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CHILDREN'S PARTICIPATION IN FAMILY WORK

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CHILDREN'S PARTICIPATION IN FAMILY WORK

by

Donna Rae Ching

A DISSERTATION

**Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of**

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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ABSTRACT

CHILDREN'S PARTICIPATION IN FAMILY WORK

By

Donna Rae Ching

This descriptive study examined the perceived contributions to household work of children (of selected ages and both sexes) and their perceived quality of life. The data were taken from a larger study whose random sample of 107 families represented urban, small town and rural locations in mid-Michigan. Each husband, wife and oldest child (between the ages of 6 and 12) were given a self-administered questionnaire.

This smaller study focused its analysis on the responses of the children from three sections of their questionnaire. These data were analyzed to examine the child's perceived contribution to household work, the quantity and kinds of tasks performed by the child and the child's perceived quality of life. Statistical tests used were analysis of variance, chi-square, z-test and correlation.

The boys and girls in this study did not differ significantly in their perceived contribution to the household work of the family. They did differ significantly in the number of tasks reported being performed. Boys were overrepresented in the group of low performers and underrepresented in the group of high performers. The reverse was true for the sample of girls. The boys and girls also differed significantly in the kinds of tasks performed. Girls did more in-the-home work while

boys worked more outside.

Age groups differed significantly in perceived contributions to the household work of the family. Children's perceptions were highest at ages 6 and 7, peaking at age 7. Their perceptions of their contributions decline from age 7 and increase again around ages 11 and 12. Older girls appeared to perform more tasks than younger girls. The age of the boy did not appear to influence the number of tasks performed.

Boys and girls did not differ significantly in perceived quality of life, but age groups did. Younger children scored higher than older children on perceived quality of whole life scores.

DEDICATED

To Dr. Beatrice Paolucci
As a role model, she is unsurpassed.

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The two most important people in my life, my husband Skip and son Harrison, have had to bear the brunt of my frustration when the work was not progressing as I desired. They have put up with endless nights of late dinners or dinners which were delivered. Harrison, who was used to having mommy on a regular basis, had to adjust to going to the babysitter (during the last push to complete this dissertation he went five days a week). Through all of this, they have both been loving and supportive, providing me with the kind of home environment which gave me the energy and desire to complete my work.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Statement of Problem

With today's changing economic and social environment there is renewed concern with the family's productive capabilities. New emphasis is placed on the importance of the family in the development and utilization of human capital. The family's productive capabilities have increased impact during times when participation in the market is constrained or terminated. Questions are being raised about the potentiality of children being identified as important economic resources because of the work they do inside and outside the home. In earlier times, and still today in many parts of the world, children are and have been important economic assets. In contemporary American society, however, work done by children in the home has more often been seen as an opportunity to practice skills and learn values which will be useful to them in the paid work force. But, children's work is more than that.

The chores performed by children contribute to their repertoire of household tasks which they can tap for later roles in their own families. Not only are the child's work experiences important, the meaning of that activity for the child and family is also important. Parents give several common reasons for assigning children chores (White and Brinkerhoff, 1981):

1. Doing household tasks will build character while developing responsibility and competence.
2. Children have a duty to do household tasks to help the family because working together is part of being a family.
3. Having household responsibilities is necessary because parents need help.
4. In the long run, children need to know how to do these tasks.
5. Chores give the child an opportunity to earn an allowance or do something to keep occupied.

When a child is old enough to contribute to the family's well-being by participating in household work, that child learns and becomes a functioning part of the group. This is especially true when the learning occurs with people the child loves and admires. Performing work in the home which is challenging and reinforced by parents who care enables a child to develop both ability and identity. Children acquire new interests and skills, and learn the meaning of competence, cooperation and responsibility. These are all necessary components if children are to assume productive and supportive roles within the family and in the paid work force. When parents and older siblings allocate their time and skills in building the human resources of younger family members, this is viewed as an investment in human capital and the role of the family and its members as one of production.

Changes in society demand an increase in children's participation in family work with a resulting interest in studying the effect of these changes. The most obvious change is the dramatic movement of women into the labor force. Equally significant is the increase of single parent families. Both of these changes result in the phenomenon known as

"latch key children" i.e. children who have access to their homes without a supervising parent present. Not only are these children responsible for themselves and, sometimes, younger sisters and brothers while their parents are working, in many instances, they provide the vital services that are necessary to maintain a household. They may be responsible for the bulk of the cooking and cleaning as well as having access to the family's economic resources so that they are making important consumer decisions in the marketplace. Participation of children in family work is also important because the status of children has changed over time.

Prior to the industrial revolution when the majority of the population in the U. S. lived in rural areas, there was no question that every individual was a worker in the family. Families constituted economic units and all members played important productive roles within the household (Keniston, 1977). Most boys worked alongside their fathers in the field and girls contributed by assisting their mothers in household work. Working for and with their families, children were viewed as economic assets who were being socialized for future adult roles. Men, women and children developed and maintained feelings of competence through their contributions to family work.

Changes began occurring in the nineteenth century. On the farm, the production of cash crops provided a higher standard of living and replaced self-sufficient agriculture. In cities, the industrial revolution created a situation where workers (especially fathers) had to leave their homes to work in factories. Changes occurred gradually and were uneven.

At the turn of the century, many children as young as 7 or 8 were still found working in the family business (i.e. family store or farm) as well as in the home. In most cases though, the economic "value" of

children to their families had changed. With industrialization, a more skilled and educated labor force was needed, thus increasing the years of formal schooling. Childhood was prolonged; this increased both the number of years a child remained dependent on parents and a financial drain on the family. Instead of being viewed as an asset, children had become an enormous economic liability (Keniston, 1977).

This increased dependence and an increase in the family's dependence on goods and services obtained outside the family system have created a situation where some children have no specific role in the family. Their dependence on the family has increased while at the same time their contributions to family functioning have decreased. These feelings of lack of competence have been used as a partial explanation of the alienation, irresponsibility and conflict with parents seen in some of today's adolescents.

It is this concern with the mental health of children which has resulted in quality of life studies on children. These studies are important and useful because they measure childrens' perceptions of well-being. These perceptions are valuable tools when developing baseline measures which can be compared to subsequent measures and trends of change so that society has some indication of the well-being of its children. It is also valuable to attempt to understand how children evaluate and feel about their lives. At the present time, those indicators utilized to measure adults' perceptions of well-being are being adapted and used for children.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this descriptive study is to identify perceived contributions to household work of children of selected ages and both sexes. Specifically, the number and kinds of tasks performed will be identified. Do the children in the sample adhere to traditional sex roles when choosing tasks? Does age play a significant role in the number and kinds of tasks children perform? One further step is taken by asking the child to estimate that percentage of all household work for which they are responsible.

In addition, the study will examine the child's perceived quality of life. A global measure of quality of life will be compared to the quality of different life domains. Will scores of boys differ significantly from the scores of girls? Is age a factor in determining the child's perceived quality of life?

This study will also attempt to determine if a relationship exists between the child's perceived contribution to household work and perceived quality of life. If a relationship exists, do age and sex have an affect on it?

Research Questions

This study focused on three areas of interest: the child's perceived contribution to household work, the quantity and kinds of tasks performed by the child and the child's perceived quality of life. For these three areas, the following questions were posed:

1. What is the child's perceived contribution to the household work of the family? Are there any differences:
 - a. In perceptions of boys and girls?
 - b. Between age groups?

2. How many tasks are being performed by each child? Are there any differences between the number of tasks boys and girls perform? Are traditional sex role stereotypes adhered to when tasks are selected? Are older children performing more tasks than younger children?
3. What is the child's perceived quality of life? Are there any differences:
 - a. In the scores of boys and girls?
 - b. Between the age groups?
4. Is there a relationship between:
 - a. The child's perceived contribution to household work and the number of tasks performed? Are there differences between boys and girls?
 - b. The child's perceived contribution to household work and perceived quality of life?
 - c. The number of tasks performed and perceived quality of life?

Hypotheses

The conceptual framework (discussed in chapter 2) used in this study was based on a developmentalist approach. Hypotheses were formed on the first three research questions using this conceptual framework and the review of literature. Because of the paucity of research on children's quality of life, it was not possible to develop hypotheses for question four.

1. Boys and girls will differ in perceived contribution to the household work of the family. The perceived contribution of girls will be higher than that of boys.
2. Age groups will differ in perceived contribution to the household work of the family. The perceived contribution will increase with age.

3. Boys and girls will differ in the number of tasks performed. Girls will perform more tasks than boys.
4. Boys and girls will differ in the kinds of tasks performed. Girls will do more in-the-home work while boys will work more outside.
5. Age groups will differ in the number of tasks performed. Older children will perform more tasks than younger children.
6. Boys and girls will not differ in perceived quality of life.
7. Age groups will not differ in perceived quality of life.

Definitions

This section includes theoretical and operational definitions of concepts that are relevant to this study.

Theoretical Definitions

Family.--"A bonded unit of interacting and interdependent persons who have some common goals and resources, and for part of their life cycle, at least, share living space" (Andrews, et al., 1980, pg. 32). Family and household in this study are used synonymously.

Household work.--These are nonpaid activities performed by and for household members for use in the home that facilitate the functioning of the household and provide for the well-being of household members. Household work is part of household production (Deacon and Firebaugh, 1981; Walker and Woods, 1976).

Quality of life.--Rettig (1980), using the works of Dalkey and Rourke and Mitchell et al., defines quality of life as "A person's sense of well being, satisfaction or dissatisfaction with life, or unhappiness or happiness....An individual's overall perceived satisfaction of needs over a period of time...." (pg. 17).

Operational Definitions

Family.--Consists of a husband and wife living together with at least one child between the ages of 6 and 12.

Household work.--Evaluation of child's perceived household responsibilities in response to questions 25 to 47 of the questionnaire. Household work includes the specific activities of: personal and animal care; yard, lawn and other outdoor work; child care; food preparation and after-meal cleanup; house care; clothing care and marketing.

Quality of Life.--Evaluation by child of their whole life, their family, themselves and the amount of work they do (questions 8 to 11 in the questionnaire).

Assumptions

The assumptions underlying this research are:

1. Children can accurately evaluate and report their responsibilities for household work.
2. Children can accurately evaluate and report their feelings about quality of life.
3. The faces scale for quality of life yields numerical responses that can be treated as interval data.
4. Quality of life can be assessed directly by asking children about their family activities.
5. Responsibilities for household work can be assessed directly by asking children about their life and family.
6. Children can accurately report their cognition and feeling states.
7. Perceptions reflect the reality of the situation for the child.

Chapter 2

THE DEVELOPMENTALIST APPROACH: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The conceptual framework of this study is based upon the developmentalist approach. The developmentalists seek to establish the existence of basic age-related patterns. They stress the regular and cumulative aspects of the growth process which is marked by sequential stages of increasing competence. When their approach is applied to household work participation, it helps to explain the contributions of children to household work at different ages. As a result, it is utilized generally to form the foundation upon which this study is based and specifically in the development of hypotheses 2 and 5.

This discussion of the conceptual framework is divided into three sections. The first covers the work of four theorists who have contributed significantly to the understanding of the developmentalist approach. The second section discusses role-modeling (or what Goldstein and Oldham called "role learning") from a developmentalist perspective. The focus is on this aspect of the socialization process because it is particularly important as children learn to work. And finally, section three utilizes the developmentalist perspective to examine the household work participation of school-age children. In this section, several patterns of growth are identified which have the potential to influence a child's participation in household work.

Developmentalists

The first section of this chapter will attempt to summarize Goldstein and Oldham's (1979) discussion of the developmentalist approach because, like them, this researcher finds it appropriate as a conceptual framework.

Socialization is broadly defined in Leichter's (1977) book as the "process by which individuals acquire the knowledge, skills, and dispositions that enable them to participate as more or less effective members of groups and society" (p.6). Goldstein and Oldham believe that the process has at least four characteristics:

1. It is interactive, i.e., it involves the actions, reactions, and reinforcements of persons other than the one being socialized.
2. It is directed at the conferring of an identity of some sort.
3. It involves role learning, the imparting of a range of mutual expectations associated with performance of one or more social roles.
4. It is intrinsically connected with social control, since it provides the basis for predictability within the group and is the vehicle through which both positive and negative sanctions are made meaningful to group members. (p. 15)

For their purposes, developmentalism refers to a particular approach to socialization which emphasizes, in the words of Donald Super,

the progressive increase and modification of the individual's behavioral repertoire through growth and learning...marked by sequential stages of increasing competence. (p. 36)

The regular and cumulative aspects of the growth process are stressed by theorists in this group. Like this researcher, they seek to establish the existence of basic age-related patterns. The normative approach is utilized by these theorists who are concerned with ascertaining what the growth norms are and the conditions under which variations occur.

Several of the better-known developmentalists whose works are deemed relevant to this study will be examined.

Piaget

Jean Piaget (1959) was a Swiss psychologist who devoted his career to the study of child development. He viewed all intellectual development in terms of adaptation to one's environment. Adaptation consisted of two processes: assimilation and accommodation. He stressed the importance of play and imitation to the child's assimilation and accommodation efforts. The developmental process involved the constant search for equilibrium between what the child understands and the remainder of their experiences with the environment.

Piaget also contributed a theory of stages. Development from birth to adulthood was divided into four generic periods. The chronological age at which the child passed through each stage was not the important thing for the pace may vary but the sequence remains constant.

The period of concrete operations was the third in his developmental schema and it covers roughly years 7 through 11 (the sample in this study falls into this range). During this period, Piaget suggested that language skills develop and the child's facility for mental operations become increasingly sophisticated.

Erikson

Erik Erikson's (1963) bent was much more psychoanalytic than Piaget's. Erikson developed a series of psychosocial stages through which the developing child passed. Like Piaget's work, sequence was emphasized instead of chronology. Each stage represented a critical encounter between child and environment.

Of his eight psychosocial stages, the third and fourth typically encompass roughly the years five through preadolescence (the age of this sample of children). The third or locomotor-genital period is the time when the child develops initiative, "the quality of undertaking, planning, and 'attacking' a task for the sake of being active and on the move...." The child

can gradually develop a sense of moral responsibility...gain insights into the institutions, functions, and roles which permit his responsible participation...find pleasurable accomplishment in wielding tools and weapons, in manipulating toys, and in caring for younger children. (pp. 255-256)

The latency stage follows this period and the child "must begin to be a worker and potential provider." By the age of 10, the child will ideally overcome feelings of inferiority while developing a "sense of industry." He has the potential to become an eager and absorbed unit of a productive situation. The child of this age comes to appreciate work completion and diligence, internalizing the work principle. Familiarity with tools and utensils helps the child develop a "sense of division of labor and of differential opportunity" (pp.258-260).

Havighurst

Unlike Piaget and Erikson, Robert Havighurst (1964) has been interested in the developmental process specifically as it relates to work. He conceives of vocational development as a life long process divisible into six stages. The first two are relevant to this study since they include children from 5 to 15 years of age.

Havighurst's first stage includes children from 5 to 10 years of age and it is that of identification with a worker. The child's identification with parents and other significant persons ordinarily assures that "the concept of working becomes an essential part of of the ego ideal" (p.

216). The developmental tasks of children of this age group are:

1. the development of fundamental skills in reading, writing, and calculating;
2. learning the physical skills necessary for games;
3. learning to get along with age-mates;
4. learning appropriate sex roles;
5. developing the concepts necessary for daily life;
6. developing conscience, a sense of morality, and values; and
7. achieving personal independence. (pp. 221-222)

The focus shifts for the child in the 10 to 15 year old bracket to acquiring the basic habits of industry. The child must learn to do schoolwork and chores and effectively allocate time and energy. During this stage, the child learns the conditions under which it is appropriate to put work before play.

Super

The work of Donald Super (1957) integrates the work of Ginzberg and others in his theory of vocational development. He also relies heavily upon Havighurst's notion of developmental tasks. Like Havighurst, he sees the process as life-long and traces it through five stages to a period called decline which encompasses retirement.

Only the first or growth stage (birth to age 14) is relevant for this study. Super writes of this period,

Self concept develops through identification with key figures in family and in school; needs and fantasy are dormant early in this stage; interest and capacity becomes more important in this stage with increasing social participation and reality-testing. (p.40)

Utilizing Ginzberg's theory, the growth stage is subdivided in three sub-stages: fantasy, interest and capacity. The ages 4 through 10 cover the fantasy period during which role playing is very important. It is later (ages 11 to 12), during brief periods of interests, that the child's

"likes" and "dislikes" come to the forefront and serve as major determinants of aspirations and activities. At about 13 years of age children enter the capacity stage where they begin to take their abilities into account and to weigh job requirements in thinking of future career directions.

Super's theory is almost entirely couched in terms of vocational maturity (development is measured largely in terms of how "mature" the behavior is in relation to age peers) and its application utilizes a two-dimensional standard. This standard takes into account both chronological age norms and the individual's performance of developmental tasks, regardless of whether they are confronted at the appropriate age.

To assess maturity, Super has listed "vocational developmental tasks" which he considers are appropriate at different life stages. For example, according to Super this sample of elementary school children must master the abilities: (1) to undertake cooperative enterprises; (2) to choose activities which suit individual abilities; (3) to assume responsibility for their actions; and (4) to perform household chores.

The works of these developmentalists are used by this researcher for the conceptual framework for the present study. The key message of the developmentalist tradition is that behavioral changes which occur over time in the maturing individual are best understood in the context of regular and meaningful patterns of growth. In this study, the works of these developmentalists serve as valuable guideposts in the interpretation of the findings. They are also utilized in the formulation of hypothesis 2 which predicts an increase in perceived contributions as the children get older and in the formulation of hypothesis 5 to predict

an increase in the number of tasks performed as the children get older.

Role-Modeling from a Developmentalist Perspective

Stephens (1963) makes a strong case for learning to work through role-modeling. The children in his cross-cultural study go through a natural sequence learning to work. He says they start as spectators and then begin imitating adults' work in their play (playing dolls, house, cook, farmer, herdsman and hunter). Then they are allowed to join in and help. Between the ages of 3 and 6 years, the work-apprenticeship usually begins. By puberty, children's work is usually similar to adults'.

The early apprenticeship takes advantage of young children's eagerness to be in on what the grown-ups are doing and to imitate what the grown-ups do. First they watch and play at it; then, bit by bit, they are allowed to do real work. Stephens (1979) feels that this is the ideal arrangement for role-modeling--imitating a model's behavior, and as a result, acquiring behavior dispositions that tend to stay with the person as they grow up.

His central idea about role-modeling is that the two processes--modeling and learning to work in the home--come together, and each one facilitates the other. This is true when the traditional work-apprenticeship is made possible in the home. If the learning-to-work process can begin during the child's period of readiness (starting at about the age of 3), and it is not too badly mismanaged by the parent, then it all flows together.

The child learns home-connected work, graduates to more mature responsibilities, is positively motivated in this area, and models after the parent. (p.63)

One of the possible effects of role-modeling is the traces of the parent, the lasting influences, that grown-up children carry with them. Another is the continuing emulation of the parent, a carry-over of the early desire to imitate and be like the role model. In addition, there is continuing motivation to do the work. He believes that if the combined processes of role-modeling and learning-to-work are successful, then the outcome should be:

- * An older child, teenager, young adult, who is a willing worker in the home, who retains his willingness to participate in the work and help;
- * Who still wants to work alongside the parent;
- * And who continues to want to do the sort of work around the home that was learned in childhood.

Stephens recognizes that role-modeling and work-apprenticeships are not easy to provide in modern homes. With both parents in the majority of families working away from home, the problem is often the lack of an adult in the house for the child to model. Few homes provide children with a series of tasks appropriate to their age and start them on this line of development.

He does believe that the early role-modeling in the home for some girls has been less interfered with (as a result of modern conditions) than has boys'. In his sample, a number of girls tell stories like this:

a straight-line development from early-childhood interests, wanting to be like mother and wanting to participate in her work, to mother's helper, child-care duties, baby-sitting jobs, an ambition to be a mother herself, or a nurse or teacher, and finally a realization of that goal. (p. 55)

For fathers and sons there is less opportunity for this. The line of development is different, it is not a straight-line development into a lifework and an occupational self.

Developmentalists believe that in the maturing individual behavioral changes which occur over time are best understood in the context of regular and meaningful patterns of growth. In his cross-cultural study, Stephens has actually identified some of these patterns of growth as they relate to children learning to work through role-modeling. He recognizes that role-modeling and work-apprenticeships are not easy to provide in modern homes and that girls appear to have a better opportunity for role-modeling than boys. If this is the case, then the girls in the present study may differ from the boys in the level of participation in household work.

Household Work Participation of School-Age Children from a Developmentalist Perspective

When assigning work to children, parents are often told it is important to choose tasks that are appropriate to the child's age. How does a parent know what the child should be able to do and what is too much to expect? The preceding discussion on the developmentalists does shed some light on task selection as it relates to parental expectations. Developmentalists believe that behavioral changes occur over time in the maturing child and are best understood in the context of regular and meaningful patterns of growth. A brief review of the literature on school-age children should help to identify some of the patterns of growth which could influence a child's participation in household work. Although in some instances ages will be suggested, they are merely used as guideposts.

Gesell, Arnold, Ilg and Ames' (1977) book on The Child from Five to Ten is a standard text which has been revised several times. In it they

discuss the school-age child's relationship with their home and family. A pattern clearly develops which may have an impact on the child's participation in household work:

During the sixth year he gives many evidences of forging to a higher level of relationships, even through at times he seems self-centered, resistant, or overly mother-centered. He takes a new kind of interest in family outings,...Seven in his little serious way has a deepened sense of the family as an institution; he is proud of his home and family possessions; even his negative behavior betrays an emotional strengthening of the family ties. Eight is somewhat less subjective; he is interested in the family as a going concern,...Nine likes to be on his own, likes to be with his friends and away from his family. It gives him a growing sense of self-sufficiency....The steady processes of growth have wrought extraordinary changes in his family relationships since the innocence of five. During the teens there will be another series of significant transformations; but the basic orientations are well-nigh complete by the age of ten. (p. 322)

The contributions of children to household work at several different ages are also discussed in their book and it becomes apparent that participation is influenced by the child's relationship to their family. They describe the 7 year old as beginning to be thoughtful, to be considerate and anxious to please. The child wants to find their place in the family group and is ready to take some of the household responsibilities. Many like to help and often take on certain routine chores such as emptying wastebaskets, cutting the lawn, making their beds, helping with the dishes, picking up their room and running errands. Sometimes this help is spotty because the child will tire of one chore and wishes to shift to another. Eight year olds prefer to do jobs they think of themselves. New and more responsible jobs are attacked with real interest while old jobs (such as washing dishes) are disliked. Nine

and ten year olds are even less involved with routine chores as the identification with the juvenile group promotes the complex process of detachment from the domestic family group.

Turnure (1975) is interested in cognitive development and role-taking ability in boys and girls from 7 to 12 years of age. Her findings indicate that the child's ability to "decenter" or shift perspectives is an important aspect of cognitive development and it increases with age regardless of whether the child is involved with a "social" or a "physical" task. The ability to decenter, to shift perspectives, may be an important first step preceding a child's active involvement in the work of the home.

As a child matures, their relationship to their family changes over time and can be understood in the context of regular and meaningful patterns of growth. Some of these patterns are introduced in this section and their impact on the participation of children in household work is discussed. In the present study, these patterns will probably influence the kinds and number of tasks undertaken by children in different age groups.

Summary

The conceptual framework of this study is based on the developmentalist approach. The basic assumption of the developmentalist tradition is that behavioral changes which occur over time in the maturing individual are best understood in the context of regular and meaningful patterns of growth. In the first section, patterns were identified as they relate to children learning to work through role-modeling. In the final section of the chapter, another growth pattern was identified which describes the changes which occur in the

relationship of the child to the family as the child matures. These patterns impact upon the participation of children in their household work contributions.

Chapter 3

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This chapter is divided into five distinct sections. The first three sections are devoted to literature related to the study of children's participation in family work. Sections four and five contain a review of the literature which resulted specifically in hypothesis development.

The first section of this chapter contains household work studies or studies in which household work is discussed as one aspect of the research. In the first part of this section, the primary focus is on the homemaker and children are included secondarily in a category along with other workers. Children and their contributions to household work are the primary focus of part two. These studies and publications provide broad categories of information against which some comparisons may be made.

The second section of this chapter provides a general discussion of children and work and is also divided into two parts. A brief historical perspective on work and its impact and influence on children is provided in part one of this section. In the second part, work participation of children in other societies is explored focusing on the importance of early training.

Because the sample utilized in this study is made up of firstborn children, section three of the first chapter contains a very short discussion on the birth order research focusing on the firstborn.

The fourth section of this chapter focuses on the effects of sex, sex roles and age on children's household work contributions. A review of this literature assisted in the formulation of hypotheses 1 through 5.

Quality of life studies are included in the fifth section of this chapter. The small number of these studies which focus on children are highlighted and the development of hypotheses 6 and 7 discussed.

Research on Household Work

Studies with Children as a Secondary Focus

"Household work is indispensable to the functioning of the family and society" (Walker and Gauger, 1973). Walker and Gauger recognize the importance of household work but they also realize that, because it occurs outside the context of the business world, time spent in this endeavor is not normally given a dollar value. Gauger (1973) believes that the failure to recognize the dollar value of household work in a sense denigrates the work of one half of the population who are married and bear the major share of household work. Many studies have been done to discover who does the work in the home and what variables affect work participation (i.e. number of children, employment of homemaker, age of children, etc.).

The Federal Bureau of Home Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture from as early as the late 1920's sponsored a number of studies on household work time of women. Many studies have been done since then and some of them reported on the time spent by children in household work. Most of these studies have been included in extensive reviews of literature by Steidl and Bratton (1968) and Lynch (1975). Relevant studies from those reviews as well as more

current research have been summarized in Table 1. When possible, the age of the children being studied was included.

Table 1.--Summary of Household Work Studies with Children as a Secondary Focus

Study*	Tasks	Helpers and Help Received
Wilson (1929)	Dishwashing, care of fires, food purchasing	Contributions of grade school-age children: Town 3.3 hours/week Farm 3.3 hours/week Contributions of high school-age children: Town 4.1 hours/week Farm 5.0 hours/week
Arnquist and Roberts (1929)	Food preparation, after- meal clean up, washing and ironing, care of family	Farm children under 6 years: Girls 1.3 hours/week Boys 1.0 hour / week Farm children 15-20 years old: Girls 13.8 hours/week Boys 1.7 hours/week
Muse (1946)	Girls helped primarily with care of house, dishwashing, food preparation, child care and care of their own clothing Boys most often carried water, built fires and filled lamps and stove tanks	66% of farm girls from 8 to 17 years spent between 10 and 35 hours/week 88% of farm boys from 8 to 17 years spent 5 hours/week
Wiegand (1954)	Dishwashing was task in which most helpers parti- cipated	Employed homemaker: .6 hours/week from all helpers in household Unemployed homemakers: .3 hours/week from all helpers in household
Roberts (1956)	Cleaning living room	30% of homemakers had helpers for last general cleaning; helpers averaged 1 hour for in-between cleaning
Knoll (1957)	Chores, gardening, dish- washing, care of house, clothing and family members,	50% of city children contribute

*researchers listed in chronological order

Table 1. (cont'd.)

Study	Tasks	Helpers and Help Received
	driving, food preparation	
McCandless (1959)	Day-to-day care of house	Averaged .1 hour on day before interview; 50% employed, 20% nonemployed home- makers received help; help given in 33% of households with children under 6 years, 66% with teenagers
Dickens (1961)	Food preparation or dish- washing	50% to 75% of homemakers received help; averaged 39 to 52 minutes
Hook (1963)	Regular care of house	60% of families with children received help averaging 2 hours/week; 50% of rural and urban families had helpers; 25% of total time for care of house rural, 20% for urban
de Fonseca (1964)	Dishwashing	Averaged 2 hours/week, about 30% of total dishwashing time; help on 70% of days, with or without dishwasher; related to number and age of children
Carlson (1965)	Washing	15% of homemakers shared responsibility
Purcell (1965)	Washing	20% of 444 weekly records showed help; averaged 43 minutes/week; helpers' time 4% of total time for washing
Walker and Nordenstedt (1966)	All tasks	83% of 6 to 11 year old girls spent 45 minutes/day in household work 88% of 6 to 11 year old boys spent 45 minutes/day in household work 96% of 12 to 17 year old girls spent 1.5 hours/day in household work 69% of 12 to 17 year old boys spent 35 minutes/day in household work
Gitobu (1972)	All tasks	Very little difference between amount of time contributed by 6 to 11 year olds in families with employed and nonemployed homemakers

Table 1. (cont'd.)

Study	Tasks	Helpers and Help Received
	Food preparation	12 to 17 year olds: families w/ employed homemaker - .8 hour/day families w/ nonemployed homemaker - .4 hour/day
	Housecare	contributed an average of .2 hour/day more if mothers employed
	Marketing and management tasks	contributed an average of .4 hour/day less if mothers employed
Walker and Woods (1976)	Regular meal preparation, after-meal clean up, regular house care	6 to 11 year olds contributed an average of 1 hour/day to housework: families w/employed homemaker - 1.0 hour/day families w/nonemployed homemaker - 1.1 hour/day Teenagers contributed an average of 2 hours/day to housework: families w/employed homemaker - 2.2 hours/day families w/nonemployed homemaker - 2.0 hours/day

It is apparent when reviewing the studies in Table 1 that women, whether employed or unemployed, still do the lion's share of the work in the household. A tendency toward the traditional division of labor in household tasks, with wives doing most of the in-the-home work and husbands doing the yard work, home maintenance and recording-keeping, also still exists (Blood and Wolfe, 1960; Walker, 1970b). When a reallocation of tasks is apparent, often with husbands taking over a larger share of what normally is regarded as "women's work," this may actually be counter-productive. Oakley (1972) suggests that the widespread pattern of men helping out a bit, particularly middle-class

husbands, may actually indicate that wives are left with a less enjoyable mixture of domestic activities (those which tend to be universally disliked--especially cleaning). This researcher wonders if those tasks which are least liked are being delegated more often to today's children. If this is the case, does it influence their perception of their contribution to household work and their perceived quality of life?

Studies and Publications with Children as a Primary Focus

Rationale for Assigning Children Household Tasks. At the turn of the century when children still made a significant contribution to the work of the home, the reasons for their working were relatively clear. McKeever (1913) said that children work: (1) for the sake of their physical growth, (2) for their moral character, and (3) for their general discipline. He suggested that poor adjustment results when a child is not required to work in the home. He also acknowledged that it was the responsibility of the school, as well as the parents, to

...teach and explain and exalt common work. Pupils are now to be taught early in life, for example, how to do plain housework, ordinary home chores, and how to lay hold upon the heavier industrial pursuits, as the status of their years and strength may warrant. (p. 138)

A 1949 publication on children from 6 to 12 by the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has much broader reasons for children working. The publication stressed that it was each child's obligation to contribute to the life of their home because they had to learn to be givers as well as takers. With these work experiences, the child learned cooperation and was better prepared for their future family role as well as their role in the larger community. At that time, it was also believed

that giving children the happiness of feeling that they are useful members of society, through contributions to the family community, was one of the most powerful preventives of juvenile delinquency.

Harris and Clark (1954) were interested in "The Relationship of Children's Home Duties to an Attitude of Responsibility." In a review of the literature, they discovered that parents give children tasks around the house in training for independence, dependability or responsibility. Their research indicated that little evidence exists to prove that routine tasks are associated with an attitude of responsibility.

A pamphlet written in 1955 by Osborne attempted to aid parents in teaching their children about work. He felt work was important because:

1. Work experience can bring a feeling of personal significance and a sense of achievement that comes in no other way.
2. Work alongside grown-ups can add materially to the feeling of friendliness toward them and acceptance of them.
3. Only through actual participation in real work activity can the young person come to appreciate what work means in the lives of human beings.
4. A varied work experience may lay the foundation for a more intelligent choice of vocation. (p. 6)

For Osborne, work was held to have a certain kind of moral value. He felt that,

If we believe in the dignity and worth of labor and expect our children to believe in the democratic ideal, we must provide the experiences that will permit future generations to develop a constructive attitude towards work. (p. 28)

In a later pamphlet, Neisser (1957) recognized that household jobs may not in themselves develop responsibility, but she felt that contributing to the life of the family added to a child's self-respect and demonstrated that everybody benefits when everybody does their share. She felt it was important to assign jobs which were clearly essential,

that would make sense to the child and that challenged their skill and inventiveness, as well as their steadfastness. Jobs with these kinds of qualities would supplement the atmosphere of responsibility in which the child lives and would be a further aid to the cultivation of reliability.

These pamphlets gave parents an indication of the positive outcomes of assigning children household tasks. Dr. Spock (1962), on the other hand, took a somewhat different perspective. He said that if you don't train children to be helpers, you were apt to produce children:

who are self-centered, demanding...adults who in their jobs and in their marriages expect to be pleased and favored. They have little awareness of what needs doing, whether on a picnic or in the office....Every teacher in nursery school and elementary school has learned that children will develop an increasing sense of responsibility from helping her and the class; and they won't if they don't. (pp. 46-47)

Dr. Spock felt that if children do not learn to help, they do not develop into helpful, considerate, unselfish and responsible people. Stephens (1979) noted that this hypothesis based on Spock's observations was obviously oversimplified, but he found support for it in the Whittings' (1975) research as well as his own case studies.

The U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare updated their publication on children from 6 to 12 in 1966. Listed in the chapter on "Family Work and Money" were several reasons why children should work. By working in the home children: (1) learn necessary skills, (2) release parents from some of the burdens of household work and (3) get the feeling of doing their share as they develop attitudes of responsibility and self-discipline. The view was expressed that if a child learned to be a "responsible employee" early in life, that child would be more likely to develop into a valued full-time employee when older.

Smart and Smart (1977) in their book, Children, echoed some of the previous authors in their list of reasons why children should work. They felt that significant work experiences enhanced a child's sense of adequacy and enabled the child to make progress in the development of a sense of industry. "Real work" also would contribute to their understanding of adults, their family and society.

Based on his own case studies, Stephens (1979) developed a list of reasons why children should be trained in childhood to be helpers. He found that helpful children grow into helpful and responsible teenagers who "go on to become adults who help out and are good sports in their own homes" (p. 92). His children learned appreciation for the work done by others in the household when they actually did some of the work themselves. His case studies suggested that early helping provided a foundation which could be built upon in a number of ways. Children who learned useful skills (such as cooking, other housework skills, child care and how to do certain mechanical repairs) were getting off to a good start and this instilled them with positive motivation.

White and Brinkerhoff (1981) questioned parents and children regarding "the meaning families attach to children's work, i. e. their rationales and interpretations." Five primary reasons why parents assign work responsibilities to their children were given:

Developmental: Doing chores builds character, develops responsibility, helps children learn.

Reciprocal obligation: It is their duty to help the family; working together is part of being a family; occasionally, more bluntly, 'they live here, don't they?'

Extrinsic: Parents need help.

Task learning: Children need to learn how to do these tasks.

Residual: All other reasons, most often that child has to

earn an allowance or needs something to do in order to keep busy. (p. 793)

In a recent article, Sander (1985) suggests several reasons why parents should assign work responsibilities to their children and many of them were the same as those discovered by White and Brinkerhoff. She feels that encouraging children to participate in their homes is essential to their development. Doing things for themselves and others help children develop a strong sense of self-esteem and confidence while showing them that they are important and capable members of their families. Sander believes that children, like adults, have psychological needs for responsibility. If parents consistently fail to ask children for help, they "soon get the impression that childhood is for play and adulthood for work" (p. 69). They also gain "neither a sense of family participation nor the awareness of their own ever-growing capabilities" (p. 69).

Factors Affecting Children's Involvement in Household Work. In a 1957 study, Phillips investigated the contribution to the work of the home of children from 4 to 12 years of age. She found that the number of children doing jobs in a particular area of homemaking increased as the ages of the children increased and that girls did more tasks than boys. She also discovered that more tasks were performed by children in larger households and by children whose mother did not have outside help with the housework.

Roy (1961) designed a study to manifest the effects of employment of the mother and of residence on certain roles played by teenage sons and daughters. He found that in families where the mothers were employed children (especially the girls) end up doing a little more

housework than in families with unemployed mothers. Sons of employed mothers worked less outside for pay but the opposite was true for girls (he believed that the mother was setting the example). The difference between the rural and town samples was not statistically significant. The slight differences seemed to suggest that town boys did a little more housework than rural boys. He concluded that girls are different from boys in terms of the effect of mother's employment.

Straus (1962) was also interested in the effects of residence (he studied farm, fringe and town boys) on work roles and financial responsibility of his eleventh and twelfth grade sample. His data showed almost universal assignment of household tasks to boys in this age group, beginning on the average at 8 years of age. Five hours a week on the average was spent on regular household jobs by the boys in his sample. Farm boys were assigned work roles earlier than nonfarm boys and spent more time in such tasks. His findings indicated widespread concern by parents with providing meaningful work role learning experiences for their sons with emphasis (especially in farm families) on work as an important part of the socialization process.

Another study on adolescents was conducted by Elder (1962) utilizing longitudinal data from the Institute of Human Development. He was interested in the influence of the child's involvement in household chores or in work outside the home on the child's personality development. He discovered that adolescents who were significantly involved in household task performance while in junior or senior high school (during the 1930's) were more likely than their peers to be rated both responsible and compliant by research psychologists who regularly observed them. Boys who worked outside the home but did not

perform significant household chores were more peer-oriented, assertive and high in drives for recognition and control. Those boys who neither helped at home nor held outside jobs were lowest in peer-orientation, leadership status and assertive autonomy. The group was studied roughly 20 years later when they were nearing age 40 and members of the last group were characterized (using personality tests) as less responsible and less self-controlled than males who had either performed significant household chores or had held outside jobs. This group was also characterized as more sociable and self-confident than the other two groups. The picture for the girls was more complicated, partly because their involvement in household tasks and their general social participation were markedly influenced by the amount of deprivation their families experienced in the depression.

Under the direction of Walker (1973; Walker and Woods, 1976), an extensive household time-use study was undertaken in 1967-68. In this study, the effect of mother's employment on children's participation in household work was also studied. She found that the children's time contribution was generally not closely related to the mother's hours of employment. The time of teenagers in families averaged 2.2 hours per day if mothers were employed and 2.0 hours if mothers were not employed. For children 6 to 11 years of age, the corresponding times were 1.0 and 1.1 hour, respectively. Although total time of the older children in families accounted for 20 percent of total work time when the homemaker was not employed and 30 percent when she was, this increased percentage reflects a reduction in homemaker's time rather than an increase in children's time. For the younger children, she also suggested that the time difference may be explained by the time it takes

to teach these young children the skills they need to perform the tasks. She wrote (1970a):

One wonders if supervision of children at this age is critical for help to be received, and if mothers have adequate time and patience to teach children to work when their total work days are long? (p.14)

O'Neill's (1979) research was an update of the similar but more extensive Walker study of 1967-68. One of her objectives was to determine the relationship of children's household work to parents' employment. By correlating children's household work time with parents' hours of employment, it was evident that a child's household contributions decreased in response to the longer employment hours of mothers and fathers. She felt:

This suggests that children accomplish more household work if at least one parent is home to supervise them or, perhaps, it suggests that less household work is attempted in multiworker households. (p. 21)

The White and Brinkerhoff (1981) study has already been mentioned in an earlier section of this review where their findings, of five primary reasons why parents assign work responsibilities to their children, were reported. They found that over 70 percent of parental responses were in the developmental category which suggested that the frequency of response was indicative of "a normative or socially desirable response" (p. 794). In families where children's work was assigned only a developmental meaning, children worked the fewest hours (4.40 mean hours/week), while in families where work was given an extrinsic interpretation, children were likely to work the longest hours (4.86 mean hours/week) and were also most likely to get paid for their work.

The findings of Cogle and Tasker (1982) were consistent with the previous research reported in this review. They did a study on housework with children from 6 to 17 years of age. They divided household tasks into six major categories and discovered what percentage of boys and girls participated in each task. The factors which significantly affected the amount of time a child spent on housework were their age (the majority of older children spent more time in housework than younger children), their sex (girls and boys followed traditional sex roles) and whether or not their mother was employed (children of full-time employed mothers worked the most).

Cogle and Tasker's Louisiana sample of children came from a larger data set collected in eleven states. The larger sample was studied by Sanik and Stafford (1985) in their attempts to develop a model to predict the contribution of adolescent males and females to household work, based upon family characteristics, human capital of the adolescent, geographic location and societal expectations. They discovered that the only variable which explained variance in each of their four prediction equations was school day (between 32 and 84 minutes less were spent in household work on a school day). Regardless of birth order, adolescent females worked longer than adolescent males. Time use for household work was for the most part unaffected by family characteristics.

Another recent study on adolescents was conducted by Hansen and Darling (1985). Their investigation attempted to examine adolescents' attitudes toward household tasks based on gender and maternal employment. Their data suggested that:

the majority of adolescents they studied held somewhat traditional attitudes toward the sex-role division of household tasks, while a smaller number had an egalitarian or

nontraditional orientation toward division of labor in the home.
(p. 65)

Although some variations in sex role performance of tasks were evident between males and females (females were more inclined toward egalitarianism) and students with employed and unemployed mothers (students with employed mothers showed a greater inclination toward egalitarianism), these differences were not significant.

Summary

Parents give many reasons for assigning children household work. The most common reasons are that doing chores helps to develop responsibility and character and helps children learn skills they need to know. Whatever the rationale, homemakers still do the lion's share of the work in the household with some help from children.

In studies where children were the primary focus, some of the factors affecting children's involvement in household work were discussed. Factors identified included size of family, parents' employment, residence, human capital of the child and societal expectations.

Children and Work

A Brief Historical Perspective on Work and Its Impact/Influence on Children

Tilgher (1977) saw the nineteenth century as the Golden Age for the idea of work. He said that

The dignity of labor is not based on its results, always vain and temporal, but on the fact that it permits the soul never to pause, always to ascend, and to find its peace in the very movement by which it flings itself forward, ever higher and further. (p. 140)

The kind of work described by Tilgher was primarily performed by artisans who worked in handicraft production.

According to Aronowitz (1973), in the older artisan mode of production the worker owned his own tools and saw the relationship between his skill and the resulting product. The artisan was like an artist who "experienced real enjoyment in work since the product could be perceived both as the outcome of his skills and as his possession" (p. 122). This concept of work as intrinsically satisfying was transformed, with the introduction of mass production, to the acceptance of work as a necessary evil. The new concept of labor viewed work as instrumental to personal ends. It was historically rooted in the religious belief that work was activity that makes a place for you in heaven. Under capitalism, workers could only be allowed to live their own life after labor had been performed. With industrialization, children had to

learn to take pleasure in deprivation and reserve their leisure for prescribed periods that are viewed by adults as providing a 'release' from the necessary routines of daily life and labor. (p. 82)

In the long run, industrialization created the conditions for the prolongation of childhood. This resulted in the release of the younger generation from the world of work.

Individual commitment to the social institution of work is necessary for a society to sustain itself and to thrive. Stephens (1979) believes that this kind of commitment is much more difficult for modern children to develop because they are kept away from the adult world of work and they help out less with household work. He says that, if children are given the opportunity to help in the home, they will develop an increasing sense of responsibility. Unfortunately, living in a

modernized, nonfarm home often creates a situation where the child's help is not particularly needed (Minturn and Lambert, 1964). Artificial make-work does not substitute for the life-giving work provided by farm children and children in more traditional societies. At the present, taking care of other children at any age appears to offer the modern child the best chance to develop "responsible" and "helpful" traits which are needed for them to function effectively as adults.

Several researchers are concerned that society does not provide the experiences that will permit future generations to develop a constructive attitude towards work (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1977; Slauch, 1982). Rapoport and Rapoport suggest that parents are attempting to create an ideal climate for development which promotes the child's "needs" at the expense of values "of a humanistic, cooperation kind." Parents exempt children from participation in household work and still expect them to believe in the dignity and worth of labor. This places unrealistic or conflicting demands on children. Awareness of such issues is increased through research, even if the research itself cannot contribute directly to the resolution of value dilemmas.

Work Participation of Children in Other Societies: The Importance of Early Training

In his book The Human Economy, Ginzberg (1976) describes the traditional agricultural society where the manpower development system is coexistent with the extended family. The elders teach the child or young person what they need to know to assume their responsibilities as a worker and member of the community. In many cases, the family is the instructor and eventual employer.

When a young person reaches an age when he can make a contribution to the running of the farm or the household, he joins the work group and receives increasingly important assignments geared to his age, skill, and competence. (p. 33)

Boulding (1979) supports Ginzberg's view. She says that in the world's rural areas children start working at 5 years of age and by 10 or 12 they are working fulltime. Boys often start in the fields and girls help with the young children. In Soviet extended-day schools, children are routinely taught to take substantial responsibility for each other and younger children. They also contribute to the physical maintenance of the community and the growing of its food.

Their rewards and satisfactions are in terms of how well they have assisted the group in its functioning, how well they have helped its weaker members, and how effective their partnership with the adults in the school has been in community tasks. (p. 34)

Village studies by Whiting and Whiting (1975) take the discussion of children working one step further. In the villages they studied, children are pressed into service at an early age. In the African case, by age 4, half of the children are working (i.e. carrying wood and water and helping with food preparation, gardening, housecleaning and animal care). The average age is closer to 6 in the Mexican and Philippine villages. In the Okinawan and Indian villages, the children are older still. Because adults are also involved in these activities, and mothers are busy and need help, chores do not appear arbitrary and unnecessary. They find that this early work for children results in helpfulness, responsibility and nurturant, parental qualities. Through helping out, children learn to be helpful. When given responsibility, they become responsible.

Summary

The process of socialization refers to the means by which a society brings its new members into social groups and enables them to function effectively within those groups. In the case of socialization to a work ethic, most families in traditional agricultural societies and in earlier times train children by pressing them into service at an early age. When a child is given the opportunity to carry out jobs which are clearly essential and challenge their skill and inventiveness, as well as their steadfastness, this enhances the atmosphere of responsibility in which the child lives and helps to cultivate reliability.

This is often not the case for children living in modernized, nonfarm homes where their help is not particularly needed. As a result, several researchers are concerned that this society is not providing those experiences which will permit future generations to develop a constructive attitude towards work.

The Firstborn Child

The sample being analyzed in this study consists of firstborn children between the ages of 6 to 12 years of age. This brief overview of studies of firstborn is included in this review because they have often been found to be different from their siblings. Several researchers suggest that birth order does have an impact on the development of the firstborn child.

Birth Order Research Focusing on the Firstborn

Bossard and Boll (1956) conclude that the eldest children tend to be "altruistic" to a fault:

First, they tend to be put under pressure from an early age. From being put under pressure by others, they proceed to put themselves under pressure. Thus habits are formed which crystallize into patterns of responsibility. (p. 162)....The oldest or an older one of the children in a large family develops marked habits of accountability, aiding the parents in their duties, sharing responsibilities, and taking over much of the rearing of the younger siblings....Patterns of sacrifice and service also manifest themselves early in life. Being the oldest means doing for others. (p. 266)

The picture that emerges from this description is of prematurely grown-up, rather martyrish eldest children, the product of excessive responsibility-pressure. The suggestion, that to produce a responsible child means giving them an opportunity to be responsible, can obviously be overdone.

In his review of the literature on birth order, Warren (1966) found in studies with men only, with women only, with the sexes mixed and from the early school years through college that firstborn are more responsive to social pressure. They are also more dependent than later born.

Although Clausen (1966) believes that the effects of birth order are, for the most part, indirect, he does report on certain regularities which have emerged to indicate that position within the family does make for a number of predictable--if modest--differences. He notes that no other child is likely to receive the amount of attention (time, energy, concern) as is the firstborn prior to their dethronement (by the birth of the second child). The firstborn child has no "child model" as younger sibs do. They may be the caretaker, teacher, pacesetter or confidante of younger children. They can be helpful models for learning sex-appropriate behavior. He indicates that one of the most consistent

findings relating to birth order is that firstborn children achieve eminence in higher proportion than do their siblings. Although his findings about susceptibility to influence are consistent with Warren's when discussing males, he suggests that a number of studies find the firstborn female less susceptible to influence, relatively more responsible, aggressive and competitive than later born females.

Adams and Phillips (1972), like Clausen, find that an overrepresentation of firstborn in college populations and among men of great accomplishments are probably the two most stable and replicated birth order findings. They suggest that part of the reason the firstborn child has a higher level of motivation (when motivation is defined as long-term effort directed toward a goal) than the later born child is that parents have higher expectations for and expect more achievement from the firstborn child. A number of other studies (which they cite) present supporting empirical evidence indicating that parental pressure is indeed often placed on the firstborn child to be responsible and to achieve accomplishments not expected from later born siblings. Their sample of firstborns appear to be living up to this expectation by scoring significantly higher than later born children on four different measures on intellectual and academic performance and on one measure of school motivation.

Schooler's (1972) article, "Birth Order Effects: Not Here, Not Now!" refutes many of the previous findings. Her review of the literature in birth order studies indicates that the repeated findings of a surplus of first borns among eminent scholars appears to have nothing to do with any direct relationship of birth order to eminence. It is simply a reflection of the fact that scholars, eminent or not, derive from a

college population in which firstborns are in marked surplus. It can also be explained in terms of differences among social class trends in family size. She also reports that if there were any substantial differences in American parents' approaches to children of different birth ranks in the early 1950s, these differences disappeared by the mid-1960s.

Summary

Although several findings from the preceding studies on firstborn are conflicting, there appears to be some evidence that being born first does have an impact on the child's development. A very obvious difference from later siblings is the amount of attention from parents the child is likely to receive. This researcher wonders if the combination of parents' higher expectations for firstborn and their higher responsiveness to social pressure, will result in greater participation of this sample (who are all firstborn) in household work.

Some other factors which have an influence on firstborn, but were not discussed in this section are: family size (density), the age of the parents, sex and spacing of siblings.

The Effects of Sex, Sex Roles and Age on Children's Household Work Contributions

Osborne's pamphlet published in 1955 gave some very specific suggestions about the work children should be doing at different ages. He felt that children younger than 5 and 6 should participate in "prework activities." From the ages of 6 through 12 years, they should have increasing opportunities to take on responsible family-centered jobs. These jobs would allow both growth in ability and taking responsibility in the family and outside. He suggested that the parent should make

some of these jobs creative and interesting so that children would be less likely to find the hum-drum ones disturbing.

In the 1950's, Gesell, Ilg and Ames (1955) conducted a longitudinal study of children which combined an interview of parents and their children ages 5 through 16 with psychological testing techniques. The purpose of the study was to look at the influence of age on the organization of behavior in the context of contemporary American culture. For each year of maturity in a child's growth process, characteristic traits and trends were discovered. Work, primarily household work, was one of the categories investigated for the 10 to 16 year olds. They were more concerned about general impressions of the work habits and attitudes toward participation of the children than they were with getting quantifiable data. In general, they found that most 10 year olds were not good about helping at home and would delay and dawdle whenever possible. Boys did better with outdoor tasks such as mowing the lawn, shoveling the snow and gardening than indoor tasks such as setting the table, making their beds, sweeping and dusting. By the time a child reaches 12, they no longer have an automatic resistance to household work and have developed a more positive attitude toward it. Although the children were not volunteering for work and still needed to be reminded, they were often good about helping and even showed a little willingness now and then. They even attempted more difficult work. By the time they were 15 years old, tasks were becoming increasing complex and responsible. The children seemed to take their contributions for granted, though most of them were probably not enthusiastic workers.

Johannis (1958) also conducted a study in the 1950's where he investigated the "Participation by Fathers, Mothers and Teenage Sons and Daughters in Selected Household Tasks." In his review of the literature, he introduced a historical overview of the existence of traditional patterns of household work participation. In his own study, he discovered that fathers participated in traditional tasks more than mothers and sons more than daughters. Because children tended to participate in the simpler and less interesting types of tasks (which are easy for parents to teach), Johannis wondered if children were substituting "for a servant in the family."

Teenagers were also the focus of two studies done in the 1960's. In a study by Tengel (1964), junior high and high school age children were surveyed to obtain information on their work experiences both at home and in the community. Girls, she found, contributed considerably more time to household duties than boys did. For instance, most of the girls and only two thirds of the boys performed kitchen and housecleaning tasks. Jobs where a higher percentage of boys participated than girls tended to be those which males traditionally do. About 80 percent of the boys said they cleaned the basement, took out the trash and did yard work while girls did this work only half as much. Three percent of the sample did no work at home. It was interesting to note that younger brothers and sisters cared for toddlers in the family more than the older teens.

In Hoppen's (1966) study of teens, she focused only on their contribution to the work of the home. Because she realized that the sex of the teen would be an important influence on their contribution, she hypothesized that girls would contribute more time to household work

than boys and that the nature of household tasks done and the frequency with which they were done related to the sex of the teenager. She discovered that, while boys did certain kinds of tasks and girls did certain kinds of tasks, girls on the average contributed almost three times as much time as boys. Inside activities were reported more by girls and outside activities by boys. Girls tended to do work on a daily basis while boy's work was more seasonal. Three of the 28 teens studied did not report some time spent in household work for the day preceding the interview.

The Walker (Walker and Woods, 1976) household time-use study was discussed earlier in this review. Although the main unit of analysis was the household and not individual children, this study was included in this section because she did an extensive analysis of the time used by children for doing work related to the production of goods and services within the household. This analysis was based on the contribution of all children in various age groups. The data indicated that all 6 to 11 year olds contributed an average of about one hour per day to household work. For families with teenagers (12 to 17 year olds), the average was two hours per day. Walker noted that these time contributions were substantial and they did play a significant role in the operations of the household. In 88 percent of the record days, one or more teenagers in those families with teenagers did some work. For families with 6 to 11 year olds, 69 percent worked. In over one half of the families reporting, children worked in one to three activities. One fourth of the families reported work by teens in four to six activities. Children participated in activities they have traditionally been expected to perform in households: regular meal preparation, after-meal cleanup and regular

house care. Because the time spent in task performance was only recorded on specified days, it would be difficult to determine from this data the actual number of tasks a child performs and impossible to evaluate the quality of the work.

Data, from a National Health Survey done in 1963-65 with parental ratings of behavioral patterns of 25 million children, were analyzed by Roberts and Baird (1971). Six to 11 year olds were studied focusing on age and sex differences. In the section measuring the extent of responsibility, the proportion of children performing regular family tasks increased consistently as each of the age groups were examined. While 78.3 percent had one or more tasks, the proportion doing three or more tasks regularly more than doubled over this age range increasing from 19.8 percent among 6 year olds to 46.9 percent among 11 year olds. The pattern was similar for boys and girls. The researchers felt that:

This steady increase undoubtedly reflects both the learning of responsible behavior and the development of skills with age.
(p. 9)

One of their tables illustrated the percent distribution of children by time spent per day working (on chores, etc.) according to age and sex. The findings from this table indicated that girls spent only slightly more time at work than boys. Walker's findings on boys and girls between 6 to 11 years of age were very similar to these findings.

Lynch (1975a) also utilized Walker's data, but she focused on the "Participation in Household Tasks by Children from Six to Seventeen Years of Age." The objective in this study was to determine what children of both sexes and different ages in families with one, two and three children contribute to the work of the home. She felt this was one step in the process of clarifying relationships and patterns of children's

task participation. To achieve her objective, she utilized information of mean time (frequency) spent in various activities as well as the percent of children who participated in various household tasks. She found that girls between 9 to 17 years of age did a greater number of activities than boys of the same age and spent a greater amount of time at household work. By age 12, on the average, girls spent twice as much time as boys in household work. The tasks primarily performed by boys and girls had not changed very much from the traditional pattern. Females participated in meal preparation, meal cleanup and regular house care. Outside activities, the care of the yard and car, were primarily male tasks. Meal preparation and regular house care were the tasks most frequently participated in by both males and females, but girls contributed more time in the activities than boys. Girls usually spent the most time in activities they participated in most often. On the other hand, boys at most ages spent the greatest amount of time per day on the irregular activity of care of yard and car, even though they participated in house care and food preparation tasks more frequently.

The adherence to traditional patterns in household task participation was also apparent in a national survey of children conducted by Temple University Institute for Survey Research (1976) on children aged 7 to 11 years of age. Interviews of more than 2,200 children and more than 1,700 of their parents were analyzed. Interviews were structured to determine the general environment in which children live. One section of the interview asked children to pick one of five sentences to tell how they felt about various work and play activities. Girls expressed significantly greater liking for traditional "female" activities such as cooking, sewing and dancing. Boys expressed greater

liking for activities such as "making things out of wood or metal." Parents' response showed strong sex differences, also. At the same time, there was evidence of change. Less than 5 percent of the girls said they did not want a job when they grew up but only wanted to be a housewife or mother.

Thrall (1978) was also interested in role stereotypy as it related to children's work and the continuity between generations in the household division of labor. Thrall defined role stereotypy as the normative expectation that one person was supposed to do a task and that another was then expected not to do it. He included questions about children's work in his interviews with 99 husbands and wives adapting the Blood and Wolfe (1960) measures of division of labor. His findings suggested that the best single predictor of a family's division of labor may be the previous generation. Most families in the study tended to be quite traditional in their pattern, with strong emphasis on division of labor by sex for both parents and children. Thrall also reported that older children took part in more of the tasks than did younger children. Parents still retained primary responsibility for the work performed by children. Making their beds or picking up their rooms were chores primarily assigned to children. These were tasks which were specific to the child and not part of the family task performance record.

As mentioned earlier, O'Neill (1979) did the ten year follow up to Walker's work. The data of time given to household work by school-age children provided a basis for a ten-year comparison of children's household work according to their age and sex. As with the Walker study, data were collected on time-record charts that homemakers filled out for the day previous to their interview and the day following. In the 9 to

11 and 12 to 14 age brackets differences in tasks performed by girls and boys were especially apparent. Girls' participation rates in all but the car and yard-care tasks increased much faster than boys'. The sex differences of ten years ago continued to exist which meant that the designation of tasks within households appeared not to have changed very much. O'Neill did discover, though, that the gap in the percentage of boys and girls contributing time to specific tasks has generally narrowed.

In their book, Children and Work, Goldstein and Oldham (1979) discussed their sample's experience with work first-hand through the performance of chores and so-called "childwork." Although they were unable to determine the impact of children's work experiences upon their work-related cognition states, their findings suggested that children's work and earning experiences:

1. typically start in early childhood on a *very* small scale;
2. are extremely widespread; and
3. apparently are subjected to age-related increments. (p. 169)

They found that the seventh grade, rather than the fifth, represented a turning point. They suggested that this was probably the case because of structural and physical considerations rather than because of appreciable change in children's readiness or willingness to work at that age. When they asked children about their feelings regarding their own work, whether child-work or merely the performance of household chores, nearly four in five at each grade level said they liked working.

Zill and Peterson (1982) were convinced that children do a considerable amount of work in the home and that the amount and nature of this work was intimately tied to the practical skills they develop. Using a national sample of elementary school children, they developed a

practical skills index which was made up of 14 practical tasks. They discovered that the best predictor of the child's development of practical skills was sex of the child. For almost all the individual items, distinct differences existed in the percentage of sons and daughters who were reported (by their parents) to have accomplished the tasks without help. All the differences were in the direction expected from sex-role stereotypes. Because this was a developmental measure, the proportion of children ever having accomplished each task rose with age as expected. This was true for boys and girls, although the rate of improvement with age varied by the sex of the child within some tasks.

Hypotheses Formulated

Research indicates that the factors which most influence children's involvement in household work are sex, sex roles and age. In the majority of studies, girls' contributions are significantly greater than boys' to household work. Hypotheses 1 and 3 reflect these differences. In hypothesis 1, the perceived contributions of the girls is hypothesized to be higher than the boys. In hypothesis 3, the number of tasks performed by the girls is hypothesized to be higher than the number performed by the boys.

The studies in this section also show a continued adherence to traditional patterns in household task participation with girls doing most of the in-the-home work and boys working outside. This resulted in the formulation of hypothesis 4 which states that girls will do more in-the-home work while boys will work more outside.

The age of the child affects the number and kinds of tasks children accomplish with older children performing more tasks and those which require greater skill. This relationship is reflected in hypotheses 2 and

5 though the conceptual framework was the basis for their development.

Research on Quality of Life

Several books exist on developing measures of and reports of research on perceived quality of life (Campbell, et al., 1976; Andrews and Withey, 1976; Campbell, 1981). In the questionnaire utilized in this study, the section on quality of life owes much of its development to the conceptual framework developed by Andrews and Withey (1974, 1976). The discussion which follows summarizes several aspects of their framework which are relevant to this research.

Quality of Life: Basic Concepts

Andrews and Withey (1976) believe that:

The quality of life is not just a matter of the conditions of one's physical, interpersonal and social setting but also a matter of how these are judged and evaluated by oneself and others. The values that one brings to bear on life are in themselves determinants of one's assessed quality of life. (p. 12)

They cite several reasons for the importance and usefulness of measuring people's perceptions of well-being. Two of the reasons are particularly relevant to this study. First, they feel it is valuable to gather baseline measures which can be compared to subsequent measures and trends of change so that society knows where it stands. They also feel there is value in getting to understand how people evaluate and feel about their lives if the judgments are made about "domains " of life such as their families, their homes, their jobs, etc.

They conceive of well-being indicators as occurring at several levels of specificity. Indicators which refer to life as a whole are the

most global and they are not specific to any one particular aspect of life. General evaluations of what they call life "concerns" are at a somewhat more specific level. Concerns are divided into two types: "domains" (places, things, activities, people and roles) and "criteria" (values, standards, aspirations, goals, and--in general--ways of judging or evaluating how one felt about the various domains of life). Both global indicators and life concerns will be studied in this research.

Andrews and Withey hypothesize that a person's assessment of life quality involves both a cognitive evaluation and some degree of positive or negative feelings, i.e., "affect." After experimenting with numerous ways of measuring affective evaluations, the Delighted-Terrible Scale was found to be the most effective and is used most extensively. A form of this scale is used in this study, and is described in the methodology section.

Studies of Children's Quality of Life

Although Bourque (1982) was not specifically interested in quality of life studies, she did a careful examination of evaluation studies funded by the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in 1974 and 1975. She found that children were rarely formally interviewed, and on the few occasions when they have been, their opinions frequently contradicted those given by parents and teachers on their behalf. She hypothesized that the reluctance to interview children or otherwise obtain data directly from them might indicate that researchers do not consider children capable of acting as research subjects. She also recognized two more potential problems: (1) restrictions imposed by human subjects legislation and (2) the necessity of obtaining permission

from parents or guardians to study minors.

Quality of life research can overcome the bias of viewing children as incapable of acting as research subjects by eliciting the child's subjective perceptions which could understandably be in conflict with a parent's or teacher's assessment. When children are the focus, one common area of study is the quality of school life.

Studies on Quality of School Life. Epstein and McPartland (1976) studied the concept and measurement of the quality of school life. They developed different dimensions of the concept of quality of school life and call these subscales (what Andrews and Withey refer to as domains). Subscales help to determine the global measure. They suggest that

The trend for quality of school life scores to decrease as grade level increases may mean that the objective quality of school goes down each year and/or that with maturity, students more critically evaluate their environments....It may be argued that with age, students' abilities become more varied. Schools may be less able to meet the more diverse academic interests and needs of older students although they are able to maintain the general and social quality of school life for most students. (p. 26)

In Wolf and Chandler's (1981) study, perceptions of quality of school life included satisfaction with school, commitment to their classwork and attitudes toward teachers. The perceptions of a sample of fourth graders were assessed at the beginning and end of the school year. Results provided tentative support for the view that perceptions of these aspects of quality of school life temporally preceded perceptions of academic responsibility. They suggested that the more favorably these classroom factors are perceived, the more likely students are to accept responsibility for their school successes and failures.

National Studies The Temple University Institute for Survey Research (1976) conducted a National Survey of Children during September through December of 1976. It consisted of interviews of more than 2,200 children aged 7 to 11 years of age and more than 1,700 of their parents. Interviews were structured to determine the general environment in which children live. One section of the interview asked children to pick one of five sentences to tell how they feel about various work and play activities. They were also given a set of five faces ranging from very happy to very sad and asked, "Which face shows how you feel about: yourself? your school work? your family?...." On the whole, these children felt good about themselves. Eighty percent of them picked a happy face to show how they felt about themselves and about how things were going in their lives. Over 75% thought they were lucky and 90% said they liked being the way they were. Ninety percent felt good about their families while 80% also worried about their families.

Zill (1978) also analyzed parts of the data collected from the National Survey of Children. He was interested in the relationship between the mental health of children and divorce and marital happiness. In a paper he prepared on this subject, he gave several reasons why the National Survey was designed and sponsored by the Foundation for Child Development. Three of the purposes he suggested were relevant to the present study.

Like Zill, this researcher was interested in collecting quality of life data on children to determine the feasibility and value of child questionnaires (he used interviews) as a source of social indicator data on children. Zill also wanted to analyze the relationships between the conditions of children's lives and measures of child development and

well-being. This researcher limited the focus to the conditions surrounding the child's family work and the relationship between family work and measures of well-being. And finally, Zill wanted to replicate items from previous national studies for time-trend analysis. Several of the quality of life items in this study were very similar to those utilized on the National Survey. As a result, the analysis of this data may give some insight into how this sample of children compares to the national sample which was polled four years earlier.

Hypotheses Formulated

In this section, several reasons have been cited for the importance and usefulness of measuring people's perceptions of well-being. As a result of gathering measures of well-being and comparing them to previous measures, trends can be established so that society knows where it stands. This researcher is interested in measuring the well-being of this sample of children so that it can be compared to previous measures which have been collected. There is also value in getting to understand how people evaluate and feel about their lives if the judgments are made about "domains" of life. In this study, the focus is on the domain of family work and its relationship to the child's perceived quality of life.

Because of the paucity of research in this area, hypotheses 6 and 7 are exploratory in nature and do not predict any differences between boys and girls or age groups.

Summary

Industrialization creates the conditions for the prolongation of childhood and results in the release of most children from the world of

work. Living in a modernized, nonfarm home often creates a situation where the child's help is not particularly needed. Research indicates that responsibility is developed when the child's work contributions are needed, when they have the opportunity to make and help make important decisions and when there is enough time for the child to work alongside, imitate and help a responsible adult. As a family helper, the child contributes to the life of the family; this adds to self-respect and demonstrates the benefits to the family when everyone does their share. The responsibility and skills learned through work experience carry over into adult lives and influence the roles of future generations.

Many factors influence children's involvement in household work. Research indicates that the effects of sex, sex roles and age on children's household work contributions are particularly pronounced. In this review of the literature, all the studies focusing on sex roles indicate a continued adherence to traditional patterns in household task participation. In most cases, the girls in these studies often contributed more of their time to household work than the boys. Age also significantly influences the number and kinds of tasks children accomplish with older children taking part in more work and work which requires the development of more skills.

Several recent studies on children's quality of life provide valuable baseline measures which can be compared to subsequent measures to determine trends of change. Measures of quality of life as a whole are established by these studies as well as some general evaluations on specific domains.

Chapter 4

METHODOLOGY

This study was part of a larger study, "Contributions of Household Production to Family Income," which was sponsored by the Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station (AES 1363H), the Department of Family and Child Ecology at Michigan State University and the Michigan Cooperative Extension Service. The larger study was undertaken to identify the involvement in household production among young urban, small town and rural families in mid-Michigan.

Data used in this study were collected during the months of May and June 1980 in Ingham County, Michigan. For the larger study, the unit of analysis was the family which was defined as a male and female living in the same household with the oldest child between the ages of 6 and 12. A survey questionnaire was given to each of these three family members.

This researcher did not become part of the research team until after all the data were collected and being coded. As a result, this researcher did not participate in decisions relating to sampling procedures, instrument design or data collection.

This study was designed to investigate the household work participation of the children in this sample and their perceived quality of life. As a result, the major portion of the children's questionnaire will be analyzed as well as the demographic data from the parents'

questionnaire.

Discussion in this chapter focuses on: (1) research design of the study; (2) description of the sample; (3) instrument development; (4) variables; (5) statistical analysis; and (6) limitations of the study.

Research Design

The purpose of this descriptive study was to identify the perceived contributions to household work of children between the ages of 6 and 12 years of age. Specifically, the number and kinds of tasks they perform were identified. An attempt was also made to identify the child's perceived quality of life and to determine if a relationship existed between the perceived contribution to household work and their perceived quality of life. The research method used was a survey questionnaire based on recall. Demographic data were determined from the questionnaires of the parents. Theoretical and operational definitions of the variables were noted in Chapter 1.

The sample was selected from Ingham County, Michigan which is included in the Lansing Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA). The county contains the state capital and associated government agencies, many business and manufacturing firms related to the automobile industry, a diversified agricultural industry and a large land grant university (Michigan State University). The county is made up of a heterogeneous population of urban, small town and rural households. The sample was designed to reflect the characteristics and activities of young families, living in private households, from the three distinct locations. A minimum of thirty families from each of the three areas was considered appropriate to represent the larger population.

Given the study's definitional and geographic constraints, the sample selection process was designed to be as random as possible. The urban sample came from Lansing, the state capital, which has the largest population center in Ingham County. It is centrally located in mid-Michigan. The major employers are industry (principally transportation equipment, fabricated metals and non-electrical machinery), state government and the university.

The team attempted to locate areas within the city with the highest percentage of school-age children between the ages of 6 and 12 years. A school census was obtained from the Tri-County Planning Commission and an area of south Lansing was identified as having the largest number of young children. An area in north Lansing was also considered. Visits to both areas revealed several indicators of children such as swing sets and signs in windows identifying them as shelters for school-age children. The first neighborhood chosen to be sampled was a census tract area in south Lansing. In the event that additional families were needed, an adjacent tract was identified as the second area to be sampled. City blocks within the census tract were numbered and all apartment buildings were individually numbered and treated as if they were city blocks. Before the interviewers started contacting families, block numbers were randomly selected as starting points. In order to obtain the required number of families, all of the blocks in both census tracts had to be sampled. Households were contacted utilizing a skip pattern once residential blocks were randomly selected. Once a family qualified and agreed to participate in the study then the skip pattern became operative and the next house on the block or road was skipped. The following house was then contacted.

The small town sample came from Mason, the county seat of Ingham County. Mason has no major industry, but it does have several small industries and service agencies. Because the town is located within commuting distance of Lansing and Jackson, Michigan, about 85 percent of the employed persons living within the corporate limits (boundaries for the sample) work outside of Mason. The remaining 15 percent are mainly factory workers and state employees. A significant segment of the population is made up of retired farmers, staff and faculty from Michigan State University. The areas with the largest number of school children were initially identified by the Ingham County Extension Home Economist. Interviewing began in the areas identified but had to be expanded to encompass the entire town due to the small population. As in Lansing, city blocks were randomly selected as starting points before the interviewers contacted any families.

The closest rural area to Lansing was Wheatfield Township and it was selected for the rural sample. It was within commuting distance of Lansing with houses located approximately every quarter mile on each of the township roads. East-west and north-south roads within the township were numbered and randomly selected as starting points. Every house within the township was visited (the skip pattern was not utilized) because of the sparse population and distance between the houses. Utilizing this procedure, the Wheatfield Township still did not produce enough qualified families. A rural area adjacent and to the west of Wheatfield (LeRoy Township) had to be included in the sample using the same procedure.

Description of the Study Sample

The data in this section come from an analysis of the questions on demographics in the husband's and wife's questionnaires. It is included because the children's sample can be better understood given the demographics of their parents.

The sample for the larger Household Production Project consisted of 107 families (husband, wife and oldest child between the ages of 6 and 12 years). This study analyzed the major portion of the children's data from the 107 families. The urban sample consisted of 32 families, 38 were from the small town and 37 were from the rural sample. Demographic information from the Tri-County Planning Commission provided the following demographic characteristics for the sample areas.

Urban Sample.--The urban sample consisted of census tracts 36.01 and 36.02. For these areas, the 1980 median household incomes were \$19,400 and \$14,800, respectively. The areas were 63.7 percent and 69.7 percent Caucasian and 30.5 percent and 24.0 percent Black, respectively.

Small Town Sample.--The small town sample consisted of all of Mason. The area had a median household income of \$18,400 and was 96.5 percent Caucasian and 0.01 percent Black.

Rural Sample. The rural sample included all of Wheatfield Township and the western edge of LeRoy Township where it borders Wheatfield Township. The area had a 1980 median income of \$17,900 and was 98.7 percent Caucasian and 0.5 percent Black.

The racial balance of the sample was similar to the 1980 census. In the sample, over 87 percent of the adult respondents were Caucasian with fewer than 12 percent of Black or Spanish origin. The majority of

the Black and Chicano-American respondents were from the urban sample. The adults in the sample ranged in age from 22 to 50 years and the average age for the wife was almost 32 while the husbands' averaged almost 34 years of age (Table 2). Couples were married an average length of 11.66 years. The majority of couples (70.9 percent) were married 10 to 15 years. Not all couples living together reported they were married, but they were considered as husband and wife.

Husbands and wives, total number of children, other relatives and other individuals living in the residence were considered part of the household. The number of persons in the household ranged from three to seven with the most frequent household size four members: husband, wife and two children. Only one family in the sample reported a non-relative living in the household and none of the families indicated any other relatives in residence.

The number of children in the household ranged from one to five with an average of 2.4 children. Because families had to have at least one child to qualify for the sample, childless couples were not included. As a result, the average household size of the sample varied from the Lansing SMSA household average. The children in the sample were evenly distributed by age with the largest number of children falling in the 11 years old category (20.5 percent).

Husbands' and wives' educational levels differed somewhat. Over 9 percent of the wives and 6.4 percent of the husbands did not complete high school. The 12th grade was the highest level of education for 35 percent of the wives and 32 percent of the husbands. One-third of the wives and one-fourth of the husbands reported that they started college, but completed less than four years. Over one-fifth of the wives (21.5

percent) finished four or more years of college. For the husbands, more than a third (34.5 percent) finished four years or more.

Over half of the couples (52 percent) were single-earner families and 44.9 percent had both husband and wife employed. At the time families filled out the questionnaires, both adults were unemployed in 2.8 percent of the families. In the overall population of workers in the Lansing SMSA, 12.6 percent were reported as unemployed for May 1980. More specifically, 12.5 percent were unemployed within the city of Lansing.

Table 2.--Characteristics of Families in the Sample

Characteristics	Frequency (n=107)	Percentage (100.0)	Mean	Median
Age in Years				
Husbands				
21-25	2	1.8	33.79	33.46
26-30	22	20.6		
31-35	52	48.5		
36-40	24	22.4		
41-45	3	2.7		
46-50	4	3.7		
Wives				
21-25	3	2.8	31.89	31.85
26-30	32	29.8		
31-35	52	48.5		
36-40	18	16.8		
41-45	2	1.8		
46-50	0	0		
Years Married*				
0-3	6	5.6	11.66	12.39
4-6	6	5.6		
7-9	9	8.4		
10-12	34	31.7		
13-15	42	39.2		
16-18	8	7.5		
19-21	2	1.8		

Table 2. (cont'd.)

Characteristics	Frequency (n=107)	Percentage (100.0)	Mean	Median
Number of Persons in Household				
3	11	10.3	4.41	4.79
4	52	48.6		
5	34	31.8		
6	9	8.4		
7	1	0.9		
Number of Children*				
1	11	10.3	2.40	2.32
2	52	48.6		
3	35	32.7		
4	8	7.5		
5	1	0.9		
Age of Oldest Child				
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
6	4	10	6.2	23.2
7	8	4	12.5	9.3
8	13	3	20.3	7.0
9	9	7	14.1	16.3
10	8	6	12.5	14.0
11	13	9	20.3	20.9
12	9	4	14.1	9.3
Education Level				
Husbands				
1-3 years of high school	6	5.6		
Completed high school (high school diploma)	35	32.7		
Less than 4 years of college	27	25.2		
4 years of college	18	16.8		
5 or more years of college	20	18.7		
Wives				
1-3 years of high school	9	8.4		
Completed high school (high school diploma)	38	35.5		
Less than 4 years of college	36	33.6		
4 years of college	7	6.5		
5 or more years of college	16	15.0		

Table 2. (cont'd.)

Characteristics	Frequency (n=107)	Percentage (100.0)	Mean	Median
Employment Status				
Single-earner	56	52.8		
Dual-earner	48	44.9		
Both unemployed	3	2.8		
Midpoint of Family Income Category (Annual)**				
\$7,500	1	0.9	\$26,752	\$25,519
\$9,000	1	0.9		
\$11,000	0	0		
\$13,500	4	3.7		
\$17,500	16	15.0		
\$22,500	23	21.5		
\$27,500	20	18.6		
\$32,500	26	24.3		
\$42,500	13	12.1		
\$50,000-over	4	3.7		
Missing Data	1	0.9		
Occupation				
Husbands				
Professional-Technical	30	28.8		
Managerial-Administrative	14	13.1		
Sales	3	2.8		
Clerical	7	6.5		
Craftsman, operative, transport, laborer	44	41.1		
Service	5	4.7		
Private household workers	0	0		
Farmer	2	1.9		
Housespouse/Student	2	1.9		
Wives				
Professional-Technical	11	10.3		
Managerial-Administrative	3	2.8		
Sales	2	1.9		
Clerical	20	18.7		
Craftsman, operative, transport, laborer	3	2.8		
Service	7	6.5		
Private household workers	4	3.7		
Farmer	1	0.9		
Housespouse/Student	56	52.3		

* As reported by wives

** A combined report - Husband's and wife's personal income added together for family income

The median family income for the sample was \$25,519. The 1980 census estimated median household income for the four census tracts included in the three sample areas as \$19,400 and \$14,800 (tracts 36.01 and 36.02, respectively) for the urban area, \$18,400 for the small town and \$17,900 for the rural area. The sample was well above the median household income for each of the areas. The per capita income was determined by dividing the total family income by the number of persons in the household dependent upon the income. The average per capita income for the sample was \$5,622.

The occupations of the husbands and wives were classified according to the 1970 United States Census Occupational Codes. Since the Codes include many diverse occupations, they were combined into more general categories for reporting purposes. In all but the traditionally female occupations, husbands outnumbered wives. Twenty-eight percent of the husbands and 10.3 percent of the wives were professional-technical workers. In the managerial-administrative workers category, the difference was even more pronounced (13.1 percent of the husbands and 2.8 percent of the wives). Only a small portion of the sample was employed in sales (2.8 percent of the husbands and 1.9 percent of the wives). Most of the employed wives were clerical workers (18.7 percent in contrast to 6.5 percent of the husbands). Most of the employed husbands were in blue collar jobs such as craftsmen, transport workers, operatives and laborers (41.1 percent). By comparison, only 2.8 percent of the wives were employed in this kind of work. Wives (10.2 percent) outnumbered the husbands (4.7 percent) in the combined categories of service and private household workers. Only a small percent of the husbands (2.9 percent) and wives (0.9 percent)

were farmers. The greatest difference was found in the category which included house spouses and students. Only 1.9 percent of the husbands reported being in this category while it included more than half of the sample of wives (52.3 percent).

Summary

The families in the sample were a diverse group well representative of the larger population from which they were taken. They covered a wide range of income levels (\$6,500 to over \$50,000) and many occupations. Respondents were professionals, clerical workers and others worked in blue collar jobs. At the time of the survey, 85 percent of the men were employed and 12 percent were laid off. Slightly over half of the wives were not employed (52.3 percent). The average household in the sample consisted of a husband, wife and two children.

Instrument Development

This researcher was not part of the project team when the instrument was developed. The following section is based on a report from a member of the project (Ezell, 1981). The project team consisted of three faculty members from Michigan State University and graduate students. The purpose of the project was to study household production; a comprehensive questionnaire was developed toward that end. Household Production Project members developed some of the questions and others were adapted from questions developed by other researchers. This researcher joined the project when the data were being cleaned and prepared for analysis. All previous reports on the analysis of the data have focused mainly on the adult respondents. This researcher was the only one to focus entirely (except for the demographic data) on the

children's questionnaire.

The questionnaires for the children and adults were developed according to the following procedure (Ezell, 1981):

1. [Reviewing] of relevant literature including professional journals and books, research reports, theoretical papers, magazine, and newspapers.
2. Asking experts to review and add to a list of household production activities.
3. Synthesizing the information gathered and developing preliminary questionnaire.
4. Obtaining initial approval from the University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects for pretesting the questionnaire.
5. Pretesting the questionnaire on a selected group of families.
6. Altering the questionnaire to include recommended changes in the final questionnaire.
7. Obtaining final approval from the University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects before beginning interviews in the sample areas. (pp. 70-71)

Related Literature

For the development, particularly of the adult's questionnaire, four major categories of literature were examined: household production, quality of life, human capital development and family demographics. For this study, two of these categories will be discussed in depth.

The work of Andrews and Withey (1976) was adapted for the questions on quality of life. Their faces scale (Figure 1) was used in the children's questionnaire to assess overall perceived quality of life as well as the children's perceptions of several domains (Appendix C, p. 116). The scale is a graphic device which uses a series of seven stylized faces in which the shape of the mouth varies gradually from a big smile to a big frown. Similar scales with a series of five stylized faces have

been utilized by others studying the quality of life of children, but they don't appear to be as discriminating. After evaluating the faces scale with several other scales, Andrews and Withey find that it yields measures with relatively high validities and is also advantageous because it has explicitly labeled categories. Although this scale produces skewed distributions toward the positive end, it is more desirable than a purely verbal method because of the age of this sample of children (between 6 to 12 years). In this study, the seven categories on the faces scale are treated as interval data. Andrews and Withey acknowledge that their scale is similar to two other scales which have been used as interval measures. Most of the categories on the faces scale seem to be separated by one-step intervals, though the most positive categories may be separated by less than one step.

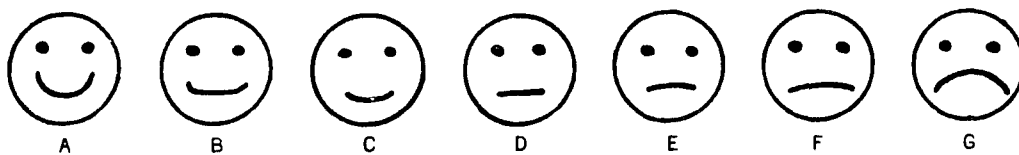


Figure 1.-- Faces Scale

The questions on demographics in the husbands' and wives' questionnaires were taken from the Quality of Life Research Project sponsored by the Departments of Human Environment and Design and Family and Child Ecology at Michigan State University and the Department of Clothing and Textiles, University of Minnesota. (The Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station Project Numbers were: 1,249 "Clothing Use and Quality of Life in Rural and Urban Communities," 3,151

"Families in Evolving Rural Communities." The Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station Project number was: 53-086 "Clothing Use and Quality of Life in Rural and Urban Communities.")

The initial questionnaires were developed utilizing the literature review, project conferences and responses of persons asked to review a preliminary list of household production activities. The team attempted to state all the questions as simply and clearly as possible. Some modifications of the questions resulted from the informal review by project members.

Members of the Household Production Project staff pretested the questionnaire. Nine urban, small town and rural families not living in the sample areas participated in the pretest. Minor modifications to the questionnaire resulted from their responses.

Description of Variables

For this study only parts of the questionnaires were used. Those sections of the questionnaires used in this study include: (1) the quality of life questions in the children's questionnaire (p. 2); (2) the children's perceived contribution to family work (p. 3); (3) the number and kinds of tasks performed by each child (p. 4); and (4) the demographic questions in both the adult's (pp. 28-32, 34, 36-38) and children's (p.1) questionnaires. These sections have been included in Appendix C.

Instrumentation and Scoring

Perceived Quality of Life

The child's quality of whole life score was derived by using the child's questionnaire item number 8 (Faces Scale, Appendix C, p. 116).

Each face was lettered from A to G. In coding, the letters were converted to numbers with the higher the number, the higher perceived quality of life. Several scores on specific domains were also analyzed: their family (item number 9), themselves (item number 10) and the amount of work they do at home for the family (item number 11).

Perceived Contributions to Family Work

A score was derived for the child's perceived contribution to family work using item 18 (Appendix C, p. 117) from the children's questionnaire. In this section, the children were given a circle and told to pretend that the circle represented all of the work that needs doing in the home for the family. Then, they were told to draw and label a piece of pie in the circle to show how much of the family work they did. Additional pieces were drawn for: (1) dad, (2) mom, (3) brothers and sisters, (4) work for which the family paid and (5) work that needs doing but is not done.

By connecting the two lines for each of the pieces of the pie, isosceles triangles were formed, the bases were summed and the percentage each base was of the total represented each family member's contribution to family work as perceived by the oldest child. In this study, only the percentage representing the perceived contribution of the oldest child was analyzed.

After initial printouts of the data were perused, categories were developed to facilitate further analysis. Children who said they contributed less than ten percent of all the family work were considered low perceivers. Medium perceivers contributed between ten to twenty percent and high perceivers contributed more than twenty percent of all the family work.

Number of Tasks Performed

To determine the number of tasks each child performed, items 25 to 47 (Appendix C, p. 118) from the children's questionnaire were scored. These items were scored on a yes-no basis, Yes, I take responsibility and No, I do not take responsibility. Although only 23 tasks were listed, the highest score could have exceeded this number because an open-ended question at the end of this list of items asked the children to write other jobs they do.

Categories were also developed in this section to facilitate further data analysis. Initial printouts of the data indicated that the scores appeared to cluster into three groups. Low performers took responsibility for three to eleven tasks, medium performers for twelve to fifteen and high performers for sixteen to twenty-four tasks.

Statistical Analysis

Descriptive statistics were used to characterize the sample. Mean, median, mode and standard deviation were calculated where appropriate to describe the sample. In this study, oneway analysis of variance, chi-square, z-tests and correlations were also utilized to determine significance of the differences found.

Oneway analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used in this study to compare children of varying ages and different sexes. This sample conformed to the assumptions specified when using oneway ANOVA. Observations were independently selected from normal populations with homeogeneous variance. ANOVA was utilized to analyze the scores derived for the child's perceived contribution to family work. The scores were analyzed first by sex, then by age. A twoway ANOVA by age and sex

could not be performed because the cells were not orthogonal. The child's quality of whole life score and scores on different domains were also analyzed using a oneway ANOVA, first by sex, then by age.

Chi-square was used to test for the existence of a significant difference between boys and girls on number of tasks performed. Categories were developed for low, medium and high performers and the boys and girls were segregated according to these categories. Chi-square was then performed to determine if any discrepancies existed between the expected and observed frequencies.

The two sample z-test was utilized to determine if a significant difference existed between the proportion of boys and girls who took responsibility for a task. Each task was analyzed individually.

The Pearson correlation coefficient, r , measures the strength of the relationship between two continuous variables. Basically, it reflects the ease with which one can estimate the value of a variable through knowledge of the value of a second variable. In this study, correlation is utilized to determine if a relationship exists between age and number of tasks performed. This sample conforms to the assumptions made when using the Pearson correlation: linearity, random sampling, bivariate normal distributions and interval level data (Nie, et al., 1975).

In any statistical testing, the probability of error is a major consideration. Error results from rejecting the null hypothesis when it is true (Type I error) and from failing to reject a hypothesis when it is false (Type II error). Acceptable levels of error must be established according to credible research practices and the specific nature of the research. Because this research is exploratory in nature, the .10 probability of error level is employed in order to avoid overlooking

differences and relationships which may be of potential importance. The .10 level greatly increases chances for making a Type I error, so whenever possible, the .05 level is also reported. This improves scientific credibility and provides a balance between the probability of Type I and Type II errors.

Limitations

The present study is limited to the examination of children's perceptions of 1) their contribution to household work and 2) their quality of life as measured by subjective indicators. The child's perception of their contribution to household work, though it may not coincide with the perceptions of their parents, is important because it helps to define a domain which is one part of the child's evaluation of quality of life as a whole.

The sample used in this study is not representative of other family forms, i.e., single parent families, older families, families with no children. Therefore, the present analysis is not generalizable to these other types of families, but it sheds some light on young families in the United States. Because only young families were studied, the vast majority of them are composed of only four members: mother, father and their two children. The study is limited in application by the sample, but nevertheless has useful findings.

The employment of the mothers was not taken into consideration in the analysis of the data because the review of literature indicated that mother's employment does not appear to have an effect on children's participation in household work if the children are under 12 years of age (as all the children in this sample were).

Data analyses were also limited by the small number (107) of children participating in the study. Twoway analysis by age and sex could not be performed because the cells were not orthogonal and because some of cells were too small. The eight year olds, for example, had the largest number of boys (13) in any age group and the smallest number of girls (3).

Limitations of Instrument

The children's perceptions of their contributions may have little to do with the actual carrying out of household production responsibilities, particularly with the youngest children. However, their perceptions are important because they reflect reality as perceived by that individual.

The reliability and validity of the question on perceived contributions are unknown. This researcher wonders whether children can understand the abstract concept of proportion when they are asked to divide the pie into parts representing each family member's share of the work in the home. The child's (especially the 6 and 7 year olds) motor coordination is also questionable. Do they have the motor coordination to depict the radial lines which accurately represent the part of the circle which describes their contributions? Test re-test reliability on the children's responses would be desirable.

Chapter 5

FINDINGS

This chapter contains the results of the data analyses. The results are divided into three sections under the following headings: (1) child's perceived contribution to household work; (2) quantity and kinds of tasks performed by the child; and (3) child's perceived quality of life. Each section contains research questions and hypotheses formulated from them.

Table 3 gives a summary of the sample of children by age and sex.

Table 3.--Summary of Sample by Age and Sex

Age of Child	Frequency		Percentage		Percentage Total
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	
6	4	10	6.2	23.2	13.1
7	8	4	12.5	9.3	11.2
8	13	3	20.3	7.0	15
9	9	7	14.1	16.3	15
10	8	6	12.5	14.0	13.1
11	13	9	20.3	20.9	20.5
12	9	4	14.1	9.3	12.1
Total	64	43	100.0	100.0	100.0

Child's Perceived Contribution to Household Work

The research questions on the child's perceived contribution to household work were:

1. What is the child's perceived contribution to the household work of the family? Are there any differences:
 - a. In perceptions of boys and girls?
 - b. Between groups?

The first hypothesis formulated using the review of literature was:

H0 1. Boys and girls will differ in perceived contribution to the household work of the family. The perceived contribution of girls will be higher than that of boys.

A percent score was derived for the child's perceived contribution to the household work of the family using the piece of the pie designated by the child. The mean percentage for the boys' scores was 13.84, the median was 13.80 and the standard deviation was 5.02. The boys' scores ranged from a low of 5.7% to a high of 25.1%. The mean percentage for the girls' scores was 15.63, the median was 14.40 and the standard deviation was 6.98. The girls' scores ranged from a low of 3.5% to a high of 38.1%. A more detailed presentation of these descriptive statistics can be found on Table D-1 in the Appendix.

The scores were also analyzed using a oneway ANOVA by sex. Although the F-value (3.574, df=1, 104) was not significant at the .05 level, it was significant at the .10 level. This analysis does not support Ho 1 at the .05 level of significance and the hypothesis is rejected. However, the difference found between the boys and girls is significant at the .10 level; future study is suggested.

Ho 2. Age groups will differ in perceived contributions to the household work of the family. The perceived contribution will increase with age.

Using the same percent score, a oneway ANOVA by age was performed. Age groups differed significantly in their perceived contributions to the household work of the family ($F=2.289$, $df=6, 99$, $p<.05$). When the scores were broken down by different age groups, Figure 2, a trend emerged. Children's perceptions of their contributions were highest at ages 6 and 7, peaking at age 7. Their perceptions of their contributions declined from age 7 and increased again around ages 11 and 12. Hypothesis 2 was only partially supported because, though the age groups differed in their perceived contributions, they did not differ in the pattern suggested.

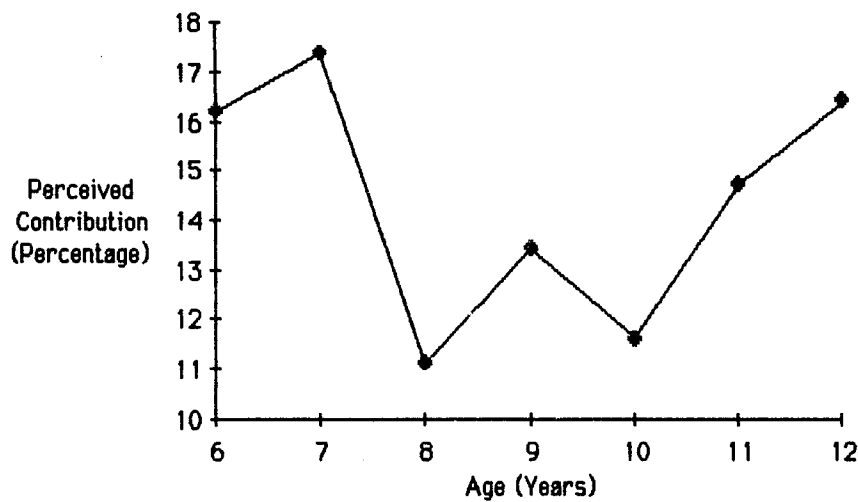


Figure 2. -- Child's Perceived Contribution by Age

Quantity and Kinds of Tasks Performed by the Child

Several research questions were developed concerning the quantity and kinds of tasks performed by the children:

2. How many tasks are being performed by each child? Are there any differences between the number of tasks boys and girls perform? Are traditional sex role stereotypes adhered to when tasks are selected? Are older children performing more tasks than younger children?

The review of the literature resulted in the development of the third hypothesis:

- Ho 3. Boys and girls will differ in the number of tasks performed.
Girls will perform more tasks than boys.

The mean for the total number of tasks performed by the boys was 12.46, the median was 11.89 and the standard deviation was 3.86. The total number of tasks performed by the boys ranged from a low of 3 to a high of 23. The mean for the total number of tasks performed by the girls was 13.86, the median was 13.19 and the standard deviation was 3.72. The total number of tasks performed by the girls ranged from a low of 6 to a high of 24 (one of the girls said she did all of the tasks and she wrote an additional one in on the space provided). A more detailed presentation of these descriptive statistics can be found on Table D-2 in the Appendix.

A chi-square test ($\chi^2=5.50$, $df=2$, $p<.075$) for significance of difference between boys and girls on number of tasks performed resulted in a marginally significant difference. The results from this test were summarized on Table 4. It revealed that boys were overrepresented in the group of low performers (three to eleven tasks) and underrepresented in the group of high performers (sixteen to twenty-four tasks). Table 3

also indicated that the reverse was true for the sample of girls. This analysis was in support of hypothesis 3.

Table 4.--Number of Tasks Performed by Boys and Girls

Number of Tasks	Girls			Boys		
	Observed	Expected	%Deviation	Observed	Expected	% Deviation
Low						
3-11	10	15.67	-36.18	29	23.33	24.30
Medium						
12-15	21	16.88	24.41	21	25.12	-16.40
High						
16-24	12	10.45	14.83	14	15.55	-9.97

$$\chi^2=5.50, p<.075$$

Ho 4. Boys and girls will differ in the kinds of tasks performed. Girls will do more in-the-home work while boys will work more outside.

A z-test was performed on each task to see if a significant difference existed between the proportion of boys and girls who took responsibility for the task. The results from these tests were summarized on Table 5. Hypothesis 4 was supported because the tasks girls performed significantly more than boys were all in-the-home tasks while the two tasks boys performed significantly more than girls were both outside tasks.

Table 5.--Percentage of Boys and Girls Performing Specific Household Tasks

Task	Percent		Z
	Boys	Girls	
Tasks Without Significant Male-Female Differences			
Do yard work	86	77	1.20
Do some shopping	42	33	.94
Earn money	63	60	.31
Collect dirty clothes for laundry	56	53	.31
Vacuum rugs, carpets, floors	69	70	-.11
Take care of pets or animals	64	65	-.11
Put away groceries	67	70	-.33
Take sheets off the bed or put sheets on	50	56	-.61
Put away toys, clean my room	95	98	-.80
Wash and dry the clothes	8	16	-1.29
Wash and dry dishes	45	58	-1.32
Take care of other children	59	72	-1.38
Sweep sidewalks, porches or patio, floors	41	58	-1.73
Wash floors	9	21	-1.76
Tasks Boys Perform Significantly More Than Girls			
Take out garbage or trash	69	35	3.47***
Shovel snow	80	51	3.16**
Tasks Girls Perform Significantly More Than Boys			
Dust furniture	38	81	-4.39***
Set and clear table, wash table	73	95	-2.89**
Put away the clean clothes	48	74	-2.68**
Clean sinks, bathtubs, toilets	30	53	-2.39**
Write a letter	41	63	-2.23*
Water the plants	27	47	-2.13*
Prepare and cook meals	23	42	-2.09*

* Significant at .05 level.

** Significant at .01 level.

*** Significant at .005 level.

- Ho 5. Age groups will differ in the number of tasks performed. Older children will perform more tasks than younger children.

Pearson correlation was utilized to test if significant differences existed between the different age groups on the mean number of tasks they performed. When the boys and girls were combined and the correlations were performed, no significant difference ($r=.1093$, $df=106$, $p<.15$) existed. Then, the boys and girls were separated and the correlations performed. The correlation coefficient for the boys was not significant ($r=.0263$, $df=63$, $p<.57$). However, a significant relationship was found between age and tasks for the girls ($r=.275$, $df=42$, $p<.04$). When extreme cases (the two girls performing the least number of tasks) were removed, the relationship was even more significant ($r=.402$, $df=41$, $p<.005$). Older girls appear to perform more tasks. Hypothesis 5 would have to be rejected when boy's and girl's scores were combined, but when girls were analyzed separately, the hypothesis was supported.

Child's Perceived Quality of Life

The research questions on the child's perceived quality of life were:

4. What is the child's perceived quality of life? Are there any differences:
 - a. In the scores of boys and girls?
 - b. Between the age groups?

Because of the paucity of research on children's quality of life, the hypotheses developed in this section were broad and exploratory in nature:

- Ho 6. Boys and girls will not differ in perceived quality of life.

The child's quality of whole life score was analyzed using a oneway ANOVA by sex. The resulting F-value (2.569, df=1, 105) was not even significant at the .10 level which indicated that hypothesis 6 should be accepted. Gender does not appear to be a significant factor influencing perceived quality of life. Scores on specific domains (i.e. their family, themselves and the amount of work they do at home for the family) were also analyzed using oneway ANOVA and none of the F-values reached the .10 level of significance.

Ho 7. Age groups will not differ in perceived quality of life.

When a oneway ANOVA by age was performed, the resulting F-value (3.143, df=6, 100) was significant at the .007 level which indicated that hypothesis 7 should be rejected. When the scores were broken down into different age groups (Figure 3), the pattern which emerged indicated that younger children scored higher on perceived quality of life than older children. The scores on their family and work participation domains were not significant. The self domain was significant at the .077 level, but when the scores were broken down into different age groups (Figure 4), a definite pattern did not emerge.

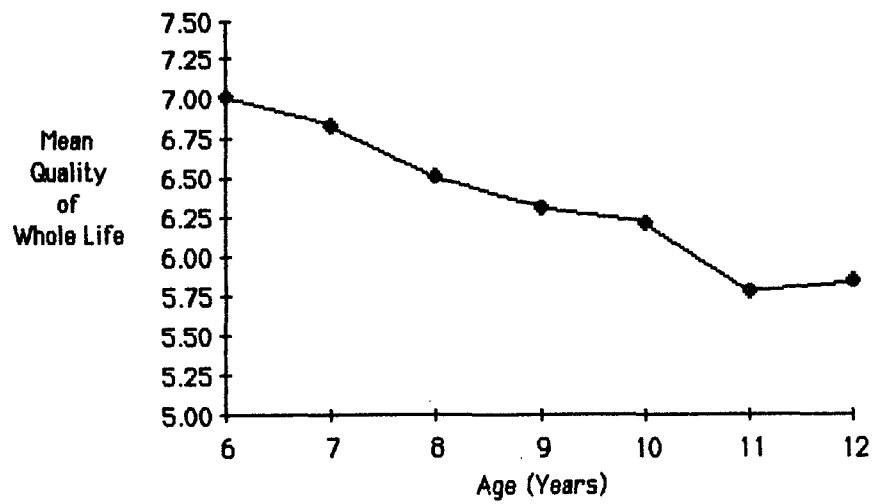


Figure 3. -- Child's Perceived Quality of Whole Life by Age

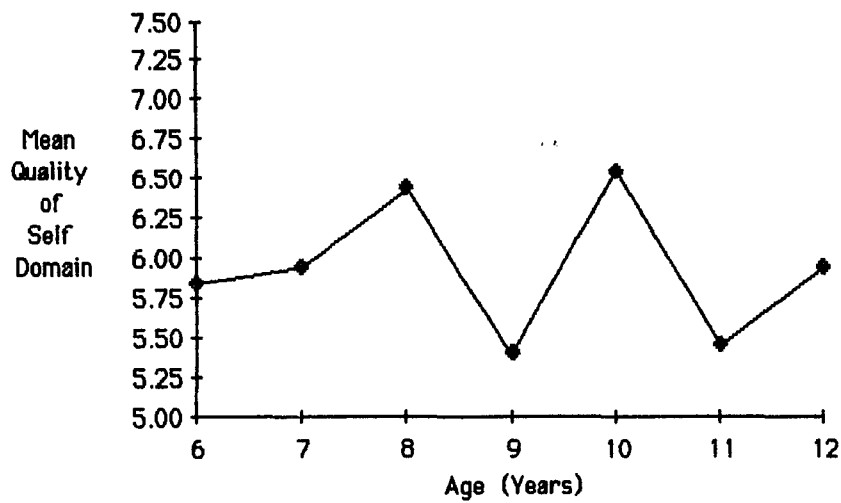


Figure 4. -- Child's Perceived Quality of Self Domain by Age

Chapter 6

CONCLUSIONS, DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

This summary chapter includes an overview of the study with major conclusions and a discussion of the findings. Also included are the implications of the study as well as recommendations for future research.

Overview of the Study

This research examined the participation of children in household work and their perceived quality of life. The major purpose of this descriptive study was to identify perceived contributions to household work of children of selected ages and both sexes. The data were taken from a larger study "Contributions of Household Production to Family Income" (Michigan Agricultural Station Project 1363H). In the larger study, the family was the unit of analysis. The sample was 107 families from urban, small town and rural locations in mid-Michigan. Each husband, wife and oldest child (between the ages of six and twelve) were given a self-administered questionnaire. In this study, the only section utilized from the husbands' and wives' questionnaires was the section on demographics. These demographics were used to describe the sample. The majority of the analysis focused on the responses of the children from three sections of their questionnaire. These data were analyzed to examine the child's perceived contribution to household work, the

quantity and kinds of tasks performed by the child and the child's perceived quality of life. Statistical tests used were analysis of variance, chi-square, z-test and correlation.

Major Conclusions

The major conclusions of the study were:

1. Boys and girls do not differ significantly in their perceived contribution to the household work of the family.
2. Age groups differ significantly in perceived contributions to the household work of the family. Children's perceptions are highest at ages 6 and 7, peaking at age 7. Their perceptions of their contributions decline from age 7 and increase again around ages 11 and 12.
3. Boys and girls differ significantly in the number of tasks reported being performed. Boys are overrepresented in the group of low performers (three to eleven tasks) and underrepresented in the group of high performers (sixteen to twenty-four tasks). The reverse is true for the sample of girls.
4. Boys and girls differ significantly in the kinds of tasks performed. Girls do more in-the-home work while boys work more outside.
5. Age groups differ significantly in the number of tasks performed when the girls' data are analyzed. Older girls appear to perform more tasks than younger girls. The age of the boy does not appear to influence the number of tasks performed.
6. Boys and girls do not differ significantly in perceived quality of life.

7. Age groups differ significantly in perceived quality of life. Younger children score higher on perceived quality of whole life scores than older children.

Discussion of Findings

Discussion of the results of the data analysis is organized around the four research questions.

1. What is the child's perceived contribution to the household work of the family? Are there any differences:
 - a. In perceptions of boys and girls?
 - b. Between age groups?

When reviewing the literature in this area, it was obvious that many studies had been done to quantify children's contributions to the household work of the family. In some studies, parents (particularly mothers) were asked to measure the extent of their child's responsibility to household work (Walker, 1973; Walker and Woods, 1976; Lynch, 1975a). In other studies, children were asked to give estimates of the time they spent generally in household work or in specific household tasks (Tengel, 1964; Hoppen, 1966). Still others combined the reports of parents and children (Temple University Institute for Survey Research, 1976). None of the studies reviewed by this researcher asked the children to view their contributions to the household work of the family in relation to all the work done in the home. As a result, the use of the pie was unique in that it attempted to discover the child's perception of their contribution in relation to other family members.

The results of this study suggest that females and males do not differ significantly in their relative perceived contribution to the

household work of the family. Because of these results, the first hypothesis had to be rejected at the .05 level of significance. Although this hypothesis had to be rejected, when the scores were broken down by different age groups, a trend emerged indicating that girls' perceptions of their contributions were greater than boys' in all age groups except two (in these two cells the ratio of boys to girls significantly favored the boys). What was significant about this analysis was the similarity between the the boys' and girls' perceptions of their contributions.

Although no time data were collected on the tasks children said they performed, on all but six (out of 23) tasks, the proportion of girls performing the task is greater than that of boys. Of significance is the fact that, although the girls in this sample were contributing significantly more than the boys, their peceptions of their contributions were not significantly (at the .05 level) different.

In these "liberated" times, these results are alarming. This discrepancy between perceived contributions and tasks performed suggests that females underestimate their actual contributions of work to the household. In light of the inequity (in task performance) which exists in this sample of children, it appears that the girls may be developing higher expectations of their participation, thus reporting a lower contribution to the household work. The ramifications of these differences in boys' and girls' expectations will be further discussed in the final section of this chapter.

The developmentalist approach was utilized as the conceptual framework underlying this study and was reflected in the hypotheses. Developmentalists stress the regular and cumulative aspects of the growth process. Because of this view of the growth process, it was

hypothesized that age groups would differ in their perceived contributions to the household work of the family with contributions increasing with age. Erikson (1963) suggested that the child from five through preadolescence gains "insights into the institutions, functions, and roles which permit his responsible participation" finding "pleasurable accomplishment in wielding tools...and in caring for younger children." Because these children tended to participate more actively in the household work of the family as they moved through this period, it was hypothesized that they would perceive their contributions increasing in relation to the contributions of other family members.

This trend does emerge when the scores from the eight (mean=11.1%) through twelve (mean=16.4%) year olds were analyzed. The hypothesis does not explain the high scores of the six (mean=16.2%) and seven (mean=17.4%) year olds.

A review of the literature (Gesell, Arnold, Ilg and Ames, 1977) indicates that the six year old is often seen as self-centered and this perspective may distort the child's perception of their contribution in relation to other members of the family. Because they cannot observe and may not comprehend all of their mother's and father's contributions, this researcher is not surprised that one six year old girl said that her contribution represented 36% of all the work done in the home.

The seven year old is described as beginning to be thoughtful, to be considerate and anxious to please. The child wants to find their place in the family group and is ready to take some of the household responsibilities. Many like to help and this may explain the high scores of the seven year olds in this sample.

2. How many tasks are being performed by each child? Are there any differences between the number of tasks boys and girls perform? Are traditional sex role stereotypes adhered to when tasks are selected? Are older children performing more tasks than younger children?

The research mentioned earlier focusing on the factors which most influence children's involvement in household work highlighted the importance of sex and sex roles. A review of this literature resulted in the hypothesis that boys and girls would differ in the number of tasks performed with girls performing more tasks. The analysis of the number of tasks boys and girls said they performed resulted in the acceptance of this hypothesis. The boys in the sample were overrepresented by 24% in the group of low performers (3-11 tasks). The girls in this group were underrepresented by 36%. In the group of high performers (16-24 tasks), the boys were underrepresented by 10% and the girls were overrepresented by 15%.

When the proportion of boys and girls performing each task was analyzed, the results supported the hypothesis that boys and girls would differ in the kinds of tasks they performed. As the literature suggested, the girls in this sample performed more in-the-home work while the boys performed more work outside. The two tasks which boys performed significantly more than the girls were taking out the garbage and shoveling the snow (this task was seasonal). The girls performed seven tasks significantly more than the boys, and of the remaining fourteen tasks, the proportion favored the girls in ten of them. Although this study did not collect data on the amount of time which was spent on each task, it was obvious that the performance of boys and girls was significantly different.

It can be argued that the higher proportion of girls in household task performance is related to less interference with early role-modeling (Stephens, 1963). Development occurs from early childhood interests of wanting to be like mother and participate in her work to being mother's helper. Even in these "liberated" times, the tasks listed are still performed significantly more by women than they are by men. If such behavior continues, traditional role designation may prevail for women through adulthood. In an era of increasing participation of women in the workforce, these traditional sex role expectations may have deleterious effects on women. This researcher wonders if society is creating a situation where women must be "superwomen" to survive--doing the lion's share of the work in the home while participating equally in the workforce.

When task performance was analyzed using the different age groups, an even more alarming trend emerged. Utilizing the conceptual framework, it was hypothesized that the age groups would differ in the number of tasks performed with older children performing more tasks than younger children. Although no significant difference existed between the age groups, when boys and girls were analyzed separately, a significant relationship was found between age and tasks for the girls. Older girls appeared to perform more tasks than younger girls.

This result suggests that, as the number of tasks increases with age, the child is becoming an eager and absorbed unit of a productive situation (Erikson, 1963). By age ten, the child comes to appreciate work completion and diligence, internalizing the work principle. The results from this analysis lead this researcher to ask how this process is affected if responsibility for household work does not appear to increase

(as with the boys in this sample)? Do boys learn to become responsible and productive in work situations outside the home?

3. What is the child's perceived quality of life? Are there any differences:
 - a. In the scores of boys and girls?
 - b. Between age groups?

The literature maintained that gender was not a significant factor influencing perceived quality of life so this researcher hypothesized that no difference would be found between the scores of boys and girls. The analysis of the child's quality of whole life score as well as quality of several domains (i.e. their family, themselves and the amount of work they do at home for the family) supported this hypothesis.

Because of the paucity of research on children's quality of life, it was also hypothesized that age groups would not differ in perceived quality of whole life. A highly significant (.007 level) difference was apparent when the scores were analyzed by age. When the scores were broken down into different age groups, the pattern which emerged indicated that younger children scored higher on perceived quality of whole life than older children.

This trend was also perceived when quality of school life was studied by Epstein and McPartland (1976). They suggested that this trend (for quality of school life scores to decrease as grade level increases) exists because "the objective quality of school goes down each year and/or that with maturity, students more critically evaluate their environments." They argued that, with age, students' abilities become more varied and schools "may be less able to meet the more diverse academic interests and needs of older students".

This may also be the case with the home environment. As a result of the maturing process, the older children in the sample may more critically evaluate their home environment. The older children also have more interaction with the outside environment and this may create a situation where it is more difficult for the family to meet the more diverse interests and needs of this older child. As a result, quality of whole life scores decrease with age.

4. Is there a relationship between:

- a. The child's perceived contribution to household work and the number of tasks performed? Are there differences between boys and girls?
- b. The child's perceived contribution to household work and perceived quality of life?
- c. The number of tasks performed and perceived quality of life?

This research question was exploratory in nature because a review of the literature gave little assistance in the development of hypotheses.

A chi-square analysis of the relationship between the child's perceived contribution to household work and the number of tasks performed indicated that none existed. When the boys and girls were analyzed separately, the level of significance decreased.

Correlation of the relationship between the child's perceived contribution to household work and perceived quality of life also was not significant. When number of tasks and perceived quality of life were analyzed, no relationship was apparent. Because the quality of life data were so skewed toward the positive end (with most children marking the two happiest faces in the scale of seven faces), there was too little variance to conduct any meaningful test.

Implications of the Study

Although data on the amount of time each child spent on a task were not collected, it was obvious that this sample of girls performed significantly more tasks (from the list of 23) than the boys in the sample. The difference in the proportion of girls and boys performing tasks was not reflected in the childrens' perceptions of their contributions to family work. The girls and boys did not differ (at the .05 level of significance) in their perceived contributions to the work of the household.

The older girls in this sample, as hypothesized, performed more tasks than the younger girls. This was an indication of the acquisition of responsibility and the basic habits of industry (Havighurst, 1964). For the boys in this sample, this trend was not observed which may indicate a difference in the socialization process for boys and girls.

Many women's movement advocates are interested in the sex role socialization of children because they see the seed for future perpetuation of role inequities planted at a very early age. The results from this study will alarm these advocates because they provide strong evidence that this sample of children continues to adhere to traditional patterns in household task participation. Boys continue to do the work outside the home (much of which is seasonal) while girls participate more frequently in inside activities (the majority of which need to be performed on a regular basis).

Like Thrall (1978), this researcher is interested in role stereotypy or the normative expectation that one person is supposed to do a task and that another is then expected not to do it. Thrall's findings suggest that the best single predictor of a family's division of labor may be the

previous generation. The adherence to traditional patterns by the children in this sample indicates a similar division of labor by their parents. It also gives strong evidence for a perpetuation of this traditional pattern with their own children.

In a society which preaches equality, it is distressing to find such strong evidence of the perpetuation by sex of traditional patterns in the home. As long as these patterns are perpetuated in the home, they will continue to impact on an individual's participation in other systems. One area of concern is the impact of these patterns on women's participation in the world of work. Is it possible that women continue to seek low paying, traditionally female-oriented jobs because of the socialization they are receiving in the home? Will men ever view women as their equals if the work in the home is not shared or valued equitably?

Exchange is a basic economic principle which results in participating parties being better off if each is producing that in which they are most efficient. If children learn to do sex-related jobs, this perpetuates a sexual division of labor throughout life because they will continue doing those jobs at which they are most efficient. Lynch (1975a) suggests that:

If tradition is stronger than efficiency or equity, it may perpetuate its own efficiency via the exchange principle to ensure its survival. (p. 89)

She believes, as does this researcher, that the answer is to change societal patterns so that division of labor is based on equity rather than tradition. Other researchers (Lu, 1952; Naffzingers, 1974) support the desirability of this notion. Their research on husband-wife marital adjustment indicates that an equalitarian relationship or democratic partnership is correlated with good marital adjustment and lessened

hostilities. It is also important for children to be exposed to parents working as equals.

With living, breathing models of males and females participating in egalitarian roles, the child never has to be confined to the rigid structures of "men's or women's work". Working alongside these role models results in the development of new societal patterns. This is particularly important with early role-modeling for boys because there has been less opportunity for father and son role-modeling in the past.

Household work equity is important for another reason. One of the issues raised in the review of literature deals with the tasks being delegated to children. Johannis (1958) wonders if children are substituting "for a servant in the family?" Are those tasks which are least liked being delegated more often to today's children? These are often the tasks which are easiest to teach (such as cleaning), and once learned, they require little or no supervision. While it is important for children to learn this kind of work because it is vital to basic maintenance, they also need work which challenges their skills and inventiveness. Neisser (1957) believes that jobs with those kinds of qualities supplement the atmosphere of responsibility in which the child lives and would be a further aid to the cultivation of reliability.

Finally, society has to give value to or "revalue" family work. This is not to say that household work is the sum total of all the family does, but some level of maintenance is required if higher level needs are to be satisfied. National politicians and others in this country are finally beginning to realize that many of the critical problems this nation faces today have come to pass because society has taken the family--and the role it plays--for granted. One of the ways to reestablish the value of

families to society is to give value to family work. If children can learn this when they are young, if they can see that their contributions enhance and help to maintain those they love, then they will develop the kind of commitment this nation needs to develop responsible and productive citizens of the world.

Recommendations for Further Research

The major purpose of this descriptive study was to identify perceived contributions to household work of children of selected ages and both sexes. Utilizing the responses of the child to a self-administered questionnaire, this researcher attempted to examine the child's perceived contribution to household work, the quantity and kinds of tasks performed by the child and the child's perceived quality of life. Although quality of life questions and lists of household tasks have been administered to children before, none of the studies reviewed by this researcher asked children to view their contributions to the household work of the family in relation to all the work done in the home. As a result, the use of the pie was unique in that it attempted to discover the child's perception of their contribution in relation to other family members.

Although the pie has its limitations, especially when used with young children, it does attempt to give an added dimension to the research on household work participation of children. In future research, one recommendation would be to use the pie in conjunction with a list of household tasks and time-record charts to get a fuller picture of the participation of children in the work of the home. Time-record charts can be kept by children and their parents to get an even clearer picture of

the child's participation, thus allowing to test for convergent validity of the measure.

This researcher feels it is important to periodically reassess the progress children are making toward a more egalitarian division of work in the home as well as measuring their quality of life. This research only begins to explore these issues and is limited by the small size of the sample (107 children between the ages of 6 and 12 years). In future research endeavors, a much larger sample (spanning ages 6 through 17) is needed to permit the more complex kinds of analyses which would answer questions such as:

1. What is the influence of mother's employment on the participation of children in household work?
2. What is the influence of number of siblings on the participation of children in household work?
3. What are children actually doing at home and with whom? It has been assumed that interaction time is necessary for socialization and nurturance, but is this actually the case?
4. What motivations, values and structural supports and constraints account for variations in work roles assigned to children?
5. What is the relationship between the development of responsibility and participation in household work?
6. What is the function of work in the socialization process? What human resources are being developed when children work in the home? What are the interrelationships between household work contributions of boys and girls of different ages and other developmental tasks? How are children's work roles related to their psychological and social development?

Answers to these questions can give a stronger theoretical basis for understanding children's participation in household work and the function of this work in the socialization process. These questions also look at household work from a larger perspective. In some cases, household work will be view as the independent variable rather than the dependent variable and the researcher will study its influence on other variables (i.e the development of responsibility). Answering these questions may require the use of observational data to really understand what is going on in the home. Answers to these questions can also help to bring to light structural, educational and policy changes which need to be made to move our society toward its valued ideals of equity and justice for all members.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Training Meeting

1 May 1980

1. Introduction (hand out plastic I.D.'s)
2. Explanation of study (use proposal); police have been notified
3. Locating families:
 - a. blocks have been randomly selected (apt. building was considered a block)
 - b. starting points in each area (K. Rettig)
 - c. use skip pattern
4. Initial contact, screening:
 - a. knock on door
 - b. introduce self: who you are working for--MSU--College of Human Ecology
 - c. doing study of 2 spouse families with elementary age children about stretching dollars to help beat inflation. Do you and your spouse have a child between 6 - 12 years of age.
 - d. fill in household composition form.
 - e. if household meets criteria explain study, indicate there will be a small token of appreciation (\$5) if all 3 questionnaires are filled out.
 - f. are you willing to participate?
 - g. if yes - ask open end question.
Give them envelope; go over format of 2 types of questions (interviewers fill in; time).
 - h. leave envelopes; arrange for pickup--have them sign form--explain they can help kids;
point out phone no.
 - i. tell family they will be mailed check after insert form and questionnaires have been checked for completeness.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF HUMAN ECOLOGY • DEPARTMENT OF FAMILY ECOLOGY

EAST LANSING • MICHIGAN • 48824

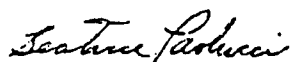
Spring 1980

This is to introduce our interviewer from

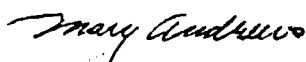
This interviewer is asking your participation in a study of household production by Michigan families. The research project and questionnaire have been developed by the Department of Family Ecology and the Family Living Education, Cooperative Extension Service, College of Human Ecology at Michigan State University. The project has been funded by the Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station.

The cooperation of your family in granting a short interview and in completing the self-administered questionnaires will be sincerely appreciated. Your names will in no way be linked to your responses.

Sincerely,



Beatrice Paolucci,
Professor
Family Ecology



Mary Andrews,
Evaluation Specialist
Family Living Education



Irene Hathaway,
Instructor
Family Ecology and
Resource Management
Specialist

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

College of Human Ecology
May, 1980

East Lansing, Michigan

Consent Form

We, the undersigned, freely consent to participate in a scientific and educational study conducted by the College of Human Ecology and The Cooperative Extension Service of Michigan State University under the supervision of Beatrice Paolucci, Irene Hathaway, and Mary Andrews.

The purposes of the project have been explained to us and we understand the explanation that has been given as well as what our participation will involve.

We understand that we are free to discontinue participation in the study at any time without penalty, or that we may withdraw the participation of our child.

We understand that the results of the study will be treated in strict confidence and that we will remain anonymous. Final results of the study will be made available to us at our request.

We understand that we may have an opportunity to participate in an educational program to increase our income-producing skills if we so desire. It is hoped that participation in these educational activities will be beneficial to us; however, we understand there is no guarantee of beneficial results.

We desire to participate in this research and consent and agree. We, as legal parents/guardians of the below named child, give our permission for the child to participate in the study to the degree to which the child desires.

Please sign your first and last names.

Adult Female Signature Date

Adult Male Signature Date

Child's Signature Date

Address City, Town, State Zip

Telephone

APPENDIX B

Table B-1.--Demographic Characteristics of Areas in Which Sampling Occurred.

Demographics	Urban Lansing		Small Town Mason	Rural Wheatfield
	36.01	36.02	63	57
Total Population ^a	4,695	4,344	6,678	4,279
Race ^a				
White	2,992	3,032	6,446	4,200
Black	1,436	1,041	104	21
American Indian	28	39	22	5
Asian	40	16	57	33
Other	197	216	49	20
Persons of Spanish origin included above	312	307	99	19
Number of Families ^a	1,214	1,123	1,529	400
Number of Children ^a (within specific age range)				
6	87	8	98	24
7-9	312	284	291	90
10-13	437	346	394	120
Income ^b				
Median Income	19,400	14,800	18,400	17,900
Percent Unemployment ^c	12.5%	12.6%	12.6%	

a. 1980 U.S. Census Data, Ingham County Michigan.

b. 1980 Estimated Median Household Income. Tri-County Planning Commission, October, 1981

c. Michigan Employment Security Commission, May 1980, revised.

Table B-2.--Classification of Attempted Placement of Questionnaire by Location.

Location	Number	Percent
Urban Town	309	44.1
Small Town	192	27.4
Rural Area	200	28.5
Total	701	100.0

--Classification of Attempted Placement of Questionnaires by Eligibility of Family.

Eligibility	Number	Percent
Eligible and Placement	139	19.8
Eligible and Refused	18	2.6
Not Eligible	268	38.2
Single Parent	22	3.1
Refused before eligibility		
Determined	5	0.7
Other	22	3.1
No answer	198	28.2
Missing data	29	4.1
Total	701	100.0

APPENDIX C

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF HUMAN ECOLOGY • DEPARTMENT OF FAMILY ECOLOGY

EAST LANSING • MICHIGAN • 48824

1 May 1980

Dear Friend,

In all discussions connected with inflation and energy shortages, there have been few opportunities for families to share what they are doing to ease the situation. We, at Michigan State University thought you would be willing to tell us what your family is doing to stretch dollars, that is, what you are doing yourself rather than purchasing, how you are getting the most out of the things you have. This information will help us plan educational programs that will be helpful to other families - and to our economy.

All information given will be kept confidential. Your family will not be identified in any reports or publications. The information will be given a number and names will not be released at any time.

We would like for you, your spouse and your oldest child to answer the questions in these booklets. Your child may need some help from you. Please feel free to help him or her.

We appreciate your willingness to help us to learn how families are managing these days. If you have any questions about the study, please call 353-0668 or 355-7732.

Sincerely,

*Irene Hathaway**Beatrice Paolucci*

Beatrice Paolucci,
Professor
Family Ecology

Mary Andrews

Mary Andrews,
Evaluation Specialist
Family Living Education

Irene Hathaway

Irene Hathaway,
Instructor
Family Ecology and
Resource Management
Specialist

Kathryn Rettig

Kathryn Rettig
Research Associate

Margaret Ezell

Margaret Ezell
Graduate Assistant

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YOUR FAMILY SITUATION

This study is about how family members can increase their income. We are interested in knowing some things about you and your family.

FOR EACH QUESTION, PLACE A CHECK MARK IN THE BRACKETS () OR WRITE THE ANSWER ON THE LINE PROVIDED.

42.1 What is your sex?

() Male

() Female

42.2a How old were you on your last birthday?

_____ Age at last birthday

42.2b What is the month, day, and year of your birth?

_____ Month _____ Day _____ Year of Birth

42.3 What is your religion, if any?

() Protestant: _____
Please specify

() Catholic

() Jewish

() None

() Other: _____
Please specify

42.4 What is your race?

() White

() Black/Negro/Afro-American

() Spanish origin

() Other _____
Please specify

42.5 What is the highest level of formal schooling that you have completed?
Check one:

- ☐ Less than 8 grades of elementary school
- ☐ 8 grades of elementary school
- ☐ 1-3 years of high school
- ☐ Completed 4 years of high school or passed high school equivalency exam
- ☐ Less than 4 years of college
- ☐ 4 years of college
- ☐ 5 or more years of college

42.5a Have you been enrolled in any type of educational program other than high school or college such as vocational training?

- ☐ YES
- ☐ NO

42.5b If YES, please specify your field of training
(such as business, office work, practical
nursing, beautician, mechanic, electrician).
Field of training _____

42.5c Did you complete the training program?

- ☐ YES
- ☐ NO
- ☐ DOES NOT APPLY

42.5d Have you been enrolled in any type of educational program other than high school or college in the last year, such as craft classes, religion classes, cooperative extension classes, adult education?

- ☐ YES
- ☐ NO

42.5e If YES, what type of educational program is it?

Field of training or type of program _____

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42.6a Are you presently employed, unemployed, retired, or what?
CHECK AS MANY AS APPLY TO YOU.

() Housewife or househusband

() Student

() Permanently disabled

() Retired

() Unemployed (that is,
previously employed for
pay and/OR presently
looking for a job)

() Temporarily laid off
OR on strike
OR on sick leave

() Working now

GO TO QUESTION 41.7a ON PAGE 32
unless you also check one of
the categories below in which
case go to 42.6b below.

GO TO QUESTION 42.6b

42.6b If you are working now OR are temporarily laid off OR on strike OR on sick leave, what kind of work do you do? What is your main occupation called? (If you have two jobs, your main occupation is the job on which you spend the most time. If you spend an equal amount of time on two jobs, it is the one which provides the most income.)

Main occupation _____

42.6c What do you actually do in that job? What are some of your main duties?

Duties _____

42.6d What kind of business, industry or organization is your job in? What do they do or make at the place where you work?

Kind of business, industry or organization _____

What do they make or do _____

42.6e About how many hours a week do you do this work? CHECK ONE.

- ☐ Less than 20 hours per week
- ☐ 21-39 hours per week
- ☐ 40 hours per week
- ☐ More than 40 hours per week

42.6f Are you an hourly wage worker, salaried, on commission, self-employed, or what? CHECK ONE.

- ☐ Hourly wage worker
- ☐ Salaried
- ☐ Work on commission, tips
- ☐ Self-employed in own business, professional practice, or farm
- ☐ Work without pay in family business or farm

42.6g Are you currently employed in a second job?

- ☐ YES
- ☐ NO

42.6h If YES, about how many hours a week do you do this work?

- ☐ Less than 20 hours per week
- ☐ 21-39 hours per week
- ☐ 40 hours per week

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- 42.7a What do you estimate your total family income before taxes was in 1979?
 Please include income from all sources before taxes, including income from wages, property, stocks, interest, welfare, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, child support from a previous marriage, and any other money income received by you and all family members who live with you.

ESTIMATED TOTAL FAMILY YEARLY INCOME, 1979

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Under \$3,000 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$12,000 - \$14,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$3,000 - \$3,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$15,000 - \$19,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$4,000 - \$4,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$20,000 - \$24,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$5,000 - \$5,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$25,000 - \$29,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$6,000 - \$6,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$30,000 - \$34,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$7,000 - \$7,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$35,000 - \$49,000 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$8,000 - \$9,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$50,000 and over |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$10,000 - \$11,999 | |

- 42.7b About how much of this total family yearly income before taxes did you earn in 1979?

ESTIMATED PORTION OF TOTAL FAMILY INCOME, 1979, EARNED BY YOURSELF

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Does not apply, not employed in 1979 | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Under \$3,000 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$12,000 - \$14,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$3,000 - \$3,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$15,000 - \$19,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$4,000 - \$4,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$20,000 - \$24,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$5,000 - \$5,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$25,000 - \$29,000 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$6,000 - \$6,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$30,000 and over |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$7,000 - \$7,999 | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$8,000 - \$9,999 | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$10,000 - \$11,999 | |

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43.1 Do you (or does a member of your family who lives with you) own your home, do you rent?

- () Own or buying
 () Renting
 () Other _____

Please specify

43.2 How long have you lived in this house or apartment?

- () Less than 1 year
 () 2 - 3 years
 () 4 - 6 years
 () 7 - 9 years
 () 10 - 12 years
 () 13 - 15 years
 () 16 - 18 years
 () 19 - 21 years
 () 22 - 24 years
 () 25 years or more

43.3 How many rooms do you have in your dwelling, not counting bathrooms?

43.3a _____
 Number of rooms

43.3b _____
 Number of bathrooms

43.4 How much does housing cost for your family? Please indicate the amount you pay each month for rent or mortgage, including property taxes and insurance.

- () Less than \$100 per month
 () \$101 - \$150 per month
 () \$151 - \$200 per month
 () \$201 - \$250 per month
 () \$251 - \$300 per month
 () \$301 - \$350 per month
 () \$351 - \$400 per month
 () \$401 - \$450 per month
 () \$451 - \$500 per month
 () \$501 - \$550 per month
 () \$551 - \$600 per month
 () \$601 - \$650 per month
 () More than \$650 per month _____

Please specify

36

45.1a Is this your first marriage?

☐ YESWhat was the date and year of your marriage?
_____☐ NO

45.1b In what year and month did your present marriage begin? _____

45.1c How did your last marriage end and in what year?

☐ Death _____ Year of death _____☐ Divorce _____ Year of divorce _____☐ Annulment _____ Year of annulment _____☐ Separation _____ Year of separation _____45.1d Please specify the beginning and ending dates of any marriages existing prior to the one described in 44.1c.

45.1e We would like to know something about the people who live in your family. Please list in the chart below your children and other household members—their birth date, age at last birthday, sex, and indicate by using a check mark if you are financially responsible for the support of the person.

		Date of birth no./day/yr.	Age at last birthday	Sex (circle M or F)	Financial Support
SPOUSE				M F	
CHILDREN BORN TO THIS MARRIAGE	1.			M F	
	2.			M F	
Please list in order from oldest to youngest	3.			M F	
	4.			M F	
	5.			M F	
	6.			M F	
	7.			M F	
	8.			M F	
	9.			M F	
CHILDREN BORN TO WIFE PRIOR TO THIS MARRIAGE	1.			M F	
	2.			M F	
Please list in order from oldest to youngest	3.			M F	
	4.			M F	
	5.			M F	
CHILDREN BORN TO HUSBAND PRIOR TO THIS MARRIAGE	1.			M F	
	2.			M F	
Please list in order from oldest to youngest	3.			M F	
	4.			M F	
	5.			M F	
ADOPTED CHILDREN NOT BORN TO EITHER SPOUSE	1.			M F	
	2.			M F	
Please list in order from oldest to youngest	3.			M F	
	4.			M F	
	5.			M F	

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE.

NOTE: If there are not enough spaces, please finish the list on the last page.

38

		Date of birth mo./day/yr.	Age at last birthday	Sex	Marital status	Relation to you	Financial Support
OTHER RELATIVES LIVING IN THIS HOUSEHOLD (such as niece, nephew, grandchild, parent, sister, uncle, brother, brother-in-law, mother-in-law, husband's uncle)	1.			M F			
	2.			M F			
	3.			M F			
	4.			M F			
	5.			M F			
	6.			M F			
	7.			M F			
	8.			M F			
OTHER PERSONS LIVING IN THIS HOUSEHOLD (such as foster child, friend, household help, boarders)	1.			M F			
	2.			M F			
	3.			M F			
	4.			M F			
	5.			M F			
	6.			M F			
	7.			M F			

NOTE: If there are not enough spaces, please finish the list on the last page.

46. Counting yourself, how many people now live in your household?

_____ People

1. How old are you today? _____

2. When is your birthday? _____
month day

3. Are you a girl or a boy? _____

4. What are the things you like to do for fun?

5. What kinds of things does your family do to save money?

6. What could you do to help your family save money?

7. What are the things you like best about living in your family?

2

HERE ARE SOME FACES SHOWING FEELINGS. Under each face is a letter.



A



B



C



D



E



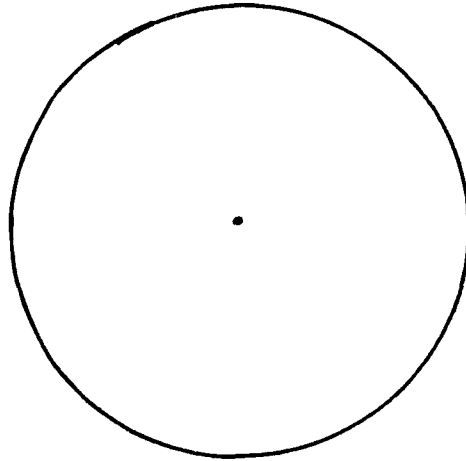
F



G

8. _____ Which face shows how you feel about your life (your whole life)?
(Write the letter on the line.)
9. _____ Which face shows how you feel about your own family?
10. _____ Which face shows the way you feel about yourself?
11. _____ Which face shows the way you feel about the amount of work you do at home for the family?
12. _____ Which face shows the way you feel about the amount of money your family has?
13. _____ Which face shows the way you feel about the chances you have to learn new things?
14. _____ How do you feel about the way you spend your free time at home?
15. _____ Which face shows the way you feel about the house you have, the food you eat, and the clothes you wear?
16. _____ Which face shows the way you feel about the things your family has - your car, furniture, toys, games, and playthings.
17. _____ Which face shows the way you feel about the changes your family may need to make to save energy like keeping the house cooler, fewer trips in the car, and using less electrical energy?

HERE IS A CIRCLE. Pretend the circle is all of the work that needs doing at home for the family. (This would be work like housework, yard work, fixing things, buying things and helping people.)



Each person does some work in the family. Sometimes families pay other people to do some work for them. Sometimes the work is not done at all.

18. Draw a piece of pie in the circle to show how much of the family work you do. Write ME in that space.
19. Draw a piece of pie in the circle to show how much work in the family your dad does. Write DAD in that space.
20. Draw a piece of pie in the circle to show how much work in the family your mom does. Write MOM in that space.
21. Draw a piece of pie in the circle to show how much work all of your brothers and sisters do. Write BAS in that space.
If you do not have a brother or sister write a check mark here ____.
22. Draw a piece of pie in the circle to show how much work in the family you pay other people to do - like fix things or clean things. Write PAY in that space.
23. Draw a piece of pie in the circle to show how much work that needs doing in the family is not done. Write EMPTY in that space.
24. Every family has work that needs doing but does not get done. What kind of work does not get done at home in your family?

HERE IS A LIST OF JOBS children often do at home for the family. Make a check mark beside each job that you do.

- 25. _____ Do some shopping or go to the store for extras.
- 26. _____ Write a letter.
- 27. _____ Take care of other children in the family.
- 28. _____ Earn money.
- 29. _____ Take care of pets or animals (feed them, get fresh water, take them outside).
- 30. _____ Do yard work (mow the grass, weed the garden, rake leaves).
- 31. _____ Take out garbage or trash.
- 32. _____ Sweep sidewalks, porches or patio, floors.
- 33. _____ Shovel snow.
- 34. _____ Dust furniture.
- 35. _____ Vacuum rugs, carpets, floors.
- 36. _____ Clean sinks, bathtubs, toilets.
- 37. _____ Wash floors.
- 38. _____ Put away groceries.
- 39. _____ Prepare and cook meals.
- 40. _____ Set and clear the table, wash the table.
- 41. _____ Wash and dry dishes.
- 42. _____ Water the plants.
- 43. _____ Collect dirty clothes for the laundry.
- 44. _____ Wash and dry the clothes.
- 45. _____ Put away the clean clothes.
- 46. _____ Put away toys, clean my room.
- 47. _____ Take sheets off the bed or put clean sheets on the bed.
- 48. What other jobs do you do? _____

APPENDIX D

Table D-1.--Descriptive Statistics for Perceived Contributions to Family Work

Variable	Descriptive Statistics						No. of Cases	Missing Cases
	Mean	Median	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum	Range		
6 year olds								
Boys	13.53	15.4	5.54	7.3	17.9	10.6	3	1
Girls	17.04	14.9	9.13	3.5	36	32.5	10	
7 year olds								
Boys	21.55	15.05	4.79	8.4	22.6	14.2	8	
Girls	21.55	19.65	12.23	8.8	38.1	29.3	4	
8 year olds								
Boys	12.28	11.35	4.04	7	22.7	15.7	12	1
Girls	12.07	12.5	1.99	9.9	13.8	3.9	3	
9 year olds								
Boys	11.93	9.8	4.75	5.9	20	14.1	9	
Girls	15.21	14.4	4.91	8.9	22.1	13.2	7	
10 year olds								
Boys	11.58	10.05	3.66	7.2	18.2	11	8	
Girls	11.63	11.95	4.16	4.6	16.6	12	6	
11 year olds								
Boys	15.03	14.45	4.60	5.7	20.8	15.1	12	1
Girls	15.92	15.6	5.43	10.5	27.8	17.3	9	
12 year olds								
Boys	17.06	15.9	6.82	6.5	25.1	18.6	9	
Girls	14.93	15.65	5.0	8.2	20.2	12	4	

Table D-2. --Descriptive Statistics for Number of Tasks Performed

Variable	Mean	Median	Descriptive Statistics				No. of Cases
			Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum	Range	
6 year olds							
Boys	8.25	8	6.24	7	14	7	4
Girls	11.9	11.5	2.08	9	15	6	10
7 year olds							
Boys	13	11	5.13	6	21	15	8
Girls	15.75	16.5	2.87	12	18	6	4
8 year olds							
Boys	12.85	13	4.34	3	18	15	13
Girls	12	12	2	10	14	4	3
9 year olds							
Boys	13.56	13	3.09	9	18	9	9
Girls	13.71	13.25	2.36	10	16	6	7
10 year olds							
Boys	11.88	10.5	3.6	8	19	11	8
Girls	14.83	15	4.45	7	20	13	6
11 year olds							
Boys	11.92	11	4.03	8	23	15	13
Girls	14.11	13	4.73	6	22	16	9
12 year olds							
Boys	12.11	11.75	3.52	8	20	12	9
Girls	16.5	14	5.80	11	24	13	4

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