). As discussed earlier, it can be argued that men with higher social stratification positions are more inclined to hold nonauthoritarian and egalitarian attitudes and, in turn, are more involved in household work like meal cleaning than are men with lower social stratification positions.

Coupled with respondents' occupational status, of the socio-demographic characteristics, spouse's occupational status and income were the two statistically significant predictors, explaining approximately 26% of the variance in meal cleaning for men. Interestingly, spouse's occupational status had a statistically significant positive effect on men's participation in meal cleaning (beta = .274, $p \leq .05$). That is, men whose wives had higher occupational status are more involved in cleaning meals than those whose wives had lower status. This finding is contrary to those from Calasanti and Bailey's (1991) study. Moreover, men whose wives made a higher contribution to the family income were more involved in meal cleaning than those whose wives made a lower contribution (beta = .218, $p \leq .10$). In short, the results indicate that spouse's occupational status and income acted as a resource, whereas respondent's occupational status acted as a proxy of class. In other words, men of higher

class are more likely to be involved in household labor than those of lower class.[1] The *F* statistic was 2.062, which was statistically significant at the .05 level.

When the item of doing laundry was regressed on the independent variables, none of the independent variables was statistically significantly associated with doing laundry for men. Instead, of the control variables, men's age and their spouses' contribution to family income were the two statistically significant predictors explaining about 25% of the variance in doing laundry (Table 5.36). Whereas age was negatively related to doing laundry (beta = -.242, $p \leq .05$), spouse's income was positively associated with doing laundry (beta = .364, $p \leq .01$). That is, older men were less involved in doing laundry than younger men. This might be because age is negatively related to a nontraditional gender-role ideology and implies the nature of patriarchy (Calasanti & Bailey, 1991). Besides, men whose wives made a higher contribution to family income did participate more in doing laundry than those whose wives made a lower contribution to family income, supporting the relative resources theory (Blood & Wolfe, 1960).

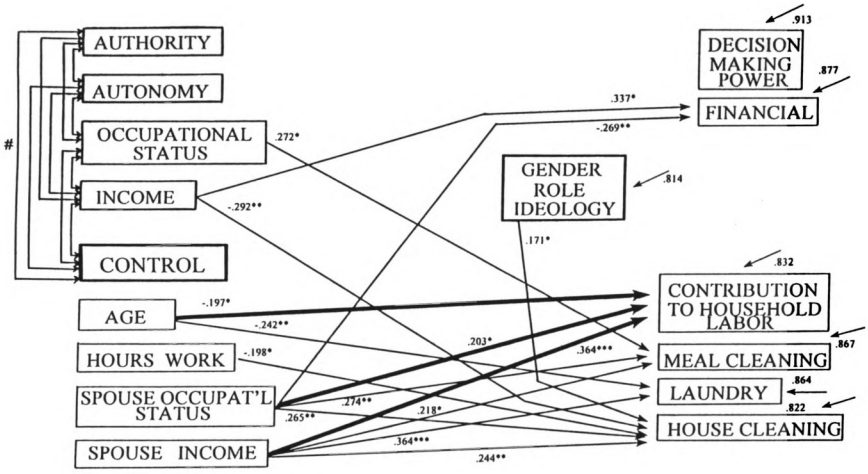
As shown in Table 5.37, income had a statistically significant negative relationship with housecleaning for men (beta = -.292, $p \leq .05$), indicating that men with higher incomes were less involved in performing household labor than

those with lower incomes. This finding is consistent with that of Calasanti and Bailey (1991), and thus, Hypothesis 12 was partially supported. Hours worked, spouse's occupational status and income, and gender-role ideology were the four additional statistically significant predictors of house cleaning. First, men with more hours in paid work were less involved in housecleaning than those with fewer hours worked (beta = -.198, $p \leq .10$), which was consistent with the time-availability hypothesis. Second, men whose wives had higher levels of occupational status and income were more involved in housecleaning than those whose wives had lower occupational status and incomes (beta = .265, $p \leq .05$; beta = .244, $p \leq .05$), contrary to the finding of Calasanti and Bailey (1991). Finally, as predicted by the gender-role ideology hypothesis, men with a more liberal gender-role ideology were more involved in housecleaning than those with a more traditional gender-role ideology (beta = .161, $p \leq .10$). Hence, Hypothesis 14 was partially supported. In short, these five predictors explained 32.5% of the variance in housecleaning for men.

Last, as shown in Table 5.38, a statistically significant positive direct path was found between job autonomy and grocery shopping (beta = .233, $p \leq .10$), indicating that men with higher job autonomy were more likely to be involved in grocery shopping than those with lower autonomy. Even though

job authority had a negative effect on grocery shopping, consistent with the hypothesis, the coefficient was small in magnitude and statistically nonsignificant. Also, the relationships of occupational status and income with grocery shopping were almost zero. Finally, spouse's occupational status was a positive and statistically significant predictor of grocery shopping (beta = .230, $p \leq .10$), indicating that men whose wives had a higher occupational status were more involved in grocery shopping than those whose wives had a lower occupational status. In short, these two predictors explained 15% of the amount of variance in grocery shopping for men. However, the resulting F statistic of 1.05 indicated the statistical nonsignificance of the model.

In summary, when the separate items of work power and household labor were regressed on the exogenous variables, two hypotheses were partially supported. That is, men's personal income had a statistically significant negative effect on their participation in household labor, specifically in housecleaning, whereas gender-role ideology had a statistically significant positive effect on household labor, specifically in housecleaning. Finally, despite the nonsignificance of the model, the data indicated that men's job autonomy had a positive effect on household work, specifically on grocery shopping.



\# See Table 5.11 for correlation coefficients for curved arrows

Paths showing the relationships between exogenous variables and family power indicators

Paths showing the relationships between exogenous variables and the separate items of family power indicators

Figure 5.3–Path model for the effects of men's work power, occupational status, and income on their family power
(Statistically significant beta coefficients)

Female Model. The results of the path analysis for women are presented in Table 5.39 and Figure 5.4. Equation 1 estimated the direct effects of the independent variables on gender-role ideology after the socio-demographic characteristics had been partialled. This equation explained approximately 31% of the variance in respondents' gender-role ideologies. Equation 2A provided estimates of the total effects of the exogenous variables on marital power and explained about 37% of the variance. Equation 2B was employed to determine the indirect and direct effects of the exogenous variables on gender-role ideology and marital decision-making power. The introduction of the intervening variable--gender-role ideology--in the equation increased the amount of explained variance from 36.9% to 46%. Equation 3A provided estimates of the total effects of the exogenous variables on household labor and explained about 51% of the variance. Finally, equations 3B and 3C were used to determine the indirect and direct effects of the exogenous variables on the contribution to household labor. The introduction of gender-role ideology and marital decision-making power in these equations did not increase substantially the amount of explained variance (from 50.9% to 53.9%). Although the equation for gender-role ideology was not statistically significant as it was for men, the equations for decisionmaking and household labor were statistically significant at the .05 and .01 levels, respectively.

Table 5.39. Ordinary least squares regression coefficients estimating the effects of the independent variables on women's gender-role ideology, decision-making power, and contribution to household labor

Variables	Gender-Role Ideology (Equation 1) b	Beta	Decisionmaking (Equation 2) 2 A b	Beta	2 B b	Beta
Authority	-.018	-.081	.030	.071	.043	.100
Autonomy	-.021	-.060	-.131	-.200	-.117	-.179
SEI	-.006	-.208	.002	.030	.006	.105
Income	.010	.137	-.033	-.244	-.040	-.294
Age	-.010	-.216	.030	.336*	.037	.414**
Education	.093	.383*	.048	.103	-.017	-.036
Children	-.080	-.076	.062	.031	.118	.058
Hours worked	-.007	-.135	.044	.482**	.049	.531***
Spouse SEI	-.004	-.203	-.006	-.165	-.004	-.091
Spouse income	-.007	-.285	.013	.257	.018	.361*
Gender ideology	---	---	---	---	.690	.363**
Decisionmaking	---	---	---	---	---	---
Constant	3.581***		-.452		-2.923	
F	1.381		1.813*		2.323**	
R^2	.308		.369		.460	
Adjusted R^2	.085		.166		.262	

*$p \leq .10$ **$p \leq .05$ ***$p \leq .01$

Equation 1 in Table 5.39 estimated the direct effects of the independent variables on gender-role ideology for the female subsample. Contrary to the hypotheses, work power and work-related reward factors had no statistically significant effect on gender-role ideology. Authority and autonomy on the job were negatively associated with the holding of egalitarian gender-role attitudes, showing very low and nonsignificant path coefficients. This finding suggests that women's greater amount of authority and self-direction at work did not enable

Table 5.39. (Continued)

	Contribution to Household Labor (Equation 3)					
	3 A		3 B		3 C	
Variables	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta
Authority	-.062	-.009	-.181	-.026	-.111	-.016
Autonomy	-.889	-.083	-1.022	.096	-1.211	-.113
SEI	.251	.291	.214	.248	.223	.258
Income	-.127	-.057	-.063	-.029	-.128	-.058
Age	-.106	-.074	-.171	-.118	-.112	-.077
Education	-3.930	-.520***	-3.328	-.440**	-3.355	-.444**
Children	13.639	.413***	13.120	.397***	13.310	.403***
Hours worked	-.466	-.312*	-.508	-.340**	-.429	-.287*
Spouse SEI	.068	.107	.041	.065	.035	.056
Spouse income	.225	.281*	.178	.222	.206	.258
Gender ideology	---	---	-6.466	-.208	-5.351	-.172
Decisionmaking	---	---	---	---	-1.616	-.099
Constant	119.595***		142.749***		138.026***	
F	3.221***		3.194***		2.891***	
R^2	.509		.539		.545	
Adjusted R^2	.351		.371		.356	

*$p \leq .10$ **$p \leq .05$ ***$p \leq .01$

them to resocialize to hold new values and attitudes, contrary to Kohn and Schooler's (1983) theory. Part of the reason may be that women need more time to experience power at work in order to change their values and norms like men as traditionally perceived "real" workers (Aytac, 1990).

In addition, for women, occupational status had a negative effect on gender-role ideology, inconsistent with previous theoretical articulations, showing somewhat small and nonsignificant path coefficients. This researcher speculated that some women with higher occupational status might have

Table 5.40. Decomposition of effects for women's decision-making power and their contribution to household labor (standardized only)

Dependent Variable	Predetermined Variable	Total Effect	Indirect Effect via		Direct Effect
			Gender Ideology	Decision-Making	
Gender-Role Ideology	Authority	-.081	----	----	-.081
	Autonomy	-.060	----	----	-.060
	SEI	-.208	----	----	-.208
	Income	.137	----	----	.137
	Age	-.216	----	----	-.216
	Education	.383*	----	----	.383*
	Children	-.076	----	----	-.076
	Hours worked	-.135	----	----	-.135
	Spouse SEI	-.203	----	----	-.203
	Spouse income	-.285	----	----	-.285
Decision-Making	Authority	.071	-.029	----	.100
	Autonomy	-.200	-.021	----	-.179
	SEI	.030	-.075	----	.105
	Income	-.244	.050	----	-.294
	Age	.336*	-.078	----	.414**
	Education	.103	.139	----	-.036
	Children	.031	-.027	----	.058
	Hours worked	.482**	-.049	----	.531***
	Spouse SEI	-.165	-.074	----	-.091
	Spouse income	.257	-.104	----	.361*
	Gender ideology	.363**	----	----	.363**
Contribution to Household Labor	Authority	-.009	.014	-.007	-.016
	Autonomy	-.083	.010	.020	-.113
	SEI	.291	.036	-.003	.258
	Income	-.057	-.023	.024	-.058
	Age	-.074	.036	-.033	-.077
	Education	-.520***	-.066	-.010	-.444**
	Children	.413***	.013	-.003	.403***
	Hours worked	-.312*	.023	-.048	-.287*
	Spouse SEI	.107	.035	.016	.056
	Spouse income	.281*	.048	-.025	.258
	Gender ideology	-.208	---	-.036	-.172
	Decisionmaking	-.099	---	---	-.099

*$p \leq .10$ **$p \leq .05$ ***$p \leq .01$

conservative values and attitudes, unlike women with lower occupational status. Their higher-status work roles may provide them with traditional masculinine types of attitudes. On the other hand, income had a positive effect on gender-role ideology, although the path coefficient was small and nonsignificant. In sum, none of the work power and work-related reward factors was a significant predictor of gender-role ideology for women. Therefore, Hypotheses 1 through 4 were not supported for the female subsample in this study.

Of the sociodemographic variables, education was found to be a statistically significant predictor of gender-role ideology (beta = .383, $p \leq .10$). As expected, women with higher levels of education held more egalitarian gender-role attitudes than those with lower education (Kane, 1995; Mason & Lu, 1988; Spitze & Huber, 1980; Thornton et al., 1983). In sum, approximately 31% of the variance in gender-role ideology was explained by education, but the resulting *F* statistic of 1.381 for the analysis was not statistically significant.

Equation 2 (Table 5.39) estimated the effects of the independent variables on decision-making power. The results indicated that none of the work power or work-related reward factors had a statistically significant relationship with decision-making power. Authority on the job and occupational status were positively related to marital power, as hypothesized, despite their small and nonsignificant path coefficients. On the other hand, job autonomy and income were

negatively associated with marital power, contrary to the hypotheses. This suggests that although some women have a higher degree of job autonomy and personal income, they may relinquish their economic power and independence in making crucial marital decisions to their husbands. That is, those women may accept men's traditional authority in making crucial family decisions at home. For women, although income did not have a statistically significant relationship with marital power, the coefficient (beta = -.294) was a bit larger than those of the other independent variables. In short, it is a noteworthy finding that, unlike men, women's economic power was not translated into marital decision-making power, implying the segmentation of work and family in terms of power. Therefore, Hypotheses 5 through 8 were not supported for women.

Equation 2B also showed that age, hours in paid work, and spouse's income were statistically significant predictors of marital decision-making power. Age was positively associated with marital power (beta = .414, $p \leq .05$), indicating that older women had more marital decision-making power than younger women. Approximately 81% of the total influence was derived from the direct effect. Hours in paid work was positively related to marital decision-making power (beta = .531, $p \leq .01$), indicating that women with more hours in paid work had greater marital power than those with fewer hours in paid work. About 90% of this positive influence was direct

(Table 5.40).

Also, spouse's income had a statistically significant positive effect on decision-making power (beta = .361, $p \leq .10$). That is, women whose husbands made a higher contribution to family income were more likely to have greater marital decision-making power than those whose husbands made a lower contribution. The researcher speculated that men who are in a higher social stratification position through high earnings may hold nontraditional values and attitudes and, in turn, are willing to share in marital decision-making power. In contrast, husbands with a lower income may seek to validate their masculinity by dominating marital power, which has represented men's traditional authority at home regardless of their success outside the family. However, there were substantial indirect effects through the wives' gender-role ideology (beta = -.104). Women whose husbands made a higher contribution to family income were more inclined to hold traditional gender-role attitudes, while supporting the provider role of their husbands. In turn, these traditional gender-role attitudes might have negatively influenced their decision-making power. This indirect effect of spouse's income mediated by women's gender-role attitudes created a nonsignificant total effect.

Finally, gender-role ideology had a statistically significant positive effect on decision-making power (beta = .363, $p \leq .05$), indicating that women with a more egalitarian

gender-role ideology had more final say in marital decisions than those with a more traditional gender-role ideology. This finding is congruent with a body of research suggesting that women's gender ideology is significantly associated with their decision-making power (Blood & Wolfe, 1960; Peplau & Campbell, 1989; Steil & Weltman, 1991). In sum, these four statistically significant predictors accounted for 46% of the amount of variance in marital power. Thus, Hypothesis 13 was supported for women in the present research.

Equation 3 estimated the effects of the exogenous variables on contribution to household labor for women. The results indicated that none of the independent variables had a statistically significant association with household labor. As hypothesized, authority and autonomy had negative effects on contribution to household labor, although the path coefficients were statistically nonsignificant and small in magnitude. In particular, the data indicated that even though women had higher occupational status, they were still highly involved in performing household labor, inconsistent with the hypothesis. Finally, income was negatively related to household labor, and its path coefficient was relatively small. These findings suggest that regardless of their greater amount of work power and job rewards, women still appear to be taking primary responsibility for performing household labor and child care. Thus, Hypotheses 9 through 12 were not supported for women in this study.

Of the sociodemographic characteristics, education (beta = -.444, $p \leq .05$) and the presence of children (beta = .403, $p \leq .01$) were found to be negatively and positively related to women's contribution to household labor, respectively. That is, women with higher education were less involved in household labor than those with lower education, as hypothesized. The majority of this negative influence was direct. On the other hand, women who had children at home were more involved in household labor than those with no children. This is in line with the findings from previous studies (Baxter, 1993; Blood & Wolfe, 1960; Coverman, 1985; Ross, 1987). Moreover, hours in paid work had a negative effect on participation in household labor for women (beta = -.287, $p \leq .10$), indicating that as women worked more hours in paid work, they were less likely to be involved in household work, consistent with the findings of past research based on the time-availability theory (Acock & Demo, 1994; Almeida et al., 1993; Bergen, 1991; Brayfield, 1992; Kamo, 1991; Rexroat & Shehan, 1987). About 92% of this negative influence was direct. These three predictors explained about 55% of the variance in household labor (equation 3C).

It was also found that spouse's income had a positive effect on household labor (beta = .258), although the direct path coefficient was not statistically significant. Women whose husbands made higher contributions to family income were

more likely to participate in household labor. However, there was an indirect effect through gender-role ideology. Namely, women whose husbands made highly contributions to family income were more inclined to hold a traditional gender-role ideology and to perceive their husbands' economic contribution as the role of main provider. This indirect effect of spouse's income mediated by women's gender-role ideology created a significant total effect (beta = .281, $p \leq .10$).

In sum, the expected spillover effects of work power and work-related reward factors on family power were not seen in this sample of women. That is, women's power at work and high rewards such as occupational status and income did not translate into their having more final say in decisionmaking and being less involved in performing household labor. Only the expected significant relationship between gender-role ideology and marital decision-making power was supported for women (Hypothesis 13). Yet the expected indirect effect of work power on marital decision-making power through gender-role ideology was not found in this study. In short, the results of the path analyses for women indicated that work and the family are two separate spheres with respect to power relations between spouses. However, several sociodemographic characteristics of the female sample showed statistically significant relationships with marital power and contribution to household labor. Age, hours in paid work, and spouse's income were found to have statistically significant positive

effects on marital power. Education and hours worked were negatively related to household labor, whereas the presence of children was positively related to household labor.

Path analyses with separate items of family power.

When a series of OLS regression equations were estimated, in which each of the marital decision-making power and household work items was regressed onto the independent variables after demographic and family characteristics had been partialled, a somewhat different picture emerged for the female sample as compared to the male sample. As shown in Table 5.42, income had a statistically significant negative effect on financial decision-making power for women (beta = -.464, $p \leq .05$), indicating that a higher personal income did not provide these women with decision-making power in deciding financial matters. This finding was contrary to the theory and suggests the segmented effect of women's economic power on their marital decision-making power. Hence, although the path coefficient was significant, Hypothesis 10 was not supported for women.

Of the sociodemographic characteristics, the best predictor of financial decisions was hours in paid labor (beta = .593, $p \leq .01$). That is, women with more hours in paid work had more final say in deciding financial matters than those with fewer hours in paid work. The majority of this positive influence was direct. Moreover, age had a statistically

Table 5.41. Ordinary least squares regression coefficients estimating the effects of the independent variables on women's where-to-live decisions

Variable	Where-to-live decision			
	Equation 1		Equation 2	
	b	Beta	b	Beta
Authority	.073	.121	.079	.131
Autonomy	-.209	-.227	-.202	-.219
SEI	.015	.204	.017	.230
Income	.005	.024	.001	.007
Age	.016	.127	.019	.155
Education	-.098	-.151	-.130	-.199
Children	-.533	-.188	-.505	-.178
Hours worked	.056	.278	.038	.295
Spouse SEI	-.002	-.043	-9.2E-04	-.017
Spouse income	.015	.216	.017	.252
Gender ideology	---	---	.341	.128
Constant	1.425		.203	
F	.789		.743	
R^2	.203		.214	
Adjusted R^2	-.054		-.074	

Table 5.42. Ordinary least squares regression coefficients estimating the effects of the independent variables on women's financial decisions

Variable	Financial decisions			
	Equation 1		Equation 2	
	b	Beta	b	Beta
Authority	-.032	-.055	-.014	-.023
Autonomy	.092	.103	.113	.126
SEI	-.004	-.054	.002	.027
Income	-.076	-.411**	-.086	-.464**
Age	.025	.210	.036	.294*
Education	.192	.304	.098	.155
Children	.155	.056	.236	.086
Hours worked	.068	.541***	.074	.593***
Spouse SEI	-.010	-.183	-.006	-.104
Spouse income	.013	.194	.020	.305*
Gender ideology	---	---	1.016	.391**
Constant	-3.241		-6.878**	
F	1.473		2.038*	
R^2	.322		.428	
Adjusted R^2	.104		.218	

*$p \leq .10$ **$p \leq .05$ ***$p \leq .01$

Table 5.43. Ordinary least squares regression coefficients estimating the effects of the independent variables on women's budget decisions

Variable	Budget decisions			
	Equation 1		Equation 2	
	b	Beta	b	Beta
Authority	.051	.077	.064	.098
Autonomy	-.276	-.275	-.261	-.260
SEI	-.007	-.080	-.002	-.030
Income	-.028	-.133	-.035	-.167
Age	.048	.353*	.055	.405**
Education	.049	.068	-.018	-.025
Children	.564	.182	.622	.200
Hours worked	.029	.205	.033	.238
Spouse SEI	-.007	-.120	-.004	-.070
Spouse income	.010	.133	.015	.203
Gender ideology	---	---	.713	.244
Constant	.460		-2.095	
F	1.648		1.731	
R^2	.347		.388	
Adjusted R^2	.136		.164	

*$p \leq .10$ **$p \leq .05$

significant positive effect on financial decisions (beta = .294, $p \leq .10$), indicating that older women had more marital decision-making power in financial decisions than did younger women. The direct effect was statistically significant, but the total effect was not significant. Here, age had a negative indirect influence through gender-role ideology. Previous researchers found that older people tended to have a traditional gender-role ideology (Coverman, 1985; Robinson, 1980; Smith & Fisher, 1982). In turn, this traditional gender-role attitude might negatively influence financial decision-making power. Thus, the indirect effect of age mediated by older women's gender-role ideology produced a nonsignificant total effect.

In addition, spouse's income was found to be positively related to wives' power in deciding financial matters (beta = .305, $p \leq .10$), indicating that wives whose husbands contributed highly to family income had more marital power in making financial decisions than those whose husbands contributed less. As discussed earlier, this seems to occur because men who are in a higher social stratification position are more likely to have nonauthoritarian beliefs and values and, in turn, are more egalitarian in financial decisionmaking. However, the direct effect of spouse's income on financial decisions was statistically significant, whereas the total effect was nonsignificant. Here, it must be observed that there was a substantial indirect effect through

women's gender-role ideology. Namely, women whose husbands made a higher contribution to family income were more inclined to have a traditional gender-role ideology and to regard their husbands as the main provider. In turn, this traditional gender-role ideology may have negatively affected their financial decision-making power. Thus, the indirect effect of spouse's income mediated by women's gender-role attitudes created a nonsignificant total effect.

Finally, gender-role ideology was positively related to financial decision making (beta = .391, $p \leq .05$), indicating that wives with a more liberal gender-role ideology had more final say in financial decisions than those with a more traditional gender ideology. In short, income, age, hours in paid work, spouse's income, and gender-role ideology were the five statistically significant predictors explaining approximately 43% of the variance in financial decision-making power.

As shown in Table 5.43, age was the only statistically significant predictor of budget decision-making power for women, explaining about 39% of the variance. Age had a statistically significant positive effect on making budget decisions (beta = .405, $p \leq .05$), indicating that older women had a more final say in budget decisions than did younger women, as expected. However, the resulting *F* statistic of 1.731 indicated the statistical nonsignificance of the model.

Meanwhile, spouse's income had a significant positive effect on child care (beta = .549, $p \leq .01$), although the *F*-statistic (1.266) for the analysis was not statistically significant (see Table 5.44). Namely, women whose husbands made a higher contribution to family income were more involved in child care than those whose husbands made a lower contribution. This implies that, for women, the spouse's income played a key role in making women perceive their husbands as the main provider.

As seen in Table 5.45, work power did not have a statistically significant relationship with cooking meals for women, contrary to the hypotheses. Women's occupational status and income respectively, were positively and negatively associated with cooking meals, although the path coefficients were nonsignificant. The direct effect of occupational status on cooking meals was statistically nonsignificant, whereas the total effect was significant. According to Epstein (1992), regardless of their higher occupational status, some women still hold traditional gender-role attitudes. These women show their fear of disrupting the harmony of the marital relationship by performing more household labor than their spouses. Such women tend to hold a traditional gender-role ideology, despite their higher occupational status. This suggests that work and family are the two separate spheres for women. This traditional gender-role ideology might positively influence cooking meals. Thus, the indirect effect of occupational status mediated by women's gender-role ideology

Table 5.44. Ordinary least squares regression coefficients estimating the effects of independent variables on women's child care

	Child care					
	Equation A		Equation B		Equation C	
Variables	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta
Authority	1.253	.096	1.319	.101	1.413	.108
Autonomy	-.167	-.008	-.096	-.005	-.352	.018
SEI	.296	.167	.290	.179	.302	.187
Income	.617	.148	.578	.139	.487	.118
Age	-.843	-.312*	-.803	-.297	-.720	-.266
Education	-.476	-.034	-.806	.057	-.840	-.060
Hours worked	.055	.020	.078	.028	.182	.065
Spouse SEI	.270	.229	.283	.240	.274	.233
Spouse income	.726	.509***	.785	.525***	.821	.549***
Gender ideology	---	---	3.549	.061	5.029	.086
Decisionmaking	---	---	---	---	-2.173	-.071
Constant	-28.249		-40.611		-46.584	
F	1.610		1.421		1.266	
R^2	.312		.314		.317	
Adjusted R^2	.118		.093		.067	

*$p \leq .10$ ***$p \leq .01$

Table 5.45. Ordinary least squares regression coefficients estimating the effects of independent variables on women's meal cooking

	Meal cooking					
	Equation A		Equation B		Equation C	
Variables	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta
Authority	.321	.036	.181	.021	.119	.014
Autonomy	-1.375	-.102	-1.533	-.114	-1.366	-.102
SEI	.370	.340*	.326	.300	.318	.293
Income	-.840	-.304	-.773	-.277	-.716	-.256
Age	-.046	-.026	-.122	-.067	-.175	-.096
Education	-4.690	-.494**	-3.980	-.419*	-3.956	-.417*
Children	9.223	.222	8.608	.207	8.439	.203
Hours worked	-.417	-.222	-.466	-.249	-.536	-.286
Spouse SEI	.118	.149	.087	.109	.092	.116
Spouse income	.111	.111	.055	.055	.030	.030
Gender ideology	---	---	-7.640	-.195	-8.632	-.221
Decisionmaking	---	---	---	---	1.437	.070
Constant	143.593***		170.954***		183.593***	
F	2.178**		2.135**		1.913*	
R^2	.413		.440		.442	
Adjusted R^2	.223		.234		.211	

*$p \leq .10$ **$p \leq .05$ ***$p \leq .10$

Table 5.46. Ordinary least squares regression coefficients estimating the effects of independent variables on women's meal cleaning

	Meal cleaning					
	Equation A		Equation B		Equation C	
Variables	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta
Authority	-1.874	-.153	-1.958	-.160	-2.029	-.166
Autonomy	.709	.038	.614	.033	.807	.043
SEI	.682	.452**	.656	.435**	.647	.428*
Income	.487	.126	.532	.137	.598	.154
Age	-.721	-.285	-.766	-.304	-.827	-.328
Education	-5.241	-.397*	-4.815	-.365*	-4.788	-.363*
Children	21.431	.372**	21.063	.365**	20.869	.362**
Hours worked	-.287	-.110	-.317	-.121	-.397	-.152
Spouse SEI	-.004	-.003	-.023	-.020	-.017	-.015
Spouse income	.557	.399**	.524	.375*	.495	.354*
Gender ideology	---	---	-4.580	-.084	-5.718	-.105
Decisionmaking	---	---	---	---	1.650	.058
Constant	97.483*		113.885*		118.706*	
F	2.014*		1.809*		1.615*	
R^2	.394		.399		.401	
Adjusted R^2	.198		.178		.153	

*$p \leq .10$ **$p \leq .05$

Table 5.47. Ordinary least squares regression coefficients estimating the effects of independent variables on women's doing laundry

	Doing laundry					
	Equation A		Equation B		Equation C	
Variables	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta
Authority	-1.366	-.150	-1.504	-.165	-1.078	-.118
Autonomy	-1.993	-.144	-2.149	-.155	-3.303	-.238
SEI	.109	.098	.066	.059	.121	.108
Income	.082	.028	.156	.054	-.239	-.083
Age	-.018	-.009	-.093	-.050	.269	.143
Education	-3.559	-.363	-2.858	-.291	-3.022	-.308
Children	2.782	.065	2.176	.051	3.338	.078
Hours worked	-.879	-.453**	-.928	-.479**	-.448	-.231
Spouse SEI	-.137	-.168	-.168	-.206	-.203	-.248
Spouse income	-.079	-.076	-.134	-.129	.041	.039
Gender ideology	---	---	-7.546	-.187	-.723	-.018
Decisionmaking	---	---	---	---	-9.888	-.466**
Constant	186.023***		213.045***		184.141***	
F	1.562		1.529		2.199**	
R^2	.335		.359		.476	
Adjusted R^2	.121		.124		.260	

**$p \leq .05$ ***$p \leq .01$

Table 5.48. Ordinary least squares regression coefficients estimating the effects of independent variables on women's housecleaning

	Housecleaning					
	Equation A		Equation B		Equation C	
Variables	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta
Authority	-.142	-.013	-.345	-.032	-.331	-.031
Autonomy	-2.759	-.168	-2.989	-.182	-3.028	-.184
SEI	.165	.124	.101	.076	.102	.077
Income	-.225	-.066	-.116	-.034	-.129	-.038
Age	-.003	-.001	-.114	-.051	-.102	-.046
Education	-4.002	-.345	-2.969	-.256	-2.975	-.256
Children	15.335	.302*	14.441	.284*	14.481	.285*
Hours worked	-.679	-.296*	-.751	-.327*	-.734	-.320*
Spouse SEI	.101	.105	.056	.058	.055	.056
Spouse income	.305	.248	.223	.182	.229	.187
Gender ideology	---	---	-11.120	-.233	-10.888	-.228
Decisionmaking	---	---	---	---	-.337	-.013
Constant	125.040**		164.861***		163.876**	
F	1.875*		1.929*		1.710*	
R^2	.377		.414		.415	
Adjusted R^2	.176		.199		.172	

*$p \leq .10$ **$p \leq .05$ ***$p \leq .01$

Table 5.49. Ordinary least squares regression coefficients estimating the effects of independent variables on women's grocery shopping

	Grocery Shopping					
	Equation A		Equation B		Equation C	
Variables	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta
Authority	1.594	.137	1.635	.141	1.824	.157
Autonomy	2.454	.139	2.500	.142	1.989	.113
SEI	-.151	-.105	-.138	-.096	-.113	-.079
Income	.742	.202	.720	.196	.545	.148
Age	-.227	-.095	-.205	-.086	-.044	-.018
Education	-2.762	-.221	-2.971	-.238	-3.044	-.244
Children	7.628	.140	7.808	.143	8.324	.152
Hours worked	-.217	-.088	-.203	-.082	-.010	-.004
Spouse SEI	.204	.196	.214	.205	.198	.191
Spouse income	.360	.272	.376	.284	.453	.343
Gender ideology	---	---	2.248	.044	5.275	.103
Decisionmaking	---	---	---	---	-4.386	-.162
Constant	72.507		64.456		51.636	
F	.663		.589		.574	
R^2	.176		.178		.192	
Adjusted R^2	-.089		-.124		-.143	

*$p \leq .10$

produced a statistically significant total effect (beta = .340, $p \leq .10$).

In equation C (Table 5.45), education was the only statistically significant predictor of cooking meals, explaining 44% of the variance. The data indicated that education was negatively associated with cooking (beta = -.417, $p \leq .10$). That is, women with higher education were less involved in cooking meals than those with lower education. This finding is congruent with the main argument of the resource theory.

As shown in Table 5.46, occupational status was a statistically significant predictor of meal cleaning for women (beta = .428, $p \leq .05$). As with cooking meals, women with a higher occupational status were more involved in cleaning up after meals, suggesting the segmentation relationship of occupational status with meal cleaning for women. Of the sociodemographic characteristics, education, presence of children, and spouse's income were the three significant predictors of meal cleaning. Whereas education had a statistically significant negative effect on meal cleaning (beta = -.363, $p \leq .10$), the presence of children (beta = .362, $p \leq .05$) and spouse's income (beta = .354, $p \leq .10$) were positively related to meal cleaning. That is, women with a higher educational level were less involved in performing meal cleaning than those with lower educational attainment. In

contrast, women who had children at home or had husbands who contributed highly to the family income were more involved in meal cleaning. The majority of each of the total effects of education, children, and spouse's income stemmed from its direct effect. In sum, four statistically significant predictors explained 40% of the variance in meal cleaning for women.

Marital decision-making power was a statistically significant predictor explaining about 48% of the variance in doing laundry (see Table 5.47). That is, women with greater marital decision-making power were less involved in doing laundry than were those with less marital power (beta = -.466, $p \leq .05$). This finding is in line with that from Kamo's (1988) study. However, hours in paid work had a negative direct effect on doing laundry (beta = -.231), although the path coefficient was statistically nonsignificant. But its total effect was significant, suggesting that there was a substantial indirect effect. Equation 2B in Table 5.30 showed that hours in paid work had a positive effect on marital decision-making power for women. Thus, women who spent more hours in paid work had greater decision-making power, and, in turn, this marital power had a negative effect on their doing laundry. The indirect effect of hours in paid work mediated by marital decision-making power created a statistically significant total effect (beta = -.453, $p \leq .05$). When doing laundry was regressed on the three items of marital power,

decision-making power in budget matters was the only statistically significant predictor (beta = -.507, $p \leq .01$) among the three items of the marital power indicator.

Finally, the presence of children and hours in paid work were the two statistically significant predictors explaining 41.5% of the variance in housecleaning (see Table 5.48). The presence of children was positively related to housecleaning (beta = .285, $p \leq .10$), whereas hours in paid work was negatively related to housecleaning (beta = -.320, $p \leq .10$). That is, as expected, women with children at home were more likely to perform housecleaning than those with no children. Also, women who worked more hours were less involved in housecleaning than those with fewer hours in paid work.

In summary, except for Hypothesis 13 (direct effect of gender-role ideology on marital decision-making power), most of the hypotheses were not supported for the female sample in this study. There was no significant carryover effect of work power and work-related rewards factors on family power after the sociodemographic characteristics were partialled out. Even when the separate items of marital decision-making power and household labor were regressed on the independent variables, two statistically significant predictors among the independent variables suggested the segmented relationship of women's income and occupational status with the family power indicators. Instead, most of the statistically significant

predictors of family power derived from sociodemographic characteristics of the female sample. This suggests that work and family are two separate spheres for women with regard to power relations.

Mainly owing to little support for the resource theory and Kohn and Schooler's resocialization theory, the investigator sought to conduct alternative path analyses (described in Chapter III) to see whether the present path models have been misspecified. The essential objective of the alternative analyses was to uncover the possible mediating interaction effects of gender-role ideology on the relationship between work power and family power. The results of the alternative casual analyses showed that, for men, when marital decision-making power and household labor were regressed on the independent variables and interaction terms (i.e., authority times gender ideology, autonomy times gender ideology, occupational status times gender ideology, and income times gender ideology), by using the stagewise simultaneous entry method, income times gender ideology interaction term was negatively associated with decision-making power, whereas autonomy times gender ideology interaction term was positively associated with household labor. This indicates that if men with a higher level of income endorse egalitarian gender-role attitudes, they are less likely to have marital decision-making power. Also, if men with greater autonomy on the job hold an egalitarian

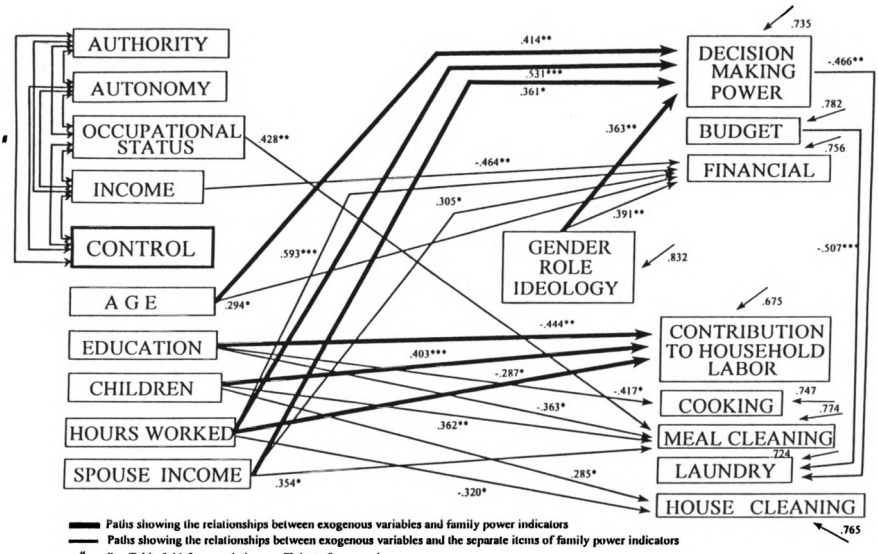


Figure 5.4–Path model for the effects of women's work power, occupational status, and income on their family power

gender-role ideology, they are more likely to participate in household work. This finding was in line with the predictions of normative resource theory (Rodman, 1972). However, when several demographic and family characteristics were included in the path models as control variables, the data revealed no statistically significant interaction effects of gender-role ideology between work power and family power. Instead, of the control variables, age, spouse's occupational status, and spouse's income were found to play a significant role in the predicting men's involvement in household labor. As was in the primary analyses, men's age was negatively associated with their household labor, whereas spouse's occupational status and income were positive predictors of men's household labor. In short, overall, the data offered little support for mediating interaction effects of men's gender-role attitudes between work power and family power.

In the case of women, the data revealed no statistically significant interaction effects of gender ideology on the relationship of work power, occupational status, and income with family power. When marital power and household labor were regressed on the independent variables and interaction terms, by using the stagewise simultaneous entry method, none of the interaction terms were shown to be statistically significant predictors of marital decision-making power and household labor. Instead, in female path models, several control variables such as age, hours in paid work, spouse's

income, as well as gender-role ideology were found to be positively associated with women's marital decision-making power. Besides, the presence of children at home was positively associated with household labor, whereas hours worked and education were negative predictors of household labor. These findings were congruent with those revealed in the primary path analyses.

Finally, the results of alternative path models for the total sample combining men and women showed very little support for the predictions of normative resource theory. When marital decision-making power was regressed on the independent variables, the data consistently showed that autonomy was negatively associated with marital power, whereas income was a positive predictor of marital power. Yet, the statistically significant effects of these independent variables were disappeared by the inclusion of control variables. When interaction terms were added in the models, only income times gender ideology interaction term was a significant negative predictor of marital power. As expected, if people with higher income endorsed egalitarian gender-role attitudes, they were less likely to have marital decision-making power. However, the significant negative effect was eliminated after taking sociodemographic characteristics into account.

When household labor was regressed on the independent variables and interaction terms, no significant interaction

effects of gender-role ideology were shown from the data. Instead, consistent with the findings of male models in the primary analyses, occupational status was positively associated with household labor, whereas income was a negative predictor of household labor. When gender was included into the combined model, it was shown to be a significant positive predictor of household labor, coupled with the significant effects of autonomy and income. Even after sociodemographic characteristics were taken into account, while the significant effects of autonomy and income were eliminated, gender still was a significant positive predictor of household labor. Of the control variables, presence of children at home and spouse's income were positive predictors of household labor. These findings indicate that an individual's gender is a crucial predictor in determining his or her involvement in household labor, after taking all other factors in the combined model into account. In sum, overall, the results of alternative path analyses showed very little support for the predictions of normative resource theory. Hence, the lack of support for the hypotheses in the primary analyses was not just because of the misspecification of the present causal model, but presumably because of the inadequacy of the theories tested or of several methodological constraints of this study.

NOTES

1. In 1979, the median money income of year-round full-time workers was $17,514 for men and $10,550 for women. Also, the median weekly earnings of full-time wage and salary workers were $298 for men and $186 for women (Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1981).

2. However, an empirical study about the relationship between class and the gendered division of labor in families showed that location in the class structure had little systematic effect on the division of labor in households (Wright, Shire, Hwang, Dolan, & Baxter, 1992).

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Summary and Conclusions

The researcher's main purpose in this study was to investigate the unidirectional translation of power from the public work sphere into the private family sphere. This study began with the idea that there may be a carryover of men's work power into their family power and extended the argument to include the relationship of work power and family power for women as well. In empirically testing these arguments with separate path models for men and women, authority and autonomy on the job as well as work-related rewards--occupational status and income--were hypothesized to influence marital decision-making power and contribution to household labor. Moreover, the exogenous variables were hypothesized to indirectly influence the dependent variables through an intervening variable--gender-role ideology. Sociodemographic characteristics (age, education, presence of children, and hours in paid work) were statistically controlled in all analyses in order to examine the net effects of the key study variables on the dependent variables. Spouse's occupational

status and contribution to family income were also included in the category of control variables to explore the differential effects of respondents' and their spouses' resources on respondents' power in the family.

Overall, the results indicated that, for both men and women, work power did not translate directly into power in the family. To a degree, income was found to have a direct effect on decisionmaking and household labor for men, whereas none of the independent variables was significantly related to the endogenous variables for women in this study. Also, there was little evidence that work power had an indirect effect on family power through gender-role ideology, suggesting that Kohn and Schooler's (1983) learning-generalization theory was not confirmed. However, the results of the preliminary analyses, in which only the work power indicators--authority and autonomy--were included as independent variables in the path models with gender-role ideology as an intervening variable, showed that, to a limited degree, men's power at work, specifically job authority, was translated into family power, whereas women's work power did not spill over into the family sphere. Unlike Seccombe's (1986) finding, this result suggests that men with a higher degree of workplace authority have greater marital decision-making power and are less involved in performing household labor. Yet the results of the preliminary analyses indicated that the amount of explained variance in each endogenous variable was relatively

small. And, after the socio-demographic characteristics had been partialled from the equation, men's authority at work was found to have no statistically significant effect on decisionmaking or participation in household labor, suggesting that the earlier relationship was presumably spurious.

It seems to be a crucial finding that when the separate items of household work were regressed onto the independent variables, men's authority on the job had a statistically significant negative effect on meal cooking, whereas job autonomy had a positive effect on men's grocery shopping, despite the nonsignificance of each model. This suggests that men's work power is translated into power in the family through avoiding such onerous, devalued, and low-status household work as cleaning up after meals (Berk, 1985; Oakley, 1974). In contrast, men with a higher amount of job autonomy were more involved in grocery shopping because of their greater level of self-direction; i.e., power over their own work processes.

In addition, income had a significant positive effect on financial decision-making power and a significant negative effect on housecleaning, indicating that men with higher personal incomes not only had more final say in making financial decisions than those with lower incomes, but they also were less involved in housecleaning tasks. This suggests that, as a type of economic power, men's personal income possibly plays a role in defining their role as the main

provider at home as well as in making it possible for them to avoid housecleaning work. On the other hand, occupational status had a significant positive effect on men's meal cleaning, indicating that men with higher occupational status tended to have an egalitarian gender-role ideology and, in turn, were more involved in meal cleaning. This relationship suggests that, for men of higher occupational status, gender-role ideology plays a crucial role in contributing to meal cleaning.

In contrast, for women, although personal income and occupational status each had a statistically significant effect on financial decision-making power and meal cleaning, the results were inconsistent with the hypotheses. That is, women with higher incomes were found to have lower marital decision-making power, whereas those with higher occupational status at work were more involved in household labor, especially meal cleaning. These findings suggest that, regardless of their levels of income and occupational status obtained from the public sphere, women are still highly committed to the traditionally defined women's domestic work at home. As discussed earlier, the underlying factor may be women's fear of jeopardizing a stable marriage in the pursuit of an equitable one (Hochschild, 1989). Hence, it can be argued that work and family were two separate and independent systems with regard to power relations for the female sample in this study.

With regard to theoretical concerns about gender-role ideology, the data indicated that, for both men and women, there were no indirect effects of work power on family power through gender-role ideology, contrary to the theoretical articulation based on Kohn and Schooler's resocialization theory. For men, gender-role ideology had a positive direct effect on participation in housecleaning, indicating that men with more egalitarian gender-role attitudes were more involved in performing household work. On the other hand, for women, gender-role ideology had a positive direct effect on marital decision-making power, suggesting that women with a more egalitarian gender-role ideology had more final say in marital decisionmaking, especially in making financial decisions. In addition, it is noteworthy that decision-making power had a significant negative effect on doing laundry for women, indicating that women with more marital power were less involved in doing laundry than those with less marital power at home. It is also interesting that most of the effect of decisionmaking on doing laundry was derived from family budget decision-making power.

In sum, the findings did not substantially support the spillover effect of work power on family power for either men or women. Rather, the main findings revealed some evidence of the segmented nature of the effect of work power on family power, especially for women. Also, from the results of this study, it was obvious that most of the significant predictors

of the endogenous variables stemmed from the sociodemographic variables that had been partialled in the equations. This means that many aspects of family power were explained by individual workers' human capital and family characteristics, rather than aspects of power in other sphere (workplace). Hence, the major findings concerning the statistically significant effects of socio-demographic characteristics on family power are summarized in the remainder of this section.

First of all, as predicted, age had a statistically significant relationship with men's contribution to household labor and women's marital power. Namely, older men were less involved in household labor, especially in doing laundry, whereas older women had a greater final say in financial decisions in the home. This finding suggests that, for men, age implies the nature of patriarchy within the family, whereas, for women, age acts as a resource that gives them more final say in marital decisions. Moreover, as expected, education and presence of children had statistically significant relationships with women's household labor, indicating that women with a higher level of education were less involved in household labor, especially in cooking and meal cleaning, because education plays a role as an economic resource (Blood & Wolfe, 1960). On the other hand, the presence of children at home made women be more involved in household work, especially in meal cleaning and housecleaning.

Consistent with the time-availability hypothesis, men

with more hours in paid work were less involved in housecleaning than those with fewer hours worked, whereas women with more hours in paid work were less involved in doing laundry and housecleaning. However, it is noteworthy that longer hours in paid work provided women with a greater final say in financial decision-making. Part of the reason for this finding is that longer hours in paid work may be associated with an increase in women's contribution to the family income and consequently with an increase in marital decision-making power, particularly in financially related household decisions.

In addition, spouse's occupational status was found to have a statistically significant negative effect on men's financial decision-making power, whereas it had a statistically significant positive effect on household labor, specifically in meal cleaning, housecleaning, and grocery shopping. This indicates that men whose wives had higher occupational status had less final say in financial decisions and were more involved in household labor than those whose wives had lower occupational status. This implies that wives' higher occupational status played a significant role as a main resource for women's power in the family.

Similarly, spouse's contribution to the family income had a statistically significant positive effect on men's participation in household labor; i.e., wives' higher contribution to family income made men be more involved in

most of the household work, such as cooking, meal cleaning, doing laundry, and housecleaning. Yet, contrary to expectations, women whose husbands made a higher contribution to the family income had greater marital decision-making power, although they were highly involved in child-care and meal cleaning activities. Part of the reason for this may be that men who make a higher contribution to the family income are more likely to hold egalitarian gender-role attitudes and even to relinquish the final say in marital decision-making to their spouses.

In summary, the findings from this research did not support most of the research hypotheses formulated from the resource theory and Kohn and Schooler's resocialization theory. In particular, as in Seccombe's (1986) research, the indirect effects of work power and economic resources on family power through gender-role ideology were not supported in this study. There was very little evidence to suggest that, for either men or women, work power is translated into family power. For instance, the data indicated that, although some women were in higher authority positions than others, they had less marital decision-making power. Also, even though men's status on the job provides them with leverage within the home, men with higher occupational status in this study were not less involved in household work than those with lower occupational status positions. Instead, overall, there was a segmented effect of work power on family power for both

men and women.

However, although the spillover effect of work power on family power was not supported in this research, the present study was an important step in examining the interplay of work and family in terms of power relations. The researcher hopes that this study will provide incentives for theorists and other researchers to reconceptualize problems involving work power and family power so as to achieve a better understanding of the effect of social meso-forces (i.e., workplace power) on family power relations in dual-earner couples. This study is also important because the gendered nature of power relationship between men and women was explored. That is, the findings showed that there exist different aspects of segmentation effects of work power on family power between men and women.

Caveats and Recommendations for Future Research

This study had several limitations that may provide opportunities for future research. The discussion of the limitations of the present research should begin with the absence of support from the data and concomitantly overall negative findings, which may be due to the inadequacy of the theory tested or to some methodological constraints. First of all, during the past several decades, quite a few limitations of resource theory have been well documented (see Chapter II). This theoretical problem of resource theory has led to inconsistent results when researchers have explored the

effects of valued resources (employment, earnings, occupational status) on marital power and household division of labor. It could simply that workplace authority and autonomy are poor predictors of the family power as well. That is, an individual worker's power at work are not translated into immediate resources for his or her power in the family. This may imply that the ways in which men routinely exercise power over women in the family are not because of their power in the workplace, but presumably because of the structural gender inequality in society. Chafetz (1990) has asserted that gender social definitions not only define the gender division of labor as right and proper, but also serve to legitimate a system of unequal opportunities and rewards for men and women. In gender-stratified societies, relative to men, women usually receive fewer of opportunities and social rewards. Chafetz (1990) pointed out that:

> The macro power resources... will accrue primarily to people who are male [especially male elites]. Some men will get to decide who gains access to various education and training opportunities, who gets to fill various social roles outside the family and home, and who is promoted into yet more highly rewarded positions. (P. 53)

In this context, Chafetz's gender stratification theory needs to be considered to explore the influence of superior male power resources at the macro level on power inequities and the division of labor within the family.

Besides, the application of Kohn and Schooler's resocialization theory to show the translation of work power into family power received little support from the data. From the results of path analyses, not only were workplace authority and autonomy poor direct predictors of family power, but they also had little effect on gender-role ideology. Contrary to the predictions made by Kohn and Schooler, it was found that an individual worker's gender-role ideology is not affected by his or her experience of power at work, as well as does not affect his or her power in the home. This indicates that when researchers explore the effect of gender-role attitudes on family power, they need to take into consideration an individual worker's family or pre-market socialization experience rather than work socialization experience. In general, the socialization of gender-role attitudes begins at an early age, and the content of that socialization is influenced by the environments of the family, peer-groups, schools, and mass media (Gerson, 1985; Kammeyer, Ritzer, & Yetman, 1990; Macke, Hudis, & Larrick, 1978; Tallichet & Willits, 1986; Thornton, Alwin, & Camburn, 1983). Hence, future researchers need to pay attention to how these agents of socialization play a role in forming an individual's gender-role attitudes, and how they differentially influence his or her endorsement of gender ideology or value system in magnitude.

The lack of support of Kohn and Schooler's theory also

derived from the nature of data used in this study (i.e., cross-sectional data). As Seccombe (1986) indicated, "while it [Kohn and Schooler's theory] has considerable merit in explaining intergenerational family relations, its relevance for intrageneraltional relationships is questionable" (p. 847). Most researchers investigating the issue of gender-role attitudes, while using cross-sectional data, had difficulties in accounting for the ways in which an individual's gender-role attitudes influence and are influenced by his or her behavior through socialization experiences at home, school, and work. Unfortunately, the present cross-sectional study was limited in developing causal models of the interplay of work power and family power. A reliable longitudinal design should be employed in future research in order to determine the causal process among variables in a more concrete manner. Even though longitudinal studies do not guarantee the causal analysis, as Brayfield pointed out (1992), researchers need to:

> move beyond snapshots of structure at single cross sections of time to a more dynamic, life-cycle approach because employment arrangements and domestic behavior within households are not static over time. For some couples, a norm of relative equity may operate over a span of several years, through the conscious sequencing of career priorities and family responsibilities. Housework duties may shift with the exchange of career priorities, thereby achieving gender equity, not equality, over time. (p. 29)

Meanwhile, most negative findings of this study also appear to be due to several methodological limitations. The

first methodological drawback of this research derives from the indicators of marital power and household labor, and their measurement. For this study, decision-making power was conceptualized as marital decision-making power (i.e., who has the final say), which has been severely criticized as a major problem in family power literature during the past three decades or so. It is questionable to equate decision-making power with marital power because marital decisionmaking indicates only a rational choice between spouses rather than evidencing power in marital relations (Szinovacz, 1987). Even though the researcher believed that marital decisionmaking is still very much reflective of conjugal power relations in contemporary dual-earner families, additional dimensions of marital power need to be considered in future research. For example, as revealed in previous studies (e.g., Blumstein & Schwartz, 1991; Wilson, 1987), how money is allocated and used between spouses in the family is a crucial aspect of power in marital relations.

The second methodological limitation of this research is that the marital power scale, using only three items in this study, was below the standards of reliability generally accepted by social science researchers and should be improved by including additional items. Besides, the present researcher assessed respondents' participation in household labor by employing several items related to "traditionally female-type tasks." However, if items concerning some other

traditionally male-type tasks items were included, one could gain a better picture of household division of labor in terms of gender and power relations. In short, the findings from the present analysis suggested that, in future studies of the interplay of work power and family power, the measures of the indicators of power in the family should be refined.

The third methodological limitation of the research is the size and nature of the sample. Partly due to the small sample size, especially the small number of people who actually had power in the workplace, little support was obtained for the hypotheses regarding the spillover effect of work power to family power for both men and women. In this sample, only 45% of the respondents had job authority at work. Specifically, 53% of men and 32% of women had supervisory authority in their work roles (see Table 5.6). Thus, the research should be replicated with subjects who are in positions of power and authority at work. In addition to size, the ethnic composition of the sample also may limit the generalizability of the findings. Respondents in this study were almost exclusively Caucasians; thus, the results reported here cannot be assumed to be generalizable to African Americans and other ethnic minorities. Replication of this study in other geographical locations (e.g., developing nations) is also recommended so that generalizations may be made to a larger segment of the population.

The present study had additional constraints that should

be noted for future research. This researcher did not model a reciprocal relationship between work power and family power, but rather explored the unidirectional translation of work power into family power. Part of the reason why the researcher did study the spillover effects of work power on family power was that it was difficult to conceptualize the translation of family power into work power. However, based on the assertion that family experiences and situations could affect work life (e.g., Barnett, 1994; Crouter, 1984; Ishii-Kuntz, 1994; Zedeck, 1992), one might examine how men's and women's experience of power in the family influence their attitudes toward work and behaviors in the workplace. For example, it would be interesting to investigate how men who have power in controlling their wives' access to the labor force as well as the allocation of money within the family behave as supervisors or subordinates in the work setting. Besides, one could explore how women's experience of family power--e.g., having more marital power than their husbands in the home affects their orientations or styles of power as supervisors or bosses in the workplace. Thus, a systematic reciprocal relationship needs to be examined for the benefit of understanding the interface of work and family in terms of power relations. Here, an important avenue for future research would be to employ LISREL (Linear Structural Relations: see Pedhazur, 1982: chapter 16) models to test the structural relationships in the model, including reciprocal

paths.

Finally, different nature of power relationships in diverse forms of dual-earner families such as gay/lesbian families (Steen & Schwartz, 1995), remarried couples (Furstenberg & Spanier, 1987; Pyke, 1994), and those in which the wife works at home (Christensen, 1987) should be taken into consideration in dealing with the interplay of work power and family power. Perhaps, couples in different types of dual-earner families might show different patterns of power behaviors, depending on their specific marital circumstances. For instance, it must be interesting to investigate how one partner's workplace power and socioeconomic resources affect his/her power with regard to marital decisonmaking and household work in homosexual (gay-lesbian) families. Because the traditional heterosexual division of labor and decision-making process seem to be rare in homosexual couples, it is worthwhile to find out the key determinant factors to create the balance/imbalance of family power in those couples. Besides, the current increasing trend toward paid work in the home has special implications for household division of labor. Although working at home has several advantages and disadvantages (see Chow & Berheide, 1988: 27),[1] critics such as Reskin and Padavic (1994) have argued that this type of work is likely to perpetuate the unequal gendered division of labor between husbands and wives. Thus, it would be critical to explore whether the greater flexibility of their job hours

does really help home-working women, who carry the double burden of household work and paid work within one setting, in performing household work, and whether their higher level of personal income, as an economic power, plays an important role in requiring their husbands to be more involved in household labor.

Closing Remarks

From the results of the present research, it is now understood that power in the workplace does not spill over into power in the home for either men or women in dual-earner families. Recently, although feminist scholars have begun to consider family and work as interrelated social systems (e.g., England & Farkas, 1986; Gerson, 1985; Gerstel & Gross, 1987), this study clearly showed that work and family still exist as two separate and independent systems in terms of power relations. This study also revealed that men generally have more power in both the workplace and the family than did women. Hence, this writer would suggest several crucial ways to decrease the gender power gap that exists in the public and private spheres.

Currently, most American women are actively involved in the work force, and a small but increasing number of women are moving into more powerful positions in many organizations that traditionally have been dominated by men. In a sense, it is true that women have made enormous progress in attaining power and status during the last few decades. Yet, the majority of

working women in various workplaces still are facing numerous barriers to improving their access to authority and power on the job. Although power is, by nature, a rare commodity and beyond the grasp of most women and men, it still is almost exclusively in the hands of men (Nicolson, 1996). Overcoming those barriers that many women encounter in the workplace requires special efforts from both women and men, as well as employers.

Above all, as a cultural phenomenon of the gendered power differential in the work organization, women do not have easy access to the informal network systems through which they may share information, advice, and support, and ultimately attain power (Bartol, 1978; Kanter, 1977a). The main reason for this exclusion is that "most top-level managers and professionals are male gender...at the top of the most organizations, the informal networks ("old-boy' networks") are based on male culture and experience" (Moore, 1987: 65). Besides, it can be argued that women are ill-prepared, as a result of their socialization experience, to cope with the male-dominated norms and cultures of work organizations. Under these conditions, to attaining more substantial power and authority at work, women must come together and form strong coalitions to create an awareness of the need for change. Namely, women need other women to have solid and systematic formal and informal networks, supporting each other to bring about fundamental changes in the workplace. They should fully

recognize that support systems will open opportunities and foster the growth and development of women as a group. In short, networking through sisterhood need to be recognized as critical in the sharing of experiences so that women as a group may expand their understanding of workplace culture and share strategies for success and power.

Second, women themselves need to be fully educated, by recognizing that education can help them use their economic power and control their assets more effectively. Education can provide women with the background to position themselves for advancement within the work force. Moreover, through providing special training and educations for women, employers are encouraged to provide opportunities for women to achieve the positions of power and authority. Specifically, women need to be given opportunities to participate in leadership education/training so that they may learn management and leadership strategies.

Finally, men's adherence to egalitarian gender-role attitudes needs to be strikingly reflected in their behaviors, especially within the private domain. Many opinion surveys indicate an increasing recognition that American men tend to endorse egalitarian attitudes on the appropriate gender roles. Yet, it is also reported that men's egalitarian gender-role ideology is usually far from equal in their private behavior, e.g., sharing of household labor and childcare. In order to attain gender equality and power equity in the family, both

women's and men's gender-role attitudes and behaviors need to be moving in the direction of egalitarianism. Of course, social institutions such as education, media, and government may play a role in providing men and women with bases through which they can move toward the direction of increasing equality of power both at work and at home. However, the ideal way to achieve power equality in the marriage is that husbands and wives must develop the concept of joint responsibility for what happens in the home as well as what happens in the workplace, as genuine partners. As Komter (1989) points out:

> Real changes in marital power can occur only if husbands and wives recognize their stereotyped self-concepts and ways of seeing each other, as well as the discrepancies between their respective perceptions of marital life, and the effect of these stereotypes and discrepancies in maintaining the status quo. (P. 214)

NOTES

1. Chow and Berheide (1988) noted that working at home provides women with several advantages, such as having greater flexibility in scheduling their job hours, combining more easily with caring for a child or an elderly or disabled family member, avoiding commuting costs and time, and sharing the job with their family members. Yet, there are some disadvantages of working at home such as having difficulties in unionizing and thereby gaining some employee control over working conditions and wages, lack of promotional opportunities, extreme isolation, and the employee paying for material and other job-related costs (see p. 27).

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

Research Instrument

Questions from the Comparative Project on Class Structure and Class Consciousness (1990) on job autonomy, job authority, gender-role ideology, decision-making power, and contribution to household labor.

Job Autonomy

V 86. Now we have some questions about various aspects of your present main job. First, is yours a job in which you are required to design important aspects of your own work and to put your ideas into practice?

1. Required 2. Not required

V 89. Here are a number of different work activities. For each one, please tell me if you can do this on your job, either officially or unofficially. The first activity is deciding when to come to work and when to leave work. Can you do this on your job, either officially or unofficially?

1. Yes 2. No

V 90. The next one is to take a day off from work without losing pay or having to claim vacation time, sick leave or put in compensatory time. Can you do this on your job, either officially or unofficially?

1. Yes 2. No

V 91. Considerably slow down your pace of work for a day when you want to. Can you do this on your job, either officially or unofficially?

1. Yes 2. No

V 92. Deciding on your own to introduce a new task or work

assignment that you will do on your job? Can you do this on your job, either officially or unofficially?

1. Yes 2. No

Job Authority

V 98. As a part of your job are you directly responsible for any of the following: the first thing is deciding the specific tasks or work assignments performed by your subordinates. Is this one of your responsibilities?

1. Yes 2. No

V 99. The next issue is deciding what procedures, tools or materials your subordinates use in doing their work. Are you responsible for this?

1. Yes 2. No

V 100. What about deciding how fast they work, how long they work, or how much work they have to get done? Are you responsible for this?

1. Yes 2. No

V 101. We would like to know if, as part of your job, you can influence the pay, promotion or discipline of the people you supervise. As I read each of the following items, please tell me if you have any influence in this area. The first item is granting a pay raise or promotion to a subordinate. Do you have any influence on this?

1. Yes 2. No

V 104. How about preventing a subordinate from getting a pay raise or promotion because of poor work or misbehavior? Do you have any influence on this?

1. Yes 2. No

V 107. Firing or temporarily suspending a subordinate? Do you have any influence on this?

1. Yes 2. No

V 110. Issuing a formal warning to a subordinate? Do you have any influence on this?

1. Yes 2. No

Gender-Role Ideology

The survey contains a fairly broad range of questions on social, economic and political attitudes.

V 430. It is better for the family if the husband is the principal breadwinner outside the home and the wife has primary responsibility for the home and children.

1. Strongly agree 2. Somewhat agree 3. Somewhat disagree 4. Strongly disagree

V 431. If both husband and wife work, they should share equally in the housework and child care.

1. Strongly agree 2. Somewhat agree 3. Somewhat disagree 4. Strongly disagree

V 432. There are not enough women in responsible positions in government and private business.

1. Strongly agree 2. Somewhat agree 3. Somewhat disagree 4. Strongly disagree

V 433. Ideally there should be as many women as men in important positions in government and business.

1. Strongly agree 2. Somewhat agree 3. Somewhat disagree 4. Strongly disagree

Contribution to Household Labor

V 316. Think of the total amount of time you and your husband/wife/partner spend looking after your children or doing things with them. What percent of this time is spent by you?

_____ Percent

V 317. What percent of this time is spent by your husband/wife/partner?

_____ Percent

V 319. Now we would like to ask you some questions about how you and your spouse handle various routine household chores.

For each of the following tasks, please tell me roughly what percentage of this task is done by you and what percentage your spouse does. Cooking meals--Respondent?

_____ Percent

V 320. Cooking meals--Spouse?

_____ Percent

V 321. Cleaning up after meals--respondent?

_____ percent

V 322. Cleaning up after meals--spouse?

_____ Percent

V 323. Laundry--respondent?

_____ Percent

V 324. Laundry-spouse?

_____ Percent

V 325. Routine general housecleaning-respondent?

_____ Percent

V 326. Routine general housecleaning-spouse?

_____ Percent

V 327. Shopping for groceries-respondent?

_____ Percent

V 328. Shopping for groceries-spouse?

_____ Percent

Decision-Making Power

V 329. I would now like to ask you a few questions about important decisions that families make. First, who had the most say in deciding the specific neighborhood where you live now--you or your spouse?

1. Respondent 2. Spouse/partner 3. Both equal

V 330. If equal, whose opinion would you say carried the most weight in the decision?

1. Respondent 2. Spouse/partner 3. Both equal

V 331. Who has the most say in making major financial decisions in your household like a decision to take out a loan or buy a car?

1. Respondent 2. Spouse/partner 3. Both equal

V 332. If equal, whose opinion would you say carried the most weight in this decision?

1. Respondent 2. Spouse/partner 3. Both equal

V 333. Who has the most say about the overall family budget, that is, about how much of the family income goes for different general purposes such as running the house, recreation, new clothes, and so forth?

1. Respondent 2. Spouse/partner 3. Both equal

V 334. If equal, whose opinion would you say carried the most weight in this decision?

1. Respondent 2. Spouse/partner 3. Both equal

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