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**Eboch, Sharon Stevens**

**CONJUGAL ROLES: RELATIONSHIP TO EMPLOYMENT OF DOMESTIC  
HELP AND MARITAL SATISFACTION**

*The University of North Carolina at Greensboro*

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CONJUGAL ROLES: RELATIONSHIP TO EMPLOYMENT OF  
DOMESTIC HELP AND MARITAL SATISFACTION

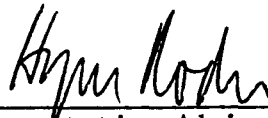
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APPROVAL PAGE

This dissertation has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of the Graduate School at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

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The major purpose of this study was to investigate factors that may relate to method of conjugal role allocation--segregated or joint --in the areas of marital decision making, household task performance, and use of leisure time. Data were taken from anonymous mailed questionnaires received from 150 Americans living in Saudi Arabia. This number represented 69 couples, five individual husbands, and seven individual wives. Data were analyzed separately for men and women.

More than half of the subjects reported employing domestic help in the home. It was hypothesized that having domestic help would be negatively related to jointness of conjugal role allocation, particularly in the area of household task performance. No such relationship was found.

It was further hypothesized that jointness in one area of conjugal roles would be related to jointness in the other areas. Husbands reported no relationship among any of the areas. Wives reported that jointness of decision making was significantly related to both jointness of task performance and jointness of use of leisure time.

The final hypothesis was that jointness in role allocation would be positively related to level of marital satisfaction. Wives reported that jointness in the area of decision making was positively related to level of marital satisfaction, but the other areas were unrelated. Husbands reported that jointness in household task performance was

negatively related to marital satisfaction, and the other areas were unrelated. Choice and exchange theory was used as a basis for formulating hypotheses and for providing explanations of the results.



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CHAPTER I  
INTRODUCTION

A number of roles are filled by the partners in any marriage, and these roles may be allocated in either a joint or a segregated pattern. The pattern of role allocation has been found to be related both to factors outside the marriage and to the spouses' satisfaction with the marriage. This study attempts to clarify both types of relationships. First, factors that may influence role allocation are investigated, specifically the hours spent each week in paid employment by the husband and the wife, and the number of hours per week that outside help is employed to perform domestic tasks. Second, this study measures degree of jointness of roles in household task performance, decision making, and use of leisure time, and investigates the relationship of each to marital satisfaction of the individual partners.

This study was inspired by a study of role allocation in families of Austrian working women (Szinovacz, 1977). Szinovacz found that, in general, when wives received help from relatives with household tasks, husbands were less likely to help, decision making was less likely to be shared, and marital satisfaction was lower. The question arises then of whether employment of household help would have the same relationship to role allocation and marital satisfaction as was reported when help was received from relatives.

The following research questions emerged:

1. How is employment of household help related to jointness of household task performance?
2. How is jointness of household task performance related to jointness of decision making and jointness of leisure activities?
3. How are patterns of conjugal role organization in the areas of task performance, decision making, and use of leisure time related to marital satisfaction?

The subjects of the study were 150 middle-class American husbands and wives living in Saudi Arabia because of the husband's employment with the Arabian-American Oil Company. This population seemed suitable for this study, because a fairly large number (53 percent of the sample) employed household help in the form of houseboys, gardeners, and babysitters.

The theoretical perspective used in formulating the hypotheses and in analyzing the results was choice and exchange, a combination of the theory of rational choice and social exchange theory. Although this theoretical perspective is not fully developed at this point, it shows potential for having great power to explain human behavior.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The literature reviewed in this chapter starts with writings on the subject of conjugal role allocation in general. This subject gained attention through the work of Elizabeth Bott and her colleagues in London in the 1950's, and has been extensively studied and written about since.

Second, literature related to the components of role allocation under consideration in the current study, namely housework, decision making, and use of leisure time, is reviewed. Since allocation of household tasks is the primary focus of the study, literature related to housework is reviewed most completely. Literature related to family decision making and use of leisure is reviewed only when it deals with patterns of conjugal role allocation.

Finally, since the problem under consideration, factors related to method of allocation of conjugal roles, is viewed from a choice and exchange theoretical framework, a brief review of the history and concepts of that framework is presented.

The chapter concludes with a presentation of the hypotheses tested, a definition of terms, and a statement of the scope of the study.

### Conjugal Role Allocation

Elizabeth Bott and her colleagues (1957) conducted an intensive study of 20 London families for the purpose of developing hypotheses to interpret the various ways that wives and husbands perform their family roles.

In studying conjugal roles, Bott limited the definition of the term "role" to mean:

. . . behavior that is expected of any individual occupying a particular social position. A role-relationship is defined as those aspects of a relationship that consist of reciprocal role expectations of each person concerning the other. (Bott, 1957, p. 3)

Types of conjugal roles were classified by Bott as being complementary, independent, or joint.

In complementary organization the activities of husband and wife are different and separate but fitted together to form a whole. In independent organization activities are carried out separately by husband and wife without reference to each other, insofar as this is possible. In joint organization activities are carried out by husband and wife together, or the same activity is carried out by either partner at different times. (Bott, 1957, p. 53)

Complementary and independent types of organization can be grouped under the name segregated conjugal role-relationship.

Segregated or joint conjugal role-relationships refer to a variety of family activities. Performance of household tasks, decision making, planning of family activities, and leisure pursuits are among the activities that can be classed as segregated or joint. Bott found that couples who had a joint role-relationship in one area tended to have a joint organization in all areas.



Several factors were studied in an attempt to find one which would explain differences in degree of segregation of conjugal roles. Social class, type of neighborhood, and degree of mobility were all found to have some relationship to type of role organization, but none of these factors explained the differences to a satisfactory extent.

The one factor that was found to relate most closely to the degree of conjugal role segregation for 20 London families was the degree of "connectedness" of the family's social network. A high degree of connectedness exists when many of the family's friends, relatives, and neighbors know and interact with one another. This pattern is usually accompanied by segregated conjugal role relationships. When the friends, neighbors, and relatives of the family do not know each other, there is a low degree of connectedness, or a loose-knit social network. In such cases, the families tended to have joint conjugal role relationships. Therefore, the following hypothesis was suggested by Bott:

The degree of segregation in the role-relationship of a husband and wife varies directly with the connectedness of the family's social network. (Bott, 1957, p. 60)

Connected networks are likely to develop when husband and wife grow up in the same neighborhood and remain there after marriage. There is overlapping in the roles of neighbors, friends, relatives, and co-workers; that is, the same individual may fill more than one role. These networks involve considerable emotional investment and reciprocal exchanges of material and emotional support. "Conceptually, the network stands between the family and the total social environment" (Bott, 1955, p. 349).

The Bott study has prompted a number of additional studies to test her hypothesis, some of which support and some of which refute it. In the following discussion, these studies will be divided according to whether they deal primarily with social networks or with other correlates of role allocation.

#### Studies Concerned with Social Networks

The "Leadgill" study, by Turner (1970), was designed to test the hypothesis that network connectedness influences conjugal role allocation and did show support, but with reservations. Turner calculated the interconnectedness of social networks by determining which households had social contact with a focal household and then measuring the amount of contact these nonfocal households had with each other. The three degrees of network connectedness are (1) loose-knit, (2) medium-knit, and (3) close-knit.

Measurement of the degree of conjugal role segregation is complex. In Turner's study, it was determined by the degree to which (1) couples participated in joint or segregated leisure activities outside the home, (2) the husband participated in domestic tasks and some domestic duties were interchangeable, and (3) husband and wife discussed and shared in childrearing tasks and discipline. Conjugal role-relationships were then classed as segregated, joint, or intermediate. The results of the "Leadgill" study are shown in Table 1, with the results of the Bott study in parentheses.

From this table, it can be seen that Turner's results were not as clear-cut as were Bott's. In a further analysis of his data,

Table 1  
 Comparison of "Leadgill" and Bott Studies

Conjugal Role Relationship	Interconnectedness of Social Network		
	Close-knit	Medium-knit	Loose-knit
Segregated	42 (1)	10 (0)	4 (0)
Intermediate	13 (0)	0 (9)	7 (0)
Joint	8 (0)	8 (0)	14 (5)

Turner found that degree of network connectedness was a good predictor of conjugal role-relationship only when there was a marked segregation of the sexes in activities with network members. A highly connected network with the sexes segregated in activities was associated with segregated conjugal role relationships.

Both Bott and Turner used a global measure of conjugal role-relationship that included leisure activities as well as task performance. Blood (1969) used only a measure of household task performance in analyzing data from the 1955 Detroit Area Study, and found support for Bott's hypothesis: Couples with close-knit kinship networks were more likely to perform household tasks separately. Similarly, the Szinovacz study of Austrian blue-collar and white-collar working wives found that "Both common residence with relatives and participation of kin in the household tasks of young families are positively related to high role segregation between spouses" (Szinovacz, 1977, p. 786). This pattern holds for both task allocation and relative participation in family decision making.

Bott (1957) suggested that close-knit social networks lead to segregated conjugal roles, because social networks provide alternative sources of emotional gratification. An individual who receives emotional support from friends or kin has less incentive to seek support from his/her spouse; but if the couple is relatively isolated from family and friends, they may turn to each other for help and support. Toomey (1971) also cited findings which suggest ". . . what is of crucial importance is not network connectedness as such, but opportunities for socially gratifying and supportive contact with others" (p. 430).

Blood's (1969) explanation differs somewhat. He suggested that membership in a larger collectivity ". . . places constraints on the freedom of the family to develop its autonomous identity" (p. 171). He further suggested that whether the larger collectivity is a kinship network, social system, political system, or a corporate employer, the nuclear family

. . . in every case faces demands from the external system which conflict with the development of the internal system to its maximum potential. Under such circumstances, the larger collectivity expects loyalty to itself to take precedence over loyalty to the spouse. Indeed, the larger group defines marital solidarity as a threat to its own collective solidarity. (Blood, 1969, p. 171)

In the Bott, Blood, and Szinovacz studies, segregated conjugal roles were most prevalent in families where the young couple had remained in the same neighborhood, or even the same house, as their families of orientation. Under these circumstances, the "larger collectivity" would have more opportunity to exert its influence.

On the other hand, Komarovsky (1964) has shown that a larger collectivity may benefit from and promote marital solidarity. She discussed the socializing role of the "crowd," defined as a group of other married couples. Such a group has a stake in enforcing marital solidarity, because its social activities require that both husband and wife be present. Komarovsky showed that the crowd promotes marital solidarity in two ways.

"The crowd serves as a reference group enforcing common definitions of marriage roles" (p. 44). Members of the crowd learn from each other what to consider appropriate marital behavior, and the crowd applies pressure to those who deviate.

The crowd helps to ". . . drain off resentment against the mate for the common frustrations of marriage" (Komarovsky, 1964, p. 44). Gripping to the crowd about stereotyped shortcomings of spouses strengthens one's self-image as a "wife" or "husband."

A major problem in comparing different research studies is that the term "conjugal roles" has been variously defined by different writers. Toomey (1971) questioned studies viewing segregation or jointness of conjugal role-relationships as a "single underlying dimension" in the areas of domestic task performance, decisions and planning, and the sharing of friends and leisure activities. He surveyed articles studying the relationships between conjugal role allocation and connectedness of the social network and found that articles that reported evidence to support such a relationship either ". . . relied upon measures of the social-emotional nature of the married relationship or have used composite measures of the

'jointness' of the married relationship," while studies that presented negative findings relied on measures of domestic task performance (Toomey, 1971, p. 418). He studied working-class families in England in 1967 on measures of power, domestic tasks, shared contact between the spouses, such as shared time spent in leisure activities, and general attitude toward conjugal role-relationships. There was little correlation between the sharing of domestic tasks and the other measures, but a consistent relationship existed between the sharing of contact, the sharing of power, and the general attitudes toward conjugal role-relationships. Toomey concluded that jointness in role performance is a single underlying principle, but only if domestic task performance is not included as part of the conjugal role.

It may well be that what is especially important in this matter of the jointness of conjugal role relationships is the general attitude of each spouse towards the marriage relationship and the feelings of mutuality they have towards one another. These feelings of mutuality are likely to be expressed in a sharing of social contacts as well as in a sharing of decisions and a general attitude which emphasizes the sharing of tasks in the home. (Toomey, 1971, p. 429)

Oakley (1974) has also observed that findings on jointness or segregation of role relationships vary according to whether behavior or attitudes are studied. An attitude of sharing and equal partnership in all areas is more likely than is congruent behavior (Araji, 1977; Oakley, 1974). Bott placed more emphasis on the normative element--what a man would, or should, be prepared to do, and found jointness/segregation to be an underlying dimension in all areas, while others asked about behavior and found a lack of consistency across areas.

By now, it should be clear that at least part of the reason for conflicting evidence regarding the relationship of social networks to conjugal role allocation comes from differing conceptual and operational definitions of the terms involved. Bott, Turner, Komarovsky, and Toomey studied primarily networks of friends, while Blood and Szinovacz studied kinship networks. Conjugal roles have been defined as a global measure including task performance, a global measure not including task performance, and task performance alone, with some researchers asking about behavior and others asking about attitudes.

Several studies have indicated that the relationship between conjugal roles and social networks is affected by whether the networks are made up of one-sex or mixed-sex groups, whether the area is rural or urban, and the stage of the family life cycle.

The Turner study discussed above found that segregated conjugal roles were related to close-knit social networks only when the network activities were also segregated by sex. Harris (1969) also proposed modifying Bott's hypothesis according to the type of social network involved. Harris suggested that membership in a close-knit social network gives the spouse access to resources outside the marriage that make independent conjugal role performance possible but do not determine that the relationship will be independent. Membership in the same close-knit network could lead to joint activities on the part of spouses, while membership in single-sex groups should lead to more likelihood of segregated marital roles. Harris further suggested that ideas about "proper" sexual roles determine both peer-group structure and the marital relationship. Likewise, ". . . the

conditions under which the activities are performed affect the definitions of the roles" (Harris, 1969, p. 74).

To further quote Harris:

We may conclude therefore that in the absence of social relationships outside the family which can provide resources which lessen the spouses' dependence on one another, spouses will be forced into a more joint relationship. Where such relationships exist and are characterized by activities which require the independent action of the spouses, or are used to enforce norms of marital role segregation or both, then the existence of such relationships will be associated with marital role segregation. (p. 174)

Therefore, according to this reasoning, network interconnectedness will not be directly related to marital role segregation, but membership in a single-sex network will be.

An Irish urban study (Gordon & Downing, 1978) found that ". . . neither the connectedness of the network nor the respondent's emotional ties to it explained much of the variation in marital integration" (p. 591). The one variable that was related to marital integration was the overlap between the wife's and husband's social networks. The more shared friends reported, the greater was the jointness of role organization on a measure including leisure, decision making, and domestic task participation.

Gordon and Downing suggested, however, that the marriage relationship may affect the social network rather than the reverse. Networks may compensate when sharing is absent in marriage and become less important when marriage is more rewarding. They disagreed with Bott's conclusion that the social network is a mediating mechanism between the total social environment and the family, but viewed it rather as a compensating mechanism when the family fails to provide satisfaction.



Wimberly (1973) compared the conjugal role-relationships and social networks of 40 Japanese families. No Japanese family was considered to have joint conjugal-role organization. The modal family type was the one with a loose-knit social network and a segregated conjugal-role relationship. Wimberly compared this to the English data:

Whereas English families with segregated conjugal roles tended to have close-knit social networks, Japanese families with similar role relationships tended to have loose-knit networks. However, in both cases there were monosex networks. (Wimberly, 1973, p. 128)

This cross-cultural study thus lends support for the influence of single-sex networks, but not necessarily for the influence of close-knit networks on conjugal role organization.

Aldous and Straus (1966) examined the relationship between network connectedness and conjugal role allocation for a sample of rural and urban wives in Minnesota. Their data failed to support Bott's hypothesis. All the social networks of the women in their sample tended to be toward the loose-knit end of the connectedness continuum, and they predicted that the same would be true of any representative sampling of subjects. If the relationship proposed by Bott does exist, it may exist only for couples at the extremes, those with very close-knit networks, or those with few extra-familial contacts.

Aldous and Straus further suggested that external networks can be differentiated on two dimensions to produce the following four-fold classification (Table 2). They theorized that joint, close-knit networks would exert even greater pressure for conformity than would segregated, close-knit networks, but they did not test this hypothesis.

Table 2  
Types of Social Networks

Networks	Joint	Segregated
Close-knit	Joint, close-knit	Segregated, close-knit
Loose-knit	Joint, loose-knit	Segregated, loose-knit

(Aldous & Straus, 1966)

Research by Udry and Hall (1965), using middle-class, middle-aged American couples, also failed to support Bott's hypothesis. The connectedness of the wife's network was not related to conjugal role allocation, and the connectedness of the husband's network was related in a nonlinear manner. High connectedness of the husband's network was related to medium role segregation, with both low and high segregation associated with lower network connectedness.

Based on the evidence now available, it seems that external groups promote or discourage marital solidarity and joint role allocation depending on whether or not the group would benefit from such solidarity. The family of orientation and same-sex groups may discourage solidarity, because the spouse can never fully "belong" to these groups; while groups of married couples may promote solidarity, because being part of a couple is a necessary prerequisite for participation in their activities.

Studies Concerned With Factors  
Other Than Social Networks

Various studies have investigated the relationship of conjugal role allocation to such variables as wife's employment, wife's education, cultural norms, social class, and rural or urban residence.

Hoffman (1970), Silverman and Hill (1967), and Udry and Hall (1965) found that families in which the wife was employed were more likely to exhibit low segregation on domestic task performance, though Toomey (1971) found that the wife's employment had no effect on conjugal roles. Hoffman suggested that the wife's employment might be either a determinant or an outcome of her power position in the family. That is, employment of the wife-mother may lead the husband and children to participate more fully in household tasks, or willingness of husband and children to participate in household tasks may lead the wife to seek outside employment.

Wife's educational level has also been investigated as a correlate of conjugal role organization. Udry and Hall (1965) found low segregation of household task performance to be related to high educational level of wives, but unrelated to educational level of husbands. Turner's (1970) evidence on the relationship of education and role performance was inconclusive. Komarovsky (1964) suggested that better educated people are more likely to transfer their loyalties from their parents and friends to their spouses, thereby causing joint conjugal roles to be related to higher educational levels.

Cultural norms, including sex-role ideology, have been shown to relate to conjugal role organization, with traditional norms being

associated with segregated roles (Hoffman, 1970; Komarovsky, 1964; Stafford, Backman, & Dibona, 1977). Szinovacz (1977) found that household help by the husband was more likely if the wife held a white-collar rather than a blue-collar job; and Oakley (1974) found middle-class couples had mainly joint organization while lower-class couples had predominantly segregated organization. Toomey (1971), however, found no correlation between social class attributes and conjugal roles.

There is considerable cross-cultural evidence that husbands are more likely to help with domestic tasks in urban than in rural areas (Haavio-Mannila, 1972; Silverman & Hill, 1967; Szinovacz, 1977; Turner, 1970). Blood and Wolfe (1960) did not find this difference between rural and urban families in the Detroit Area Study. The studies noting a rural-urban difference were all conducted in Europe.

Bott (1955) suggested that segregated roles and interconnected networks would be related to low geographic mobility, and Turner's (1977) findings support this view. Szinovacz (1977) also found that young couples who share a residence with kin are more likely to have segregated conjugal roles.

Although the research findings have sometimes been inconsistent, in general the correlates of conjugal role patterns seem to be as shown in this chart.

<u>Segregated Roles</u>	<u>Joint Roles</u>
Close-knit, same-sex social networks	Joint social networks or loose-knit, same-sex networks
Close-kin relationships	Distant from kin
Low education of wife	High education of wife
Traditional sex-role attitudes	Egalitarian attitudes
Blue collar	White collar
Wife not employed	Wife employed
Low mobility	High mobility
Rural residence (Europe)	Urban residence (Europe)

Obviously, a multivariate approach is necessary if an accurate prediction of a couple's system of role allocation is to be made. An examination of the above chart will further show that the variables in each column tend to be related to one another. For example, there is a tendency for blue-collar workers to exhibit low mobility, close-knit, same-sex social networks, close-kin relationships, traditional sex-role attitudes, and lower educational attainment than white-collar workers. This association of the independent variables will complicate the analysis of conjugal role allocation patterns and make it difficult to determine which variables influence these roles.

#### Theories Regarding Role Allocation

Several theories have been used in analyzing conjugal role organization. Two of these which seem to complement each other are availability theory as proposed by Robert Blood (Blood & Wolfe, 1960) and family development theory.

Availability theory stated simply says that a task that needs to be done will be done by the person who is most available. According to Blood and Wolfe, if ". . . the option is equally available to either partner, the work is usually done along traditional lines" (p. 57). Availability includes three aspects--being physically present, having time, and having the necessary skill and ability. Blood and Wolfe suggested that families that follow traditional patterns of task allocation do so not because of traditional ideology but because "those bio-social factors which produced the tradition in the first place" continue to operate to produce segregation along sex lines (p. 56). Likewise, families that abandon traditional patterns do so because of pragmatic rather than ideological factors. The spouse who traditionally performed the task may become less available, as for example when the wife seeks employment outside the home, and as a result, the other spouse takes on the task. Or a spouse may become available to perform a task through acquiring a skill not traditionally associated with his/her sex role, as when a working wife learns to manage financial records on the job, and then assumes that task in the family.

Family development theory is consistent with availability theory in that the relative availability of the spouses tends to change throughout the family life cycle (Silverman & Hill, 1967). Bott found that couples had more joint activities, especially shared recreation outside the home, before having children. The level of shared activities decreased after children were born and never

resumed its former level. Based on data from Blood and Wolfe and Hill, Burr (1973) speculated that the relationship between role segregation in household tasks and stage of life cycle is monotonic and perhaps linear. He has proposed that "The family life cycle influences the amount of marital role segregation and this is a positive, linear relationship" (Burr, 1973, p. 220). However, when the husband becomes more available for housework after retirement, he tends to participate in more tasks (Ballweg, 1967).

A third theory, that traditionalism as an ideology influences conjugal role allocation, has been rejected by Blood and Wolfe (1960) and by Silverman and Hill (1967), because it was not supported by their research. It will be pointed out in the section on economics of housework, however, that comparative advantage in home or market work is as much determined by tradition as a determinant of it. One aspect of availability as presented by Blood and Wolfe is skill and ability to perform a task, and this is determined largely by tradition. Socialization-ideology has been shown to have power to explain the amount of male participation in housework, and it seems possible that it also has strong influence on jointness or segregation of roles.

#### Components of Conjugal Roles

In studying conjugal roles, researchers have primarily used three areas of the role-relationship as their criteria for determining jointness or segregation of the relationship. These are allocation of domestic tasks and child care, family decision making and planning,

and use of leisure time. This study differs from previous studies of conjugal role organization primarily in the inclusion of employment of domestic help as independent variables. Employment of domestic help would appear most likely to influence role organization in the area of division of household tasks. For this reason, the study will focus more on the division of household tasks than on decision making or leisure. The literature on these two variables will be surveyed only briefly, not because there is any reason to consider them less important, but only because the focus of this study lies in another direction.

### Housework

The topic of housework has long been ignored as a subject of serious study, and is still considered frivolous by many. Housework allocation is, however, basic to any real understanding of sex roles, and is a problem that must be confronted and solved before genuine equality of the sexes can exist.

Historical perspectives on housework. The family as an institution has changed through the centuries, and the individual roles of family members have changed as well. Young and Wilmott (1973) outlined three historical stages of family development that have affected the work roles of husband, wife, and children.

In Stage 1, the family was a unit of production. There was no distinction between home work and market work, because all work was done in the home. There was, however, division of labor within the family in producing goods for their own consumption and sometimes for



sale. The husband was the undisputed master, but the wife and children had economic value.

During Stage 2, the family as a producing unit became disrupted. Around 1850, industrialization caused production to start moving from the home to the factory. At first, whole families went to work together, with the husband directing the work of the wife and children. Gradually people came to be employed not as families but as individuals; compulsory education removed children from production whether their parents wanted it or not; and family members were separated for a large part of the day. Home-produced goods were unable to compete with factory-produced goods in the market. Men came to have economic dependents in a sense that they had not had before, and marriage became asymmetrical, with woman needing man more than man needed woman, especially during the childbearing years.

Stage 3, which has developed in recent decades in some families, is the move toward symmetry. Some indications of this stage are political rights for women, smaller families, the breaking of extended family ties, and less sex segregation of roles. Both work and leisure time are shared. Young and Wilmott presented this stage as typical of the family of the future, while noting that most married couples are still a long way from a state of unisex.

The effects of the industrial revolution upon the household were profound. As market work was separated from home work, men were separated from women. The greater physical strength of men determined that they should do the work outside the home while women worked inside. Men moved into jobs that commanded wages, while women's work

needed no estimation of monetary value (Kreps & Leaper, 1976). The work of women at home produced use value, but was lower in status than market work, because it produced no money or exchange value (Ericksen et al., 1979). As the market economy grew relative to the household economy, the status of the market worker grew relative to the home worker.

Davidoff (1976) pointed out two ways in which the household was changed by the Industrial Revolution.

1. The household was separated from public concerns and became an intensely private affair.
2. Domestic life became more elaborate and formal.

Davidoff noted that in the nineteenth century great emphasis was placed on the purity of women; thus, they had to be kept segregated from the impurity of market work. Women were also seen as the moral protectors of society and were responsible for protecting the purity of others through housecleaning, laundry, and other "purifying" tasks.

The trend toward elaboration and formality has been reversed in the twentieth century with houses being built on the open plan and activities such as cooking reincorporated into general family life, but the home remains a private domain.

The differentiation of the occupational and familial structures brought about by the Industrial Revolution was accompanied by a divergence of values in the two.

The family has come to specialize in the sustaining of cooperation, sharing, and love among members as it performs its distinctive functions of morale building, tension management, and the primary socialization of members for assuming adult responsibilities.

The occupational structure has gone in quite the opposite direction, emphasizing rationality, competition, impartiality, and achievement orientations. (Hill, 1978, p. 59)

The effects of this differentiation of the two sectors on the women and men whose work is centered in the home or the market are still apparent today.

Sociological perspectives on housework. Housework activities of some sort must be nearly as old as human life itself, but ". . . the context and meaning are not. Who does it, where, when and for what reasons--both acknowledged and latent--are the important questions to be asked" (Davidoff, 1976, p. 125).

Housework is often viewed not as work but as a part of the female role (Oakley, 1974). These activities have not universally been carried out by adult women (Glazer-Malbin, 1976), though housework is usually done by people in an inferior position such as women, children, the handicapped, the elderly, or physically weak. In colonial societies, the housework of the ruling nationality is often done by adult males of the native population (Davidoff, 1976). Paid domestic work is usually done by adult males in countries with high rates of male unemployment such as the developing countries of Africa and Southeast Asia (Safilios-Rothschild, 1974).

Davidoff (1976) suggested a political basis for the involvement of women in housework.

In the most basic sense, housework is concerned with creating and maintaining order in the immediate environment, making meaningful patterns of activities, people and materials. (p. 124)

Freedom from the responsibility of maintaining these particular boundaries or of even perceiving them is one of the rewards of power positions. The enforcement of basic order can be ignored because it can be delegated to others. (p. 125) (Emphasis added.)

In the past, and to a lesser extent today, the wealthy classes could hire servants to prepare their meals, keep their rooms clean and tidy, and launder and press their clothing. In the middle, and sometimes the lower classes, men have traditionally been provided the same services by the women in their families (Davidoff, 1976).

A cycle seems to exist in role allocation. Men have power over women, because men do paid market work while women do unpaid housework; and women do housework, because men have power over them.

In a relationship in which one individual is expected to be deferential to another, tensions must be managed by the superordinate individual to "maintain the stability of the social hierarchy" (Bell & Newby, 1976, p. 157). Hierarchical boundaries are ultimately enforced by power. "But there is also a whole symbolic system used by the agencies of power to legitimate their rule. When the power base is shifting, the symbolic system becomes doubly important" (Davidoff, 1976, p. 126).

In marriage, the relationship between subordinate and superordinate is personal and particularistic. The wife serves not only the traditional symbolic system, but also her own individual husband who embodies that system (Weber, 1964). There are certain conditions

under which tension management is most effective in a deferential relationship. The wife is most likely to agree with traditional norms when her ties of dependency to her husband are great, when tension management is handled face-to-face as it is in marriage, and when she has no contact with interpretations of the situation other than that given by her husband. Social networks frequently reinforce the traditional view of family life (Bell & Newby, 1976).

Some scientists have suggested that men and women perform different kinds of work for physiological reasons other than strength. Women's lives are divided into natural physiological cycles while men's lives are not. Students of endocrinology

. . . suggest that women have a capacity for continuous monotonous work that men do not share, while men have a capacity for the mobilization of sudden spurts of energy, followed by a need for rest and reassemblage of resources. (Mead, 1949, p. 164)

Mead showed, however, that this pattern is not followed in all cultures. In Bali, both men and women perform light work for long hours without showing fatigue. In contrast, among the Arapesh of New Guinea, both women and men share heavy, exacting spurts of work from which they need to rest, and both share in domestic tasks. These cases suggest that, if physiological differences do exist, they can be outweighed by cultural practices.

The linking of housework to child care is a more salient reason for this type of work to be performed by women, especially where women are physically tied to infants through breast feeding.

Housework as a subject of serious study by sociologists has been largely overlooked until the advent of the most recent women's movement (Glazer-Malbin, 1976).

According to Oakley (1974), "The study of housework as work is entirely missing from sociology" (p. 1). Home and work are seen as two separate entities. The roles of housewife, wife, mother, and woman are confused and not differentiated. Tasks performed by a woman at home are considered to be service provided to loved ones and not as productive labor (Oakley, 1974). The failure to view housework as work has several consequences.

. . . monetary and social rights belong to those who work-- to those who are economically productive; . . . women do not work but are parasitic; . . . therefore women are not entitled to the same social and economic rights as men. (Glazer-Malbin, 1976, p. 906)

Some work done in the home is seen as unnecessary by the homemaker herself; this also leads to the devaluation of housework as compared to paid work. Many home workers are overzealous at the job because they feel a need to justify their existence (Hunt, P., 1978).

In summary, housework, though nearly timeless and universal, has almost always been a low status kind of work and has often not even been considered to be work. Whether housework has been accorded low status because it is usually performed by women or is performed by women because it has been low status, or both, has not been determined. The fact remains, however, that people with high power usually do not do housework.

Economic perspectives on housework. Economists have traditionally separated production and consumption, crediting firms with production and households with consumption. In recent years, they have come to recognize that the household is also a producing unit which "combines capital goods, raw materials and labour to clean, feed, procreate and

otherwise produce useful commodities" (Becker, 1965, p. 496). "Productive labour in the general sense is any labour that produces use values; that is, goods or services that are socially useful" (Gardiner, 1976). Housework fits this definition.

According to Burns (1975), the household economy is about one-third the size of the market economy, and is increasing in relative importance.

While work done in the home has utility value for the family and contributes to the welfare of society, its value is difficult to measure, because it has no dollar wage or price imputed to it. Likewise, there is no way to measure the cost of services foregone when the wife starts spending her time in market rather than in nonmarket work (Kreps & Leaper, 1976).

In fact, time spent in nonmarket work may be as important to economic welfare as time at work for pay (Becker, 1965; Burns, 1975). Since it is difficult to impute a monetary value to nonmarket work, time has often been used as a measure instead. Time, like money, is a scarce commodity that must be allocated among various uses.

A monetary value can be assigned to time by determining the wage that could be earned if the time were spent in paid work. In "A Theory of the Allocation of Time," Becker (1964) suggested that if time is spent in an activity other than paid work, that activity can be said to have a cost equal to the earnings foregone by not working. For example, the greatest cost in obtaining an education is the cost of earnings foregone.

However, an individual cannot spend 24 hours a day working. To maximize income, it is necessary to spend some time at sleep, eating, and even leisure. Full income is the income that could be earned if time spent in these other activities were ". . . determined solely by the effect on income and not by any effect on utility" (Becker, 1965, p. 498).

Slaves and free people in very poor environments might have to devote their time entirely to market work and the activities necessary to sustain them for this work.

Households in richer countries do, however, forfeit money income in order to obtain additional utility; i.e., they exchange money income for a greater amount of psychic income. (Becker, 1965, p. 498)

According to economists (Becker, 1965; Kreps & Leaper, 1976; Moore & Sawhill, 1976; Robinson, 1977a), multi-person households allocate the time of various members in such a way as to maximize utility. Although tradition or social custom had a large part in determining sex-related work roles, economists theorize that there is sound economic basis for the traditional division of labor that placed men in market work and women in nonmarket work. The rational family would choose to place each individual in the type of work at which he is most efficient, through which he could contribute the most to the utility of the family. Men have traditionally received more education or vocational training, been physically stronger, and free from the demands of childbearing and rearing, and thus capable of earning more than women in the marketplace. Women have by custom acquired those skills that make them more efficient at household production.



Clearly tradition is the dominant factor in determining the division of tasks within the family. In so far as comparative advantage indicates that these arrangements are rational, this is as much the result as the cause of the existing division of labor. When women are trained for and devote much of their time to household responsibilities, while men are trained for and encouraged to enter the labor market, comparative advantage becomes little more than a self-fulfilling prophecy. (Ferber & Birnbaum, 1977, p. 21)

A segregated division of labor with each individual specializing in given tasks is seen as modern and efficient when applied to market production; but to many students of the family, it is considered the old-fashioned, traditional form (Thrall, 1978). A likely reason for this attitude is that the division of labor in the family has been along sex lines, although the same is often true in market work. In addition, efficiency is less important in the family than other values.

Specialization creates problems for women.

This very specialization, of course, leads to still greater dependency, because over the life cycle a wife's productivity within the home increases relative to her productivity in the market while the opposite occurs for men. (Moore & Sawhill, 1976, p. 104)

In spite of the hypothesized efficiency of a segregated division of labor, women have entered market work in very large numbers. Becker (1965) suggested that an increase in time spent in market work by one family member would result in an increase in household work by other family members. This, in fact, does not seem to be the case. Male participation in household work is inversely related to male participation in market work (Hill, 1978; Pleck, 1977), and the same is true for women; but the husband has not been found to increase his

housework involvement when his wife takes an outside job. Time spent in housework is influenced more by the traditional sexual division of labor than by time spent in the occupational role (Pleck, 1977).

Robinson (1977b) suggested that economic models are more useful as a description of the way people ought to behave rather than the way they actually do behave.

Perhaps a model postulating that households allocate the time of members in order to maximize utility would have more predictive power if we were better able to measure "utility." Perhaps the "cost" of performing household tasks is greater for males, even when they have as much time available, because such work has been considered woman's work and demeaning to men. And perhaps, as Robinson (1977a) has suggested, the psychic benefits of housework are greater for women than for men because housework represents a territory from which the woman derives feelings of competence and in which she has some control over how and when things are done.

Critics of existing economic models to explain family division of labor (Ferber & Birnbaum, 1977; Robinson, 1977b) make the following additional points.

1. The economic models view the family as one decision-making unit, when in fact, individual and possibly conflicting decisions may be made within a family.
2. The models assume that households make rational decisions to maximize income or utility, but there is evidence that tradition may be more influential than reason, as witness the tendency for absolute amount of housework done by

husbands to remain the same when the wife enters market work.

3. They fail to consider life-cycle variations in productivity in both home and market work.
4. They are sexist in that they treat wives as the natural role partner to perform household tasks.
5. They include no consideration of the impact of psychic rewards.
6. They do not take into account quality standards for household production.

Ferber and Birnbaum (1977) have developed a more complex economic model that they suggest will more accurately predict a household's decisions regarding the use of time. They have not as yet shown empirically that it is an improvement over simpler models.

Possibly the greatest contribution of these economic models is their focus on time, a scarce resource that all persons possess in equal amounts (Robinson, 1977a). Time-use studies were conducted for years before Becker's (1965) model was published, but economic models have added a conceptual precision that is otherwise lacking. Whether this precision can ever be made to reflect reality is still a matter for debate.

Household division of labor--past. Prior to the Industrial Revolution, production took place in the home, and there was no division between home work and market work. With industrialization, men moved into market work, and women continued in household production. Working hours were long on the farm and in the factory and also in

the home. Neither men nor women had much discretionary time for non-essential productive activities or for leisure (Kreps & Leaper, 1976). Women had no time for paid work after caring for their large families, and men had no time to help with housework.

Household division of labor--present. Recent time-use studies (Pleck, 1977; Robinson, 1977; Young & Wilmott, 1973) indicate that household production has remained largely the wife's responsibility. The contribution of the husband increases very little, on the average, even when his wife enters full-time market work, although housework performed by the wife decreases with her employment. Table 3 summarizes data from four time-use studies.

Table 3

## Time Spent in Housework per Week

Source	Employed Men	Employed Women	Housewives
Pleck (1977) From Walker Study	11.2	33.6	56.7
Robinson (1977)	11.3	28.1	53.2
Young and Wilmott (1973)	9.9	23.1	45.5
Vanek (1974) (1960 Data)		26.0	55.0

The greater amount of time spent in housework by housewives than by employed women has been explained in several ways (Myrdal & Klein, 1968; Robinson, 1977b; Vanek, 1974). It may be that some of the work

done by the housewife is not really necessary to her family's well-being, but she does it in order to feel that she is making a contribution to the family. Another possible explanation is that the housewife's extra home production adds to the family's quality of life, as, presumably, does the income earned by the employed wife. Or it may be that families with an employed wife purchase in the market goods and services produced at home by the housewife. These explanations are by no means mutually exclusive.

In spite of labor-saving appliances, easy-care fabrics, and convenience foods, time spent in housework by full-time homemakers has not decreased throughout recent decades. According to studies conducted by the federal government from the 1920's to the 1960's (Vanek, 1974), nonemployed women spent 52 hours per week in housework in 1924 and 55 hours per week in 1960. More time is spent now in shopping, management, and family care, and less in food preparation and clean-up. Time spent on laundry has increased, probably because people now have more clothes and wash them more often.

Historical change in the allocation of time occurs very slowly. Robinson (1977b) referred to this as a "lag of constancy."

If home appliances make it possible to do housework faster, people's meals become more diverse or their wardrobes more elaborate canceling these possible gains. (Robinson, 1977b, p. 179)

This is similar to the situation that took place when freeways were improved to help commuters. Rather than spending less time commuting, workers moved further from their jobs and traveled the same amount of time. In both cases, it may be that individuals chose to invest the

same amount of time and improve the quality of life of their families.

The contribution of men to household production is small relative to the time spent by their wives, and remains fairly constant whether or not the wife is employed, as will be discussed more fully later. Robinson (1977a) suggested that women may spend more time on housework and child care because of social expectations rather than because of necessity. Evidence for this point of view is provided by the fact that single women spend more time on housework than single men. Housework by husbands may represent mainly moral support, and ". . . the allocation process of housework is probably undertaken by task rather than by time, even in families that appear to behave as if they were trying to allocate time in some optimal fashion" (Robinson, 1977b, p. 180).

Ericksen et al. (1979) found that housework was more likely to be shared if:

1. The husband's income was low rather than high,
2. The wife's education was high rather than low,
3. the husband was black rather than white, and
4. the wife worked full time, but not if she worked part time.

In each of these situations, performance of housework is related to lower bargaining power. However, in no case did husbands spend as much time in housework as wives.

In a study of continuous dual-career families (St. John-Parsons, 1978), where both partners had worked steadily since completing their

education, couples reported that household tasks were invariably done by the partner who perceived the need for it to be done. However, in reporting the person responsible for individual tasks, it appears that the most time-consuming jobs are done primarily by the wives, which seems to indicate that wives are more likely to perceive the need to perform these tasks. Domestic help was frequently employed by these families, but work overload for the couple was still a problem.

Perrucci, Potter, and Rhoads (1978) analyzed data on housework done by married men in an effort to determine which of three hypotheses seemed to give the best explanation. The hypotheses considered were the relative-resource hypothesis, the socialization-ideology hypothesis, and the time-available hypothesis. Their analysis indicated that the socialization-ideology hypothesis had the greatest explanatory power in predicting male family-role performance. This is in agreement with Robinson's analysis, but not with the findings of Ericksen et al., which support a relative-resource hypothesis.

Thrall (1978) asked couples what basis they used for making decisions regarding division of labor in the home and received answers consistent with a socialization-ideology explanation. The three main answers given were

1. decision was made by default with no discussion,
2. roles were dictated by society, and
3. the husband did the outside work, and the wife the inside work.

Pleck's (1977) findings agreed with the socialization-ideology explanation for division of labor. He found that employment status affects time spent in housework, but not as much as sex does. Fully employed men do only about one-third as much housework as fully employed women. Pleck further suggested that as long as ideological support exists for a sexual division of labor, reducing the demands of the male work role is unlikely to increase his family work contribution significantly.

Gerstl's work, as reported by Hill (1978), gave some support for the time-available hypothesis in that men who spent the least time in paid work spent the most time in child care and domestic work. However, those with the least time available, college professors, were also supported by a belief system that makes the family secondary to career considerations. Possibly time available for various types of work is determined by socialization-ideology.

Time-use studies of Vanek (1974) and Walker (reported by Pleck, 1977) indicated that men contribute approximately the same number of hours per week to domestic work whether the wife is employed or not. However, studies measuring husband's proportion of the housework showed that his share increases relative to his wife's when she takes a job (Ericksen et al., 1979; Nye & Hoffman, 1963; Silverman & Hill, 1967; Udry & Hall, 1965). Some writers have concluded that the husband takes more responsibility for housework when his wife is employed, and others have concluded that he does not. This apparent discrepancy is explained by the fact that the decrease in domestic work of the



wife increases the proportion done by her husband even though his actual input remains unchanged (Ericksen et al., 1979). Safilios-Rothschild (1970) compared employed wives who have high work commitment and those who have low work commitment. Wives with low work commitment were more likely to be employed because their husbands wished it, and they received more help from their husbands with domestic tasks. Women with high work commitment received less help from their husbands, but were more likely to have paid household help.

Another study (Weingarten, 1978) indicated that couples who have both been employed full time and continuously since marriage share more equally in housework than couples in which the wife's employment is part-time. The measure used was relative proportions of work done, however, and it is likely that the wife who is employed part-time would increase her time in domestic work, because she has more time available than if she were employed full-time; and thus, her relative share would increase if the husband's actual contribution remained the same.

The result of continuous full-time employment of both spouses is work overload and stress (Pleck, 1977; St. John-Parsons, 1978). This work overload leads to reduced social life and a lack of religious activities, but couples gain in high income and intellectual and psychological benefits, especially for the women (St. John-Parsons, 1978).

However, it does not seem possible for large numbers of families to function with both partners following the traditional male work model. Such a pattern could become widespread only if fertility dropped significantly further

or if household work and childcare services became inexpensive, widely available, and socially accepted on a scale hitherto unknown. (Pleck, 1977, p. 425)

Employment of women could have even greater effects on the family than those mentioned above. A woman with economic resources of her own has a larger number of options open to her than one who is economically dependent, and more women may choose to exercise these options in the future.

These possibilities, in turn, raise questions about the welfare of children, the size of families, the stability of marriages, the quality of relationships between men and women, the division of labor within the household, and the distribution of family income. (Moore & Sawhill, 1967, p. 103)

Data from the National Opinion Research Center's cumulative 1972-1977 General Social Surveys were analyzed to determine whether families in which the wife's income and job prestige exceeded the husband's would have special marital problems (Richardson, 1979). The analysis failed to uncover any unusual problems.

Economic theory states that couples maximize utility by marrying in that the wife gains economic support and the husband gains a housekeeper. In contrast to this patriarchal model, Scanzoni (1972) has suggested that in an equalitarian marriage, each spouse would provide the other with rewards in a greater number of areas. Instead of a marriage becoming weaker through decreased dependence of the spouses on each other, it might become stronger as the wife shares in the burden of financial support, and the husband shares in domestic production.

Household division of labor--future. There seems to be a general consensus among students of the family (Kreps & Leaper, 1976; Moore & Sawhill, 1976; Oakley, 1974; Pleck, 1977) that women are unlikely in the future to leave market work to return to full-time home work. Therefore, they reason, men will, or at least should, assume a greater share of the domestic tasks. This has not happened to date, but the symmetrical family described by Young and Wilmott may yet emerge.

Feminists have suggested (Safilios-Rothschild, 1974) that if women were paid wages by their husbands, based on amount and quality of housekeeping services performed, sex-stereotyped roles would disappear more quickly. According to Safilios-Rothschild, possible repercussions of such an experiment are that

1. Housework would gain in prestige if it commanded a wage.
2. Men would do more housework in order to save money.
3. Men would be more willing to hire domestic help, sharing the cost with their employed wives.
4. Men would become more reasonable in their expectations regarding the appearance and cleanliness of a house, and would be more inclined to favor smaller houses or apartments requiring less care.

Reducing the workload of employed wives by increasing the load of employed husbands will create strain for men.

While this distribution of strain throughout the role system will be more equitable than the current one, it will continue to be a source of instability. (Pleck, 1977, p. 424)

At present, women's greater commitment of time to domestic work is a barrier to equality in employment (Oakley, 1974). The same problem could exist for men who choose to devote more time to home and family (Kreps & Leaper, 1976).

The economic sector may respond by providing both men and women with greater opportunities for part-time work, "flexi-time," and parental leave to care for newborn infants and sick children. This is more likely to happen if the need for employees becomes more pressing.

Improved technology may make it possible to reduce time spent at housework, and working couples may decide to purchase more goods and services in the market, including group child care, rather than choosing to produce the same goods and services at home.

An opposing view (Barrett, 1976; Burns, 1975) predicts that domestic production will increase relative to market production.

Increased emphasis on natural resource conservation and a slower rate of growth of real incomes may shift more focus to household activity for both men and women. Although home work may become more time consuming, it will be afforded a greater sense of social worth than in the earlier, more rapid growth period in which all status and worth came from the acquisition of material possessions and from labor market participation. (Barrett, 1976, p. 43)

Whether the future leads to increased or decreased household production, it seems likely that the choice will be made more consciously than in the past, and with less emphasis on sex roles. Despite the publicity regarding sex-role change, however, change seems to be occurring slowly, if at all, in the average home, and the direction of the future remains unknown.

Housework satisfaction. Housework has been regarded as "thankless and mind-numbing drudgery" (Campbell, Converse, & Rogers, 1976); continuous, monotonous work (Mead, 1949); the responsibility of the socially powerless (Davidoff, 1976); and demeaning to males (Kreps & Leaper, 1976); but, nevertheless, necessary. In the face of such widespread negative publicity, is it possible for anyone to be satisfied with housework as a job? And what factors contribute to make people more or less satisfied with this type of work?

In a study of persons in paid work, as well as those in unpaid work, Campbell et al. (1976) found that "Overall, women say that they are about as satisfied with housework as all respondents (including men) who work for pay say they are with their paid jobs" (p. 306). In fact, 44 percent of the women said they were "completely satisfied" with their housework as opposed to only 36 percent of employees who were completely satisfied with their paid jobs.

Oakley (1974), in a study of London housewives, found that the women viewed housework as "real work" similar to that in a paid job and having desirable and undesirable aspects. The most valued aspect of housework is autonomy over one's own work, a factor not usually attributed to market work. The most disliked aspect of the housewife role was the housework itself, the monotony, repetitiousness, and boredom.

Campbell et al. (1976) actually found some evidence of an increase in housework satisfaction between 1957 and 1971. Among housewives with no paid employment, 51 percent reported unqualified

liking for housework in 1957, and 60 percent in 1971. It may be that women who dislike housework were more likely to be employed in 1971, and were not counted in the second survey, or housework may have gained in attractiveness during that time due to increased standard of living, added labor-saving devices, and lower birthrate.

Among employed women, only one-third are fully satisfied with housework (Campbell et al., 1976). Two possible explanations for this finding are offered--women who dislike housework may be more likely to take outside jobs, or employed women may have less time and greater pressure, which makes housework less attractive.

. . . we are inclined to the view that both phenomena occur and support each other: one's attitude toward housework influences the decision to take a job, and the experience of holding a job influences the attitude toward housework. (Campbell et al., 1976, p. 309)

Housework satisfaction is not related to the number of rooms in the home, but satisfaction is higher among women who feel the rooms are the right size rather than too large or too small. Women with hired help are less satisfied with housework, which is probably the reason they have hired help. Satisfaction is higher in owned than in rented homes, but nearly all the difference can be explained by the personal factors of age and socioeconomic status. All of these environmental factors together explain only three percent of the variance in housework satisfaction (Campbell et al., 1976).

Personal characteristics--education, income, age, race, urbanicity, and life-cycle stage--explain 7.9 percent of the variance. College graduates are less likely to be satisfied with housework than with their paid jobs, and younger women are less likely to be satisfied with housework than older ones.

Attitude is also important.

Those women who consider housework at least as important as their paid jobs are considerably more satisfied with housework than those who feel their paid jobs are more important. (Campbell et al., 1976, p. 309)

In couples where both spouses were members of the American Psychological Association (Bryson, Bryson, & Johnson, 1978), wives were less satisfied than husbands with the time they had available for household activities. Larger family size influenced the wives' dissatisfaction, and to a lesser extent, the husbands'. Those who had more recently obtained the Ph.D. (perhaps indicating that they were younger) were more likely to report family discord regarding division of labor.

Satisfaction with housework is not notably affected by segregation or jointness of role organization (Oakley, 1974).

Marital and general life satisfaction. While the method of allocating household tasks does not seem to be related to satisfaction with housework as work, there are some indications that it is related to satisfaction with marriage, at least for women. Oakley (1974) found that women whose husbands did a comparatively high or moderate amount of housework were more satisfied with marriage than those with husbands who did little housework. Housewives tended to resent husbands who did not help and value those who did.

An urban French study (Michel, 1967) indicated that higher household task performance by the wife decreases her marital satisfaction. Young couples with many children have so many tasks to perform that the wife's work load is great, and her marital satisfaction low, even with help from her husband.

A study of west coast college faculty women (Nicola, 1980) also showed that a high score on performance of household/child care tasks contributes to a wife's dissatisfaction with marriage, especially if her career commitment is high.

A husband's perception of the happiness of his marriage was not found to be significantly related to his housework role performance (Perrucci et al., 1978).

Oakley (1974) found general life satisfaction to be higher for wives in joint, rather than segregated, marriages. Levinger (1968), however, concluded, "Satisfaction with either the husband's work or with the couple's division of tasks and decisions was related very little to either spouse's general happiness" (p. 551). Social-emotional factors were more important for general happiness than task-oriented factors.

### Decision Making

Jointness or segregation of decision making is one of the measures used in some studies of conjugal role organization (Aldous & Strauss, 1966; Bott, 1957; Gordon & Downing, 1978; Haavio-Mannila, 1972; Szinovacz, 1977; Toomey, 1971). Decision making is joint if both spouses discuss issues and make decisions together, or if either might make the decisions in a given area at different times. Decision making is segregated if each spouse makes decisions in his/her individual sphere and does not enter into the other's sphere, or if one spouse makes all the decisions.



According to Cromwell and Olson (1975), decision making can be defined as a dimension of power. They define family power as ". . . the ability (potential or actual) of individual members to change the behavior of other family members" (p. 5). They characterize power as a multidimensional construct of great complexity, and pose a number of questions, including the following: "Is power who decides or who does an activity? Is power who decides, or is it who decides who decides? Is power a process or an outcome?" (Cromwell & Olson, 1975, p. 5).

Hoffman (1970) differentiates between power and activity control. Most household decisions fall into the category of activity control. These decisions:

. . . are rather trivial and are usually made routinely by the person who performs the activity in question, e.g., what will be made for supper is apt to be decided by the person who cooks. (Hoffman, 1970, pp. 216-217)

Power is different from activity control in that it involves decisions which may have important effects on others. The working wife may have less activity control, because her household task participation decreases, according to Hoffman, but she may have more power which comes from her monetary contribution and her increased feeling of worth.

The literature concerning family decision making is too extensive to be reviewed here. Scanzoni and Fox (1980) have written a decade review of decision-making literature and have concluded that, "On-going changes in sex-role preferences affect family decision making in at least three ways" (p. 746).

1. Decision-making processes are becoming more explicit rather than being taken for granted.
2. Greater preference for interchangeability of roles increases the number of potential areas of conflict. Therefore, decision-making behavior may not keep pace with preferences because women with egalitarian preferences may accept traditional behavior to avoid conflict with their less egalitarian spouses.
3. Philosophies or assumptions about negotiation are changing. More women are adopting the hitherto male attitude that what is good for them as individuals is good for the family as a group in place of the traditional female philosophy that her individual interests will best be served by placing the group welfare first. The egalitarian male will accept the fact that his wife will use this philosophy in their joint decision making (Scanzoni & Fox, 1980).

Bott (1975), using normative measures, and Toomey (1971), using behavioral measures, both found some evidence that jointness of decision making is related to jointness in other areas of conjugal roles, though Toomey's results were not statistically significant. Platt (1969) used behavioral measures, and did not find jointness to be a unidimensional concept underlying all areas. She suggested that normatively jointness may be consistent across all areas of conjugal roles, but that constraints may operate to make behavior vary from norms. This is consistent with Scanzoni and Fox's observation that behavior may not follow preferences.

In the Detroit Area study (Blood & Wolfe, 1960), decision making was less specialized than domestic task performance. Decisions were more likely than tasks to be shared by both partners, and there was less adherence to sex stereotyping in decision making. "The typical family is therefore like a corporation which makes its decisions in staff conferences but executes them through technical experts" (Blood & Wolfe, 1960, p. 53). However, couples who made more decisions jointly were also more likely to perform tasks jointly.

Haas (1980) studied couples who were attempting to share equally in marital roles in the areas of the breadwinner role, the domestic role, the handyman role, the kinship role, the childcare role, and the major/minor decision-maker roles. "Generally, a shared decision-making pattern was the first aspect of role sharing to be tried, and the one aspect that was relatively easy to establish" (Haas, 1980, p. 292). Haas' subjects found that lack of skills in nontraditional areas and a disinclination to perform nontraditional tasks hampered complete domestic role sharing.

Joint decision making appears to be more common in urban than rural areas (Haavio-Mannila, 1972), and among couples who maintain a residence separate from kin and perform domestic tasks without help from kin (Szinovacz, 1977). There is some evidence that younger couples are more likely to share jointly in decision making than older couples, especially in decisions concerning child care (Albrecht et al., 1979).

Some of the role-sharing couples studied by Haas (1980) reported that shared decision making ". . . called for a considerable amount

of discussion and this communicating in turn brought greater intimacy between husband and wife" (p. 292). The Austrian women studied by Szinovacz (1977), and the French women studied by Michel (1967) reported greater marital satisfaction when decisions were made jointly. Safilios-Rothschild (1967) has presented evidence that the relationship between family power and marital satisfaction seems to be influenced by cultural norms. In Greece, women are most satisfied with their marriages in two situations: (1) both husband and wife are of rural origin and low education, and adhere to traditional norms of husband dominance; or (2) the wives make the greatest share of family decisions and are consulted regarding joint, but not masculine, decision areas. However, in Paris and Detroit, where the idea of equality, rather than power, is culturally accepted, women were more likely to be satisfied with equality in decision making than with greater power for either spouse.

### Leisure

In several of the studies of conjugal role relationships, use of leisure time was one of the factors measured in determining whether a relationship was segregated or joint. According to Harrell-Bond (1969), sharing of leisure activities is logically a better indicator of feelings of "mutuality" in a couple than is the sharing of tasks, because the sharing of leisure time is more likely to be the result of a free choice, while work may be shared through necessity. Orthner (1976) has suggested, however, that young couples especially may be subject to a social norm that they should spend leisure time together.

Bott (1955) assumed that jointness/segregation was a dimension underlying many aspects of a role relationship, and included use of leisure time as one of the indicators of this dimension, along with task allocation and planning for family activities. Turner (1970) and Wimberly (1973) included use of leisure time in their measures of conjugal role allocation along with participation in domestic tasks and child care. Both found that family roles were more likely to be segregated when activities with social networks were segregated by sex. In terms of leisure, such a relationship is obvious since spending leisure time in same-sex groups precludes spending that time with one's spouse.

Komarovsky (1964) found that working-class families did not entertain at home, and therefore, if a man wanted to maintain friendships with other men, he had to go out to do so. In a study of lower-class families in four cultures, Rainwater (1964) noted that both work and play were segregated by sex. Mutuality in sexual relations and emotional dependence on the spouse were not highly valued.

Orthner (1975, 1976) has studied the relationship between sharing of leisure activity and marital satisfaction. He suggested that shared leisure is important, because it can encourage interaction and communication between spouses. However, it is not the amount of time spent in leisure activity that influences interaction, but rather the way the time is used. He divided leisure activities into three categories: (1) individual activities are carried out alone, (2) parallel activities are shared but involve little interaction, and (3) joint activities depend on interaction.

In a study of upper-middle-class, non-student couples in a Southeastern United States urban area, Orthner (1975) found that participation in individual leisure activities tended to be negatively related to marital satisfaction, but the relationship was significant only during the earliest stage of the marital career (zero to five years) for husbands and during the fourth stage (18 to 23 years) for wives. Joint leisure activities were positively related to marital satisfaction for both spouses in the first and fourth periods and for husbands in the fifth period.

It seems that shared leisure is especially important during the early stage of marriage and after the children are gone. Both of these periods are likely to be times of change and need for adjustment in the relationship, and Orthner proposed that adjustments are made more easily when leisure activities give opportunities for communication. However, the study does not support a conclusion that shared leisure leads to marital adjustment throughout the marital career.

The relationship between leisure activities and other aspects of marriage may move in both directions.

In general, it would appear that persons select leisure activities that are compatible with the kind of interaction they prefer in their marriages, and that the activities reinforce this marital pattern. (Orthner, 1976, p. 99)

Marital satisfaction and joint-activity participation of couples both decrease over time. It is possible that more joint leisure would increase satisfaction for couples with initial companionate orientations, but probably not for those with traditional orientations (Orthner, 1976).

### Theoretical Framework

A number of different theories, mini-theories, and conceptual frameworks have been proposed to explain human behavior in general and behavior in the family setting in particular. Some of these "explanations" have been more general and have gained wider acceptance than others; but thus far, none has found favor as the overall theory of human behavior, and perhaps none ever will. Recently, however, a theory of choice and exchange is gaining acceptance and application as an explanation for many types of behavior (Nye, 1980).

The concepts of social exchange and reciprocity were presented early in this century by Georg Simmel (1950 translation). He wrote that exchange could involve intellectual or affective values as well as objects. Homans (1961) saw exchange theory as being closely linked with behavioral psychology. Humans provide one another with desired rewards, and behave in such a manner as to receive rewards. Thibaut and Kelly (1959) stated that the consequences of interaction include rewards a person receives and costs he incurs. Rewarding interactions tend to be repeated and costly interactions tend to be avoided. Thibaut and Kelly suggested that in theory costs and rewards are reducible and measurable on a single psychological scale.

John Edwards (1969) argued for the inclusion of social exchange as one of the major conceptual frameworks for the study of the family. He found its greatest value to be its potential for developing into a theory, i.e., its ability to predict change. However, Edwards did point out the deficiencies of the social exchange framework when applied to familial behavior.

. . . a detailed specification of the resources relevant for exchange purposes in different family situations is lacking as well as an indication of their relative value in exchange, and the availability of exchange equivalents or alternatives is unknown also. (Edwards, 1969, p. 525)

John Scanzoni has applied exchange concepts to the study of familial behavior in several books and articles. In Men, Women, and Change (Scanzoni & Scanzoni, 1976), marriage is viewed as a type of exchange; two people marry and stay married, because each gets something from the relationship. It is shown that self-interest and group interest are not necessarily incompatible. Partners will stay together as long as they feel that the rewards in the relationship exceed the costs.

Blau (1964) limited social exchange to behavior involving interactions with other persons. In order to explain a wider variety of behavior, Heath (1976) used both a theory of rational choice and social exchange theory, but treated them as two separate theories. Nye (1980) suggested that the two might be combined to become a general theory of choice and exchange.

Choice and exchange theory borrows from both behavioral psychology and economics. Behavioral psychology holds that individuals seek rewards (pleasure) and avoid costs (pain), and will repeat behavior that provides rewards and avoid behavior that results in costs. Economic theory assumes that humans have unlimited wants or goals but limited resources with which to attain them, and therefore, must choose between alternative courses of action (Heath, 1976). The two views are quite compatible if rewards are equated with the economist's wants or goals and costs are seen as giving up of resources. Maximum



profit or "Goodness of Outcome" results when the greatest rewards are acquired at the lowest cost.

Nye (1978) presented nine general substance-free propositions that are the basis for choice and exchange theory. Five of these seem to be relevant to the present study.

1. Human beings seek rewards and avoid costs to maximize their Goodness of Outcomes (profits).
2. Costs being equal, individuals will choose the alternative which supplies or is expected to supply the most rewards.
3. Rewards being equal, individuals will choose the alternative which exacts the fewest costs.
6. Costs and other rewards being equal, individuals will choose the alternative which supplies or can be expected to supply the most social approval. (Or they will choose the alternative which promises the least social disapproval.)
7. Costs and other rewards being equal, individuals will choose statuses which provide the most autonomy.

(Nye, 1978, p. 221)

Social approval and autonomy seem to be rewards that are general and valued in all cultures.

Social exchange does not take place in isolation, even in the family. The individuals who exchange occupy positions in a social structure and attempt to fulfill the role expectations associated with those positions. The fulfillment of the expectations associated with one's position may be the goal of an exchange. On the other hand, some of the resources that an individual has available for exchange may derive from his/her social position (Edwards, 1969). Thus, both rewards and resources may be related to social position.

Gouldner (1960) suggested that individuals exchange benefits for two reasons, which he termed "complementarity" and "reciprocity." Complementarity involves the rights and duties inherent in role systems. In marriage, for example, wives and husbands both have certain rights that they expect to receive from the other and certain duties they expect to fulfill for the other, simply because of the fact that they are wife and husband. Reciprocity is the process whereby a benefit is returned to one from whom a benefit has been received. Complementarity is based on roles or statuses, while reciprocity is based on prior action. People reciprocate for several reasons. The concept of reciprocity implies that one will continue to receive benefits in the future only if he repays benefits received in the past. Reciprocity may be defined as ". . . a mutually contingent exchange of benefits between two or more units" (Gouldner, 1960, p. 164). People reciprocate because they serve their own self-interests by doing so. In addition, according to Gouldner, there exists in perhaps all societies a norm of reciprocity. When one has received a benefit from another, he has a moral obligation to reciprocate though not necessarily with the same type of benefit or even with a benefit of equal value.

Marital-role reciprocity and complementarity involve both an instrumental (task oriented) and an expressive dimension (Scanzoni, 1972). Because of their marital roles, husbands and wives both have certain rights and certain duties in both the instrumental and the expressive dimensions. When one spouse provides a benefit, the other reciprocates in "rectitude and gratitude," because of the norm that

he should, and because he expects to receive continued benefits by doing so.

Benefits given impose an obligation to repay, but not necessarily in kind. Reciprocity is involved in the division of labor through which people exchange goods and services in a mutually gratifying pattern. Transactions involving an exchange of things of unequal value are referred to as exploitation, and can occur when one party to the exchange has greater power (Gouldner, 1960). In the absence of an equalitarian ideology, an unequal exchange may be considered "fair" (Edwards, 1969).

Bargaining ability is important in achieving one's goals through social exchange. Bargaining power in a situation, including marriage, increases as one's valued resources increase, and is greater for the individual who has attractive alternatives to the present exchange relationship (Edwards, 1969).

### Hypotheses

Couples in a marriage relationship make decisions, either through spontaneous consensus or explicit bargaining, regarding the way in which they will allocate the various roles involved in the marriage. The roles of interest in this study are performance of domestic tasks, use of leisure time, and family decision making. These roles may be filled by either partner separately or by both together.

According to the "New Home Economics," families as well as individuals act to maximize their good-ness of outcomes (Berk & Berk, 1979). One of the problems in predicting the behavior of individuals

or families in role allocation or any other area is that we do not always understand what the actors perceive as rewarding. For the purposes of this study, the following assumptions were made.

1. Interaction with one's marital partner is rewarding in itself.
2. Performing household tasks generally is not rewarding, though some tasks such as playing with children or creative cooking may provide intrinsic psychic rewards.
3. Marriage partners will attempt to set up conditions of more or less equal exchange in which the costs and rewards to each are perceived as "fair."

Based on a choice and exchange theoretical framework, these assumptions, and previous research, the following hypotheses were proposed.

1. Employment of household help will be negatively related to jointness of household task performance.

Szinovacz (1977) suggested that sharing of household tasks in families with employed wives would occur primarily in those families where no other source of help existed for the wife. She further suggested that household task participation by husbands would be greater where such sharing was supported by social norms; that is, in urban areas and in middle- or higher-status groups. In the Szinovacz study, middle-class husbands participated in household tasks and decision making even though relatives also provided help; but even in middle-class families, help by husbands decreased when help by relatives increased.

The current sample are Americans who presently live in relatively small communities in Saudi Arabia; but if they were employed in similar occupations in the United States, they would most likely live in an urban area. They are middle or above in socioeconomic class. These characteristics would suggest at least something of a norm favoring task sharing; however, the ready availability and wide acceptance of paid domestic help does provide the wife with an alternative source of help.

Szinovacz found that couples who received help from extended family members were more likely to allocate both domestic tasks and family decision making in a segregated manner. There are at least two possible reasons for this finding. The actual work done by the relatives may lessen the need for the husband to participate in household tasks, thus leading to segregated patterns of task performance. If this is true, work done by a paid domestic worker should have the same effect. It is also possible that a close kinship network which would provide housework help would also provide spouses with emotional support and make them less dependent on each other. Employed household help would be unlikely to provide such emotional support or to affect interdependence of spouses.

The present study investigates the effect of participation of an outsider in domestic tasks free from the effect of the alternative source of emotional support. The community studied, Americans living in Saudi Arabia, seems to be an ideal population for this study, because many families employ domestic help in the form of a "houseboy" (part-time or full-time), but very few families have kin living

nearby. If it can be demonstrated that families with houseboys are more likely to have segregated roles than families without household help, the effect can be related to the task-performance variable rather than to the presence of an alternative source of emotional gratification. If no relationship is found between employment of household help and conjugal-role organization, the results will be more difficult to interpret. The lack of a relationship could indicate a lack of effect from the employment of help or it could indicate that the cultural norms of this middle-class sample have led to complementary help from both husband and employed help as Szinovacz suggested would be the case with middle-class families.

Choice and exchange theory seems to have the greatest relevance for this hypothesis in cases where it is clearly the husband's salary that pays for the household help. (In 11 couples, the wife reported earning no income, but does have paid household help.) In these cases, the husband (and the wife) could feel that his contribution to housework is made through earning the money to pay someone else to do the work.

In other cases, where the wife earns money that might be used to pay help or where there is no paid help, the husband's participation or lack of it must be attributed to other factors. As shown in the review of literature, the factor that seems to have the greatest relationship to husband's housework participation is socialization-ideology. Men help with housework in cultures or subcultures that have norms favoring such participation.

As Edwards (1969) has pointed out, one of the goals of individuals is to fulfill the role expectations associated with their social positions. Performance of most household tasks is traditionally considered the role of the "good" wife. In the middle class, it seems that the "good" husband is expected to help with housework, especially if his wife has no other source of help. If she has other help, even the middle-class husband may reduce, but not entirely eliminate, his housework contribution.

The second hypothesis tested is:

2. Jointness of household task performance will be positively related to jointness of decision making and jointness of leisure activities.

Previous studies have not provided a clear answer to the question of whether jointness/segregation is a single dimension underlying many areas of a marriage. The question remains: Do couples who share jointly in decision making also share in leisure activities and housework, while couples who prefer separate roles in one area also prefer separate roles in the others? Bott assumed that degree of jointness was consistent across areas. Toomey (1971) concluded that jointness/segregation is an underlying dimension of a relationship only if domestic-task performance is excluded. Other researchers (Araji, 1977; Oakley, 1974) found attitudes of sharing were more likely to be consistent across several areas than was sharing behavior.

In terms of choice and exchange theory, it would be necessary to know the rewards and costs involved in segregation or jointness to

predict whether Hypothesis 2 would be supported. If the rewards and costs of jointness are about the same in all areas, then jointness/ segregation should be consistent across all areas.

One of the assumptions of this paper is that interaction with one's spouse is rewarding in itself. This interaction would be present in joint allocation in all areas--decision making, leisure, and housework. However, the costs and other rewards may differ from one area to another.

The cost of spending leisure time with one's spouse would be that one would forego spending that time alone or with a same-sex group. However, time spent with a spouse and others together is considered as joint leisure in this study. Whether the rewards involved in spending leisure time with a spouse would outweigh the costs would vary from individual to individual and is not measured in this study.

The cost of sharing decision making may be greater for husbands than for wives, if we assume that men have traditionally held the greater power in marriages, and if we assume that holding power is rewarding. The cost of sharing housework may also be greater for husbands than for wives, if we assume that wives traditionally do most of the housework and that doing housework is costly in that it takes time that could be spent on more rewarding activities.

If all the above assumptions are true, then jointness in all areas should be more consistently rewarding to wives than to husbands.

The third hypothesis states:



3. Joint patterns of conjugal-role organization in the areas of task performance, decision making, and use of leisure time will be positively related to marital satisfaction.

Jointness of role allocation is not necessarily a goal in itself. Cuber and Harroff (1966) indicated that those relationships they called passive-congenial, which may have largely segregated roles, seem to be quite satisfactory for some couples and may also fit well with societal needs. However, other studies (Michel, 1967; Nicola, 1980; Oakley, 1974; Szinovacz, 1977) have indicated that joint patterns of role allocation are associated with higher marital satisfaction, at least for women, and marital satisfaction is generally felt to be a desirable goal.

The discussion of choice and exchange concepts under Hypothesis 2 above also applies to Hypothesis 3. If interaction with one's spouse is rewarding, then jointness should be related to marital satisfaction. The causality could work both ways: those who spend time together pleasantly should be more satisfied with their marriages, and those who are more satisfied with their marriages should find time spent together rewarding.

However, as the above discussion indicated, jointness may be more rewarding, and therefore, more likely to be related to marital satisfaction, for wives than for husbands.

### Definition of Terms

Conjugal role - The term conjugal role is used here to refer to behavior actually performed by a person occupying the social position of husband or wife. Other studies have defined the term role to mean behavior expected of an individual in a given position, an important difference discussed in more detail in the review of literature.

Joint-role organization - Following Bott's (1957) example, joint-role organization refers to activities that are carried out by husband and wife together or that may be performed by either at different times.

Segregated-role organization - Roles are considered to be segregated if spouses both assume primary responsibility for different activities or decisions. These may or may not follow the traditional male and female roles.

### Scope of the Study

This study attempts to determine what relationships, if any, exist between type of conjugal-role organization (segregated or joint) and certain other factors. In the first phase of the analysis, conjugal-role organization is used as the dependent measure, with time spent by husband and wife in paid employment and employment of domestic help used as independent variables. In the second phase of the analysis, conjugal-role organization is used as the dependent variable and marital satisfaction as the independent variable.

In summary, this review showed that some of the gaps in current knowledge of the area of role allocation were these:

1. whether use of paid domestic help rather than help by kin influences role allocation.
2. whether jointness or segregation of roles is an underlying dimension that is consistent across several areas of family interaction.
3. whether there is a relationship between role allocation and marital satisfaction, particularly for husbands.

## CHAPTER III

## PROCEDURES

The subjects were a sample of 150 American husbands and wives residing in Saudi Arabia because of the husband's employment with the Arabian-American Oil Company (Aramco). In some ways, this population represents a unique culture. Although great effort is made to provide an American lifestyle for residents of company camps, these camps are, in fact, international communities just as Aramco is an international company. The availability of household help in the form of houseboys from Yemen, India, the Philippines, and Sri Lanka, and outside help in the form of local Saudi gardeners is one of the distinguishing features of the community.

The following description of the community is based on the experiences and impressions of the author, who lived in two of the company camps for five years. In the Aramco camps, housing, schools, medical care, recreational facilities, the commissary (groceries only), cafeterias, mail center, police force, public transportation, streets and utilities, and facilities for religious groups, including salaries of the ministers, are provided and administered by Aramco. In addition, Aramco provides in-camp facilities for use by local travel agents, a commercial bank, laundry and dry-cleaning pick-up by local firms, a gas station, and a laundromat.

The conservative nature of the local culture and the pervasive influence of the company affect family life in numerous ways. The wife is in Saudi Arabia as the dependent of her husband, and is required to sign a statement recognizing that fact before she enters the country. Wives of foreigners in Saudi Arabia may work only for the company that employs the husband. With Aramco, married women are on the "Casual Payroll," while American men and single American women are on the "U.S. Dollar Payroll." Casual employees receive an hourly wage which in recent years has been expanded to include paid vacation and sick leave. All other benefits are received as dependents of the employee husband. Housing points, which determine the type of company-owned housing families are eligible for, are determined solely by the husband's job and length of employment with the company. Identification of employees in all matters controlled by the company is by use of the employee's Aramco badge number. Employed wives are issued their own badge numbers, but are required to use the husband's number when using such services as the commissary or medical clinic. It would, therefore, be difficult for a wife to have any medical secrets from her husband, since any charges for service are deducted from his paycheck. If a single American woman is hired by the company, as some nurses and teachers are, and she subsequently marries another employee, she is changed to the Casual Payroll and loses any housing or other benefits she has earned. If she marries a nonemployee, she must give up her job.

These policies of Aramco are based on an effort to conform to the wishes of the Saudi Arabian government. The local culture further

restricts women by forbidding them to drive cars outside the Aramco compound, and by imposing conservative standards for dress and behavior.

In an attempt to keep employees and their families happy in this restricted environment, Aramco has provided the above-mentioned facilities. The schools have grades kindergarten through nine, and are generally considered to be excellent. A constant effort is being made to up-grade the medical facilities. Housing quality varies greatly and is a prime source of dissatisfaction. Recreational facilities in the larger camps include a golf course, tennis, racquet ball, and handball courts, a movie theater, swimming pools, exercise and weight room, billiards room, library, playgrounds, softball field, and teen center. In addition, the Aramco Employees Association brings in entertainers, speakers, and sports professionals from the United States, many of whom are well-known figures. Continuing education courses are offered in business and education through the University of Oklahoma.

This description is provided to help the reader understand some of the influences at work on the couples in this sample. Choice and exchange theory postulates that individuals enter into and remain in social relationships that provide them with more rewards for the same cost or the same rewards at a lower cost than they would expect to receive in any other available relationship (comparison level of alternatives). Are the costs, rewards, resources, and choices available to Aramco couples different from those of American couples living in the United States? Aramco tries to provide rewards that

will encourage employees to move to Saudi Arabia and stay there. The major reward is financial. Most regular Dollar Payroll employees earn more than they could earn elsewhere, and the same is true of Casual employees, even though their pay scale is lower than that of the regular employees. In addition, some people like the year-round warm climate and the informal atmosphere. (Not even the Chairman of the Board wears a coat and tie to work.)

The money that Aramco provides as a reward for employees becomes a resource for the wage earner in family-exchange processes. The median income for husbands in this sample was in the \$40,000 to \$49,000 range, while the median income for employed wives was in the \$10,000 to \$19,000 range. The husband could, therefore, be expected to have greater bargaining power in the relationship because of his income and because of the restrictions on women mentioned above. On the other hand, a man's comparison level of alternatives is not as high as a woman's in this situation because of the greater number of single American and European men, and the almost total impossibility of a social or sexual relationship with local women. Also, Aramco will not permit an American who is a single parent to keep children in Saudi Arabia, so that if a man's wife decides to leave him, he must either give up his job or his children. While husbands have power based on their greater earning abilities and the dominant position of men in the culture, wives have power based on the relative scarcity of available women in the community.

In general terms, then, a spouse who is dissatisfied with the terms of exchange in a marriage has the same choices in the Aramco community as elsewhere. She/he can accept the relationship as it is, bargain for an improvement in the relationship, or leave the relationship and accept some other alternative. In terms of specific details, husbands and wives have some resources in the Aramco community that they would not have elsewhere.

The Americans who made up the target population have middle-class characteristics. Incomes were coded in \$10,000 ranges so that the mean cannot be computed. The median income for husbands was in the \$40,000 to \$49,000 range, and the mode (31.3 percent) was in the \$30,000 to \$39,000 range. Only 9.3 percent earned less than \$30,000, while 1.3 percent reported an income in excess of \$80,000. Hours worked by husbands per week were reported as follows: about 40 hours (18.7 percent); 40 to 50 hours (57.3 percent); over 50 hours (23.3 percent).

Of the wives, 37.3 percent were not employed. Of those who were employed, the majority (69.9 percent) earned between \$10,000 and \$19,000. Earning less than \$10,000 was 20.4 percent, and 9.7 percent earned more than \$20,000. Of those employed, 67 percent (42 percent of the total sample) worked approximately 40 hours per week, with 19.4 percent working part-time, and 1.3 percent working overtime. Other demographic data for the sample are presented in Table 4.



Table 4  
Demographic Data for the Sample

Item	Percentage
<u>Education</u>	
Some high school	.6
High school graduate	10.7
Some college	26.7
College graduate	42.0
Advanced degree	18.0
Two advanced degrees	2.0
<u>Age</u>	
Mean	37 Years
Minimum	20 Years
Maximum	56 Years
<u>Years Married</u>	
Mean	12 Years
Minimum	1 Year
Maximum	31 Years
<u>Children Living at Home</u>	
Zero	39.3
One	17.3
Two	23.3
Three	18.7
Five	1.3
<u>Size of Childhood Community</u>	
Farm	19.3
Less than 10,000	19.3
10,000 - 100,000	28.7
100,000 +	30.0
<u>Months Residence in Saudi Arabia</u>	
Mean	45 Months
Minimum	1 Month
Maximum	300 Months (25 Years)

### Selection of Subjects

A random sample of 250 couples was drawn from a listing of employees on Aramco's U.S. Dollar Payroll, categorized by job classification, family camp in which they reside, and date of first employment with Aramco. Each name was assigned a number, and a sample was drawn using a table of random numbers without replacement. Only employees who were on family status (had wives living with them in Saudi Arabia) were selected. The target population is made up of approximately 2,000 couples.

### Method of Data Collection

Data were collected through use of a mailed questionnaire sent to each husband and wife separately. This method was considered preferable to the interview method because of the desirability of preserving the anonymity of the respondents. Aramco communities are small in size relative to the typical American urban community, and residents and, therefore, more likely to know one another than would be the case in the United States. Maintaining the proper image is important. A high response rate was unlikely unless anonymity could be assured; use of a mailed questionnaire was the most feasible way to assure anonymity.

Each husband and wife was asked to complete the questionnaire separately without discussion. Couples were asked to choose any four-digit number, and put the same number on both questionnaires to identify that they came from the same couple without identifying

which couple. A return-addressed envelope was provided; no postage was necessary for Aramco mail. A postcard with a space for the subject's name was also enclosed to be returned separately from the questionnaire so that the researcher would know who had and who had not returned the questionnaires. Thank-you letters were then sent to those who returned a postcard, indicating that they had returned their questionnaires, and a follow-up request was sent to those who did not return a postcard. Approximately two months after the original mailing, an attempt was made to telephone those who still had not returned postcards.

Of the 500 individual questionnaires mailed, 150 were returned with enough information completed to be of use. This figure represents 69 couples, plus five individual husbands and seven individual wives. Of those contacted by telephone who said they would not complete the questionnaire, some said that they had started and found it to be too time-consuming, and others said the questions were too personal.

All measures were for individuals, not for couples. In most cases, data are presented for the entire sample and also for men and women separately; but discussion is based only on the separate analyses, since the sample as a whole is made up largely of paired subjects both reporting on the same relationship, and results are, therefore, of questionable statistical value.

### Measurements Used

The questionnaire used included a demographic data section, as well as measurements of (1) employment of domestic help, (2) task allocation, (3) leisure time use, (4) decision making, and (5) level of marital satisfaction (Appendix A).

#### Measurement of Employment of Domestic Help

A measure was needed that indicated the extent to which family members are relieved of household duties through the employment of a nonfamily members. Therefore, the following question was asked:

How many hours a week do you hire someone outside your family to help with housework, yard work, or child care? If you do not hire anyone, answer "0."

	Hours per Week
Houseboy	_____
Gardener	_____
Babysitter	_____

#### Measurement of Task Allocation

Most studies of family-task allocation in the past have measured this variable by listing common household tasks, and asking respondents to indicate which family members usually performed the task (Blood & Wolfe, 1960; Fogarty, Rapoport, & Rapoport, 1971; Hoffman, 1970; Stafford, Backman, & Dibona, 1977; Stokes, 1973; Szinovacz, 1977). Others have attempted to obtain some crude measure of

frequency of task performance by asking when an individual last performed a given task (Haavio-Mannila, 1972), or by asking about the frequency of task performance by an individual with answer choices such as "Always," "Often," "Sometimes," "Seldom," or "Never" (Ballweg, 1967; Propper, 1972; Toomey, 1971). Blood and Hamblin (1958) obtained a more precise measure of the "husband's proportion of housework" by listing 12 household tasks, and asking for an estimate of the number of hours spent each week on each task by the husband and by the wife. The last procedure was adapted for use in the current study.

The measure needed for this study is the degree of jointness or segregation of task performance rather than absolute amount of participation in a given task. A task was considered to be segregated if either spouse contributed at least 75 percent of the time devoted by the spouses to that task. If the relative number of hours spent at a task were more even than a 75 percent to 25 percent ratio, the task was regarded as being jointly performed. The number of hours each week spent by husband and wife in activities classified as joint were divided by the total number of hours spent in domestic-task performance to derive a score indicating proportion of time spent in joint activity. Thus, a task that takes a greater amount of time has proportionately more weight in determining the jointness score.

A problem was encountered with the measurement of jointness of housework that has not been completely resolved. As mentioned above, if neither spouse contributed more than 75 percent of the time in a given task, that task was considered to be joint. For example, if

wife spent two hours a week shopping for the family and the husband spent one hour per week in the same task, this was counted as three hours joint housework. If one spouse contributed more than 75 percent of the time for a task, the task was considered to be segregated, and all time spent on the task was counted as segregated. For example, if the wife spent 40 hours a week in child care and the husband spent ten hours, a score of 50 hours was assigned to segregated housework. If only these two tasks were counted, this couple would have a jointness score of six percent on housework ( $\frac{3 \text{ hours joint}}{53 \text{ hours total}}$ ). However, it is possible that the three hours spent shopping was spent separately, and the ten hours that the husband spent in child care was spent jointly with his wife. The same type of problem could arise if the subjects were merely asked to indicate who "usually" performs a task, husband, wife, or both; and the method used in the current study at least gives greater weight to tasks that take more time. No method for measuring jointness of housework was found that seems to solve this problem. For this reason and others, analyses were done using absolute number of hours spent in housework, as well as analyses using percentage of joint housework.

There is also a problem in using total hours spent in housework rather than jointness of housework, because some individuals obviously overreport time spent in these activities. There are 168 hours in a week. If six hours a night are spent in sleeping, probably a conservative estimate, 126 hours remain for other activities. Five women in the study reported spending more than 126 hours per week at

household tasks, and two of these reported spending more than 168 hours. Eighteen women in all reported spending more than 80 hours per week in housework or more than 11 hours a day for seven days a week. Three husbands reported spending more than 40 hours a week in housework. Data from all but one of these subjects were used in the analysis (a woman who reported 210.5 hours housework was omitted), because these people may not be overreporting actual work done any more than someone who spends ten hours and reports 15 hours.

All but one of the subjects who reported these high amounts of housework had children living at home, many of them infants or toddlers. However, one woman who had no children living at home reported spending 89 hours a week at housework. When there are small children in the family, it is difficult for the homemaker to determine how much time is spent at child care and how much at other activities. A parent is responsible for the child 24 hours a day, and must at least monitor the child's activities during all the child's waking hours. The parent is in essence doing two jobs at once, and may report the same period of time for two different tasks.

The way in which the question was asked on this questionnaire apparently added to confusion, because a number of subjects put question marks beside it. Two categories were used for reporting child care, "Physical care of children" and "Nonphysical care of children." The first category was intended to include such activities as feeding, dressing, and bathing young children, and the second to include activities such as playing with children or supervising homework. This

distinction should have been specified more clearly than it was on the questionnaire. The simple presence of two categories of child care rather than one may have contributed to overreporting.

General overreporting of time spent in housework is less of a problem when jointness of housework is used as the measure. Those who report very high amounts of housework for themselves tend to report similarly high amounts for their spouses. Since the jointness score is a proportion of total housework, it should not be affected by consistent overreporting.

#### Measurement of Leisure Activity

Jointness or segregation of leisure activity participation was measured by the following question:

When you have leisure time, you may choose to spend it alone on such activities as reading, hobbies, or watching television, or you may choose to spend it with one or more other persons in such activities as visiting, playing games, or dancing. Please indicate in the appropriate columns the number of hours you spent each day last week in leisure activities alone or with other people.

	Alone	With Spouse and Perhaps Other(s)	With Others But Not Spouse
Saturday	_____	_____	_____
Sunday	_____	_____	_____
Monday	_____	_____	_____
Tuesday	_____	_____	_____
Wednesday	_____	_____	_____
Thursday	_____	_____	_____
Friday	_____	_____	_____



The number of hours spent in joint activity with the spouse was divided by the total number of hours spent in leisure activity by the individual to derive a score, indicating proportion of time spent in joint activity. A couple may have scores that differ greatly if one spouse has substantially more time for leisure than the other.

#### Measurement of Decision Making

Studies measuring jointness or segregation of family decision making have usually listed decision areas and asked respondents to indicate whether decisions in those areas were made by husband, wife, or both together (Blood & Wolfe, 1960; Hill, 1965; Hoffman, 1970; Stokes, 1973; Szinovacz, 1977; Toomey, 1971). The decision areas have been assumed to be important to the family members, but importance has not been measured. Some studies have omitted questions that do not apply to all families, such as decisions relating to children.

For the present study, a list of 37 possible family decision areas was given. Subjects were asked first to indicate the importance of each decision to them as follows: (1) unimportant, (2) moderately important, or (3) very important. They were then asked to indicate whether each decision was made by the husband, by the wife, by both together, or by someone else. Decisions made by both together were considered joint; those made by husband or wife alone were considered segregated; and those made by others, such as children, were omitted from the scoring for that couple. Joint and segregated decisions were totaled and weighted by the importance assigned by the subject.

Thus, a decision that is very important to the subject would be weighted three times as heavily as a decision that is unimportant to him/her. The weighted number of items scored as joint were divided by the weighted number of total items used for each subject to derive a score indicating the proportion of decisions that were made jointly. In this way, the importance of a decision was determined by each subject, not by the researcher. This method also makes possible the inclusion of items that apply only to some families. The total number of items does not need to be the same for all subjects.

The questions designed to measure decision making provide only a measure of the outcome, not a measure of the process of making decisions. If a subject reports that the husband decides where to set the thermostat, and the wife decides the children's bedtime, it is unclear by what process they reached this arrangement. If the subject reports that these decisions are made by both together, the process likewise remains unknown. Each spouse may make the decision at different times, they may discuss the decision regularly, or they may have reached a consensus once and never considered the question again. In an earlier version of the questionnaire, subjects were given two choices of "joint" responses: decisions are usually made "by either husband or wife separately," and "by husband and wife together after discussion" in addition to the categories "by husband" and "by wife." The two categories seemed to be confusing to the test sample, and were combined in the final version into the response "by both husband and wife together."

Bott's (1957) definitions of joint and segregated roles were followed in this study, because they seem to be the generally accepted standard in other studies. According to Bott's definition,

In joint organization activities are carried out by husband and wife together, or the same activity is carried out by either partner at different times. (Bott, 1959, p. 53)

This paper has been based on the assumption that joint activities involve contact and communication between the spouses; according to Bott's definition and the measures used in this study, that is not necessarily so. If a husband and wife worked different shifts and each assumed responsibility for housework, child care, and decisions, while the other was at work, they could receive a score of 100 percent on jointness of housework and decision making, while having very little actual contact and communication with one another. The measure used for jointness of leisure requires that they at least spend the time together, but it does not ask whether the time is spent in joint or parallel activities (Orthner, 1975). An in-depth interview or detailed journal report would be needed to better assess the actual interaction that takes place in joint-role organization.

#### Measurement of Marital Satisfaction

Marital satisfaction was measured by using the Dyadic Satisfaction Subscale of Spanier's Dyadic Adjustment Scale (Spanier, 1976).

### Statistical Procedures

In order to determine the influence of employment of household help on conjugal-role organization, a series of multiple regressions was performed. Independent variables were hours per week that domestic help was employed, hours per week in paid employment by wife, and hours per week in paid employment by husband. Three regressions were done with the dependent variables being jointness of housework, jointness of leisure, and jointness of decision making. A correlation matrix was also computed for the three dependent variables to assess the extent to which degree of jointness is a single underlying dimension of conjugal roles.

A multiple regression procedure was employed to determine the relationship between conjugal-role organization and marital satisfaction. The three measures of jointness of conjugal roles were combined in an equation that was used to attempt to predict marital satisfaction. This procedure was also used to attempt to indicate which, if any, of the three measures was best able to predict level of marital satisfaction. In order to further clarify the relationship between method of conjugal-role allocation and level of marital satisfaction, simple regression analyses were run using each of the measures of jointness/segregation as independent variables and marital satisfaction as the dependent variable. In addition, an analysis was made using absolute amount of housework, rather than degree of jointness of housework, as the independent variable with marital satisfaction as the dependent variable.

CHAPTER IV  
ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

The following hypotheses were tested:

1. Employment of household help will be negatively related to jointness of household-task performance.
2. Jointness of household-task performance will be positively related to jointness of decision making and jointness of leisure activities.
3. Joint patterns of conjugal-role organization in the areas of task performance, decision making, and use of leisure time will be positively related to marital satisfaction.

In analyzing the data, scores were taken from individuals rather than from couples since a given relationship may affect the individuals involved in different ways. There is evidence, for example, that marriage is different for husbands than for wives (Bernard, 1973). Each analysis was performed for the group as a whole, for wives alone, and for husbands alone. Using the group as a whole raises questions concerning statistical reliability since matched pairs are involved; in most cases, there are two subjects from each relationship. Therefore, the greatest emphasis is placed on the separate analysis of data from men and women.

### Hypothesis 1

The first hypothesis states: Employment of household help will be negatively related to jointness of household-task performance.

Household help includes work done by houseboys, gardeners, and babysitters, and is measured in hours per week. Jointness of household-task performance is a percentage score that indicates the proportion of housework that is performed jointly by the spouses rather than separately. The hypothesis is based primarily on the Szinovacz (1977) study which showed that household-task performance was more likely to be segregated when the couples received household help from kin.

A step-wise multiple regression procedure was employed to test this hypothesis, using jointness of housework (HSWK) as the dependent variable and hours per week of paid domestic help (DOM), hours per week in paid employment by husband (HRJH), and hours per week at a paid job by the wife (HRJW) as the independent variables. The latter two variables were included, because it was believed that they might interact with amount of domestic help to influence jointness of housework. The results of the analysis are presented in Table 5.

These results do not support the hypothesis that employment of paid domestic help will be negatively related to jointness of housework. According to the report of wives, none of the independent variables is related to jointness of housework. According to the report of husbands, domestic help is positively related to jointness of housework at the .01 level of significance. That is, household tasks are more likely to be shared by husband and wife in homes where

Table 5  
Variables Related to Jointness of Housework

Subjects	Step	Independent Variable	R <sup>2</sup>	Level of Significance
All Cases	1	Domestic Help	.05	.05
	2	HRJW	.07	.01
	3	HRJH	.09 <sup>a</sup>	.01 <sup>b</sup>
Husbands	1	Domestic Help	.12	.01
	2	HRJW	.17	.01
	3	HRJH	.17 <sup>a</sup>	.01 <sup>b</sup>
Wives	1	HRJH	.03	Not Sig.
	2	HRJW	.05	Not Sig.
	3	DOM	.07	Not Sig.

<sup>a</sup>Negative relationship.

<sup>b</sup>In step-wise multiple regression analysis, the level of significance for a given step indicates the relationship between the dependent variable and all independent variables entered into the equation up to that point. In these analyses, the third variable entered did not make a unique contribution that was significant at the .05 level.

help is employed than in homes where it is not. The hours spent by wife in paid employment entered the equation at the second step, and was statistically significant in the husbands' report. The greater the number of hours worked by wives, the more likely the couple was to share tasks. Hours worked per week by husband was negatively related to jointness of housework, but not at a statistically

significant level. Results for the group as a whole were similar to results for husbands alone except that the level of significance was lower.

The finding that housework is more likely to be performed jointly the greater the amount of employed household help is difficult to explain, and is not consistent with Szinovacz's (1977) finding that housework is more likely to be segregated when some tasks are shared by kin.

An assumption underlying Hypothesis 1 is that employment of household help will reduce the time spent by family members in housework, and that possibly the husband's contribution would be reduced more than the wife's contribution. Further analysis of this data indicates that the total amount of time spent at household tasks by husband and wife is not reduced through employment of household help. In fact, there is a positive correlation ( $r = .3068$ ) between hours of employed help per week and hours of housework done by husband per week. The correlation between time spent by domestic help and time spent by wife is not significant. Table 6 presents a breakdown of hours spent in housework by hours of employed help.

Although there was no significant linear relationship between work done by employees and work done by wife, Table 6 gives an indication that those who employ household help to a greater extent also report doing more housework themselves.

Hours spent by husbands in household tasks and degree of jointness of household-task performance have both been shown to increase



Table 6  
Hours Spent in Housework per Week  
by Hours of Employed Help

Hours of Employed Help per Week	0	1-10	11-34	35+
Husbands: $\bar{X}$	16.9	18.6	18.8	32.3 <sup>a</sup>
N	30	20	16	4
Wives: $\bar{X}$	46.2	45.5	67.1	54.4
N	27	20	17	8

<sup>a</sup>This distribution was skewed by one subject who reported doing housework 82 hours per week. If that subject is removed from the sample, the mean for this cell is 15.7, making the average time spent in housework by men less when household help is employed full-time than in other categories. However, the small number of cases in this group makes it impossible to draw any conclusions from this evidence.

as employment of domestic help increases. A linear regression analysis shows that jointness in household tasks and hours of housework by husbands are also significantly correlated ( $r = .35$ , significant at .01 level).

For additional insight into variables affecting allocation of housework, educational level was considered as a possible factor. A step-wise multiple regression was performed, using jointness of housework as the dependent variable with education of subject (EDUC) and education of spouse (EDUCS) as the independent variables. The results are presented in Table 7.

Table 7  
 Relationship of Educational Level  
 to Jointness of Housework

	Independent Variable	R <sup>2</sup>	F Value	Level of Significance
All Cases	EDUC	0.10	15.789	.01
	EDUCS	0.12	9.332	.01
Husbands	EDUC	0.07	5.248	.05
	EDUCS	0.08	2.701	NS
Wives	EDUC	0.14	10.746	.01
	EDUCS	0.17	6.784	.01

Husbands report that their own educational level is positively related to jointness in allocation of housework, and wives report that both their own and their husbands' educational level is positively related to jointness in allocation of housework.

Educational level was not found to be related to jointness of allocation of decision making or use of leisure time.

Additional factors considered as independent variables that might affect role allocation were age of subject, number of years married, length of residence in Saudi Arabia, and number of children. Simple regressions were performed for each independent variable with each of the three measures of jointness of role allocation. Of the 12 analyses, only two statistically significant relationships were

found. Both age of subject and length of time married were negatively related to jointness in allocation of housework. None of these variables was related to jointness of leisure or decision making.

### Hypothesis 2

The second hypothesis states: Jointness of household-task performance will be positively related to jointness of decision making and jointness of leisure activities.

All three measures are percentages indicating the proportion of an activity that is shared by the spouses. Pearson correlation coefficients were computed for the three measures of conjugal-role jointness-segregation to ascertain whether this factor is consistent across the various dimensions of conjugal roles. Table 8 shows the results.

According to the husband's reports, none of the measures of conjugal jointness correlates with any other at the .05 level of significance. The data for wives and for all cases taken together indicate that both jointness of housework and jointness of decision making, but organization of housework is not related to organization of leisure. Thus, Hypothesis 2 is supported only to a limited extent.

### Hypothesis 3

The third hypothesis states: Joint patterns of conjugal-role organization in the areas of task performance, decision making, and use of leisure time will be positively related to marital satisfaction.

Table 8  
Correlations Between Measures of Conjugal  
Jointness Pearson Coefficients

	Housework	Leisure	Decision Making
<u>Housework</u>			
All Cases	1.000 N=143 P=0.000	-0.003 N=140 P=0.488	0.251 N=142 P=0.001*
Husbands	1.000 N=70 P=0.000	-0.155 N=69 P=0.102	0.147 N=70 P=0.113
Wives	1.000 N=73 P=0.000	0.142 N=71 P=0.119	0.314 N=72 P=0.004*
<u>Leisure</u>			
All Cases	-0.003 N=140 P=0.488	1.000 N=145 P=0.000	0.157 N=144 P=0.030*
Husbands	-0.155 N=69 P=0.102	1.000 N=72 P=0.000	0.007 N=72 P=0.478
Wives	0.142 N=71 P=0.119	1.000 N=73 P=0.000	0.259 N=72 P=0.014*
<u>Decision Making</u>			
All Cases	0.251 N=142 P=0.001*	0.157 N=144 P=0.030*	1.000 N=149 P=0.000
Husbands	0.147 N=70 P=0.113	0.007 N=72 P=0.478	1.000 N=74 P=0.000
Wives	0.314 N=72 P=0.004*	0.259 N=72 P=0.014*	1.000 N=75 P=0.000

\*Significant at less than .05 probability of error.

Marital satisfaction was measured by using Spanier's (1976) Dyadic Satisfaction Subscale of the Dyadic Adjustment Scale. The direction or causality of the relationship could move in either direction, but for this analysis, marital satisfaction was used as the dependent variable. A step-wise multiple regression analysis was performed using jointness of task performance, jointness of decision making, and jointness of leisure-time use as the independent variables. The results are presented in Table 9.

The results of the analysis only partially support the hypothesis and differ greatly for wives and husbands. Using step-wise multiple regression, it appears that the role area that is related to wives' marital satisfaction is decision making. The wives report a higher level of marital satisfaction in marriages where decisions are more likely to be made jointly rather than separately. The  $R^2$  for the correlation between jointness of decision making and marital satisfaction of wives is 0.303, which indicates that 30 percent of the variation in wives' marital-satisfaction scores is explained by variation in jointness of decision-making scores. Scores on neither jointness of leisure activity nor jointness of housework added significantly to the ability to predict marital satisfaction for wives.

A different picture altogether emerges when scores of husbands are analyzed separately. The variable that enters into the equation first is jointness of housework, and this variable is negatively related to husbands' level of marital satisfaction at the .05 level of significance. Husbands who share household tasks with their wives indicate lower levels of marital satisfaction than husbands

Table 9  
Variables Relating to Marital Satisfaction

Subjects	Step	Independent Variable	F-Ratio	R <sup>2</sup>	Degrees of Freedom	Level of Significance
All Cases	1	Decision Making	23.630	0.147	1/137	.01
	2	Leisure	15.509	0.186	2/136	.01
	3	Housework	11.141	0.198	3/135	.01 <sup>a</sup>
Husbands	1	Housework	5.842	0.080	1/67	.05 <sup>b</sup>
	2	Decision Making	4.393	0.118	2/66	.05 <sup>a</sup>
	3	Leisure	3.572	0.142	3/65	.05 <sup>a</sup>
Wives	1	Decision Making	29.605	0.303	1/68	.01
	2	Leisure	16.555	0.331	2/67	.01 <sup>a</sup>
	3	Housework	10.925	0.332	3/66	.01 <sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>F-values and levels of significance are for all variables included in a given step. The unique contribution of these variables is nonsignificant.

<sup>b</sup>Negative correlation.

with segregated patterns of housework. Scores on jointness of decision making and leisure do not add significantly to the value of the equation for predicting husbands' level of marital satisfaction.

In step-wise multiple regression analysis, an independent variable entered after the first step relates significantly to the dependent variable only if it explains a significant amount of the variance that remains unexplained at that stage of the analysis. As indicated in Table 8, there is a significant correlation between several of the independent variables in this equation. Jointness of decision making correlates significantly with both jointness of leisure and jointness of housework for the sample as a whole (but not for husbands separately). When two independent variables are highly related, the variation in the dependent variable that is common to both independent variables is attributed to the one that is entered first in a step-wise multiple regression analysis. A significant correlation between an independent variable that enters the equation after the first step and the dependent variable may not show up in the analysis. In order to clarify the contribution of the three independent variables to the prediction of marital satisfaction, separate linear regression analyses were run for each independent variable. The results are shown in Table 10.

This analysis reveals that with a .05 level of significance as the criterion, there is still only one variable that is related to marital satisfaction for husbands; jointness of housework performance is negatively related to marital satisfaction. For wives, two variables are significant in the simple regression analysis. Jointness

Table 10  
 Variables Relating to Marital Satisfaction  
 Linear Regressions

Subjects	Independent Variable	Number of Cases	Correlation Coefficient	R <sup>2</sup>	Standard Error
Husbands	Housework	70	-.29*	.08	5.88
Husbands	Leisure	71	.20	.04	5.99
Husbands	Decision Making	73	.15	.02	5.98
Wives	Housework	72	.22	.05	6.29
Wives	Leisure	72	.31*	.09	6.14
Wives	Decision Making	74	.55**	.30	5.38

\*.05 level of significance.

\*\* .001 level of significance.



of decision making and jointness of leisure are both positively related to wives' marital satisfaction. Jointness in household-task performance is positively related to marital satisfaction for wives at a .10 level of significance.

## CHAPTER V

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has focused on role allocation in three areas of marriage, and on factors that may be related to patterns of role allocation. The role areas considered were participation in household tasks (including child, yard, and car care), use of leisure time, and family decision making. The roles of wife and husband in these three areas can be classified as joint or segregated ranging on a continuum from complete segregation to complete sharing of roles.

This study has investigated the relationship between paid domestic help and role allocation, the relationship between pattern of role allocation and level of marital satisfaction, and the consistency across role areas of a given pattern of role allocation. Choice and exchange has been used as the theoretical framework with which to view the problem.

Domestic Help and Role Allocation

It was hypothesized that employment of household help would be negatively related to jointness of household-task performance. According to choice and exchange theory, all things being equal, individuals will repeat those behaviors they find rewarding and avoid those they find costly. This hypothesis is based on an assumption that husbands are likely to find performance of household tasks more

costly than rewarding and will do those tasks less if an alternative source of help for their wives is available. Where no outside help is employed, the husband may be under more pressure to fill his role as a "good" husband and help with the housework. He would be more likely to incur the cost of giving up time and energy to do housework in order to receive the reward of his wife's approval. Husbands with a strong dislike for housework may be more likely to choose to use part of the family income to employ outside help; this would also lead to a negative relationship between employment of outside help and jointness of housework.

The hypothesis was also based on Szinovacz's findings that housework was less likely to be allocated in a joint manner when kin provided help with housework.

The hypothesis was not supported by the data in the present study. Wives reported no relationship between employment of domestic help and jointness of housework, and husbands reported a positive relationship between the two variables.

If differences in methodology and characteristics of the sample are ignored, the difference between Szinovacz's findings and those of the current study can be attributed to the different type of household help and the difference in social-class norms. Szinovacz found that several factors influenced the amount of help received by employed wives and the degree of jointness of task participation and decision making. Housework by husbands and sharing in decision making was greater when supported by social norms found in urban areas and middle and higher socioeconomic classes. Sharing was less,

even in urban, middle-class families, when relatives helped with the housework.

The present sample was made up of middle- or higher-class couples. Social norms of the class may have influenced husbands to do housework even when other help was available.

Of the 140 individuals who answered the questions concerning housework, 83 reported that the family employed help in the form of a houseboy, gardener, or babysitter. Help provided by employees differs from help provided by kin, because kin presumably provide some social and emotional support and possibly encourage adherence to group norms while employees would not have such influence. It has been suggested (Bott, 1957; Harris, 1969; Toomey, 1971; Turner, 1970) that a segregated pattern of allocation of marital roles is related to close-knit social networks, because the outside networks provide an alternative source of emotional gratification and lessen dependence on the spouse. It is possible that the relationship Szinovacz found between help with housework by kin and segregation in housework and decision making was the result of socio-emotional factors rather than the result of the housework help itself. Help provided by houseboys, babysitters, and gardeners would provide only the work relief and not the socio-emotional support.

Since differences in methodology and sample characteristics can be ignored only at considerable risk of drawing inaccurate conclusions, these differences will be pointed out. Szinovacz's data were obtained from working wives only, while the present sample included working and nonworking wives as well as husbands. The positive

relationship between employment of domestic help and jointness of housework in the current study was found only in the husbands' report. In addition, the measurements used in the two studies differed. Szinovacz listed several household tasks, and asked women who "usually" helped with these tasks, whereas the current study asked both spouses to indicate the amount of time spent in given tasks by wife, husband, employee(s), and child(ren). Szinovacz used only one question to measure marital satisfaction.

Another possibility is that norms for the sample of Americans living in Saudi Arabia differ from norms for the Austrian sample. This was not tested. As discussed in Chapter III, the resources available for exchange and the alternatives available may also make this sample somewhat different from other samples, although the basic mechanisms of exchange remain the same.

In the report of husbands, employment of household help was positively related to both jointness of household-task performance and absolute number of hours contributed by husbands to housework. Although there was no linear relationship, the wives who hired help for more hours per week also reported spending more hours per week in housework themselves. As mentioned in Chapter II, some individuals obviously overreported time spent in given activities since their total weekly work and leisure added up to more than the total number of hours in a week. If the same individuals consistently overreported in all areas, a relationship would appear where none, in fact, existed. There is no way to determine the accuracy of even the reports that appeared more reasonable.

A possible explanation for the increase in housework by family members when domestic help is hired is that some families have more work to be done than others. Number of children in the family is an obvious factor influencing the amount of work to be done, especially since child care was included as a household task, and babysitters were included as domestic help.

As can be seen from Table 11, the amount of housework done by both parents increases as number of children increases.

Table 11

## Hours of Housework per Week by Number of Children

Number of Children	0	1	2	3
Wife	28.7	57.1	67.2	84.8
Husband	12.4	17.8	23.0	26.4

This seems to be the most logical explanation for the greater participation of husbands in housework in homes that hire domestic help. These homes have more children, and thus, more time is required in nearly all household tasks, including child care, cooking, cleaning, laundry, and chauffeuring family members. The increased work load is shared by wives, husbands, and paid domestic help.

Another possible contributing factor may be expressed by Parkinson's Law that "Work expands to fill the time available for it." If an individual spent 40 hours per week at housework before

hiring help, he/she might continue to spend 40 hours per week after hiring help, but a different type of work or a more thorough job might be done. Choice and exchange theory would suggest that some added benefits would accrue to the family in such a situation; a rational actor would not bear the economic cost of employing a household worker otherwise. From the data, it does not appear that the benefit comes in the form of additional time for leisure. (See Table 12.)

Since jointness of housework allocation is directly related to the absolute amount of housework done by the husband, jointness also increases in homes where more total work is done. Possibly the results would be different if domestic help were available in homes where norms discourage husbands from doing housework, as in the lower class; but in this sample at least, the availability of paid help did not reduce the husband's absolute amount of work or the jointness of work allocation.

#### Consistency of Role Allocation

The second hypothesis tested was that jointness of housework would be positively related to jointness of leisure and of decision making.

The possible rewards and costs associated with jointness/ segregation of conjugal roles are discussed in some detail in Chapter II in the presentation of hypotheses. If the assumptions given in that presentation are correct, then jointness in all areas should be more consistently rewarding to wives than to husbands.

Table 12

## Housework Done by Men and Women by Task

Housecleaning	Women			Men		
	$\bar{X}$	Minimum	Maximum	$\bar{X}$	Minimum	Maximum
1. Picking Up	10.63	0	42.0	2.49	0	15.0
2. Cooking	11.40	0	35.0	1.36	0	6.0
3. Dishwashing	3.74	0	14.0	1.11	0	6.0
4. Yard and Garden Work	1.64	0	10.0	2.19	0	15.0
5. Grocery Shopping	2.28	0	6.0	1.26	0	5.0
6. Car Care	0.13	0	2.0	1.48	0	12.0
7. Laundry and Ironing	5.07	0	28.0	0.21	0	2.0
8. Household Repair	0.35	0	4.0	1.95	0	10.0
9. Physical Care of Children	12.41	0	168.0	3.13	0	48.0
10. Nonphysical Care of Children	9.59	0	105.0	3.00	0	20.0
11. Chauffeuring	1.18	0	12.0	1.35	0	8.0



Toomey (1971) reviewed studies on conjugal-role organization, and concluded that jointness or segregation of conjugal roles is a "single underlying dimension" of a relationship only if measures of domestic-task sharing are excluded. He found a consistent relationship between the sharing of contact, the sharing of power, and the general attitudes toward conjugal-role relationships. Other studies (Araji, 1977; Oakley, 1974) have concluded that an attitude favoring sharing in all areas is more likely than congruent behavior.

In the current study, all measures were designed to be measures of behavior rather than attitude, although it is possible that a subject's attitude may influence his/her report of his/her behavior. Those who feel they should share roles with their spouses may be more inclined to report sharing than those who feel they should not, even if behavior in both cases is similar.

The husbands' reports in this study did not indicate any significant correlation between any of the measures of jointness/segregation. The wives' reports indicated a significant relationship between jointness of decision making and jointness of housework ( $p = 0.004$ ), and between jointness of decision making and jointness in use of leisure time ( $p = 0.014$ ). There was no significant relationship between housework allocation and leisure-time use. The relationship that did exist between these two variables was negative ( $p = 0.102$ ) in the husbands' reports and positive ( $p = 0.119$ ) in the wives' reports.

According to the wives' reports, decision making appears to be the basic factor in determining jointness/segregation. Couples make decisions, explicitly or otherwise, about task allocation and use of leisure time. An attitude that leads to sharing in decision making may lead to sharing in other areas.

The difference between the reports of husbands and the reports of wives on the question of consistency of role allocation is puzzling when both are reporting on the same relationships. For leisure use, the answer may be that wives and husbands may have differing amounts of time available for leisure. For example, if a husband has 20 hours of leisure a week and spends all of it with his wife, his score on jointness of leisure would be 100 percent. If his wife should have 40 hours of leisure a week and spends 20 hours of it with her husband, her score on jointness of leisure would be 50 percent. If reports are accurate, however, scores of husbands and wives on jointness of housework participation and jointness of decision making should be similar. Some inaccuracy in reporting or some difference in perception apparently exists. This problem might be solved or at least reduced by asking subjects to collaborate on the sections of the questionnaire related to conjugal-role allocation. An interview setting where the researcher could observe the process involved in reaching an agreement on answers could prove even more informative.

The method of scoring the questionnaire may have resulted in larger apparent differences in husband's and wife's scores than actually existed, especially in the area of housework. For example,

if the wife reported that she spent ten hours a week at cleaning, and her husband spent three hours, her report shows that she does 76 percent of the cleaning, and this task would be counted as segregated housework. If the husband in the same sample said that he spent four hours a week at cleaning, and his wife spent ten hours, his report would show that his wife did only 71 percent of the cleaning, and the task would be counted as joint on his score. An examination of the individual questionnaires does not indicate that this possibility was much of a problem. Where a large discrepancy in scores of wife and husband exists, it is usually caused by a discrepancy in the actual reports, not by the method of scoring.

#### Role Allocation and Marital Satisfaction

The final hypothesis tested stated that a positive relationship would exist between degree of jointness of role allocation and level of marital satisfaction. Based on choice and exchange theory, it was suggested that this relationship might be more consistently true for women, who seem to have more to gain from jointness, than for men.

Earlier studies of the relationship between the type of role allocation and level of marital satisfaction have failed to produce clear-cut results. Support for the hypothesis was given by Oakley (1974), who found that wives were more satisfied if their husbands shared in housework, and by Michel (1967) and Nicola (1980), who showed that higher household-task performance by the wife decreases her marital satisfaction. Sharing of decision making has been found to be related to marital satisfaction of wives in places where norms

favor equality (Szinovacz, 1977; Safilios-Rothschild, 1967), but not in rural areas of Greece where power is more important than equality (Safilios-Rothschild, 1967). With regard to leisure-time use, Orthner (1975) found that marital satisfaction was higher for couples who pursued joint rather than independent leisure activities only at some stages of the family-life cycle.

Studies failing to support the hypothesis were made by Perrucci et al. (1978), who found the husband's role performance unrelated to his marital satisfaction, and by Levinger (1968) who concluded that satisfaction with role allocation was unrelated to general happiness for either spouse.

The present study produced three significant correlations between marital satisfaction and method of role allocation. For wives, a positive correlation ( $p \leq .01$ ) was found between jointness of decision making and level of marital satisfaction, and between jointness of leisure and level of marital satisfaction ( $p \leq .05$ ). This is consistent with the findings of Szinovacz (1977) and Safilios-Rothschild (1967). A feeling that she is able to share in family decision making may be of added importance to a middle-class American woman living in a culture like Saudi Arabia's where even foreign women are denied freedoms granted to all men.

For husbands, a negative correlation was found between jointness in performance of household tasks and marital satisfaction. Since jointness in task performance is related to more time spent in task performance by the husband, it is impossible to say which factor is important here. It may be that sharing in tasks traditionally

considered to be "woman's work" is seen as degrading to men, and therefore, causes them to be less satisfied with their marriages, or it could be that just spending more time at housework is seen as undesirable and leads to stress or dissatisfaction. The latter explanation has been reported for women (Michel, 1967; Nicola, 1980), and may well hold for men also.

Sharing in conjugal roles should produce a greater amount of interaction between spouses. This interaction may lead to increased communication and a greater understanding of the other's point of view, as well as allowing the partners to receive rewards from each other in more areas than would be possible with segregated roles. On the other hand, sharing roles also increases the possible areas of conflict (Scanzoni & Fox, 1980). Decisions and activities that were traditionally the exclusive domain of one spouse become areas for joint action and possible conflict. Even the basic assumption that spending time with one's spouse is rewarding may not be valid for all couples at all stages of the family-life cycle. Some individuals may well prefer to spend at least some of their work and leisure time alone, and definitely prefer solitary leisure to joint work.

Whether or not this basic assumption is accurate, the findings in the current study remain consistent with a choice and exchange theory. If we may assume that housework is usually perceived as unrewarding, a view supported to some degree by the literature reviewed, then we can explain why husbands who share in housework to a greater extent are less satisfied. The opportunity for possible reward from interaction and communication with the wife does not seem to balance the unrewarding aspects of housework.

The opportunity to make decisions, on the other hand, is usually related to power, and is regarded as rewarding in Western cultures. Power to make decisions has traditionally been held by husbands. This study indicates that sharing in decision-making activity is rewarding to wives, and increases their marital satisfaction. Giving up this power would be costly to husbands, and this cost may balance any reward associated with sharing.

Jointness of leisure activity entered the multiple regression equation at the second step for both husbands and wives, and was a positive relationship for both samples. The simple regression analyses indicated that the relationship between leisure use and marital satisfaction was significant at the .05 level for wives, but not for husbands. Possibly, the dependent position of women in this sample, who could not even go to the beach without a male driver, increases the importance of joint leisure for them.

Support is provided for the suggestion that jointness is more rewarding to wives than to husbands. The only relationship between jointness of roles and marital satisfaction that approached statistical significance for husbands was negative. For wives, all relationships between measures of jointness and level of marital satisfaction were positive. The relationship of both jointness of decision making and jointness of leisure to marital satisfaction was statistically significant, while less than a ten percent chance of error exists in accepting the hypothesis that jointness of housework is related to marital satisfaction.

### Suggestions for Further Research

Based on the above findings, the following hypothesis can be suggested: joint patterns of conjugal-role allocation will be positively related to level of marital satisfaction only if jointness provides the individual spouses with greater rewards or lower costs than a segregated pattern would provide.

The conclusions drawn in this study were based on assumptions that doing housework is generally unrewarding, making decisions is generally rewarding, and spending time with one's spouse is intrinsically rewarding. Better specification of the rewards and costs of marriage, as perceived by the participants, is needed to make choice and exchange theory really useful.

Research might be conducted testing Hypothesis 3 for each of the configurations of marital interaction described by Cuber and Harroff (1966). Interaction with one's spouse may be more rewarding, and therefore, jointness of conjugal-role allocation more highly related to marital satisfaction, in marriages that are Total or Vital than in those that are Passive-Congenial, Devitalized, or Conflict-habituated. Some persons may prefer to have definite areas that are their sole responsibility rather than share responsibility in all areas, and may be quite satisfied with a segregated pattern of role allocation.

Preference for a given pattern of role allocation may be related to sex-role preferences in general. Traditional beliefs about sex roles would probably be accompanied by a preference for segregated

conjugal roles. Socialization-ideology was an important factor in explaining the behavior of subjects in many of the studies reviewed. People strive to behave as they perceive members of their sex are expected to behave, and are rewarded by a feeling that they have fulfilled these expectations.

Future studies on conjugal-role allocation, especially those attempting to relate it to level of marital satisfaction, could contribute to knowledge in the field by including the following:

1. Questions to measure subjects' perceptions of rewards and costs associated with the different patterns of role allocation;
2. A measure of the type of marriage relationship as defined by Cuber and Harroff (1966);
3. A measure of subjects' sex-role preferences or ideologies;
4. Replication of the study using subjects living in the United States or other countries.

One of the reasons that information about conjugal roles remains contradictory after so much research has been done is methodological. Each researcher uses different methods for measuring degree of jointness or segregation, and applies them to samples that differ in sex, socioeconomic class, and cultural background. Thus, there are so many possible explanations for differences in the findings that a great deal more study would be necessary to determine whether the differences are due to methods used or to characteristics of the populations studied. As long as each researcher finds it necessary to make his/her work unique in some way, and as long as we lack a



general theory to explain marital interaction, a complete understanding of the reasons for and the consequences of the different types of conjugal-role allocation is unlikely.

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APPENDIX  
LETTER AND QUESTIONNAIRE

Chahran, Saudi Arabia  
November 7, 1979

Dear Friends:

You have been selected to participate in a study of marital interaction being conducted as a project for the Department of Child Development and Family Relations of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. The purpose of the study is to learn more about the way husbands and wives interact with one another and about the factors that determine how satisfied they are with their marriages.

Aramco couples have a unique contribution to make to such a study because of the unusual conditions in which we live. You have been carefully selected as a representative of this community, and your personal participation is important to the success of the study. Please complete the enclosed questionnaire personally without discussing it with anyone and return it to me with the next few days.

Your answers will be completely anonymous so that you can feel free to be frank and honest. However, I would like to have some way of knowing that the questionnaires completed by husband and wife come from the same couple, though you return them in separate envelopes. Therefore, I would like you and your spouse to choose some meaningless, random, four-digit number and place the same number at the top of both questionnaires. This will identify the questionnaires as coming from the same couple, but will not identify which couple. I am providing you with separate envelopes so that you do not need to show your answers to each other.

If you have any questions, please feel free to call me at 53485 after work.

Thank you very much for your help on this project.

Sincerely,

Sharon Eboch

## FAMILY INTERACTION STUDY

Wife's Questionnaire

Please answer all questions to the best of your ability.

1. How long have you lived in Saudi Arabia? \_\_\_\_\_
2. Is this the first time you have lived outside the United States?  
Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_
3. About how many hours a week does your husband spend at his job?  

___ a. less than 40	___ c. 40 to 50
___ b. about 40	___ d. more than 50
4. What is your husband's approximate annual salary? Do not include income from investments. \_\_\_\_\_
5. If you are employed, about how many hours a week do you spend at your job?  

___ a. not employed	___ d. 30 to 35
___ b. less than 20	___ e. about 40
___ c. 20 to 30	
6. What is your approximate annual salary? Do not include income from investments. \_\_\_\_\_
7. Please list the ages of all children living here with you, if any.  
 Boys \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_  
 Girls \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_
8. How long have you been married? \_\_\_\_\_
9. What is the highest level of education you completed?  

___ a. less than grade school	___ e. some college or trade school
___ b. eighth grade	___ f. college graduate
___ c. some high school	___ g. advanced degree
___ d. high school graduate	___ h. more than one advanced degree

10. What is the highest level of education completed by your husband?
- a. less than grade school     e. some college or trade school  
 b. eighth grade                     f. college graduate  
 c. some high school                 g. advanced degree  
 d. high school graduate            h. more than one advanced degree
11. How many hours a week do you hire someone outside your family to help with housework, yard work, or child care? If you do not hire anyone, answer "0".

## Hours per Week

Houseboy \_\_\_\_\_

Gardener \_\_\_\_\_

Babysitter \_\_\_\_\_

12. Please estimate the number of hours in a typical week that you, your husband, your children (if any), and domestic employees (houseboy, gardener, babysitter, if any) spend at the following jobs.

	Wife	Husband	Domestic Employees	Child or Children
House Cleaning and "Picking Up"				
Cooking				
Dishwashing				
Yard and Garden Work				
Grocery Shopping				
Car Care and Maintenance				
Laundry and Ironing				
Repairing Things Around the House				
Physical Care of Children				
Nonphysical Care of Children				
Chauffeuring Family Members				

13. Are you satisfied with the division of labor in your home?

Yes\_\_\_ No\_\_\_ Usually\_\_\_

For the following questions, please place a check mark in the blank by the answer that is correct for your marriage.

14. In general, how often do you think that things between you and your husband are going well?

\_\_\_ a. All the time                      \_\_\_ d. Occasionally  
 \_\_\_ b. Most of the time                \_\_\_ e. Rarely  
 \_\_\_ c. More often than not            \_\_\_ f. Never

15. How often do you discuss or have you considered divorce, separation, or terminating your relationship?

\_\_\_ a. All the time                      \_\_\_ d. Occasionally  
 \_\_\_ b. Most of the time                \_\_\_ e. Rarely  
 \_\_\_ c. More often than not            \_\_\_ f. Never

16. How often do you or your husband leave the house after a fight?

\_\_\_ a. All the time                      \_\_\_ d. Occasionally  
 \_\_\_ b. Most of the time                \_\_\_ e. Rarely  
 \_\_\_ c. More often than not            \_\_\_ f. Never

17. Do you confide in your husband?

\_\_\_ a. All the time                      \_\_\_ d. Occasionally  
 \_\_\_ b. Most of the time                \_\_\_ e. Rarely  
 \_\_\_ c. More often than not            \_\_\_ f. Never

18. Do you ever regret that you married?

\_\_\_ a. All the time                      \_\_\_ d. Occasionally  
 \_\_\_ b. Most of the time                \_\_\_ e. Rarely  
 \_\_\_ c. More often than not            \_\_\_ f. Never

19. How often do you and your husband quarrel?

\_\_\_ a. All the time                      \_\_\_ d. Occasionally  
 \_\_\_ b. Most of the time                \_\_\_ e. Rarely  
 \_\_\_ c. More often than not            \_\_\_ f. Never

20. How often do you and your husband "get on each other's nerves?"

- a. All the time                       d. Occasionally  
 b. Most of the time                   e. Rarely  
 c. More often than not               f. Never

21. Do you kiss your husband?

- a. Every day                               d. Rarely  
 b. Almost every day                   e. Never  
 c. Occasionally

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

.                      .                      .                      .                      .                      .

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Extremely	Fairly	A Little	Happy	Very	Extremely	Perfect
<u>Unhappy</u>	<u>Unhappy</u>	<u>Unhappy</u>		Happy	Happy	

23. Which of the following statements best describes how you feel about the future of your relationship?

I want desperately for my relationship to succeed, and would go to almost any length to see that it does.

I want very much for my relationship to succeed, and will do all I can to see that it does.

I want very much for my relationship to succeed, and will do my fair share to see that it does.

It would be nice if my relationship succeeded, but I can't do any more than I am doing now to keep the relationship going.

My relationship can never succeed, and there is no more that I can do to keep the relationship going.

24. When you have leisure time, you may choose to spend it alone on such activities as reading, hobbies, or watching television, or you may choose to spend it with one or more other persons in such activities as visiting, playing games, or dancing. Please indicate in the appropriate columns the number of hours you spent each day last week in leisure activities alone or with other people.

	Alone	With Husband And Perhaps Other(s)	With Others But Not Husband
Saturday	_____	_____	_____
Sunday	_____	_____	_____
Monday	_____	_____	_____
Tuesday	_____	_____	_____
Wednesday	_____	_____	_____
Thursday	_____	_____	_____
Friday	_____	_____	_____

25. In every family, decisions must be made in many areas. In the first column beside each topic listed, please give the number that indicates how important the topic is to you personally.

1. Unimportant
2. Moderately Important
3. Very Important

In the second column, please place the number that tells how decisions about that topic are usually made in your family.

1. By the Wife
2. By the Husband
3. By Both Wife and Husband
4. By the Children
5. Other

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. What job husband will take.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Whether wife will work.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. What job wife will take, if she works.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Whether to have children.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. How many children to have, if any.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. How to invest savings.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 7. What car(s) to buy, if any.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 8. How much to spend for travel.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 9. How much to spend for furniture.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 10. How much to spend for food.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 11. How much to spend for recreation and entertainment.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 12. What house to live in.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 13. Style of decorating of home.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 14. Furniture arrangement in living room.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 15. Whether to employ household help.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 16. How to spend leisure time.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 17. Where to go on vacations.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 18. How to celebrate holidays.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 19. Who your friends will be.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 20. Where to set the thermostat in your home.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 21. Whether to attend church.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 22. What food will be served at the evening meal.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 23. What time family meals will be served.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 24. Degree of formality of family meals.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 25. How often you entertain.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 26. How much to spend for clothes.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 27. Style of clothes to buy for husband.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 28. Style of clothes to buy for wife.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 29. How often to have sex.



Answer the following only if you have children at home.

- 30. Children's bedtime.
  - 31. Method of disciplining children.
  - 32. Activities children should participate in (such as music lessons, swimming lessons, Boy and Girl Scouts, Little League, etc.)
  - 33. Degree of freedom children should have.
  - 34. Choice of children's friends.
  - 35. What recreational equipment to buy for children (such as toys, sports equipment, musical equipment, minibike, car).
  - 36. What movies or TV shows children should be allowed to see.
  - 37. What clothes to buy for children.
26. What is your age? \_\_\_\_\_
27. In what size community did you spend most of your childhood?
- a. Farm or rural area
  - b. Town of less than 10,000
  - c. City of 10,000 to 100,000
  - d. City of more than 100,000