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Opportunities for Family Research in Marketing

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Family as a consuming and decision making unit is a central phenomenon in marketing and consumer behavior. However, in the recent past, there has been a decline in interest in family as a unit of analysis. Yet, at the same time, the family -- as an institution -- is undergoing a metamorphosis and currently stands at the threshold of significant transformation. In this paper, we argue that the decreased interest in family as a unit of analysis in marketing is largely due to the fact that many interesting propositions about family as a consuming unit remain outside the current perspective of the domain. We review the extant literature to demonstrate that much of the research so far has addressed only a small part of the extant domain, and that several important and interesting research questions remain unaddressed.

Specifically, the dominant themes that have been investigated so far are the relevance of the family life cycle, decision roles and relative influence, conflict resolution, consumption by households with working wives as opposed to those without working wives, and consumer socialization. While it has been argued that consumption patterns vary across stages of the family life cycle, it has also been proposed that these changes can also be explained by differences in incomes. Similarly, though it has been established that decision roles and relative influence vary across products and stage in decision making, these differences are also due, in part, to differences in the occupational status of wife and sex-role orientation. Conflict minimization has been identified as a dominant agenda driving family decision-making, and the role of children has been found to vary by product category and by the personal resources of the child.

Though these are important developments, research so far has focused mainly on decision outcomes (and to a much lesser degree on decision processes) in family decision making, and several other important research questions have been ignored. Family serves as a consuming, producing, distributing, and socializing unit and its interaction with other elements of society is intimate, immediate, and, thus, telling. For example, family policy affects resource allocation and consumption patterns in families and the effects of such policies will vary across types of families. Similarly, families will vary in the manner in which they respond to changes in the economy. For example, tele-commuting and the participation by women in commerce because of the Internet alter decision role structures in family decision-making. The family is also at a threshold of a significant metamorphosis, and the rise of cohabiting couples and same-sex couples are only a few of these changes. Consumption behavior among such couples is yet to be explored.

Thus, though family as a consumption unit has received attention in marketing and consumer behavior, the focus has been on a narrow set of issues; as a result, family has seldom been examined as a part of a social system. Enlarging the manner in which family is defined will reveal several important research questions that have not been investigated though they have important implications for how families consume. A comprehensive comparison between current knowledge and possible future directions for family research in marketing is summarized in the Summary Table.

Opportunities for Family Research in Marketing

While family as the fundamental unit of analysis remains central to how many consumption decisions are made, it has received relatively insufficient attention from scholars in the areas of marketing and consumer behavior, and many nuances have been overlooked (Burns 1993). The premise of this paper is that this lack of attention is due to a restrictive notion of the role of family in consumption decisions and that many fertile research areas can be identified.

Research so far has focused mainly on decision outcomes (who makes the final decision) and to a much lesser degree on decision processes (how do they arrive at that). As the question of who makes the purchase decision has been explored extensively, findings became repetitive and interest in family decision making began to wane. At the same time, research that attempted to resist this wave of reductionism and grappled with family consumption in terms of all its interpersonal nuances has been hampered by a dearth of appropriate metaphors to talk about such behavior; e.g. most theories of behavior and personality in psychology are at the individual level and, given that family is not a simple sum of two or more individuals, individual theories of behavior and personality do not facilitate an explanation of behavior observed in families.

As will become apparent from the following review, research so far has mostly focused on the following questions about family decision-making:

Who decides?

What are the consumption implications of women in the labor force?

Can the relative influence of husbands and wives be determined?

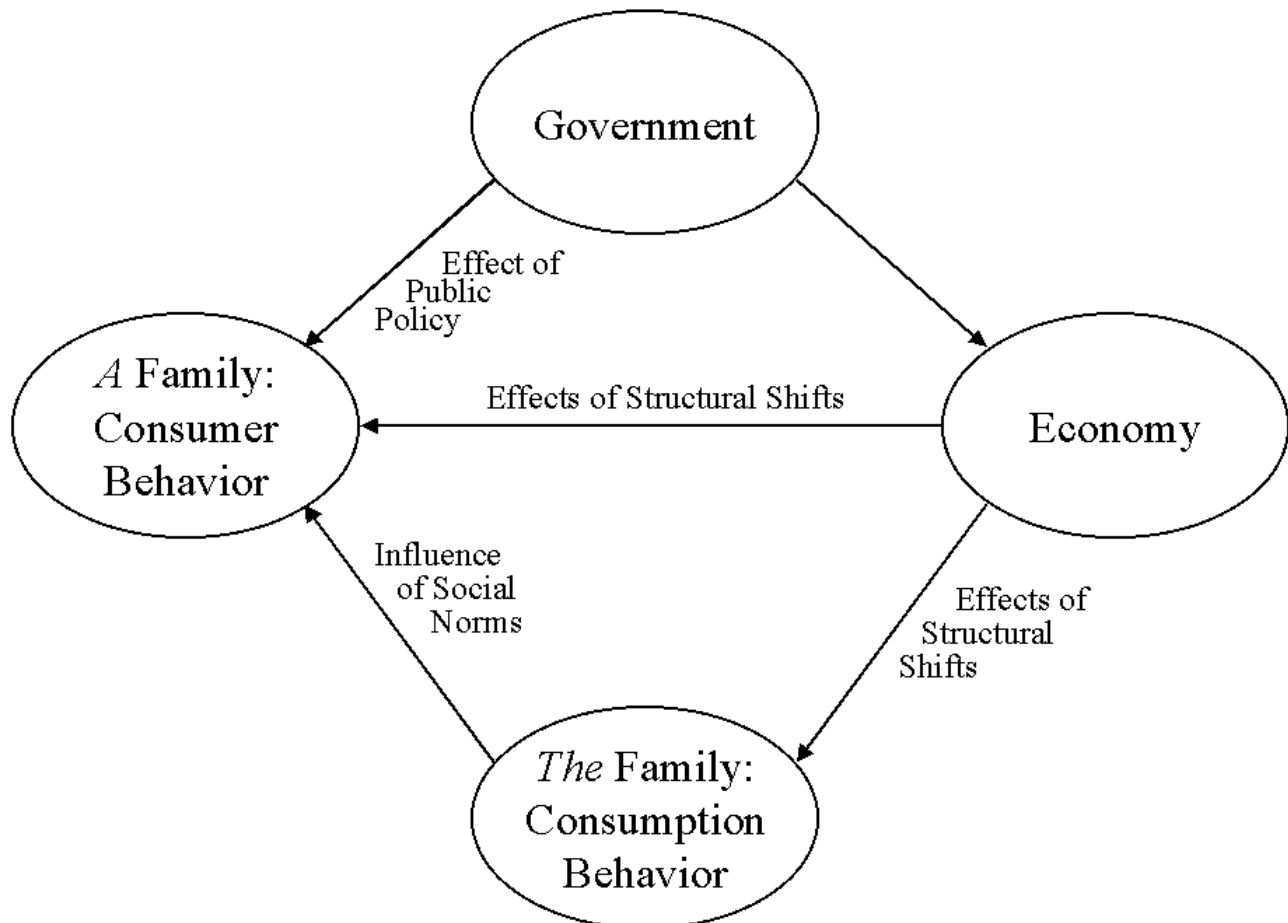
Does the family life cycle matter?

We argue that these issues do not provide a comprehensive coverage of modern family dynamics. In addition, the problem of not gathering data from all members of the family noted by Davis (1971), Douglas (1983), and Krampf, Burns, and Rayman (1993) continues to persist. In other words, while several substantive questions that pertain to family consumer behavior are yet to be investigated, research has also continued to focus on collecting data from only one family member and projecting it to make generalizations about the entire family [see Krampf, et al. (1993) for a recent review of the limitations of data gathering in family research]. It has also been noted that research so far has focused on a narrow set of products and situations and does not sufficiently reflect family decision-making in general (Lackman and Lanasa 1993).

One of the factors that has limited the breadth of research questions that have been asked by scholars in the field is a lack of integration of all the relevant issues into a template that would then offer a road map for future research streams and agenda in the field (Tallman 1993). The need for such a template is perhaps more critical in the area of family consumer behavior than in other fields because of the vastness of its domain. At a macro level, the relationship of family with other units of society can be considered to be along the lines depicted in the Figure. The Figure notes the effect of other key constituents of the society on family. From this perspective, most research on family consumer behavior so far has been restricted in scope to examining what is happening in a family (as opposed to the family, Harris 1969) and has ignored other areas (the relationships in the figure will be developed in more depth later in the paper). "To speak of *the* family is to refer to the class of such groups; *a* family is any particular group which is a member of that class" (Harris 1969, p. 67; see also Tallman 1993). *A* family refers to the current household and its lived experience, whereas *the* family refers to the institution and its role in society. It is important to make this distinction in this paper for two reasons. First, it is important to underline the fact that research so far has focussed on *a* family and has not attempted to explain the relationship between *a* family and *the* family. This constitutes one of the limitations of how family has been conceptualized in current literature. Second, today, we stand at the threshold of significant transformation of the family -- new family forms are gaining salience, and roles in dominant forms of families are undergoing metamorphosis. These changes are important to record so that all research on families may be situated in the context.

This article reviews the research on family decision making and consumption behavior in the areas of marketing and consumer behavior (as has been noted, most of the research attention so far has been on *a family* and the relationship between *a family* and the other constituents of society have been ignored). The review is discussed in terms of important themes that have emerged and of a critical evaluation of the research questions and methods adopted. Gaps in research are then identified and a discussion of directions for future research follows. While several articles reviewed fall into more than one category listed below, they are not necessarily mentioned under all the categories to avoid excessive repetition.

FIGURE
Family as a Social Body



Though the extant of research on family consumer behavior can be appreciated from the review, it must be noted that all this research pertains to but one dimension of the web depicted in the Figure. It is important to situate current research within the template in the Figure and call attention to the fact that the entire web of interrelationships is important because family serves as a consuming, producing, distributing, and socializing unit (Netting, Wilk, and Arnould 1984; see Williams 1993 for an economic system perspective of the family) and understanding its interactions with other elements of society is imperative.

RESEARCH STREAMS

This review is organized around various streams of research pursued by researchers. Each of these streams will be reviewed individually in the following order, classification of families, relevance of the family life cycle, role of the child, the effects of wage-paying employment by wives, gender roles, family as an influencing agent, decision roles, relative influence, influence strategies, resolution of conflict, judgment and information processing, disruptions in consumption, cross-cultural comparisons and finally, measurement issues. We next use the figure as a basis for discussing opportunities for future research focusing on issues of behavior in *a* family, and changes in what constitutes *the* family. A comprehensive comparison between current knowledge and possible future directions for family research in marketing is summarized in the Table.

Classification of Families

Research that attempted to classify families on parameters that are meaningful from a marketing perspective appeared in the early years of the *Journal of Marketing*, with the first attempt at examining families through a meaningful classification scheme being undertaken by Kaplan (1938). Implying that families bear relevance to a marketer when an examination was based on their incomes, Kaplan examined consumption patterns across two classes of families -- high and low income families. Kaplan noted that food constituted the most important category of consumption across high and low-income families, followed by housing. While decision making behavior within family was not examined, this research was important all the same because of its attempt to consider family as the unit of consumption.

Subsequently, criticizing the "chaotic" state of classification of families on the basis of economic resources, Alderson (1941) urged researchers to develop a dynamic classification scheme that would facilitate comparisons across years. Semon (1962) attempted to refine the definition of spending ability among families, but this measure was not tested again nor adopted in further research. In more recent years, there have been efforts to classify families on constructs capturing family dynamics, such as parental style (i.e., authoritarian; Carlson and Grossbart 1988) and power and cohesion (Holdert and Antonides 1997). Such approaches may shed insights beyond the more traditional classification approaches, but they also require strong theoretical justification for their application in consumer situations as well as extensive primary research. Such classification efforts may limit the general appeal of such schemes, especially given the presence of existing secondary data sets that allow the use of more traditional classification schemes without the need to conduct primary data collection.

Summary - Though there have been sporadic attempts to present family as the purchasing unit and thus the meaningful unit for the measurement of purchase potential, there have not been sustained attempts to develop a schema for classifying families in terms of parameters relevant from a marketing perspective, nor to develop a schema that would withstand the test of time as the composition of households continues to evolve. For example, though the family life cycle as a classification schema has been refined periodically, there does not appear to be any consistency in terms of classifying family forms such as cohabiting couples in such schema. Overall, while there is evidence that the role of incomes in predicting purchase behavior in families is distinct from the family life cycle in general, the role of the latter as one way to classify families meaningfully should not be denigrated and this issue is discussed in greater detail in the next section. In fact, efforts should now focus on integrating them rather than claiming the predictive validity of one over the other. Thus, a gap exists in research aimed at presenting a robust and comprehensive classification of families based on economic potential. A multidimensional perspective of families that would trace them along economic purchase potential, family composition (who makes up the family), and form (how are they related) is lacking.

Relevance of the Family Life Cycle

As noted above, one dimension of the research on family consumption behavior has been the relevance of the stage in the family life cycle. However, findings concerning the relevance of stage in the family life cycle have been mixed. Cox (1975) reported that the process of mutual adjustment of preferences in a household is a long one and most predictable on the basis of stage in family life cycle. Cox found that families in the later stages of the family life cycle demonstrated greater similarities between the preferences of husbands and wives. Examining

some direct applications of the family life cycle to family consumption behavior, Fritzsche (1981) reported that after controlling for income and the number of people in the household, young singles in the Wells and Gubar (1966) family life cycle classification consumed less energy (except for gasoline), middle-aged families with children consumed the most energy, and that gasoline usage was inversely related to presence of children.

However, in criticizing such predictions based on the family life cycle, Wagner and Hanna (1983) argued that the relationship between the stage in the family life cycle and consumption has been exaggerated and that income explained the shifts in consumption across stages. They further reported that revising family life cycles to include more stages did not improve their predictive validity and neither did the addition of family compositional variables to family life cycles.

More recently, Schaninger and Danko (1993) compared the various family life cycle models and concluded that the fourteen-stage model proposed by Gilly and Enis (1982) offered the most homogenous-within and heterogeneous-without classification of the family life cycle. However, as the Gilly-Enis model treats cohabiting couples as married, it can be argued that it confounds important consumption differences found between cohabiting and married couples (particularly in the context of rising incidence of cohabitation in the 90s) and thus there is a need for further refinement of such classifications.

Summary - While Schaninger and Lee (2000a,b) have attempted to investigate differences in various forms of the family life cycle, no standard framework has been found to be sufficient. "Second families" represent different consumption processes as the young child is very likely to be raised under conditions associated with greater material wealth, and the forty-some father will definitely be a different consumer from his same-aged counterpart just entering the empty nest stage. Family circumstances must be considered, but so must standard demographics such as age and income. More development of structures that combine family composition (including the ages of children as well as the number of them) with demographics is needed, and that structure which is most explanatory of consumption patterns needs to be adopted by the government agencies which provide the vast reams of secondary data on families. Also, it is time to look beyond the trajectory nature of the family life cycle and to focus more on the transition between stages (Gentry et al. 1995). Once families acclimate to a new stage, a steady-state marketing mentality may be applicable. However, the stress encountered during transition may well be associated with major changes in consumption patterns and, as such, there may be many opportunities for marketers to induce brand switching far more easily than once adjustment to the new stage has taken place.

Role of the Child

A cursory review of research on family consumption and decision making behavior would lead one to wonder whether the field should be called spousal decision making or whether one should continue to use the misleading term "family." Much of this research has focused only on the husband and the wife, and the role of children often has been ignored (Lackman and Lanasa 1993). Considering the complexity of relative influence between two decision makers, it is easy to understand why the three-factor interaction (father-mother-child iterative influence in decision making) is even more challenging.

The first attempt, in marketing, to understand the role of children was made by Berry and Pollay (1968). They measured the assertiveness of the child (in favor of a brand preferred by the child) and the child-centeredness of the mother in the case of purchase of a brand of breakfast cereal. They found that high child-centered mothers purchased the child's favorite brand less frequently, implying that when a mother is child centered, she would purchase a brand that is good for the child and not necessarily one that is preferred by the child. Berry and Pollay also found that the assertiveness of the child enhanced the recall of the child's favorite brand among mothers. Examining shifts in such influence across age, Ward and Wackman (1972) found that attempts by children at influencing purchase were negatively related to the age of the child; however, the tendency of mothers to yield to such influence rose with the age of the child but varied across product categories. Mehrotra and Torges (1977) suggested that the extent to which mothers yielded to the influence of the child also depended on the extent to which mothers and children were exposed to advertising together. Attempting to refine the construct of influence by the child, Atkin (1978) found that while children do tend to make forceful demands at the point of purchase, their success

depended on whether they "ask" or "tell." Atkin reported a greater success rate in the case of children that "tell" rather than "ask."

Belch, Belch, and Ceresino (1985) later studied the diversity in the influence of children and reported that the extent of such influence varied with product and stage in the decision making process, thus supporting the assertions of Szybillo and Sosanie (1977) that the roles of husbands, wives, and children vary across stages of decision making. They found that while the role of the teenage child was most prominent at the initiation stage, it was limited thereafter. Belch et al. were also the first to report, in marketing journals, the discrepancy in reports of influence. They detected that while children attributed greater influence in decision making to themselves, they consistently attributed more influence to the father than the mother. Subsequently, Foxman, Tansuhaj, and Ekstrom (1989a, 1989b) reported more evidence supporting discrepancies in reports. Foxman et al. (1989b) also found that personal resources of the child (such as grades in school) and perceived product knowledge determined the extent of the influence. Supporting Foxman et al.'s (1989a) evidence, Beatty and Talpade (1994) reported similar effects of the usage of the product by the child and child's product knowledge on the extent of the child's influence. Beatty and Talpade also supported Belch et al.'s (1985) findings about discrepancy in reports when they found that the discrepancy was greater between father and child, rather than between mother and child. Ahuja and Stinson (1993) examined the role of children in woman-led households and found that the influence of the child varied across several parameters such as product, the age of the child, and the sex-role orientation of the mother. No conclusive patterns could be detected. Finally, more recently, Palan and Wilkes (1997) presented a classification of influence strategies and reported that adolescents were most successful in their influence attempts when they mirrored their parents' strategies. Palan and Wilkes (1997) were also the first (in a marketing journal) to use an interpretive approach in the context of parent-child influence in family decision making and one of the few to ever do so in family consumption research in general.

Summary - Research that addressed the parent-child interface in decision making found that influence varies across the age of the child, the child's personal resources, the product expertise of and usage by the child, the product, and the stage in decision making. Such research also reported inconsistencies in parent-child reports of relative influence in decision making. Thus, the role of the child in family decision making depends in part upon whom one asks. Further, the pattern of influence depends upon how many members in the household are questioned and how many members are included in the evaluation process. Too much research has dealt with only one household member's perceptions. Even multi-member studies often rely on older children to constitute the third member of the triad (e.g., Foxman et al. 1989a), making the results ungeneralizable to other family life cycle stages. Future research needs to consider all family member interactions and the members' explicit and implicit roles in consumption processes. For example, to our knowledge, sibling influence on purchase decisions has not been studied within consumer research, despite the obvious modeling by younger children of their (especially same-sex) older siblings.

The Effects of Wage-Paying Employment by Wives

The relevance of the wife's labor force participation to family consumption has been repeatedly debated but seldom resolved. The debate has been about what convenience products and time saving appliances would find their way into the kitchens of women in the labor force and whether working wives would differ significantly from non-working wives in terms of how they shopped (Douglas 1976b). Other sub-streams included the effect of the wife's employment on her decision role structure and on the effect of income on decision role structure. Decision role structure in family decision making has been defined as the role in a purchase decision, e.g. whether the husband or the wife makes the purchase decision.

Green and Cunningham (1970) were the first to examine the effects of the wife's employment on decision role structure. They found that husbands of employed women made significantly fewer decisions by themselves than husbands of women not in the labor force. Another important finding of this research was that the influence given up by husbands was more likely to be shared by the couple rather than the decision turning into a wife-dominated one. More recently, Ruth and Commuri (1998) identified women's entry into labor force as an important influence on how decision roles shift in a household. Strober and Weinberg (1977) controlled for income, and found that

income and assets and not wife's labor force behavior were the significant predictors of resource outlay decisions. Strober and Weinberg also initiated the discussion about the relationship between the wife's labor force behavior and the purchase of time saving durables when they found no significant relationship between the two. Strober and Weinberg (1980) substantiated this finding when they found similar effects after holding the life cycle stage constant.

Nickols and Fox (1983) clarified convenience as being made up of time saving and time buying strategies, and found evidence that certain time saving (preparing fewer meals at home, reduced time for leisure) and time buying (child care, disposable diapers) strategies were more prominent among women in the labor force. Further evidence of this contention was presented later by Soberon-Ferrer and Dardis (1991). Bellante and Foster (1984) reported that the effects of labor force participation on the use of time saving strategies were more a function of income and stage in the family life cycle. However, consistent with the argument of Nickols and Fox (1983), Bryant (1988) reported that time saving durables were complements rather than substitutes for time available. In other words, Bryant suggested that time saving devices facilitate better management of time rather than substitute for lost time. Further evidence supporting only the income hypothesis was presented by Oropesa (1993) and Rubin, Riney, and Molina (1990).

Schaninger and Allen (1981) suggested that there was much merit in treating the wife's occupational status as a summary construct because it represented a cluster of lifestyle and consumption patterns. They found differences between women employed in lower occupational status jobs and women employed in higher occupational status jobs, but these findings were not dissimilar from those reported across socio-income classes in general. Simultaneously, Reilly (1982) treated role overload as a mediator in predicting convenience consumption among families with the wife in the labor force. However, even with role overload as a mediator, no more than ten percent of the variance was explained. Weinberg and Winer (1983) and Madill-Marshall, Heslop, and Duxbury (1995) were the next to confirm the lack of a significant relationship between wife's labor force behavior and family purchases of time saving durables and convenience foods.

One significant departure in this stream of research was a recent study by Webster and Rice (1996) that reported that when husbands and wives retire, a shift in power (favoring wives) occurred only when the incomes of the couple were significantly unequal. Such longer term implications of women's earnings on decision making and decision role structure hold relevance in the context of the rising incidence of the employment of women.

Summary - Knowledge of work-status has not provided consistent insights in terms of the types of time-saving strategies to be used in the household. A zero-sum perspective of household production would seem to be wrong, as working wives (especially those in higher occupational statuses) are doing less in terms of household production, but their husbands are not doing appreciably more. Time-saving services are increasing, but the total incidence of household production activities seems to be declining. So household decision making not only involves he versus she, but also "them" or "no one." These processes need much more in-depth investigation, as the economically-based resource theory explanations would seem to have offered limited insight.

Gender Roles

One of the variables that retained the interest of researchers for its predictability of relative influence was gender-role (or what some have referred to as sex-role) orientation. Green and Cunningham (1970) were the first to examine this variable in the context of marketing and consumer behavior. They examined the effect of the feminine role orientation of the wife and found that the occupational status of the wife was a better predictor than the feminine role orientation. They further examined differences in family decision making across different types of families (Green and Cunningham 1975) and found that upper income groups and younger couples were more sensitive to feminine role perceptions (or lack of them) among wives. They also found that when the wife carried nontraditional attitudes about feminine roles, husbands reported fewer solo decisions.

Scanzoni (1977) made the strongest effort to outline the relevance of shifts in gender roles for consumer behavior. Though he did not present any empirical evidence, Scanzoni listed the key implications of shifts in gender roles

that should guide research attention. He identified two key demographic and social changes that bear relevance to gender roles -- (a) women defining their paid employment in the same terms as men did and (thus) (b) a change in relationships between men and women. Scanzoni argued that institutional norms were no longer sufficient to prescribe behavior in families, and therefore there was a necessity for researchers to deal with issues that they have not dealt with before. He identified consumption and leisure as two important areas where much of the effect of these changes would be felt.

Another implication of gender roles to research on family decision-making research is the extent to which such role identities affect reporting. Qualls (1982) found that not only did sex roles affect the distribution of influence and the extent of interaction, but also accounted for differences in the reports of relative influence. Consistent with this finding, Buss and Schaninger (1983) proposed that sex roles should be treated as individual factors affecting participation in decision making and thus should be integral to research on family decision-making.

Summary - One might argue that the greatest social change in the U.S. in the second half of the 20th Century was caused by the (re-)entry of women into the work force in huge numbers; gender roles changed so much that the Economist (September 28, 1996) proclaimed women to be the stronger sex in its cover story in that issue. To be certain, family dynamics have changed in many households; attitudes toward gender roles are seen as being important in the determination of consumption processes, but the research to date has been somewhat muddled. Hopefully, work will continue on the systematic measurement of gender attitudes such that a concise scale can be included in future research, making gender role another construct available in most studies (as is age, number and ages of children, etc.) for classification purposes.

Family as an Influencing Agent

Perhaps one of the most examined areas in family consumer behavior has been the influence of members of family on individual (as opposed to household) consumption. Intergenerational influence (Heckler, Childers, and Arunachalam 1989; Miller 1975; Moore-Shay and Berchmans 1996; Moore-Shay and Lutz 1988; Shah and Mittal 1997; Sorce, Loomis, and Tyler 1989), family as a reference group (Childers and Rao 1992; Fellerman and Debevec 1993), and family as a socializing agent (Carlson and Grossbart 1988; John 1999; Moschis and Moore 1979; Moschis, Prahasto, and Mitchell 1986) are areas that have been investigated in this context. In fact, "socialization" processes have been investigated sufficiently frequently to merit their own review article (see John 1999). Given the depth of coverage there, our discussion of the consumer socialization of children will be quite limited.

In terms of intergenerational influence, while correspondence in brand preference was found across generations (Childers and Rao 1992; Moore-Shay and Lutz 1988), preferences were also found to vary across types of products [Heckler et al. (1989) found preferences to be understood better within the family in the case of convenience goods] and operate in either direction (parent-to-child or child-to-parent; Sorce et al. 1989). Wind (1976) first suggested that families behave as buying centers, and Childers and Rao (1992) extended the reference group model to include family members, finding systematic differences between the influence of peers and members of the family depending on whether the product was privately or publicly consumed.

Summary - While the consumer socialization of children has generated "an impressive body of research" (John 1999, p. 183), "much remains to be learned and the field is ripe with alternatives to conduct managerial theoretical and applied research" (John 1999, p. 207). Looking beyond parent-to-child socialization, one can note much greater need for understanding intergenerational influence. Reverse socialization does occur in the teenage child/parent interaction, and little is known about "parental learning" (Ekstrom 1995). More understanding is needed of influence generated within the extended family (as opposed to just the nuclear family), especially when consumer research takes a more global perspective. The adult child-parental influence process will become increasingly of interest, especially once the well-resourced baby-boom generation retires and starts to lose its physical vitality (Gentry, Kennedy, and Macintosh 1995; Sorce et al. 1989).

Decision Roles

Much of the research on family consumer behavior has been on decision roles -- who makes what decisions. Sharp and Mott (1955) became the pioneers in decision role research in marketing when they examined decision roles for a diverse set of product categories. They examined whether the husband, the wife, or both made the final purchase decision. The study was replicated two decades later by Cunningham and Green (1974), who reported shifts in such roles over time. The predominant question asked in research on decision roles in families was summarized by Wolgast (1958, p. 151) when she asked "Do husbands or wives make the purchasing decisions?" The seemingly simple question appears to have remained the limiting tone of much of the examination of decision roles -- do husbands *or* wives make the decisions.

Around the same time as when Cunningham and Green (1974) demonstrated shifts in roles over time, Davis and Rigaux (1974) discussed such shifts across decision stages within a decision context. However, unlike the Sharp and Mott (1956) framework later adopted by Cunningham and Green (1974), Davis and Rigaux adopted the more comprehensive contingency triangle developed by Wolfe (1959). This adaptation by Davis and Rigaux set the stage for talking about joint, syncretic, and autonomic decisions in family consumer behavior. Subsequent research on decision roles has adopted a similar classificatory approach to understanding spousal decision making. Criticizing the focus on independent decisions, Douglas (1983) proposed that decision role structure should be studied across decisions. Subsequently, Belch et al. (1985) found that while husbands made the purchase decisions for automobiles and televisions, wives dominated decisions about the purchase of appliances, furniture, and cereal. However, the focus in many studies was on individual decisions, and home purchase was one of the more popular categories examined (Hempel 1975; Kim and Lee 1996; Munsinger, Weber, and Hansen 1975; Park 1982). Other popular categories were automobiles (Burns and Granbois 1977; Cox 1975), cereal in the case of parent-child interaction (Berry and Pollay 1968), and financial services (Granbois, Rosen, and Acito 1986; Rosen and Granbois 1983; Stafford and Kasulis 1982).

Criticizing the oversimplification of decision roles at that time, Davis (1970) also noted that the assumption that responses from one spouse were sufficient for understanding roles was essentially false. Much of Davis' subsequent work (Davis 1971, 1976; Davis and Rigaux 1974) and particularly Davis (1971) deliberately departed from an overall assessment of influence and moved toward a multidimensional definition of power and influence. Davis (1970) also pointed out that the lack of consensus about relative influence among members of a family could be a function of different interpretations of influence. However, this argument was not tested in subsequent research, except for Wilkes (1975), who found support for the earlier arguments. Wilkes also confirmed the need to examine decision making through the entire process as relative influence typically varied by stage of decision. Shuptrine and Samuelson (1976) reapplied this new classification of roles to understand shifts in decision roles over time. However, little critical examination has been noted of the changing influence of the role of women in society in general on family decision making.

Subsequent research paid attention to the determinants of relative influence and thus to the decision roles; for example Rosen and Granbois (1983) found that sex-role attitudes (whether traditional or not) and education were the most relevant determinants. Consistent with some feminist work in the area of women's employment, Rosen and Granbois also reported that the reason for the wife's employment was also a critical factor in determining role structure. Joag, Gentry, and Ekstrom (1991) developed a role/goal model of wife decision making that incorporated both work status and the motivation for working.

Summary - Too much research has focused on "who" and too little on "how." Changing gender roles in the last half century have negated the value of "who buys" research conducted in the past; for example, women in the 1990s play very different roles in car purchasing (Shepherdson 2000) than choosing only the color of the vehicle (as one might surmise from family research 30-40 years ago). While the emphasis on relative influence discussed in the next section does provide more insight as to "how," even this stream will be criticized for its sterile limitations.

Relative Influence

Closely related to decision roles in family consumer behavior is the concept of relative influence. Though it can be argued that this construct is a subset of decision roles, relative influence has received considerable attention in research and thus it is being discussed separately. This construct has evidenced much discord in data collected from multiple members of a family where no agreements on relative influence could be detected. Though Beatty and Talpade (1994) and Belch et al. (1985) reported systematic biases in such discrepancies (as discussed earlier), in general there has been no strong conclusion as to the nature of the discrepancy pattern. However, there would seem to be general agreement that family decision making is an interactive process (Brinberg and Schwenk 1984) and thus relative influence is an important construct.

As mentioned earlier, Davis (1970) and Davis and Rigaux (1974) made the initial contributions to this stream of research when Davis began to question the merits of investigating only one respondent in a family and Davis and Rigaux demonstrated the dynamic nature of relative influence within a single decision context. The consumption relevance of the two roles (of husband and wife) was underlined by Ferber and Lee (1974), when they reported differences in saving patterns depending on whether the wife or the husband played the role of "family financial officer." Subsequently, Szybillo, Sosanie, and Tenenbein (1979) were the first to test the various measurements of relative influence and suggested that evaluation of multiple members on independent measures had several merits. However, the test of this measurement was conducted only on women, thus decreasing the value associated with the use of a multi-member method.

One of the significant contributions to the understanding of relative influence has been the proposal that an outcome could be equally satisfying to both the husband and the wife, but for different reasons (Burns 1976; Davis (1970) also argued that relative influence may be interpreted differently by husbands and wives). This stream of research underlined the complex nature of the involvement of more than two players in decision making. Subsequently, Burns (1977) and Burns and Ortinau (1979) noted the misperceptions that plague joint decision making and called for a multidimensional typology to understand family decision making. This argument that a decision outcome could have meant different things to the husband and the wife bore much potential, but has not been carried forward.

Another significant contribution to the understanding of relative influence was made by Park (1982). Park suggested that the process of joint decision making was one through which couples muddled rather than steered according to a pre-determined strategy. While Park's argument on one plane was not unique compared to the differences in relative influence across decision stages that were reported until then, Park's vital contribution was the focus he placed on conflict resolution as the driving force at each stage and the classification of product attributes in terms of their role in resolution of conflicts. Corfman and Lehmann (1987) found that couples use more than a one-period history in their assessment of relative roles and that couples remember who won across decision contexts rather than how much was won. The carry-over effect of decision history was also reported by Qualls and Jaffe (1992) in the case of decision conflicts.

More recently, Park, Tansuhaj, and Kolbe (1991) and Park et al. (1995) introduced the role of affect in spousal decision making and argued that the presence of love in a marital relationship makes relative influence a difficult construct to capture unless affect (along with attribute-based evaluation) was studied. However, most subsequent research has appeared to ignore the more complex structures proposed by Park (1982) and Corfman and Lehmann (1987), the earlier evidence about the variance across decision stages (Davis 1970; Wilkes 1975), and the role of affect (Park et al. 1991, 1995), resulting in the aggregation of differences in relative influence into simple broad categories based on overall influence (Kim and Lee 1996).

The underlying causes for differences in relative influence also remain unexplained. For example, Filiatrault and Ritchie (1980) compared decision roles among couples and "families" (couples with children) and found that while greater consensus was reported by couples, husbands dominated decisions when children were present in the families. While this latter finding was consistent with Belch et al.'s (1985) finding that children attributed greater influence to fathers than mothers, the reasons for such dominance remain unexplored and unexplained.

Summary - Much of the relative influence research has apparently been conducted from a competitive perspective, implying an "either-or" mentality on the part of the spouses. For example, Qualls (1988, p. 443) states, "Influence is defined in the present study as the perception of the action taken by one spouse to obtain his or her most preferred decision outcome while simultaneously stopping the attainment of their spouses' most preferred outcomes." A cooperative perspective might look harder for implicit as opposed to explicit measures of influence. Such a perspective would suggest that many family decisions do not constitute only conscious choice, but also incorporate a shared consensus, mutual trust, and the desire to maintain harmony. Sillars and Kalbflesch (1987) conclude that explicit decision making (as is simulated in the vast majority of family decision making studies) occurs only when implicit adjustment does not occur smoothly. Further, highly implicit transactions are limited to more homogeneous and stable relationships where the shared experience of individuals allows them to fill in considerable taken-for-granted meaning.

Influence Strategies

An extension beyond the assessment of who has influence is the study of the process of increasing that influence. Examining the strategies used to resolve disagreements, Spiro (1983) found that the tendency to use (more or less) influence was directly related to the (traditional or nontraditional) attitudes that the spouse held. Subsequently, Corfman and Lehmann (1987) paid further attention to the use of influence strategies and included decision history as a key variable, finding that success on previous decisions was a key determinant of relative influence when a couple had relatively similar preference intensities. Kirchler (1990) identified tactics used by husbands and wives on each other, and Palan and Wilkes (1997) and Williams and Burns (1995) identified tactics used by adolescents on their parents. Palan and Wilkes (1997) also found that parents used five different influence strategies based on their legitimate roles as authorities, and that their children generally accepted and respected this authority.

Summary - In general, we recommend more emphasis on the investigation of the process of influence rather than just attempts to measure relative influence. We also see the recent study of influence strategies to be linked to the older stream of research on conflict resolution.

Resolution of Conflict

Attention to the resolution of conflict implicit in spousal decision making was paid in research on relative influence and influence strategies reported above. One problem with the study of conflict in family decision making is the tendency of respondents to avoid conflict (Spiro 1983), especially in the researcher-imposed frameworks used most typically in consumer research. Corfman and Lehmann (1987) used a two-stage process which identified tasks in which spousal preferences differed in the first stage. Despite the conflict-inducing framework, little conflict was noted in the second stage as the couple's desire to support their relationship played a significant role in determining relative influence.

Two early models (Granbois 1963; Pollay 1968) provided promising structures for investigating conflict resolution, but little subsequent work based on them is evident. Later research that paid specific attention to conflict resolution includes Cox (1975) and Burns and Granbois (1977). As discussed earlier, Cox (1975) investigated mutual adjustment processes across stages in the product life cycle. Implicit in the argument underlying his study was the multi-decision perspective of family decision making reported later by Corfman and Lehmann (1987) (discussed above) and an element of learning of and adjusting toward the spouse's preferences that appeared to be taking place (Burns 1976; Davis, Hoch, and Ragsdale 1986). Burns and Granbois (1977) examined disagreements over eleven stages (sub-decisions) of decision making and found that discrepancy was lowest for the initial sub-decisions and grew thereafter. The merit of examining conflict at multiple stages of decision-making was further reinforced by Qualls (1988). Burns and Granbois (1977) also reported that certain product features represent more potential for disagreements than others. Such patterns were also discussed by Park (1982), who suggested that the easy-to-resolve decisions were handled first and were made up of product features that represented categorical acceptance or rejection. Other streams of research under this theme attempted to classify conflict resolution strategies (Nelson 1988) and the incidence of various strategies (Belch, Belch, and Sciglimpaglia 1979).

Summary - Research that has examined conflict in family decision making has detected an overarching tendency, in such contexts, among husbands and wives to minimize conflict in decision making. However, not much is yet known on whether husbands and wives use different conflict reducing strategies and whether they vary by nature of decision; the latter appears to be the case for many research questions studied in family decision making. Additionally, with recent biological evidence suggesting that men and women respond differently to stress, it is possible that not only the responses to conflict but also the stage of decision making when conflicts are perceived may vary between husbands and wives. Finally, the meaning of conflict itself may vary across the family life cycle. For example, as a couple learns to negotiate its decisions, conflict-type interactions may continue over the years but may not serve the same function as a conflict. Thus, there is scope for investigation of how conflicts change and evolve over the life cycle of the family.

Judgment and Information Processing

Research attention was also devoted to issues concerning differences in information processing across members of the family and the role of alternative judgment rules in reducing conflict in family decisions. Curry and Menasco (1979) were the first to consider information processing arguments to explain disagreements in family consumption decisions. They suggested that the process of pre-choice agreements turning into a post-choice loss of utility was a function of different information processing strategies used by husbands and wives. Thus, attention shifted in this research from differences in preferences to differences in approaches to those preferences. This argument bears much potential, particularly in the light of additional evidence that disagreements grow as the decision task progresses (Burns and Granbois 1977). However, there has not been any subsequent research based on the arguments proposed by Curry and Menasco.

Kourilsky and Murray (1981) examined the use of economic reasoning in judgment and choice and suggested that if all family members used economic reasoning, then preference congruence and satisfaction in decision making could be improved. However, this research did not consider that economic gains may be framed differently by various members of the family.

Summary - As in the case of conflict resolution discussed above, it is possible that men and women process information differently. Also, it is likely that such processes may differ for those in first marriages and among remarried couples. Such differences have not been investigated in terms of their implications for consumption decisions. With the advent of search cost reducing media such as the Internet, it is likely that who in the family has more access to information may be changing. For example, with new technologies proliferating faster among youth, children may be bringing in more information into the decision making process than in the past, and the dynamics and implications of these shifts need attention.

Disruptions in Consumption

The research reported above explored consumption under implicitly-assumed steady-state conditions. However, disruptions through important life events tend to either bring the family together or distance them, thus raising the potential for shifts in consumption because of altered relative influence and preferences. Fellerman and Debevec (1993) were the first, in marketing and consumer behavior, to pay attention to this important transition in the consumer behavior of families. They identified family transitions as unique settings for understanding how life events affect consumption. Gentry et al. (1995) studied families that had lost a member and reported that new decision roles were embraced by survivors after the death of the family member, that shifts in communication patterns (including blaming) after the death of a child took place, and that non-economic consumption meanings of the possessions of the deceased evolved.

More recently, Rindfleisch, Burroughs, and Denton (1997) examined the role of disruptions (specifically, divorce) in families on the development of consumer behavior among children and reported that such disruptions led to tendencies of compulsive consumption and increased materialism.

Summary - As noted in the discussion of needed research on family life cycles, family consumer research has focused on trajectories rather than transitions. Given the greater likelihood of change in established patterns of consumption during the liminal stages of a transition, there is great need to understand better the changes in family dynamics as well as within the individual. Many life-event transitions (marriage, birth of a child, death of a family member, divorce, retirement, last child leaves the nest, etc.) change the nature of the family unit greatly. Much more understanding is needed as to the nature of the changes taking place during those often painful transitions.

Cross-Cultural Comparisons

Research in the field has also compared family decision making behavior across cultures. Though some of this research termed itself as "cross-cultural," it is not very clear whether it was cross-national or truly cross-cultural. National boundaries were treated as cultural boundaries and no manipulation checks to verify differences in cultures were examined. The first attempt at comparing family consumption behavior across countries (Hempel 1974) did not find any differences. Hempel compared family decision making between the US and the UK and reported that decision roles varied more by stage of decision than "culture." However, Douglas (1976a) found differences in countries to dominate differences between working and non-working wives in her investigation of consumers in the US and France.

Comparing family consumption across five nations, Green et al. (1983) found that differences in decision roles fell along three classes of households based on a societal development model (Rodman 1972). Differences between patriarchy (Gabon), modified patriarchy (Venezuela), and transition-egalitarian (US, France, and Holland) societies were detected. A similar test of Rodman's framework was undertaken by Yavas, Babakus, and Delevar (1994), who found that women in Saudi Arabia behaved similarly to those in Western countries when an increase in the contribution of resources went along with a rise in influence. However, husbands were reported as dominating most decisions in both cultures. (For a literature review of cross-cultural family decision-making, see O'Connor, Sullivan, and Pogorzelski 1985).

Summary - The amount of consumer research conducted by North Americans that focuses on family decision making across cultures is quite limited, as is North American awareness of such work being done in other regions of the world. For example, in her systematic review of the consumer socialization literature, John (1999) notes that very little cross-cultural research has been conducted and that much of what has been done has been descriptive in nature. She also raised the issue of public policy, noting the differential role of the one-child policy in urban China compared to rural China (where the policy is not strictly enforced). More research is needed to compare the role of public policy on family consumption processes. For example, Gentry, Dahab, and Jun (1997) made a preliminary attempt to contrast public policy across countries and to discuss the implications for family marketing environments (availability of credit, store hours, support systems for mothers in the work force, etc.).

Measurement

A first effort to "clean up" the measurement issues with regard to family decision making was made by Davis (1971). To date, that study remains one of the few studies that has systematically examined the reliability and validity of influence measures used in family consumer behavior (others are Corfman 1989; Hopper, Burns, and Sherrell 1989; Madrigal and Miller 1996). Comparing global measures, relative importance measures, and specific purchase sub-decisions, Davis reported the relative merit of measuring influence on specific sub-decisions. However, the issue of comparability across products was not discussed. Other attempts at refining measurement of constructs relevant to family consumer behavior were Magrabi et al.'s (1975) proposal to measure the total value of goods and services, Schaninger and Allen's (1981) proposal to use wife's occupational status as a summary construct, Morgan's (1985) comparison of static and dynamic estimates of changes driven by family composition, and Kim and Lee's (1997) test of a multi-item multi-respondent triadic measure of relative influence.

In terms of method, while survey research appears to have been the most dominant data collection process, attempts at other approaches to measuring influence have been made. The first such attempt in consumer research was reported by Atkin (1978), who unobtrusively observed decision making behavior in a supermarket. Thompson (1996) and Thompson et al. (1990) used interpretive methodologies to understand the consumer behavior of

married women, but neither study examined the perspective of other members in the family. Examining the consumption experience of married women in isolation has repeatedly been criticized since Davis (1970, 1976), because it does not capture the interdependent nature of such consumption. As mentioned earlier, Palan and Wilkes (1997) and Williams and Burns (1995) used interpretive research to study parent-child influence strategies. Though the issue of the interviewer has not come up recently, Dunsing and Hafstrom (1975) noted that in addition to who (husband or wife) was interviewed, discrepancies in findings across studies can also be explained by who (a male or a female) was interviewing. More attention to these issues is needed.

One important feature of the research on family decision making appears to be the extent to which *a priori* assumptions are being made by the researchers. For example, in research on joint decision making, researchers have usually narrowed the investigation *a priori* to product category/categories which they consider to entail joint decision making. Home purchase in the case of husband-wife decisions and cereal in the case of parent-child decisions are examples. There is little evidence of research that first examined which products entail joint decision making among informants and then investigated decision making for those products (exceptions are Corfman and Lehmann (1987) and Ruth and Commuri (1998)). Similar researcher imposed restrictions are also evident in research on the relationship between wives' labor force behavior and the use of convenience products and time saving appliances. The failure to find such relationships, if they do indeed exist, may be due as much to improper conceptualization of the research domain as to measurement problems.

While Tansuhaj and Foxman's (1990) recommendations about the use of triadic data and Venkatesh's (1990) directions on longitudinal methods are valuable, their application in family decision research needs to take root. Like Davis (1976), Corfman (1989) argued that outcome measures (rather than reports of relative influence) should be used because reports of influence are not valid measures of influence. This remains another key suggestion that appears to have been left unheeded. Even a focus on outcome, however, would leave to the researcher the task of inferring "process." Though current methods and methodologies have been criticized (more recently, Corfman 1990 and Tansuhaj and Foxman 1990), there have been only a few calls for the use of alternative methods. Examples include game theoretic approaches (Gupta, Hegerty, and Myers 1983), anthropological approaches (Heisley and Holmes 1987), other post positivistic methodologies (Burns and Gentry 1990; Palan and Wilkes 1997), family focus groups (Stoltman and Gentry 1992), time diary use (Bryant and Zick 1996), and a simulation game perspective (Gentry, Stoltman, and Coulson 1990); however, there have not been many significant advances in terms of applying these proposals in research.

Summary - If the recommendations of this review are to be implemented, consumer research on the household will need to use methodologies other than the too frequent pencil and paper instrument. While studying family dynamics will never be easy, the family literature is interdisciplinary and vast, giving consumer researchers a wide variety of methodological tools. For instance, Ball, Cowan, and Cowan (1995) measured communication length and content in various stages of conflict resolution over the couple's allocation of time to household production activities. Rich coding systems have been developed to measure couple interactions [for example, see Fitzpatrick and Ritchie (1994) and Jacob et al. 1995]. A family can be a very volatile unit and consumer issues can be among those which a family would rather not discuss, making intensive study of family consumer processes potentially harmful to the informants. The family literature across disciplines is so extensive that consumer researchers can use previous work to limit unneeded blunders.

ADDITIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR RESEARCH

As mentioned above, much of the research attention so far has been on *a* family (refer to the Figure for "*a*" versus "*the*" family). Though this research is extensive, in terms of the entire gamut of possible research domain depicted in the Figure, it represents only one dimension of family that may be of interest to marketers. In addition, even with regard to *a* family, several other pertinent questions have remained unaddressed. Addressing the additional issues in *a* family and making a foray into the other areas of the Figure is important.

The Figure notes that family policy has a direct effect on *a* family (e.g. the impact of pro-natalist policies and family planning initiatives). For example, the differences in composition of families and family values in countries that have practiced pro-natalist policies versus those that have not has been discussed by Gauthier (1996). Other issues related to the interface between government and *a* family include the effects of state-sponsored child care and other policies aimed at childbearing. All these issues have a direct effect on consumption-related behaviors of families.

Similarly, the effect of the economy on families is another important dimension that can be considered when investigating a broader perspective of "household." Changes in macro economic structural variables can have certain telling effects of families (Hochschild 1997; Rubin 1994). The effect of the economy on *the* family can even be considered to be two fold, the effect on *a* family and the shaping of *the* family (by making certain family forms more demanding and economically impossible). Notions of *the* family also shape consumer behavior within *a* family. For example, popular notions of families shape communication with and the socialization of children thus, perhaps, altering family-oriented rituals of consumption.

Further, as mentioned at the start of the paper, models developed for explaining individual behavior fail in the context of families because they offer few tools to handle research on families. As Netting et al. (1984) noted, family as a unit develops an emergent nature that extends beyond the sum of individuals. Therefore, there is scope for developing innovative approaches to understanding families. Focussing on who makes the final purchase decision does not facilitate overcoming the challenge of dealing with the family (rather than the individual) as the unit of analysis. The following themes represent opportunities for further research in the various domains identified in the Figure.

Issues of Behavior in *a* Family

One of the most promising areas of research in family decision making is with regard to family consumer behavior. As the name suggests, it does not cover preferences but covers behavior, and, thus, observation studies rather than verbal protocols/survey instruments have to be adopted by researchers. There is much evidence about what families say they do, but little current evidence on what they actually do. Several biases such as social desirability (coupled with a need to make a marital relationship appear strong and congenial, according to gender norms), the role and sex of the investigator (Dunsing and Hafstrom 1975), decay of memory, and demand artifacts can separate behavior from what is reported. Accompanied shopping and participant-observation in the home (Wallendorf and Arnould 1991) could be potential starting points. Evidence that we lack an understanding about many behavioral issues relating to a family is all around us. Family as a producing unit, resource allocation in families (Commuri and Gentry 2000), and socialization are all areas with fertile research potential (see John 1999 for a commentary on research potential in the latter).

Issues in Reporting - Perhaps much of the complexity of relative influence in families is also a function of difficulties in representing it in research. Family researchers should consider content analyzing decision making behavior and presenting evidence of such behavior (video tapes/audio recordings) as research output. In other words, in addition to trying to capture in words what happens at perhaps a subtler plane, researchers should consider representing research in non-verbal formats.

The Influence of Government - Government has a critical role to play in determining the future of family. Much responsibility for the state of families in a society is attributable to policy initiatives (or the lack of) by the government. For example, provision of state-sponsored child care not only adds a different dimension to buying time as a consumption activity, but also has an indirect influence on childbearing and the bundle of other consumption decisions that go with it, the propensity for the mother to be employed, etc. Other dimensions of state participation would be in terms of literacy, paid employment of women, permissible store hours, and the effects of tax structures and social security on family consumption behavior.

Influence of the Economy - In the recent past, one has witnessed several dramatic shifts in economies all over the world. The blue collar job is becoming extinct in the US, the economic revolution in Russia has almost vanished,

and electronic commerce has facilitated the participation in commerce of women in traditional societies which have so far shunned any public interaction by women. For example, the current loss of manufacturing jobs can have severe influence on families and consumption in families (Rubin 1994; Wilson 1996). The diminishing family size and the growing economic opportunities in South East Asia (even given the meltdown in 1997-1998) are reducing the influence of the extended family somewhat, though "family" in the region is far more complex than the North American nuclear family concept. Georgas et al. (1997) found that the role structures in nuclear families are not dissimilar across cultures, but that extended family structures are quite different. All these episodes have potential for far-reaching consumer and consumption behavior implications; none has been studied systematically.

Changes in What Constitutes *The Family*

The definition of family is undergoing a metamorphosis, and consistency across research in terms of what constitutes the family is somewhat rare. Adequate research attention has not been paid to emerging forms of family such as cohabiting couples, same-sex couples, single-parent families, and binuclear families or families without boundaries (Ahrons and Rodgers 1987). While there is evidence that cohabiting couples are different from married couples in terms of economic behavior (Blumstein and Schwartz 1983), research has not paid attention to the household decision-making behavior of cohabiting couples and the determinants of such behavior. Similar issues confound an understanding of the consumer behavior of other forms of families, as discussed above. Research on same-sex couples has pointed out that marked differences exist between heterosexual and same-sex couples in terms of money management (Blumstein and Schwartz 1983). Market place and other consumption implications of such differences have not been examined.

Gentry et al. (1995) examined the consumer behavior-related implications of a death of a family member, and McAlexander, Schouten, and Roberts (1993) investigated their implications in the context of divorce. A growing number of children in the US and other Western countries will grow up in a single-parent family at some point in their life (Cherlin 1992). Rindfleisch et al. (1997) examined the implications of growing up in such family forms on children. Children of separated couples tend to live with the mother in nine out of ten cases and it is the mother that takes a significant drop in well-being after the separation. Therefore, such implications of separation would also affect the lives of mothers and alter the consumption behavior of fathers. Such issues remain to be investigated.

Hill and his colleagues (Hill 1991, 1992, 1995; Hill and Macan 1996; Hill and Stephens 1997; Lee, Ozanne, and Hill 1999; Patterson, Hill, and Maloy 1995; Stephens et al. 2000; Wasson and Hill 1998) have investigated a wide variety of social issues (homelessness, abortion, urban and rural poverty, female poverty, spouse abuse, and aboriginal rights) that affect family structure in a multitude of manners. This stream of research provides an exemplar in terms of shedding light on the lived experience of vulnerable households.

Other shifts in the composition of family include the falling size of family and delayed formation. Implications of such shifts have not been investigated. For example, as women (and men) delay family formation, they extend the life of other forms of households such as single-person households or same-sex cohabiting households with no sexual contact. Consumption behavior and consumer learning in such households not only would be unique but will carry over into the family. These behaviors have not been investigated.

Another important shift in families has been the continuous redefinition of marital roles. Family has long served as a platform for playing gender (West and Zimmerman 1985), as several consumption activities in the family have been gendered. However, as women and some men aim at rewriting the meaning of gender, important shifts in consumption behavior would occur. The effects of couples not playing gender have not been investigated. For example, it is not clear whether consumption activities associated with children would be the same if the father and not the mother were the primary care provider. Would children then be socialized differently? DeVault (1997) notes that even in households in which husbands do most of the cooking, the wife is still the household manager and controls most planning functions related to cooking. As the house husband phenomenon grows, whether the wife will continue to be the "home manager" needs to be investigated. Investigation of such issues would have far reaching implications -- from package information to advertising appeals to social policy considerations.

The gendered nature of family consumption and decision making is prevalent even in the approaches to research. Most research hypotheses have been constructed from a perspective that has taken the breadwinner role of the husband for granted. There is a need to deconstruct such gendered approaches to research on families so that we may pave the way for gender-neutral research.

CONCLUSION

Household research provides an extensive portfolio of research agenda for scholars in the field, and this potential should attract more researchers to pay attention to the domain. Several rich areas remain under-researched and research attention so far, though in-depth, has focused on a narrower set of issues. A review of the *Journal of Consumer Research* over the years reveals that the interest paid to family consumer behavior in the early years of the journal has showed a steady decline (as represented by the number of publications) as research began to become repetitive.

Family and family consumer behavior are, no doubt, complex and "messy" areas compared to individual decision making. It may be that the reciprocal relationships among members of the family are far too complex to unravel into meaningful constructs. However, this does not mean that family behavior should forever remain out of the grasp of researchers. An important first step should be to reorient the perspective that a researcher has about decision making. A perspective trained to evaluate individual behavior should be shed before examining families. The biggest block to understanding families is a mindset that attempts to understand it from a perspective that has been developed for understanding individual behavior. Thus, questions such as "do husbands *or* wives...", "*who* makes the final decision", or "*who* won" should never be asked in the case of families. Perhaps the questions should be "who *all* participated..", "*how* did preferences evolve", or "how are roles being *constructed*..." In other words, the first step to overcoming the complexity of family decision making is to give up the individual and become concerned with only the family as the unit of analysis.

Other strategies that would facilitate overcoming the complexity should include new approaches to the collection of data. Observation studies and studies with informants as co-researchers should be adopted until the field gains an "insider's view" of the issues involved. As discussed earlier, there appears to be potential to experiment with other forms of representing research data. These issues are important particularly in the light of the fact that research aimed at understanding the relationship between convenience and wives' labor force participation appeared to indicate that, perhaps, the researchers did not share the same definition as consumers as to what convenience meant. Any distance between the researcher and the consumer will only result in researcher-imposed definitions, rather than capturing consumer reality.

Family has been anything but static. It has been witness to radical changes over the years and continues to surprise scholars in the discipline. A field such as this should be nothing less than a fertile domain offering researchers a continuous source of research questions, but marketing and consumer research communities need to pay more attention to this domain. Research in the future should also attempt to integrate the course of research on families into a meaningful whole so that research thereafter can strive toward integration into a theory of family consumer behavior.

SUMMARY TABLE Family Research in Marketing

CLASSIFICATION OF FAMILIES

Current Research	Directions for Future Research
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<p>Families have been classified in terms of their purchasing potential.</p> <p>Though such classifications have built on relevant variables such as income, other variables that affect consumption rituals and patterns have not been accommodated.</p>	<p><u>Unit</u> There is a need for development of multidimensional measures for classifying individual families (e.g. on purchase potential as has been done so far coupled with family composition and form).</p> <p><u>Institution</u> Classifications should also accommodate the dynamism of modern families at structural and institutional levels (e.g. changes in composition and form).</p>
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RELEVANCE OF FAMILY LIFE CYCLE

Current Research	Directions for Future Research
<p>Preferences in consumption and decision making have been found to evolve over the stages of the family life cycle, and preferences of husbands and wives have been found to converge over later stages.</p> <p>Life cycle models have been repeatedly revised to accommodate emerging family forms and Gilly-Enis' model has been found to be more robust than others.</p> <p>However, even current models do not accommodate cohabiting couples in a unique classification despite evidence that consumption patterns of such couples vary.</p> <p>A persistent criticism has been that family life cycles may be explaining the effects of differences in incomes on consumption rather than effects of differences in composition.</p>	<p><u>Unit</u> Life cycle model based research has only examined the consumption behavior over the trajectory. Future research should focus on consumption decisions and the process of shifts in such decisions at transition stages.</p> <p><u>Institution</u> There is need to once again revise the life cycle to accommodate emergent family forms such as cohabiting couples, homosexual couples, and "second families."</p> <p>While family compositional variables are important, future revisions of life cycle models must also incorporate demographic variables such as age and income to explain the current diversity in family compositions.</p>

ROLE OF THE CHILD

Current Research	Directions for Future Research
<p>Influence of the child in family decision making varies across age of the child, the child's personal resources (such as education), product, and stage of decision making.</p> <p>Parents and children usually disagree in their reports of the relative influence of each other and</p>	<p><u>Unit</u> Multistage and multi-member studies have to be conducted to understand the patterns of influence of children in decision making.</p> <p>Implicit and explicit influence have to be measured in order to understand better the patterns of</p>

<p>children tend to attribute greater influence to the father than the mother.</p>	<p>discrepancy in reporting.</p> <p>The influence of siblings on each other has not been investigated.</p> <p>The influence of children in single parent and disrupted families needs more investigation.</p> <p><u>Institution</u> Changing family norms make it imperative to reinvestigate the meaning of "parenthood" in families and the consequent roles of parents and children in decision making.</p>
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EFFECTS OF WAGE PAYING EMPLOYMENT BY WIVES

Current Research	Directions for Future Research
<p>The predominant interest in the effects of wage paying employment by wives has been on the subsequent purchase/use of time saving devices and strategies, but no consistent patterns have been detected.</p> <p>Wives' wage paying employment has been found to affect decision roles with more decisions being shared rather than being husband dominated.</p>	<p><u>Unit</u> The zero-sum perspective needs to be replaced in research among dual-career families as the nature, number, and types of decisions differ between families with stay-at-home wives and those with wives in wage paying employment.</p> <p><u>Institution</u> Findings about shifts in consumption and decision making as wives take-up wage paying employment should be used to question theoretical assumptions that assume asymmetric flows of resources in families.</p> <p>The incidence of wives being employed and their earning potential are on the rise and such families should be approached anew rather than merely being compared to "traditional" families.</p>

THE EFFECTS OF GENDER ROLES

Current Research	Directions for Future Research
<p>While no predominant relationship between gender roles and decision making have been detected, the lack of traditional attitudes about gender roles has been found to coexist with a greater incidence in joint decision making.</p> <p>It has been proposed (and remains to be empirically explained) that gender roles change as</p>	<p><u>Unit</u> There is need for a summary construct of gender role that has been designed and tested for its validity in predicting consumption behavior.</p> <p>Gender roles may also differentially affect various stages of decision making and such distinctions are yet to be made.</p>

<p>women participate in labor force and these shifts will fundamentally alter husband-wife interactions, including decision making.</p>	<p><u>Institution</u> Shifts in gender roles cause changes in the gender acceptability of new products and services and such implications have not been identified.</p>
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FAMILY DECISION ROLES

Current Research	Directions for Future Research
<p>Research with an interest in decision roles has examined who makes which purchase decision in the household (e.g. who makes the purchase decision for insurance, who makes the purchase decision in the case of cars).</p> <p>Subsequent research on decision roles has enlarged decision roles, introduced joint, syncretic, and autonomic decisions, and found such roles to vary across stages of decision.</p> <p>Decision roles have been found to vary over time and such shifts have been found to depend on a host of demographic and social factors such as the wife's employment and exposure to non-conventional decision roles through mass media.</p> <p>Most decision role research interviewed husbands and wives independently and found little consensus.</p>	<p><u>Unit</u> While the question of "who" has been offered much attention, "how" remains under-examined. In other words, decision processes (versus roles) remain largely unexplained.</p> <p><u>Institution</u> Understanding decision processes and the bases for decision roles holds potential for the development of a much-needed theory of family decision making.</p> <p>Bases for husband or wife playing a decision role needs to be incorporated into research on decision roles.</p>

RELATIVE INFLUENCE AND INFLUENCE MEASURES

Current Research	Directions for Future Research
<p>In multi-member studies, no consensus was detected in reports of relative influence of each other.</p> <p>Relative influence was found to vary across stages of decision making and across decisions.</p> <p>In terms of the evaluation of relative influence, the usage of multiple measures and the investigation of multiple members of the family have been found to be more appropriate.</p> <p>The possibility that decisions may have different utilities to husbands and wives and the use of different decision processes at different stages of decision making have been argued to be some sources of the discord in reports of relative influence.</p> <p>More recent research introduced the argument that relative influence may be perceived across decisions in a cumulative sense.</p> <p>Influence strategies have been found to vary by decision history and norms held by husbands and wives.</p>	<p><u>Unit</u> The dominant paradigm in research has been a competitive one (either-or). There is need to explore relative influence from a cooperative perspective.</p> <p>Correspondingly, there is also a need to understand implicit and explicit influence in decision making as the former rather than the latter may be the norm. However, current research tools are aimed at capturing explicit influence. New methodological tools are required to grasp implicit influence.</p> <p>Overall, there is a need to understand the <u>process</u> of influencing rather than continuing to focus on who is influencing whom.</p> <p><u>Institution</u> Changing social norms have to be interpreted in terms of their impact on family influence patterns.</p>

RESOLUTION OF CONFLICT

Current Research	Directions for Future Research
<p>Conflict minimization has been found to be an overarching agenda in family decision making.</p> <p>Conflict proved to be an elusive concept to investigate even in researcher-imposed conflict scenarios because of the tendency of husbands and wives to minimize and avoid conflict in such scenarios.</p> <p>Learning of and adjustment toward the spouse's preferences appeared to take place as decisions progressed.</p> <p>In addition, conflict appeared to be more evident in the latter stages as the spouse's preferences became more overt and imperative.</p>	<p><u>Unit</u> There is a need to understand whether husbands and wives use different conflict coping strategies in decision making.</p> <p>It is also possible that the stage of decision making where conflicts are perceived may vary for husbands and wives.</p> <p>Conflict resolution and coping may vary over the family life cycle (in addition to decision history) and such shifts are yet to be investigated.</p> <p>Measurement of conflict across all family members should become the norm.</p> <p><u>Institution</u> The impact of changing societal norms on the nature of conflicts and conflict resolution needs to be understood.</p>

CROSS-CULTURAL COMPARISON

Current Research	Directions for Future Research
<p>Limited attention has been paid to differences in family decision making across cultures.</p> <p>In general, differences across family ideology and stage of decision making were found to be stronger than differences across countries investigated.</p>	<p><u>Unit</u> The factors which makes a family's interpersonal relations culture-embedded need research attention.</p> <p><u>Institution</u> The extent that family policy varies across cultures and state intervention in family (e.g. health care, day care) is bound to alter family consumption bundles. Such relationships need research attention.</p>

JUDGMENT AND INFORMATION PROCESSING

Current Research	Directions for Future Research
<p>It has been argued that husbands and wives use different information processing strategies and this may enable an understanding of disagreements in decision making.</p>	<p><u>Unit</u> Information processing strategies may also differ for first marriage couples and remarried couples, and the resulting decision behavior will bear theoretical and managerial relevance.</p> <p><u>Institution</u> The manner in which changing technologies affect search patterns within the family needs investigation.</p>

FAMILY AS AN INFLUENCING AGENT

Current Research	Directions for Future Research
<p>Research attention has been primarily paid to parent-child socialization, inter-generational influence, and the family's role as a reference unit.</p> <p>Parental learning or "reverse socialization" has only received limited attention.</p>	<p><u>Unit</u> Socialization of siblings remains an under-investigated domain.</p> <p><u>Institution</u> Influence across binuclear families and nonresident parents, particularly during family rituals, needs research attention.</p> <p>With the rising presence of high-technology products, parental learning remains an area with high research and managerial relevance.</p>

DISRUPTIONS IN CONSUMPTION

Current Research	Directions for Future Research
<p>Only limited attention has been paid to shifts in consumption as a result of disruptions in families.</p> <p>Disruptions such as the death of a family member have been found to alter communication patterns, decision roles, and the meanings of consumption activities.</p>	<p><u>Unit</u> Many other life-event transitions such as marriage, birth of a child, retirement, and last child leaving the nest affect consumption decision making and behavior and remain unaddressed.</p> <p><u>Institution</u> The impact of public policy intended to protect families made vulnerable by tragic life event transitions needs investigation.</p>

MEASUREMENT

Current Research	Directions for Future Research
<p>Survey research has been the most dominant method of data collection.</p> <p>Research at the level of sub-decisions (rather than global decision making) has been found to be more valid.</p> <p>In the recent past, several recommendations for alternate methods have been made but their place is yet to be empirically established.</p>	<p><u>Unit</u> Rich alternate methodologies exist in other disciplines with an interest in families, and marketers should evaluate borrowing them.</p> <p>New coding systems for measuring joint decision processes need to be established.</p> <p>Observation studies, interactive interviewing, and family focus groups offer much potential in understanding decision processes.</p> <p><u>Institution</u> Empirical macro-level studies are needed to link the changing nature of family (and family consumption processes) to changing societal norms and public policy doctrines.</p>

Footnote: The authors argue in the paper that while many important research questions about family as a unit remain to be investigated, family has not been considered as a macro-level social institution in research in marketing. Consistent with a call made in the paper to understand family as a macro-level institution, areas of future research are classified under consideration of family as a unit and as a (macro-level) institution.

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