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Household Task Performance Between Dual-Earner
Spouses

by

Chez-Roy Birchwood

A thesis
presented to the University of Manitoba
in fulfillment of the
thesis requirement for the degree of
Master of Arts
in
Department of Sociology

Winnipeg, Manitoba

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HOUSEHOLD TASK PERFORMANCE BETWEEN DUAL-EARNER SPOUSES

BY

CHEZ-ROY BIRCHWOOD

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

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ABSTRACT

The main aim of this study was to estimate the level of domestic participation between dual-earner spouses in Winnipeg, and to account for the differential levels of participation between them. A secondary aim was to investigate how the distribution of division of housework affected respondents' feelings of satisfaction with the portion of housework they had to do and with their marriage in general. Dual-earner domestic family is where both husbands and wives are in the labour force. A brief historical account of the problem was provided. The literature that directly concerns housework in dual-earner families was reviewed. It was found that there was a deficiency of theoretical perspectives in the literature. Symbolic interactionism was used as the theoretical perspective for this study. A brief description of this approach was presented, with emphasis on gender socialization. The main research instrument in this study was a mailed questionnaire survey.

It was found that wives did most of the housework most of the time. Respondents with traditional sex role attitudes tended to have a traditional distribution of housework in their family, but husbands' attitudes were a more important

determining factor than wives'. The more a spouse was perceived as better at housework, the more likely that spouse was to do it. Husbands with traditional sex role attitudes were more likely to perceive wives as better at housework than husbands with modern sex role attitudes.

The distribution of housework neither affected satisfaction in marriage nor satisfaction with the amount of housework the respondents had to do. Sex role attitudes also did not affect satisfaction with housework or with the marriage. Women, regardless of the amount of housework they had to do, were more likely to report dissatisfaction with the amount of housework they had to do themselves.

Of the background variables used in this study, age, number of years of schooling, and whether or not one was born in Canada was found to be related to housework distribution. It was suggested that these variables affected housework distribution by their effects on sex role attitudes.

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Chapter I
INTRODUCTION

1.0.1 The Significance of the Study

The Canadian family has undergone profound changes in the past decades. Many of these changes are associated with the increase in wives' participation in the labour force. Labour force participation of Canadian married women has increased considerably since World War II, from 4.5% in 1941, to 20.8% in 1961, to 37% in 1971, to 52.0% in 1981, to 54.7% in 1985 (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1978; Waldman, 1970; Statistics Canada, 1981, 1985). With such a high number of women working outside the home, the problem becomes one of how work in the home is going to be managed. This is often problematic because employed wives have decreased time and energy to handle the work they have been traditionally assigned.

Historically, domestic duties in Canadian families have almost invariably been assigned to wives. For example, cooking, cleaning, and child rearing have been the sole responsibility of wives. Women's labour force participation has changed, often in accordance with varying socioeconomic conditions, whereas husbands have been considered to be the

chief breadwinners in the family ever since the occurrence of industrialization. This is such a strong value that husbands were, until recently, legally required to provide financially for their families, and wives were legally required to relocate to facilitate their husbands' labour force work. Husbands' participation in homemaking and child rearing, however, has been consistently rare.

In the preindustrial economy, where the family was the main economic unit, the roles of women not only included household and child rearing tasks, but also activities directly related to production. Examples of such economic pursuits are spinning, weaving, canning, vegetable gardening, and producing and tending to small animals, such as, chickens and domestic rabbits.

By the late 19th century the chief production site in Canada was no longer the home but the factory. The predominant economic mode was large scale industrial manufacturing. Related to this was the increase in the importance of the wage labour economy. This industrialization process made possible the notion of the separation of the home and the work place. Where previously cooking and cleaning were considered to be parts of the family economy, these activities were then viewed as non-productive work because no wages were gained from them. Although some women found work in factories and offices, their wages are much lower than men's and married women were

particularly barred from such employment. Work in the home, although necessary for work outside the home, became trivialized -- a condition that exists today (Gaffield, 1978).

In the earlier stages of the industrial revolution, the wage of the husband was often subsidized by the employment of children. As wages increased sufficiently to support a family, during the late 1800s and the early 1900s, most Canadian children were no longer required to be gainfully employed, and they pursued education instead. This further exaggerated the image of the husbands as the breadwinners and wives as the homemakers. This dichotomy was more relevant for middle class families than lower class families, who could not survive on a single wage. The idea of husbands as the sole breadwinners placed many burdens on other family members in the working class, where young people still pursued employment rather than education. (See also Nett, 1981, for a more complete account of the work role of women and children in Canadian history.)

The ideal of women being completely exempted from the work force was not consistent, even in the middle classes. Married women entered the work force when there were shortages of male workers. During both world wars women were actively involved in the work to support the war effort. Women also worked outside the home to supplement family income in times of economic hardship (Gaffield,

1978). Although Canadian values prescribe that wives be homemakers, there is considerable flexibility about women's place in the labour force. Similar flexibility is not extended to men's place in the domestic realm. Many men have little difficulty dealing with the employment of their wives, but they are less willing to share domestic responsibility equally. (See, for example, Rapoport and Rapoport, 1976 and Pleck, 1985 for a discussion of this phenomenon.)

According to most of the research, women in Canada are still primarily responsible for child care and household tasks, regardless of whether they are employed or not (Clark and Harvey, 1973; Lupri and Mills, 1987 and Meissner, et al 1975 are some examples). Notwithstanding men's very minimal participation in household activities, to say that their participation is non-existent is to overstate the situation. In fact, many recent studies have demonstrated that husbands' participation in household tasks is increasing, and that there are differences in participation levels between individual men (Enos and Enos, 1985; Fogarty, Rapoport, and Rapoport, 1971; Hofferth, 1981; Lewis, 1986; Osherson and Dill, 1983; Pleck, 1983; and Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971). Many of these researchers have identified the management of housework as a major area of stress for both husbands and wives when both are in the labour force (Blumstein and Schwartz, 1983). But there is conflicting

evidence about whether there is more or less stress when there is a more equitable distribution of the housework.

1.0.2 The Purpose of the Study

This study concerns housework in families where both the husband and wife work outside of the home for pay. This type of household arrangement where both spouses are in the labour force is termed the dual-earner domestic family. The main purpose of this study is to estimate the level of domestic participation between dual-earner spouses in Winnipeg, and to account for the differential levels of participation between them. More specifically, the aim of this study is to assess who does more housework, the husbands or the wives, and then to explain why the allocation of housework is as such. The allocation of housework is matched against other factors to assess which ones best explain the division of the household tasks. These factors include attitudes towards familial sex roles and perceived housework skills. The effects of several background variables on the division of labour in the home is also considered. Such variables include ethnicity, education, and income.

A secondary aim of this study is to assess how the distribution of household labour affects the level of the respondents' satisfaction with their marriage, in general, and with the amount of housework they have to do, in

particular. Satisfaction is important in that it may indicate whether the particular allocation of housework will persist in the future. This is assuming, of course, that if the arrangement is not satisfying the individuals may seek changes in the allocation of household chores.

This study further proposes that the failure to use a comprehensive theoretical framework in the previous studies is a major hindrance to the understanding of the distribution of housework in dual-earner families. This study will try to demonstrate how symbolic interactionism can be used as a theoretical approach to explain the differences in household participation between couples and between individual husband and wives.

Chapter II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Since the 1960's there has been much literature on dual-earner families. To discuss in detail all of these works is beyond the scope of this review. Only the literature that directly concerns the domestic division of labour in dual-earner couples is selected for review. These studies span many years and diverse approaches, so it is helpful to categorize them for easier consideration. In this review the literature is divided into three categories as follows: Category 1 includes descriptions based on little empirical data. These works characterize the early exploratory studies which developed many analytical categories and concepts for the more empirical studies of the following years. Both category 2 and category 3 include studies which utilize empirical methods. They are distinguished by the type of data collection they use to estimate the division of household labour between husbands and wives. The literature in category 2 uses a list of household tasks from which the respondents record the frequency with which they do each task. The literature in category 3 uses a time budget diary method where each respondent records every daily activity performed and the amount of time spent doing it. The household tasks distribution is later inferred from the diaries.

The following is a brief review of the relevant works in each category. Each is assessed according to how well it explains the differences in performance in household task between dual-earner husbands and wives.

2.0.3 Category 1

Probably the most important pioneer work on families with two incomes was done by Rapoport and Rapoport (1969). However, they only worked on career type occupations -- not all occupations. (In fact, they coined the term Dual-Career Families.) They also used very small sample sizes in their studies, often as few as five families. They argued that carefully selecting a few "good specimens" allows them to investigate how successful dual-career families "actually manage to make it work" (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1976:25). Although the distribution of household tasks is not one of their emphases (perhaps because families in their samples are likely to employ domestic help), they did consider this topic. They stated as follows:

Logical possibilities for coping with the problem of the domestic core of work include: providing outside help for the back-up work; reorganizing conceptions about who should do what and the husband taking on more of what has been traditionally defined as feminine domestic work and child-care; the children doing more; the wife taking on the additional burden of overload herself, sacrificing relaxation and leisure activities; cooperation with other families for a range of back-up activities such as shopping, bulk buying, child-care and transportation of children (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1976:304).

Couples have different distribution of tasks, but male participation rarely extends into the traditional female tasks.

More frequently, in the 1960s, there was minimal displacement by the male, beyond what males generally were doing to 'help out' even in conventional families. (If) wives worked, it was they, not their husbands, who were expected to see that housework got done (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1976:304-305).

Although Rapoport and Rapoport (1976) addressed the problem they did not attempt to explain the minimal contribution of the men in housework. Further, it is difficult to know how generalizable their findings are, because their sample consisted of only a few couples, all of whom were in the highest occupational levels.

Pleck (1977) also contributed considerably to the understanding of the distribution of household tasks in dual income families. Perhaps his most important contribution to this research is the concept of "work-family role system", which he devised to study the problem. (He used the word "work" to mean labour force employment. Family roles also involve work.) This work-family role system is composed of four components: the male (labour force) work role, the female (labour force) work role, the female family role, and the male family role. He analyzed the links between these four roles, and discussed the effect of two "structural buffers" on the linkages among the roles in his 1977 article, The Work-Family Role System. The "structural

buffers" he discusses are sex-segregated labour markets for both paid and family tasks, and the asymmetrically permeable boundaries between work (labour force) and family roles for each sex. In this article Pleck did not collect his own data but reviewed the literature relevant to each link being examined. The relevant links for the present study are the links between the male work (labour force) role and male family role, the female work (labour force) role and the female family role, the male family role and the female family role. Basically, he explained the low levels of household participation of men by the fact that women could more easily incorporate family responsibilities into the work (labour force) role. For example, women are more likely to have maternity leave and be allowed time off to care for a sick child. This, however, does not explain why some men participate considerably more than others, nor why (as is later shown) unemployed men do just as little housework as employed men.

Baker and Bakker (1980) argued that men who want to assume more family responsibilities in the home face many structural hindrances. They stated that although men are under much pressure to loosen their traditional role of primary bread winner, they are still expected to pursue this role, and they are rewarded for success in the labour force.. This contradiction puts men in a "double-bind" situation. Even though some men may want to change they do

not live in a social vacuum. "The priorities and values of other people effect (sic) even personal arrangements. And lack of institutional support make such personal changes difficult" (Baker and Bakker, 1980:552). They concluded that if Canadian men decide to pursue non-traditional roles in the family they may have to give up many rewards they have at present -- money and power, for example.

In contrast to most of the literature on this topic, Hunt and Hunt (1977) presented a very grim view of the dual-career family. They argued that:

Careers are based on a subordinate female class which frees the male, supports him in his career pursuits, and manages the consumption of the goods and services he produces. Each private nuclear-family household requires a full-time child-rearing and home-management specialist who must either be a captive wife or low-paid servant (414).

They argued that the dual-career family can never produce sexual equality because it fails to move beyond these institutional constraints. The two income family could never function well within this structure, because the present labour force-family structure is based on the single male income model. Unlike other theorists (the Rapoport, for example) who recognized the problems in making a dual-career family work, but viewed them as resolvable, Hunt and Hunt (1977) argued that the dual-career family is intrinsically problematic given the current socio-economic system. In their view, designating a greater share of the household responsibilities to men, as suggested by others, will not make the dual-career household workable.

The accounts of both Baker and Bakker (1980) and Hunt and Hunt (1977) demonstrated the importance of structural factors in the allocation of housework, but they are not useful for accounting for the difference in domestic participation between individual men who live in the same social structure. Further, they did not explain why men who have very little structural rewards to lose, for example, unemployed men, do little housework.

Perhaps the most comprehensive study on housework and housewives in sociology is Oakley's (1974) The Sociology of Housework. Oakley argued in this monograph that although the study of housework is very important, for it occupies the time of more than half of the adult population, it has been relatively neglected in sociology because of male bias at all levels of Western society. She also argued that housework should be studied as a work role as any other occupation.

From an in-depth study of 40 British women who identified themselves as housewives, she concluded that housework differs from other jobs in that it is closely intermingled with socialization for the feminine gender role.

The performance of the housewife role in adulthood is prefaced by a long period of apprenticeship. Housework is not unique in this respect...[b]ut a female's induction into the domestic role...lacks a formal structure, and consequently is rarely seen as an occupational apprenticeship... Girls learn to equate their femaleness with domesticity and female identities are molded round the housewife image (113).

Oakley identified the home, the school system and the mass media as important sources of such socialization.

Oakley's emphasis was not on women who also worked outside the home (only one woman in her sample is in the labour force full time), but her work helps explain why the domesticity of women transcends various occupational, educational, and economic classifications. The commonality between all the women of various backgrounds she interviewed was their socialization into the domestic role. This socialization results in similar self-conception regardless of their socioeconomic background or whether they are in the labour force or not. The degree of their commitment to the traditional female roles is directly related to the intensity of their female sex-typed socialization.

2.0.4 Category 2

The first research on domestic labour by sex using the household task list method was reported in Husbands and Wives by Blood and Wolfe (1960). They used a Detroit sample, and devised a list of eight household tasks (excluding child care). They found that six of these tasks were done predominantly by one sex or the other. Only two tasks (keeping track of money and bills and, to a lesser extent, grocery-shopping) were performed relatively equally by both spouses. They then tried to explain their results. First, they examined background variables--time of

immigration, Catholic versus Protestant, and farmers versus non-farmers. These variables did not seem to be associated with the allocation of household tasks in the way the researchers expected. For example, farm couples and devout Catholic couples were less likely to have the traditional division of domestic labour. They therefore concluded that conservative attitudes were not related to the task allocation in the home.

Blood and Wolfe (1960) argued that the answer lay in pragmatics rather than ideology. They further argued that personal resources was a better determinant of the distribution of labour.

Availability is partly a matter of space, and partly of time. To be able to help out at home, an individual must be at home. So, factors which keep the husband or wife away from home reduce his or her participation in household tasks (57).

But physical availability is not enough; the individual must also be mentally available. They then hypothesized that husbands with occupations associated with high responsibilities and high commitment were less likely to participate in household chores because when they were at home they were too preoccupied with their job to do housework. Blood and Wolfe argued that because such occupations tended to be better paying white collar jobs (managerial, business, professional, for example) the higher the income the lower the participation in the housework. Their hypothesis seemed to be substantiated, because as the

income of the husbands increased, their wives' task load increased. They also tested their occupational preoccupation hypothesis by showing that wives of men who were in better jobs than their fathers (more upwardly mobile) also had a higher level of task performance than wives of stable or downwardly mobile men. "Not that successful husbands disdain household tasks--they are just too busy being successful to have the time" (61). This research also showed that when a woman worked outside of the home her husband performed a larger portion of the housework. But the extent of his participation depended on the level of his employment outside the home. However, the level of wives' employment did not seem to affect the husbands' housework participation. Wives who worked more than 40 hours per week outside the home received the least amount of assistance in household chores from their husbands. Blood and Wolfe's work generally showed that the traditional division of household labour was still predominant in their late 1950's sample. Husbands participated more in housework when their wives work outside, but the level of their participation was not responsive to the level of the wives' paid work. The level of husbands' participation in the housework was still at the level of "helping out" rather than sharing the household responsibilities. There was no indication of equal division of the household tasks among the two-income families in their sample.

The inequality in the division of household tasks would have been even more obvious if the researchers had acknowledged that the work that they considered traditional male work is in fact the work that needs to be done irregularly, while the traditional female work has to be done much more regularly. Therefore, the wives spent much more time per week doing house work than their husbands if there was a traditional division of labour in the family. Although statistical support was found for their occupational preoccupation of high income men hypothesis, they did not do a similar test for high income employed women. As shown by Rapoport and Rapoport (1976), wives with high occupational status were still responsible for most of the housework. Thus, Blood and Wolfe's (1960) arguments do not explain why wives were not similarly preoccupied with their paying jobs.

Duncan, Schuman and Duncan (1974), replicating the items used by Blood and Wolfe (1960) in a similar Detroit sample, concluded that the same principle of division of household tasks by sex had been maintained as in the previous sample 16 years earlier.

Perrucci, Potter, and Rhoads (1978) interviewed 98 couples from a sample of 28 city blocks in Lafayette and West Lafayette, Indiana. The couples were interviewed concurrently but independently. The aim of their research was to test three variables for correlation with the

dependent variable, Husband Role Performance. The level of performance was measured by responses to a 12-item list of household tasks in which both husbands and wives were to indicate who was primarily responsible for each task in their family. The independent variables were ideology or belief about appropriate family roles, resource availability, and time availability. Ideology was measured by using an eight-item Likert-type attitude scale with five responses from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree". Resource availability was operationalized by the education of the husband and wife, wife's occupation, and whether the husband expected his wife to work full-time outside of the home during the next ten years. Time availability was measured by the number of children, the length of marriage, and the age of the husbands.

The only independent variable found to be statistically significant was ideology. Men who had traditional attitudes about family roles tended to do less housework and child care. The lack of support for the other variables may be because they were neither clearly defined nor operationalized. The meaning of resource and time availability is not clear, and their operationalization is questionable.

Scanzoni (1978) used the exchange theory to explain the difference in participation in housework between husbands and wives. He argued that when wives are in the labour

force they gain more bargaining power in terms of money and skills and capabilities that enable them to convince their husbands to participate more in the housework and child care. The results of the research showed that husbands' contribution to many of the household chores increased when their wives were employed, in the sense that there was more sharing of the tasks. However, wives were solely responsible for most of the housework. The reverse situation, where the husband was solely responsible for a task was very rare, except in making repairs around the home. It can be concluded from the results of the study that although men help out around the home when their wives are employed outside the home, husbands are far from contributing equally to the housework.

The potential for power that women access when they bring home their own pay check cannot be ignored as a factor in freeing them from some of the housework, but it seems unlikely that their increase in power will be automatic. The power that money can give has to be recognized and articulated to make a difference in the distribution of domestic labour. Employed women who do not recognize or do not believe that their pay should give them more power in the marriage would not use it as such. Power and authority depends on the perceptions of the spouses. For this reason having a paying job may not automatically increase the power of wives.

Scanzoni (1978) also argued that women place different meaning on their work. On one end of the continuum, some believe that their work is only an option when it does not conflict with other family concerns, and at the other end, others believe that their work is as important as their husband's right to work. He argued that the meaning of the wife's work is more important in determining whether she is able to convince her husband to do more housework, but he did not include the meaning of work in the analysis of housework. Scanzoni, for instance, did not check to see if the women who had non-traditional views of their employment received more housework contributions from their husbands than wives with more traditional expectations. Further, the meaning the husbands give to their wives' work may also be important in determining how much they are willing to do in the home.

Blumstein and Schwartz's (1983) extensive study of U.S. couples also discussed the division of household labour when both the husband and the wife were in the labour force. They also concluded that, although husbands contributed more when their wives had a paying job, wives were responsible for most of the housework.

This is the case even among couples who profess egalitarian social ideals, including equal sharing of all the work that has to be done in the house. While these men do more housework than those who are in favor of a traditional division of labour between the sexes, they are still behind the wives (145).

The researchers concluded that men's reluctance to do housework is partly due to the fact that they do not respect unpaid work. "Men's own self-respect is in part derived from their success in the world of [labour force] work and while they may say they have as much respect for a wife who stays at home, they in fact do not" (139). Thus when women work outside of the home they gain more respect from their husbands and more power in the relationship. They also concluded that, from comparison with homosexual male and female couples, men are more likely than women to distribute power according to the individual's earnings. Unlike most women, men, heterosexual or homosexual, generally believe that a successful partner should not have to do housework. In this way the meaning men give to housework is quite different from women's. According to Blumstein and Schwartz:

Married men's aversion to housework is so intense it can sour their relationship. The more housework they do, for what ever reason, the more they fight about it. If this pattern continues into the future, it will be a major barrier to the reorganization of husbands' and wives' roles (146).

2.0.5 Category 3

There have been four research projects on housework using the time-diaries method in Canada. The first was conducted by Martin Meissener, Elizabeth Humphreys, Scott Meis and William Scheu. Their 1975 study is entitled "No Exit For

Wives: Sexual Division of Labour and the Cumulation (sic) of Household Demands". Their sample was from 340 married couples in Greater Vancouver, British Columbia. Time-diaries were kept by both wives and husbands for one full work day and one full day off (usually a weekend day). The aim of their study was to decide whether the division of domestic labour between husbands and wives was based on the principle of "adaptive partnership" or on the principle of "dependent labour". According to the principle of adaptive partnership, a marriage is a self-balancing system, therefore when the wife is employed the husband correspondingly increases his participation in the domestic labour to compensate for the wife's reduced time and energy. According to the principle of dependent labour, men's and women's work is determined by the broader structural context rather than the inter-personal relationship in marriage. The husband's employment is seen as primary, and it is the wife's duty to support his work by providing domestic services. Any other employment she has is subordinate to this duty, and is only appropriate after this primary obligation is satisfied. The onus is on her to compensate for the lost time spent in paid employment.

Little evidence was found to support the adaptive partnership hypothesis.

As wives' job hours increase...their hours of regular housework decline without being made up for because their husbands' housework remains at the low level of some four to five hours a week; and...despite the successively more compressed

hours of housework, the wives' total work load increases a great deal while their husbands' decreases slightly.

The main theme in their data was that most married women do the most regular, necessary and time-consuming housework on a daily basis. They further stated that

In view of the small and selective contribution of their husbands, [wives] can anticipate doing it for the rest of their lives... Surprisingly, even the typically masculine household chores, such as fixing things around the house...were reported by only 28 percent of the husbands on a workday or weekend day. However, together with major construction work, it was the only type of domestic work in which the portion of men was greater than that of women... In an item by item comparison, the week-end record suggest that women with paid work revert to full level of housework as jobless housewives. In house cleaning, particularly, they make up for time lost and spend virtually as much time as unpaid housewives do during the week. There is no noticable change in husbands' regular housework items on weekdays, in response to the necessary reduction in their wives' housework time [and] husbands do little more housework on weekends remain[ing] indifferent to the burdens of their wives' paid work" (431-433).

Husbands seemed no more responsive to the extra demands of their wives' paid employment than to the presence of children. Husbands contributed only 20 percent to the total increase in housework required by the presence of a child under 10 years.

The second major research project on the division of domestic labour using time-diaries in Canada was conducted by Clark and Harvey (1976). This research was designed to be a comparison to Meissner et al's (1975) research in Greater Vancouver. They compared similar studies in other

countries to that of Meissner et al (1975). They concluded that if the latter's conclusions are sound, Canadian men are more traditional in their housework contribution than men in other developed Western democracies.

Within the Canadian context it is possible to compare the Vancouver findings with those of a very similar survey in Halifax. By doing so it is possible to determine whether the conclusion based on the Vancouver data are supported by those from Nova Scotia. To the extent that they are, attention has then to be directed to whether or not Canada is unique in this regard or whether alternative explanations can be found which would account for why we appear so different from other countries (Clark and Harvey, 1975:50).

The data that Clark and Harvey used in their study came from the Dimensions of Metropolitan Activities Survey conducted during 1971 to 1972 in Halifax, Dartmouth and parts of Halifax County. Although this survey also used time-budget diaries, there are differences in sampling design, instrumentation, and coding from the Vancouver study.

While not completely identical...[they] are sufficiently similar to allow for meaningful comparisons between the east and west coast since in both instances the assessment of wives' and husbands' contributions to the household are based on detailed time budget data (Clark and Harvey, 1976:51).

The time spent in work activities for women in this sample differs with respect to employment, marital status, and the presence of young children. They can be presented in descending order of time spent in work activities as follows: Married employed women with no children, married

women with young children, married unemployed women with young children, single employed women, married unemployed women with no children. The fact that married employed women with no children work more hours than those with children could be explained by the fact that the latter spend less time in paid work. This is indicative of a common practice of women with young children doing part time work to cope with the added demands of their children. Women without children, on the other hand, tended to have more full time paying jobs, but when they were married they have a disproportionate amount of household tasks in addition. The only substantial difference in the amount of time spent working between men was when employment status was considered. Unemployed men, whether single or married, worked the least number of hours of all categories of men and women. There is no difference between married men with and without children, and married unemployed men actually spend ten percent less hours working than single unemployed men. This is evidence that marital status does not affect the work load of men as it does the work load of women.

The pattern of time expenditure for women and men in both cities was very similar. In both cities women in dual earner families had the heaviest work load and the least amount of leisure time. They average about 63 hours per week in work activities, while the men in dual earner families work 56.7 hours in Halifax and 58.5 in Vancouver.

In both samples dual earner women spent more time in non-market work than their husbands (27.3 hours for Halifax women and 22.3 hours for Vancouver women, as opposed to 14.7 hours for Halifax men and 10.9 for Vancouver men).

The analysis of the Halifax data seems to support the conclusions of Meissner et al that men are only "helping with the household maintenance and are not equally responsible with women for this part of the total work load even though wives may be in the labour force" (Clark and Harvey 1976:64). It seems that most of the adapting is done by the wives. They reduce their hours or market work by part time employment and cut back on house work and leisure time activities quite significantly. Clark and Harvey did not go so far as to conclude that Canadian men are indeed more traditional in this regard than other men, but they imply that Vancouver data may be an advanced form of the situation in Halifax.

Unfortunately, both the Vancouver and the Halifax studies did not go much beyond the descriptive phase of enquiry. They presented a substantial indication of the division of work in the family, but they offered little explanation for the condition. They also did not explain why some men do more than others.

Lupri and Mills (1987) compared the distribution of housework among young dual-earner and single-earner couples

in Calgary. They attempted to "evaluate the efficacy of the family-symmetry model for predicting a more egalitarian division of labour in the Canadian home (36)". Family symmetry is where the spouses "alternately perform the same roles and share them equally (35)". These roles include both labour force work roles and family work roles.

Their finding (more than a decade later) is consistent with Meissner et al's (1975) and Clark and Harvey's (1976). Wives participation in the labour force was limited by their household and child care responsibilities, but husbands were relatively non-responsive to these demands, both in their labour force and household tasks participation. Lupri and Mills stated that:

The overall pattern of findings...suggests that couple symmetry does not exist but remains to be established. Asymmetrical relationships predominate among both the single-earner and dual-earner couples. This gender inequity is most pervasive where the greatest need for equity would appear to exist: among the young employed mothers with one or more children under the age of six (1987:48).

Lupri and Mills (1987) suggested two other explanations for the division of household tasks: gender-role ideology and dependent labour. They contended

that a conflict exists between the norms that govern the traditional sex-role ideology and the recent demands for women's increased involvement in paid work, and...this may explain,... in part, the current imbalance in the household division of labour among dual-earner couples(50).

They considered sex role ideology, but they did not test it directly. That is, they did not test if variations in the contribution of husbands were matched by variations in sex role ideology. The dependent labour principle (discussed above) may provide a descriptive framework for the division of housework, but it is limited in explaining the differences between households. That is, it does not address the problem of why some husbands do more of the housework than others.

Shaw (1988) studied the perceptions of household labour between couples in Halifax. Time-diaries were kept by 60 couples and later they were required to define each event in terms of the situation being "work," "leisure" or "neither work or leisure".

Shaw (1988) found that "although males were involved in far fewer of these activities than the females, when they did participate they defined these activities much more frequently as leisure... and far less frequently as work" (335). The definition of household labour varied between the sexes according to the specific task. Cooking, home chores, child care, and other household obligations were significantly more often defined by men as leisure and women as work. But women significantly more often defined gardening as leisure, while men tended to define it as work. These results were explained by the fact that traditional gender assignment of domestic work affected the perception of such work. Shaw (1988) stated that

[T]he reason for this gender differences in meanings may well relate to the fact that household labor is closely associated with the female gender role, and as such is thought of as "women's work". The finding that men perceived more freedom of choice in their participation in housework activities, and reported that they evaluated or judged their own performance in these tasks to a much lesser extent than women, supports this contention. Moreover, the only activity that was perceived more often as work by males...was gardening, which is not normally associated with the female gender role.

This study is useful for understanding the perceptual difference in domestic work between men and women. It, however, offers little explanation of the distribution of household labour (this is not its aim). Neither can its results be directly applied to this problem. For example, if men find such enjoyment in housework, why do they not perform more of the household tasks. This study demonstrated, however, that housework is primarily perceived as women's responsibility, and because of this the latter do most of it even if they dislike doing so. Thus demonstrating how attitudes towards housework affects behavior towards it.

2.1 DEFICIENCY OF THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE IN THE LITERATURE

Morgan's (1985) commentary on the works of Rhona and Robert Rapoport emphasised the fact that they used an eclectic approach to their work. That is, they selected what appeared to be useful from the various approaches, methods, and styles to study the topic.

Morgan implied that this was a response to the nature of the subject, the family. In fact, he argued that using several approaches to study an area in the family is fairly typical. "What may appear to be an almost promiscuous use of different disciplines may in fact reflect a commitment to a project that... lies at the heart of the study of the family (160)". Because the family is a unique institution, in that to a greater extent it has characteristics of both the individual and the larger society (Morgan,1985), it is not surprising that such variety of approaches are used to study it. Using different approaches may be advantageous because one may be able to incorporate many aspects of the various approaches where it may be relevant "while avoiding their rigidities" (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1976:361). But there are many problems associated with this approach. The contributions of the various approaches may be diluted or incomplete. Further, the concepts in each approach are interrelated to other concepts, therefore using them separately may not do justice to the full contribution of the approach. The aims of the perspective may be misrepresented by separating or omitting essential concepts. It is therefore not surprising that Morgan (1985) criticized the Rapoports as follows: "Feminism...is acknowledged and sometimes even incorporated into their work but the full force of the feminist attack is somehow neutralized" (1985:130).

Similar criticism could be raised about most of the studies in the area of domestic work in the family. It is rare in such literature that any social science theory is even mentioned much less used as a paradigm for the study. The outstanding exception to this trend is the work of Scanzoni (1978). His work outlines exchange theory and the concept of a reward-cost approach that was applied to the research. Most of the work in this area does not follow this pattern. Often there is a sense of the general approach that could be inferred from the concepts used in the studies, but there is usually little theoretical development or application in the research. Meissner et al (1975), for example, seemed to imply the use of a Marxist-Feminist approach in the concept of women as dependent labour. However, other important concepts from this perspective that seem relevant and which are related to the concept of dependent labour are not mentioned. Some of these concepts are inequality in the mode of production, inequality in the labour market, and power in the family. It seems that their project would have benefited from developing the Marxist-Feminist perspective, if this was the approach they were using.

The lack of well developed theoretical approaches to the study of the work in the family makes the results of the studies incomprehensive and incomparable to some extent. It is not surprising that the Rapoport (1976) found little

review of their work; it is difficult to assess or to be critical of work when the frame of reference is always changing. It is evident that this area of social inquiry will benefit from the development and the application of a theoretical approach. This should make the study more systematic, and comprehensive. The theoretical perspective should be made more explicit and developed, regardless of the perspective being used.

The subsequent problem is, therefore, which theoretical perspective is most appropriate to the study of household tasks participation in the dual-earner family? As stated earlier, the family is unique in that it has characteristics of both individuals and the larger society. As such, the area of work in the family is affected by factors at both theoretical levels. decision, social factors, such as the labour market and social roles, may affect the individual decisions. Therefore, the approach to the study of this topic must not only be able to identify societal factors that may be related to the distribution of housework, but the approach must also demonstrate how these influence personal decisions concerning domestic participation.

In this study, a symbolic interactionism perspective is used as a paradigm for such research, with an emphasis on gender socialization. The application of this perspective allows the demonstration of the links between personal decisions made by each actor and conditions and ideas that

may be present in the larger society. The lack of ability to show these links is a major shortcoming in the literature. This is most likely due to the lack of a comprehensive theoretical conception of the problem. While empirical research, such as Clark and Harvey(1976), Lupri and Mills(1987), and Meissener et al (1975) demonstrated quite well that husbands did little housework even when their wives were employed full time, they did little to explain why this was the case or why wives were willing to accept this inequality. They did not consider, for example, the effects that social expectations have on limiting husbands' participation in the home. Their concepts (dependent labour and conjugal role symmetry, for example) are at the macro level, and as such they cannot explain the variations between households.

Blood and Wolfe (1960) considered attitudes, but they dismissed them prematurely. They presumed, incorrectly, that because conservative attitudes were alleged to be popular in a social group, individuals subscribed equally to these ideas. They assumed that what may be true at the societal level must also be true at the individual level. It is not surprising, therefore, that they did not find the relationship they expected, while Perrucci et al (1978), who tested ideological commitment of each individual, found that conservative attitudes is an important determinant of housework distribution.

Pleck's (1977) consideration of roles and their interaction is very important, but he stops short of linking the commitment and definition of these roles to the individual actors. Although roles are evident, individuals have different levels of commitment to these roles and they often define these roles differently (Mackie, 1987; Shaw, 1988, and Stryker, 1959). The performance of these roles may be affected by the ideas concerning these roles. The application of symbolic interactionism to study this problem allows one to identify the relevant societal factors, and also demonstrate how these factors are translated to individual decisions and subsequent behaviours. In this way one avoids the assumption that individual behaviour is totally determined by societal forces, and yet one is able to demonstrate that personal decisions are not made in a social vacuum. Symbolic interactionism, being a social psychological approach, emphasizes the integration of these two conceptual levels (Mackie, 1987). It is the contention of this study that because of this characteristic, symbolic interactionism is particularly appropriate for application to this problem. The following section outlines some of the basic assumptions and concepts in symbolic interaction.

Chapter III

SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONISM

Hill and Hansen (1960) stated that symbolic interactionism has been the most frequently used approach to family studies in American sociology in the past twenty years. This approach has its roots in the work of George Herbert Mead and the University of Chicago group of symbolic interactionists. "Notable among these (interactionists), Ernest W. Burgess first suggested the feasibility of viewing the family as an interacting unity in 1928" (Hill and Hansen, 1960:302). Since then, there have been many studies which have refined the symbolic interactionist perspective, emphasizing and developing different aspects of it. Sheldon Stryker's version (1959) is summarized in this study to provide a brief discussion of the main concepts in symbolic interactionism. Hill and Hansen (1960) believed that this article provided the best discussion to date of symbolic interactionism specifically applied to the family. A more in-depth discussion of gender socialization will follow.

The main concepts and discussions of Stryker's work is presented as follows:

There are two principal questions this perspective addresses: 1) How the human organism acquires ways of

behaving; that is, the problem of socialization. This issue is how one obtains the appropriate values, norms, and attitudes of the social group in which one lives. This is a developmental problem, and as such, the concern is not only on the infant, but it is a continual concern in every stage of life. 2) Closely related to the problem of socialization is that of the development of personality. This concerns the organization of persistent behavioural patterns. This approach attempts to explain how social relationships influence the development of personality.

The concepts relevant to this study stem from the assumption that humans do not react directly to the physical environment, but the environment is mediated through symbols, that is, to a symbolic environment. Therefore, before a person can act in a given situation they must represent the situation in symbolic terms. This process is called definition of the situation.

Defining a situation often involves creating symbolic categories. When symbols represent generalizations of behavior towards objects they are called categories. In this case a single term is used to classify many different objects. Therefore, one does not respond to objects as unique, but in categories for various purposes. The categories give some indication as to how behaviour is organized.

Positions are socially recognized categories of actors, such as, mother, teacher, and child. Positions serve to organize behaviour towards the persons categorized. To every position there are expectations of their behaviour and others act in accordance to these expectations. The expectations of behaviour associated with a particular position is termed role. Positions are always related to some other positions. Father may be related to son, mother etc.. Similarly, every role has other related roles.

When one applies social categories to oneself the actor is said to have a Self. A Self could also be considered as a set of self-identifications or social identities. For example, a conception of Self may include father, male, teacher, hard worker etc.. Role-taking is the anticipation of responses of others during a social act. Role-taking may either be anticipating the role of a particular person or, in Mead's terms, the generalized other. The generalized other is a defined system of related roles. When taking the role of the generalized other one is not anticipating the idiosyncratic responses of each individual concerned, but one anticipates that the behaviour of all the individuals are related in some essential way. Because there is heterogeneity in perspectives among the persons with whom one interacts one has to give priority to those who are more important to one. The ones who are most important comprise the significant others.

Symbolic interactionism also includes internal concepts such as thinking, volition, and self-consciousness. However, as Stryker (1959) emphasised, these terms are defined in this perspective in behavioral terms so that they can be studied scientifically. Thinking is defined as the internal manipulation of symbols. Volition is the process of choosing between alternatives symbolically present in the experience of the actor. Self-consciousness is viewing oneself from the standpoint of others.

An additional concept not included in Stryker's outline is that of self-fulfilling prophecy. This concept is associated with the definition of the situation. Merton (1968:477) defined the concept as follows:

The self-fulfilling prophecy is, in the beginning, a false definition of the situation evoking a new behavior which makes the originally false conception come true...For the prophet will cite the actual course of events as proof that he was right from the very beginning.

The resulting behaviour is, therefore, influenced by the initially incorrect definition of the situation.

3.0.1 Gender Socialization

According to symbolic interactionism, there are three stages of self-development. These are as follows. 1) Preparatory Stage: In this stage children imitate the behavior of significant others, but have no understanding of the meaning of the behaviours. It is important at this

stage for children to learn the fundamentals of language before they could conceptualize gender categorization. 2) Play Stage: Children are able to play at the roles of significant others. For example, a girl may pretend to be mother cooking a meal, but she is not able to relate this to other roles, such as, the employed father's role. In this stage they are only able to take the role of a single person at a time. 3) Game stage: Children at this stage are able to take several roles at the same time, and modify these roles in accordance with other roles. Children see things from the perspectives of others; they are able to view themselves from the perspectives of the generalized other.

3.0.2 Gender Differences in Socialization

Gender identity is a social construct acquired during socialization. Masculine and feminine identities are developed as components of Self. That is, they are social identities. Even in the preparatory stage boys and girls are treated differently. New born girls are described as softer, finer-featured, littler and prettier, while boys are described as bigger, stronger, firmer, and more alert (Rubin et al, 1974). Parents have different expectations for their sons and for their daughters and these expectations become apparent to the child. Children also observe their parents performing different tasks according their sex. For example, the mother may clean the house, while the father

may repair the car. As children begin to imitate this behavior, they pretend to be their mother when playing house, and father when pretending to fix the toy cars.

In the play stage children learn to distinguish differential gender expression. They gradually understand that they belong to a particular sex, and they are encouraged to show preferences for gender "appropriate" behavior. Play is very important at this stage, because it gives children an opportunity to act out the adult roles they see parents and significant others performing. Play tend to be sex-typed and sex segregated, just as is the adult life they observe. Boys more often play with vehicles, sports equipment, art material, and construction and military toys. Girls tend to play more with dolls and miniature domestic equipment. In this way girls begin to develop homemaking and child rearing skills, and they associate this with their gender identity. Meanwhile, boys associate their gender identity with activities not directly related to the home. Boy are rewarded for their skills in these activities, and girls are rewarded for homemaking skills. Gender roles are usually assigned according to sex of the child. Boys play daddy and girls play mummy; boys do what their fathers do and girls do what their mothers and other women in their lives do. Because the male roles are understood as more powerful and prestigious, girls may sometimes play cross-sex roles, but boys are particularly

unwilling to do so (Mackie,1987). Girls may, therefore, acquire skills in areas other than homemaking, but boys may have very little chance of developing homemaking skills. However, gender identity is not perfect in this stage. The permanence of gender assignment is often not understood, and children often rely on superficial characteristics, such as, hair length and clothing for gender assignment.

In the game stage children have a more comprehensive conception of gender roles. They understand gender permanence and how roles are related to other roles. They see themselves as a reflection of the attitudes of the generalized other. They now have the social skills to take the role of several actors, and modify their behaviour accordingly. The influence of teachers and peers is very important at this stage. Teachers tend to reflect traditional gender norms, and often assign tasks according to gender. Boys tend to play games in places other than home, but girls tend to play closer to home, and often help their mothers with household tasks. Girls evaluate their gender identity by their ability to perform these household tasks. For example, a girl's self-esteem may suffer if she fails at making cookies as well as her mother. Boys are encouraged by their peers to be tough, to defy authority, and to become independent of family expectations on them to help. Boys evaluate their gender identity by their success in activities outside the home, for example, in sports.

3.0.3 Socialization and Adult Gender Identity

Self-conception is a reflection of how we believe others to perceive us. Self-conception may be further specified as "self-image" or "self-esteem". Self-image is a description of the kind of person one thinks one is, while, self-esteem is a self-evaluation of how favorable one regards oneself. Self-image is comprised of several social identities, "or internalized positional designations that may vary in their importance to the individual" (Mackie, 1987:249). Gender identity is only one of these social identities.

Boys tend to have more difficulties than girls achieving gender identity (Mackie, 1987; Monick, 1987). One reason for this is that children have more contact with mothers and female care givers than with fathers or male care givers, and teachers are usually female. Boys, therefore, have difficulty understanding the expectations of masculine identity. Masculinity becomes avoiding everything perceived as feminine. Hence boys experience much anxiety when discovered doing something defined as feminine. Boys develop a strong aversion to anything suggesting femininity. This aversion remains during adulthood. While boys avoid playing house and with dolls, men avoid housework, and child care, because these activities are perceived as a threat to their masculine identity. When boys and men do participate in such activities they display role distance in their behavior. Role distance occurs when one acts in such a way

as to deny "the virtual self that is implied in the role for all accepting performers." It refers to those behaviors "that suggest that the actor possibly has some disaffection from, and resistance against, the role" (Goffman, 1961:146). When boys play house with girls they do not take the game seriously, and often place more effort on annoying the girls (Mackie, 1987). Similarly husbands often do not take housework as seriously as their wives, and are less likely to define it as real work (Shaw,1988). By showing incompetence in housework they are denying the feminine identity implied in the role. In that sense inability to do housework reaffirms their masculine identity. This explains men's aversion to housework described in the literature (Blumstein and Schwartz, 1983; Clark and Harvey, 1976; Meissner et al 1975).

Girls have much less difficulty in achieving female identity, as female role models are readily available. Femininity is defined as specific behavior, not in avoiding masculine behavior. In fact, because behavior defined as masculine is considered more prestigious, girls are often rewarded for success in these areas. In general, girls have more flexibility in terms of appropriate behavior for their sex. This flexibility is extended into adulthood. Although women are expected to maintain the traditional female role, they are rewarded for success in the labour force (Pleck, 1983; Scanzoni, 1978).

Gender identity is probably the most salient social identity. It is equally important to both women and men. Because of its importance, there is often reluctance to perform any behavior perceived as threatening to gender identity. Further, more emphasis is placed on other social identities that support gender identity. Hence women place more emphasis on marriage, parenthood, family and housework, while work outside the home is more important to men (Mackie, 1983).

Despite the above discussion, symbolic interactionism emphasises that achieving gender identity is not simply conforming to the dictates of socialization. Individuals question and often reject, to varying degrees, the norms of the society. It is important to study the extent to which they accept or reject social expectations. Further, the content of socialization may vary between families, provinces, ethnic groups, social classes, etc. (Mackie, 1987). In studying the influence of gender socialization on behavior, understanding the effects of these background factors on gender socialization is important.

Because of these familial, socioeconomic and cultural factors, each individual has varying sex role expectations in the family. These expectations can be understood as varying degrees of modernism or traditionalism in attitudes towards family roles. These attitudes are reflected in behavior in marriages. Individuals with traditional family

role attitudes will tend to have a traditional distribution of housework, while individuals with modern family role attitudes will tend to have a modern, more equal, distribution of housework. This association should be stronger for husbands than for wives, because, as mentioned above, males' gender identity is closely tied to avoiding any behavior perceived as feminine. In contrast, women's gender identity is closely linked to housework (Mackie, 1987; Oakley, 1974). For this reason many women continue to do most of the housework even when they are employed outside of the home. A man who subscribes to a traditional definition of his gender identity will be more likely to perceive himself as less competent at housework than his wife, because this perception of his housework ability is consistent with his gender identity. He may think as such: "Men cannot do housework as well as women. I cannot do housework as well as my wife, therefore I am masculine." Similarly, a woman with a traditional definition of her gender identity will tend to perceive herself as more competent at housework than her husband.

Associated with self-esteem is the concept of efficacy. "Efficacy [occurs when] one's self-esteem derives from the experience of self as an active agent -- of making things actually happen..." (Mackie, 1987:259). The concept of efficacy is helpful in connecting perceived ability and housework performance. Because women have more training and

experience in housework, they may experience efficacy to a greater extent than men when doing housework. As a result of womens' relative competence in housework, real and perceived, they will see themselves as making a major difference in this sphere of life -- the domestic sphere. They may believe that the household could not be properly managed without them. Because their self-esteem may increase from doing these tasks, they may be encouraged to do so even when they have paying jobs. This may be especially so for women with higher levels of perceived household tasks ability. In contrast, men with lower perceptions of their ability to perform household tasks may not experience efficacy from doing such tasks, because they regard themselves as relatively incompetent in this area. (They may seek efficacy from other areas of work, in paid employment, for example.) This condition further perpetuates the unequal division of domestic labour.

Further application of the concepts of symbolic interactionism, gender socialization in particular, to this study is presented in the discussion of the hypotheses.

Chapter IV

METHOD

This study is an attempt to use quantitative data to explain the distribution of housework between dual-earner couples in Winnipeg. A survey questionnaire design to collect data was considered appropriate. The data were then subject to computer analysis. The following is a discussion of the variables, the instrument, the method of sampling, and the method of data analysis in this study.

4.1 VARIABLES AND HYPOTHESES

This section deals with the variables under analysis in this survey. The following includes discussions of how each variable is operationalized, and assumptions about their relationship to the dependent variable. Each hypothesis is also stated.

4.1.1 Dependent Variable: Household Task Performance

The dependent variable in this study is the portion of household tasks performed by the husband and by the wife. In other words, it is a measure of the division of household task between the husband and the wife. (For the purpose of this study child care activities are considered as part of the household task load.)

This variable is operationalized by the responses to an eighteen-item scale of typical household tasks. Each item has seven alternative responses (see Appendix 1, Question 5 a to r). This approach to estimating the household tasks performance is similar to that of Blood and Wolfe (1960) and Perrucci et al (1978), except that in this study the list of tasks is extended and the "other" alternative is added.

A decision was made about which task should be included, because it was not feasible to include every possible household task. Two criteria were important in this decision. First, the tasks chosen must be performed by most families. Second, most of the tasks chosen are those done regularly. These are largely the everyday household chores that are traditionally considered to be women's work. Only a few traditionally male tasks (for example, car maintenance) were chosen, because they are done infrequently (see Appendix 1, Question 5).

Responses to each item, excluding "NOT APPLICABLE" and "OTHER", are coded 1 to 5, with 1 being "HUSBAND ONLY", 2 being "HUSBAND MORE", 3 being "BOTH EQUALLY", 4 being "WIFE MORE" and 5 being "WIFE ONLY". By adding the response number of all the items it is possible to have a score for each respondent. The highest possible score is therefore 90 (5, as the highest code, multiplied by 18 items), which indicates that the wife only performs all the tasks. This score is then weighted to compensate for the non-responses. The weighted score is obtained by the following equation.

$$\text{RAW SCORE} \quad \times \quad \frac{\text{TOTAL NUMBER OF ITEMS(18)}}{\text{NUMBER ITEMS ANSWERED}}$$

For this purpose, items answered "NOT APPLICABLE" and "OTHER" were considered non-responses. The weighted scores of both spouses were averaged to give an indication of the division of these tasks in each household. This averaged weighted score is a numerical representation of the portion of housework done by each spouse in her/his household. The closer the number was to 90 the more work was done by the wife, the closer to 18 the more work was done by the husband. A score of 54 indicated considerable sharing of tasks. This variable is termed Household Task Performance.

4.1.2 Independent Variables

Attitudes Towards Family Roles

Attitudes towards family roles is a central independent variable in this survey. Attitudes or ideologies about what is considered to be appropriate behaviour is measured in this study by a four part scale developed by John Scanzoni (see Appendix 1, Question 7 to Question 10). It is a revised and yet unpublished version of his earlier scale. It was found by Harber (1985) to have a reliability of .94 on the total scale. The main strength of this scale is that it investigates the respondents' beliefs about the four

basic adult roles in the family, that is, father, husband, mother and wife. Exact wording and question ordering were reproduced in the questionnaire, so that the reliability of the scale may be maintained. By employing this scale the investigator can assess how traditional respondents are concerning sex roles in the family. This variable is termed Sex Role Attitude.

These attitudes, from the symbolic interactional perspective, could be considered as family role expectations. The assumption here is that respondents with traditional expectations about the roles of family members are more likely to have a more traditional task distribution in their family. More specifically, husbands with traditional role expectations will be more committed to the traditional roles of husbands. The traditional roles of husbands are associated with labour force work -- not housework (Mackie,1983). Such husbands are unlikely to perform household tasks, because these tasks are incompatible with their self-identities. On the other hand, wives with traditional attitudes are more committed to traditional female roles. Traditional female roles are associated with the family, in general, and housework, specifically (Mackie,1983 and Oakley,1974). They will perform more of the household tasks, because housework is compatible with their self-identities. (For a discussion of degrees of commitment to family identities see Stryker 1959:118.)

Hypothesis 1(a): Husbands with more traditional attitudes towards familial roles are more likely to have lower levels of household tasks performance than husbands with modern attitudes.

(b) Wives with more traditional attitudes towards familial roles are more likely to have higher levels of household tasks performance than wives with modern attitudes.

The relationship between household tasks performance and sex role attitude will be stronger for men than for women, because male's traditional gender identity is associated with the avoidance of any behavior suggesting femininity, housework included (see Chapter 3 of this thesis).

Perceived Housework Ability

This variable is a measure of the respondents' perception of their ability to do household chores as compared to their spouses' ability. This variable is operationalized by repeating the list of household chores, but in this section they are asked to indicate who is better skilled at each task (see Appendix, Question 6 a to r). A weighted score is computed for each respondent, using a similar equation to the one used for household tasks performance, except that it is not averaged between spouses. (It is not necessary to average between spouses because getting the perceptions of

each respondent is the aim of this variable.) The score is then divided by the number of items. This variable is termed Perceived Housework Ability.

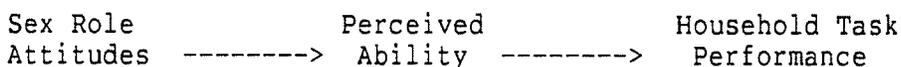
As stated earlier, self concept and behaviour have an interactive effect on the other. Self concept influences behaviour and behaviour influences self concept. Because self concept influences behaviour, it seems likely that respondents who consider themselves to be better at household tasks will be more willing to engage in these tasks than respondents who perceive themselves as less capable. For example, some men may think that they are not as capable as their wives at handling certain household tasks, and therefore they may prefer to leave it to their wives, because they are believed to be better equipped for the task. At least the role expectation of their wives is that they (the wives) are better, or should be better, at doing housework. Of course this is only perceived ability, not actual ability. Further, individuals who perceive themselves as having higher levels of household tasks ability will experience greater efficacy from doing such tasks. This efficacy may encourage these individuals to do more of the housework.

Hypothesis 2.: Respondents with lower perceptions of their ability to perform household tasks are less likely to perform such tasks.

As stated by Oakley (1974), the ability to do housework is closely linked to the traditional female gender socialization. Individuals with traditional sex role expectations may therefore expect wives to be better at housework than husbands. Individuals with more modern sex role expectations may tend to perceive husbands and wives as equally skilled.

It is also likely that perceived ability is related to attitudes, in such a way that it may be the result of a self-fulfilling prophecy. Using the same example as above, a husband may believe that because of his sex, he is naturally not as capable as his wife is at handling household tasks. Because of the initial definition of the situation he may seldom perform these tasks, and as a result of his lack of practise he may not develop the necessary skills as much as his wife. This may result in his actual inability to perform household tasks. His inability may negatively affect his conception of his ability to perform household tasks. The behavior in this case affects his self-concept. His inability to perform the tasks is explained by his masculinity. His apparent lack of ability becomes his proof that his initial conception was correct. Because of his attitude he may not be motivated to be successful, and as such, he may not make sufficient effort, or he may simply allow himself to fail.

Further, as stated earlier, incompetence at housework may be regarded as behavior creating role distance. A husband with traditional sex role attitudes may associate housework with the female family role. By perceiving himself as less skilled in housework he is distancing himself from the female role implied in housework (see Chapter 3 of this thesis). Therefore, perceived ability may be an intervening variable between attitudes and role performance. The links between these variables can be illustrated as follows:



Hypothesis 3.: Respondents with traditional attitudes towards familial roles are more likely to perceive the wives as better skilled at performing household tasks.

4.1.3 Background Variables

Several background variables are chosen as independent variables in this survey. These are as follows: Age, Ethnicity, Country of Birth, Years of Schooling, Employment, Occupational Level, Income, and Political Orientation and Number of Children under 12. Background variables are important to this study because the actual content of socialization varies across different socioeconomic and cultural groups (Mackie, 1987). They are used in this

survey to show their relationship to household tasks performance by their effect on sex role attitudes.

Age may be related to housework distribution because of its effect on Sex Role Attitudes. Older people are more likely to have a traditional upbringing, because they were socialized in more traditional times. They may therefore have a more traditional distribution of housework. Ethnicity and Country of Birth may also affect early socialization, which is cited in the literature as when housework apprenticeship starts, and where attitudes toward family roles are initially instilled (Oakley,1974). Years of schooling, Occupational Level and Income are socioeconomic variables, and as such they may influence socialization in a more or less similar way. Attitude towards housework and familial sex roles may vary across social classes. The higher the number of children under 12 in the family the higher the work load in the family, therefore the equality in the distribution of the housework is more important. The number of hours employed outside the home affects the amount of time available for work in the home. Spouses who have shorter labour force work hours may be expected to do more housework.

4.1.4 Level of Satisfaction with Marriage and Housework

These variables concern the respondents' level of satisfaction with their marriage and with the amount of housework they do themselves. As stated earlier, these are secondary dependent variables in the study. Marital satisfaction is measured by using the Dyadic Satisfaction subscale from the Dyadic Adjustment Scale developed by Spanier (1976). This subscale consist of 10 items concerning the level of marital satisfaction being experienced by the respondents in their marriage (Appendix 1, Question 11 to Question 14). Spanier (1976) demonstrated empirically that this subscale has high content, construct and criterion-related validity.

Satisfaction with the amount of housework one does is measured by asking the respondents: "How often do you feel dissatisfied with the amount of housework you have to do yourself?" (See Appendix 1, Question 11 (h).)

Because overload has been identified in the literature as a major source of stress and unhappiness in dual-earner families, it is expected that spouses with a disproportionate amount of household tasks to perform are more likely to report lower levels of satisfaction, It is assumed that dissatisfaction with housework distribution will be reflected in their feelings towards their marriage,

both with the amount of housework they have to do and with the marriage.

Hypothesis 4.: Respondents with substantially higher household task performance levels are more likely to report lower levels of satisfaction with marriage and housework distribution.

However, the relationship between task load and satisfaction may not be so simple. Satisfaction often depends on one's subjective definition of the situation. Wives who believe that it is their responsibility to do all household tasks, regardless of their employment in the work force, may not tend to report dissatisfaction, even if task overload is apparent. Doing all the housework may be part of their definition of the role of a good wife. Such wives may regard the overload as an indication of their inability to be a good wife. Wives who do not define their role as such may expect a more equitable distribution of such tasks, and may more readily report dissatisfaction.

Hypothesis 5.: Wives with traditional attitudes are less likely to report dissatisfaction with housework.

The reverse should be the case for husbands. Those with more traditional beliefs may be more likely to report dissatisfaction, because they may believe that it should not be their responsibility in the first place.

Hypothesis 6.: Husbands with traditional attitudes are more likely to report dissatisfaction with housework if they have a high tasks performance level.

4.2 INSTRUMENT

The main instrument this study employed was a mailed questionnaire (Appendix 1). Two questionnaires were sent to each household with instructions that both the husband and wife should independently complete each questionnaire. It was very important that the questionnaire be completed independently, because the views of one spouse may be different from the other. If it was completed in the presence of the other, one may influence the responses of the other directly, or the responses may be modified so as not to upset the other. Respondents were reminded of the importance of this, both in the cover letter and in the inside cover of the questionnaire (see appendix, page 2). Further, two prestamped preaddressed return envelopes were sent in each questionnaire package to ensure that the answers were kept in confidence.

4.3 SAMPLING

A stratified random sample of 120 dual-earner households was selected. The neighborhoods in the city were ranked according to the average income, and then divided into three groups; high income, middle income, and low income

neighborhoods. Six neighborhoods in the city were randomly selected: Two high income neighborhoods, two middle income neighborhoods, and two low income neighborhoods. With the information provided by the Winnipeg Area Characterization Map, streets were randomly selected from these neighborhoods. Twenty households were randomly chosen from these streets in each neighborhood.

The sample was drawn from the Winnipeg's Henderson Directory. This directory contains a listing of households in the city. It also includes information on marital status and employment of members of households. From this information the eligibility of households for inclusion in the sample was assessed. Only married couples in which both individuals were working outside the home were selected. Thus a total of 120 households, or 240 respondents because both spouses were expected to reply, was sampled.

A total of 68 couples (136 respondents) replied. Nineteen others replied, but their questionnaires were not included, because their spouses did not reply. The response rate was 58%.

The average age of the respondents was 31 years, ranging from 21 to 62 years. Sixty-four percent had children living with them. On average they worked 39 hours per week, but there was a wide range of work hours, from five to 80 hours per week. Respondents averaged thirteen and one seventh

years of schooling, ranging from six to 25 years of schooling. Their average individual income was between 25,000 and 29,999 dollars per year. Sixty-three percent were born in Canada.

4.4 METHOD OF DATA ANALYSIS

The analysis of the data took place in three stages. The first stage was the preliminary descriptive analysis of the main variables in the study and the testing of the hypotheses associated with these variables. Those variables were Household Task Performance, Sex Role Attitude and Perceived Housework Ability. An overview of the variables provides a general description of the distribution of the characteristics in each variable. This indicated if there is sufficient variability in each variable to merit further analysis. In this stage also, the yet untested scale, Perceived Housework Ability, was tested for reliability. In the second stage, the hypotheses associated with satisfaction were tested. And in the final stage, the relationship between the background variables and housework distribution and other relevant variables were examined.

After the preliminary examination of the variables, the relationships between the dependent and independent variables were analyzed. ANOVA test was used in this study to get the loading of means of one variable on another, and to test if the differences in the means were statistically

significant. ANOVA results were not listed in this thesis, but they were used as a tool to determine if further analysis was warranted. If the differences in the means were statistically significant, then the variables were recoded for crosstabulation. Crosstabulation is a more comprehensive method of analysis of variance between two variables than ANOVA. The Gamma value was used to measure the strength and direction of ordinal variables. It ranges between -1.00 to +1.00, with the former signifying a perfectly negative relationship, and the latter a perfectly positive relationship. The Lambda value was used to measure the strength of nominal variables. It ranges from 0.00 to 1.00. The closer the value is to 1.00 the stronger the relationship.

The significance value is an indicator of the statistical significance of the relationship between variables. This test indicates the probability that an observed relationship could have occurred by chance. The significance level in this study was set at five percent. This means that any relationship that had more than five percent probability of occurring by chance was not considered significant in this study.

Chapter V
ANALYSIS OF DATA

The following is the presentation of the results of the data analysis in this study. The frequency distribution of the main variables in this study is presented. The testing of each hypothesis follows in numerical order. The relationships of the background variables to household tasks performance and sex role attitudes are presented. The tables and statistics used in these tests are presented and interpreted.

5.0.1 Frequency Distribution
Household Tasks Performance

The distribution of each household task is summarized in Table 1. The tasks are listed in descending order according to the distribution of the means. The possible range of the mean is from 5 to 1, where 5 means the wife only does the task, 3 means that it is done equally by husband and wife, and 1 means that the task is done by the husband only. The table also includes the mean scores of the husbands and the wives separately, and the sample size for each task.

As seen in the table, husbands performed only four tasks more than wives: finances, yard work, taking out garbage and

car maintenance. These tasks are not traditional female sex-typed tasks. The wives in this study were predominantly doing what was traditionally considered women's work. It is important to note that the ordering of tasks seem to demonstrate that the responsibility for getting these chores done lies more on wives even when the husbands help. For example, shopping for children's clothes and daily choosing children's clothes was done primarily by wives, but dressing the child was more equally shared. This implies that clothing the children is primarily the wives' responsibility. Wives make the important decisions concerning the dressing of the children and husbands may help with the actual dressing of the children. Similarly, wives are more likely to make the grocery list, thereby making the decisions about what is bought. Husbands are more likely to help with the actual purchase of the these items.

There is very little difference in the means between husbands and wives. Only in making grocery list is there a significant difference in the means between them. Wives claim to make the grocery list more often than husbands claim they (wives) do. Both husbands and wives agree that wives do more of the tasks. Only in shopping for children's clothes, choosing children's clothes, preparing lunch, dressing children and disciplining children do husbands have higher means, suggesting that husbands perceive wives to do

more than husband claim to do. Similarly, wives claim that husband do less than than husbands claim to do. But these

TABLE 1
Distribution of Means of Household Tasks Performance by Tasks

Task	Total Mean	Husbands Mean (N)	Wives Means (N)	Difference in Means
Shopping child's clothes	4.54	4.56 (37)	4.51 (34)	.05
Ironing Clothes	4.47	4.40 (61)	4.54 (60)	-.14
Choosing child's clothes	4.43	4.45 (29)	4.41 (29)	.04
Doing laundry	4.36	4.29 (67)	4.43 (66)	-.14
Preparing special meals	4.24	4.20 (68)	4.28 (66)	-.08
Preparing lunch	4.24	4.24 (30)	4.23 (29)	.01
Making grocery list	4.11	3.91 (67)	4.30 (65)	-.39 *
Preparing everyday meals	4.09	4.07 (67)	4.10 (67)	-.03
Cleaning the house	4.03	3.95 (64)	4.11 (66)	-.16
Dressing child	4.02	4.04 (21)	4.00 (29)	.04
Doing dishes	3.55	3.44 (64)	3.67 (66)	-.23
Grocery Shopping	3.52	3.47 (68)	3.57 (68)	-.10
Transporting child	3.31	3.29 (33)	3.33 (38)	-.04
Disciplining child	3.09	3.10 (39)	3.08 (39)	.02
Doing family finances	2.93	2.81 (68)	3.06 (67)	-.25
Doing yard work	2.41	2.39 (57)	2.44 (59)	-.05
Taking out garbage	2.22	2.12 (63)	2.32 (66)	-.20
Maintaining Car	1.83	1.75 (63)	1.91 (64)	-.16

* Significance < 0.05

differences are very small.

As stated earlier, the eighteen items are combined to produce a single index of the distribution of housework between spouses (Tasks Performance Index). This index could possibly range from 18 (husband does all) to 90 (wife does all). If all the chores were equally distributed then the

score would be 54. The actual range was from 42 to 82, and the mean was 63. This indicates that wives did most of the housework most of the time. Figure 1, below, demonstrates this disparity graphically in a histogram form. Although there is a large enough range in the distribution for further analysis, it should be well noted that the differences are in the extent to which the wife does more than the husband, rather than to the extent to which the

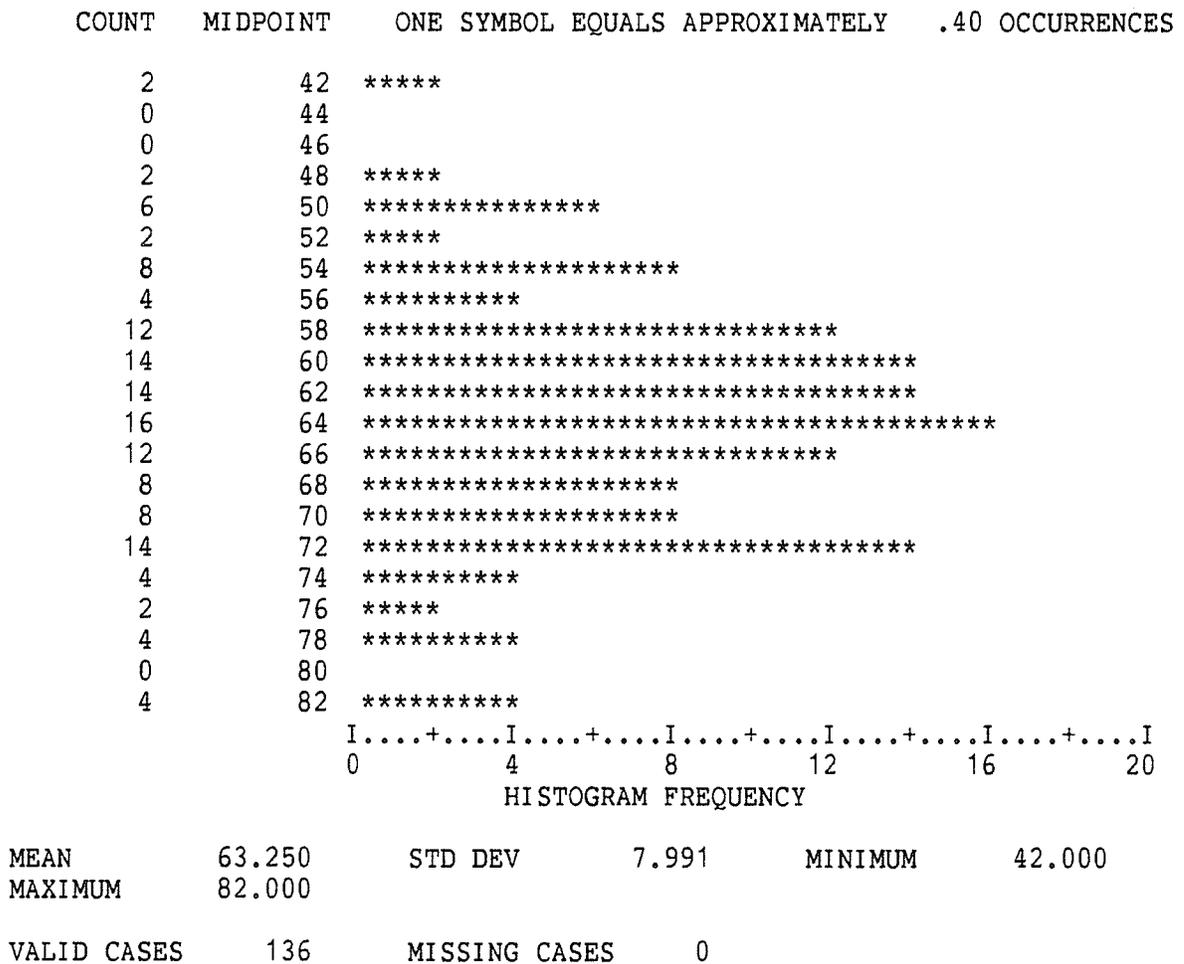


Figure 1: Histogram of Household Tasks Performance Index

husband does more than the wife.

This variable was recoded for crosstabulation. Considering the relatively low participation of husbands, this variable was recoded according to the portion of the housework done by husbands compared to the portion done by other husbands in the sample. For the purpose of this study, scores from 42 to 57 were categorized as High Husband Performance, from 58 to 64 as Medium Husband Performance and from 65 to 82 as Low Husband Performance. These cut off points were chosen because they allowed for as large a number of the sample as possible to be distributed in each category, thus reducing the chance of empty cells. (Labeling this variable according to husbands performance is only arbitrary. For example, Low Husband Performance could also be labeled High Wife Performance. When the portion of housework done by husbands increases, the portion of housework done by wives necessarily decreases.)

Perceived Housework Ability

Table 2, below, summarizes the mean perception of ability to perform each household task. The possible range for this index is from 1.00 (where the husband is perceived as somewhat better than their husbands at all the household tasks) to 3.00 (where the wife is perceived to be better at all the household tasks). The actual range is from 1.750 to

2.778. If both spouses were perceived as equally skilled at doing all the household tasks then the mean score would be

TABLE 2

Mean Perception of Ability to Perform Household Tasks

Task	Total Mean	Wives Mean	Husbands Mean
Shopping for child's clothes	2.838	2.778	2.906
Ironing clothes	2.740	2.794	2.688
Choosing child's Clothes	2.696	2.571	2.821
Doing Laundry	2.672	2.672	2.672
Special meals	2.657	2.627	2.687
Cleaning the home	2.636	2.742	2.530
Everyday meals	2.609	2.621	2.597
Preparing lunches	2.597	2.588	2.606
Dressing child	2.574	2.440	2.690
Making grocery list	2.562	2.646	2.477
Doing dishes	2.323	2.354	2.292
Grocery shopping	2.316	2.403	2.227
Disciplining child	2.127	2.077	2.175
Transporting child	2.042	2.056	2.028
Doing family Finances	1.925	1.970	1.879
Taking out garbage	1.754	1.831	1.677
Doing yard work	1.602	1.590	1.613
Maintaining car	1.163	1.154	1.172

2.00. The ordering in Table 2 is similar to that in Table 1. The ordering of the first five tasks, for example, is identical for both tables. In this table also, women rank higher in traditionally feminine tasks, particularly those tasks that imply greater responsibility for housework. For example, wives are perceived as comparatively better able to shop for children's clothes and to daily choose appropriate clothes for children than they are at actually dressing

children. Likewise, they are perceived as better at making grocery lists than they are at actually shopping for groceries.

Table 3, below, is a summary of the percentages of respondents who perceived that either the wife or the husband is better at each task or that they were both

TABLE 3
Percentage Distribution of Perception of Ability to Perform
Tasks by Sex

TASK	%WIFE BETTER	%BOTH EQUALLY	%HUSBAND BETTER
Shopping for child's clothes	83.8	16.2	0.0
Ironing clothes	77.2	19.7	3.1
Choosing child's clothes	69.6	30.4	0.0
Doing laundry	69.4	28.4	2.2
Preparing special meals	71.6	22.4	6.0
Cleaning the home	65.2	28.8	5.3
Preparing special meals	66.9	27.1	6.0
Preparing lunches	61.2	37.3	1.5
Dressing child	57.4	42.6	0.0
Making Grocery list	60.0	36.2	3.8
Doing dishes	35.4	61.5	3.1
Grocery shopping	39.8	51.9	8.3
Disciplining child	24.1	64.6	11.4
Transporting child	11.1	81.9	6.9
Doing family finances	24.1	44.4	31.6
Taking out Garbage	1.5	72.3	26.2
Doing Yard work	3.3	53.7	43.1
Maintaining car	0.8	14.7	84.5

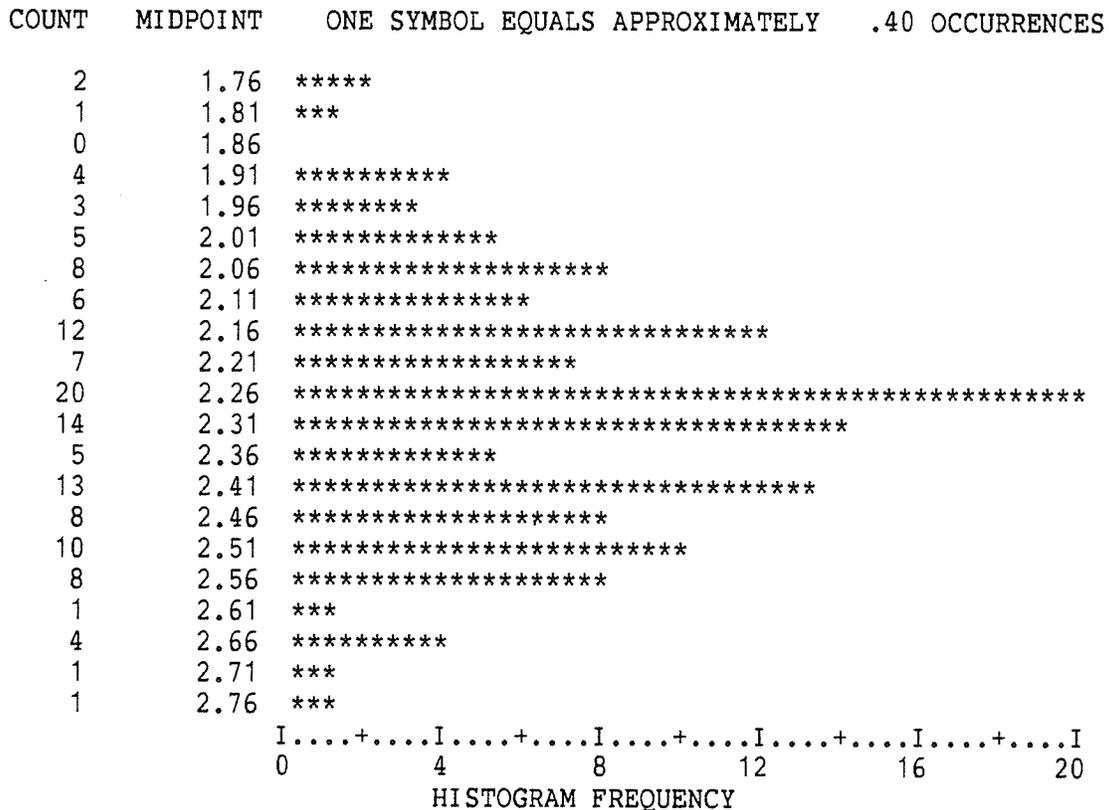
equally skilled. The tasks are presented in descending order according to the value of the means. Only in car maintenance are husbands considered better skilled than

wives. In the first ten tasks wives are considered better skilled than husbands. In the other seven tasks they are perceived as more equally skilled. There is unanimous agreement among the respondents that none of the husbands in the sample is better skilled at shopping for children's clothes, daily choosing children's clothes and dressing children. Husbands and wives are perceived as most equally skilled in transporting children (81.9%).

Before the above items were combined into a scale for further analysis, an Alpha reliability test was done on the proposed index. The Standardized Item Alpha score was .66 or 66%. Three items (Skill Transporting Children, Skill Taking Out Garbage, and Skill in Yard Work) were found to be correlated negatively to the total correlation. Therefore, these items were deleted from the index. Thus the Alpha reliability score improved to 75%, which is sufficiently high for the index to be used in further analysis.

Only nine percent of the sample scored 2.00 or lower (equally skilled or husband better), and the mean score is 2.287. On perceived housework ability also the distribution is heavily skewed to the wife being better. Figure 2 shows the histogram.

This variable was recoded for crosstabulation by the skill level of husbands compared to their wives, relative to



MEAN	2.287	STD DEV	.206	MINIMUM	1.750
MAXIMUM	2.778				
VALID CASES	133	MISSING CASES	3		

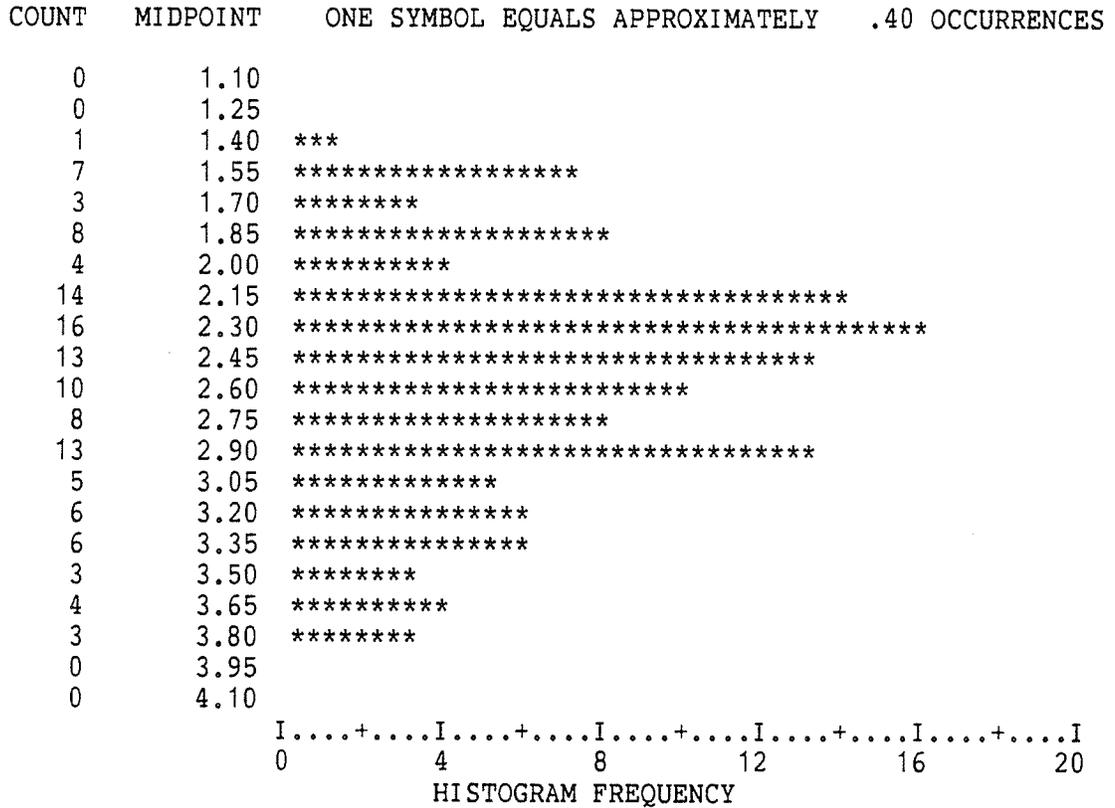
Figure 2: Histogram of Perceived Housework Ability

other husbands in the sample compared to their wives. Scores of 1.750 to 2.35 were categorized as High Skilled Husband, 2.36 to 2.49 as Medium Skilled Husbands, and 2.50 to 2.778 as Low Skilled Husband.

Attitudes Towards Family Roles

The Sex Role Preference scale has a possible range of 0 (Traditional) to 4 (Modern). The actual range in this

sample is from 1.39 to 3.83, with a mean of 2.548. This shows that the sample leans to more modern sex role



MEAN	2.548	STD DEV	.571	MINIMUM	1.391
MAXIMUM	3.826				
VALID CASES	124	MISSING CASES	12		

Figure 3: Histogram of Sex Role Attitude

attitudes (See Figure 3). Wives tend to be more modern than husbands. Wives' mean score was 2.616, whereas husbands' was 2.478.

5.0.2 Analysis of the Three Central Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: Sex Role Attitudes and Tasks Performance

This hypothesis stated that traditional individuals tend to have the wives do more of the household tasks and husbands less. Table 4 shows that this hypothesis was

TABLE 4
Household Tasks Performance by Sex Role Attitude

Husband Tasks Performance	Sex Role Attitude			
	High traditional	Low traditional	Low modern	High modern
High	4.5	20.0	34.2	41.7
Medium	22.7	52.5	26.3	37.5
Low	72.7	27.5	39.5	20.8
Total %	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number N.=124	22	40	38	24
Chi-square	22.9			
d. f.	6			
Gamma	-0.41845			
Significance	0.0008			

confirmed. The Gamma value is -0.37549 and the relationship is statistically significant (0.0008). As modernism increased husbands' performance of household task increased.

The hypothesis is only partially confirmed when the sex variable was controlled. (Table 5). The first section shows the males in the sample. The Gamma value is higher

TABLE 5

Household Tasks Performance by Sex Role Attitude controlling
for Sex

Husband Tasks Performance	Husbands' Sex Role Attitude			
	High traditional	Low traditional	Low modern	High modern
High	--	22.7	42.1	37.5
Medium	16.7	59.1	21.1	37.5
Low	83.3	18.2	36.8	25.0
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	12	22	19	8
N.=61				

Husband Tasks Performance	Wives' Sex Role Attitude			
	High traditional	Low traditional	Low modern	High modern
High	10.0	16.7	26.3	43.8
Medium	30.0	44.4	31.6	37.5
Low	60.0	38.9	42.1	18.8
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	10	18	19	16
N.=63				

	Husbands	Wives
Chi-square	20.3	7.1
d. f.	6	6
Gamma	- 0.41845	-0.36131
Significance	0.0024	0.3141

than that of total sample (-.41845) and the relationship is significant (.0024). The second section, using only the data for wives in the sample, also yielded a fairly high Gamma value (-.36131) and the cell distribution in the tables were similar to those in the combined sample, but the relationship was not statistically significant (.3141).

Hypothesis 2: Tasks Performance and Perception of Housework Ability

This hypothesis stated that respondents with lower perceptions of their ability to perform household tasks are less likely to perform such tasks. This hypothesis is supported by the crosstabulation analysis of the data, as

TABLE 6
Household Tasks Performance by Perceived Housework Ability

Husband Tasks Performance	Perceived Housework Ability		
	High skill husbands	Medium skill husband	Low skill husband
High	49.0	22.5	4.8
Medium	29.4	42.5	35.7
Low	21.6	35.0	59.5
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	51	40	42
N.=133			
Chi-square	27.12560		
d. f.	4		
Gamma	0.55117		
Significance	0.0000		

shown in Table 6. The table shows a Gamma value of .55117 and a significance value of 0.0000. This means that there was a strong positive relationship between perceived ability and household tasks performance and that the relationship

could not be explained away by chance or sampling error. Respondents' perceived skill increases with their increased participation.

The relationship holds even when the sex variable was

TABLE 7

Household Tasks Performance by Perceived Housework Ability
controlling for Sex

Husband Tasks Performance	Husbands' Perceived Housework Ability		
	High skill husband	Medium skill husband	Low skill husband
High	46.4	15.8	10.0
Medium	35.7	42.1	30.0
Low	17.9	42.1	60.0
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	28	19	20
N.=67			

Husband Tasks Performance	Wives' Perceived Housework Ability		
	High skill husband	Medium skill husband	Low skill husband
High	52.2	28.6	--
Medium	21.7	42.9	40.9
Low	26.1	28.6	59.1
Total %	100.0	100.1	100.0
Number	23	21	22
N.=66			

	Husbands	Wives
Chi-square	13.1	16.9
d. f.	4	4
Gamma	0.55752	0.55118
Significance	0.0108	0.0020

controlled. (Table 7). When considering only the men in the sample, the Gamma value is only very slightly higher than the total sample (.55752) and the relationship is significant(.0108). The Gamma value for this relationship when considering only the women in the sample is almost identical to that of the total sample (.55118), and the relationship is significant at the .002 level.

Hypothesis 3: Perception of Ability by Sex Role Attitudes

The third hypothesis is that respondents (both husbands and wives) with traditional attitudes towards familial sex roles are more likely to perceive the wives to be better at performing household tasks. As seen in Table 8, the result of the crosstabulation supports the hypothesis. The Gamma value is $-.41521$ and it is significant at the .008 level, which means that there is a strong, negative relationship.

When controlling for sex, there is support for this hypothesis only among the male respondents, as shown in Table 9. The following crosstabulation shows the Gamma value of $-.388837$ and the significance level of .0546. This means that the relationship is negative and significant. The more traditional husbands were, the less skilled they perceived themselves to be. Although the crosstabulation using only the wives in the sample shows a similar

TABLE 8

Perceived Housework Ability By Sex Role Attitude

Perceived Housework Ability	Sex Role Attitude			
	High traditional	Low traditional	Low modern	High modern
High skill Husband	9.1	38.5	43.2	65.2
Medium skill husband	36.4	28.2	24.3	26.1
Low skill husband	54.5	33.3	32.4	8.7
Total %	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0
Number N.=121	22	39	37	23
Chi-square	17.2			
d. f.	6			
Gamma	-0.41521			
Significance	0.0085			

relationship between perception of ability and sex role attitude (Gamma=-.48723), the significance level (.0640) is slightly lower than what is acceptable in this study.

TABLE 9

Perceived Housework Ability By Sex Role Attitude controlling
for Sex

Perceived Housework Ability	Husbands' Sex Role Attitude			
	High traditional	Low traditional	Low modern	High modern
High skill Husband	8.3	50.0	50.0	75.0
Medium skill husband	50.0	18.2	16.7	25.0
Low skill husband	41.7	31.8	33.3	--
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	12	22	18	8
N.=60				

Perceived Housework Ability	Wives' Sex Role Attitude			
	High traditional	Low traditional	Low modern	High modern
High skill Husband	10.0	23.5	36.8	60.0
Medium skill husband	20.0	41.2	31.6	26.7
Low skill husband	70.0	35.3	31.6	13.3
Total %	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0
Number	10	17	19	15
N.=61				

	Husbands	Wives
Chi-square	12.4	11.9
d. f.	6	6
Gamma	0.557552	0.55118
Significance	0.0546	0.0640

5.0.3 Marital and Housework Satisfaction

Hypothesis 4: Satisfaction and Housework Performance.

This hypothesis is that respondents with higher household task performance levels are more likely to report lower levels of satisfaction with marriage and housework distribution. The distribution of housework does not affect marital satisfaction. This is true for both husbands and wives. ANOVA test was carried out on marital satisfaction by housework performance, controlling for sex of the respondent, and no significant relationship was found. ANOVA test was also done on satisfaction with the amount of housework the respondent has to do and performance of housework, controlling for sex of the respondent. There were no significant relationships, although womens' dissatisfaction increased as the portion of their housework participation increased.

Hypothesis 5 and Hypothesis 6: Satisfaction and Sex Role Attitudes

Hypothesis 5 is that wives with traditional attitudes are less likely to report dissatisfaction with housework. Hypothesis 6 is that husbands with traditional attitudes are more likely to report dissatisfaction with housework if they have a high household tasks performance level. ANOVA test

carried out on marital satisfaction by sex role attitudes, controlling for the sex of the respondent yielded no significant relationship. A similar test was carried out on satisfaction with housework by sex role attitudes, controlling for sex of the respondent. No significant relationship was found.

ANOVA tests were done on Satisfaction with the amount of housework the respondent had to do by the sex of the respondent. This test yielded a significance value of 0.0. Wives were far more dissatisfied with the amount of housework they had to do than husbands. This is further supported by Table 10, below, which is a crosstabulation of sex by Satisfaction with amount of housework performed by

TABLE 10
Housework Satisfaction by Sex

Housework Satisfaction	Sex of Respondent	
	Male	Female
Low	41.2	77.9
High	58.8	22.1
Total %	100.0	100.0
Number	68	68
N.=136		
Chi-square	17.6	
d.f.	1	
Lambda	0.36765	
Significance	0.0000	

the respondent. This relationship also has a significance value of 0.0. The Lambda value is 0.036765. Wives were much more dissatisfied than husbands with the amount of housework they had to do themselves.

5.0.4 Analysis of Background Variables

Employment

Although all the respondents were employed, wives were more likely to work part time instead of full time outside the home. This phenomenon is shown in Table 11, below. This is a crosstabulation of employment by sex and it is statistically significant (0.0001). The Lambda value is

TABLE 11
Employment by Sex

Employment	Sex	
	Males	Females
Part time	5.1	35.4
Full time	94.9	64.6
Total %	100.0	100.0
Number	59	65
N.=124		
Chi-square	15.4	
d.f.	1	
Lambda	0.23729	
Significance	0.0001	

0.23729.

ANOVA test was done on employment (part time or full time) by household tasks performance. No significant relationship was found. But there was a significant relationship between the number of hours per week spent in employment and household task performance, when the sex of the respondents was controlled (see Table 12). Thirty-eight and less hours per week were considered 'Lower work hours' and 39 hours per week and over were considered 'Higher work hours'. When only the husbands are considered there is no relationship between the amount of time spent in employment and the portion of housework they have to do. But the amount of time women spent at their job does significantly affected the distribution of housework in the family. In the second half of Table 12, where only the wives are included, the significance value is 0.0530 and the Gamma value is -0.43648, showing a strong negative relationship. That is, when the number of hours wives spend in employment decreased, the amount of housework they are responsible for increased.

Occupational Level

Occupations were ranked according to Blishen and McRoberts' (1976) occupational index. Occupation ranking lower than 102 are categorized as High, those ranking from

TABLE 12

Household Tasks Performance by Weekly Work Hours controlling
for Sex

Husband Tasks Performance	Husbands' Weekly Work Hours	
	Lower work hours	Higher work hours
High	22.2	28.0
Medium	33.3	38.0
Low	44.4	34.0
Total %	99.9	100.0
Number	18	50
N.=68		

Husband Tasks Performance	Wives' Weekly Work Hours	
	Lower work hours	Higher work hours
High	19.4	34.4
Medium	30.6	43.8
Low	50.0	21.9
Total %	100.0	100.1
Number	36	32
N.=68		

	Husbands	Wives
Chi-square	0.6	5.8
d. f.	2	2
Gamma	-0.17172	-0.43648
Significance	0.7269	0.0530

102 to 274 as Medium and those raking over 274 as Low. When ANOVA test was done on occupational level by household task participation, no significant relationship was found. However, ANOVA test on occupational level by sex role attitudes yielded a significant relationship. As seen in

Table 13, the Gamma value is -0.33597 and the significance value is 0.0229, which means that the relationship is negative and statistically significant. The higher the respondents' level of occupation the less likely they are to

TABLE 13
Occupational Level By Sex Role Attitude

Occupational level	Sex Role Attitude			
	High traditional	Low traditional	Low modern	High modern
High	15.8	32.4	36.1	47.8
Medium	36.8	21.6	47.2	34.8
Low	47.4	45.9	16.7	17.4
Total %	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0
Number	19	37	36	23
N.=115				
Chi-square	14.7			
d. f.	6			
Gamma	-0.33597			
Significance	0.0229			

have traditional attitudes.

Individual Income Level

There is no relationship between individual income level and housework distribution. ANOVA test between these variables yielded no significant relationship, even when sex of the respondents was controlled. ANOVA test on income level by sex role attitudes also yielded no significant relationship.

Presence of Children

Husbands tend to decrease the portion of housework they

TABLE 14

Household Tasks Performance by Presence of Children

Husband Tasks Performance	Presence of Children	
	Children Present	No Children Present
High	20.7	36.7
Medium	29.9	49.0
Low	49.4	14.3
Total %	100.0	100.0
Number	87	49
N.=136		
Chi-square	16.7	
d. f.	2	
Lambda	0.19767	
Significance	0.0002	

do when children are present (Table 14). This table is a crosstabulation of household task performance by the presence of children in the home. The relationship is statistically significant (0.0002) and the Lambda value is 0.19767.

Husbands' non-responsiveness in housework participation when children are present is further demonstrated by Table 15, below. This is a crosstabulation of household task

performance by the number of children under 12 in the family. Under age 12 was chosen, because children at that age require more care, and at the same time are less able to help with the housework. The significance value is 0.0044, and the Gamma value is 0.24203. This shows a moderately strong positive significant relationship. When the number of children under 12 increases, husbands' housework

TABLE 15

Household Tasks Performance By Number of Children Under Twelve Years

Husband Tasks Performance	Number of Children Under Twelve			
	0	1	2	3
High	31.6	7.1	28.6	36.4
Medium	39.5	57.1	9.5	18.2
Low	28.9	35.7	61.9	45.5
-Total %	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.1
Number	76	28	21	11
N.=136				
Chi-square	18.8			
d. f.	6			
Gamma	0.24203			
Significance	0.0044			

performance decreases.

Age of Respondent

ANOVA test was performed on the age of the respondent by housework performance. Although the amount of housework done by men decreases with age, the relationship is not significant. ANOVA test was done on the age of the respondent by sex role attitudes. This relationship was statistically significant. Younger respondents have more modern family sex role attitudes. This is further supported by the data in Table 16, where age was related to sex role attitudes. Respondents born in 1949 and before were considered older, and those born in 1950 and after were considered younger. As shown in the table, the Gamma value is 0.46434 and the significance value is 0.0041, which means that there is a strong positive relationship.

Education

Table 17, below, is a crosstabulation of household task performance by the number of years of schooling. The Gamma value is -0.30169 and the significance value is 0.0065, indicating a strong, negative and statistically significant relationship between the two variables. As the number of years of schooling increased, the tasks performance of husbands increased.

TABLE 16

Sex Role Attitude by Age

Sex Role Attitude	Age	
	Older	Younger
High traditional	29.3	7.8
low traditional	34.5	31.3
Low modern	25.9	32.8
High modern	10.3	28.1
Total %	100.0	100.0
Number	58	64
N.=122		
Chi-square	13.3	
d. f.	3	
Gamma	0.46434	
Significance	0.0041	

TABLE 17

Household Tasks Performance by Number of Years of Schooling

Husband Tasks Performance	Number of Years of Schooling		
	Low	Medium	High
High	13.2	28.8	35.7
Medium	28.9	48.1	31.0
Low	57.9	23.1	33.3
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	38	52	42
N.=132			
Chi-square	14.3		
d. f.	4		
Gamma	0.33169		
Significance	0.0065		

The sex role attitude is related to the number of years

of schooling in Table 18. Respondents with ten or less years of schooling were considered as 'Low', those with between and including eleven and fourteen years of schooling were considered 'Medium', and those with fifteen or more years of schooling were considered 'High'. The Gamma value is 0.49419, and the significance value is 0.0011, which indicates a strong, positive and statistically significant relationship. The more schooling the respondents have the

TABLE 18

Sex Role Attitude by Number of Years of Schooling

Sex Role Attitude	Number of Years of Schooling		
	Low	Medium	High
High traditional	35.5	16.0	7.5
low traditional	35.5	40.0	20.0
Low modern	25.8	28.0	35.0
High modern	3.2	16.0	37.5
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	31	50	40
N.=121			
Chi-square	22.2		
d. f.	6		
Gamma	0.49419		
Significance	0.0011		

more modern their sex role attitudes.

The effect of the number of years of schooling on household task performance is not equal for both sexes. Table 19, below, is a crosstabulation of household task

performance by the number of years of schooling, controlling for the sex of the respondents. The Gamma value for the first section of the table, where only husbands are considered, is -0.45265 and the significance value is 0.0336 which indicates a strong, negative and significant relationship. But there is no significant relationship when only the wives are considered. This indicates that the number of years of schooling that the husband had is more important in determining the housework distribution than the number of years of schooling had by wives.

Political Orientation

ANOVA test was also done on household task performance by political orientation; no significant association was found. ANOVA test was done on sex role attitudes by political orientation. This relationship was significant. The crosstabulation of this relationship is shown in Table 20. Respondents scoring two or lower were considered 'Liberal', those scoring three and four were considered 'Moderate' and those scoring five, six and seven were considered 'Conservative' (see Appendix, question 32). The Gamma value is -0.34499 and the significance value is 0.0044 . This indicates that there is a statistically significant negative relationship between the two variables. As political conservatism increased, traditionalism in familial sex role attitudes increased as well.

TABLE 19

Household Tasks Performance by Number of Years of Schooling
controlling for Sex

Husband Tasks Performance	Husbands' Number of Years of Schooling		
	High	Medium	Low
High	10.0	22.7	43.5
Medium	30.0	50.0	30.4
Low	60.0	27.3	26.1
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	20	22	23
N.=65			

Husband Tasks Performance	Wives' Number of Years of Schooling		
	High	Medium	Low
High	16.7	33.3	26.3
Medium	27.8	46.7	31.6
Low	55.6	20.0	42.1
Total %	100.1	100.0	100.0
Number	18	31	19
N.=67			

	Husbands	Wives
Chi-square	10.4	6.7
d. f.	4	4
Gamma	-0.45265	-0.13909
Significance	0.0336	0.1504

Country of Birth and Ethnicity

Table 21 shows a crosstabulation of household task performance by country of birth (Canada vs. outside of Canada). The significance value is 0.0235 and the Lambda value is 0.07426. This indicates a significant, but weak

TABLE 20

Sex Role Attitude by Political Orientation

Sex Role Attitude	Political Orientation		
	Liberal	Moderate	Conservative
High traditional	7.0	16.7	43.5
low traditional	32.6	35.4	26.1
Low modern	30.2	35.4	8.7
High modern	30.2	12.5	21.7
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	43	48	23
N.=114			
Chi-square	18.9		
d. f.	6		
Gamma	-0.34499		
Significance	0.0044		

relationship between the two variables. In general, in marriages where at least one spouse was born outside Canada, husbands tended to do more housework.

When considering the ethnicity of the respondent, there is little difference in the distribution of housework. In Table 22 is a listing of the distribution of the means of household task performance by ethnicity of the respondent. As this table shows, there is little variation in the means between these ethnic groups.

TABLE 21

Household Tasks by Birth Place

Husband Tasks Performance	Birth Place	
	In Canada	Outside Canada
High	17.1	37.8
Medium	46.1	24.3
Low	36.8	37.8
Total %	100.0	99.9
Number	76	37
N.=113		
Chi-square	7.5	
d. f.	2	
Lambda	0.072246	
Significance	0.0235	

TABLE 22

Mean Household Tasks Participation by Ethnicity

ETHNICITY	MEANS	N
BRITISH	63.63	48
FRENCH	61.54	11
JEWISH	62.63	16
OTHER	63.46	59
TOTAL POPULATION	63.25	134

Chapter VI
CONCLUSIONS

6.1 SUMMARY OF MAJOR FINDINGS

Wives, by far, did most of the regular household tasks most of the time in dual-earner families in Winnipeg. This finding is consistent with those of other studies conducted in other parts of Canada: Clark and Harvey (1976) in Halifax; Lupri and Mills (1987) in Calgary; and Meissner et al (1975) in Vancouver. Wives were perceived by both women and men to be better at most of the household tasks, a new finding of this study.

The three central hypotheses were all supported by the data. First, respondents with traditional sex role attitudes tended to have traditional distribution of household tasks, but those with modern attitudes tended to have a more equal distribution of household task. Individuals with traditional expectations of familial sex roles, on the other hand, have a more traditional distribution of housework than those with more modern expectations. This finding coincides with that of Perrucci et al (1974). When husbands and wives were considered separately in this study (which Perrucci et al (1974) did

not do) men's attitudes were found to be more of a determinant to sharing housework than women's attitudes. This is similar to Blumstein and Schwartz's (1983) discovery that male attitudes concerning unpaid work is a more important factor in the allocation of domestic labour than female attitudes.

Second, the more a spouse is perceived as better at housework, the more she/he tends to be responsible for it. Perception of one's ability to perform household tasks influences whether one will in fact do them. This is equally true for both wives and husbands. Husbands who believe that their wives are better at doing housework are likely to leave it to them, whereas wives who believe that their husbands are as good as or better than they at doing housework are more likely to leave more of the housework for their husbands to do.

Third, respondents with traditional sex role attitudes were more likely to perceive wives as better at housework. This tendency was stronger for husbands than for wives.

Contrary to what was expected, the distribution of housework did not affect marital satisfaction. Neither was there evidence of direct support for the hypothesis that the distribution of housework affected satisfaction with the amount of housework the respondent had to do. Sex role attitude also did not affect satisfaction. Women, however,

were far more dissatisfied than men with the amount of housework they had to do themselves, which indirectly supports the hypothesis that satisfaction with the amount of housework an individual has to do decreases as the portion of housework they do increases.

6.2 INTERPRETATION OF THE FINDINGS

It was not surprising that wives tended to do most of the household tasks most of the time. The socialization of females, as described in Chapter III, emphasizes housework and child care, and females are rewarded for participation in these activities. It was also not surprising that wives were perceived as better skilled in housework. Because females more often than males experience informal housework apprenticeship as part of their gender socialization (Oakley, 1974), women are expected to be better at housework than men. Further, because women spend more time in adulthood than men doing housework they will develop such skills from this experience.

Men with traditional attitudes tend to do less housework than men with modern attitudes, because the former may consider housework as a feminine task. Because males often define masculinity as avoiding any behavior that is considered feminine, such men are particularly reluctant to do housework.

The fact that respondents with traditional sex role attitudes are more likely to perceive wives as better at housework fits in with Oakley's (1974) argument that housework ability is closely linked to the traditional female gender socialization. That this tendency was stronger for husbands than for wives, supports the assertion that men with traditional attitudes create role distance when they perceive their wives as better at housework. In other words, they distance themselves from the perceived femininity implied in housework.

Although the portion of housework one is responsible for does not directly affect satisfaction in housework, there is some indirect support for this assertion. This is so because wives do more of the housework, and they are also far more dissatisfied with the amount of housework they have to do themselves. The fact that women are significantly more dissatisfied with the amount of housework they have to do supports Shaw's (1988) conclusion that because women are traditionally responsible for housework, they see it as an obligation, not a choice for them, and as a result they perceive it as work. Further, this shows that housework over-load is primarily a problem which affects women. For this reason it is not in the interest of men to seek changes in the distribution of housework. The non-significance of the relationship between housework distribution and marital satisfaction indicates that inequality in household tasks

distribution is not severe enough a problem to affect the level of satisfaction with the marriage. The feeling of dissatisfaction with the amount of housework the respondents have to do is not reflected in their feelings towards the marriage.

The fact that wives are significantly more likely to be employed part time than husbands seems to be an adjustment wives make to facilitate their housework responsibilities (Clark and Harvey, 1976; Lupri and Mills, 1987 and Meissner et al, 1975). This assertion is further supported by the fact that the less time women spend in employment, the more of the housework they do. The amount of time men spend in employment does not likewise affect the amount of housework they do. That men do little adjustment in their labour force work schedule to accommodate housework further strengthens the idea that wives are primarily responsible for housework, even when they have paying jobs. Occupational level does not affect housework distribution directly. But occupational level may have an indirect effect on housework distribution by way of the former's effect on sex role attitudes. The higher the occupational level, the more modern the respondents tend to be. The relationship can be demonstrated as follows:

Occupational Level ----->Sex Role Attitude ----->Tasks Performance

Occupation is an indication of social class, and the content of gender socialization may be more modern in the higher classes. If this is true then the relationship between income and sex role attitudes should be similar, as income is also an indication of social class. Individual income, however affects neither distribution of housework nor sex role attitude. The fact that individual income, not family income, was tested, may have hidden the effect of income level. As the number of years of schooling increased the more equal housework was distributed. This relationship could be partially explained by the intervening effect of sex role attitudes. The more schooling individuals have, the more modern their sex role attitudes. The three-way relationship can be demonstrated as follows:

Years of Sex Role Household Task
 Schooling ----->Attitude ----->Performance

Socialization in the early years of schooling tend to be very traditional (Mackie, 1987), but the higher one goes on the educational hierarchy, the more likely one is to be influenced by more modern ideas concerning sex roles, especially at the university level. The acquisition of these modern ideas may encourage a more equitable distribution of housework. But this applies mostly to men, which further supports the position that the attitudes of

husbands is more important in determining the division of household labour.

Husbands contributed less to housework when children were present. And as the number of children under 12 increased the less husbands tended to do. This is consistent with the findings of Clark and Harvey (1976), Lupri and Mills (1987) and Meissner et al (1975). Husbands did not increase their housework participation to accommodate for the increased housework demands associated with the presence of young children in the household.

There was no significant relationship between age and the distribution of housework, but older respondents tended to have more traditional attitudes. Age may, therefore, indirectly affect housework distribution by its effect on sex role attitudes. This relationship can be shown as follows:

	Sex Role	Household Tasks
Age----->	Attitude----->	Performance

Older individuals generally were socialized in more conservative times in regards to familial sex roles, therefore they may reflect this traditionalism in their sex role attitudes. This may also indicate that although younger individuals may have more modern sex role attitudes

(a possible reflection of social change), they are yet not able to change their behavior accordingly. Perhaps the sex-typed gender socialization of their childhood have a stronger effect on their behaviour than the ideas they learn in adult life.

Political orientation was not related to housework distribution, but it was related to sex role attitude. More politically conservative respondents tend to have more traditional sex role attitudes. Although ethnicity is not significantly related to housework distribution, those respondents born outside of Canada tended to have a more equitable distribution of housework than those born in Canada. This supports Clark and Harvey's (1976) suggestion that Canadian men are particularly more traditional than men elsewhere. This may also suggest that early gender socialization in Canada may be relatively traditional.

The background variables did not, for the most part, explain household tasks distribution. But they give some indication of variation in the content of gender socialization. The fact that most of the background variables were not significantly related to household tasks distribution further strengthens the position that sex role attitudes and perception of ability were better predictors of housework distribution.

6.3 CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE STUDY

This study makes a unique contribution to the study of the division of housework in dual-earner families. The symbolic interactionist perspective was applied to explain the unequal division of housework in dual earner families. Such a perspective is lacking in the present literature. The use of a symbolic interactionism approach as a paradigm for this study allows the investigation to go beyond the descriptive level to the explanation of the distribution of household tasks in dual-earner marriages. This study does not merely explain why men do very little housework even when their wives are employed, but why some of these men do considerably more than others.

The persistence of an unequal division of household tasks between men and women is the result of the sex-typed gender socialization of males and females. Females are socialized from very early to assume the household and child care responsibilities. The skills for performing these duties are acquired as part of the gender socialization process. Eventually girls and women come to define their femininity in terms of their performance of these tasks. Hence wives perform most of the housework, even when they have paying jobs. Males, in contrast, experience gender socialization as the avoidance of any behavior suggesting femininity, more specifically, housework and child care. They rarely develop these skills. Further, they may perceive themselves as less

skilled than they may actually be, thereby creating role distance from the feminine role implied in housework and child care. The perception of their inability may further discourage them from household tasks performance. When this occurs, the prophecy is fulfilled -- that is, without practice, husbands are less adept than their wives at performing the daily household tasks.

The theoretical approach used in this study also helps to connect the perceptions of housework skill to self-esteem. Wives, especially those with higher perceptions of their housework ability, are more likely to experience efficacy when doing housework. Even though they may be quite overburdened doing most of the housework and having a paying job, they may see housework as their area of excellence. They may believe that they are indispensable in this role to the maintenance of the household. This may further maintain the traditional division of housework even when wives are employed outside the home as well.

But as suggested by the theory, the Self is not simply the results of socialization. Individuals may accept or reject to varying degrees the content of their socialization. The content of gender socialization may vary, and adult experiences alter attitudes and behavior. Traditional attitudes on the part of men result in less participation in housework and the perception that wives are better at it, in contrast to men who reject such norms.

Traditional attitudes in wives result in their doing more of the housework and perceiving themselves as better at it than their husbands, in contrast to wives who reject these norms.

6.4 PRACTICAL RECOMMENDATIONS

As discussed earlier, the number of families where both the husbands and wives work outside the home for pay is significant and increasing, and the distribution of household chores is a major problem in these families. More precisely, as seen in the analysis of the findings, it is a problem which affects the women in these families. Because wives are more likely to be dissatisfied with the distribution of housework, if there are to be solutions for this problem most likely it would be initiated by the wives.

One long term recommendation is to encourage sons as much as daughters to help in the housework. As Oakley (1974) stated, housework requires a long apprenticeship. Boys need to start as soon as possible to learn housework by practice. Because the acquisition of housework skills is usually experienced as part of early socialization, it is unlikely that husbands who did not have this training are going to acquire it immediately. For these husbands who are willing to participate more in the housework it is advisable that the standards be moderated until proficiency is achieved. Because the perception of ability is an important determinant of housework distribution, lowering the

standards will increase the chances of husbands perceiving themselves as sufficiently skilled at performing these tasks. Husbands will then be encouraged to perform these tasks more regularly and thereby become more proficient in them.

6.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The sample size (N=138) was too small to properly analyze some of the data, particularly when sex was controlled. This study relied on self-reported data for estimating the key dependent variable, household tasks performance. The findings would have been more accurate if this was directly observed. The way the data were collected did not allow for the comparisons of spouses in each marriage as part of the analysis. Further, the tasks list was not exhaustive. There may be other important and time consuming tasks not included in the list. Time consumption and the degree of difficulty of the tasks were also not considered. This study sampled couples in the city of Winnipeg; the characteristics of housework distribution may be different for rural couples. The findings of this study may, therefore, not be applicable to such couples.

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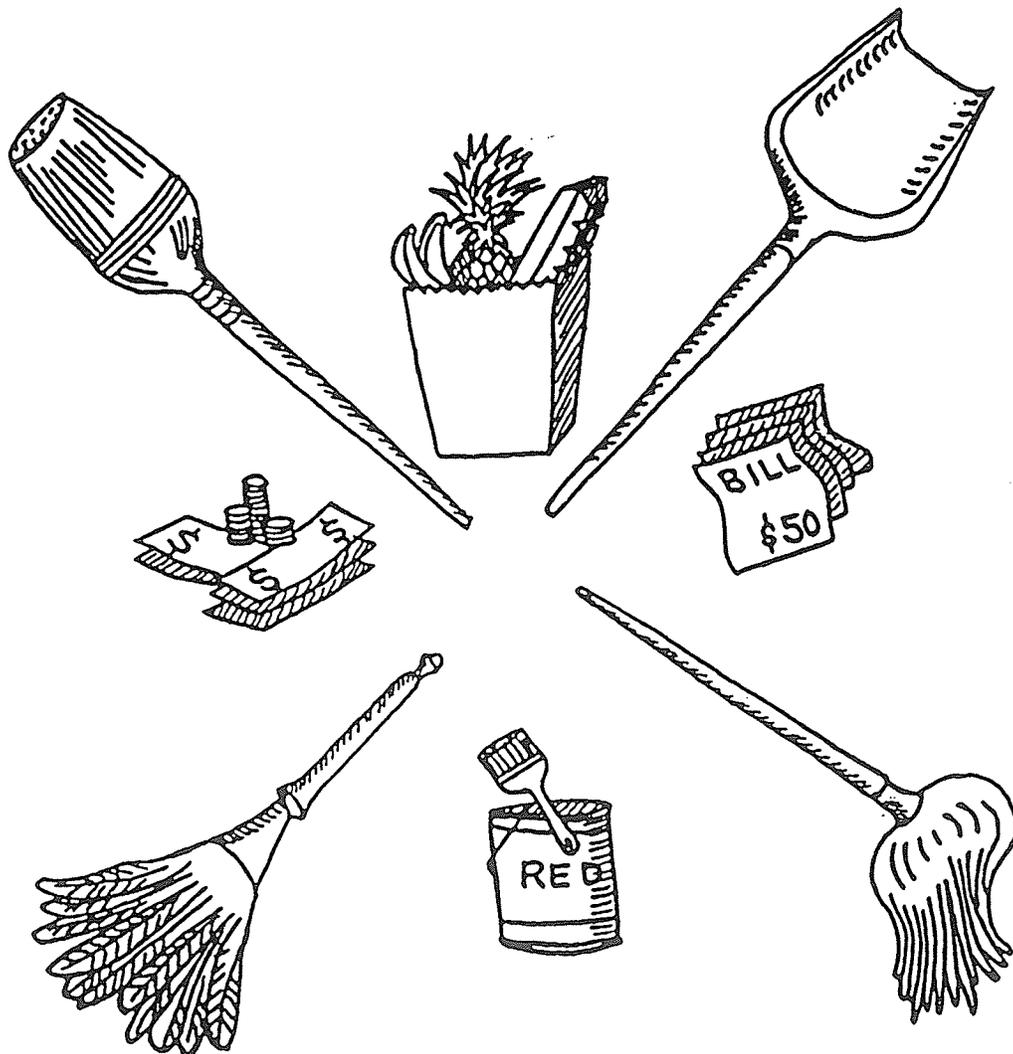
Chapter VII

APPENDIX 1



THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

HOUSEWORK AND DUAL-EARNER
FAMILY LIFE



WHO AM I?

Dr. S. G. Moon, Sociology professor at the University of Manitoba.

WHAT IS THIS SURVEY FOR?

This survey is designed to understand how married people who both work outside the home manage the housework. I hope to find out how the housework is divided up and your general opinions on housework and family life.

WHERE DID I GET YOUR NAME?

Your name was chosen at random from the Winnipeg's Henderson Directory. This directory is a listing of households in the city.

WHAT WILL BE DONE WITH THE QUESTIONNAIRES?

After the information is correctly recorded on computer tape the questionnaires will be destroyed. All survey research at the University of Manitoba is supervised by an ethical review board to protect your privacy. ALL THE INFORMATION YOU GIVE ME IS CONFIDENTIAL. Of course, you are free not to answer any question to which you may object.

WHY SHOULD YOU ANSWER?

I know that you are both busy and that many people seem to be asking you questions invading your privacy. However,

because there is an increasing number of marriages where both the husband and the wife are employed it is important to understand how the housework is managed. This questionnaire may take less than 15 minutes to complete, and may prove to be very interesting. There are no right or wrong answers; just your opinion is needed. This is your opportunity to register your opinion on issues that are very relevant to your life. Feel free to put any comments you may have at the end of the questionnaire. You will be sent a summary of the results of the study if you wish.

TWO QUESTIONNAIRES ARE PROVIDED. ONE IS FOR THE HUSBAND AND THE OTHER FOR THE WIFE TO COMPLETE. EACH SPOUSE MUST COMPLETE THE QUESTIONNAIRE INDEPENDENTLY AND SEPARATELY BECAUSE THE OPINIONS OF THE HUSBAND AND WIFE MAY DIFFER. PLEASE DO NOT COMPARE YOUR ANSWERS WITH YOUR SPOUSE. THE NUMBER ON THE FRONT OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE IS TO ENSURE THAT WHEN YOU REPLY YOU ARE NOT CONTACTED ON FOLLOW-UP MAIL-OUTS. I HAVE NO INFORMATION, ASIDE FROM YOUR NAME AND ADDRESS, IN ADDITION TO WHAT YOU PROVIDE IN THIS QUESTIONNAIRE.

HOUSEWORK AND DUAL-EARNER FAMILY LIFE

First, can you provide some information about you and your family? Please check where appropriate.

1. In what year you were born?

19 _____

2. What is your sex?

MALE _____

FEMALE _____

3. Do you have any children living with you at present?

YES _____

NO _____

If no, go to next page.

4. If yes, how many are in the following age groups.

Please put how many children you have in each age group in the space provided. (Please put the actual number of children, do not check.)

18 MONTHS AND UNDER....._____

19 MONTHS TO 3 YEARS....._____

4 YEARS TO 5 YEARS....._____

6 YEARS TO 11 YEARS....._____

12 YEARS TO 17 YEARS....._____

18 YEARS AND OVER....._____

5. The following is a list of some common household tasks.

Can you please indicate who does each of these most often in your family.

Circle (1) if husband only, (2) if husband more than wife, (3) if husband and wife equally, (4) if wife more than husband, (5) if wife only, (6) if this task is not applicable to your family, or (7) if the task is mostly done by someone other than the husband or the wife (please specify who does this task).

You may find it useful to refer to the following summary.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
HUSBAND ONLY	HUSBAND MORE	BOTH EQUALLY	WIFE MORE	WIFE ONLY	NOT APPLICABLE	OTHER (SPECIFY) _____

(a) REGULARLY CLEANS THE HOME

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 _____

(b) DRESSES THE CHILDREN(CHILD)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 _____

(c) PREPARES LUNCHES FOR THE CHILDREN(CHILD) FOR SCHOOL

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 _____

(d) DAILY CHOSSES CLOTHES FOR CHILDREN(CHILD) TO WEAR

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 _____

(e) DISCIPLINES CHILDREN(CHILD)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 _____

(f) DOES THE DISHES

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 _____

(g) IS RESPONSIBLE FOR CAR MAINTENANCE

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 _____

(h) PREPARES EVERYDAY MEALS

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 _____

(i) PREPARES SPECIAL MEALS

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
HUSBAND	HUSBAND	BOTH	WIFE	WIFE	NOT	OTHER
ONLY	MORE	EQUALLY	MORE	ONLY	APPLICABLE	(SPECIFY) _____

(j) DOES LAUNDRY

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 _____

(k) IRONS CLOTHES

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 _____

(l) TRANSPORTS CHILDREN(CHILD)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 _____

(m) TAKES OUT GARBAGE

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 _____

(n) MAKES THE GROCERY LIST

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 _____

(o) SHOPS FOR GROCERIES

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 _____

(p) SHOPS FOR CHILDREN'S (CHILD'S) CLOTHES

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 _____

(q) IS RESPONSIBLE FOR FAMILY FINANCES, PAYING BILLS ETC.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 _____

(r) DOES THE SEASONAL YARD WORK

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 _____

6. It is often the case that some persons are better skilled at some tasks than others.

The list of the household tasks will be presented once more. This time please indicate who is better skilled at doing each task by circling the corresponding number.

1	2	3	4
HUSBAND	BOTH	WIFE	NOT
BETTER	EQUALLY	BETTER	APPLICABLE
SKILLED	SKILLED	SKILLED	
(a) REGULAR CLEANING OF THE HOME			
1	2	3	4
(b) DRESSING THE CHILDREN(CHILD)			
1	2	3	4
(c) PREPARING LUNCHES FOR THE CHILDREN(CHILD) FOR SCHOOL			
1	2	3	4
(d) DAILY CHOOSING CLOTHES FOR CHILDREN(CHILD)			
1	2	3	4
(e) DISCIPLINING CHILDREN(CHILD)			
1	2	3	4
(f) DOING THE DISHES			
1	2	3	4
(g) GETTING THE CAR(S) PROPERLY MAINTAINED			
1	2	3	4
(h) PREPARING EVERYDAY MEALS			
1	2	3	4
(i) PREPARING SPECIAL MEALS			
1	2	3	4
(j) DOING THE LAUNDRY			
1	2	3	4

1	2	3	4
HUSBAND	BOTH	WIFE	NOT
BETTER	EQUALLY	BETTER	APPLICABLE
SKILLED	SKILLED	SKILLED	

(k) IRONING CLOTHES
 1 2 3 4

(l) TRANSPORTING CHILDREN
 1 2 3 4

(m) TAKING THE GARBAGE OUT
 1 2 3 4

(n) MAKING THE GROCERY LIST
 1 2 3 4

(o) SHOPPING FOR GROCERIES
 1 2 3 4

(p) SHOPPING FOR CHILDREN'S (CHILD'S) CLOTHES
 1 2 3 4

(q) FAMILY FINANCES, PAYING BILLS ETC.
 1 2 3 4

(r) SEASONAL YARD WORK
 1 2 3 4

7. Please circle whether you strongly agree, agree, have mixed feelings, disagree, or strongly disagree about each of the following statements as they apply to a MOTHER. Please use the following scale to respond to the questions:

0	1	2	3	4
STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	MIXED FEELINGS	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE

(a) A mother should realize that her greatest rewards and satisfaction in life come through her children.

0	1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---	---

(b) A mother of preschool children should be employed only if the family really needs the money a whole lot.

0	1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---	---

(c) An employed mother should give up her job whenever it makes a hardship for her children.

0	1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---	---

(d) There should be more day care centres and nursery schools so that more mothers of preschool children could be employed.

0	1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---	---

(e) If being a mother isn't satisfying enough, she should get a job.

0	1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---	---

(f) A mother of preschool children shouldn't take employment because it isn't good for the child.

0	1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---	---

(g) A mother with preschoolers should be able to work at a job as many hours per week as their father.

0	1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---	---

8. Please circle whether you strongly agree, agree, have mixed feelings, disagree or strongly disagree about each of the following statements as they apply to a HUSBAND.

0	1	2	3	4
STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	MIXED FEELINGS	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE

(a) If her job sometimes requires his wife to be away from home overnight this should not bother him.

0	1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---	---

(b) If his wife makes more money than he does, this should not bother him.

0	1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---	---

(c) If his wife is employed, he should share equally in the household chores such as cooking, cleaning and washing.

0	1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---	---

(d) A married man's chief responsibility should be his job.

0	1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---	---

(e) The husband should be the head of the family.

0	1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---	---

9. Please circle whether you strongly agree, agree, have mixed feelings, disagree, or strongly disagree about each of the following statements as they apply to a WIFE.

0	1	2	3	4
STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	MIXED FEELINGS	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE

(a) A wife's most important task in life should be taking care of her husband.

0	1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---	---

(b) An employed wife should not try to get ahead in the same way that a man does.

0	1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---	---

(c) An employed wife should give up her job whenever it inconveniences her husband.

0	1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---	---

(d) Having a job herself should be just as important as encouraging her husband in his job.

0	1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---	---

(e) She should be able to make long-range plans for her occupation, in the same way that her husband does.

0	1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---	---

10. Please circle whether you strongly agree, agree, have mixed feelings, disagree, or strongly disagree about each of the following statement as they apply to a FATHER.

0	1	2	3	4
STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	MIXED FEELINGS	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE

(a) The father should be the main financial support for his children.

0	1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---	---

(b) The father should spend as much time as the mother looking after the daily needs of his children.

0	1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---	---

(c) If he wants to, the father should be able to quit his job and be a full time parent.

0	1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---	---

(d) The father has more of a responsibility than the mother to set an example to his SONS about how to provide for their family.

0	1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---	---

(e) The father has more of a responsibility than the mother to set an example to his SONS of how to work hard and get ahead in the world.

0	1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---	---

(f) The father has more of a responsibility than the mother to make and enforce rules for the children.

0	1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---	---

11. Read the following item carefully and circle the responses which best describe your marital relationship. Please use the following scale to respond to the questions:

0	1	2	3	4	5
ALL THE TIME	MOST OF THE TIME	MORE OFTEN THAN NOT	OCCASIONALLY	RARELY	NEVER

(a) How often do you discuss or have you considered divorce, separation, or terminating your relationship?

0	1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---	---

(b) How often do you or your mate leave the house after a fight?

0	1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---	---

(c) In general, how often do you think that things between you and your spouse are going well?

0	1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---	---

(d) Do you confide in your mate?

0	1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---	---

(e) Do you ever regret that you married?

0	1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---	---

(f) How often do you and your partner quarrel?

0	1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---	---

(g) How often do you and your mate "get on each other's nerves?"

0	1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---	---

(h) How often do you feel dissatisfied with the amount of housework you have to do yourself?

0	1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---	---

12. The dots on the following line represent different degrees of happiness in your relationship. The middle point, "HAPPY," represents the happiness of most relationships. Please circle the dot which best describes the degree of happiness, all things considered, of your relationship.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
.
EXTREMELY UNHAPPY	FAIRLY UNHAPPY	A LITTLE UNHAPPY	HAPPY	VERY HAPPY	EXTREMELY HAPPY	PERFECT

13. Which of the following statements best describes how you feel about the future of your relationship? Please circle the corresponding number that appears before each statement.

- 6 I want desperately for my relationship to last forever, and would go to almost any length to see that it does.
- 5 I want very much for my relationship to succeed, and will do all I can to see that it does.
- 4 I want very much for my relationship to succeed, and will do my fair share to see that it does.
- 3 It would be nice if my relationship succeeded, but I can't do much more than I am doing now to help it succeed.
- 2 It would be nice if it succeeded, but I refuse to do any more than I am doing now to keep the relationship going.
- 1 This relationship can never succeed, and there is no more that I can do to keep the relationship going.
- 0 This relationship is temporary, and I do not expect it to last forever.

14. Please indicate by circling the corresponding number, how often do kiss your spouse.

4	3	2	1	0
EVERY DAY	ALMOST EVERY DAY	OCCASIONALLY	RARELY	NEVER

Now I would like to ask you some questions about your home life. Please circle the corresponding number.

15. How important is it for YOU to clean your home?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
VERY						NOT AT ALL
IMPORTANT						IMPORTANT

16. How important is it for YOU to balance the family budget?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
VERY						NOT AT ALL
IMPORTANT						IMPORTANT

17. How important is it for YOU to make a list before grocery shopping?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
VERY						NOT AT ALL
IMPORTANT						IMPORTANT

18. All in all, how important is housework to YOU?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
VERY						NOT AT ALL
IMPORTANT						IMPORTANT

19. How are tasks assigned in your family? Are they assigned in a very formal way, or they assigned informally?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
VERY						VERY
FORMAL						INFORMAL

20. Does the assignment of household tasks between husband and wife change often, or not at all?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
NEVER						OFTEN
CHANGES						CHANGES

Can you please provide some information on your job?
Please check where appropriate.

21. Are you presently employed full time, part time, unemployed
at the moment or going to school?
(Check as many as may apply.)

EMPLOYED FULL TIME..... _____
EMPLOYED PART TIME..... _____
UNEMPLOYED..... _____
GOING TO SCHOOL..... _____

22. On average, how many hours per week do you work on your job(s)?
_____ HOURS

23. What is your usual occupation? Please be as specific
as possible.

Eg. "CLERK, LEVEL 2, PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT"

24. What is your current level of education?
Please check where appropriate.

GRADE 0 -9/GRADE SCHOOL..... _____
GRADES 10 - 11/SOME HIGH SCHOOL..... _____
GRADES 12/HIGH SCHOOL..... _____
OTHER POST HIGH SCHOOL..... _____
SOME UNIVERSITY/COLLEGE..... _____
UNIVERSITY GRADUATE..... _____
GRADUATE OR PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL..... _____

25. How many years of schooling have you completed?
_____ YEARS

26. Are you affiliated with any of the following religions?
Please check where appropriate.

- ANGLICAN....._____
- BAPTIST....._____
- BUDDHISM....._____
- GREEK ORTHODOX....._____
- JEWISH....._____
- LUTHERAN....._____
- MENNONITE....._____
- MORMON....._____
- PENTECOSTAL....._____
- PRESBYTERIAN....._____
- ROMAN CATHOLIC....._____
- UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC....._____
- UNITED CHURCH....._____
- PROTESTANT UNSPECIFIED....._____
- CHRISTIAN UNSPECIFIED....._____
- MOSLEM....._____
- OTHER EASTERN RELIGIONS....._____
- ATHEIST....._____
- AGNOSTIC....._____
- NO AFFILIATION....._____
- OTHER (SPECIFY) _____

Please check where appropriate.

27. Would you call your religious preference strong or not very strong?

STRONG..... _____

SOMEWHAT STRONG..... _____

NOT VERY STRONG..... _____

NOT APPLICABLE..... _____

28. How often do you attend services at a church (or a synagogue or temple or other place of worship)? Would you say:

NEVER OR HARDLY EVER..... _____

ONE TO THREE TIMES A YEAR..... _____

THREE TO ELEVEN TIMES A YEAR.... _____

ONCE TO THREE TIMES A MONTH..... _____

ONCE A WEEK..... _____

MORE THAN ONCE A WEEK..... _____

29. To which ethnic or cultural group(s) do you or did your ancestors belong?
PLEASE CHECK AS MANY AS MAY APPLY.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> FRENCH | <input type="checkbox"/> JEWISH |
| <input type="checkbox"/> ENGLISH | <input type="checkbox"/> POLISH |
| <input type="checkbox"/> IRISH | <input type="checkbox"/> BLACK |
| <input type="checkbox"/> SCOTTISH | <input type="checkbox"/> INUIT |
| <input type="checkbox"/> GERMAN | <input type="checkbox"/> NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN |
| <input type="checkbox"/> ITALIAN | <input type="checkbox"/> METIS |
| <input type="checkbox"/> UKRAINIAN | <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify) _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> DUTCH (NETHERLANDS) | _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> CHINESE | _____ |

30. How long have you lived in Canada?
Please check where appropriate.

- BORN IN CANADA AND LIVED MOST OF MY LIFE HERE
- BORN OUTSIDE OF CANADA AND LIVED HERE MORE THAN 10 YEARS
- BORN OUTSIDE OF CANADA AND LIVED HERE BETWEEN 5 AND 10 YEARS
- BORN OUTSIDE OF CANADA AND LIVED HERE 5 YEARS OR LESS
- OTHER

