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Middle and working-class fathers' occupational expectations and aspirations for their daughters

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MIDDLE- AND WORKING-CLASS FATHERS' OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS AND ASPIRATIONS FOR THEIR DAUGHTERS

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by

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THE PROBLEM

Statement of the Problem

Sociological research in the areas of occupational preference and mobility, together with related work in the sociology of education has been concerned almost entirely with males. An all but exclusive preoccupation with the male worker is somewhat surprising considering the fact that census data reveal an increasing proportion of women in paid employment during the last sixty years.[1] An

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[1] F. Ivan Nye and Lois Wladis Hoffman, The Employed Mother in America (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1963), p. 7. According to these authors, approximately ten million mothers have been added to the work force since 1940.

"The employment of women in appreciable numbers," according to Robert O. Blood, Jr. and Donald M. Wolfe, Husbands and Wives (Glencoe: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1960), pp. 17-18, "began with WWI . . . . Not enough men were available to fill all the jobs needed by the nation. Moreover, industry was changing its environment and tasks, until women not only could tolerate them but were sometimes better suited to them than men. Large-scale business and industry required the development of extensive systems of communication and control whose records and letters were best typed by women. The increased economic productivity of the nation led to a corresponding rise in the standard of living, creating an opportunity for the American people to move beyond the mere necessities of life to cultural and recreational luxuries which made new demands on feminine talent. The same high standard of living made possible the purchase of labor-saving devices, ready-made clothes, and ready-to-eat foods, which freed the housewife from bondage to stove, sink, and needle."

examination of labor statistics by Rossi,[2] disclosed that between 1950 and 1960, women accounted for 65 per cent of the increase in the labor force. By 1965, according to Davis,[3] approximately one paid worker in three was a female.[4] Facts such as these tend to confirm the important position that working women have come to occupy in the economy of the United States. Hughes has observed that:

> . . . those who look to our national resources have lately added womanpower to the list, not because women did not work in the past and are now expected to do so, but because they have become mobilized away from the household and into the labor force in

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[2]Alice S. Rossi, "Barriers to the Career Choice of Engineering, Medicine, or Science among American Women," in Jacquelyn A. Mattfeld and Carol G. Van Aken, eds., Women and the Scientific Professions (Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1965), p. 57.

[3]Alice Norma Davis, "Young Women: Look Before You Weep," in Ruth Shonle Cavan, ed., Marriage and Family in the Modern World (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1965), p. 313. Davis also reports that whereas 20 per cent of all women worked for a salary one hundred years ago; today, 80 per cent of all females can be expected to have some paid employment during their lifetimes.

[4]Labor force projections, projections based on trends in labor force participation rates between 1947 and 1964, indicate that women accounted for 26,232,000 workers out of a total labor force of 77,177,000 in 1965. For 1970, estimates indicate that women workers will number 29,657,000 out of a total labor force of 84,617,000. See the U.S. Bureau of the Census Statistical Abstract of the U.S.: 1968. (89th edition.) Washington, D.C., 1968, p. 216.

greater proportion and for longer periods of their lives than previously.[5]

Although the substantial and sustained involvement of American women in the labor force is a fact of our times, popular writers like Friedan[6] agree with sociologists such as Gross[7] that the role of women in work situations outside the home has remained ambiguous. This ambiguity ostensibly stems from values surrounding womens' long-standing roles as wives and mothers,[8] and suggests that they have not yet challenged the traditional housewifery niche without conflict.[9] Difficult though it may

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[5]Everett Cherrington Hughes, "The Study of Occupations," in Robert K. Merton, Leonard Broom and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., eds., Sociology Today: Problems and Prospects (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1966), p. 443.

[6]Betty Friedan, The Feminine Mystique (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1963). See, in particular, Chapter 1, "The Problem that Has No Name," pp. 9-32.

[7]Edward Gross, Work and Society (New York: The Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1958), p. 65.

[8]As quoted in Robert C. Williamson, Marriage and Family Relations (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966), p.141, Martin Luther, in his book, Table Talk, DCCXXV, 1569, once remarked that " 'men have broad and large chests, and small narrow hips and more understanding than women, who have but small and narrow chests, and broad hips, to the end they should remain at home, sit still, keep house, and bear and bring up children.'"

[9]This issue is discussed at length in Mirra Komarovsky, Women in the Modern World (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1953), pp. 63-76.

be for a culture to part with its past, today's society requires a radical shift in the roles assigned to women. The permeation of this dilemma has led Rossi[10] to conclude that "as a nation, we have become sensitive to the social handicaps of race and class but have remained quite insensitive to those imposed because of sex."

The contradictory, inconsistent, and therefore confused role expectations foreshadowing the female's socialization is further complicated by the fact that women generally achieve the status of their husbands through marriage, not husbands that of wives.[11] Once married, however, many wives are either expected to work in order to supplement the family income or volunteer for gainful employment outside of the home in order to escape from the "drudgery of domesticity."

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[10]Alice S. Rossi, "Women in Science: Why So Few?," in Bernard C. Rosen, Harry J. Crockett, Jr., and Clyde Z. Nunn, eds., Achievement in American Society (Cambridge: Schenkman Publishing Company, Inc., 1969), pp. 483.

[11]The notion that a man marrys a wife, but a woman marrys a standard of living has been advanced by Paul Popenoe, Modern Marriage: A Handbook for Men (New York: Macmillan, 1946), p. 22. This observation has been explored by August B. Hollingshead, "Cultural Factors in the Selection of Marriage Mates," American Sociological Review, 15 (June, 1950), pp. 619-627, who found that when class lines are crossed, females are much more reluctant to marry down than are males. Marriage thus serves as a major avenue for upward mobility among females. For males, vertical mobility is primarily achieved through educational attainment and occupational placement.

> The relative emancipation of woman, means that she no longer has a predestined role. . . . the fact that our educational system is largely coeducational means that boys and girls are exposed to very similar indoctrination with respect to values. . . . when compared with the rewards of a man's world, child rearing appears to some to be dull and strenuous while housework may be viewed as downright degrading.[12]

In short, although a sizeable proportion of American women work in modern society, their preparation for this adult activity in and through their childhood socialization seems to be, sociologically, highly problematical; problematical in that we are hampered by an absence of research that has curiously neglected females as subjects of occupational inquiry, and research, that when addressed to socialization practices in general, has heavily relied upon mothers' responses, ignoring the contributions of fathers in the socialization of their children.[13]

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[12]Robert F. Winch, The Modern Family (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), p. 412.

[13]The adequacy of wife-mother responses has been questioned by Snell Putney and Russell Middleton, "Effect of Husband-Wife Interaction on the Strictness of Attitudes Toward Child Rearing," Marriage and Family Living, 22 (May, 1960), pp. 171-175; Marian Radke Yarrow, "Problems of Methods in Parent-Child Research," Child Development, 34(March, 1963), pp. 215-226; and John Scanzoni, "A Note on the Sufficiency of Wife Responses in Family Research," Pacific Sociological Review, 8(Fall, 1965), pp. 109-115.

For these reasons, this study examines the nexus between fathers' social class positions and their occupational expectations and aspirations for daughters.

Theoretical Framework

Most, if not all, social scientists recognize the influence that the family has in shaping the behavior of its offspring. The family, according to Merton,[14] serves as the major transmission medium for the dissemination of cultural heritage to oncoming generations. Values are transmitted by parents either explicitly through instruction and the selective reinforcement of appropriate responses, or implicitly through their own idiosyncratic behavior in various situations.[15] But, aside from transmittal, the family, according to Bossard and Boll, "performs three additional or supplementary functions: (1) it selects from the existing surroundings what is transmitted; and (2) it interprets to the child what is transmitted; and (3) it evaluates what it transmits."[16] Relative to the child's

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[14]Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (New York: The Free Press, 1957), p. 158.

[15]Bernard C. Rosen, "Family Structure and Value Transmission," Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 10(Jan., 1964), p. 59.

[16]James H. S. Bossard and Eleanor Soker Boll, The Sociology of Child Development (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960), p. 125.

socialization, then, is the fact that the family functions in regulating the child's exposure to values and norms of conduct and consequently influences what he ultimately will learn. As a result, "the child sees the cultural heritage through the eyes of his family; he learns of it through the symbols which the family uses; and he shares the family's feelings toward it."[17]

Both the structure and functioning of the family, however, are greatly influenced by the society in which it exists. While sociologists see American society as stratified, there has been considerable disagreement as to the nature and number of strata within the American stratification structure. Disputes have centered around whether the system is continuous with each group merging into one another by minute, imperceptiable gradations, or whether the structure constitutes discrete levels which are clearly distinguishable from one another. Further, discussions have questioned criteria dividing strata, i.e., life styles vis-a-vis objective measures based on income, education, and occupation.[18]

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[17] Ibid.

[18] A methodological note on the subject is provided by Harold A. Nelson and Thomas E. Lasswell, "Status Indices, Social Stratification, and Social Class," Sociology and Social Research, 44(July-August, 1960),

Yet, evidence gleaned by several social scientists suggests that there are clear and persistent differences in the behavior of individuals across horizontal strata;[19] that social classes constitute subcultures, with each subculture having a relatively distinct set of values.[20] Several studies of children from both middle- and working-class backgrounds have found, for example, that both the drive to achieve and the value placed on achievement are

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pp. 410-413; and Joseph A. Kahl and James A. Davis, "A Comparison of Indexes of Socio-Economic Statuses," American Sociological Review, 20(June, 1955), pp. 317-325. Using factor analysis, Kahl and Davis found that when compared with nineteen other measures, occupation was the best single predictor of socio-economic status.

[19]The centrality of this notion, according to Bernard Berelson and Gary A. Steiner, Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1964), p. 453, is indicated by the extent to which it appears as a descriptive and explanatory factor in other areas of human phenomena.

[20]See, for example, Richard Centers, The Psychology of Social Classes (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949), p. 153; Eleanor E. Maccoby and Patricia K. Gibbs, "Methods of Child Rearing in Two Social Classes," in William E. Martin and Celia Burns Stendler, eds., Readings in Child Development (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1954), pp. 380-396; Melvin L. Kohn, "Social Class and Parental Values," American Journal of Sociology, 64(Jan., 1959), pp. 337-351; Melvin L. Kohn and Eleanor E. Carroll, "Social Class and the Allocation of Parental Responsibilities," Sociometry, 23(Dec., 1960), pp. 372-392; Melvin L. Kohn, "Social Class and Parent-Child Relationships: An Interpretation," American Journal of Sociology, 68(Jan., 1963), pp. 471-480.

positively related to socio-economic status.[21] Other investigations have revealed that middle-class youth generally hold higher occupational expectations and aspirations than do either lower or working-class youngsters.[22]

Of particular interest to this study, however, are class-linked values related to fathers' occupational expectations and aspirations for daughters. Literature informing this question, although skimpy, stands in sharp

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[21]Bernard C. Rosen, "The Achievement Syndrome: A Psycho-cultural Dimension of Social Stratification," American Sociological Review, 21(April, 1956), p. 205; and David C. McClelland, The Achieving Society (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1961), p. 378. For a comprehensive review of recent literature concerning mobility orientations and achievement motivation, consult Harry J. Crockett, Jr., "Psychological Origins of Mobility," in Neil J. Smelser and Seymour Martin Lipset, eds., Social Structure and Mobility in Economic Development (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1966), pp. 280-309.

[22]LaMar T. Empey, "Social Class and Occupational Aspirations: A Comparison of Absolute and Relative Measurement," American Sociological Review, 21(Dec., 1956), pp. 703-709; William H. Sewell, Archie O. Haller and Murray A. Strauss, "Social Status and Educational and Occupational Aspirations," American Sociological Review, 22(Feb., 1957), pp. 67-73; Richard M. Stephenson, "Mobility Orientation and Stratification of 1,000 Ninth Graders," American Sociological Review, 22(April, 1957), pp. 149-154; and Herbert H. Hyman, "The Value Systems of Different Classes," in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset, eds., Class, Status, and Power (New York: The Free Press, 1966), pp. 488-499. Although Stephenson found that students from different social strata differed in occupational expectations, he found no difference in their occupational aspirations.

contrast to findings adduced from inter-class studies of males' occupational expectations and aspirations. Centers,[23] for instance, found that working-class males were more conservative in their attitudes toward the outside employment of women than were middle-class respondents. He interpreted this finding by stating that:

> The urban middle class male is more liberal. He is probably more liberal in this respect because he can afford to be. The women worker less often threatens his job, he probably also has a smaller number of children to be cared for, and it might even be that the kind of work he expects women of his class to engage in is of the kind that calls for little physical exertion on their part and involves no risk to health or life, and so he feels less the need to shelter them.[24]

Cohen and Hodges[25] found that lower-lower-class male heads-of-family most strongly agreed with statements affirming the house-wifery role ascribed to women. But, a study by Aberle and Naegele[26] revealed that upper-middle-class fathers, primarily employed in business and the

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[23]Richard Centers, op. cit., p. 145.

[24]Ibid, pp. 145-146.

[25]Albert K. Cohen and Harold M. Hodges, Jr., "Characteristics of the Lower-Blue-Collar-Class," Social Problems, 10(Spring, 1963), pp. 303-334.

[26]D. F. Aberle and K. D. Naegele, "Middle-Class Fathers' Occupational Role and Attitudes Toward Children," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 22(April, 1952), pp. 366-378.

professions, also both expected and preferred marriage and motherhood for their daughters rather than careers outside the home. According to these authors:

> . . . over half of the fathers . . . would accept the possibility of a career for their daughters, but only as a possibility. Most of these men would prefer that their daughters marry, or expect them to, and the remainder of the group reject a career out of hand.[27]

One finding from the above research is apparant and theoretically informative: the shared perspectives of marriage and motherhood that fathers in different social strata have for their daughters. Rather than negating the existence of different value orientations that fathers across horizontal strata may hold for their daughters, the subject of this paper, the above finding seems to reflect general cultural differences in sex roles ascribed to males and females in American society.

In our society, as in most, sex role learning begins early within a matrix of familial relationships and continues as an ongoing aspect of the overall socialization process.[28] Within the value and norm milieu of his family, the child learns through observation,

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[27] Ibid., p. 371.

[28] Shirely S. Angrist, "Role Conception as a Predictor of Adult Female Roles," Sociology and Social Research, 50(July, 1966), p. 449.

interaction and identification with others what is considered to be appropriate behavior. Yet, without detracting from the importance of the family in conferring status and transmitting values to its offspring, society and culture are the final judges of propriety.

Parsons has considered the articulation of parental roles with extra-familial systems. Socialization of offspring, according to Parsons, includes socializing the child "into structures which extend beyond" the immediate family and into "the school and peer group in later childhood and the family of procreation which the child will help to form by his marriage, as well as occupational roles in adulthood."[29] Anticipatory socialization is, however, structured by culturally prescribed role definitions; definitions that require males and females to behave with systematic differences.

Using the small, experimentally contrived, same-sex decision-making groups of Bales as his starting point, Parsons has extended the applicability of Interaction Process Analysis to account for sex role differentiation both in the family and other groups along an instrumental-expressive axis.

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[29]Talcott Parsons, "Family Structure and the Socialization of the Child," in Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, eds., Family, Socialization and Interaction Process (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955), p. 35.

> . . . the differentiation of sex roles in the family is, in its sociological character and significance, primarily an example of a basic qualitative mode of differentiation which tends to appear in all systems of social interaction regardless of their composition. In particular this type of differentiation, that on 'instrumental-expressive' lines, is conspicuous in small groups of about the same membership-size as the nuclear family. . . .[30]

The wide applicability of the Parsonian analysis has been well documented by anthropological investigations of cultures other than our own.[31] Although there are established opposing views,[32] a cross-cultural survey that examined different aspects of socialization in 110 cultures revealed that differentiation of the sexes was unimportant in infancy, but that in childhood there was, as in our society, "a widespread pattern of greater pressure toward nurturance, obedience, and responsibility in girls, and toward self-reliance and achievement in boys."[33]

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[30]Talcott Parsons, "The American Family: Its Relations to Personality and to the Social Structure," in Parsons and Bales, op. cit., pp. 22-23. See also Talcott Parsons, "Age and Sex in the Social Structure," American Sociological Review, 7(Oct., 1942), pp. 604-616.

[31]Morris Zelditch, Jr., "Role Differentiation in the Nuclear Family: A Comparative Study," in Parsons and Bales, op. cit., pp. 307-340.

[32]See Margaret Mead, Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies (New York: William Marrow, 1935). With an ambiguous exception, the work by Zelditch seems to challenge this earlier study by Mead.

[33]Herbert Barry III, Margaret K. Bacon and Irvin L.

In line with this position, Komarovsky has remarked that "the infant girl will normally grow up to behave, feel, and think in ways appropriate to her sex. The fact that she is born a female only in part accounts for the result."[34]

Derivation and Statement of the Hypotheses

The Parsonian model that prescribes for the American husband-father a rather secularized version of Calvin's work doctrine also describes the expressive orientation as complementary when attached to females' occupational roles. Although the proportion of women who have ever worked continues to increase, Parsons contends that "the adult feminine role has not ceased to be anchored primarily in the internal affairs of the family as wife, mother, and manager of the household. . . ."[35]

Additional support for Parsons' contention is provided by Rossi in the following remark:

Child, "A Cross-Cultural Survey of Some Sex Differences in Socialization," The Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, 55(Nov., 1957), p. 332.

[34]Mirra Komarovsky, op. cit., p. 53.

[35]Talcott Parsons, "The American Family: Its Relations Personality and to the Social Structure," in Parsons and Bales, op. cit., p. 15.

> Men believe, and women accept their belief, that the woman's role should be selfless, dedicated to being man's helpmate, and any work or career on the part of women should fill in the gaps of time and energy left over from their primary obligations as wifes and mothers.[36]

In view of the persistent and binding cultural pressures in our society that tend to preserve the role of women in household activities, it would, perhaps, seem reasonable enough to hypothesize that both middle- and working-class fathers would expect their daughters to marry and pursue motherhood rather than careers outside the home. Yet, would these same fathers "really" prefer marriage and motherhood for their daughters rather than careers outside the home for their daughters?

Empirical evidence suggests that occupational expectations are much more "realistic" and "rational" than are occupational aspirations.[37] Although high occupational aspirations are consistent with the American success and achievement ideology, especially among males,[38] status

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[36]Alice S. Rossi, "Barriers to the Career Choice of Engineering, Medicine, or Science Among American Women," in Mattfeld and Van Aken, op. cit., p. 53.

[37]Lee Taylor, Occupational Sociology (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 197.

[38]William H. Sewell and Vimal P. Shah, "Parents' Education and Children's Educational Aspirations and Achievements," American Sociological Review, 33(April, 1968), pp. 191-209.

goals are not equally accessible to members of different social classes.[39] For this reason, individuals in the lower-class, although desirious of the rewards and prestige of high status positions, are forced to modify their aspirations and make them more congruent with the realities of what they can actually expect to achieve in our society. According to Stephenson:

> . . . aspirations are relatively unaffected by class and hence, reflect the general cultural emphasis upon high goal orientations, while plans or expectations are more definitely class based and, hence, may reflect class differences in opportunity and general life chances.[40]

If Parsons' analysis of the strength of cultural norms ascribing to females marriage and motherhood as primary (priority) roles is, in our society, correct, it would seem that most fathers in all social classes would both expect and want their daughters to marry rather than pursue careers. It is therefore hypothesized that:

> (1) Middle- and working-class fathers will not differ significantly in preferring that their daughters pursue domestic rather than non-domestic careers.

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[39]Suzanne Keller and Marisa Zavalloni, "Ambition and Social Class: A Respecification," Social Forces, 43(Oct., 1964), p. 69.

[40]Richard M. Stephenson, op. cit., p. 212.

(2) Middle- and working-class fathers will not differ significantly in expecting that their daughters pursue-domestic rather than non-domestic careers.

But, following Stephenson, because expectations vis-a-vis aspirations seem to be linked to the stratification it is further hypothesized that:

(3) Among those fathers expecting other than domestic roles for their daughters, middle-class fathers will have higher occupational expectations than will working-class fathers.

(4) The occupational aspirations of middle- and working-class fathers that prefer other than domestic roles for their daughters will not differ significantly in terms of the status desired.

CHAPTER II

METHOD

Overview of the Study

The problem studied in this thesis was originally conceived and initially developed in a research seminar in socialization conducted under the direction of Dr. Cora Martin during the fall semester of the 1966-67 school year. The seminar was open to graduate students interested in learning research procedures associated with survey methodology and the collection of data for possible use in a thesis, or the subject area studied, *per se*.

In the initial phases of the seminar, students were required to explore various areas in the socialization literature, select topics for study, and submit written statements of their problems to Dr. Martin for review and consideration. Students discussed their areas of inquiry with others in seminar meetings and with Dr. Martin privately. Once topics had been approved, students were instructed to develop hypotheses and design questions that would relate theoretical propositions to empirical test. Students submitted their questions to Dr. Martin who edited them for incorporation into the final draft of the interview schedule.

Population and Sample

The population selected for study consisted of 5,897 families residing in the Omaha metropolitan area who had children born in 1954 and whose children were enumerated in either public, private, or parochial schools in the Omaha Public School DistrictCensus for April, 1966.[42]

A systematic probability sample, derived by using a table of random numbers,[43] was drawn to delineate a sampling frame comprehensive enough in scope to include a multi-purpose investigation of parental socialization practices. The sample selected totaled 388 families, or approximately 7 per cent (.06579) of those families included in the population. This sample, however, was restrictive in that it eliminated: (1) Negroes and

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[42]The sample selected for this study was intended to replicate that of Melvin Kohn's 1955, Washington, D.C., study. According to Kohn, by the time a child is twelve, he has developed the "capacity for verbal communication," and the parent has probably begun to think of him with reference to future adult roles, having asked the potential of the child and his plans. See Melvin L. Kohn, "Social Class and Parental Values," loc. cit., and Melvin L. Kohn and Eleanor E. Carroll, "Social Class and the Allocation of Parental Responsibilities," loc. cit.

[43]The table used was taken from R. H. Fisher and F. Yates, Statistical Tables for Biological, Agricultural and Medical Research (Edenburough: Oliver and Boyd, Ltd., 1963).

Indians; (2) families with twins; (3) families with children who were either mentally retarded or institutionalized in penal or health-care centers; (4) families in which parents were divorced, living alone, separated, missing or widowed; and (5) families residing outside the city limits of Omaha. Controlling for these criteria, the final sampling frame numbered 334 families.[44]

Data Collection and Procedures

The data for this study were collected during the fall, winter and spring of the 1966-67 academic year. Interviews were conducted by mixed teams of graduate and undergraduate students, all of whom had received a three-hour orientation in interviewing technique. Further, each team was required to complete two interviews in order to pretest the schedule before the actual data collection began.

The survey was restricted to private households, and consisted of the simultaneous administration of structured and controlled interviews,[45] each lasting

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[44]Of the families eliminated from this sample, ten were those in which twins were found, the subject child was retarded, or the family was non-caucasian. A total of ten families lived outside the city limits of Omaha, and thirty-four families were not found to be in tact due to divorce, separation, or the death of a parent.

[45]Husbands and wives were interviewed in separate quarters of their homes in order to avoid the possibility

approximately one hour, to 181 urban and suburban parents of fifth, sixth, and seventh grade children. The subjects for this study, however, included only those fathers with daughters, of whom there were eighty-five.[46]

Prospective respondents were initially contacted by a letter[47] informing them on the nature of the interview and purpose of the study. The subjects selected were then called on in person within a week of the mailing date of the letter, and either interviewed at that time, or a more convenient time was arranged.

All respondents were asked the same questions, and the questions asked focused only upon that child born in 1954. Although some parents were contacted more than ten times, a minimum of six attempts were made to contact each couple and arrange a time for the interview. Once interviews had been completed, respondents were called by phone to verify the fact that the interview had actually taken place.

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that the response of one parent might influence the response of the other. See Appendix A for a copy of the interview schedule.

[46]Of those fathers with daughters, one child was in the fifth grade, twenty-nine were in the sixth grade, and fifty-five were in the seventh grade. In terms of age, ten fathers had daughters eleven years of age, seventy-three fathers had daughters twelve years of age, and two fathers had daughters thirteen years of age.

[47]See Appendix B.

Of those eligible to be interviewed, fifty-five subjects had moved or their addresses could not be located, six had reported illness in the family or the hospitalization of a spouse, and thirty-seven had reported conflicting work schedules[48] that prevented conducting the simultaneous interview of both parents. Of the 236 families left to be interviewed, fifty-five parents, either husbands (8) or wives (8) or both (39) refused to be interviewed. The refusal rate, then, was 23.3 per cent (55/236), and the completion rate was computed at 76.7 per cent (181/236).[49]

Variables and Definitions

The following hypotheses were tested in this study:

(1) Middle- and working-class fathers will not differ significantly in preferring that their daughters pursue domestic rather than non-domestic careers.

(2) Middle- and working-class fathers will not differ significantly in expecting that their daughters pursue domestic rather than non-domestic careers.

(3) Among those fathers expecting other than domestic roles for their daughters, middle-class fathers will have higher occupational expectations than will working-class fathers.

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[48] Many of these families were those in which the husband was employed out-of-town.

[49] The present writer completed thirty-four interviews.

(4) The occupational aspirations of middle- and working-class fathers that prefer other than domestic roles for their daughters will not differ significantly in terms of the status desired.

Fathers' social class positions, the independent variables tested in this study, were determined by using August B. Hollingshead's, privately mimeographed, Two Factor Index of Social Position. This method consists of the placement of individuals into one of five categories by utilizing specific knowledge of their educational attainment and occupational positions. Education has a "factor weight" of four, while occupation is favored by a "factor weight" of seven. These constants are multiplied by scale values delineating the level of education achieved by an individual and specific knowledge of his occupational position.

In this study, fathers that obtained calculated scores placing them in classes one through three, which include professionals, proprietors, managers, small shopkeepers, clerks, sales persons, and a few foremen, were considered as middle-class respondents primarily because they represent white-collar, non-manual workers. Fathers placed in classes four and five, which consist primarily of skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled manual but stable workers,[50] were considered as working-class respondents.

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[50]At the time of their interviews, all fathers in this study were gainfully employed.

The occupational expectations and preferences expressed by fathers for daughters constitute the dependent variables in this study. Occupational expectations refer to what the father actually and realistically thought his daughter would do, not to what he wanted, desired, or wished that she did do as a life career; these latter terms, as herein used, define his occupational preferences. Both the terms "aspirations" and preferences" are used synonymously throughout this thesis.

The term "domestic" was used in a narrow sense to denote wife-mother roles only and not "domestic service" types of work outside the home.

As used in the first and second hypotheses, the term "careers" was intended to convey a commitment to the type of life work, not necessarily a profession, either preferred or expected by the father for his daughter.

Data Analysis

In order to determine whether middle- and working-class fathers differed significantly in either prefering or expecting domestic roles for their daughters, relationships questioned in the first and second hypotheses, the chi square test was used. Chi square is a nonparametric measure of association, and hence, makes no assumptions regarding the parameters of the population. Addressing

itself to nominal data, the chi square test enables the investigator to determine "whether or not frequencies which have been empirically obtained differ significantly from those which would be expected under a certain set of theoretical assumptions."[51]

In the analysis of these data, computed values reaching the conventional 5 per cent level of significance were considered as being statistically significant. However, the direction of variation, regardless of significance level, was considered in the final evaluation and interpretation of results.

The third and fourth hypotheses required a metric that would statistically discriminate between two sets of ranked observations independently selected from the same population. The Mann-Whitney U Test,[52] a nonparametric measure, was selected to test these hypotheses.

The values assigned to occupations expressed by fathers who both preferred and expected non-domestic roles for their daughters were based on the occupational status scores developed by the U.S. Bureau of the Census in connection with the 1960 Census. Reviewed by Nam and

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[51]Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., Social Statistics (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1960), p. 212.

[52]For a discussion of this test, see Sidney Siegel, Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1956), pp. 116-127. Note correction factors for tied ranks and remarks concerning power-efficiency.

Lowers,[53] these occupational ratings correlate .97 (Pearsonian r) with those developed by Duncan.

Since the third hypothesis predicts direction, a one-tailed test of significance was called for. The fourth hypothesis, stated in null form, required a two-tailed test of significance. As with the first and second hypotheses, statistical significance was set at the .05 level, although trends in direction and difference were noted.

Controls

The following variables were introduced for possible control of factors which might influence fathers' occupational expectations for daughters, one of two dependent variables tested in this thesis:[54] (1) family composition; (2) ordinal positions of the subject children; (3) size of family; (4) father's religious preferences; (5) the working status of respondents' wives; and (6) husbands' attitudes toward the outside employment of wives. In all instances, these variables were tested only against the independent

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[53]Charles B. Nam and Mary G. Lowers, "Changes in the Relative Status Level of Workers in the U.S., 1950-1960," Social Forces, 47(Dec., 1968), pp. 158-170.

[54]As defined in this thesis, following Stephenson, fathers' occupational preferences were intended to convey fathers' aspirations for daughters irrespective of their social class standing or the variables considered for possible control in this section.

variables, fathers' social class positions, to see whether disproportionate frequencies, if they occured, were statistically significant.[55]

The problems considered were set up in contingency form to permit the cross-classification of two or more nominal-scale variables. The chi square test was used with statistical significance placed at the .05 probability level.

Family composition, the first variable introduced, was examined because fathers with daughters only might tend to stress non-domestic roles for those daughters with exceptional academic ability. Without sons, fathers might be more instrumentally oriented toward certain daughters than would fathers with both sons and daughters.

As shown in Table I, analysis of these data found that differences in family composition when related to the social class standing of fathers were not statistically significant, x^2=.365. Both sons and daughters were

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[55]This procedure does not, of course, negate the possibility that these factors might indeed affect fathers' occupational expectations for daughters. The purpose here is to minimize the chance that one of these variables might create spurious conclusions based on the relationship between the independent and dependent variables tested in this study.

included in the families of 84 per cent of middle-class fathers (n=58) and 78 per cent of working-class fathers (n=27). The remainder of fathers in both groups were heads of families with daughters only.

TABLE I

FATHERS' SOCIAL CLASS POSITIONS AND FAMILY COMPOSITION

Family Composition	Middle-class Fathers		Working-class Fathers	
	n	%	n	%
Daughters Only	9	16%	6	22%
Both Sons and Daughters	49	84	21	78
Totals	58	100%	27	100%

x^2=.365
df=1
NS*

*In this and following tables, statistical significance is symbolized by "S", while non-significance is symbolized as "NS".

In terms of the ordinal positions of the subject children, the second variable questioned, previous research seems to indicate that first-born children are more serious, anxious, dependent, and more inclined to

conform than are later-born children;[56] traits perhaps conducive toward occupational success.

Data reported in Table II reveal that 2 per cent of middle-class fathers (n=58) and 7 per cent of working-class fathers (n=27) were heads of families with one child only while 26 per cent of the fathers in both groups were heads of families in which the subject child was the oldest child in the family. The subject child had both older and younger siblings in 38 per cent of middle-class fathers and 48 per cent of working-class families.

Because proportional differences were identical in both groups for the eldest child, and because the number of fathers with one child only were quite small, the chi square test was used only to determine relationships between middle- and working-class fathers with children who had both younger and older siblings and with whom the subject child was the youngest child in the family.

As can be seen in Table II, differences between fathers' social class standing and the ordinal positions of daughters were not statistically significant, $x^2=2.04$.

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[56]Bernard Berelson and Gary A. Steiner, op. cit., pp. 73-74. These authors also report that the first-born child is more likely to be a problem child.

TABLE II

FATHERS' SOCIAL CLASS POSITIONS AND ORDINAL POSITIONS OF SUBJECT CHILDREN

Ordinal Position of Subject Child	Middle-class Fathers		Working-class Fathers	
	n	%	n	%
Only Child	1	2%	2	7%
Both Older and Younger Siblings	22	38	13	48
Older Siblings Only	20	34	5	19
Younger Siblings Only	15	26	7	26
Totals	58	100%	27	100%

$x^2=2.04$*
df=1
NS

*This contingency coefficient was computed between middle- and working-class fathers with children who had both older and younger siblings and with whom the subject child was the youngest child in the family only.

Size of family was considered for possible control because fathers with relatively large families, particularly working-class fathers, would surely expect domestic careers for daughters due to the limited financial resources available to assist daughters' educational and occupational attainment.

Relationships analyzed with reference to these variables are presented in Table III. It can be seen

that 19 per cent of middle-class fathers (n=58) and 33 per cent of working-class fathers (n=27) had either one or two children, while 48 per cent of middle-class fathers and 33 per cent of working class fathers had either three or four children. Both 33 per cent of middle- and working-class fathers had five or more children in their families.[57]

TABLE III

FATHERS' SOCIAL CLASS POSITIONS AND SIZE OF FAMILY

Size of Family by Number of Children	Middle-class Fathers		Working-class Fathers	
	n	%	n	%
One or Two Children	11	19%	9	33%
Three or Four Children	28	48	9	33
Five or More Children	19	33	9	33
Totals	58	100%	27	99%*

$x^2=3.12$
df=2
NS

*This figure results from rounding.

[57]Middle-class fathers averaged 3.913 children per family. The average number of children in working-class families was 4.111.

The categories selected for family size were intended to depict finer discriminations between relatively small and medium sized families, i.e., those families with one or two and three or four children, and between relatively large families; families with five or more children. When these variables were associated with fathers' social class standing, statistical significance was not attained at the .05 level specified, $x^2=3.212$.

The fourth variable introduced for possible control was the religious preferences of fathers. Religion was considered because value differences may exist among religious groups as to the work status of women. Catholics, for instance, may be more conservative toward the employment of females outside the home than are either Protestants or Jews. If this were the case, and Catholics were found to be over represented among middle-class fathers, while Protestants were over represented among working-class fathers, the tenability of relationships, statistically significant or not, based on results found between the independent and dependent variables tested in this study would be sharply reduced.

As shown in Table IV, 50 per cent of middle-class fathers (n=58) were Protestant, 41 per cent Catholic, 2 per cent Jewish, and 7 per cent reported no religious preference. For twenty-seven working-class fathers,

37 per cent were Protestant, 48 per cent Catholic, while 15 per cent did not report a religious preference.

Because the number of Jewish and fathers reporting no religious preferences were relatively small, chi square was used for tests between Protestant and Catholic fathers only. The computed value for chi square, x^2=.811, found religious differences between these groups not to be statistically significant.

TABLE IV

FATHERS' SOCIAL CLASS POSITIONS AND RELIGIOUS PREFERENCES

Religious Preference of Fathers	Middle-class Fathers		Working-class Fathers	
	n	%	n	%
Protestant	29	50%	10	37%
Catholic	24	41	13	48
Jew	1	2	0	0
No Preference	4	7	4	15
Totals	58	100%	27	100%
x^2=.811* df=1 NS				

*This value results from computations between middle- and working-class, Protestant and Catholic fathers only.

The employment status of respondents' wives was the fifth variable considered for possible control. Reported earlier, Centers[58] found working-class husbands to feel more threatened by the outside employment of wives than were middle-class husbands. If, in this sample, middle- and working-class fathers differed significantly with respect to whether or not their wives were employed outside the home, then, assuming Centers' notion to be correct, the work status of respondents' wives might affect these fathers' occupational expectations for their daughters.

Data presented in Table V show that 62 per cent of both middle- (n=58) and working-class respondents' (n=26) wives were homemakers. Middle-class wives that were employed were evenly split between full and part-time jobs (19%). Of those working-class wives that were employed, 23 per cent had full time jobs, while 15 per cent worked part-time.

Because the same percentage of both middle- and working-class respondents' wives were homemakers, a test of statistical significance was not required.

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[58]Richard Centers, loc. cit.

TABLE V

HUSBANDS' SOCIAL CLASS POSITIONS AND THE WORKING STATUS OF THEIR WIVES

Working Status of Wives	Middle-class Husband		Working-class Husband	
	n	%	n	%
Housewife	36	62%	16	62%
Employed Full Time	11	19	6	23
Employed Part-Time	11	19	4	15
Totals	58	100%	26*	100%

*The employment status of one working-class wife was not ascertained.

Closely related to the last variable examined were data that revealed fathers' attitudes toward the outside employment of wives. Although inspection of findings from the previous control revealed that 62 per cent of both middle- and working-class husbands' wives were homemakers, later explication of respondents' occupational expectations for daughters might be gleaned from analysis of data specifically relating these fathers' attitudes toward the outside employment of spouses. Following the finding just cited by Centers, if working-class husbands were found, in this sample, to be more conservative toward the outside employment of wives than their middle-class

counterparts, then the occupational expectations of working-class fathers for their daughters might be expected to be more conservative in terms of domesticity than would those expressed by middle-class fathers for their daughters.

Fathers were asked to indicate which of the following four statements they agreed with most completely:[59]

(1) Mothers have a right to a career.

(2) Mothers may work if it is desirable to supplement the family income.

(3) Mothers should remain at home with their families.

(4) Part-time work for mothers is all right provided that the children are taken care of.

Results reported in Table VI disclosed that 9 per cent of middle-class husbands (n=58) and 7 per cent of working-class husbands (n=27) agreeded with the first statement. The second alternative met with the approval of 14 per cent of middle-class respondents and 7 per cent of working-class respondents. The majority of working-class fathers (60%) agreed with the third statement, while slightly less than half of the middle-class fathers (48%) concurred. The final statement was selected by 29 per cent of middle-class husbands and 26 per cent of working-class husbands.

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[59]See Appendix A, Question 26.

TABLE VI

MIDDLE AND WORKING-CLASS FATHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD THE OUTSIDE EMPLOYMENT OF WIVES

Fathers' Attitudes Toward the Outside Employment of Wives	Middle-class Fathers		Working-class Fathers	
	n	%	n	%
Mothers have a right to a career	5	9%	2	7%
Mothers may work if it is desirable to supplement the family income	8	14	2	7
Mothers should remain at home with their families	28	48	16	60
Part-time work for mothers is all right provided the children are taken care of	17	29	7	26
Totals	58	100%	27	100%

$x^2 = .867$*
df=1
NS

*This finding results from computation between "Mothers should remain at home with their families" and all other responses combined.

As shown in Table VI, differences between middle- and working-class fathers were not statistically significant, $x^2 = .867$, with reference to whether these fathers approved of the outside employment of mothers or thought that "Mothers should remain at home with their families."

Trends did, however, support the above mentioned finding by Centers in that working-class respondents were found to be somewhat more conservative toward the outside employment of mothers than were middle-class respondents.

Summary Concerning Control Variables

Family composition, the ordinal positions of subject children, family size, the religious preferences of fathers, the working status of respondents' wives, and fathers' attitudes toward the outside employment of mothers (wives) were factors considered for possible control in this study. In all cases, these variables were tested only against fathers' social class positions.

Statistical analysis of these data lead to the rejection of all factors as possible variables to be controlled; five through tests of statistical significance and one through inspection. Only two of the variables questioned approached the .05 level of statistical significance specified: ordinal positions of subject children and family size.

Of course, these findings do not rule out the possibility that the variables considered do in fact influence fathers' occupational expectations and aspirations for daughters. They do, however, reduce the likelihood of spurious conclusions associated with the strength of the independent variables tested in this study.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Four hypotheses were tested in this study. Results from the first two hypotheses will be presented consecutively and discussed together. This procedure will also be followed with respect to the third and fourth hypotheses. Tables presenting data report only those fathers who expressed their occupational expectations and aspirations for daughters.

Hypothesis I:

The first hypothesis stated that middle- and working-class fathers would not differ significantly in preferring that their daughters pursue domestic rather than non-domestic careers. Fathers were asked, "What do you prefer as a life career for your daughter?"[60] As can be seen in Table VII, 59 per cent of middle-class fathers (n=44) and 92 per cent of working-class fathers (n=26) preferred non-domestic careers for their daughters, while the remainder of fathers in both groups, a minority in both instances, desired daughters to marry rather than pursue careers outside the home.

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[60] See Appendix A, Question 24.

TABLE VII

MIDDLE- AND WORKING-CLASS FATHERS' OCCUPATIONAL PREFERENCES FOR DAUGHTERS

Occupational Preferences	Middle-class Fathers		Working-class Fathers	
	n	%	n	%
Non-domestic	26	59%	24	92%
Domestic	18	41%	2	8%
Totals	44	100%	26	100%

x^2=8.842
df=1
S(p .005)

These data indicate that working-class respondents prefer non-domestic roles for their daughters more than do middle-class fathers. The chi square coefficient computed between middle- and working-class fathers that expressed preferences for their daughters was statistically significant at approximately the .005 level (.001=10.83).

Important to note with reference to these data, although not reported in Table VII, is that fourteen of the fifty-eight middle-class respondents (24%) did not express their occupational preferences for daughters. This was true of only one of the twenty-seven working-class fathers (4%).

Hypothesis II:

The second hypothesis stated that middle- and working-class fathers would not differ significantly in expecting daughters to pursue domestic rather than non-domestic careers. Data reported in Table VIII reveal striking differences between fathers in both groups that expressed occupational expectations for daughters when asked, "What do you expect as a life career for your daughter?"[61] As can be seen, whereas 71 per cent of middle-class fathers (n=51) expected domestic roles for their daughters, only 39 per cent of working-class fathers anticipated such careers for their daughters. The computed value for chi square, $x^2=6.477$, found these differences to be statistically significant at approximately the .01 level (.01=6.64). Although not reported in Table VIII, 12 per cent of middle-class fathers and 15 per cent of working-class fathers failed to report their occupational expectations for daughters.

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[61]See Appendix A, Question 25.

TABLE VIII

MIDDLE- AND WORKING-CLASS FATHERS' OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS FOR DAUGHTERS

Occupational Expectations	Middle-class Fathers		Working-class Fathers	
	n	%	n	%
Non-domestic	15	29%	14	61%
Domestic	36	71%	9	39%
Totals	51	100%	23	100%

$x^2=6.477$
df=1
S(p .01)

Discussion of Hypotheses I and II:

As delineated in Tables VII and VIII, chi square coefficients found from tests of the first and second hypotheses were statistically significant beyond the critical level set. Both of these hypotheses were, therefore, rejected.

Interpretation of results from test of the first hypothesis is somewhat hampered by the relatively large proportion of middle-class fathers, almost one-fourth, that failed to mention a specific occupational role preferred for their daughters. One could, perhaps, speculate that because the financial positions of middle-

class families are generally more stable than those of working-class families, members in the former group can afford to be less "directive" when occupational plans for children are considered, than can members occupying positions in the latter group. Yet, without negating this possibility, the converse was found when the second hypothesis was tested. Slightly more middle- (88%) than working-class fathers (85%) expressed their occupational expectations for daughters.

Except for the occupational expectations expressed by middle-class fathers, the responses of middle- and working-class fathers' preferences and working-class fathers' expectations clearly failed to support the Parsonian model from which these hypotheses were deduced. The contention by Parsons that the adult female's role is primarily anchored in the "internal affairs of the family as wife, mother, and manager of the household" was neither anticipated nor desired by a sizable number of fathers in this sample when their occupational expectations and aspirations for daughters were expressed. The fact that fathers generally desired and expected daughters to pursue other than maternal roles as <u>life careers</u> is striking. Equally intriguing were the significant differences found between fathers across class lines with respect to these variables.

Perhaps these serendipitous findings result from the kinds of questions used to obtain fathers' occupational expectations and aspirations for daughters. Although the questions asked could have been stated in other terms, at least some validity of the items as used can be inferred from the fact that more fathers in both groups expected rather than preferred domestic roles for their daughters. This finding would seem to indicate that the questions asked did, to some extent, discriminate between fathers' conceptions of occupational expectations and aspirations.

Related to this discussion is Stephenson's distinction (presented in the first chapter of this thesis) between occupational expectations and aspirations. It will be recalled that Stephenson found occupational aspirations vis-a-vis expectations to be relatively unaffected by class structure. The finding in this study that both middle- and working-class fathers preferred non-domestic roles for their daughters would not tend to challenge Stephenson's definition of aspirations. Yet, how are the differences found between middle- and working-class respondents' occupational expectations for daughters to be explained? Considering the proportion of individuals that eventually marry in our society, over 90 per cent, are middle-class fathers to be taken as more

"rational" and "realistic" than working-class fathers about their daughters' occupational future? The credence of Stephenson's conception of occupational expectations is clearly threatened by this finding, especially when related to data reported in the second chapter of this thesis, where working-class fathers were found to average slightly more children per family than did middle-class respondents.

Had these hypotheses predicted direction of differences, working-class fathers would surely have been expected to be more inclined than middle-class fathers to preceive daughters' roles as being fundamentally domestic. Some support for this notion could have been gleaned from studies by Komarovsky and by Rainwater, et. al. In her book, Blue-Collar Marriage, Komarovsky[62] spoke of the "untroubled acceptance of housewifery" as an attitude similarly shared by both working-class husbands and wives. According to Komarovsky, ". . . housewifery is not only positively evaluated in principle but is in fact a source of satisfaction."[63] Dignity in

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[62]Mirra Komarovsky, Blue-Collar Marriage (New York: Random House, 1962).

[63]Ibid., p. 57.

housewifery, according to Komarovsky, is very much a part of the working-class social milieux.

Further, consider the following remarks made by Rainwater and associates in their study of "workingmens' wives:"[64]

> . . . her major definition of herself is almost always as wife and mother . . . (p. 19); The working class wife's daily life is centered upon the tasks of home-making, child-rearing, and husband-servicing. (p. 27); These women have always known that their reason for existence is to be wives and mothers, and from adolescence on, much thought and fantasy has gone into someday when . . . (p. 68); These women, by and large, move fairly directly from the status of daughter to that of wife and mother . . . (p. 68).

Evidence of this kind from both the above studies would certainly lead to predicting working-class fathers about their daughters' occupational future.[65] Regardless,

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[64]Lee Rainwater, Richard P. Coleman and Gerald Handel, Workingman's Wife (New York: Oceana Publications, Inc., 1959).

[65]Additional support for this claim could be found from studies reviewed earlier in the thesis by LaMar T. Empey, "Social Class and Occupational Aspirations: A Comparison of Absolute and Relative Measurement," loc. cit.; and William H. Sewell, Archie O. Haller and Murray A. Strauss, "Social Status and Educational and Occupational Aspirations," loc. cit. The authors of both these articles studied the occupational expectations and aspirations of high school seniors. Findings revealed differences between middle- and working-class youngsters with both middle-class males and females holding higher occupational aspirations and expectations than their working-class counterparts.

the Parsonian notion of complementarity, unless misconstrued in this study, would surely be stretched if employment outside the home was considered to be equally as expressive as homemaking.

Other relationships with respect to these data can be explored. For example, the attitudes of working-class fathers toward the outside employment of wives (data reported in the second chapter of this thesis) were found to be the reverse of their occupational expectations and aspirations for daughters. While 60 per cent of working-class respondents agreed with the statement, "Mothers should remain at home with their families," 61 per cent of these same fathers expected, and 92 per cent preferred non-domestic roles for their daughters.

The expressed responses of middle-class fathers with respect to these items were somewhat more congruent. Almost half (48%) of these fathers agreed that mothers belonged at home with their families, and 71 per cent expected daughters to pursue domestic roles. Yet, the majority of these same fathers (59%) preferred other than domestic careers for their daughters.[66]

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[66]In relation to these comparisons, it is interesting to recall that 62 per cent of both middle- and working-class husbands' wives were homemakers.

Hypothesis III:

The third and fourth hypotheses concerned differences in the status scores of occupations expressed by fathers who both expected and preferred other than domestic careers for their daughters. The third hypothesis predicted that among those respondents expecting other than domestic roles for their daughters, middle-class fathers would have higher occupational expectations than would working-class fathers. As previously mentioned, 29 per cent of middle-class fathers and 61 per cent of working-class fathers expressed non-domestic occupational expectations for their daughters.

TABLE IX

STATUS SCORES OF MIDDLE- AND WORKING-CLASS FATHERS' NON-DOMESTIC OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS FOR DAUGHTERS

Middle-class Fathers			Working-class Fathers		
Status Score	Occupations Expected for Daughters	n	Status Score	Occupations Expected for Daughters	n
58	Religious Worker	1	50	Air Line Stewardess	1
67	Nurse	2	58	Religious Worker	1
72	Musician	1	67	Nurse	4
85	Teacher	10	67	Dental Hygienist	1
99	Medical Doctor	1	77	Secretary	2
			85	Teacher	3
			87	Commercial Artist	1
			90	Accountant	1
Totals			15		14

U=73.5 (one-tailed test)
NS

Analysis of data relating to this hypothesis, reported in Table IX, found that differences between the status scores associated with middle- and working-class fathers' non-domestic occupational expectations for daughters were not statistically significant, although trends followed the direction predicted. This hypothesis was, therefore, rejected.

Hypothesis IV:

The fourth hypothesis stated that the occupational aspirations of middle- and working-class fathers that preferred other than domestic roles for their daughters would not differ significantly in terms of the status desired. As indicated earlier, 59 per cent of middle-class fathers and 92 per cent of working-class fathers expressed non-domestic occupational preferences for their daughters.

Findings presented in Table X support this postulate. Inspection of this table reveals that while the occupational aspirations of middle-class fathers are collectively higher than are those of working-class fathers, the differences between these groups are not statistically significant.

TABLE X

STATUS SCORES OF MIDDLE- AND WORKING-CLASS FATHERS' NON-DOMESTIC OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS FOR DAUGHTERS

Middle-class Fathers			Working-class Fathers		
Status Score	Occupations Expected for Daughters	n	Status Score	Occupations Expected for Daughters	n
48	Religious Worker	1	45	Entertainer	1
67	Nurse	6		Air Line	
72	Musician	1	50	Stewardess	1
82	Social Worker	1	58	Religious Worker	1
85	Teacher	14	67	Nurse	9
99	Lawyer	1	67	Dental Hygienist	1
99	Medical Doctor	2	77	Secretary	2
			85	Teacher	6
			87	Commercial Artist	1
			89	Business Owner	1
			90	Accountant	1
Totals			26		24

z=1.849 (two-tailed test)
NS

Discussion of Hypotheses III and IV:

Statistical significance was not attained with empirical test of the third hypothesis. Trends were, however, in the direction anticipated with middle-class fathers collectively reporting higher occupational expectations for daughters than their working-class counterparts. Although not statistically significant,

this pattern is consistent with findings (reviewed in the first chapter of this thesis) that have documented higher achievement motivation and occupational expectations among middle- vis-a-vis working-class groups.

Data relating to the fourth hypothesis generally paralleled the pattern of those presented in conjunction with the third hypothesis. Although, as hypothesized, statistically significant differences between the occupational preferences of middle- and working-class fathers were not found, the occupations desired by middle-class fathers for their daughters were again, collectively higher than those expressed by working-class respondents.

Stephenson's assumption that aspirations are relatively unaffected by class structure was not supported by results found from tests of the third and fourth hypotheses. The fact that the occupational expectations and aspirations of middle-class fathers were, in both instances higher than those of working-class fathers suggests that socio-economic factors not only influenced fathers' expectations but also their occupational aspirations for daughters.

Closer examination of these findings reveal that the occupations expected and preferred by working-class fathers were more variable than those expressed by middle-

class fathers, even though fewer working- than middle-class respondents expressed their occupational expectations and aspirations for daughters. Further, teaching was clearly the most popular occupation both desired and expected by middle-class fathers, while nursing appeared to be highly regarded by working-class respondents.

It is interesting to note in reviewing these results that, with few exceptions, the types of occupations both preferred and expected by fathers are those in which females have traditionally predominated. The occupations mentioned by Parsons in the following remark bear a striking parallel to several of those reported by the fathers in this study for their daughters:

> . . . typical feminine occupations are those of teacher, social worker, nurse, private secretary and entertainer. Such roles tend to have a prominent expressive component, and often to be 'supportive' to masculine roles. Within the occupational organization they are analogous to the wife-mother role in the family.[67]

The occupations selected by fathers for their daughters in this sample tend to explicate results found from tests of the first and second hypotheses. Although an instrumental bias is apparent from observing the kinds

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[67]Talcott Parsons, "The American Family: Its Relations to Personality and to the Social Structure," in Parsons and Bales, loc. cit.

of occupations both expected and preferred by these fathers for their daughters, it reflects the culturally defined role alternatives prescribed for females in our society.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary of the Study

The problem. This study examined the occupational expectations and aspirations that middle- and working-class fathers had for their daughters. Having noted the steady increase of women in paid employment in the United States during the last sixty years, this problem was considered because, first of all, previous research in this area has been concerned almost exclusively with males, and secondly, this research has relied heavily upon the responses of mothers only, ignoring the contribution of fathers in the socialization of their children.

Theoretical framework. Theoretical literature informing this research was adduced from work by Parsons and findings from studies in social stratification. Innumerable studies in social stratification have documented the fact that there are clear and persistent differences in the behavior of individuals across horizontal strata. Several of these studies have focused specifically upon achievement motivation and the occupational expectations and aspirations of middle- and working-class youth. Although findings indicate that the occupational

expectations and achievement motivation of middle-class youth are generally higher than those of working-class youth, occupational aspirations according to Stephenson, seem to be relatively unaffected by social class structure.

Just as occupational aspirations seem to be relatively unaffected by class structure, so too, following the work by Parsons, are the culturally prescribed sex roles in our society for males and females. The Parsonian dichotomy that delineates males' roles as being instrumental also describes the expressive orientation as complementary when attached to the occupational roles of females. Being culturally determined, these roles transcend social class boundaries.

Hypotheses. In view of the strength of cultural norms that tend to preserve the roles of women in housewifery and maternal activities in our society, it was hypothesized that:

> (1) Middle- and working-class fathers would not differ significantly in preferring that their daughters pursue domestic rather than non-domestic careers.
>
> (2) Middle- and working-class fathers would not differ significantly in expecting that their daughters pursue domestic rather than non-domestic careers.

However, because occupational aspirations vis-a-vis expectations seem to be relatively unaffected by the stratification structure, it was further hypothesized that:

(3) Among those fathers expecting other than domestic roles for their daughters, middle-class fathers would have higher occupational expectations than would working-class fathers.

(4) The occupational aspirations of middle- and working-class fathers that prefered other than domestic roles for their daughters would not differ significantly in terms of the status desired.

Procedures. The population from which fathers in this sample were drawn consisted of 5,897 families residing in Omaha, Nebraska. Using a table of random numbers, a sample frame totaling eighty-five fathers with daughters was selected. The subject daughters were born in 1954 and enrolled in either public, private, or parochial schools as of April, 1966. Data were collected during the fall, winter, and spring of the 1966-67 school year by mixed teams of graduate and undergraduate students attending the University of Omaha.

The social class positions of fathers, determined by using Hollingshead's Two Factor Index of Social Position, were the independent variables used in this study. The dependent variables were the fathers' occupational expectations and aspirations for their daughters. The fathers' occupational expectations and aspirations for their daughters were defined in terms of domestic and non-domestic roles. The term "domestic" was used to denote wife-mother (maternal) roles only, whereas the term "non-

domestic" was used to refer to paid employment outside the home either expected or preferred by the father for his daughter. The values assigned to occupations expressed by fathers who both preferred and expected non-domestic roles for their daughters, relationships tested in the third and fourth hypotheses, were based on the occupational status scores developed by the U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Findings. Data relating to the first hypothesis was obtained by asking each father what he preferred as a life career for his daughter. The first hypothesis stated that middle- and working-class fathers would not differ significantly in preferring that their daughters pursue domestic rather than non-domestic careers. Results from test of this hypothesis surprisingly disclosed statistically significant differences between the responses of middle- and working-class fathers, although the majority of fathers in both groups desired non-domestic roles for their daughters.

The second hypothesis stated that middle- and working-class fathers would not differ significantly in expecting daughters to pursue domestic rather than non-domestic careers. Information relating to this hypothesis was obtained by asking fathers what they expected as life careers for their daughters. As with the first hypothesis,

statistical test of the second hypothesis found that middle- and working-class fathers differed significantly in terms of their occupational expectations for daughters. While 71 per cent of middle-class fathers expected domestic roles for their daughters, only 39 per cent of working-class fathers anticipated such roles for their daughters.

Except for the occupational expectations expressed by middle-class fathers for their daughters, the responses of both middle- and working-class fathers' preferences and working-class fathers' expectations failed to support the work cited by Parsons from which these hypotheses were deduced.

The third and fourth hypotheses concerned differences in the status scores of occupations expressed by fathers who both preferred and expected non-domestic roles for their daughters. Based upon findings from previous research in social stratification, the third hypothesis predicted that among those fathers who had expressed non-domestic occupational expectations for their daughters, the occupational expectations of middle-class fathers would be higher than those of working-class fathers. Analysis of data relating to this hypothesis found that differences between the status scores associated with middle- and working-class fathers' non-domestic

occupational expectations for their daughters were not statistically significant, although trends followed the direction predicted.

Based upon Stephenson's contention that occupational aspirations are relatively unaffected by the stratification structure, the fourth hypothesis stated that the occupational aspirations of middle- and working-class fathers that had preferred other than domestic roles for their daughters would not differ significantly in terms of the status desired. Results analyzed from test of this hypothesis disclosed that while the occupational aspirations of middle-class fathers were collectively higher than were those of working-class fathers, the differences between these groups were not statistically significant.

The fact that the occupational expectations and aspirations of middle-class fathers were, in both tests, higher than those of their working-class counterparts suggests that socio-economic factors not only influenced fathers' occupational expectations but also their occupational aspirations for daughters. These findings tend to question the tenability of Stephenson's assumption.

Implications for Future Research

Little is scientifically known about the extent to which the modern father is involved in the socialization

of his children. Because of such pragmatic considerations as time and money, convenience has dictated the interrogation of the mother, usually found at home, when information concerning child-rearing practices has been sought. This is somewhat surprising considering the fact that recent evidence suggests that the American family is becoming more equalitarian with husbands and wives sharing in decision-making and parental responsibilities.[68]

The systematic omission of husbands as sources of scientific fact is striking when contrasted with the exaggerated emphasis placed upon males as objects of scientific inquiry. Although more women are now actively employed in the labor force than ever before, studies concerning their socialization for such roles are conspicuous by their absence.

If findings from this study warrant generalization, female youth in our society might be exposed to an intrafamilial dilemma with respect to their occupational futures. That is, if both the middle- and working-class father desires that his daughter pursue non-domestic careers while the mother dispells such notions, then the

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[68]Herbert L. Smith, "Husband-Wife Task Performance and Decision-Making Patterns," in J. Ross Eshleman, ed., Perspectives in Marriage and the Family (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1969), pp. 500-520.

daughter is placed within a situation of contradictory role expectations.[69]

Because the occupational structure in our society both affects and is effected by changes in other institutional spheres, future studies in occupational sociology must account for the work roles of females in a diversified economy such as our own. Findings from this research suggest the need for longitudinal studies of parental consensus concerning their occupational expectations and aspirations for both their sons and daughters. The extent to which parents influence the occupational plans of their offspring should be tapped together with their childrens own views of what forces shape their occupational futures. Thus far, the answers to these questions have not been scientifically sought.

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[69]See Mirra Komarovsky, "Cultural Contradictions of Sex Roles," American Journal of Sociology, 52(Dec., 1946), pp. 184-189.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

RESPONDENT NUMBER _____ DATE _____

TIME INTERVIEW BEGAN: _____ TIME INTERVIEW ENDED: _____

CIRCLE ONE: HUSBAND

WIFE

This interview is designed to give us an understanding of parent-child behavior. This is an area in which we need much more information. Before we begin, let me express a word of caution. We have found that in answering our questions, people will often naturally try to put their best foot forward, so to speak. They will tell us what they think we want to hear rather than what they really believe to be true, or they will tell us how they wish they behaved, rather than how they usually act. Therefore, at the very beginning we want to encourage you to be completely frank in answering our questions. There are no right and wrong answers. We are interested in how you as parents go about the business of raising your children. And, of course, we want to remind you that you may be completely confident that what you report this evening will be used only for scientific study and will never at any time be identified with you personally.

Now, since we are interested in your children and your role as a parent, we would like to start by getting the names and ages of your children;

NAME (FIRST NAME ONLY) All Children	AGE	SEX	SCHOOL GRADE

SELECT THE BOY OR GIRL 11 or 12 YEARS OLD.

We will ask all of our questions about _____.

Are the children in parochial school?

ASK OF MOTHER ONLY

Let's begin by finding out what organization he/she belongs to.

FOR BOYS:	MEMBERSHIP		AVAILABLE		ATTEND		DO YOU TRANSPORT		Are you (or husband) a LEADER	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
BOY/CUB SCOUTS										
LITTLE LEAGUE										
YMCA GROUP										
SCHOOL CLUB										
DANCING SCHOOL										
MUSIC LESSONS										
SETTLEMENT HOUSE										
BOWLING LEAGUE TEAM										
CIVIL AIR PATROL										
ORGANIZED TEAMSPORTS										
SUNDAY SCHOOL GROUP										
PUBLIC LIBRARY CARD										
SCHOOL BAND										
ART LESSONS										
OMAHA BOYS CLUB										
SUMMER CAMP										
_____										
_____										
_____										

FOR GIRLS:	MEMBERSHIP		AVAILABLE		ATTEND		DO YOU TRANSPORT		Are you (or husband) a LEADER	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
GIRL SCOUTS/BROWNIES										
CAMPFIRE GIRLS										
YWCA GROUP										
SCHOOL CLUB										
DANCING SCHOOL										
MUSIC LESSONS										
SETTLEMENT HOUSE										
BOWLING LEAGUE TEAM										
HOMEMAKING CLUB										
CIVIL AIR PATROL										
ORGANIZED TEAM SPORTS										
SUNDAY SCHOOL GROUP										
PUBLIC LIBRARY CARD										
SCHOOL BAND										
ART LESSONS										
SUMMER CAMP										
_____										
_____										
_____										

Television has become an important part of our lives today. We'd like to find out some of the patterns of television viewing of children like _____.

1. How much time would you estimate that _____ spent watching T. V. last week? _____ hours

2. Is that amount about normal? Yes _____ No _____

What would you say is the normal amount of time that _____ watches T. V.?

3. Do you have any rules for _____'s TV watching? No_____ Yes_____

What are they?

What are your reasons for having these rules?

4. Can you recall ever discussing scientific contributions of space shots, for example, their importance, with _____ while watching the TV coverage? No_____ Yes_____

Would you say that you did this

always _____
often _____
sometimes _____
seldom _____
never _____

5. Can you recall ever discussing moral lessons, for example, kindness to those less fortunate than you or to animals or interrace relations or the like when you were watching movies on TV with _____. No_____

Yes_____

Would you say that you did this

always _____
often _____
sometimes _____
seldom _____
never _____

6. Can you recall ever discussing TV programs about great Americans with _____? No _____

Yes _____

Would you say that you do this

always _____
often _____
sometimes _____
seldom _____
never _____

Now I am going to read you stories about situations which might be like something that you could expect to happen with _____. Whether or not this has ever happened, try to think what you would do if it did come up, and tell me. Again, please tell us what you think you would do, not what you think you ought to do. (To interviewer: Probe question, if parent does not answer with a punishment,--"What if the same thing happened again?")

1. Suppose you give _____ permission to go to the park with some friends, and find out later that he (she) has actually gone downtown instead of to the park. What would you most likely do when he (she) comes home?

Why?

2. Suppose you look out the window and you see _____ get angry and haul off and hit a neighbor boy (girl) without a good reason. What would you (use same sex as child) most likely do?

Why?

3. Suppose _____ has been expecting to go swimming on Saturday, and it becomes impossible for some good reason. When you inform him (her) that he (she) can't go, he (she) begins to cry and runs from the room, slamming the door very hard behind him (her).

What would you most likely do?

Why is that?

4. Imagine that you discover _____ snitching pocket money from your (your wife's) purse.

What would you most likely do?

Why is that?

5. Suppose _____ leaves his (her) personal belongings lying all over the house for you and your (wife/husband) to pick up.

What would you most likely do?

Why?

7. Suppose you are going to visit friends on a Sunday afternoon and _____, who knows you plan to leave in ten minutes, goes out to play. When it's time to leave you can't find him (her). After 30 minutes you locate him (her) at a friend's house.

What would you most likely do?

Why is that?

8. Do you allow _____ to date in the sense of going to a party at a home of some friend where there will be an equal number of boys and girls?

Yes _____

No _____

Why?

9. What do you think of the old saying, "Spare the rod and spoil the child."

rd 10. Who in your family really has the final say about things concerning _____'s discipline, e.g. staying out late, getting special privileges, etc? HAND CARD

_____ 1. Really up to husband
_____ 2. Mainly up to husband, but wife's opinion counts a lot
_____ 3. Both parents about equal, but a little more up to husband
_____ 4. Both parents exactly equal
_____ 5. Both parents about equal, but a little more up to wife
_____ 6. Mainly up to wife, but husband's opinion has counted a lot
_____ 7. Really up to wife.

11. Do you ever feel unsure of yourself when you deal with _____? Would you say that this happens:

_____ always
_____ often
_____ sometimes
_____ occasionally
_____ never

12. Do you think your husband (wife) is ever unsure of himself (herself) when he (she) deals with _____? Would you say that he (she) feels unsure:

_____ always
_____ often
_____ sometimes
_____ occasionally
_____ never

13. Do you have a religious preference? Yes _____ (skip to 13c)
No _____ (ask 13a)

(a) Have you ever belonged to a religious congregation? Yes _____ (ask 13b)
Which? (be specific) No _____ (skip to 14)

_____

(b) When did you leave it?

(c) What is your religion? (be very specific)

(d) Have you always been a _____? Yes _____ (skip to 14)
No _____ (ask 13e)

(e) What was your previous religious affiliation?

(f) When did you change?

(g) Why did you change?

14. How often do you attend religious services?
_____once a week or more
_____once or twice a month
_____less than once a month
_____never

15. How important would you say <u>your</u> religion is to <u>you?</u> Would you say
_____extremely important
_____very important
_____rather important
_____not very important
_____not at all important

16. Which one of you is primarily responsible for _____.

	Father	Mother	Both	Neither
Attending weekly services				
Attending other than the major weekly service				
Praying before meals				
Praying before bedtime				
Participation in family devotions				

17. How important do you think it is that _____

	Very important	Important	Not very important	Not at all important
Attend church services every week?				
Attend other than the major religious service every week?				
Pray before meals?				
Pray before bedtime?				
Participate in family devotion e.g. evening prayers, bible reading, etc.				

18. We are used to using thermometers to measure heat. Let's use this same device to estimate how <u>you</u> feel about <u>your</u> religion.
(a) For example, if valuable were at 100 and worthless at 0, where would you rate your feelings? _____
(b) If strong were 100, and weak were 0? _____
(c) If deep were 100, and shallow were 0? _____
(d) If active were 100, and passive were 0? _____
(e) If fair were 100, and unfair were 0? _____

Card II

19. Which of the following is primarily responsible for teaching a child (Mark "1" for primary reason, "2" for second reason.) Which is the second most important?

	School	Church	Family	None
How to treat those from different races				
Personal responsibility				
Responsibility to others				
Concern for those with less than he/she has materially				
Sexual standards				
Religious behavior				
Tolerance of others opinions				
Patriotism				

ard II 20. Here are some reasons different people have given for wanting to have their children finish a certain amount of education. Which one of these would you say is most important? (HAND CARD) Least important? (Mark "M" for most and "L" for least)

1. _____To obtain a better job or income
2. _____To obtain a broader outlook on life
3. _____To improve one's social position in the community
4. _____To be helpful to other people
5. _____To use their special abilities or talents
6. _____To develop personality
7. _____To develop moral standards

21. How far would you like _____ to go in school? (Don't read choices)

Don't know _____
High School _____
Some college _____
Finish college _____
Trade school after high school _____
Professional education _____

22. How far do you think realistically that _____ will go in school? (Don't read choices)

Don't know _____
High School _____
Some college _____
Finish college _____
Trade school after high school _____
Professional education _____

23. Here are three different kinds of jobs. If you were advising _____, who had to make a choice among the three, which would you feel he should pick?

1. _____ A job which pays a moderate income but which he/she is sure of keeping.

2. _____ A job which pays a good income but which there is a 50/50 chance of losing.

3. _____ A job which pays an extremely good income if he/she makes the grade, but in which they will lose almost everything if they don't make it.

24. What would you prefer as a life career for _____?

25. What do you expect as a life career for _____?

26. Which of these statements do you agree with most completely?

_____ Mothers have a right to a career

_____ Mothers may work if it is desirable to supplement the family income

_____ Mothers should remain at home with their families

_____ Part time work for mothers is all right provided that the children are taken care of

27. Would you simply tell me whether you agree or disagree with these statements: (if agree with qualification code agree; same for disagree)

	Agree	Disagree	NA
a. In a family it is the husband who usually should make the most important decisions.			
b. A married woman with small children at home should have complete freedom to compete with men for any job she desires.			
c. It is a good thing for a husband and wife occasionally to take separate vacations.			
d. Most parents in these times are not strict enough with their children.			
e. A wife should give up her own occupation if that will help in her husband's success.			

28. Now, we are interested in what people call work. Which one of these statements best explains the difference between something you would call work and something you would not call work: (Interviewer: Enter "1" in the appropriate blank below.) Now, in your opinion, which one of the statements is the second best explanation of the difference between something you would call work and something you would not call work: (Interviewer: Enter "2" in the appropriate blank below.)

ard VI

1. _____Work is not enjoyed, not liked.
2. _____Work is exertion, physical or mental.
3. _____Work is something for which you are paid.
4. _____Work is required, something you have to do.
5. _____Work is something productive; a contribution.
6. _____Work is scheduled and done regularly.

29. If you had enough money to live comfortably without working would you:

1. _____feel better
2. _____feel the same
3. _____feel worse
0. _____does not apply

30. If you didn't have a job, but did have enough money to live comfortably without working would you:

1. _____feel better
2. _____feel the same
3. _____feel worse
0. _____does not apply

31. Some things about our jobs are more important than others. Listed on this card (Interviewer: HAND RESPONDENT CARD) are eight statements given by a group of people as things they considered important about their jobs. In your opinion, which one of these statements best explains what you think (would think) most important about your job? (Interviewer: Enter "1" in the appropriate blank below.) Now, in your opinion, which one of the statements is the second best explanation of what you think (would think) important about your job? (Interviewer: Enter "2" in the appropriate blank below.)

ard VII

1. _____enables me to make a good living for myself and my family
2. _____a way of filling the day or passing the time
3. _____a source of self respect
4. _____gives me the chance to be with people
5. _____gives purpose to my life
6. _____provides a secure future for me and my family
7. _____a way of getting recognition and respect from others
8. _____provides me with new and interesting experiences

32. Finally, we would like to ask you a few questions about yourself to use when we classify your answers. As sociologists, we are interested in categories of people, and these questions allow us to put you in the kind of category that we have found makes the most difference.

a. How long have you and your husband/wife been married? _____ Years

b. Is this your first marriage? Yes _____ No _____

c. How old were you and your husband/wife when you married?
_____H _____W

d. How far did you go in school?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

Trade school (get specific name) _____

Professional (get specific name) _____

WAS ANY OF THIS PAROCHIAL? HOW MUCH?

e. How far did your father go in school? (Please make an estimate)

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

f. How far did your mother go in school? (Please make an estimate)

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

g. What was your father's occupation when you were about your son's (daughter's) age? (Be specific.)
If farming:
(1) How many acres in the farm? _____
(2) Did your father own or rent? _____

h. What is your occupation? (Be specific and list part-time work for wives)

i. Which of these comes closest to your total family income before taxes last year? HAND CARD

Card VIII

1. _____under $3000
2. _____$3000 - $5,999
3. _____$6000 - $8,999
4. _____$9000 - $11,999
5. _____$12,000- $14,999
6. _____$15,000- $19,999
7. _____$20,000 or more
8. _____refused

j. How long have you lived at this address? _____years

a. Where did you live just before this? _____

Interviewer _____

Field Number _____

Respondent Number _____

Summary remarks - (Include such things as estimate of respondent's cooperativeness, brief description of the house - size, state of repair or anything else of interest.)

APPENDIX B

We are conducting a scientific survey designed to study Omaha parents and their patterns of raising children. Your cooperation is appreciated for we feel that you can make an important contribution to the scientific understanding of this area of family life. We think also that you will find that this is a very interesting experience.

Two graduate students from the University of Omaha will contact you within the next few days. We would like the opportunity to interview both of you at the same time. The interview will take about 30 to 45 minutes. Information that you give us will be used for scientific purposes, and your answers will be treated with the strictest confidence.

Thank you for your courtesy.

Sincerely yours,

Cora A. Martin, Ph.D.
Director, Research on Family Life