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TRADITIONAL FAMILIES?
From Culturally Prescribed to Negotiated Roles in Farm Families

DAMIAN F. HANNAN and LOUISE A. KATSIAOUNI

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CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

General Summary

THIS paper presents the main results and conclusions from an intensive sociological study of patterns of interaction within farm families. The results are based on extended interviews with 408 husband-wife pairs living on small farms in the West of Ireland. Insights gained from a short period of observation of family and kinship patterns in one small community in the same area also inform the analysis.

To a sociologist the need for such a study appears self evident. To the man in the street, on the other hand, family relationships are usually so taken for granted as to be unproblematic. Any deviation from expected patterns is usually explained in terms of personality differences or even moral failures. To the policy maker concerned with the total aggregate of families, simplifying stereotypes—"averages"—are almost necessary. Frequently, however, our common-sense view of what the "average" person or "average" family thinks or does is a mistaken one. And such a stereotype can sometimes have mischievous consequences. To the sociologist, on the other hand, not alone is the position of the modal pattern—the "average" family etc.—a position to be established, but also variation around that mode is expected to be systematically determined. In the following study we show that not alone has the pattern of farm family interaction changed from where we had traditionally thought it was, but families persisting with that pattern are the least securely established of all families. Also deviations around the average or modal pattern are very systematically influenced.

Since Arensberg and Kimball's (3, 4) classic studies of the early 1930s their model of farm family interaction has held a dominant position. It has been continuously reproduced in sociological readings on family and kinship patterns. This has been done despite the fact that there has been remarkably little systematic research to check the continuing accuracy and reliability of their model.

The model which emerged from their study was one of a rigidly defined division of labour within the farm family and a dominant patriarchical and rather severe authority system. The internal emotional life of the family was one where feelings were not usually openly articulated and were frequently repressed. The position of the father was usually presented as that of a severe, "distant", authority figure (4, p. 52), (74). The position of the mother was usually presented as a role which was both warmly supportive and one which played a central role in handling and working out tensions and disagreements within the family. The validity of this model of the traditional farm family in Ireland was strengthened by very similar findings from studies of other traditional farming systems.

In so far as Arensberg and Kimball presented a relatively reliable description of family interaction in the early 1930s, the economic, social and cultural environment has now so changed that one would expect very significant changes within farm families today.

Up to the late 1930s, even in many areas up to the late 1950s, farming in the West of Ireland was still of a dominantly subsistence nature. Farm technology was still based on a horse and man complex, while production innovations were minimal. The continuity of traditional economic patterns was still the dominant pattern. The age grading and scheduling of roles within the family and community was still systematically traditional. In terms of transportation and communication, rural communities were extremely isolated relative to their present day position. Cars, radio and daily newspapers were extremely rare, while television was still far in the future. As a result there was little to disturb the stability of the extremely locality bound social system, rooted in a highly inter-related set of relationship of family, kinship and locality. In such a solidary conservative system it seemed to be possible to contain the inevitable tensions resulting from the very high rate of postponed adulthood, non-marriage, and the persistent subservience of women and older sons (3, 4, 46).

By the late 1950s, however, very significant changes had occurred. First, there was an increasing trend toward the commercialisation of farm production and of decline in subsistence consumption patterns. However, Scully could still report in the late 1960s that, on many western farms, production still proceeded "with the same inputs being combined in the same way to produce the same outputs" (83). There has occurred a very rapid decline in the dominance of the horse and man technology, in the pattern of production and orientation to the market, and a dramatic fall-off in the availability of family labour. In terms of communication and transportation, roughly half the families in this sample had cars and TV sets and all had radios. This is a rather dramatic increase from the situation in 1951. Then only 1 to 2 per cent of households in the west had cars. There was no TV and only about one-tenth of all households had radios. The obviously dramatic changes in the schooling of children since that time also hardly needs to be stressed.

The main effects of these changes should be to shatter the legitimacy of locally autonomous, traditional value systems and the hold that local traditional reference groups had on people's consciousness (8, 46, 63). One would therefore, have expected major changes in family relationships from that time. In this study we are primarily concerned with documenting the main characteristics of farm family interaction, and with trying to explain why families varied in their interaction. But we are also concerned with how and why family interaction patterns change over time, and specifically with how this has occurred in Ireland since the 1930s.

The research problem can be simply stated as five general questions:

1. To what extent does interaction in farm families conform in its general patterning to the model proposed by Arensberg and Kimball, or similar models proposed by some more recent studies? (27, 66).
2. If a substantial proportion of farm families differ significantly in their interaction from the traditional model, how does one explain that variation?
3. How is variation in one dimension of family roles—such as sex differences in task roles—related to variation in other dimensions, such as in decision-making or social-emotional roles?
4. To what extent is variation explainable in terms of influences and constraints occurring within the "external" environment in which the family operates? Or to what extent are family relationships a consequence of behavioural adaptations to influences occurring within the confines of the family itself. For instance, does behaviour in one aspect of a person's role within the family—say, in decision-making—have unforseen but systematic consequences on other aspects of one's relationship with one's spouse and children—as in feelings towards one another and in the way tensions arise and are resolved within the family? If there are clear and systematic connections amongst the various dimensions of family interaction, then it may be far easier to explain why families vary in their total interaction characteristics than by taking any single dimensions separately.
5. What is the relationship between nuclear family interaction patterns and kinship relationships?

We decided to simplify the analysis by focusing on three of the most basic dimensions of family interaction: (1) *The Division of Labour* in sex roles within the nuclear family—i.e., the extent to which adult sex roles are clearly differentiated from one another and the extent to which these differentiations are ideologically supported and socially sanctioned; (2) *Authority or Decision-Making Patterns* within the family—i.e., the extent to which decision-making is concentrated in one position, the father's, or the extent to which it is shared and decision-making is a joint consultative process within the family; and (3) *Social-Emotional Patterns* within the family—the emotional and communicative characteristics of interpersonal relationships within the family. Included under this heading is the extent to which most interpersonal relationships within the family are mutually supportive, and also the extent to which the father plays an active, emotionally supportive role in conflict resolution and in expressive-emotional relationships with his wife and children. These three aspects of familial interaction were measured as precisely and as reliably as possible.

Results

Very wide variations exist in the economic, technological and the social and cultural environment within which family interaction takes place. The rather homogenous standardised environment that the early anthropo-

logical studies describe as typical, is shown to be completely invalid now. Only about one-quarter of all farmers in the sample, for instance, still maintain traditional production, marketing and exchange transactions. And up to one-third of all households had very few modern household facilities. At the other extreme, around one-third of farmers had rather modernised farm production techniques, were very rational in their market behaviour and also had higher than average incomes. About the same proportion had very modernised household facilities, with renovated or new houses and almost the full range of modern conveniences.

Equally wide variations existed in the socialisation, work and migration experiences of both spouses. Although very few husbands had any post-primary education over one-third of wives had. Up to one-third of wives and one-sixth of husbands had worked outside the parish, usually abroad, for some time before marriage. Although all households were relatively highly involved in mass media, up to one-fifth had minimal participation even to the extent of not being interested in, or listening regularly to, national and international news on the radio. At the other extreme however, roughly half of all families had both cars and TV sets, and over a third could be defined as highly involved in mass media participation.

A very significant change has, therefore, occurred in the economic, social and cultural environments within which spousal relationships now develop from what was the case, even in the mid-1950s. That a small minority of families still apparently exist within the same social, economic and communicational circumstances characteristic of an earlier era is true, but they do so in a situation where they are now clearly deviant, and where the accepted meaning of their situation appears to be a negative one. Given this very wide variation in the social background of spouses and in the economic and sociocultural environment within which family interaction occurs, it is not very surprising that equally wide variations exist in family interaction patterns. The results summarised in Table 1 illustrate this. The results closely

Table 1: *The spousal division of labour in task roles*

	Division	*In household tasks*	*In childrearing tasks*	*In farmyard** and farming tasks*
		%	%	%
(1)	"Traditional" (Sex segregated)	49	40	33
(2)	Intermediate	16	41	31
(3)	"Modern"(Moderate to High Jointness)	32	17	30
Total	Percentage*	100	100	100
	Number	408	408	408

*Missing percentages are those for whom information is incomplete.

**"Modern" patterns here, however, indicate that wives have almost completely withdrawn from farmyard and farm tasks. This is compensated, however, by the fact that wives are very highly and jointly involved in financial management and decision-making.

correspond to those for social-emotional leadership and decision-making scales. Although the value labels are, to some extent, arbitrary the overall picture of the results indicate that only between one-third to, at most, one-half of farm families approximate to the traditional farm family model described by Arensberg and Kimball;—i.e., one with a rigid sex segregation in task roles, of a high degree of patriarchical dominance in decision-making, a clear maternal specialisation in social-emotional roles. At the other extreme between one-quarter to one-third of families appear to be closer to the "modern" urban middle-class model of family interaction;—i.e., low sex segregation in task roles, high jointness in task and decision-making roles, joint and mutually supportive social-emotional patterns.

In general, however, since these family interaction variables are not highly correlated with each other one cannot simply aggregate the results from individual scales. Later analysis showed, however, that there is very complex interaction amongst these variables.

Taking each family role variable individually, the maximum variance (or differences amongst families), that we could explain, in terms of a set of independent "modernising" variables—i.e., level of education, mass media exposure, etc.—varied from 5 to 13 per cent. This attempt to explain variation in terms of a simple linear model, taking each family role variable separately, left over 90 per cent of the variance on most scales unexplained.

Further analysis showed that this poor result was due to two factors:

(i) The items in the scales attempt to measure people's actual behaviour, not their expectations and ideals. The assumed modernising variables—broadly ones that were expected to have clear "reference group effects"—would only be likely to influence people's values. Further analysis showed, that some of the value differences amongst people were not being directly translated into actual behaviour. By initially focusing on reported behaviour only, we had significantly mistaken the nature of these reference group effects. Value changes appear to have occurred somewhat independently of actual behavioural change. And when such gaps between ideally expected and actual behaviour exists, people become very dissatisfied with their roles. Up to half the wives in the most traditional families were clearly dissatisfied with their husbands' roles. And within these traditional families, the greater the exposure of wives to modernising influences the greater their degree of dissatisfaction and frustration. Conversely, in "modern" families, the greater the degree of exposure of wives to modernising influences the greater their degree of satisfaction. In other words, exposure to these "modernisation" influences explains more about people's feeling about their roles than it does of the way they actually behave in their roles.

(ii) The second reason for our initial failure to explain why family roles or relationships vary so much, is the fact that most of the variables are very highly influenced by each other. And their individual relationships with any external "causal" factor is highly dependent on this mutuality. For example,

the proportion of families with a high degree of segregation of task roles increases over the family cycle. Most spouses appear to move further and further apart in their task roles as the children "grow up", especially at the later stages where the, now adult, children have started to leave home. However, this does *not* occur if a strong emotional attachment is built up between spouses at the earliest stage of the family cycle. The extent of such affectional or empathic bonding appeared to "control" the degree of reciprocal helpfulness in all task roles.

From other analysis, it appeared that the significance or relative importance of this emotional empathic dimension had increased over time. Although the extent of significance of this dimension of family relationships is the most highly correlated of all with the set of "modernising" variables, all of these influences combined, explain less than one-fifth of the total variance involved. So, as one might expect, the extent to which such an emotional bonding is developed within the marriage relationship is, of course, related to whether people value it and want it to develop or not. It is, therefore, related to modernising influences. But it is, perhaps, even more related to the dynamics of interpersonal interaction and to the commitments and efforts of each spouse to build such a relationship. Much more than values is involved here.

The main influence of modernisation, therefore—of higher levels of education, greater social and geographic mobility, higher mass media exposure, greater participation in societally organised institutions, etc.—appears to change people's values. Because spouses may differ in their values and in their interests and commitments to changing behaviour into line with these, values may not be realised in interpersonal relationships within the family—especially for those who have less power in the relationship. This quite clearly has happened, particularly amongst wives in those families which still retain very traditional patterns of interaction. This is one reason why there is not a simple one-to-one relationship between change in values and change in behaviour within the family. But there is also another reason. The different dimensions of interaction between spouses and between parents and children—such as in the allocation of task roles and responsibilities within the family, and in the characteristics of the emotional life of the family—are all highly dependent on each other. They form a highly reactive system. Changes in one aspect of these roles changes others. The most important of these dimensions, in influencing the way other dimensions might react to external changes, appears to be the affectional empathic dimension of family interaction.

Given this very complex system of variables we next attempted to classify families in terms of their position on each of these dimensions. We found that seven rather stable types of families emerged. These are summarised below:

Table 2: *Percentage distribution of family types*

Family type	*Basic characteristics of each family type*	*Percentage distribution of families: by type*	*Percentage of wives of each type, who are dissatisfied with their husband's role in the family*
Type 1	**Autonomic, Traditional Roles, Patriarchical* Highly segregated and autonomous task roles within the family. Low participation of wife on farm. High paternal dominance of control, and overall family decisions. Maternal specialisation in social-emotional and tension-management roles.	10%	49%
Type 2	**Autonomic, Wife Leadership* Highly autonomous and segregated maternal roles. Joint paternal roles (farm) with high involvement of wife in both tasks and decisions. High father participation in social-emotional roles. Low overall integration.	14%	27%
Type 3	**Complementary Roles: Joint Decisions. High Wife Influence* Less segregation but significantly lower autonomy in task and decision-making roles. High participation of wife on farm. High jointness in decisions. High father participation in social-emotional roles but low overall familial integration.	13%	13%
Type 4	**Joint Syncratic—High Jointness of Work Roles and Decision-Making* Low sex segregation and high jointness in task roles and decisions. High jointness in all decisions. High and joint spousal participation in social-emotional roles. Very high levels of overall family integration.	11%	13%
Type 5	**Husband Leadership 1: Complementary—Traditional* Low segregation, but low autonomy of wife in her task roles. High segregation of husband in farm task and decision-making roles. High paternal dominance and low jointness in overall family decisions. Maternal specialisation and social-emotional roles. Moderate levels of overall familial integration.	18%	25%
Type 6	**Husband Leadership 2: "Modern"* Low segregation, but very low autonomy in maternal roles. Low participation of wife in farm tasks but high participation in farm decisions. Low jointness in decisions but relatively high jointness in social-emotional roles. High overall integration of the family.	25%	13%
Type 7	**Complementary Syncratic—Spouses Work Separately but make Joint Decisions* Very high segregation in all task roles. Very high jointness in decisions. Very high husband participation in social-emotional leadership roles. Moderate levels of overall familial integration.	10%	23%
	Total *Percentage* *Number*	100% 408	

*These labels are taken from Herbst (50).

In terms of the traditional pattern, of high level segregation in sex roles, Types 1, 2 and 7 have equally high levels. But, in terms of their decision-making and social-emotional structure, they are obviously quite different from each other. The most "traditional", at least in terms of the description given by anthropologists, is that of Type 1. Yet it is obvious from the above results and from other findings that it is the least satisfactory of all types. The most traditional types, therefore, appear to be the least institutionalised. Types 2, 3 and 7 are almost equally segregated in task roles but vary significantly from each other in decision-making and in social-emotional roles. It is also significant that these three family types have the highest levels of income and levels of living of all types. They are also the most modern in their farm production and marketing behaviour. Types 4 and 6 are by far the most "modern" and most satisfying in their familial relationships. But they are not the most rationalised in either production or marketing behaviour or in level of incomes or level of living. There is obviously no simple one-to-one relationship between familial and farming modernisation.

Taking the extreme types of families, from the most traditional—1 and 2, to the most modern—4 and 6, very clear differences exist between them both in their structure and in the background factors apparently influencing their formation. We attempt to schematise these differences below.

TRADITIONAL FAMILIES	*MODERN FAMILIES*
1. Structure of Relationships: Task roles in household, child-rearing and farm are clearly segregated but, within each role, decision-making is autonomous.	High jointness in both task and decision-making roles.
Overall power is concentrated in the father's hands. Little consultation in decision-making.	Decision-making is joint and consultative.
Mother tends to play the dominant role in managing tensions and in emotional supportiveness.	Father and mother equally involved and committed to resolving tensions and in emotional supportiveness.
Low levels of overall emotional integration within these families.	High levels of overall emotional integration within the family.
2. Satisfactions with and Feelings about these roles: Wives least satisfied.	Wives most satisfied.
Parental and status satisfaction most emphasised.	Parental and interpersonal or spousal satisfactions most emphasised.
Terms of reference used are parental or formal, position ones; not interpersonal or affectional ones.	Christian names or affectional spousal terms employed.
Low levels of joint participation in outside recreational or social activities.	Highest levels of joint participation in outside recreational and social activities.

TRADITIONAL FAMILIES	*MODERN FAMILIES*
3. Social Background and Current Life Style Differences:	
Greater proportion of both spouses with primary-only education.	Greater proportion of both spouses with some post-primary education.
Lower proportion of wives had migrated previous to marriage.	Higher proportion of wives had worked outside farming and outside the community, and a higher proportion had worked in white collar occupations.
Lower levels of mass media involvement.	Much higher levels of mass media involvement.
Lower levels of voluntary group membership.	Higher levels of voluntary organisation membership.
Lowest incomes.	The most "modern" family types were not the most modern in farm production of marketing methods. They held an intermediate position between the most traditional families and those with traditional division of labour but with a highly joint decision-making system.
Lowest level of living.	
Most traditional in farm production and marketing behaviour.	
4. Kinship Involvement:	
Least integrated with kin, particularly wife's kin.	Most integrated with both kin sets and highest levels of jointness in contacts with both kin sets.

In the above we have greatly simplified the presentation of the actual relationships found. Nevertheless, we are now able to answer most of the research questions originally asked.

1. Only a small proportion of present-day farm families, certainly less than one-third, conform in their structure to the traditional model first proposed by Arensberg and Kimball. In fact, no dominant modal pattern now appears to exist.
2. Variation in family interaction patterns seems to be explainable in terms of three different but highly interacting sets of influencing factors: (i) variation in values and expectations about what the desirable or expected roles should be; (ii) variation in the extent to which affectional-empathic or supportive bonds build up between spouses in the early part of their marriage; (iii) interpersonal and situational factors which facilitate or inhibit the translation of expectations into behavioural responses. Household composition and family cycle were the most important of the situational factors.
3. Variation in one aspect of interaction is highly related to other dimensions. And the responses of spouses to outside influences, in terms of their mutual helpfulness in performing their different task roles within the family, is highly dependent on other aspects of their relationship.
4. Increasing jointness in the performance of family roles is correlated with increasing contact and integration with both kin sets. Those families

with the most segregated roles and the most patriarchical authority patterns are the least integrated with their kin, on both sides. However, the relative integration of both kin sets is not a simple response. Besides the relative availability of both kin sets, certain "internal" interaction differences amongst families appear to be highly correlated with rates of interaction with both kin sets.

Chapter 1

Statement of the Problem: The Changing Structure of the Irish Farm Family

Introduction

THE Irish nuclear family—consisting of the household group of parents and children—has been the subject of considerable comment and controversy both in popular and serious literature and in social scientific studies. In the social sciences—sociology, anthropology and social psychology—the peculiarities of the Irish family have occasionally been the direct subject of scrutiny, but more often have been assumed to be related to a whole series of social and psychological problems—alcoholism, mental illness, sexual abnormalities, or to the unique demographic characteristics of the Irish population (5, 65, 66, 74, 81, 92-94). One is inclined to agree with Greely who says that "one comes away from reading the empirical literature convinced that the Irish are guilt ridden, sexually repressed, superstitious, unhappy, frustrated, maladjusted and given frequently to alcoholism in search of emotional release" (41). Popular literature, equally so, has been more in the nature of caricatures of particular kinds of relationships such as those characterised by sexual impotence, mother domination, drunken or inadequate husbands, or conflicts generated by personality differences.

One of the most notable features in all of this controversy is, that despite all the discussion and comment about it, there has been remarkably little systematic research done into Irish family life apart from Arensberg and Kimball's (3, 4) work done in the early 1930s. Humphrey's more limited work, completed between 1949 and 1951, does not add much to Arensberg and Kimball's results (52); and Messenger's (65, 66); R. Harris's (49); Elliot Leyton's (59, 60); Mogey's (68); and Creswell's (27) studies have rather limited descriptions of nuclear family interaction.

The present work is an attempt to provide some information on nuclear family interaction patterns in Ireland amongst the more traditional farming population. It is a study of the interaction patterns and interpersonal relationships existing within a sample of 408 Irish farm families. It is envisaged as the first of a series of studies of Irish family life, the following ones making similar investigations of urban working-class and urban middle-class family patterns.

As the first in a series of studies on family life it was decided to study farm families situated in the more remote, economically less developed and culturally more isolated areas of the country. It was felt that in order to get a more complete picture of the situation we would initially need to study

those families that were closest to the "structural form" depicted by Arensberg and Kimball (op. cit.). It was also felt that this would provide an anchor point with which other studies could be compared in the future. One other reason for starting at this point is that roughly one quarter of current Dublin adults have either come personally from, or are removed only one generation from, rural backgrounds (53). No doubt other Irish towns and cities have equally substantial proportions of their adult population from rural backgrounds.

As a consequence the information gathered on this survey should also provide useful information on, and explanations for, variations in family structure within urban areas. Some American studies have found, for example, that amongst other things, those reared on farms tended to be concentrated in low status positions, to be less active politically and to have a lower rate of activity in voluntary groups than the urban born of the same class (34). It is possible that similar variation may occur in the family organisation and family interaction patterns of this group in an urban setting. But Hutchinson's findings in his Dublin Social Mobility study, that the rural and non-Dublin born residents of the city have a generally higher status and better education than the native born, may in fact show an equally reverse position in the Irish context. This particular study, however, is limited to an examination of farm families. Later studies will deal with urban families.

The study is based on data collected during intensive hour-long interviews with 408 farm families, where both husbands and wives provided the information. All the families interviewed were complete nuclear families: i.e., where both spouses were still alive and living together on the farm, and where at least one child under 16 years of age was still resident in the family. The ten western, least prosperous and most remote counties were the only counties sampled—Donegal, Cavan, Monaghan, Sligo, Mayo, Roscommon, Leitrim, Galway, Clare and Kerry. In all families income depended mainly, or exclusively, on farming.

The size of farms varied from under 10 to over 100 acres. The great majority of these farms were small, over one-quarter being less than 30 acres and only one-eleventh greater than 100 acres. The average size of farm in the sample was just over 50 acres. In general, incomes were low to moderate, and many of the farms were only partially commercialised. The average gross margin for all 408 farms—the gross output of the farm, less direct variable costs of feed, fertiliser, seeds, machinery and other expenses etc.—was estimated to be roughly £930, although 21 per cent of all farms were estimated to have gross margins of less than £600.

Both of these characteristics of the families studied show that, on average, they farmed slightly more land than the normal farm family in these areas, and that their incomes were somewhat better than normal. The actual over-all average farm size for those 10 counties was 41 acres in 1966 while

the average gross margin for these counties was estimated at £760 for 1969.* It must be remembered, however, that we were only dealing with a small and rather select sample of the total farm population in these counties—those who were relatively young, married and with dependent children under 16 years of age living in the household. For instance, the 1961 Census reports that only about 48 per cent of all rural households in Connacht were complete family units with father, mother and unmarried children present in the household, the child being of any age. Consequently one would expect that only about one-quarter to one-third of all farm households are of the kind sampled in this study. American and some Irish studies have shown that labour productivity and total farm producitvity is at a maximum at this stage of the family cycle (62, pp. 77-88 and 83).

In general, therefore, the farm families sampled have slightly larger farms, slightly bigger incomes, and are generally younger and more economically active than most farm households in the West of Ireland.

Statement of the Problem

The problem investigated here can be stated, in very general terms, as five basic research questions:

1. To what extent do present-day farm families in the more traditional areas conform in their structure to that described by Arensberg and Kimball (3, 4) to be true of Irish farming families in 1932; that is also generally described to be true of most traditional European subsistence farming families, and that appears still to be the stereotype generally accepted by most informed commentators on Irish family life?

2. Given an expected substantial difference between Arensberg and Kimball's model of the structure of family interaction and that found to be the case in this study, is this equally true of all aspects of family interaction—differentiation and specialisation in sex roles, clear patriarchial authority patterns, clear differentiation and maternal specialisation in social-emotional roles etc. Or is there greater variation, or has greater change occurred in some aspects of family interaction while others have changed very little?

3. How is variation in one aspect of family roles or family interaction patterns—such as segregation or differentiation in age and sex roles—related to variation in other areas of family interaction, such as in authority, or decision-making processes or in expressive social-emotional roles?

*Estimated from *Census of Population of Ireland,* Vol. IV, 1966 and An Foras Talúntais, *Farm Management Survey* (1968-69), April 1971, p. 11 and p. 12.

4. If substantial variation exists amongst families in their interaction patterns—how does one explain or account for this variation?

5. How is variation in these patterns of family interaction related to variation in levels of spousal and over-all family integration?

What we are attempting to do here is to try to describe and explain change over time in family interaction patterns. We attempt to do this by inference from our analysis of current variations in family interaction patterns. That is, by analysing and explaining current differences amongst farm families in their interaction patterns, we hope to argue, inferentially, how change must have occurred historically. The degree of inference involved will vary with the extent one can show that the explanatory variables shown to "cause" current variation have themselves been subject to historical change. For instance, if one can show that variation in the degree of commercialisation of farming and of the modernisation of the environing social and cultural context are all clearly related to variations in family interaction patterns and are also historically cumulative changes one can then argue more creditably from current variation to historical change. This will be the approach taken here. It should always be remembered, of course, that the reliability of any such historical inferences is not very decisive and is not a substitute for a longitudinal study with inbuilt controls.

In analysing changes in family interaction patterns, two clear anchor points for such an analysis appear in the family research literature: the traditional farm or peasant family structure, and the modern urban middle-class structure. Used as "ideal types", in the Weberian sense, they should prove useful in conceptualising and in generating hypotheses about change in family interaction patterns. In the following section we present these two models of family structure—the traditional farm model as described by Arensberg and Kimball, and the modern urban middle-class model as described by the most recent research studies. In structural functional terms these can be best thought of as stable institutionalised nuclear family structures which are attuned to, or functional in the very different economic, communal, technological, and cultural environments of: (i) traditional subsistence farm economies and in stable communities of kin, neighbourhood and traditional communal systems; and (ii) the very different environment present when farming has become commercialised, local kin groups and neighbour groups have disintegrated, and the cultural and social autonomy of local small-scale farm communities has been disrupted (46).

For heuristic purposes, therefore, one can think of change in patterns of interaction within the nuclear family as occurring from one system—the "traditional system"—toward another, the "modern system". It is not, of course, that these are "real" systems, but are merely ways of thinking about or conceptualising social change. The anthropological and sociological

evidence for the validity of the traditional farm or peasant model—as a general or modal pattern—presented below, comes directly from Arensberg and Kimball's studies of the 1930s; and from the fact that the description of the typical County Clare farm family of that time presents a very similar picture to that of most anthropological studies of European peasant family relationships. That is one with a very clear division of labour in age and sex roles, clear patriarchical authority patterns, and an emotional economy which is generally non-expressive, even austere, and showing a clear maternal specialisation in emotionally supportive roles etc. (4, 32, 55, 67, 101, 102).

As to the other "end point", if any, toward which change has been occurring there is clearly no fully valid model. For our purposes, however, we have taken the "modern urban middle-class" model as the most useful one in thinking about the direction of change in family relationship patterns: i.e., one where spousal segregation in, at least, housekeeping and child-rearing roles is minimised or absent; where power or authority gradients between spouses and between parents and children are minimised and decision making is to a large extent a joint consultative process; and where maternal specialisation in emotionally supportive functions is no longer obvious or necessary because of the greater openness of all interpersonal relationships within the family and more widely shared mutually supportive behaviour etc. (11, 13, 36, 56, 71, 98, 100). It is not, therefore, a very radical "ideal type" especially in that the basic economic provider role is still dominantly male. Indeed in the farm situation, as we will make clear, increasing commercialisation almost necessarily exaggerates the male exclusiveness of the provider role. Besides the theoretical reasons for expecting change in this direction, all of the available research literature on the subject clearly indicates this direction of change (15, 18, 20, 42, 82).

Before proceeding with the description of these polar models, however, we decided to simplify the analysis by focusing on three of the most basic elements in family interaction: (1) *The Division of Labour* in age and sex roles within the nuclear family—i.e., the extent to which adult sex roles especially are clearly differentiated from one another and the extent to which these differentiations are ideologically supported and socially sanctioned: (2) *Authority or Decision-Making Patterns* within the family—i.e., the extent to which decision making is concentrated in one position—the father's—or the extent to which it is shared, and decision making is a joint consultative process within the family; and (3) *Social-Emotional Patterns* within the family—i.e., the emotional and communicational characteristics of interpersonal relationships within the family. Included under this heading is the extent to which the father plays an active, emotionally supportive role in conflict resolution and in expressive/affective relations with his wife and children, or in generally managing or harmonising interpersonal feelings within the family.

By abstracting out these three aspects of family interaction we hope to

clarify some of the more intricate inter-relationships or types of "balances" in the system of relationships within changing family situations, i.e., the way in which a particular division of labour, for instance, is related to a particular authority and social emotional structure; and the way in which change in one sector is related to change in another.

The traditional farm family model, as described by Arensberg and Kimball (4, pp. 299-306) is viewed as an institutionalised system of roles or interpersonal relationships which are functional only in a particular economic, social and cultural context: i.e., where the economy is primarily subsistent; the environing social structure is an ascriptive, highly locality bound system of interpersonal relationships of kin, neighbour groups and local institutional relationships; and where the system of beliefs, values and norms form a relatively autonomous, closed system, which is highly insulated from external reference group effects (4, pp. 59-75).

Such an exclusive highly locality bound community, supportive of a traditional family structure, no longer exists, however. As a result traditional nuclear family roles, which may have been functional in a traditional static repetitive system of economic exchanges, would need to be considerably adapted to the new situation, where both production and consumption are constantly changing and where routinised solutions to constantly repetitive economic problems are no longer effective. Certainly the traditional patriarchial dominance of decision making would be almost impossible to maintain. Similarly, changes have occurred in communications and transportation and in informal and highly meaningful contacts with "external" groups. The traditional locality-descent groups of neighbour and kin have similarly been disrupted. As a result of these changes in patterns of socialisation, of social control, and of meaningful informal interaction, the nuclear family itself has to change to patterns which "fit" more satisfactorily into the changed expectations of others outside the family system; but also to be more effective in attaining its own members' changed goals. The process of family decision making, for instance, that is present and adaptive in a traditional subsistent economy; where most economic decisions amongst alternative options in production or consumption are very limited in number and usually have already clearly routinised "solutions"; is much more easily monopolisable than in a modern farming system where alternatives in both production and consumption have greatly multiplied and their values are constantly changing, and where "solutions" have to be thought through each time.

The traditional family system of roles, therefore, is regarded as functional only in a particular economic, social and cultural structure. Given change in this "external situation"—toward greater farming commercialisation, toward wider and more varied socialisation experiences of participants etc.—change will occur in family roles. The direction in which such change occurs is almost inevitably toward a model of interpersonal relationships which could be called the modern urban middle-class model.

The Traditional Model

The traditional family structure is graphically described by Arensberg and Kimball (1940) as being characteristic of the type of structure which existed in the traditional rural community they studied in County Clare.

The Division of Labour

The model which emerged from their study was one of a rigidly defined sexual division of labour in the family. Task roles were highly differentiated by sex, age, and relative status, and were sustained by sets of beliefs and values about the natural propensities of the two sexes which provided justification for such a division of task and authority roles. "Men's work" and "women's work" were known, accepted and performed by the individuals within the family. Task roles were very clearly defined and stereotyped. "The relations of the members of the farm family are best described in terms of the patterns which uniformity of habit and association built up. They are built up within the life of the farm household and its daily and yearly work. The relations of the fathers to sons and mothers to sons fall into repeatable and regular and expectable patterns of these bonds that differ very little from farm to farm" (4, p. 59).

Taking first the division of labour in task roles, a clear distinction can be drawn between family roles based on age, sex and relative status. The differences in task roles by sex is possibly the most clearly seen and consciously felt distinction—"for a man to concern himself with a woman's work, such as the sale of eggs or the making of butter, is the subject of derisive laughter, while a woman's smaller hands make it 'natural' for her to be a better hand at milking the cows" (4, p. 48). Even in the situation where women were needed to help out in what was regarded as men's work, definite roles were assigned to them—heavy manual work such as ploughing and sowing being done by the men. The many attitudes and beliefs which surround this clearly sex differentiated division of labour illustrate the socially determined character of the distinctions and their genesis in interpersonal relationships.

This division of labour must be seen within a field of larger interpersonal interests and obligations. It is based to a large extent on the behaviour expected reciprocally of husband and wife—a basic functional element of their relationships, which is upheld and passed on from generation to generation. And it is buttressed by an extensive body of popular belief and superstition surrounding the dichotomy which "serve to uphold the conventional division and to evaluate the necessary behavioural specialization which is basic to the interrelationships within the farm family" (4, p. 49). The connection between sex, age and marital status and the work appropriate to each status is extremely close. Ridicule and graver charges of unmanliness and unwomanliness can be brought to reaffirm the conventions against the "role offender". This pattern is obvious from a very early age and is reflected

in the training each sex receives from childhood in farm and household work:— Male children acquire men's skills and techniques in anticipation of the role they will play in the future, while the female child learns a woman's role as an integral part of her future roles of wife and mother (4, p. 64). Farm work is definitely a family concern but "who does what" is clearly differentiated.

Although the sex of any individual within the family may be the most basic determinant of what tasks one performs, there is within this framework another distinction on the basis of age. This age distinction is strongly tied to the status assigned to each member of the family, so that clear patterns can be discerned in the division of labour and the relative power and prestige of the father and his sons, as also between mother and daughters. The father is owner and director and, as such, certain areas remain his exclusive territory even when his sons become adults.

In the community the farm is known as his and the sons are spoken of as his "boys" (4, p. 55). Thus in the draining of a field or the sale of cattle at a fair the sons, even though fully adult, work under their father's eye and refer necessary decisions to him. The father does the heavy work but directs activity and delegates minor tasks connected with them to his sons, until his sons are ready to take over. But parental dominance persists until the father dies, even when the sons are fully adult and capable of running the farm. As the son matures he takes over more and more of these onerous and specialised farm tasks—ploughing, sowing, selling, etc.—but full authority frequently escapes his grasp until the father dies.

Within the household the wife dominated in all spheres. It is she who is responsible for the day-to-day housekeeping, who cares for the children and their needs. In these areas the father is not expected to participate, nor does he to any great extent. These tasks, like those delegated to her on the farm, are regarded exclusively as "women's work".

Authority

The authority relations within the family are superimposed upon this differentiated and deeply institutionalised division of labour. They are, like task roles, intimately related to the basic beliefs and values, to feelings of rightness and appropriateness. The forces of communal gossip and ridicule serve to uphold, reinforce and justify the prevailing organisation of roles and relative authority relations with the family. In viewing authority relations, four broad areas within which clear patterns can be discerned are:— (1) Household and housekeeping; (2) Child rearing; (3) Farm management and organisation and (4) Financial decisions, i.e., who decided how income is allocated—both internally and externally.

Care and control of children have well defined boundaries and as the child grows older in the case of the male child the nature and type of controls exercised upon him change. At the early stages of development of children of both sexes, the mother almost exclusively looks after their needs and pro-

vides affection and emotional security and even control. It is only for serious misdemeanours that the father is drawn in. Similar to Arensberg and Kimball's findings, Oeser and Emery found in a rural Australian study that the role of the father in child control is, however, rather more clearly differentiated according to the sex of the child than that of the mother. Up to the age of seven, however, all children are treated in the same manner and the father tends to remain a distant and rather severe authority figure (4, 72). This is illustrated by Arensberg and Kimball's comment of the silence of the child when the father is around, never speaking unless directly spoken to (4, p. 38). There is an emphasis on respect for and awe of the father, which is developed and encouraged from the child's earliest socialisation experiences and there is little chance to develop a warm affective relationship, so typical of the mother-child relationship. The mother is more of a guide and companion and her authority most often makes itself felt through praise or persuasion. It is only when an appeal to ultimate authority is required that the father is drawn in. Summing it up, Arensberg and Kimball say: "In the early years before puberty the farm father enters the child's cognizance as a disciplinary force. The barriers of authority, respect, extra household interests and the imperatives of duty rather than encouragement make it difficult for any intimacy to develop" (4, p. 58).

After the age of seven or eight, the male child is removed from the almost exclusive control of his mother and begins to come into more direct contact with his father for the first time. At this stage he begins his long apprenticeship in farming, during which he learns traditional farming techniques from his father. Even as he grows older there is little change in the nature of the relationships. The son remains undoubtedly subordinate, and modes of address and ways of treating and regarding one another continue to reflect these persistent superordinate/subordinate relationships within the family. The "boy" remains the "boy", sometimes even up to middle age or beyond. The son's terms of address and reference for the father clearly express the emotional "distance" and clear authority difference between them: "the Boss", "the old fellow", "Dad", expressing in varying degrees, by tone of voice and content of term, the varying emotional response to the relationship as the son ages or as the relationships differ.

The mother-son relationship has a different content. He is still subject to her requests or commands but she continues to provide the warmth and affection lacking between father and son, and is occasionally called upon to relieve tension when disputes arise. As a mother she is able to do this while at the same time protecting the father's position. Overall there is minimal scope for initiative or autonomy by the son, parental dominance often persisting for as long as the father lives. This relationship prevents any growth in mutual sympathy and affectivity that might possibly develop during the long years of working together on the farm.

All major decisions on the farm are made by the father. It is he who buys and sells, decides what, when, and how things should be done. Sons are seldom delegated the authority to make decisions even when fully adult and thoroughly familiar with farming methods. This, in fact, is directly part of the system of controls, duties and sentiments which make up the whole family. If the father were to relinquish some of his autonomy in this area it would undoubtedly threaten his authority position and ability to command within the group.

In the financial area a similar pattern occurs, all major financial decisions on the farm are made by the father. It is his prerogative to dispose of income derived from the farm, but there is always an obligation to do so in the interests of his wife and family. Despite the fact that sons are taken to the market from a very early age they are never allowed to carry out the buying and selling (4, pp. 51-52). In regard to the wife's financial management role, although she is entitled to any income which may accrue from her own productive activities—the sale of eggs, butter, milk or occasionally pigs —she is expected to spend it in the interests of the family. In a number of cases this may be highly significant, but generally tends to be a small proportion of total family farm income.

The whole pattern of family interaction, both as to the allocation of task roles and of power, is such as to maintain the superordinate-subordinate relationship between spouses, and between parents and children. The individual is completely immersed in the group, where individuality and innovativeness is suppressed and adherence to the norm is demanded above all. Such an over-all system, however, can only remain intact so long as it remains legitimised by the consensual sets of beliefs and values of the community and this legitimising ideology remains effectively isolated from contending ideals of family organisation which hold in external prestigeful groups. This traditional family structure can only survive, therefore, within the ambit of encapsulating primary groups of kin and neighbours where traditional norms are rigidly enforced, where deviations are severely sanctioned and pressure to co-operate and conform is greatest. Should this external situation change, or new innovative forces impinge upon the system, change can be anticipated.

Change in one area normally has a cumulative effect throughout the whole of the community and family life. Perhaps the most forcible and vividly drawn picture of such a change is Lerner's investigations in the Middle East where, within the space of ten years, the beliefs, values and attitudes and the whole social organisation of a small and previously isolated rural community had changed dramatically due to the introduction of modern technological developments, particularly mass media and mechanised transportation (57, See 15, 26, 35 also.).

Social Emotional Structure

Although theoretically it is possible within the framework of the traditional family for the father to develop an expressive or emotionally supportive relationship with his children and yet maintain his authority position, there is, in fact, very little scope for such development (6). As has been previously mentioned the children are almost exclusively in their mother's care up to the age of seven. As Arensberg and Kimball put it, "In his earliest childhood the mother looms larger in the child's consciousness" (4, p. 52), the father is only drawn in as a disciplining force. This, coupled with the highly differentiated task and authority structure and possibly certain beliefs about what constitutes manliness—Irish society in general does not encourage expressive behaviour in men—all militate against the development of such a relationship. As expressed by Oeser and Emery, it is a cultural pattern which expects the women to be "gentler" while the father always remains in all contexts "the ultimate source of authority as well as the ultimate source of redress" (72).

The fact that the mother is most usually responsible for providing emotional support, facilitating the expression of positive and negative feelings and the working out of emotional tensions within the group appears then to be largely a resultant or consequence of the usual paternal authority structure of the family. The father is an object of obedience, respect and perhaps awe for his children, rarely of love and affection. To allow emotional elements to undermine this position would give rise to insecurity and allow for a certain degree of questioning of the basis of this power. Other researchers, apart from Arensberg and Kimball who have investigated family structure have also found that, particularly in the case where authority is concentrated in the husband-father position, the social emotional functions are almost invariably equally concentrated in the wife-mother position (6, 32, 77, 84, 101, 102).

In conclusion, the structure of the traditional farm family may be described as one with a clearly differentiated and deeply institutionalised division of labour; a clear patriarchial authority system with a simple repetitive or routinised decision-making process concentrated in the father's role; an equally clearly differentiated social-emotional structure where the mother acts as the main emotionally supportive and tension management agent in the family. In general this characteristic of the Irish traditional farm family, as described by Arensberg and Kimball, is equally true of most anthropological studies of peasant systems in western societies and indeed of most other cultures as well (33, 38, 67, 77a, 84).

If one were simply to dichotomise each one of the three variables mentioned—in that task roles may be clearly sex and age segregated or jointly shared, authority or decision-making functions highly concentrated in one role or widely shared, and social-emotional functions clearly differentiated and specialised or equally and reciprocally shared by all family members—

it is obvious that the "peasant model" is only one of eight possible combinations [i.e., 2 x 2 x 2.]. The equally opposite model of low sex role differentiation, democratic and consultative decision-making processes with relatively equal weight to all voices in the decision, and with an emotionally supportive communicative system where feelings are freely expressed and tensions are resolved on a relatively equalitarian interpersonal basis; is one that is most usually described by sociologists as characteristic of the modern urban middle class family in Western and particularly American and British societies (11, 13, 31, 47, 71).

It is obvious here that one is really discussing two ideal types—yet two that are most frequently described in the literature as being ideally typical of traditional farming and working-class families, and of modern middle-class families. All of the possible intermediate combinations — which logically must represent the majority of all families — have not been so fully discussed. The assumption is being made here that any change in any one of these three dimensions will be highly related to that of others, i.e., that they are interdependent; and that it is possible to classify families (by cluster analysis or other means) into a series of relatively homogeneous subcategories varying from the rigidly traditional to the typical middle-class model. The approach usually taken, however, has been to try and explain variation in each one of these variables independently and not to treat them as an interdependent system of variables (50). This is the approach that will be initially taken in this study. Only later in Chapters 5 and 6 will we attempt to examine them as a system.

Reasons for Change in Traditional Patterns

Why should one expect that any change has occurred in the traditional farm family? E. A. Wilkening, in discussing the processes of change affecting farm families notes that a number of cumulative and interrelated social processes have occurred which have altered the relationships between the farm family and its external social environment. As a result of this the system has altered in one or more of its essential features; i.e., in the type of function it performs, the various roles of its members, the norms or expectations governing behaviour in these roles, and even in the over-all values which give direction to the total family system (97).

Numerous changes in the external environment can be pinpointed as catalysts of change in the Irish rural community. One of the most influential must surely be the developments within the economic sector in the past 10-25 years, where there has been a rapidly growing industrial sector coupled with a rapidly declining farm population. From the Famine onwards the farming population has been declining but there appears to have been an underlying continuity in the culture and social structure of most traditional rural communities up to and after the Second World War. This is possibly accounted for by the fact that up to the late 1940s the economy of these

communities was still largely of a subsistence nature and farm technology continued to be based mainly on manual labour and a horse-based technology. Technological or production innovations were minimal and changes in communication and transportation extremely slow. Given little change in the kind of peasant economy or technology, the strengthening of patrilineal and patriarchical tendencies within the family and kin group through the Land Acts, the almost exclusive principle of impartible patrilineal inheritance, and the persistent importance of the stem family system which guaranteed successors while ensuring that the majority of the non-inheriting siblings continued to emigrate, it is possible to see how that system could have persisted for so long. As a result, given the continuing uncertainties of market conditions, there was little reason for the farmer to orientate himself towards a larger market economy, or towards the world outside his own limited and highly localised social circles. With no major changes occurring in the external social environment, it seems valid to suggest that the traditional social system with its closed, highly locality bound and tightly interrelated set of relationships, rooted in family, kin and neighbourhood relationships, remained relatively intact (46).

From the early 1950s onwards a number of external, broadly economic, changes occurred which must have had a major influence on family relationships. First, there was an increasing trend toward greatly increased commercialisation of farm production. Although Scully could still report in the 1970s that "in the management of western farms, farm operations continue to be performed in a traditional manner, with the same inputs being combined in the same way to produce the same outputs", (83a) there has, nevertheless, been a considerable expansion in farm mechanisation accompanying a very dramatic decline in traditional horse technology, and a very rapid decline in the availability of farm labour etc. Over one-third of the farms in this study had been highly innovative in farming techniques and had adopted highly rationalised methods of buying and selling farm products. Almost one-third had adopted highly methodical accounting procedures and nearly half used banking facilities. Besides these changes in the farm production side there has been even more dramatic changes in the consumption side and a decline in the traditional subsistence pattern (46). Roughly a third of the households in this sample had the full complement of the modern, middle class, "standard package" of household consumption items. And in nearly half the families the mother played a minimal role in traditional subsistence activities, like baking, knitting, making children's clothes etc. In both production and consumption patterns, therefore, there has been a significant change over the past 40 years.

This change in farm production and in family consumption patterns has had a multiplicity of effects on all aspects of family life. In itself it has opened up the communities, in that they are catering for larger markets, as opposed to local ones, and economic transactions in general have become

more rationalised. It has been instrumental in lessening or weakening the position of the wife in farm production. Her contribution to production is less essential now than it was in the previous situation. In the more economically rationalised households she has become increasingly like her town counterpart, in that her role is almost exclusively confined to consumption roles, household and child-rearing tasks.

Parallel with this major development in the economy there has been a great extension of mass communication and a growing use of modern transportation. Ninety nine per cent of the families in this study had radios and half had cars and TV sets. This is a dramatic change from a situation in 1951 when *per captia* ownerships averaged 2 to 3 per cent for cars, only 11 per cent for radios and there was no TV (24). All of these developments have severely undermined traditional norms of behaviour, beliefs, attitudes and values. The introduction of radio and television, and its rapid extension in the 1960s has served to extend the reference groups of these communities. It was found that 95 per cent of the sample listened to the news regularly and that 26 per cent of families got the *Farmers Journal* every week. Similarly the motor car has greatly expanded the arena of social intercourse. Both of these changes, in media and transportation, expose the individual to more prestigeful outside groups with alternative styles of life and modes of family interaction. Since the most significant of these external groups are almost universally of higher national prestige than themselves, any such growth in exposure to and relationship with them is bound to lead to profound reference group effects; in that it creates a greater awareness of and receptiveness to alternative ways of organising family roles, besides its more obvious effects on consumption values. Coupled with this increased mass media participation, the personal mobility of the farm family, facilitated by the growing number of car owners, has greatly increased beyond the confines of the local neighbourhood and community. This has also considerably reduced the strength of the local forces conserving traditional ideas. Both Lerner, (57) in his investigation of change in the Middle Eastern countries, and Benvenuti (8), in his study of cultural change in a Dutch rural community, found that these changes in communication patterns had considerable influences in bringing about cultural change, in that it extended the individual's reference groups and patterns of communication and led to significant changes in other key sectors of the social system (54).

The growing number of farmers who are car owners has, as well as increasing actual physical mobility, also increased the range of significant reference groups available. The farmer and his wife are able to travel to distant market centres, and to move out of their own neighbourhood for recreational activities. This results in the farm wife having increasing contact with urban styles of life. Similarly voluntary organisations, like the ICA, are yet another point of contact with other groups from varying backgrounds. The diffusion of ideas, then, has been facilitated in many respects and points to a growing

rationalisation at all levels. The non-participant isolated communities are consequently becoming very much a thing of the past (26, 35, 63, 69).

Furthermore, as a result of rationalisation in the field of education, children of farm families are having completely different socialisation experiences to those of their parents. Rural depopulation has resulted in many rural schools closing down, necessitating the 'bussing' of children to other neighbourhoods for educational purposes. Once the children have left the community they are no longer under the control of parents and kinsfolk but meet and interact with children from other neighbourhoods. Besides the school there has been also a gradual closing down of many other local institutional or service centres of communal integration; i.e., shops, pubs, garda barracks, churches etc. This increasingly lessens the influence of local pressures to maintain adherence to traditional community patterns.

In recent years there has also been a tendency for older children to migrate to Irish urban centres rather than to emigrate. Returning more frequently than in previous decades, they will bring back with them knowledge of alternative modes of living and provide new reference groups for their peers who remained in the community (45, pp. 203-208, 240-244; 63). Even those who remain in the community have wider contact with the 'outside world' through improved transportation, increased personal mobility and higher participation in mass media. Values of 'romantic love', ideals of companionships and choice of partners are now accepted by young adults in striking contrast to the rather more practical, and apparently utilitarian, basis of the traditional courtship and marriage patterns. Increased mobility means that the teenagers are able to leave the home area for recreational activities such as dancing. Here their behaviour is not under the scrutiny of the local community, and they interact with urban adolescents of a similar age.

All of these changes in the farm and household economy, where patterns of production and consumption have undergone tremendous change and in extra familial social networks – whether insitutional or interpersonal – have greatly expanded social contacts outside previously locality bound networks. In one's "pyschological participation" in the larger society radio, TV, national newspaper and weekly journal circulations have rapidly increased awareness and possibilities for identification with alternative ways of life. And contacts with national governmental institutions, such as the state bureaucracies, greatly increase as they expand the number of their local agents.

The main effects of these changes is to loosen the local community's attachment to its previously autonomous traditional standards and values. This local cultural autonomy held sway only as long as local membership groups retained the most exclusive loyalty of the individual. As soon, however, as people start to judge or evaluate these local standards from some more prestigeful "outsiders" perspective – who are much wealthier and

have much higher prestige nationally – the local autonomy or validity of these closed cultures is weakened. As a result the transmission of these traditional patterns of behaviour from one generation to another is very unlikely to proceed without some considerable change occurring (8, 35). Considered in terms of marriage and family ideals and expectations these changes are perhaps most obvious in the younger generation, starting at the courtship stage.

The implication of these changes in technology and the accompanying commercialisation and expansion in farming for the rural family are far reaching. Both directly and indirectly they are likely to have changed expectations and values and hence patterns of behaviour over time. Even at the courtship stage, young adults, being more mobile, are able to socialise outside their own parish. Furthermore with increasing migration, when only about one-twentieth of farm girls and one-fifth of farm boys remain on the farm, the influence of external reference groups has increased enormously (45, 86).

Besides these likely changes in people's beliefs and values, however, the family system has had to accommodate itself to some major changes in farming practice and techniques. This adaptation would have had to occur irrespective of the beliefs and values of the participants themselves. This second source of change, which is primarily adaptive to the changing economic environment, may be of equal importance to that resulting from changes in people's values and expectations. There has been a cumulative withdrawal of the farmer's wife from her farm production role. Either her previous farm tasks have been expanded to a commercial enterprise – e.g., as in pig rearing, milking and poultry keeping – or these enterprises have had to be dropped entirely as profit margins declined and they became uneconomic on a small scale. Hence she is forced to withdraw to the house. Task and decision-making roles were highly interwoven in the traditional family, and once the pattern and organisation of task roles are disrupted and re-organised a similar re-allocation or adaptation may be anticipated in decision making. The traditional, rather autocratic pattern of decision making is unsuitable to the new production techniques where flexibility and constant re-evaluation are essential. Similarly, changes in consumption patterns from the traditional subsistence patterns require a consultative type of decision making which, over time, necessarily weakens the traditional pattern.

Therefore, besides expected changes in traditional beliefs, values and expectations that occur as people begin to take on the perspective of prestigeful urban reference groups, very definite adaptations in family task and decision-making patterns will have to be made as a purely circumstantial response to the changing farm and household economy.

The Middle Class Urban Family

As already mentioned the reason for presenting a short sketch of the modern urban middle class 'ideal type' is not to suggest that change in farm family relationships patterns is being consciously aimed toward that goal, but merely to indicate the expected direction of change from the traditional pattern once modernisation forces – economy, mass media, mobility, etc. – increasingly impinge on the traditional system. We do this for three reasons. First, most of the sociological literature in English usually treats it in this way. Secondly, most of the research studies of modern farm families show that the most "modern" structure is that typical of the urban middle class elite (18). And, thirdly, from the perspective of ideological changes, the most prestigeful and visible alternative models are those of the urban middle class. It is proposed, therefore, that the urban middle class family pattern is the type of pattern that the traditional family move towards when change occurs. This diverges to a considerable extent from that found in the traditional family. The change may be regarded partly as a response to changes in external pressures and demands, – as for example, in the increasing sex segregation of farm and household task roles as farming becomes increasingly commercialised – but also to reference group influences which expose people to alternative prestigeful models of interpersonal relationships.

There is some difficulty in building up an "ideal type" of the middle class family structure comparable to that of the traditional one because there is greater variation in the type of structure found. The context within which the middle class family exists varies widely and is, therefore, more variable than that of the traditional peasant family. From studies undertaken in Britain and the United States, however, certain broad generalisations may be made about the organisation of the middle class urban family at least in the English speaking world, with its system of roles and the basic values and beliefs according to which it is structured.

The most satisfactory – from the point of view of the participants – middle class family type is most frequently described as a 'joint conjugal relationship' with a strong emphasis on the nuclear family and the happiness and development of the individual personalities involved. Generally there is some variation in family task roles but the rigid and clearly defined division of labour – on age and sex criteria is largely broken, although the degree of participation by the husband in household and child-rearing tasks is limited by his economic role as provider. What is important is that the norms have changed. The husband is not ridiculed or sanctioned if he helps in the household and child-rearing tasks, rather it is expected that he will do so on a regular basis. Both Bott, and Willmot and Young found in their studies in London that within the middle class family there was a mutual understanding that both husband and wife should be jointly responsible for the welfare of the children and that these expectations were mutual; co-parenthood being regarded as a vital part of the joint conjugal relationship.

Bott says that where a joint conjugal role/relationship exists ". . . joint organisation is relatively predominant. Husband and wife expect to carry out many activities together with a minimum of task differentiation and separation of interests". They not only plan the affairs of the family together but also exchange many household tasks or spend much of their leisure time together. However, there remains the basic division of labour by which the husband is primarily responsible for supporting the family financially and the wife is primarily responsible for housework and child care. But there is flexibility in housework and child care by which many tasks are shared or are interchangeable. Bott says of her middle-class group of families: "The division of labour was flexible and there was considerable sharing and interchange of task. Husbands were expected to take a very active part in child care" (45; see 13, 25, 48, 78, 98 also). The welfare of the children was the concern of both parents. Neither did the couples feel that fathers should be the final authority and disciplinarian, and that mothers should be more supportive and warmhearted, rather it was felt that both husband and wife were more or less equal in authority and supportiveness.

At the economic level although the father still retains the position of provider or breadwinner, decision making in all areas, including finance, is joint. If final decisions have to be made by one member it is normally preceded by discussion in which husband and wife and even children participate.

At a most basic level and where, perhaps, the urban middle class diverges most strikingly from the traditional family is that both husband and wife are expected to achieve a high degree of compatibility based on their own particular combination of shared interests and complementary differences. The rigid division of labour and clear differentiation of authority and social emotional roles has broken down. In its place there emerges a group held together by numerous "crescive" (91) bonds where interpersonal relationships are built up over time on the basis of mutually supportive exchanges. These are geared ideally toward individual self development rather than on the basis of highly stereotypical roles which are consensually defined and highly legitimised in the closed communal relationship systems of the traditional farm community.

Conclusion

What we have attempted to do in this chapter is, having stated the problem to be investigated, as laid out in the five basic research questions (pp. 2 and 3), to propose a conceptual model within which the answer to these questions might be sought. We do this first by detailing the traditional family structure as described by Arensberg and Kimball. Secondly, we propose that within the overall ethnographic description lie three basic underlying dimensions of family roles—division of labour, authority and decision-making patterns, and social emotional patterns. And, thirdly, we propose that change in these traditional patterns of family interaction can

be clearly seen as occurring in a predictable direction. At least all available evidence from studies in other countries suggest so (25, 40).

Finally, we propose that the underlying set of factors bringing about these changes may be seen under two main headings: (1) Economic, technological and general social environmental changes toward which family roles have to be adapted irrespective of the feelings and beliefs of the people involved; (2) Basically cultural changes in people's beliefs, feelings and values, which are brought about primarily by the breakdown of previously isolated folk cultures and the cumulative incorporation of rural people through economic, technological, mass media, educational and other institutional changes within a much wider national cultural system. It is this gradual cumulative assimilation of rural people into a wider national system, where they take on the values of prestigeful external reference groups and start to evaluate their own position from that perspective, that is generally seen as the main agent of cultural change in traditional rural societies (8, 18, 57). Nevertheless, cultural differences alone may not fully explain family interaction differences. This would be to view the family purely as a primary group which is governed exclusively by moral imperatives—and change in family patterns of interaction as due exclusively to change in family and sex-role ideologies. A considerable amount of evidence exists that variation in the sex role division of labour and power differentials within families are equally responsive to situational pressures irrespective of any ideological differences that exist (10, 11). This study, therefore, will be equally concerned with both sets of influences on family variation.

The main general hypotheses being proposed, therefore, are:—

(i) That variation in the allocation of farm, household, and child-rearing task roles between husband and wife, as in decision making and social-emotional roles, is accounted for primarily by: (a) variation in situational or environmental factors, and (b) current communicational and background socialisation differences amongst respondents which would indicate major reference group differences amongst them.

(ii) That variation in Task Roles, Decision Making and Social-Emotional patterns are interdependent so that variation in one dimension is systematically related to variation in another.

(iii) That it is possible to categorise families in terms of the overall configuration of Task, Decision Making and Social-Emotional patterns; and that variation in this overall familial pattern of interaction is explainable in the same terms as for variation in any one of these individual variables.

(iv) What is equally important, but is not possible to phrase as a hypothesis, is the question—to what extent is it possible to rank order such a series of "family types" along a single continuum from traditional to modern

and to what extent do the same factors which accounted for the individual variables also account for this overall pattern of interaction. Or to what extent given such an ordinal ranking of family types, does such a differential configuration of variables "capture" important statistical interaction effects amongst the individual variables?

The following two chapters report first on the methods used in the study and the ways in which the main variables were operationalised, and secondly, describe the basic distributions of all the main dependent and independent variables. The main analyses of the results are presented in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. Chapter 7 is an additional chapter where we present an analysis of the relationship between internal family patterns and kinship contacts. It is somewhat peripheral to the main aims of this monograph. But, since the issue is so important and the results so significant in relation to the other main findings of the study the preliminary results are presented here. The final chapter summarises these results and concludes with a theoretical revision of the main points of this chapter which have to be disciplined by the actual empirical results and ends with a section on the implications of the study.

Chapter 2

Research Methods

THIS chapter is of a fairly technical nature. It contains a detailed description of the procedures adopted in carrying out the study, and the techniques used to develop scales to measure the major dimensions of family interaction outlined in Chapter 1. The casual reader should, at least, familiarise himself with the sections dealing with the variation amongst families in their division of labour, decision-making and social emotional characteristics, and the ways in which these are measured. For those wishing to fully understand the process of the research and the analysis which follows it is recommended that the chapter should be read in its entirety.

Introduction

This study was initiated in May 1970 when the senior author started on an intensive participant observation study of a small farming community of three townlands in County Roscommon. It was originally hoped to use this as an initial "pilot" phase of the family study. It soon became apparent, however, that it would prove impossible to do any worthwhile observation work on internal family interaction in the limited time available. Since such interaction between spouses and between parents and children is so private and intimate, taking place primarily within the household, it is not easily or reliably observable even for an individual family. Indeed, it was only at the end of three months' observation that it was possible to get to know two or three families well enough to do even very limited observation without one's presence influencing interaction. As a result of this it was decided to concentrate this initial period of study on the external, more visible and less sensitive aspects of interaction of nuclear family members with other individuals and nuclear families—primarily kin, friends and neighbours, and local institutional relationships. The results of this period of observation are reported in Hannan (1972).

However, this initial period of observation clearly indicated many of the major aspects of family interaction and family roles which were undergoing change, and some of the main influences bringing about change. It was also very useful in generating particular interview questions or systems of questions which would not be threatening or embarrassing for respondents but that would still succeed in obtaining the kind of information that was required. In examining the emotional quality of interaction within the family unit, for instance, observations indicated that it would have proved

very embarrassing for many respondents, and also in their interest to falsify responses, if we asked direct questions on how cold/warm/antagonistic or hostile were the emotional bonds between husband and wife and between both parents and children. Instead we asked a series of indirect questions about their actual reciprocal helpfulness and dependence on each other which, it was clear from observation, were highly related to their feelings and which would yield the same kind of information without upsetting the interviewees. We asked questions dealing with spontaneity and warmth of interaction between parents and children at mealtimes; whether the father's absence dampened or stimulated the spontaneity and warmth of interaction between parents and children at mealtimes; whether and how frequently spouses were spontaneously helpful to one another in performing disliked tasks; and whether, and to what extent, each spouse was the recipient of each other's confidences and worries etc. Independent observations were also made of the terms of reference and address used by spouses for each other. The responses to all of these items were found to be highly correlated with each other and, when joined together in one scale, were found to be highly correlated with other measures of the emotional-expressive dimension of family interaction. Most of these measures are described in detail in a later section of this chapter.

Developing the Interview Schedule

As a result of this preliminary work it was decided to concentrate completely on the formal interview as the main method of data gathering.

Between July and September 1970 the senior author drew up and tested out a number of separate and increasingly refined interview schedules. By the end of September 1970 we had completed 80 interviews with each of the two spouses in 40 families in Sligo, Roscommon and Galway. As a result of this interviewing experience with these 40 pilot families, and on the basis of an item analysis of the responses involved, we designed a final schedule which included only those questions that yielded the maximum reliable and valid information. This final schedule took approximately one hour to administer and was neither too long, nor too tiring, for the respondents.*

Interviewing

We finally started to interview in early December 1970, starting with a small team of six trained interviewers, all sociology or psychology graduates. We started first in County Cavan and proceeded from there to County Monaghan and Donegal, and thence to the five Connacht and two West Munster counties included. Besides this tightly knit itinerant team of six interviewers and one part-time supervisor, we also employed the services of four pairs of local interviewers that are intermittently employed by the

*The interview schedules are available and can be had on application to the senior author at the ESRI. (Details are shown in Appendix I).

ESRI Survey Unit on national surveys. Each interviewer was given a short training course in interviewing techniques and in following the detailed interviewing instructions.

The sample chosen for interviewing consisted of 630 names and addresses of farm families selected on a simple random sampling basis from a national sampling frame of farming families in these counties. Both spouses were to be interviewed in each family. The results of the interviewing are given below in two separate columns, one for each team of interviewers.

Table 1: *Number and percentage of family interviews attempted, completed, and refused*

Interviewing results	*Independent interviewing team*		*ESRI local interviewers*		*Total*	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
(a) Total No. in original sample:	464		166		630	
(b) Total No. not applicable:	144	31%	47	28%	191	30%
(c) Total No. applicable, and interviews attempted:	320		119		439	
Total No. interviewed:	300	94%	108	91%	408	93%
Total No. refused:	17	5%	8	7%	25	6%
Total not contacted but applicable:	3	1%	3	3%	6	1%
Total applicable	320	100%	119	100%	439	100%
Total interviewing costs per family	£8.26		£6.20		£7.70	

As can be seen from Table 1 although the sampling frame was nominally one of farmers, only 70 per cent of the families named in the sample were actually applicable. Of those not applicable, all had farms but almost two-thirds had fathers who were engaged in full-time occupations off the farm. The remaining families were almost equally divided between those where one parent was dead or where there were no children under 16 resident in the household. Only those farm families were selected which had both parents alive and living together in the household, with at least one child under 16 years of age. We are focusing, therefore, only on those farm families with both parents alive and with young dependent children. Since the characteristics of spousal or parent-child and sibling interaction within the family vary so much over the life cycle of the family, from the birth of the first child to a young couple to the later stages when the fully adult children begin to leave home and get married, it was decided to limit the study to this early stage of the family cycle. As will become clearly

evident later there is considerable variation in the ages and family roles of children even within this restricted range of the family cycle, and this variation has considerable influence on interspousal interaction. It would, therefore, have been better had we selected an even more restricted sample. This would, however, have been very costly in fieldwork expenditure, as it would have been impossible to find a sampling frame which provided us with such information. We would, therefore, have had to oversample to an even greater extent than we actually attempted, and would have increased interviewing costs significantly.

The refusal rate was higher than normal. Since, however, we were interviewing both the husband and wife in each family, such an inflation of the "normal" refusal rate of 2-3 per cent was to be expected.

In 90 per cent of the cases the interviewers reported that their reception was good and friendly and that they had no great difficulty in building up and maintaining rapport with respondents. This was slightly less true of husbands—only in 85 per cent of cases did interviewers report their reception to be good and friendly, while in six per cent of all cases rapport declined from an initial fairly good reception, to a disimprovement of rapport at the final stage of the long interview. This was partly accounted for by two relatively inexperienced interviewers who, in the initial stages of interviewing, had not enough experience or training in handling such rapport problems and allowed it to slip. This was much less true of those interviewing wives.

Fifty-two per cent of all interviews were obtained on the first call to the household, 32 per cent at the second attempt, 11 per cent on the third and 5 per cent on the fourth and later calls. There was a slightly lower percentage than normal obtained on the first call but this was to be expected, given that we wanted to interview both spouses simultaneously.

The Interviews and their Reliability

Both spouses were interviewed simultaneously by a pair of interviewers. As a result of our experience on the pilot interviewing it was decided to have males interview males and females interview females. There was reason to believe that the younger female interviewers would cause considerable embarrassment to both husbands and wives if they attempted to interview husbands while some other girl simultaneously interviewed the wife. In fact, later experience with the older female interviewers, who had previously worked for ESRI on other surveys, showed that it was possible to have them interview husbands. All of the itinerant interviewers were university graduates in the social sciences and all were unmarried. On the other hand, most of the local "ESRI" interviewers were older women, all but one of whom were married.

It is apparent now that the use of male-to-male, and female-to-female interviewer-respondent arrangements must have biased the responses of

husbands and wives to the semi-factual recall questions on family roles; e.g., as to who made what decisions; who eventually carried out what tasks in the household or with the children; or who was the main emotionally supportive person in different situations. There is no doubt that the selective perception of both husbands and wives, even with the most careful interviewing procedures and reporting participation in very recent past events, leads to some important differences in response. In Brown and Rutter's (17) study despite the most careful training of interviewers, and with asking very specific questions about participation in family events of the previous week or two, the average correlations between husband and wife responses was only in the region of 0.40 to 0.70 for bivariate or more extended scaled responses. And where interviewer training was less strict and questions were of a more general nature—asking the respondent to generalise about each other's behaviour—correlations were much lower. In a study by Haggarty, where respondents were re-interviewed, only between 65 and 70 per cent of unified responses were reproduced; and exact agreements between husband and wife on "special social data" and rating scales held for only 65-77 per cent of responses (43).

Knowing that these constant differences existed between husband and wife responses to questions on family interaction and decision making, the decision was taken to interview *both* husbands and wives and to check out the relative reliability of information gathered from both kinds of respondents. If one spouse provides relatively more accurate and reliable information than the other, then future surveys of this nature can be far more cheaply done. So, given our original intention to do a number of continuing studies of family life, in different urban and rural settings and with different social classes, it was decided to interview both husbands and wives on this survey and assess the relative reliability of the information supplied by both.

The following table summarises the comparison between husbands' and wives' responses on a number of direct questions and on three important multiple item scales.

Table 2: *Comparisons between husbands' and wives' responses to exactly the same questions on extent of husband's participation in household, and child-rearing tasks and in social emotional leadership roles*

	Pearson product moment correlations between husband's and wife's scales based on their respective responses	*Percentage of both parents answering the same questions with same responses*
(a) *Household Roles*—(5 items, Guttman Scale with 2 response (collapsed), categories per item):—	r = .30	%
% Agreeing on response to Q.: "Getting potatoes ready and washed for the dinner": (5 response categories allowed).		61

continued on next page

Table 2: continued

(b)	*Child-rearing Roles*—(7 item, Guttman Scale):—	r = .31	
	% Agreeing on responses to Q.: "Who gets up to them at night if they are sick". (5 response categories allowed).		55
(c)	*Social-Emotional Leadership Scale*—(5 item Likert Scale with 3 response categories allowed):	r = .39	
	% Agreeing on response to Q.: "Who is most likely to let them (i.e. children) off if they've done wrong": (5 response categories allowed).		62

For these three major variables, therefore, the overall correlation between wives' and husbands' summarised response scores on all items is only moderate. The Guttman Scales in some cases, as in the scale measuring the husband's participation in household tasks, tended to be more highly correlated with each other than the Likert Scales, so that these will be used in the subsequent analysis. In other cases the Likert Scales were more highly correlated and where this occurred, as in the cases of fathers' participation in child-rearing tasks and Social Emotional Leadership, these scales will be used. Both types of scales were initially constructed specifically to check on their cross-spouse validity. In all cases the Guttman Scales have Coefficients of Reproducibility of over .90. "Split half" reliability checks on the Likert Scales yielded equally high correlations (29, pp. 172-199).

Despite a relatively high level of inter-item consistency or reliability, however, within each respondent's set of answers, the moderate correlations or level of agreement between the reports of both spouses on their respective roles within the family throw some doubt on the validity of the responses (17, 43). This inter-spousal variation seems to be primarily due to systematic biases in their recall of past events and current perceptions of family roles. Random errors appear to be much less significant, given the high inter-item consistency of responses by each of the spouses. Some preliminary analyses of the correlates of these biases showed that in cases where both spouses are highly supportive of each other emotionally, the wife tends to report that the husband participates or helps out in housekeeping and child-rearing tasks to a greater extent than he himself reports. In reciprocal fashion the husband reports that his wife is more helpful in farming tasks that she herself does. Quite the opposite tendency to bias responses occurs when spousal relationships are poorly integrated.

After considerable investigation of the relative reliability and validity of both sets of scales—as indicated by the internal consistency of responses and of their relationship to a set of independent validating factors—it was decided to base the analysis on the following scales: To index the division of labour in household and child rearing, and of all decision-making scales we used all wives' responses to measure the division of labour on the farm

on husbands' responses. The scale to index leadership in social-emotional processes is based on wives' responses, while that to measure levels of social-emotional integration within the family is based on joint responses from both wives and husbands. Since this latter scale attempts to measure levels of mutual empathy and responsiveness between spouses both sets of responses had to be considered jointly. This was a different procedure than that which attempts to average out responses between husbands and wives, as will become obvious when we describe the structure of the scale later. We did, in fact, attempt to do this and built scales based on such averaged responses, but it only yielded measures which not alone had lower levels of internal consistency but also gave lower correlations with any of the independent validity checks than either of the previous scales.*

It should be stated at this point that in both schedules less than one-third of all questions were exactly comparable—i.e., asking respondents to report on actual behaviour within the family. The bulk of the husband's schedule, for instance, dealt with questions on the pattern of inheritance of the farm, his occupational and residential history, the type and output of the farm and the degree of technical and marketing innovativeness involved in farming etc. Besides, questions on the individual's own attitudes and values had, of course, to be asked of each individual separately, as had all questions about one's kin system—its size, location and contact. Most of this latter information will be reported on in a later monograph.

Coding and Scaling of Responses

On completion of the interviewing in mid-March 1971, coding was started. It was first decided to select a sample of 150 from the 408 husband-wife interviews obtained, and to devise scales and indices to be used for the main coding frames. All responses to questions dealing with each of the main variables of interest in family interaction were coded on to large sheets of graph paper. Separate response matrices were, therefore, coded for each variable. Decisions were made, on an *a priori* basis, to construct separate scales for each of these variables from a battery of items which had been originally included in the interview schedule to tap each of these dimensions. In this way separate scales were constructed to measure the allocation of task roles, decision-making and social-emotional roles within the family.

For instance, 13 separate items were included in the schedule to provide an index of the husband's participation in household tasks. For each of these tasks each wife was asked: "To what extent does your husband do any of the following things around the house" while her husband was asked an equivalent question. The percentage distribution of responses is given below in Table 3.

*It is intended in a subsequent publication to report fully on the analysis and assessment of the causes and consequences of these biases in recall and response.

Table 3: *Percentage distribution of husbands' and wives' responses to household role items. (Percentages are calculated across the rows)*

Rank order of household tasks on basis of percentage of wives responding that husband "Always/Usually" carried out these tasks.	*Wives' responses (Sample of 150)*				*Husbands' responses (Reciprocal sample of 150)*			
	"Always" (4) or "Usually" (3) Score: (3) or (4)	*"Occasionally" (2)* Score: (2)	*"Never" (0) or "in an emergency only" (1)* Score: (1) or (0)	*No information or not applicable*	*"Always" (4) or "Usually" (3)* Score: (4) or (3)	*"Occasionally" (2)* Score: (2)	*"Never" (0) or "in an emergency only" (1)* Score: (1) or (0)	*No information or not applicable*
"To what extent does he": (Wife): "To what extent do you" (Husband):								
* 1. Do the repairs around the house:	74%	18%	4%	4%	64%	16%	11%	9%
** 2. Keep the garden in trim:	67%	13%	14%	6%	58%	12%	25%	5%
*** 3. Raking the fire at night:	33%	33%	25%	9%	21%	19%	59%	1%
4. Getting the children off to bed:	31%	35%	33%	1%	13%	38%	54%	4%
** 5. Carrying the baby or wheeling the pram when you all go out visiting or shopping:	20%	27%	42%	10%	12%	33%	53%	2%
*** 6. Getting the potatoes ready and washed for dinner:	16%	22%	55%	7%	8%	29%	63%	—
** 7. Feeding the baby:	14%	29%	55%	2%	1%	25%	73%	1%
** 8. Doing shopping for groceries:	14%	29%	55%	2%	1%	25%	73%	1%
*** 9. Getting the house ready for visitors:	13%	33%	48%	6%	1%	29%	69%	1%
10. Changing and cleaning the baby:	7%	22%	69%	2%	—	13%	83%	4%
11. Cleaning the floors:	3%	26%	68%	3%	—	19%	80%	1%
*12. Making the beds:	1%	5%	92%	2%	—	7%	91%	2%
13. Doing the ironing:	—	—	99%	1%	—	2%	97%	1%

* Items selected for Guttman Scale alone.
** Items selected for Likert Scale alone.
*** Items selected common to both Scales.

Two main trends are clearly evident from the distribution of responses. First, it is obvious that household tasks are very clearly discriminated against in terms of the frequency or rarity with which they are carried out by the husband, varying from tasks like house repairs or gardening where the husband usually carries out these tasks to ones like ironing, making beds or cleaning floors which are almost exclusively women's tasks. It is very apparent also that both husbands and wives coincide almost exactly in the rank ordering of the "male difficulty" of these tasks. There appears, therefore, to be a very clearcut system of sex typing of household tasks.

Secondly, it is equally obvious that husbands generally understate, relative to their wives, their participation in household tasks, even in those tasks that are almost universally defined as "masculine tasks", such as in household repairs, gardening, etc. Between 10-15 per cent more of the wives report that their husbands "always or usually" do these tasks than the husbands themselves agree they do. Some tasks, however, like ironing and making beds, are so identified with the woman's role that over 90 per cent in each case assign it in this way almost exclusively.

As already mentioned, two methods of scaling these responses were employed—Guttman Scalogram methods and Likert Item Analysis methods. In this latter method only those items were selected which clearly discriminated between respondents with high and low "total scores". This is the score got by totalling the individual's scores on all 13 items i.e., a maximum score of (13 x 4) 52 and a minimum of 0. Seven of these items were selected by a conventional item analysis procedure and are indicated on Table 3.* For each of these seven items there are 5 possible response categories: "Never" (0); "Husband, but only if wife is sick" (1); "Husband, occasionally" (2); "Husband, usually" (3); and "Husband, always" (4). Each of these item responses were scored from 0-4 (as shown), to indicate the husband's level of participation in each task. Total scores, therefore, range from 0 to 28. The following table gives the distribution of respondents over these scores, comparing husbands' and wives' assignments.

This table much more clearly indicates the husband's relative "underestimation" of his household participation, when considered relative to his wife's responses. The median household participation score of husband is 8.9 for husbands and 12.3 for wives. When considered over the total sample, husbands consistently assigned themselves a lower participation in household tasks than did their wives. It is interesting that this did not hold for child-rearing activities nor for most other scales. These household tasks appear to have high sex-linked connotations.

*An item analysis of responses was carried out on the 13 items using a chi-square technique developed by Sharp and Ramsey *et. al.*, "Criteria of item selection in level of living scales", *Rural Sociology* (1963) 28, 2, pp. 146-164. Seven items were found to discriminate very highly between the top and bottom quartiles of respondents who were ranked in terms of their total score, and were included in this scale.

Table 4: *Percentage distribution of respondents according to both husbands' and wives' perceptions of husband participation in household tasks*

Likert Scale 7 item Scale	*Rating*	*Scores* (Values)*	*Husbands' responses*	*Wives' responses*
(Scores 0-28)				
Low to high participation of husband in tasks involving (Scores 0-4)			%	%
(1) Feeding the baby:	Almost no participation whatsoever:	0-3	12	5
(2) Getting the house ready for visitors	Very low participation	4-6	18	9
(3) Carrying baby or wheeling pram in public	Low participation	7-9	21	20
(4) Raking fire at night	Low and mod. participation	10-12	26	22
(5) Keeping the garden in trim	Moderate to high participation	14-16	14	20
(6) Getting potatoes/veg. ready/washed for dinner	High participation	17-19	4	14
(7) Doing shopping for groceries	Very high participation	20+	1	8
	No information	99	4	2
	Total:	%	100%	100%
		No.	408	408

*In Table 4 the lowest score indicates that the husband would never do any of the tasks itemised above, although he might perhaps do one or two of them in an emergency. Very low participation indicates that the husband might do one or two of the tasks occasionally or when there is an emergency in the household. Low participation could be classed as a situation where husband occasionally did a number of the tasks and usually perhaps did one of the other tasks. Low to moderate scores would involve the husband usually or always participating in at least two of the tasks and occasionally in a number of the other tasks. High participation, on the other hand, would mean that the husband would usually involve himself in most of the tasks indicated.

Using Guttman's Scalogram technique a five item unidimensional Guttman Scale was also devised, for both sets of responses. This scale had a Coefficient of Reproducibility of .93 and an "improvement over chance" in predicting responses over average marginal reproducibilities of 71 per cent. This is, therefore, a highly reliable scale, as the Guttman technique only requires a coefficient of reproducibility of .90 etc. Errors were

randomly scattered and cutting points evenly distributed.* An exactly equivalent scale was constructed from husbands' responses, using the same items, in the same order and in 3 of the 5 cases using exactly the same cutting points as the mothers' scale. Different "cutting points" for dichotomising responses were used in two cases because use of the same cutting points would have resulted in unacceptable levels of error.

The five items selected were, as in Table 5, stated in increasing order of "difficulty" of the task, from the one most frequently and most easily carried out by the husband to the one that is least frequently carried out or is most "difficult" to perform by the husband. The "cutting point" for responses on each item is between those who respond that the husband "never" or "never, except in an emergency" does any of the tasks mentioned, *and* those who respond that he "occasionally", "usually" or "always" carries out the task.

The overall inter-spousal correlation between the 2 Likert scales measuring husbands' participation in household tasks was very low (i.e., r =.12). The wives' Guttman Scale, on the other hand, provides a scale with higher inter-spousal reliability of response, (r = .30), much higher within-scale consistency of response and, when checked against a series of relevant independent variables, somewhat higher correlations than any alternative. The wives' responses, were therefore taken to be the most valid and reliable in this case. This is not very surprising given that housekeeping is one of her main roles, so that she is likely to have a more accurate knowledge and presumably more trustworthy recall of the husband's actual help with the housework.

No matter which scale is used, however, the results show some considerable variation in husbands' household roles, ranging from around a quarter of husbands who appear to do even less than the traditional minimum in some parts of the country, of doing the repairs and locking up the house before going to bed; to the other extreme of nearly a third of husbands who are very helpful, even to the extent of the 6 per cent who occasionally help with making the beds. Unlike the homogeneous and rather stereotyped picture given by Arensberg and Kimball as typical of small farm family life in the 1930s, there is here considerable variation in the

*The procedures adopted to derive this Division of Labour Scale were as follows:— respondents were first ranked in terms of their total scores i.e. the score resulting from totalling individual scores for all tasks husbands participated in. Each person's scored response to each item was then indicated on a respondent by item matrix; respondents = rows, items = columns. The scores for each items (tasks) were then calculated, and items were re-ordered on the basis of their popularity i.e. their total scores or how often they were participated in by (their) husbands. This procedure gave a clear indication of which tasks were most frequently or most rarely done by husbands in the household. "Cutting points"—i.e. so as to dichotomise the scores—for each item (column of scores) were then chosen so as to minimise error and to ensure that no item (column) had more error responses than non-error. Those items which had more error than non-error in the smaller marginal, were rejected from the scale. The remaining items (those included in the scale) were then re-ranked on the basis of their cutting points. This yielded the final scales. See Edwards, op. cit., for further details of this scaling procedure.

Table 5: *Percentage distribution of families by husbands' participation in household tasks, as measured by wives' responses and scaled by Guttman procedures.*

Scale type (Cumulative)*	*Item*	*Total responses falling in each scale type*	
		Mothers' responses	
		%	
	Description of item	*% each scale type*	*Cumulative % in each scale type*
	No information available:	3%	100%
1	Do not do any of the following tasks:	7%	97%
2	"Doing repairs around the house":	15%	90%
3	(Plus in addition) "Raking the fire at night":	27%	75%
4	(Plus in addition): "Getting the potatoes ready and washed for the dinner":	16%	48%
5	(Plus in addition): "Getting the house ready for visitors":	26%	32%
6	(Plus in addition): "Making the beds":	6%	6%
	Total %	100%	
	Total N	408	

*The Guttmann scale is both implicative and reproducable. Thus for any one respondent, knowing his score on the scale enables one to reproduce his pattern of response on each individual item e.g., if a respondent falls into scale Type 4 one can say that in addition to "occasionally or usually" getting the potatoes ready and washed for dinner he also rakes the fire at night and does the repairs around the house but never participates in getting the house ready for visitors or in making the beds. Scale Type 6 would imply that the respondent participates in all tasks indicated on the scale.

husbands' household roles. In the following sections we will see that this is equally true of his child-rearing roles.

The Allocation of Child-Rearing Tasks

A similar analysis of both spouses' responses to questions about child-rearing tasks within the family showed that the mothers' responses, as analysed and represented by Likert Scaling techniques revealed the "best" results. This judgement is based on the fact that it gives the highest inter-spousal agreement and slightly more substantial correlations with a set of independent validatory variables. As it would be extremely cumbersome to analyse and report on the husbands' and wives' scaled responses independently it was decided to take the wives' scale as best, representing the more valid and reliable alternative. For these reasons and to simplify the analysis

and presentation of results the wives' responses, as selected and scaled by Likert techniques, is the measure used. The distribution of wives' and husbands' responses on this scale are given below.

Table 6: *Percentage distribution of families on the basis of wives' and husbands' responses to questions on child-rearing roles, as measured by a Likert Scale*

Likert Scale of 8 items, each scored 0-4 on the basis of extent of husbands' participation in the following child-rearing tasks. Total scores range from 0-32: 0 = "Mother always" to 4 = "Father always" does these tasks	*Rating of husbands' participation*	*Score**	*Wives' responses*	*Husbands' responses*
Individual Items			%	%
(a) Making sure they get up in time in the morning	Almost no participation whatsoever	0-3	14	16
(b) Making sure they eat their meals properly	Very low participation	4-6	24	24
(c) Getting up to them at night if they are ill	Low participation	7-9	24	19
(d) Most patient with them in answering their questions	Low to moderate participation	10-12	17	19
(e) Bringing younger children to Mass or Church on Sunday	Moderate to high participation	13-15	11	10
(f) Seeing that older children do their lessons	High participation	16-18	4	4
(g) Helping children with their lessons	Very high participation	19+	2	2
(h) Keeping control over children to see that they do not get into mischief	No information	—	4	6
	Total	%	100	100
		N	408	408

*The score values on this scale are equivalent to those outlined in a footnote to Table 4. Lowest participation would indicate almost no participation in any of the items listed, while the highest score indicates that the husband would at least occasionally participate in all the itemised tasks above.

Unlike the previous scale dealing with household participation the husband's responses in this case almost exactly paralleled those of his wife. Both agree that almost 40 per cent of husbands do the minimum, almost never helping even on an "occasional" basis with most child-rearing tasks.

At the other extreme, however, 16-17 per cent of husbands are very helpful with most child-rearing tasks, with 6 per cent being as equally involved as their wives. On average, therefore, although husbands' helpfulness is generally low a small proportion of husbands appear to be rather highly involved in what was traditionally defined as a woman's role, and another small proportion are moderately helpful.

The Allocation of Farm Tasks:—

An analysis of the allocation of farm tasks between husband and wife was carried out from responses given by husbands to a series of questions relating to who carried out certain tasks on the farm. Guttman's technique was used to construct the scale and the procedures adopted were the same as those outlined for the Division of Labour in Household Scale (see pp. 41-42). Out of the ten original questions asked six were included on the field scale and are reproduced in the table below. This scale has a Coefficient of Reproducibility of .93, Minimal Marginal Reproducibility of .71 and an Improvement over Chance of 73 per cent i.e., it is almost a perfect scale by Guttman standards.

Table 7: *Percentage distribution of families by wives' participation in farm tasks, as measured by husbands' responses, and scaled by Guttman techniques*

Scale type (cumulative)	*Item*	*Total responses falling into each scale type*	
		Husbands' responses %	
	Description of item	*% in each scale type*	*Cumulative % in each scale type*
	No information available	7	
1	Does not participate in any of the tasks mentioned below:	13	93
2	"Looking after poultry" ("Always"):	16	80
3	(Plus in addition) "Cleaning the milking cans, etc"; ("Always"):	21	64
4	(Plus in addition) "Milking the cows"; ("Usually"):	10	43
5	(Plus in addition) "Feeding the calves"; ("Usually"):	21	33
6	(Plus in addition) "Feeding the pigs"; ("Always"):	7	12
7	(Plus in addition) "Looking after the cattle"; ("Usually"):	5	5
	Total %	100	
	N	408	

As in the household, farm tasks are very clearly sex typed from the usual "female" farmyard tasks of poultry and dairying to the very highly male associated task of looking after the cattle.

The distribution of responses contained in Table 7 indicate that almost one-third of wives have minimal or no participation in farm tasks. A substantial number of wives (33%), however, are rather highly involved in feeding the calves, in addition to milking the cows, cleaning the milking cans and looking after poultry. It is interesting to note that there has been a relatively small breaching of the traditionally male dominated area of looking after the cattle. In only 5 per cent of cases did wives take on this latter task but in the case where she did she was also very highly involved in the other areas of farm activity.

Again here, therefore, there is considerable variation in wives' involvement in farm tasks. Only a very small proportion have completely withdrawn to the kitchen from even the traditional farmyard tasks while, at the other extreme, a third are very highly involved.

Social-Emotional Leadership Scales:

A Likert type item analysis was carried out on all responses to eight questions which asked both spouses which of them played the main role in resolving tensions in the family, in being more supportive and having greater understanding and patience with children, and in being the more understanding and sympathetic when quarrels or disagreements arose between husband and wife. This yielded five items which had high discriminatory ability. The following table summarises the items included in the scale and the percentages falling into each score category. Scores range from 0, (no husband involvement), to 10, almost complete husband dominance of those activities.

It is interesting that in one-fifth of all families the father appeared to play a dominant emotionally supportive role in the family—the first to make it up with children after they are punished; the most patient in listening to children's problems; most likely to let them off if they have done wrong; most likely to let them have their own way; perceived and acted towards as most comforting to children when hurt or upset. However, in over a quarter of all families the father played almost no part at all in such "emotional management" tasks and in over half the cases played a minimal role. As in the two previous cases the dominant impression is one where the majority of fathers maintain very traditional family roles but where a substantial minority have become highly involved.

Table 8: *List of items and response frequencies in each score category of the social-emotional-leadership scale, (Five item, Likert Scale)*

Items and responses	*Total responses falling into each scale type*			
Five Items – Each item is scored: 2, if "Father" is the only response 1, if "both" whether jointly or independently and (0) if "mothers" only. Total scores range from 0-10.	Rating of extent of husbands' involvement	Scores	Wives' responses %	Husbands' responses %
Items included (i) (a) "In general which of you do the children come to for comforting if hurt or upset?"	Almost no husband participation	0-1	27	23
(b) "Do any of them ever come to the other, even when other person is around?"	Low participation	2-3	23	18
(ii) "On those occasions when you might be inclined to let them have their own way, which of you is more likely to do this?"	Low to moderate participation	4-5	17	19
(iii) which of you "is more likely to let them off if they've done wrong?"	Moderate to high participation	6-7	15	20
(iv) Which of you "is most patient in listening to the childrens problems?"	High participation	8+	12	12
(v) "When a child is punished . . . who would be the first in the family to make it up with him etc.?"	No information	–	6	7
	Total	%	100	100
		N	408	408

Social-Emotional Intergration:–

This is a Guttman scale which measures the extent to which interaction between husband and wife and between parents and children is generally of a warm emotionally supportive nature. It combines responses from both spouses to form a single scale. Where interspousal relationships are mutually supportive, spontaneously helpful, with high interpersonal empathy, and where communication is open, spontaneous, and personally meaningful, the family has high integration. Families are allocated to scale types on the basis of responses by *both* husbands and wives to a series of 13 questions which were combined to form six items which discriminated clearly between families – as to the nature of supportive interpersonal relationships within the family. (CR = .89). A single Guttman scale is used in preference to the Likert Scale. This is partly because it had slightly higher correlations with a series of 'independent' validating variables, but also has a much clearer substantive meaning than a score on a Likert Scale. The following table provides the results.

Table 9: *Ordinal list of items and response frequencies falling in each scale type of the social-emotional integration scale. (CR = .89)*

Scale type	*Items—arranged in order of "difficulty"*	*% Total response falling in each scale type*	
		% in each scale type	*Cumulative %*
		%	
1	Case where the answer is negative to each of the following:	7	97
2	(i) Whether the husband is mentioned by his wife as being a person she finds it: "the easiest" or "the best" to talk things over with that worry you" (Negative = Husband not in either case).	9	90
3	(ii) In addition where both parents and children get together daily or almost daily for the main meal of the day; *or* where they rarely have the main meal together, (twice a week or less), and where father rarely or never comes in to have a meal with school children when their main meal is separate:—(the latter is the negative case).	26	81
4	(iii) In addition where both father and mother agree in responses that *at least* in 2 of the 10 child-rearing tasks queried both husband and wife *jointly co-operate* in child-rearing; *or* not. (Latter = Negative).	16	55
5	(iv) In addition where both parents agree in responses that some of the children come to *both* parents "for comforting if hurt or upset"; *or* whether all the children go to one parent only —usually the mother. (Latter = Negative).	22	39
6	(v) In addition where husband is perceived to empathise or sympathise with his wife in jobs she has to do but doesn't like doing, and where he occassionally is spontaneously helpful in carrying the task out; or not: (Latter = Negative).	12	17
7	(vi) In addition where *both* husband and wife separately and independently guess correctly each other's first 3 choices, out of 8 alternatives given, as to which item gave them the most, 2nd/3rd most satisfaction in family life: (Positive if guess/empathise correctly)	5	5
	No information	3%	
	%	*100*	
Total	*No*	408	

As can be seen from even a cursory examination of the items included, the scale is an attempt to measure the degree of integration, or mutually supportive interaction, of both spouses with each other and between parents and children. Families are assigned to scale types on the basis of the extent of mutually interlocking supportive behaviour as reported by both husband and wife. Like all Guttman Scales it is cumulative and the items are arranged in an ascending order of "difficulty". "Difficulty" here means that people who answer higher order items positively also answer all, or nearly all, prior items positively; and that fewer and fewer families reach progressively higher levels of integration. The reliability of this scale as measured by the Coefficient of Reproducibility reaches 0.89, i.e., one can reproduce each person's, or each pair of spouses' actual responses from their assigned scale type, nine times out of 10.

The most discriminating and least frequently occurring positive item was No. 7. This measures the extent of mutual empathy between husband and wife. When both husband and wife could accurately guess which three out of a battery of eight possible statements best represented their spouses' views as to what gave them most satisfaction in marriage and family life they were assigned a positive score. If both spouses could accurately guess two or three of the first three items actually mentioned by their spouse—i.e., they had a very high degree of mutual empathy—they belonged to families where each of the other five less "difficult" items were also positively scored. If they did not have quite that high degree of empathy, but if the husband did sympathise with his wife in tasks which she did not like doing and if he was spontaneously helpful to her in carrying out that task—he belonged to a family where all the other four less difficult items were also positive. In other words, a positive response to any of these "later" items predicted the responses to the other less difficult items in 89 per cent of cases.

Only five per cent of the families were so well integrated that all six items were scored positively. But in another 12 per cent of the cases, although empathy was not of such a high order, the husband did empathise with his wife's difficulties to the extent of knowing and sympathising with her in the most distasteful tasks she had to carry out and being spontaneously helpful with them. In this case the family got a positive score to all the other four items involved also. In over one-sixth of all cases, therefore, families had a high, to very high, level of mutual helpfulness, co-operation, conviviality, gregariousness and interdependence within the family.

On the other hand, seven per cent of all families had extremely low levels of integration or intercommunication within the family. In these cases the wife did not find that her husband was the best to talk to about her problems and anxieties. There was a minimal level of interaction at the dinner table, and indeed all family members rarely met each other for meals. There was clear differentiation in child-rearing and emotionally supportive

roles and there was very low empathy or spontaneous helpful interaction between spouses. In another nine per cent of cases the husband was mentioned by the wife as the main person she did talk over her problems and worries with, but that was the limit to which inter-communication, mutual helpfulness and empathy proceeded. In other words, in one-sixth of families emotional integration was very high. In one-sixth of families it was extremely low, while the remaining two-thirds were evenly divided between the two extremes.

The Allocation of Power, Authority or Decision Making in the Family

The measures of the allocation of power or main decision-making roles within the family were based on responses to questions about who had "the final say" or made "the final decision" when choosing between two alternative courses of action. These were the kind of issues that arise in every family and household and that all couples have to face. A sample of sixteen such "decisions" were chosen as most frequently occurring and most discriminated against amongst respondents from an original battery of twenty-five items. The twenty-five items were included in the 80 pilot interviews and were then subsequently weeded out through item analysis of the responses.

Five separate Likert and Guttman scales were constructed from responses to these questions. Individual scales were constructed relating to decision making in each area of activity i.e., household, child rearing and farm. Two additional scales were constructed which incorporated items which spanned all the areas of activity and which we titled the "General Power" scale. The Guttman scales had in almost all cases—with the exception of the farm decision scale—very high coefficeints of reproducibility or internal consistency. In the case of household and child-rearing decisions the Guttman scales were used, whilst for farm and general power the Likert scales gave higher interspousal correlations and were the scales used. Below is reproduced the seven item Likert General Power scale. For the particular items included and methods of scaling for the other scales see Appendix II.

Under the scoring system devised for this scale a low score indicates that wives predominated in decision making in almost all of the seven items indicated on the table. At the other extreme a score of twelve or more would indicate that a husband took the final decision in six of the seven items or at least took the final decision in four of the issues and consulted his wife and made a joint decision on the rest. Unlike the Guttman scale this scale is not implicative and reproducible, hence one is unable to say exactly what combination of items and responses gives the respondent's final score.

An interesting feature of this scale is that, when one compares husbands' and wives' responses, husbands consistently give their wives a greater decision-making role than wives give themselves. Only seven per cent of

Table 10: *List of items and response frequencies in each score category of the general power scale. (Seven items, Likert Scale)*

Item and responses	*Total responses falling into each scale type*			
Seven items. Each item is scored (2) if "Husband only" makes decisions; (1) if both, and (0) if "wife only". Total scores range from 0-14	*Rating of husbands' dominance*	*Scores*	*Wives' responses %*	*Husbands' responses %*
Items Included				
(i) Who has the final say in borrowing money to buy land?	Total wife dominance	0-3	2	3
(ii) Who is the general boss in financial matters?	Very high wife dominance	4-5	5	9
(iii) Who has the final say in buying or renting a TV?	Joint or allocated pattern of decision-making	6-7	11	16
(iv) Who made (or would make) the final decision to install running water?				
(v) Who keeps track of money?	Joint or allocated pattern of decision-making	8-9	18	22
(vi) Who are the children afraid of most?				
(vii) Who disciplines the children?				
	Low father dominance	10-11	32	22
	High father dominance	12-13	19	15
	Total father dominance	14	8	5
		No Inf.	5	8
	Total	%	100	100
		N	408	408

wives indicated that they were the main decision makers as compared with twelve per cent of husbands. At the other end of the scale twenty-seven per cent of wives said that their husbands made almost all the final decisions whereas only twenty per cent of husbands said that this was the case. It could be that in this case wives perceive themselves to have less power than they actually have or that husbands are playing down the amount of authority that they wield in decision making. When we related both these scales to a series of independent variables with which they should theoretically be related, the wives' scale appeared to be consistently the more reliable. This lends support to the latter interpretation. This area of authority and decision making is taken up again in a subsequent chapter.

Other Scales

In this chapter we have dealt with a number of major scales in detail. Since there were over ninety scales or indices constructed in total, one obviously cannot deal with these in the same detail. The main details of their content and method of construction are given in Appendix II. This gives the number and identification of items included in each scale, their exact identification being possible by checking with the questionnaires. Their level of reliability and some details of their validity are also given.

Conclusion

In the course of this chapter we have discussed in some detail the sample, the methods employed in data gathering, data handling and scaling procedures. We employed conventional interviewing and data processing methods and the results were generally very satisfactory.

The Guttman and Likert scaling techniques used were the most reliable and appropriate ways of measuring the variables. The use of these scaling procedures yields reliable unidimensional scales from the interview responses. From the distribution of these scaled responses it is very clear that task and decision roles within the farm families continue to be relatively highly sex typed. Generally, although there appears to be a limited involvement of husbands in task roles that were traditionally regarded as female, and of wives in task and decision roles that were traditionally male dominated, the dominant pattern is still clearly traditional. Nevertheless, between one quarter to one-third of families are closer to the modern middle-class model than to the traditional model: i.e., in terms of their traditional sex segregation in task roles, of their low degree of patriarchical dominance of decision-making, and in their joint and mutually supportive social-emotional patterns. Indeed, only about one-third to one-half of families clearly fit the very traditional farm family model described by Arensberg and Kimball.

Whether there is equally wide variation in the background factors that might account for this variation in family interaction patterns is explored in the following chapter. It contains a fairly extensive account of the families interviewed. It pays particular attention to those characteristics which were hypothesised as impinging on family patterns—i.e., the educational and occupational characteristics, residential movements and migration experiences of spouses, and their degree of involvement with mass media and extra-community informal and formal contacts etc. The results presented in Chapters 2 and 3, therefore—in describing the main characteristics of the dependent and independent variables—clearly set the stage for the analysis of these results which are presented in Chapters 4 to 6.

Chapter 3

The Sample Families

ARENSBERG and Kimball provide a rather standardised picture of the structure of the farm family in their classic study. They rarely concern themselves with differences amongst families. Yet the families they studied must have varied widely even in such basic demographic characteristics as age of parents and children, number and sex of children, stage of family cycle, etc. All of these differences are bound to have had some influence on family roles, even in the very traditional cultural context of the small farm communities of County Clare in the 1930s. However, the authors' stated commitment to Radcliffe-Brown's variety of Structural-Functional theory and their explicit concern with model building and with tracing out the functional interlinkages between the different parts of their model of interpersonal and intergroup relationships would, in any case, have forced them to pay attention only to the modal or the normal and "average" pattern of relationships.* In the mid-1930s also it is very likely that such a modal pattern was far more obvious and inclusive than is the case nowadays.

Unlike this earlier study, however, the families described here varied very widely in their basic demographic characteristics and in their roles and interpersonal relationships. Even within our very restricted sample of families, couples showed marked differences in such characteristics as age, previous migration and occupational history. Although there was a high degree of homogamy not all husbands and wives were from farm backgrounds nor from the same parish. Even of those born or reared locally many had lived outside the parish and some even outside Ireland for some time. Similar variations existed in both spouses' education, in number of children, stage of family cycle, the education and occupations of children, etc. The economy of the farm and of the household also varied widely from the very traditional to very innovative commercialised systems of production; and from very traditional subsistence consumption and purchasing patterns to ones not easily distinguishable from those of the urban middle class. Nor did we find a uniform pattern of mass media participation, or formal organisation membership. Even the characteristics of the encapsulating kinship and local community groups varied very widely.

*See Chapter 1 of Arensberg, *The Irish Countryman;* and the Introduction to Arensberg and Kimball, *Family and Community in Ireland;* where the authors state explicitly that their primary concern was that of such model building rather than of extensive ethnographic description. See also Lloyd Warner's Foreword.

Given this diversity in the circumstances within which patterns of intra-familial interaction develop one would also expect rather wide variations in family roles. And as we saw in Chapter 2 this is clearly the case.

The purpose of the study, therefore, is to describe and attempt to explain such variation in family roles and relationships. In this chapter we attempt to describe some of the most important variables which might affect these differences amongst families: (i) First, we describe the basic socio-demographic characteristics of these families: the age, education, previous and current occupations of spouses and their children and the number of children and stage of family cycle, etc. (ii) Next we deal with the basic household characteristics—number and kind of people living in the household, and the type of house and kind of household facilities, etc. (iii) Thirdly, we describe the basic economy of the farm and household, i.e., the amount and value of production and the kind and modernity of production techniques, as well as the degree of modernity or subsistence in consumption patterns. (iv) Fourthly, we describe the considerable differences amongst families in the extent to which they are "tuned into" the mass media of communication and the extent to which they are members of formal voluntary organisations. (v) And finally, we attempt a brief description of their kinship and locality systems.

1. Basic Socio-Demographic Characteristics of the Sample

The average age of husbands in the sample was 51 years and 44 years for wives. The number of children per family was very large, being 4.4, an average for the total sample, and for those mothers over 45 years of age just over 5.8. As one would expect from this, most of the families had progressed well into the family cycle. In only one-seventh of the cases were all the children of pre-school age, although in 57 per cent of the sample families all of the children were still at school. In the remaining cases some of the children were working and in most of these cases some had left home. In only 4 per cent of all families, however, were all the children working.

On average, therefore, the sample is a rather middle-aged one where most families have a large number of children around the house and where the oldest child is just around 14 years of age. The full details of the sample are given in Tables 3.1-3.6 in Appendix III and are summarised in the following discussion.

Ages

The seven-year difference in the ages of husband and wife is slightly larger than the average age differences for farmers amongst their age group (93). There was, however, a very wide scatter in the relative ages of both spouses. One in six of the wives interviewed was under 35 years of age, but only one in twenty of the husbands. At the other extreme one in

six of the wives, but 40 per cent of the husbands was over 54 years of age. There is obviously considerable variation from family to family, therefore, in the age difference between husband and wife.

The median age at marriage for wives was 27.3 and for husbands was 34.4. The actual overall median age at marriage for the total rural population for 1946 was 28.0 for wives and 33.6 for grooms. Although these figures changed considerably in the subsequent 10 years (by roughly one year for brides and two years for grooms) for the total population, there was, in fact, very little change for the farm population until the late 1960s, when the median age of farmers at marriage dropped to 31.7. The figures calculated from this study would, therefore, appear reasonably accurate in representing the total population of marriages in the west of Ireland in that period (93).

The overall average differences in the ages of brides and grooms was seven years but varies considerably as is summarised in the following table and more fully in Appendix III, Table 3.4. The overall correlation between the two ages, as measured by the Pearsonian *r*, was only 0.41.

Table 1: *Percentage distribution of sample families by age difference between husbands and wives**

Husbands younger than wives		*Same age*	*Wives younger than husbands*		
Wives more than 5 years older	Wives 1-5 years older	Less than 1 year's difference	Husband less than 5 years older	Husband 5-10 years older	Husbands over 10 years older
1%	4%	9%	45%	25%	16%

*These are not completely accurate estimates as the ages were coded in two-year categories for both husbands and wives and both age categories unfortunately did not exactly coincide.

Eighty six per cent of wives were younger than their husbands and a further nine per cent were roughly of the same age. But in five per cent of families wives were actually older than their husbands. In these cases the average age difference was only 3.9 years. Only in one per cent of the cases were wives more than five years older. In over 70 per cent of these cases marriages occurred before the husband was thirty.

On the other hand, in the 86 per cent of cases where wives were younger than their husbands the average age difference between husband and wife was over seven years. On one-sixth of all cases, however, husbands were more than 10 years older than their wives. These age differences between husband and wife undoubtedly have very important influences on family interaction patterns.

A close examination of the overall trends in Appendix III, Table 3.4, shows

that when husbands married younger the age difference between husband and wife was smaller. For example, when the husband was 27 at marriage his wife tended to be 25.6 years, an average difference of one and a half years, i.e., compared to an overall average age difference of seven years.

Similarly, the range in age differences between that of the oldest child and his father and mother are likely to be equally significant. The following table summarises the age differences between that of the father and of the oldest child. (See Appendix III, Table 3.5 for full details.)

Table 2: *Percentage distribution of sample families by age differences between father and oldest child*

Less than 24 years' difference	*24-29 years' difference*	*30-34 years' difference*	*34-39 years' difference*	*40 years and over*	*Total*	
					No.	*%*
4%	18%	27%	24%	25%	408	100

The overall average age difference between father and oldest child was 36 years, just under two years more than the average age of fathers at marriage. But in 26 per cent of the cases the age difference was over 40 years, while at the other extreme in 22 per cent of families the age difference was less than 30 years.

Number of Children

The average number of children in all families sampled was 4.4. Size of family varied very widely, however, from one-third of families with three children or less, to slightly over one-third of families with six children or more. (See App. III, Table 3.2). In roughly half of all families, however, the mother was less than 45 years old. In many of these cases further births are likely to occur. Taking only those families, therefore, where the mother was 45 years of age or older the average completed family size was 5.8 children. The national average for the equivalent population of farmers' wives, as given in the 1961 Census Report, was 5.5 children (21). Again the sample figures are very close to their population norms.

Family Cycle

In one-seventh of the families surveyed all of the children were under four years of age—all pre-school. But in another 30 per cent of families some or all of the children were in primary school and all of them were under 13 years of age. The kind of interaction present in these families will necessarily differ considerably from that present in older families where some of the children have left school and are working—as is the case in 36 per cent of all

families in the sample. Interaction between spouses here is bound to be affected, if no more than by the greater amount of work resulting from a growing number of young dependent children or the increasing number of helpers that become available as the children grow up. Here again the sample families display considerable variability, and this variability is bound to have some significant effect on family roles.

Stage of family cycle, of course, is very closely related to age of parents and in looking at the relative effects of these variables it is necessary to control for each. Table 3.5, Appendix III, summarises the relationship between family cycle and current age of father. Although both variables are highly correlated ($r = +.62$) there is, nevertheless, considerable variation in age of father at all stages of the family cycle and considerable variation in stage of family cycle at all ages of fathers. For instance, for all fathers under 40, in half the families all children were at the pre-school stage, and in the other half at the primary school stage. On the other hand, of all fathers over 55, two-thirds had families where all or nearly all of their children were working, but one-third had children at a much earlier stage in the cycle.

All of the families in the sample, therefore, varied widely by ages of parents and in the age differences between spouses. They also differed widely in number of children in the family and in the relative ages of the children. The variation in number of children was partly a function of the ages of the wife, but even when age of wife and duration of marriage was held constant—rather wide variations still occurred. All of these factors are likely to have some influence on family interaction patterns. Most of these relationships will be explored in detail in Chapter 4. The following section shows somewhat equivalent variation in the background experience of both husband and wife previous to marriage.

The Occupational Background of Parents and their Education and Mobility Previous to Marriage

There is an extremely high level of homogamy within the sample with over 90 per cent of both spouses coming from farming backgrounds and with 90 per cent of husbands and over two-thirds of the wives being born in the same parish as they now live. However, this considerably exaggerates their degree of immobility since over 40 per cent of the wives and 26 per cent of the husbands had worked and lived outside the parish boundaries for some time. The following sections discuss each of these characteristics in more detail.

The Occupational Background of Spouses

Table 3 contains the basic information on the background and occupational history of both spouses prior to marriage, as well as that of their working children.

Table 3: *Percentage distribution of sample families by occupational status of wife and husband prior to marriage, and of both spouses' parents, and their oldest children who were working*

Occupational status categories (Hall-Jones scale)	*Occupation of wife's father*	*Occupation of wife previous to marriage*	*Occupational status of husband's father*	*Occupational status of husband leaving school*	*Occupations*	
					of oldest working son	*of oldest working daughter*
Working on Home Farm:—						
(Farmer)	91%	55%	93%	74%	17%	2%
1. Higher non-manual	2%	8%	—	—	13%	26%
2. Lower non-manual	2%	7%	2%	1%	8%	29%
3. Skilled manual	1%	4%	1%	4%	35%	4%
4. Semi-skilled manual and service	2%	25%	1%	6%	20%	20%
5. Unskilled manual	1%	1%	1%	13%	7%	1%
Not known	1%	1%	2%	2%		Housewife 19%
Total %	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	408	408	408	408	146	137

There is an extremely high level of homogamy within the sample with over 90 per cent of both spouses' parents coming from farming. In fact in only 14 per cent of all cases did either spouse's parents come from outside farming. Both spouses, therefore, are very similar in their occupational backgrounds. However, both spouses had considerable working experiences off the farm prior to marriage. Nearly half of the wives and one-quarter of the husbands had worked for some time in non-farm occupations. These jobs were roughly equally divided in location between Ireland and outside the country, although this was more likely amongst wives. In both cases, however, the jobs were almost equally low status jobs in service or manual occupations, although wives did tend to work in non-manual (clerical, etc.) jobs to a much greater degree than husbands, an influence no doubt of their higher educational level.

Equally marked differences exist in the kind of occupations taken up by the eldest sons and daughters of those families. Only one in six of the boys was working on the home farm and only one in fifty of the girls. These figures are very similar to those found on the Cavan Survey where one-in-five boys and one-in-twenty girls had stayed on the home farm (45). Equally, there were significant differences in the occupations taken up by sons and daughters off the farm—nearly three times as many daughters took up non-manual occupations, while sons predominate in manual occupations. These differences partly reflect the educational differences between sons and daughters but must also reflect other sex differences in the occupational socialisation of sons and daughters within the farm family, where sons tend to be introduced to hard physical labour on the farm at an early age and

internalise the relevant occupational values, while daughters are "trained" for off-farm non-manual work (44).

The Education of Respondents

In general the level of education of respondents was extremely low as is evident from the results presented in Table 4.

Table 4: *Percentage distribution of spouses and oldest children, who have left school, by their levels of education*

Educational levels		*Wives*	*Husbands*	*Oldest son (left school)*	*Oldest daughter (left school)*
Primary Only:		69%	87%	33%	14%
Some Vocational		10%	5%	31%	22%
Secondary 1-4 years:—		10%	4%	27%	55%
Secondary 5 years:—		5%	2%		
Post-Secondary Training or education		4%	—	8%	9%
No Information		2%	2%	—	—
Total	%:—	100%	100%	100%*	100%
	Nos.	408	408	194	195

*Because of rounding errors totals do not always equal 100%.

Almost nine out of 10 husbands and seven out of 10 wives had received only a primary level of education. Wives, therefore, had a considerable educational advantage over husbands. Nearly three times as many had received some post-primary education and even of those who received only a primary education far more of them had stayed on in school to 14. Their husbands, however, had extremely low levels of education — only 11 per cent receiving any post-primary education at all. This figure is very close to those found in other social surveys of farmers (12, 83a, 87). This very limited variation in levels of education means that it can be of little use in any explanatory sense. The greater variation in wives' education and in their occupational and migration experience may prove of more use—indicating a much greater experience of alternative ways of life, and of wider possibilities for identification with external reference groups.

There is much greater variation in the levels of education of the oldest child in the family, indicating presumably equally wide variations in educational values and resources. The actual figures here are again very close to those found in other similar surveys. In Hannan's Cavan study (45 pp. 65-68), covering primary school leavers of the 1960-'64 five year period, 47 per cent of farmers' sons and 19 per cent of farmers' daughters had received only a primary education. The sex differences here are somewhat less than in the Cavan study. This may be due to the considerable increases in levels of education subsequent to the 1966 free education scheme and the school bus

service. It is very obvious, however, that the differences in educational levels of farm boys and girls is still persisting.

Migration:

Before discussing the migration experiences of the respondents themselves we have some further relevant information about the paternal grandfather. In 46 per cent of all cases, the husband's father had been born in the house or on the farm currently lived in and had never worked or lived away from there. And in another 33 per cent of the cases he was born within the parish boundaries and had always lived there. In nearly four-fifths of all cases, therefore, he was born and always lived within the home parish boundaries and in a further eight per cent of cases he was born in a nearby parish and had never moved out of the local area. In the remaining 10 per cent of cases, although generally born locally, he had worked in Dublin, Great Britain, or the USA for some time. Although there is, therefore, a quite remarkable degree of residential stability, even considered over the span of a whole generation, a small proportion of families have quite a history of migration. This is much more obvious, however, in the case of the respondents' own migration experiences.

In examining the place of birth of husbands and wives (Table 5) a higher degree of mobility of wives on marriage appears to be present than one might have anticipated, given the very high levels of occupational homo-

Table 5: *Percentage distribution of spouses by place of birth and migration experience.*

Place of birth of:			*Migration experience of:*		
Place	*(1) Wife*	*(2) Husband*		*(1) Wife*	*(2) Husband*
On this farm:—	4%	68%	1. Have never left parish	58%	74%
This parish	63%	22%	2. Migrated into parish from nearby areas, <20 miles.	11%	6%
Within 20 miles (not town)	8%	5%	3. Migrated into parish from >20 miles.	2%	1%
Over 20 miles (not town)	14%	2%	4. Born locally (parish) but have worked and travelled outside:—	28%	16%
Small town	6%		5. No Information:	1%	3%
Dublin or abroad	2%	1%			
No information	3%	2%			
Total %	100%	100%	Total %	100%	100%
N	408	408	N	408	408

gamy. One-third of all wives were born outside the home parish, 22 per cent over 20 miles away from the current residence. Although there is, therefore, a relatively high degree of residential stability, nevertheless, an unexpectedly large proportion of wives come from outside the local area. Given the much poorer levels of transport in previous decades, many husbands have travelled much further to find a wife than one might have expected. On the other hand, although 90 per cent of husbands came from the home parish, over one-sixth of these had worked and lived outside the parish for some considerable time, the great majority in England and America. Although these figures on the previous migration experience of the resident male population are somewhat less than those reported for Skibbereen by Jackson, and for Drogheda by Ward, they nevertheless indicate much greater mobility than one would have expected in a stable farm population.* Nearly one-fifth of all husbands had lived and worked in urbanised communities for some considerable time. Whether this has had any influence on their expectations and values regarding family life, and on their relationships with their wives will be established in the next chapter.

The mobility of wives, however, was much greater than that of their husbands. In their case only two-thirds were born within the parish boundaries, although a further eight per cent were born and raised in nearby local areas. Besides this greater variability in their birth-places, nearly 30 per cent of those born within the confines of the parish had worked and lived outside the home community at some time. In fact, 14 per cent had returned home from abroad to marry, while another 14 per cent had been working in Irish towns of various sizes, most of them over 10 miles away from home.

We are not dealing, therefore, with a very closed cultural system where both the primary socialisation of children and the secondary socialisation of young adults into traditional adult roles is fully locally controlled. This is the picture presented by Arensberg and Kimball to be true of the small farm communities of County Clare in the early 1930s. As a result they suggest that, given a very high degree of consensus on roles, the internalisation of traditional role models is almost complete, to the point that conformity with their traditional expectations is almost fully guaranteed. If this was the case in the 1930s it seems less likely at the present time, when one-in-four of the husbands and one-in-three of their wives have spent a considerable time living outside the parish boundaries. Even granted a considerable degree of cultural homogeneity throughout the country, combined with the probability that most temporary migrants would probably retain a basic identification with their home community, people are now much more open to

*J. Jackson, *The Skibbereen Social Survey*, INPC, 1968, p. 168, who found that 32.6 per cent of the older rural residents are reported to have emigrated for some time. Cf. Ward, *The Drogheda Manpower Survey*, p. 82, where the equivalent figure is 50 per cent for unemployed males.

membership of, and subject to reference group influences from, urban contexts which are bound to be challenging to the home culture. This is especially likely to be true of women.*

2. *Family and Household*

The typical household is a relatively large one of 6-7 persons with only parents and children present in most cases. These families generally live in a detached three bedroomed house with a separate kitchen-diningroom, sitting-room and indoor toilet. On average however, these houses are rather old, nearly two-thirds of them not having been renovated in the previous five

Table 6: *Some characteristics of households in the sample.*

Types of household		*Total number of persons in household excluding grandparents*		*Percentage of households with the following facilities*	
Kind of household	%	*No.*	%	*Facilities*	%
1. Husband, wife and children only in household	65	3	12	1. 2 or less bedrooms	28
2. 1, and *both* of husband's parents	4	4	19	2. 3 bedrooms	51
		5	18	3. 4 or more bedrooms	21
3. 1, and husband's mother only	11	6	22	4. House renovated within previous 5 years	40
		7	14	5. House *not* renovated within 10 years	16
4. 1, and husband's father only	3	8	7		
		9	4	6. House with separate sittingroom	59
5. 1, and both wife's parents	1	10	4		
6. 1, and wife's mother only	4			7. With piped water	50
				8. With washing machine	37
7. 1, and wife's father only	1			9. Indoor toilet	45
8. 1, and one parent of either spouse (unidentified)	3			10. Electric or Gas cooker	46
9. Siblings of either spouse	6			11. Car	51
Information incomplete	2	No information	1	12. TV Set	51
Total %	100	*Total* %	100	*Total*	408
N	408	N	408		

*See Barbara Harell-Bond, *Human Relations,* Vol. 22, No. 1, 1969, where such invidious comparisons were disruptive of levels of satisfaction with traditional family roles amongst wives of Irish born husbands in an English housing estate.

years and one-sixth in the previous ten years. They were mostly well supplied with modern household facilities, although over one-third of all cases had the minimum level of conveniences. The average household, therefore, is a rather large one although it is a relatively well provided one. (See Table 6). However, the average view of these households ignores very significant variations, as the following three subsections on households show.

The Structure and Size of Households

The data presented in Table 6 show considerable variation in household types.

Two-thirds of all households were single family households with parents and their children present, i.e., the nuclear family household. Of the remaining third of all households, in over 70 per cent of the cases either one or both of the husband's parents were living with the family, usually the paternal grandmother. Otherwise the usual arrangement was for the wife's mother to live in the household. Since in over 24 per cent of all cases the wife's mother was alive it appears she stayed with a married daughter only in one-quarter of all cases. And in almost all of these cases the husband had "married into the family" i.e., the farm was inherited by the wife. However, in the one-fifth of the families where the husband's mother was alive she was living with her son's family, and on the home farm in over three-quarters of all cases. There is therefore, a clear filial pattern of residence, (i.e., for retired parents) coincident, presumably, with inheritance patterns. Only in a small number of cases, usually where the daughter inherits the farm (7 per cent of all cases), do maternal grandparents reside in the household.

The presence of either spouse's parents in the household is likely to influence the interaction between the spouses and with their children. Excluding the possibility of conflict, if a wife's mother or mother-in-law is active she may be a great help with housework and the children, so reducing the need for the husband to participate. On the other hand, if one of the parents is ill or incapacitated in any way, it increases the woman's workload and consequently the pressure on her husband to help in the household. So, even discounting emotional and normative consequences of the presence of grandparents, such situational constraints would be bound to influence interaction.

The average number of persons per household was 6.1, including children and grandparents. Size of household, however, varied very widely from 31 per cent of households where there were four or less residents to the 29 per cent of cases where there were seven or more. On average, therefore, households were very large but they varied considerably in size.

Household Facilities

Generally houses tended to be medium sized with three bedrooms, only 21 per cent having four or more bedrooms. This allows for slightly more

than two persons per bedroom and, on average, provides for much better levels of accommodation than had been expected.

Sanitary facilities were rather limited. In only half the cases was water piped into the household, although in almost all of these houses a bathroom or indoor toilet or both had also been provided. The proportions of households with electric or gas cookers, washing machines, TV sets etc. ranged between forty to fifty per cent. Not all of these houses were the same, however, although the possession of one of these items tended to be highly correlated with that of another. In fact, the possession or lack of possession of six of these items forms a clear unidimensional Guttman Scale; with the possession of a large house containing four or more bedrooms being the most predictive of all items. (See Table 7).

Table 7: *Socio-economic, or level of living, scale. Distribution of households by scale type.*

Scale Type and Items — in order of "Difficulty"; i.e. from most to least frequently occurring (CR = .91)	*% in each scale type*	*Cumulative Percentage — indicating % of households with specific item and all more frequently occurring items.*
1. None of these items	16%	99%
2. House Renovated within 10 years	18%	83%
3. (2) + Tiles or Lino on Kitchen Floor	6%	65%
4. (2 + 3) + Separate Sittingroom	9%	59%
5. (2 + 3 + 4) + Piped Water	13%	50%
6. (2 + 3 + 4 + 5) + Washing Machine	17%	37%
7. All of these items + 4 or more bedrooms.	20%	20%
Total	% 99%	
	N 404	404

To explain the scale — all households with four or more bedrooms (20 per cent) have also got all of the other five items mentioned. The next and more frequently occurring household item was a washing machine. Seventeen per cent of all households had washing machines but had *not* got four or more bedrooms: i.e., a cumulative total of 37 per cent had washing machines including the additional 20 per cent who also had four or more bedrooms. Almost all of the households that had a washing machine also had all of the more frequently occurring items. The next most frequently occurring item was having piped water in the house. Half of all households had running water, and of that total 37 per cent also had a washing machine

etc. etc. Having piped water, however, predicted presence of a separate sittingroom, a particular kind of floor covering, recent house renovation etc. Knowing a household's scale type, therefore, one can predict the kind of items present with 91 per cent accuracy but these are not, of course, cause and effect relationships, but merely probability statements expressing the order of cultural values and economic constraints on household improvements.

Over one-in-six of all households, therefore, had the minimum level of conveniences — old, rather dilapidated, small 1-3 bedroom houses without a separate sittingroom. These houses had not been renovated within the previous 10 years, had stone kitchen floors, no piped water and minimal levels of cooking or laundry facilities. A further 18 per cent had renovated the house but were equally lacking in all other conveniences. This makes for a total of over a third of all households with minimal levels of household facilities. On the other hand, over half of all households had tiled kitchen floors, sittingrooms and a piped water supply; while one-third also had a washing machine, and one-fifth a large four bedroom house. There is a considerable variation, therefore, in these households.

Not all of this variation, however, is directly related to differences in income levels. The Pearson Product Moment correlation between the Socio-economic or Level of Living Scale, (SES), and the "gross margin" estimate, as measured by the Pearsonian *r*, only reaches +0.30;* i.e., if one interprets this correlation ratio in variance terms, gross margin differences appear to explain less than 10 per cent of the variance in SES scores. However, gross margin is a very crude estimate of disposable income. And the ordinal SES scale, although highly internally consistent, is an index only of the variable household level of living. However, although both of these factors would have helped to reduce the correlation it still remains indicative of the fact that a whole series of other factors intervene which facilitate or prevent people from spending money on household improvements. The possession of traditional values is one of these, and the fact that there is a small but significant negative correlation, ($r = -.14$), between the scale measuring traditional values and possession of such household items is indicative of this value dimension.

The Household Economy

The results presented in Table 8 provide the basic data on household characteristics.

Two-thirds of all households were nuclear family households where wives had only their husbands and children to work for or depend on for help. In a further 11 per cent of households, however, there was an extra male household member for whom she had to prepare meals and provide the other

*Any correlation ratios quoted in the text are statistically significant.

Table 8: *Percentage distribution of households by (i) presence of others in household, (ii) husband's household task participation, (iii) wife's subsistence contribution and (iv) children's financial contribution to household*

(i) *Kind of household:*	%	(ii) *Extent of helpfulness of husband in household tasks. (Guttman Scale, CR = .92)*	%	(iii) *Extent to which wife provides/ makes following household commodities herself, or buys them*	*Score*	%	(iv) *Extent of working children's contribution to household*	%
1. Household with nuclear family only present	65	*Scale categories*		Index made up of following scores and and summed:			*Category*	
2. Households with either spouse's mother present	20	Minimum help	22	2 = makes/bakes, knits, *"All"*	(min) 1	4	1. No child working	57
3. Households with either spouse's sister present	2	Medium levels of helpfulness	44	1 = *"Some"*	2	17	2. Children working and living at home and contributing	7
4. Household with mother only present but with other adult male relatives present	10	Moderate to high levels	32	2 = *"None"*	3	22	3. Children migrated but send money	16
5. Information incomplete	3	No information	2	i.e. for 4 items total scores range from 0 to 8:	4	26	4. Children working but no money given (married etc.)	16
				1. Butter: (Score 0-2)	5	13	5. No information	3
				2. Children's clothes (Score 0-2)	6	12		
				3. Knitting: (0-2)	7	3		
				4. Baking (0-2)	8 (max)	2		
Total %	100	*Total* %	100	*Total* %		100	*Total* %	100
N	408	N	408	N		408	N	408

household services. In these cases the wife could only depend on her husband or children for help if she needed it. In nearly one-quarter of the households, however, her mother or, more usually, her mother-in-law was also living in the house and could be expected to be helpful, except where she was ill. The following table shows a clear relationship between husbands' helpfulness in household and the presence of such other female help in the household. When they are present he appears to be much less helpful in household tasks.

Table 9: *Relationship between husband's helpfulness in household and other adult females present in house*

Extent of husband's helpfulness in household tasks		*Presence of mother or mother-in-law in household*	
		Present	Not Present
Low (1 + 2):—		35%	18%
Medium (3 + 4):—		38%	48%
High (5 +):—		27%	34%
Total	%	100%	100%
	N	81	295
		$X^2 = 63.8$;	$P < .05$

In about one-quarter of all cases the husband appears to be of very little help with house-keeping tasks (Table 8). This lack of enthusiasm for helping his wife is, however, partly a function of the actual need for him to help as the results in Table 9 indicate. When other adult females are present in the household he tends to be less helpful in the household. On the other hand, when such household help is not available husbands tend to participate to a somewhat greater extent.

Besides her basic house-keeping role the mother had a traditional subsistence and production role, i.e., knitting, food processing, clothes making, butter production and baking, etc. As can be seen from the results in column 3 of Table 8 this is clearly no longer the universal pattern. Over one-fifth of all wives appear to provide almost none of these subsistence services, while in a further quarter to one half of all cases only a limited number of such services are provided. In fact only five per cent of all wives provide all of these subsistence services.

A similar index, measuring the extent to which the family produces its own potatoes, vegetables, eggs and poultry, meat, etc., reveals a much more "traditional" picture. Here 52 per cent of all families produced all or most of their needs in these commodities, and in another 35 per cent of cases produced a considerable proportion of them. In only 10 to 15 per cent of

the cases did most of these have to be purchased. The overall correlation, however, between these latter indices of household and food subsistence is very low ($r = +.16$), indicating two quite different sets of forces influencing them, rather than any one underlying traditional-subsistence dimension.

Besides these subsistence activities there was a more direct contribution to family finances in one-quarter of all farm households. Here older children who were working were contributing directly to the household finances. Most of these were migrants who were sending money home. Even a few of the married sons seemed to be doing this, although this was unusual. Such contributions from working children, of course, only occur in the later stages of the family cycle: i.e., when older children are working, but younger children are still at school and fully dependent upon family support. It is likely that such contributions play a significant role in family financial support at this stage. It was rather revealing, for instance, that such contributions were most frequent in low income families and those of lower socio-economic status. It appears that such contributions are primarily being made where heavy financial pressures are being felt in low income and generally "poorer" households—i.e., with few modern conveniences.

In conclusion, therefore, although the typical household was that of a nuclear family with both parents and an average of four children present, there was a rather wide variation around the average. Similarly although the average house was relatively large with three bedrooms, a separate sitting-room and a moderate complement of modern household facilities, there was a large number of smaller and much older houses with minimal facilities. Similarly in terms of the actual magnitude of household services required (i.e., in terms of the number and dependency of members), and of the actual help wives receive in house-keeping tasks from husbands, "grannies" or older children, there was an equally wide variation. Similar differences arose in household and farm subsistence activities and in working children's contribution to the family purse. The main financial contribution to the family, however, came from farming and this is examined in the following section.

3. The Farm and Household Economy

The average size of farm was 50 acres. The size of farm varied very widely, however, as the following table clearly shows.

The acres quoted above are not adjusted for variations in quality, so that the average size of farm includes some land which is of very low quality. Also, using average figures is somewhat misleading in that the distribution is rather skewed by the 10 per cent of farms over 100 acres. There is, in fact, great variability in farm size with no clearcut modal category. Although 60 per cent of all farms, for instance, range between 20 and 60 acres they are very evenly divided within that range. The median is only 43 acres.

Table 10: *Percentage distribution of families by size of farm, and by characteristics of inheritance or acquisition of farms*

(i) *Current size of farm*		*(ii)* *Size of first or original farm*		*(iii)* *No. of "additions" made to original farm*		*(iv)* *Previous owner of first farm owned*		*(v)* *Acreage of "additions" to original farm by purchase or Land Commission etc.*	
Size (S. acres)	%	*Size* (S. acres)	%	*Additions*	%	*Inherited from:*	%	*Acreage*	%
< 20	10	< 20	16	None	59	1. Own parents	70	< 10	10
20-29	17	20-29	24	1	29	2. Wife's parents	7	10-14	6
30-39	18	30-39	19	2	7	3. Own uncles etc.	6	15-19	3
40-49	13	40-49	11	3	1	4. Wife's uncles etc.	1	20-24	3
50-59	11	50+	28	4+	2	5. Husband's other relations	3	24-29	3
60-79	15					*Purchased from:*		30-34	3
80-99	4					6. Non-relatives or Land		35+	7
100+	10					Commission*	12	No extra land	
No information	2	No information	2	No information	2	No information	2	purchased:	64
								No information	2
Total %	100	*Total* %	100	*Total* %	100	*Total* %	100	*Total* %	100
N	408	N	408	N	408	N	408	N	408
Average = 50 acres		Av. = 38 acres						Av. = 20 acres	

*Swop coincided with inheritance from own parents usually.

Paying attention only to current size of farm, however, diverts attention from the fact that 39 per cent of all farmers had increased their size of holding from the first piece of land inherited or purchased. Of the first farm owned, 40 per cent were less than 30 acres compared to only 27 per cent of current farms, while only 28 per cent were greater than 50 acres as compared to 40 per cent of current farms. There is, therefore, a continuous process of growth in farm size for most farmers from the point of first inheritance throughout the life cycle. The overall average acreage increase was 20 acres. This process of land acquisition through inheritance and purchase is related to age and family cycle stage.

The predominant pattern of initial acquisition of land was through inheritance, although "additions" were usually made through direct purchase or through the Land Commission. In over 85 per cent of all cases the first farm had been inherited. In another 3 per cent of the cases the land was still owned by parents although the farmer himself was the effective manager. It is remarkable that in 10 per cent of all cases the first land was inherited from an uncle or cousin. And in a further 5 per cent of cases other additions were made to the original farm through inheritance from such relatives. In Scully's recent survey of west of Ireland farms 42 per cent of all farmers over 50 had no direct heirs (i.e., sons or daughters), to take over the farm (83a). It seems clear that in many of these cases the land is very likely to pass to other relatives on the death of the current owner and that this is a very significant aspect of farm transfer which should not be ignored by policy makers.

Of the 39 per cent who had added to the original farm three-quarters had made only one addition. Only in four per cent of the cases had additions been made by inheritance alone, while for the remaining 34 per cent additional land had been purchased directly or through the Land Commission. It appears, therefore, that considered over a farmer's whole lifetime, very significant quantities of land are being transferred through the Land Commission or purchase, although inheritance still is the most significant factor. As the final column of Table 10 shows, roughly half of those who did get additional land through the Land Commission or had purchased it made relatively small additions of less than 15 acres.

In the overwhelming majority of cases land was inherited directly through the patrilineal line or, in a small proportion of the cases from other paternal relatives. But in a small proportion of the cases (seven per cent) the wife's parents were the owners. The *"cliamhan isteach"*, although a very minor pattern, is still present.

Labour on the Farm

In the following table we have summarised our information on family labour on the sample farms.

Table 11: *Percentage distribution of families by identity of main worker on farm and by helpfulness of wife and children in farm tasks*

Person who does "most of the work"		*Wives' participation on farm (Guttman Scale CR = .93)*			*Husbands' assessment of usefulness of wives' and children's help on farm*	
Category	%	*Tasks*	*% in scale type*	*Cumulative %*	*Responses*	%
Husband	75	1. Wife does none of following tasks	13	93	1. Could easily manage without their help.	13
Sons/father	13	2. Wife *always* looks after the poultry only	16	80	2. Could manage but only with a lot of extra work.	15
Wife and husband	5	3. (2) and *always* cleans milking utensils	21	64	3. Would be impossible to manage without it.	67
Information incomplete, but most probably husband-father	7	4. (2+3) and *usually* milks cows	10	43	No information	5
		5. (2+3+4) and *usually* feeds calves	21	33		
		6. (2+3+4+5) and *always* feeds pigs	7	12		
		7. (2+3+4+5+6) and *usually* helps to look after cattle	5	5		
		Don't know	7			
Total %	100	*Total* %	100		*Total* %	100
N	408	N	408		N	408

On three-quarters of the farms the father did most of the farm work. In the remaining cases the contribution of his sons and of his wife were equally or more important. On seven per cent of farms, however, sons did almost all the work, while in 2 per cent of the cases, where their husbands were incapacitated, wives did nearly all the work. Overall, the contribution of wives and younger children to farm production was regarded as extremely important on two-thirds of all farms. Here fathers estimated that without their family's help on the farm some lines of production would have to be dropped. In only 13 per cent of cases did they think such help was unimportant and could be easily dispensed with.

In regard to wives' actual participation, in 29 per cent of all cases they did the minimum of farm work, certainly not helping very much with milk or cattle production or even in the traditional "women's work" of cleaning the milking utensils etc. At the other extreme, however, over one-third of all wives did help with milking the cows and always helped with feeding the calves. A smaller proportion did most of the milking and a small proportion even helped in the almost exclusive male preserves of cattle feeding etc.

There is, therefore, considerable variation in the extent of sex segregation in farm production roles with nearly one-third of wives playing a very important role in primarily male typed farm tasks. Of course, the pressure on family resources is often so great at particular stages of the family cycle that housewives are forced into this role even when they actively dislike it. This female breaching of basically male dominated task areas—especially in cattle production—is not nearly as seriously ridiculed by the community, nor the object of personal dislike to the same extent, as the male breaching of basically female roles such as in basic housekeeping tasks like making beds or changing babies' nappies etc. This is a reflection no doubt of the relative status or prestige ascribed to both male and female roles; i.e., the female would not lose status by doing male tasks although, with the position reversed, her husband might. Nevertheless, it is surprising that such a large proportion of wives play such an active role in what are culturally defined as basically male domains. It is interesting in this respect that almost all wives doing more work on the farm than the minimal level of traditional poultry keeping and related farmyard tasks, liked working outside in the farmyard or on the farm and many of them would like to do even more if they could spare the time. Most of these mentioned the restrictiveness and dreary repetitiveness of their basic kitchen and housekeeping activities and of their enjoyment of working outside in the open air. In these roles at least, expectations, feelings, social rewards and sanctions do not strongly support such a clear sex segregation of roles as was pointed out by Arensberg and Kimball. Nor do most housewives appear to get "such reward and pleasure" out of their clearly defined roles to the extent suggested (4, p. 46). All of these household and farm task roles do not appear, therefore, to be so clearly sex differentiated as was originally suggested. There appears to be a considerable leeway in the extent of wives' participation in farm production roles especially, both in terms of husbands' expectations and sanctions, and in terms of wives' feelings. In any case her contribution to the farm production process appears to be highly significant on over half of all farms.

Farm Production

In Table 12 some of the important gross income and production characteristics of farms are summarised.

The gross margins were estimated from the basic production data from each farm. The average gross margin per unit of each kind of livestock and crop was used as given for west of Ireland farms by An Foras Talúntais, *Farm Management Survey,* 1968-69.. Since such gross margins vary from farm-to-farm, the use of the average figure introduces a lot of error in estimating any particular farmer's gross margins. Nevertheless it is the best available means of doing this and is undoubtedly a better measure of income or productivity on farms than any alternative.

Here the average gross margin for all farms in the sample in January-

Table 12: *Percentage distribution of families by estimated gross margins from farms, innovativeness in farm techniques, and modernity in methods of farm selling and buying practices*

Estimated gross margin from farm		*Farm adoption, and production-innovation scale (Likert scale)*			*Modernity of methods of selling livestock (Likert scale)*			*Extent of local buying of farm supplies: (1) seeds, (2) fertilisers, (3) vet. medicines and (4) machinery repairs*		
Gross margins	%	*Explanation*	*Innovative-ness score*	%	*Explanation*	*Marketing modernity score*	%	*Explanation*	*Locality score*	%
£150	3	Six discriminatory items out of 11 included. (Max. score) = 6; (min. = 0)			Four discriminatory items used.			*Scoring*		
£150-300	8	1. Increased cattle nos. in previous 3 yrs.			1. *Cattle:*	0.0	28	0 = Local parish (open country)	0	8
£300-450	9	yes = 1			1 = sold at mart or factory	(i.e. very traditional)		1 = Local town	1	10
£450-600	11	no = 0	0	5	0 = Fair or dealer	.30	10	2 = Bigger town further away. Score for each		
£600-750	10	2. Uses artificial insemination.	(none)		2. *Pigs:*			of 4 items.	2	15
£750-900	10	yes = 1	1	13	1 = Mart/factory	.30 to		*Scores 0-8*	3	23
£900-1,050	9	no = 0	2	21	2 = Fair/dealer	.60	19	Coded directly	4	24
£1,050-1,200	7	3. Uses antibiotics for white scour in calves	3	19	3. *Lambs:*			i.e.		
£1,200 +	30	yes = 1			1 = Mart/factory	.60 to		*0-1:* = very high	6	7
No information	3	no = 0	4	24	0 = Fair/dealer	.90	3	traditional locality	7	1
		4. Dehorn calves soon after birth	5	11	4. *Hoggets/Wethers:*			based purchasing	8	3
		yes = 1			1 = Mart/factory	.90 to	35	*5-8:* = very high level of "modern" purchasing	No information	4
		no = 0			0 = Fair/dealer	1.00 (very modern)				
		5. Applies nitrates for early grass	6	5	(Scores range from 0-4. Score divided by no. of items applicable. i.e., Max. score = 1, a highly modern marketing pattern. Min. scores 0.0-0.30, a very traditional pattern).	No information	5			
		yes = 1	(All)							
		no = 0	No information	2						
		6. Uses chemical weed-killers								
		yes = 1								
		no = 0								
		Sum up all scores for each of 6 items								
Total	%	100	*Total*	%	100	*Total*	%	100	*Total*	%	100
	N	408		N	408		N	408		N	408

March, 1970 was £930, much higher than the average of £760 for the same counties by An Foras Talúntais farm survey for 1968-1969. It is very unlikely that average income increased by 22 per cent in the interim. On the other hand, we are dealing with a very select proportion of the total farm population—married men with young families. And since farm productivity has been shown to be related to such family cycle characteristics—being maximised in the stages we are dealing with—the figure should be representative. Since, however, we only use this figure for comparative purposes (i.e., to indicate the differences in total output and gross income amongst farms), the estimate should accurately serve its purpose, expecially since we are using rather wide income categories of £150. Roughly one-third of all families had gross margins under £600, one-third between £600-£1,200, and one-third over £1,200. As with size of farm there is very wide variation in farm incomes and resources.

Similarly, in the case of farm modernisation, there is considerable variation in the extent to which farmers were innovative or had displayed initiative in breaking out of old moulds of farm production, and of traditional methods of selling farm produce and buying farm supplies. The use of a six-item farm production innovation scale used most items previously validated in a study by Bohlen and Breathnach (12) on adoption and innovation in Irish farming. This revealed considerable variability in the extent of traditionality or modernity of farming techniques. The results presented above show that 39 per cent of all farmers had adopted only two or less of the six recommended profitable innovations. On the other hand 16 per cent had adopted five or more, while 40 per cent had adopted four or more.

This distribution of farmers by their production innovativeness is, remarkably, almost duplicated in another scale designed to measure their degree of traditionality or modernity in the practice of selling cattle, sheep and pigs. Over one-quarter of all farmers still persist with the traditional methods of selling at the fair or on the farm directly to dealers. This distribution is clearly bimodal with another 35 per cent at the other extreme who sell only at the mart or to the factory. The correlation, however, between the two scales is rather low ($r = +.19$).

That these two variables are not independent dimensions of behaviour, but may reflect to some extent the varying underlying allegiances of the farm owner to the traditional way of life, is demonstrated by some of the following figures. Although all the correlations are low, the Gross Margin Scale, Farm Practice Adoption Scale and the Farm Sales Modernity Scale are all significantly interrelated. It is very interesting, though only suggestive, that the correlation between Gross Margin and Sales Modernity is much greater than with the Farm Practice Adoption Scale; i.e., the magnitude of margins appears to be more closely related to innovativeness in marketing behaviour than to technical innovativeness in production.

Table 13: *Pearson product moment correlations between gross margin, farm practice adoption scale, and modernity of methods of selling livestock*

	Gross margin	*Farm sales modernity index*
Farm Practice Adoption Scale	r = .19	r = .19
Farm Sales Modernity Scale	r = .32	1.00

Correlations significant at .05 level, two tailed.

Making Money and Spending it: How Families Handle Their Finances

Although on average over £1,200* would have been handled by those families on farm production and household exchanges, a considerable proportion of farm households appear to take a relatively uncalculating attitude toward such money exchanges as the following figures show.

Table 14: *Percentage distribution of families by manner in which money received from farm production is handled in different families*

Financial decisions; (5 item Guttman Scale, CR = .92);		*Financial accounting in households*		*Who pays bills?*		*Where money is deposited?*	
Scale Type	%	*Category*	%	*Category*	%	*Category*	%
Primarily wife dominant:	19	None:	42	Mother pays *all* bills:	12	1. At home—cash handling:	38
Mainly husband but wife is involved:	50	Yes, some accounting procedure:	28	Father pays *all* bills:	11	2. P.O. alone:	6
Primarily husband dominant:	28	Yes, regular accounting procedure:	28	Mother pays grocery/drapery/ father all others:	56	3. P.O. and Bank:	6
Information incomplete	3	Information incomplete:	2	Mother pays all including E.S.B. etc. Father rates/ rent:	13	4. Bank deposit account	21
				Joint arrangements or both pay equally:	6	5. Bank, with current account:	24
				No information	2	No information	4
Total %	100	*Total* %	100	*Total* %	100	*Total* %	100
N	408	N	408	N	408	N	408

In nearly two-thirds of all families when money is received for farm produce or from the remittances of working children some or all of it is usually deposited in the bank or post office. Nevertheless in 38 per cent of all families it is stored in the household or in the personal wallets of husband

*The Gross Margin is calculated from gross output of farm less direct costs (the method used in the *Farm Management Survey* 1966-67, An Foras Talúntais 1969). Thus it considerably understates the actual cash flow in farm purchases and sales.

or wife. The "dresser" is still the main "bank" for over a third of all families. And in 42 per cent of all families they do little more than store it—no regular or written account being kept of receipts and expenses, sales or purchases. For nearly half the families there appears to be a very casual, uncalculating approach towards money. In these cases nobody appears to keep track of money and bills or keeps a regular account of things on paper. Only in 45 per cent of all families is some such rigid and regular account kept of farm sales and purchases.

Such an apparently casual attitude is, of course, very closely related to the level of gross margin on the farm. It is also very closely related to the extent of innovativeness or commercial orientation of the farmer himself. Of those who are traditional and cautious with their farming methods, only forty per cent keep such regular accounts. On the other hand, of those who are innovative and venturesome, over sixty per cent keep regular accounts. In other words, technical innovativeness, explicit accounting procedures and marketing behaviour appear to go hand in hand as farms modernise.

This sort of economic behaviour is also very closely related to the kind of decision-making processes within the household. In general the husband has by far the most important voice in such decisions—in nearly 80 per cent of all cases, and in 28 per cent of these cases he apparently has the overwhelming exclusive right to make decisions without consulting his wife. The husband's responses here are relatively similar to his wife's, with 32 per cent mainly "Wife Dominant" families, 35 per cent "Husband Dominant", with some wife involvement, and with 25 per cent exclusively "Husband Dominant". Even in this latter case, however, husbands tended to give their wives a greater say in decisions than they themselves maintained they had. A surprising proportion of wives, however, name themselves as the main financial decision maker—with six per cent naming themselves as the exclusive financial decision maker. The husband's responses agree to a slightly higher seven per cent of families where wives have such exclusive dominance. Both sets of responses then provide a somewhat similar overall picture of the relative dominance or degree of participation of either spouse in financial decision making, and in both cases they also agree on a very wide variation amongst the sample families in this respect.

There appears to be a much more clear-cut segregation of roles in paying the family's bills. In approximately one-quarter of all cases either the father or the mother pay all the bills—roughly evenly divided between the father and the mother. In another small number of cases (six per cent) there is a complete joint arrangement where either father or mother or both jointly pay all of the bills—whichever is the most convenient. But in 70 per cent of all cases there is a clear division of labour with the father usually paying the rates and the Land Commission "rent" and all other standardised larger bills such as electricity bills, etc., while the mother pays the more variable grocery, and drapery bills, etc. When there is a current bank account maintained,

(24 per cent), the father pays by cheque, the mother by cash. Again these figures clearly illustrate considerable variation within families. The following results show much the same variation in communication behaviour.

4. Mass Media Participation and Formal Group Participation

The following table summarises the main results for mass media participation and for formal organisational membership.

The modal pattern for mass media participation is for relatively high involvement in radio and television news. Nearly two-thirds of all spouses responded that they were both regular listeners to news bulletins, were interested in national and international news items and would be very disappointed if they missed the news on any given day. Included amongst these rather highly involved "news fans" was a further 17 per cent who read the *"Farmers Journal"* every week, and another 20 per cent who in addition to reading the *"Farmers Journal"* every week also did some regular "book reading" besides. In total, therefore, 37 per cent of all spouses had high mass media involvement and high technical and literary reading habits. The remainder are roughly evenly divided between those who had very low involvement in national mass media but appeared to be highly locally oriented and those who, although they had relatively high involvement in radio and television news coverage and interest in news, had very low actual reading involvement.

It is of interest that neither the daily nor local weekly newspaper fits into this scale. Most farmers do not appear to be able to get the daily newspaper on a regular basis. Its presence or absence, therefore, does not indicate very much about communication behaviour in general. On the other hand, nearly every family gets the local weekly newspaper. Again its presence or absence is not predictive, but for a different reason. The purchase of the *"Farmers Journal"*, on the other hand, is very highly predictive; the 37-40 per cent of the population who get it on a regular basis being highly involved also in other "news gathering" pursuits from mass media sources.

If participation in mass media is low for a third of all farmers, and if only slightly more than one-third appear to be highly "tuned-in" to sources of specifically technical information; participation in formal organisation was even lower. Only 40 per cent of all farmers were members of any organisation, and many of these were inactive. Only about one-quarter of all farmers were, in fact, active members, and these were almost exclusively "farmers' union" organisations (i.e., IFA or ICMSA).

The position of farmers' wives was even more isolated than that of their husbands. Only 14 per cent in all were members of any organisation. However, once joined, they tended to be much more regular attenders at meetings, and had higher involvement than the men.

Most of the wives who were members of organisations tended to come

Table 15: *Percentage distribution of families by mass media participation and voluntary organisation membership*

Mass media involvement (5 item, Guttman Scale) (CR = .91)			*Husbands' wives' participation in voluntary organisations*			*Percentage of families with:*	
Scale Type	%	*Cumulative*	*Category*	% *Husband*	% *Wife*		%
1. Do none of the following:	7	95%	1. Not a member of any organisation:	57	85	1. *Daily Newspaper*	
2. Both listen regularly to News	13	88%	2. Member and has attended a meeting in previous year:	14	1	Every day	16
3. (2) + X = Father mainly interested in national and international news [0 = Local/farming or No. "News" items.]	12	75%	3. Member of one and has attended meetings in previous 3 months/or member of 2 organisations:	17	8	Sometime every week	40
4. (3) + X = Both very disappointed if missed news. (0 = Not disappointed:)	26	63%	4. Higher involvement than 3. (officer etc.)	9	5	Rarely/Never	44
5. (4) + Get *Farmers Journal* every week (0 = Don't)	17	37%	No information	3	2	2. *Local Provincial Newspaper*	
6. (5) + X = Both do regular reading of books 0 = Don't	20	20%				Every week	87
No information	5	—				Nearly every week	8
						Never/Rarely	5
						3. *Farmers Journal*	
						Every week	40
						Not every week but frequently	30
						Hardly ever/Never	30
						4. Television set	45
						5. Car	51
Total %		100	*Total* %	100	100	*Total No.* =	408
N		408	N	408	408		

from families where their husbands also were members. But of the 14 per cent of wives who were members, over a third were from families where husbands were not. This makes for a total of roughly half of all families where one or other of the spouses was a member of at least one organisation, and slightly over a third of all families where at least one spouse was a relatively active member.

When we tabulated mass media participation by formal organisation membership of husband, we got the following result. Both variables are clearly related (r = + .19) possibly indicating an underlying general dimension of modernity but there is still considerable independent variation on both variables.

Table 16: *Percentage distribution of families by their formal organisation membership and mass media participation*

Mass media participation		*Formal organisation membership*			
		Not a member	*Relatively inactive member*	*Active member*	*Total N*
Low (1 + 2)		24%	16%	14%	82
Medium (3 + 4)		42%	43%	31%	151
High (5 + 6)		34%	38%	56%	152
Total	%	100%	100%*	100%	
	N	225	55	105	385

*Missing percentages are those for whom information is not available.

r = .19: significant at the .001 level.

The communication behaviour of families is, therefore, as varied as we had already found the household and farm economy to be. Although up to a third of families do not appear to be tuned into mass media sources, a rather higher proportion are very highly involved. On the other hand, formal organisations are very poorly supported, especially by farmers' wives. Even here, however, there is a small minority very highly involved. Like the conclusions to previous sections, one would expect that such variation in communication behaviour is likely to have a significant influence on family patterns of behaviour, if only in differentially exposing the population to very different alternative models and ideals of behaviour.

5. Kinship, Neighbour and Friendship Ties

One of the most interesting aspects of intra-family interaction is the way it is related to extra-familial interaction and particularly to local kinship and

neighbour group interaction. Elizabeth Bott's thesis that "the degree of segregation in the role of relationship of husband and wife varies directly with the connectedness of the family's social network" has been the subject of considerable research and controversy in family sociology. Although it has had to be considerably refined as a result of much subsequent work, nevertheless, her own work and that of others, particularly Turner, has shown a very close relationship between the extent of segregation in spousal roles and the degree of involvement of both spouses in their own *local* kinship and neighbour group systems. Those who were migrants and had few local kin displayed no consistent pattern (13, 90).

The results demonstrate very clearly the over-riding importance of kinship group bonds for family members, outside the ambit of the immediate nuclear family. On average both spouses have one to two brothers or sisters who live locally and with whom they maintain close contact, and between two and three additional siblings who have migrated. This makes for a total

Table 17: *Percentage distribution of families by number of intimate kin.*

Number of kin who live in local area/Total who are kept in close touch with (i.e. not including siblings and up to first cousins and their children).					*No. of siblings who live locally, and total who are kept in close touch with.*				
	Wife's relatives		*Husband's relatives*			*Wife's siblings*		*Husband's siblings*	
(No. of kin) %	*In local area* %	*Total altogether in contact* %	*In local area* %	*Total altogether in contact* %	*No.* %	*Who live locally* %	*Others (migrants) contacted in previous 6 mths* %	*Who live locally* %	*Migrant but contacted in 6 mths* %
None	33	16	11	8	None:	28	20	22	20
					None: but some nieces and nephews	4	5	7	5
1-3	19	17	15	14					
4-6	10	12	16	14	1–	27	14	29	18
7-9	9	10	10	13	2–	20	19	21	14
10-12	7	8	11	13	3–	12	9	9	13
13-15	5	8	10	9	4–	4	9	6	9
16-18	3	4	6	5	5–	1	6	2	9
19-21	3	6	4	5	6+–	2	8	2	8
21+	8	16	14	14					
No information	3	2	3	4	No information	2	8	2	4
Total %	100	100	100	100	%	100	100	100	100
N	408	408	408	408	*N*	408	408	408	408
Average	6.39	8.60	9.99	10.44	*Average*	1.4	2.2	1.49	2.34

of roughly four siblings in all, that each spouse maintains close contact with, or a total of eight siblings or siblings-in-law that they jointly keep in close touch with. If we add to this the fact that one half of all wives and one-third of all husbands had at least one parent still alive, we can clearly appreciate the even crude numerical importance of one's close relations in one's circle of intimates. This is especially the case where most of the respondents come from the "ancestral home" or parish of current residence.

When wives were asked to identify the six people they felt the most closely attached to or "felt the closest to", in just over half the cases they named *more* people who were later identified as relatives than they did non-relatives. This was less true of their husbands where only 36 per cent emphasised the dominance of relatives to this extent. In only 17 per cent of the cases did wives not mention any relative at all. This was true, however, of 27 per cent of the husbands. Overall, therefore, such close kinship contacts would seem to be extremely important in structuring their life views outside the immediate family context. In only a minority of cases do they appear to be insignificant. This minority, however, is very interesting. (See Tables 18 and 19). Over one quarter of all wives, although a slightly lower proportion of husbands, had no siblings living locally and almost 10 per cent of both had no meaningful contact at all with any kin.

Outside these first degree kin, however, there is a much wider network of relatives; of aunts and uncles, nieces and nephews and first cousins. Again here the wife tended to have far fewer local cousins than her husband, no doubt reflecting her greater immigrant status. On average she had six local kin with whom she maintained close contact, while her husband mentioned 10 on average. As in the case of her brothers and sisters, the wife tends to have fewer kinship contacts here also. This appears mostly a reflection of the fact that one-third of all wives were born outside the parish boundaries while this was true of only one-tenth of their husbands (See Table 5). The figures in Table 17 indicate this very clearly, where one-third of all wives had no relatives resident locally, while this was true only of one-ninth of their husbands. The proportions with no siblings living in the local area are much greater – 28 per cent for wives and 22 per cent for husbands.

At the other extreme over one-quarter of all wives had 10 or more close relatives, excluding siblings, living in the local area with whom they maintained close contact. This was true of nearly one half of all the husbands. But nearly 40 per cent of both husbands and wives had two or more siblings living locally.

On average, therefore, both husbands and wives are relatively highly involved in kinship networks, both local and migrant. Only a small minority have none, or very limited, contacts. As the overall scale measuring total kinship integration clearly shows, however, (see Table 18), there are a small number of this isolated kind – about 13 per cent of the husbands have at least three or more siblings living, these three neither provide any

useful services or serve as close confidants for either spouse. This is a total of one-quarter of all wives and over one-third of all husbands who appear to have minimal kinship involvement with their own kin.

Table 18: *Percentage distribution of families by extent of contact and integration with husbands and wives kin. (6-item Guttman Scales; CR = .92, wives; CR = .94, husbands).*

Scale type and items	*% in each scale type*	
	Wife	*Husband*
	per cent	*per cent*
1. None of following items hold	13	11
2. *Pos.* = when total no. of parents/siblings and siblings' spouses alive is 3 or greater.	11	19
3. (2) + *Pos.* where no. of parents/siblings contacted in previous 6 mths is 4 or 4+.	5	9
4. (3) + Agree they receive useful help/service from relatives in past years.	10	11
5. (4) + *More* than one relative mentioned amongst 6 names given as persons they feel most closely attached to (excl. spouses and children).	39	23
6. (5) + 12 or more relatives who live in local area are kept in close touch with.	17	20
7. (6) + total no. of parents and siblings *seen in last* week is 5 or 5+	4	4
8. Information incomplete.	1	3
per cent	100	100
N	408	408

At the other extreme 21 per cent of wives and 24 per cent of husbands keep in close touch with 12 or more of their relatives, receive some useful services from these relatives, and find more than half their close friends and confidants amongst them. These respondents who are so highly involved in their own kinship networks are obviously subject to far different pressures and influences than somebody who is very minimally involved, but who might be highly tuned into mass media sources, or highly involved in formal organisations.

The above scales measure the number and actual availability of kin both at home and migrants: (1) No. of siblings and nieces and nephews, aunts/uncles and first cousins etc.; (2) the actual frequency of contact with kin; (3) the exchange of helpful services, and (4) the degree of intimacy of relationships. Frequency of contacts with kin are highly correlated with number of kin.

However, the extent of helpfulness of kin is not related to their actual numbers or to the total frequency of contact with them, but is highly related to the intimacy of contact with them. To a considerable extent, therefore, the significance of mutually helpful exchanges and the degree of intimacy of kinship relationships seems to be relatively independent of the actual number of kin contacted on a regular basis. It does presume, of course, that *some* kin are available. This is true for both the wife's contacts with her own kin and husband's with his.

These scales, however, measure only each individual spouse's involvement with his or her own kin—i.e., not with in-laws. There is, in fact, only a slight correlation between both scales ($r = +.17$) i.e., there is only a slight tendency for a husband's involvement with his own kin to increase as his wife's kin contacts increase. Overall, 15 per cent of both spouses have minimal contacts with *either* set of kin. A further 40 per cent have very low involvement with one set—usually the husbands—while having medium to high levels of integration with the other set. A further 37 per cent have moderate to high levels of integration with both sets of kin, while only 8 per cent of the total sample have very high levels of contact with both kin sets.

Internal family interaction characteristics, therefore, develop within very different kin contexts, some of which incorporate wives within a very supportive set of their own kin relationships while husbands are relatively isolated from their own kin i.e., 25 per cent of all cases. At the other extreme 15 per cent of wives have minimal contacts with their own kin while their husbands are very highly involved with theirs.

These different characteristics of family social contexts—kinship, voluntary organisation, mass media participation etc.—are bound to be very closely related to the family interaction patterns that develop within families, as both husbands and wives work out their respective mutual roles. The force of tradition, if present, is likely to be more highly maintained in a close knit community of kin and neighbour groups within which almost all intimate contacts are restricted, than where this is not the case. The degree of restrictiveness of traditional expectations and of socialisation and social control processes etc. should, therefore, vary directly with the degree of locality ascriptiveness of one's more intimate social relationships. On the other hand, there are clear differences between husbands and wives in their degree of incorporation within such locally ascriptive groupings. These relationships will be explored in Chapter 7.

Neighbours and Friends

The position of neighbours gives us a somewhat analogous picture of locality boundedness of primary group bonds, as the following table shows.

Close kin and neighbours are the two most important categories for both spouses. Not very surprisingly one's own kin are far more significant than one's spouse's, although for both instrumental and emotional reasons the

Table 19: *Percentage distribution of families by the relative importance of kin, neighbours and friends in one's intimate networks*

Relative importance of kin, neighbours and other friends in instrumental areas			*Who is "easiest"/"best" to talk to when troubled or upset over something. (And who does* husband *"most enjoy" talking to)*						*Taking the six households*		
"Comparing all the help you get from relatives/neighbours and other friends which of these three give most help"	Wife's responses %	Husband's responses %		"Most enjoy"	"Easiest"		"Best"		No. married with families		No. who are good neighbours
				Husband's responses %	Husband's responses %	Wife's responses %	Husband's responses %	Wife's responses %	No.	%	%
1. Get no help at all?	7	2	Spouse: (Wife/husband)	44	71	65	56	55	0	2	1
2. Wife's parents /siblings	41	15	Own children	6	3	10	3	6	1	7	3
3. Husband's parents/siblings	18	31	Own sibling	2	5	5	10	10	2	15	5
4. Other relatives	7	5	Spouses' sibling	1	1	3	1	4	3	20	7
5. Neighbours	25	40	Own parents	—	1	5	3	6	4	20	8
6. Other friends	1	1	Spouses' parents	—	—	2	—	3	5	14	5
No information	2	6	Other relatives	5	3	—	3	—	6	17	64
			Neighbour	28	8	6	8	8	No		
			Friend	4	2	1	5	—	infor-		
			Priest	—	—	1	—	2	mation	5	7
			No information	10	6	2	11	6			
Total %	100	100	*Total* %	100	100	100	100	100	*Total* %	100	100
Total N	408	408	*Total* N	408	408	408	408	408	*Total* N	408	408

wife's in-laws appear slightly more important to her than does her kinsfolk to him; not unexpectedly, perhaps, given their lesser availability locally. If we examine exchanges amongst intimate associates on the basis of purely instrumental tasks, however, neighbours become very obvious; for husbands even more important than their own kin. Thirty-eight per cent of the husbands said that it would be very difficult to manage the farm without the help of their neighbours. Only 16 per cent of them gave the same answer to their assessment of their relatives' help. The kind of "help" given by neighbours tended to be of an instrumental kind—generally labour. A third of the farmers mentioned labour exchanges of an habitual ongoing nature, and not of an emergency nature, while a further 51 per cent mentioned labour in an emergency situation. Very few (five per cent) mentioned the loan of equipment and only one per cent mentioned the loan of money. Overall only four per cent of all farmers said they received no useful help from their neighbours. In general, therefore, a neighbour's help seems to be essential to the ongoing efficient operation of many farms while kin become significant only in an emergency situation.

On the other hand, 35 per cent of farmers (32 per cent of their wives) said they received no help from their relatives in the previous year. And of those who received help it was of a very different nature to that of neighbours. Over 40 per cent mentioned direct financial help (56 per cent of wives), while another 21 per cent (25 per cent of wives) mentioned gifts of clothes, toys, household goods etc. Only 22 per cent (10 per cent of wives), mentioned farm labour. The kind of instrumental exchanges amongst kin when they do occur, therefore, is of a different nature than that amongst neighbours.

Much the same picture emerges when we examine the nature of the emotional relationships amongst neighbours and kin. One's spouse is by far the most important person with whom one maintains the closest and most satisfying social emotional relationships. This appears to hold for half to two-thirds of all respondents. After spouses, one's own first degree kin appear the next most important. Neighbours appear to be important only for "light" pleasurable or enjoyable activity and appear to play minor roles in serious tension management activities. We asked three questions about these kinds of relationships in the context of other preceding questions (1) "Who do you most enjoy talking to?" (2) "Who do you find it the easiest to talk to when you are worried about something?", and (3) "Who do you find it the "best" to talk to about things that worry you even if he/she is not the "easiest" to talk to like this?"

Nearly half (44 per cent) the husbands mentioned their wives as "the most enjoyable" to talk to, 71 per cent the "easiest" to talk to and 56 per cent the "best." The next most frequently occurring category was one's own close relatives—i.e., children, siblings or parents. As to the identity of close intimates a further 9 per cent and 16 per cent respectively, of husbands

mentioned one of these first degree kin as being the "easiest" and "best" to talk to when troubled or upset. Another eight per cent mentioned neighbours. In all, therefore, 90 per cent of husbands mentioned wives/first degree kin/neighbours, in that order, as being the "easiest" and "best" to talk to; wives becoming slightly less important and one's own close kin slightly more important as the question changed from "easiest" to "best" to talk to. This shift in response was equally true of wives' responses. There is thus a slight tendency to substitute siblings or parents for one's spouse's advice and support where one is really worried about something and needs some really serious advice. This shift, of course, may only indicate that the cause of worry or upset in many cases is the relationship with one's spouse, where one may resort to one's own close kin for help and support.

Neighbours do not appear to be of any importance for such confidential exchanges—nor indeed do one's spouse's relatives. On the other hand, they do appear to be very important for ordinary day-to-day pleasurable conversations. Over a quarter of all husbands said they enjoyed talking to their neighbours more than to their wives. In fact these are the only two categories of people that are significant here. Both husbands and wives, therefore, appear to make clear distinctions in the content of exchanges with neighbours and kin—even in day-to-day convivial conversation and occasional more serious communications. Neighbours are rarely the recipients of any "serious" confidences nor does conversation with them appear to serve any more serious tension management function. On the other hand, especially for husbands, it does serve important conviviality functions. All these differences in the relationships of neighbours and kin support the contentions made in an earlier paper about the different structure and functions of local kinship and neighbour groups (46, 61).

The overall predominance of both kinship and neighbour group relationships in most farmers' social networks was clearly illustrated in a question asking them to respond to an imaginary situation. "Supposing you had decided to take a Land Commission farm many miles away from home, so that you could only meet your relations/neighbours and other friends about once a year or so; to what extent would you be upset by *not* being able to meet them more regularly?" Fifty-five per cent of farmers said they would only be upset, or very upset, at not being able to meet their close relatives; and 58 per cent said the same for neighbours. In both cases 24 per cent said they would be very upset indeed. In other words, both categories appear to be equally important emotionally to farmers. It is very unlikely that the mother would respond in the same way given her much lower level of involvement with neighbours. In both cases, however, the relative unimportance of other categories of persons with whom they had close relationships is very obvious. Only 15 per cent of husbands said they would be "very upset" at leaving their other friends—other than relations or neighbours. And in both mothers' and fathers' responses such other

categories as "friends" or other acquaintances were really insignificant in terms of either their instrumental or social emotional functions for the family.

Although, therefore, there may have been a considerable change in the original traditional community structure, where local kinship and neighbour groups' systems included almost all of one's important social relationships, it has not yet had any serious impact in facilitating the development of more widespread association of intimates on any basis outside these traditional systems. It is of interest to note that one of the reasons for including the question on identifying the six persons to whom the individual was most closely attached was to identify those respondents whose intimates were recruited outside the traditional ascriptive limits of kin and neighbour group. However, the number of cases where such a thing occurred was so minute that the idea had to be scrapped. There may have been some problems, however, with the use of the word "neighbour", as we took the respondents' own definition of the term. In general, however, we felt that as a folk category it had a clear and widely shown definition, although we have not any specific evidence on this point.

Although half the families have cars, their possession does not appear to lead to any extension of intimate personal contacts outside the immediate context of neighbourhood and kin groups. Its use appears to be limited to instrumental exchanges or expansion of secondary group relationships; i.e., market and recreational relationships. It will probably take a generation at least for the emergence of informal networks of friends outside the previously traditional system to develop. The consolidation of schools, the increasing levels of education being achieved and the increasing mobility of younger people in recreation and courtship, will all increase the range of meaningful contacts from amongst whom intimate associates might be selected. Compared to non-farmers, however, the formation of friendships by farmers is, and presumably will continue to be, considerably limited by the occupational context. One cannot make friends in the work contexts since work is within the family. And most exchanges with others in the economic sphere, i.e., outside kinship and neighbour bonds, tend to be competitive rather than co-operative. However, it is very likely that a comparison between these more traditional subsistence farmers and the more commercialised farming areas of the east, where neighbour groups and local kinship groups have been weakened by generations would show the relatively greater importance of non-ascriptive and non-local friendship or primary group bonds in the latter case.

Conclusion

A review of the results just presented, and earlier in Chapter 2, shows that despite the very narrow limits within which families were sampled, very wide variations exist in the background characteristics of spouses, in the

economic, social and cultural environments within which families live and in the roles or interaction patterns characteristic of families.

It was something of a surprise, therefore, to find that the social boundaries within which spouses' primary group relationships were formed were almost classically traditional. Despite the fact that there was considerable variation in the familial, occupational and educational characteristics of spouses and in their migrational characteristics previous to marriage, in almost all cases, nevertheless, respondents had almost exclusively selected their most intimate friends from within the most traditional kinship and neighbourhood boundaries.

This persistence of the traditional structure of primary group relationships outside the nuclear family is all the more remarkable given the great improvements in transportation and mass media within the past quarter century. Roughly half the families now have cars and TV sets, and less than one-quarter of all families are not to some considerable extent "tuned into" the mass media of communication. There has been an equally dramatic transformation in farm production techniques and in marketing and exchange transactions. Although between a fifth to one-third of all farmers still appear to be rigidly traditional in these practices, the great majority have greatly modernised their farming and have moved far away from the traditional production and marketing techniques so typical of earlier peasant forms of production and exchange and so clearly described by Arensberg and Kimball for the 1930s. In an earlier paper it was clearly documented that the economic, technological and general socio-cultural conditions within which supportive mutual-aid neighbourhood relationships were once functional no longer existed (46). It was then hypothesised that to form intimate primary group relationships outside the traditional ascriptive boundaries of kinship and neighbourhood would be extremely difficult for those whose primary socialisation had taken place within such a traditionally boundaried system. The above results tend to support that hypothesis, at least in regard to the formation of intimate primary group relationships.

This is not to say that neighbour group relationships are no longer significant as mutual-aid groups. Only four per cent of farmers said they received no help from their neighbours and nearly 40 per cent said that it would be very difficult to manage their farms without their neighbours' help. However, these appear only to be the residual functions of a once strong traditional peasant system of mutual exchange.

Certainly the social-psychological or cultural commitments necessary for the persistence of a traditional subsistence farming system no longer exist. A third of all farmers said they would not choose to go into farming if they got "the chance to do it all over again", and only 55 per cent were so satisfied that they had no hesitation in saying they would. The main reason given (90 per cent of all cases) was the very poor financial returns in farming compared to those to be got in alternative employment. And, in regard to

one of the almost stereotypical characteristics of a peasant culture, only 57 per cent of husbands and 46 per cent of wives expected one of their sons to take over the farm and felt he had a family duty to do so, while roughly a sixth of both spouses neither expected nor wanted any of their sons to take over the farm. Again, the poor financial return from farming was the predominant reason given. The basic "cultural commitments" necessary for the persistence of a low income small farming system clearly no longer exist, with the almost exclusive dominance of these kinds of level of living and economic standards and rationales.

It is very clear, therefore, that the economic, technological and socio-cultural environment within which spousal relationships develop are very different from that of 40 years ago. It is equally apparent that supportive attitudes toward rather traditional small scale farming and toward ensuring its persistence only holds for about half the families interviewed.

Have all these changes had equally dramatic consequences on family interaction patterns, as we had hypothesised in Chapter 1? There is no doubt that in a rather high proportion of cases, reciprocal spousal roles are now very different from those described by Arensberg and Kimball to be typical of farm family life in the early 1930s. Some of the results presented in Chapter 2 show clearly that in the allocation of task roles, in decision-making and in social-emotional roles, very wide variations exist amongst families; from those with highly segregated to joint sex role patterns, from equalitarian to highly patriarchical authority patterns, and from situations where the mother leads the social-emotional life of the family to situations where both spouses are deeply and mutually emotionally supportive. Clearly, families do vary very widely from the very traditional to the highly modern end of the continuum.

However, whether these differences in family interaction patterns are due to the equally wide differences in background "modernising" factors, as hypothesised in Chapter 1, will only be established later. Here, however, we must become less confident of that possibility since such "modernisation" trends have clearly not had much effect on the formation of intimate primary group relationships outside the traditionally ascriptive boundaries of kinship and neighbourhood.

It may well be that exposure to such modernising experiences as further education, mass media exposure, urban migration experiences, etc. may have very significant effects on relatively "simple" behavioural variables; i.e., ones that do not directly and consciously demand complex interactional changes—such as changes in production, marketing and consumption behaviour, or on attitudes (54); but may well have much lesser effects on very complex-role changes such as the working out of a "role bargain" between a married couple and between them and their children. Whether, in fact, this is the case is explored in detail in the next chapter.

Chapter 4

Explaining Variation in the Internal Structure of the Nuclear Family

AS we have seen from some of the results presented in Chapter 2 considerable variation exists within families in the allocation of task roles and in decision-making and social-emotional relationships. In this chapter we will attempt to explain why that variation occurs by reference to our hypotheses as proposed in Chapter 1, and to the very wide variation that exists, as reported in Chapter 3, in the socialisation backgrounds of respondents and in the economic, cultural and social organisational environments within which individual family members interact with each other.

The main hypothesis proposed in Chapter 1 and to be tested in this chapter is: that variation in the spousal division of labour in farm, household and child-rearing task roles, which has been traditionally highly sex typed, and in decision-making and social-emotional roles, is accounted for primarily by equivalent variation in (a) situational constraints amongst families—the pressure of work, the availability of others to do it, etc.; and (b) variation in the background socialisation differences amongst respondents, and in their current communicational environments which would indicate major normative or reference group differences amongst them. We will take each of these dependent variables in turn—Division of Labour, Social Emotional and Power—and try to explain the variation that occurs in them. Later we will examine particular combinations of these variables to see to what extent an approach such as cluster analysis provides an equally meaningful but a more explainable categorisation of families.

The Division of Labour in Families

(a) *Housekeeping Tasks*

The most reliable and most valid scale measuring this dimension of family roles was a five-item Guttman Scale. This was scaled in a cumulative fashion from an item which was the least female sex typed i.e., "who does the repairs around the house?" (where 94 per cent of wives answered that the husband, occasionally or usually does the repairs), to one which was the most sex typed i.e., "who makes the beds?" (where only three per cent of the wives said that the husband ever does this). As already discussed in Chapter 2 this scale yielded the most reliable and most valid measure of the variable. (See Tables 3, 4 and 5). As can clearly be seen from the results presented in Chapter 2, husbands generally tended to describe themselves as participating to a much lower extent in household tasks than did their wives.

Roughly one-third of all husbands did not even average an "emergency level" of participation in all tasks. On the other hand, their wives said this was true for only 15 per cent of their husbands. At the other extreme, nearly one-quarter of all wives gave their husbands rather high participation scores, such that they would, on average, have to "occasionally/usually" do *all* of these tasks, whereas this was true of only six per cent of their husbands. In all cases husbands tended to down-grade the extent of their participation in housekeeping tasks, while their wives tended to give a much more complimentary report of their husbands' actual help in the household.

From a number of cross checks on responses it appeared that husbands, in response to these questions, tended to understate their participation in household tasks, as in making beds, shopping, cleaning the house etc. This contrasts with responses to child-rearing questions where the distribution of responses were almost exactly similar. And, in the questions dealing with social-emotional characteristics of interaction, husbands tended to "inflate" their actual participation—at least in comparison to the apparently more reliable and more valid responses of their wives. In all cases the wives' estimates tended to be more reliable in terms of the internal consistency of the responses, and more valid in terms of the scales correlations with other variables with which they should, theoretically, be related.

Taking the mothers' responses, therefore, as summarised by the Guttman scale, it appears that about one-quarter of all husbands do less than the minimum, even of those housekeeping tasks that are not clearly defined as female ones, i.e., repairs, looking after fires and preparing vegetables etc. At the other extreme, however, nearly one-third participate to a rather moderate degree, even to the extent of helping with house-cleaning and bed-making etc., although only 16 per cent of all husbands helped with the latter. Between these two extremes, however, over 40 per cent of all cases occurred. Hence, if one takes Arensberg and Kimball's description to be typical of the situation in the 1930s, it appears that in about one-third of all families there has been a considerable shift away from the very rigid sex-role divisions that appeared to be characteristic of traditional farm family roles at that time. Only in less than one-half of all cases does one find that clearly sex differentiated pattern so typical of the traditional farm situation. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that this role is still an almost dominantly wifely one, however, with a rather high proportion of husbands who are extremely helpful to their wives even in household tasks that were traditionally highly sex typed. It is equally revealing, however, that husbands in general tend to understate their participation in household tasks, at least as this is judged from their wives' responses. This would appear to indicate the persistence of traditional role expectations on their part, and of feelings that such household tasks are demeaning even where they are helping with them.

In their actual behaviour, however, considerable differences do exist

amongst husbands in their household roles. How does one then account for the existence of such traditional roles amongst some husbands while others have adopted a less rigidly traditional stance? The first factor that we examine is the relationship between this variation and a set of modernising influences which were expected to modify both respondents' spousal role expectations and, consequently, behaviour.

We put forward a series of factors which could bring about changes in people's beliefs and values as to what the "right" or appropriate roles for husband and wife should be in housekeeping and child-rearing roles. We emphasised that changes in beliefs and values or expectations about each other's roles on the part of both husband and wife, and amongst supporting primary groups of neighbours and kinsfolk, could bring about these changes in behaviour. Increasing contact with urban communities—through increased formal education, personal experience through migration to urban areas; increased participation in the mass media; increasing contact with migrants; increasing collaboration in a market economy which would involve the husband-father in ever wider networks of market relationships and his wife in more consumption oriented relationships etc.—should all greatly enlarge the world view of traditional people beyond the boundary of that previously existing locally, where all one's membership and reference groups were situated within the narrow limits of the local neighbourhood and parish (6).

To what extent, therefore, does variation in contact with, and involvement in, such societal wide networks have any relationship to variation in husbands' housekeeping roles? The following table summarises the relationship between participation in household roles and a series of variables tapping such an involvement in wider societal contacts.

As can be clearly seen, however, in Table 1 the extent of husbands' participation in household tasks is correlated with a number of background or current extra-community communication or contact variables, taking each variable individually. The correlations, however, are very small and range from $r = +.12$, for mass media participation to only, $r = -.05$, for locality remoteness. Interestingly, there is no correlation with age of husband or wife.

Improved levels of education, increasing levels of participation in mass media, and the use of more modern marketing techniques is significantly associated with higher participation scores for father. Similarly, three scales which directly tapped value differences in the socialisation of children (Nuclear Family Modernisation Scale), and in the relative priority given to individualistic achievement versus family-obligation values (Familistic Values Scales) were also moderately correlated with husband's housekeeping roles. Overall, however, although there is some significant association between these variables, the size of the correlations are rather low. The joint effect of four variables—mass media participation, education of husband, nuclear family modernisation, and familistic values—reaches $R_{1.2345} = +.20$. Roughly,

Table 1: *The relationship between levels of husbands' household participation and a series of independent variables which index differential reference group and membership group identities (per cent of each category of the dependent variable with relevant characteristics)*

Independent variables—variation in reference group indicators:—	*Dependent variable Husbands' household participation* Low	Medium	High	*Overall correlation between dependent and each independent variable*
Respondent by:	%	%	%	
(a) *Background Variables*				
(1) Education of husband, per cent with some post-primary education: *	7	9	15	r = .12, p< .05
(b) *Current Life Situation*				
(1) Mass media participation; percentage with high scores: **	35	39	43	r = .12, p< .05
(c) *Variables Indicating Modern/ Traditional Value Orientations:*				
(3) Familism Scale: (a) (Mother) per cent high score (See Appendix II)	43	38	29	r = –.16, p< .05
(4) Nuclear Family Modernisation Scale (See Appendix II):				
(a) Mother per cent high score:	27	31	35	r = .12;
(b) (Father) per cent high score:	25	29	42	r = .12; p< .05
(5) Willingness to move permanently to another community: per cent not willing:	61	51	55	r = .08, p< .10
(6) Farm Sales Modernity per cent + high score ***	37	43	26	r = –.11, p< .05

*Education of wife (r = .01); Migration experience of husband (r = .02), and wife (r = .01); Age of husband and wife (r = .05); etc. are all not significantly related to extent of husbands' participation in household, *D.L. (Ho.)*.

**Extent of voluntary organisation membership by husband (r = –.07) or wife (r = –.03); distance of homes from urban centres (r = –.05); socio-economic status, gross margin (r = .02), are all not significantly related.

***Fathers familism scale, and farm adoption innovative scale were not significantly related to *D.L. Ho.* The latter, however, was slightly negatively related.

they jointly explain less than five per cent of the variance in household participation scores for husbands. Of course, none of these measurements are of interval status nor are the distributions normal, so that this variance interpretation of the relationships found is invalid. Used, however, to measure only the linear additive relationship amongst variables the Pearsonian r has been found to be both operationally defensible and a much simpler and more sophisticated measure than any alternative (28), although it does tend to understate the extent of a purely ordinal relationship.

The hypothesis of reference group influences through increasing urban contacts is, therefore, supported although not very dramatically. Two unusual trends in the results are, however, worth pursuing. The first is that husbands' increasing participation in tasks that were traditionally those of housewives appears to be as responsive to their wives' values as to their own. The more liberal or "modern" wives are in their sex-role attitudes, the more likely it is that their husbands will be helpful with household tasks —i.e., wives' attitudes appear to be as important as that of their husbands' in this respect.

The second finding is that husbands' involvement in housekeeping activities is not related to size of farm or the gross income from farming, but that it is negatively related to technical and management innovativeness in farming—i.e., to the use of modern marketing techniques, and to technical innovativeness in farming. The modernisation or commercialisation of traditional farming practice, therefore, is not related to husbands' participation in housekeeping tasks. However, since we are reporting wives' perceptions of husbands' helpfulness in housekeeping, the latter finding may only indicate that wives with higher expectations—i.e., from more technically modern families—tend to downgrade husbands' actual participation, while wives with traditional expectations tend to exaggerate them. This latter interpretation is strengthened by the fact that the scale constructed from husbands' perceptions of their actual participation in housekeeping is unrelated to either farm income or farm modernisation variables while it retains the same set of correlations with the other independent variables as does the scale constructed from wives' perceptions of husbands' roles.

Expectations then appear to intervene in the relationship between reference group effects and actual behaviour. So far we have argued that exposure to, or identification with, external reference groups gives rise directly to behavioural changes. Of course, if such reference group effects occur, they influence expectations and these may, or may not, be fulfilled. This is probably one reason why correlations between reference group indices and actual husband participation in household tasks is so low. Because of limitations of time and finance we did not measure spouses' respective expectations about household roles but limited ourselves to perceptions of what each spouse actually did. We did, however, ask wives whether, and to what extent, they were satisfied or dissatisfied with their husbands'

participation in household and child-rearing roles. If we assume that when wives are satisfied with their husbands' participation, their expectations are then being met, when this is the case, our measure of husbands' actual household participation should also be a good measure of their wives' expectations. In this case, therefore, we would expect a much higher correlation between reference group indices and actual behavioural variables, than in situations where expectations were not being translated into behaviour.

Table 2: *Controlling for families where wives are satisfied with husbands' household roles (N = 217), the relationship between mass media involvement and husbands' helpfulness in household, i.e. per cent distribution in household tasks by mass media participation. (Percentages add across rows).*

Mass media participation	*Participation of husband in household tasks*				
	Low	*Medium*	*High*	*Total*	
	%	%	%	%	N
Low	25	45	30	100	77
Medium	24	42	34	100	50
High	9	43	48	100	90

($r = +.20; p < .01$)

Table 2 (above) reports for those wives who are "satisfied", i.e., whose expectations are being met. There is a slightly stronger positive correlation between the two variables than for the total sample. Only one-fifth of families where husbands do not participate in housekeeping tasks have high levels of mass media participation to over half of those families whose husbands do participate to a higher degree. The pattern that emerges from this, therefore, gives some, though clearly equivocal, support to the hypothesis that reference group variables are more directly related to level of expectations than to actual household participation. However, when we

Table 3: *Percentage distribution of families by mass media participation at 3 levels of fathers' household participation for those families where the wife is "dissatisfied" with her husband's household role*

Mass media participation	*Fathers' household participation*				
	Low	*Medium*	*High*	*Total (150)*	
				%	N
Low:— %	28% (14)	46% (23)	26% (13)	100%	50
Med.:— %	23% (10)	55% (24)	23% (10)	100%	44
High:— %	39% (22)	41% (23)	20% (11)	100%	56

($r = -.11, p < .10$)

examine the relationship between these two variables in the case where wives are dissatisfied, the hypothesis is further supported. There is a low, but clearly negative, correlation between mass media participation and household role modernisation as Table 4 shows. As one would expect, under the hypothesis, the relationship between reference group influence and perceived husband participation is actually negative, the lower the participation in mass media the higher actually is the perceived participation of husbands; and the higher the mass media participation, the lower the perceived participation. This suggests that it is standards of evaluation, ("values"), which are being influenced by mass media exposure and not actual behaviour directly. The higher the exposure, the higher the standard, and the lower the perceived performance — particularly when these standards are not being met.

If we reverse the order of the variables the relationships involved become clearer. If we control for level of husbands' helpfulness in housekeeping tasks — as in Table 4 — the following trends are substantively and statistically very significant. Where husbands are *not* helpful in the household, the greater the extent to which wives are involved in mass media the far more likely are they to be dissatisfied, i.e., their increasing expectations are not being met. In this case, therefore, there is a negative correlation (r = —.19) between increasing mass media participation and wifely satisfaction. On the other hand, where husbands are being very helpful the higher the standard the greater the relative satisfaction. Here there is, on the other hand, a positive correlation between the two variables (r = +.13); the higher the standard the higher the satisfaction.

Table 4: *Controlling levels of husbands' help in housekeeping; percentage distribution of wives who are 'satisfied', by levels of mass media participation*

Mass media participation (2)	*Controlling for levels of husbands' participation in household tasks (1)*			*Correlation between* D.L. (Ho) *by level of satisfaction (1 x 3); for each level of mass media participation*
	Low	*Medium*	*High*	
	% of wives who are satisfied with husbands' help (3)			
Low	59% (32)	66% (53)	64% (36)	r = (n.s.), (N = 121)
Med.	52% (23)	47% (45)	71% (35)	r = +15**, (N = 103)
High	28% (29)	63% (62)	80% (54)	r=+28*, (N = 145)
Overall Correlation between Mass Media Participation (2), and level of Satisfaction, (i.e. 2 x 3), for each level of husband's Household participation	r = —.19** (N = 84)	r = .06 (N = 160)	r = +.13* (N = 125)	

*Significant at the .05 level **Significant at the .10 level.

We can examine these three variable relationships in another way also. At low levels of mass media involvement there is no variation in the percentage of wives who are satisfied at any level of husbands' household participation, i.e., where wives' standards are low and traditional, increasing levels of participation by the husband do not lead to any higher levels of wifely satisfaction. In this case it is highly probable that he is only increasing his helpfulness as circumstances demand it—not in terms of any value commitment *per se*. However, this does not hold true at high levels of Mass Media involvement, here a very high degree of dissatisfaction is manifest in the case where husbands' participation is low but expected standards are higher—only 28 per cent of this group are satisfied. And the highest level of satisfaction is evident when both expectations and actual performance are at their highest.

In conclusion, therefore, although the hypothesis of reference group effects is confirmed, the nature and dimension of these effects is not at all obvious. We have shown that some of this lack of predictability is due to the fact that ideational change or ideational differences due to reference group effects cannot always be translated directly into behaviour. By initially focusing on reported behaviour only, we had significantly mistaken the nature of these reference group effects. Indeed, ideational change appears to have occurred somewhat independently of actual behavioural change. And when such gaps between ideally expected and actual behaviour exists, wives become very dissatisfied with husbands' roles. In the following section we examine one of the possible reasons why actual behaviour did not exactly conform to expectations; i.e., differences in situational constraints amongst families.

Situational Constraints

Besides differences in people's beliefs about sex typing of tasks within the family and differences in values as to what are the appropriate male and famale roles within the family, considerable differences also exist among families in the extent to which objective situational factors vary—such as stage of family cycle, the presence of other adults besides spouses in the family, the number of children that have to be taken care of etc. All of these factors would vary the actual need for the husband to help his wife. In 20 per cent of families, for instance, the husband's mother or mother-in-law was present in the household. In nearly half the families there were female children over 14 years of age present in the family. In either of these cases the actual need for the husband to help his wife with housekeeping tasks is much less than in the case where all the children are very young and the mother has no person other than the husband to help with the housekeeping. To what extent, therefore, does variation in the stage of the family cycle, in the number of dependent children, and in the availability of alternative adult "helpers" influence the husband's participation in purely household tasks?

In general, there is no correlation between family cycle stage ($r = .02$) and husband's participation. The presence of other female adults in the household is significantly related. If his mother or mother-in-law is staying in the house the husband tends to help much less with housekeeping tasks ($r = -.13$). On the other hand, his participation actually increases as the number of younger children at home increases ($r = +.14$). All of these variables index variations in the need for help in the household, or the availability of people other than the husband to fill that need. One would expect that at the early stage of the family cycle, especially when there are a large number of young dependent children in the household that the husband would help more with the housekeeping. Yet on average he does not tend to. Similarly, one would expect that if his mother or mother-in-law lives in the house with them, (one-fifth of all cases), that he would need to do less work in the house. Yet, here again, there is only a very low relationship. When we examine these two factors in combination, however, a clearer pattern emerges.

If one controls for family cycle, there is a very definite correlation between presence/absence of adult females and participation of husband in the household. At the early stage of the family cycle, where in 41 per cent of all families his mother or mother-in-law is present, the husband helps with household tasks to a much lesser extent than in the situation where she is not present ($r = -.28$). This would be as expected. However, at the later stage of family cycle there is no such relationship. This is primarily due to the very limited variation present with only eight per cent of families with mother/mother-in-law present and to the fact that some of the older girls are now able to take on some of the housework.

In regard to the number of children present in the household there is a low over-all correlation ($r = +.11$), i.e., the greater the number of younger children in the household the more the husband helps with housekeeping. This is especially the case at the later stages of the family cycle, where there is no woman present to help his wife and where older daughters are not sufficiently mature to be of much help. (See Appendix III Tables 4.1 and 4.2 for details).

There appears, therefore, to be two factors affecting husband's household participation: the demand for labour services in the household and the availability of alternative labour; and the expectations/values of both spouses. The children at the early and middle stages of the family cycle are all too young to help, pregnancies are still occurring and the older children are not making any significant contribution to housekeeping. However, grandmothers are present in nearly half the households at this stage and this relieves pressure. Variation in the number of children, therefore, makes very little difference to the need for husbands to help in the household when such other help is available. At the later stage of the family cycle his participation increases as the number of children increases.

Situational constraints — family cycle and age of children, number of

children, presence or absence of grandmothers – all affect the husbands participation in housekeeping roles. Taken together these three factors seem to account for almost as much of the variance in the husband's household participation scores as do direct reference group effects. The additive effects of these three variables is not significantly smaller than in the latter case ($R_{1.234} = .17$). It is also notable here that the most important relationships are highly interactive; i.e., relationships between any two variables is highly contingent on the value of a third variable. The hypothesis, therefore, is strongly confirmed in that situational factors do have significant effects on the division of household tasks.

Hypotheses are therefore confirmed for both sets of independent variables. However, relationships are not as direct nor as substantial as was hypothesised. The overall multiple correlation, taking both sets of variables into account explains less than eight per cent of the variance in husbands' household participation scores. As we have demonstrated, however, some of the reasons for this low ability to explain variation is due to normative influences not being directly translated into actual behaviour, although they clearly have a very strong influence on expectations and feelings. We have also found that the relationships amongst variables are highly interactive and not simply additive as the Pearsonian model assumes. In the following section we examine the extent to which the same results hold for the participation of husbands in child-rearing activities.

(b) The Division of Labour in Child-rearing and Child Supervision Tasks

The most reliable and valid scale measuring this dimension of family roles is that constructed by Likert techniques from the mother's responses. It is an eight item Likert Scale. The item responses were scored from 0 to 4, from a situation where "wife always" does these tasks (0), through "Wife usually, with husband's help" (1), "Joint" (2), through to the maximum score where "husband always" does so, (4). In other words, the scale measures the overall extent of husbands' helpfulness or participation in child-rearing and child supervision tasks.

In this case, the actual distribution of husbands' and wives' responses were remarkably similar – showing no overall tendency for the husband to downgrade his participation, as he tended to do in the case of purely housekeeping tasks. His participation here is presumably more socially acceptable, and his high participation less likely to be the subject of derisive comment amongst his peers than would be the case were he to advertise his participation in the purely "women's work" of housekeeping tasks. The distribution of families on this scale can be seen in Table 6, Chapter 2.

In six per cent of all cases mothers reported that fathers participated to a very high degree in child-rearing tasks, averaging roughly equal participation

Table 5: *The relationship between division of labour (child-rearing) and a series of independent variables indexing differential reference group effects. (Per cent of each category of the dependent variable with relevant characteristics)*

Independent variables	*Husbands' child-rearing participation*			*Overall Pearson product moment correlation between the two variables*	
Respondent by	*Low*	*Medium*	*High*		
A. Background variables					
(i) Education of father: % with a * post-primary education.	6%	10%	12%	r = +.12 p< .05	
B. Current life situation variables:					
(ii) Mass media participation % high score	32%	46%	37%	n +.09 p< .10	
(iii) Organisational involvement (father): % not a member of any organisation	60%	62%	54%	r = +.10 p< .10	
(iv) Gross margin, % with £1,200+ p.a.	27%	31%	33%	r = +.19 p< .05	
(v) SES—% with high score	33%	37%	38%	r = +.14 p< .05	
(vi) No. of migrant siblings in British towns:					
** (Mother): % with 2 or more:—	17%	24%	28%	r = +.14	p< .05
(Father): % with 2 or less:—	10%	15%	18%	r = +.09	
C. Variable indexing modern/traditional value orientations.					
(vii) Familism scale (mother) % with high score (5+)	24%	30%	27%	r = +.09 p< .10	
(viii) Nuclear family modernisation scales:					
(Mother): % high score	44%	45%	55%	r = +.09	p< .10
(Father): % high score	30%	34%	35%	r = +.09	
(ix) Farm sales modernity index					
***All sold at farm	35%	37%	29%	r = +.10 p< .05	
(x) Farm adoption-innovation scale: % with high score.	11%	17%	18%	r = +.09 p< .10	

*Education of wife; occupation of wife previous to marriage; extent of migration experience of husband or wife and age of husband or wife are not significantly related.

**Organisational involvement of mother, remoteness from urban centre; are not significantly related.

***Familism scale (Mo); is not significantly related.

with wife over all eight tasks. In a further 28 per cent of cases, fathers averaged a consistently greater than minimum helpfulness over all items, i.e., a score of one for each item. At the other extreme, however; 38 per cent of fathers had minimal or no participation in child-rearing activities, thus remaining in the very traditional mould of the non-participant father, avoiding or perhaps resisting being drawn into this sphere. Overall, however, there appears to be a considerable deviation from the pattern described in Arensberg and Kimball, in that one-third of fathers appeared to be rather highly involved in the upbringing of their children.

Here, again, we want to examine the extent to which variation in contact

or identification with external informal, formal, or mass media contacts outside the immediate circle of local kin and neighbour groups, affects participation in child-rearing tasks. Departure from the traditional model of clearly sex-differentiated roles should be at least as highly correlated with increasing extra-community contacts as in the previous case. Table 5 summarises the relationships actually found.

Here, most of the independent reference group variables have significant correlations with the dependent variable, and indeed appear to have more clearcut relationships than in the former case. The hypothesis is, therefore, supported although again the independent influences are rather small. Jointly, however, they have some more moderate influence. Increasing levels of education, wider contacts outside the community, etc., are all significantly related to higher participation scores for father. The overall multiple correlation between (1) education of father (r_{12}=.13),* (2) gross margin (r_{13} =.19), (3) SES, (r_{14}=.12) and D.L. (CHI.), however, only reaches, $R_{1.234}$=.23; i.e., they jointly explain less than six per cent of the variance in division of labour scores. Again although this variance interpretation of the relationship is strictly invalid, it does very clearly indicate that a number of other factors — expectations, and structural constraints etc., — may be as important as in the previous case.

Using mass media involvement as an indicator variable, we examined the relationship between husbands' participation and wives' satisfaction with it at various levels of reference group effects.

The results almost exactly replicate the findings of Table 4. Here again, the most dissatisfied wives are those who have medium to high levels of mass media participation whose husbands are unhelpful i.e., where husbands are not helpful the higher the mass media participation the greater the dissatisfaction of wives. At the other extreme, the most satisfied groups of wives are those whose husbands are highly involved in child-rearing and mass media. At high levels of mass media participation the higher the participation of the husband in child-rearing tasks the more satisfied the wife tends to be, (r = +.14). At low levels of mass media participation there is no correlation between the variables.

The results here again lend further support to our earlier suggestion that, to a certain extent, the relationship between the modernisation or reference group "indicator" variables and husband participation variables are being eroded by the unwillingness or inabliity of husbands to meet the changing expectations of wives. When this occurs increasing mass media exposure merely increases the level of dissatisfaction of wives. This appears to occur in a substantial proportion of cases. Ideational change, therefore, intervenes between the external modernising influences and actual behavioural change.

*All correlations listed in the text are statistically significant.

Situational Constraints

When examining the influence of variations in situational constraints, which might influence the participation of husbands in child-rearing tasks, the same variables were used as in household participation to try to estimate the extent to which help is needed, and which occurs independently of either spouses feelings or expectations. Is this, in fact, the case? In Tables 4.1 and 4.2 in Appendix III, some of the influences of situational variables are shown.

This stage of family cycle is negatively related to participation by the husband in child-rearing ($r = -.10$); i.e., at the early stages the father participates in child-rearing tasks to a greater extent than at later stages. The presence or absence of either of the grandmothers in the house seems to have no influence. But father's participation in child-rearing tasks increases significantly as the number of children at home increases ($r = +.22$). Looking at the correlations present when family cycle is controlled for, one sees that the number of children in the family clearly affects the participation of the husband at all stages of the family cycle. However, at the earlier stages where children are very young and dependent the father tends to participate to a far greater extent than in the later stage where they are in a better position to look after themselves.

Generally, the trends discerned for the patterns of child-rearing participation by the husband, when situational factors are examined, are somewhat different to those found for household task participation. In the case of child rearing, family cycle has a clear effect; the presence or absence of grandmothers seems to have no effect whatsoever, and the number of younger children in the family appears to be somewhat more influential in determining participation than was observed in household task participation. This suggests: (1) that grandmothers play a minimal role in child rearing while they play an important role in housekeeping; (2) that within the larger families fathers participate to a much greater degree, even though they continue to play a non-participant type role in the household task area; and (3) that family cycle is a much more significant variable in child rearing. This latter "finding" however, is so obvious as not to require elaboration. The multiple correlation between (2) family cycle, (3) number of children, and husbands' participation in child-rearing tasks is: $R_{1.23} = .27$. Taking both the reference group and situational variables together, accounts for 10 per cent of the variance in the child-rearing participation scale ($R = .32$), with both sets of variables of roughly equal significance. Again although the hypotheses are confirmed, relationships are not as great nor as direct as hypothesised. And again, as in the former case, some of the main reasons for the low direct predictability of husbands' participation scores is that reference group effects are influencing expectations rather than actual behaviour, and appear to have a more significant influence on wives' feelings of satisfaction with husbands' participation than on actual participation directly.

(c) *Division of Labour on Farm*

Only one scale was constructed to measure the extent of the wife's participation in farm tasks. It was a six-item Guttman Scale which measured the extent to which the wife "always" or "usually" carried out the following tasks: (1) looked after the poultry; (2) cleaned the milking utensils; (3) milked the cows; (4) fed the calves; (5) the pigs, (6) looked after the cattle. The percentages of wives carrying out each of these increasingly male typed tasks are as follows: (1) none—14 per cent; (2) poultry only—17 per cent; (3) poultry and utensils only—22 per cent; (4) poultry and utensils, and usually milks cows—11 per cent; (5) all of previous tasks and feeds calves—22 per cent; (6) all of previous tasks and always feeds the pigs—8 per cent; (7) all of previous tasks *and* always looks after the cattle—6 per cent. A third of all wives, therefore, have very low participation, one-seventh very high, and the remainder had medium to high levels. The reliability of the scale was very high, with CR. = .93.

It should be remembered that, in this case, high participation in farm task roles was traditionally expected of most farm wives. It was hypothesised, therefore, that increasing identification with urban contacts and increasing reference group influences, coupled with the growing technology and commercialisation of farms would reduce participation in farm tasks. Table 6 summarises the relationships found between a series of independent variables indexing these influences, and the extent of wives' participation in farm tasks.

As can be seen from Table 6 wives appear to have been more influenced in their degree of participation in farm tasks by the level of their extra community contacts and identification than their husbands were in their degree of participation in household and child-rearing roles. Four variables show a moderately high relationship to wife's help on farm: her level of education, her migration experience before marriage, and her current level of living and mass media participation. The greater her level of education and the extent to which she had travelled and worked outside her home community etc., the less likely she is to help out on farm tasks. Her participation, therefore, appears to be highly responsive to reference group influences.

On the other hand, there is no relationship between her level of participation on the farm and the degree of commercialisation or technological innovativeness on farms. Her participation, therefore, appears to be more a function of her cultural orientations than to any labour requirements of the farm. The following section will show this more clearly. However, the relationship between her expectations and her actual participation appears to be no more direct than in the husband's case. While many wives who worked on the farm mentioned how much they enjoyed it—especially the freedom of getting away from the confining and often frustrating duties of housekeeping and child-rearing etc.—many others wished they could do less. There is indeed a slight negative relationship between increasing involvement

of wife in farm tasks and the overall degree of emotional integration of the family.

Table 6: *The relationship between wives' participation on farm tasks and a set of independent variables indexing reference group effects*

Independent variables	*Wives' participation on the farm*			*Overall correlation*
	Low	*Medium*	*High*	
*Respondents by				
A. Background variables				
(i) Education of wife: Per cent primary only:—	63	69	81	r = —.17 p< .001
Residence of wife before marriage:				
(ii) Per cent in home parish:— *	49	56	61	r = —.16 p< .05
B. Present life situation variables				
(iii) S.E.S.: Per cent with high score:	50	33	28	r = —.17 p< .05
(iv) Self sufficiency on farm: Per cent who produce all basic foods on farm:—	48	59	60	r = +.09 p<.10
(v) Mass media participation: Per cent with high score **	47	35	38	r = —.09 p< .10
C. Variables indexing modern/traditional value orientation				
(vi) Familism (mother): Per cent with high score (6+)	33	38	37	r = +.09 p< .00
(vii) Willingness to move: Per cent not willing (husbands) ***	51	48	55	r = —.12 p< .05

*Husband's education (r = —.08); husband's and wife's age (r = +.08); occupation of wife previous to marriage; migration of husband and wife not significantly related.

**Gross margin; technical innovativeness on farms; remoteness; organisational involvement, etc. not significantly related.

***Nuclear family modernisation scales; familism (fathers); farm adoption in innovation and not significantly related.

Unfortunately, we did not systematically gather any information on wives' feelings about their farm work participation.

In the following we attempt to measure this indirectly.

When one introduces a control variable i.e., — wives' satisfaction with their husbands' role in housekeeping and child rearing — the results provide further support for the proposition that the rather low correlations between reference group indicator variables and actual behavioural variables considerably understates these influences. In cases where wives gave a strong positive

evaluation of their husbands' roles a much more pronounced relationship ($r = -.30$) occurs between mass media participation and participation on the farm tasks; whereas where wives were dissatisfied with husbands' roles no such relationship exists. In this particular case these results suggest—taking into consideration the previous results in housekeeping and child-rearing roles —that the most highly satisfied group of wives, whose own expectations and whose own and spouses' actual role behaviour are in conformity with each other, are of two kinds:

(a) Those wives who have traditional expectations as a result of a traditional socialisation background and low mass media participation etc. They are quite content to allow their husbands to have minimal participation in household and child-rearing tasks, whilst they have high participation on the farm tasks.

(b) Those wives who have highly "modern" expectations as a result of a less traditional and more mobile background and higher participation in mass media etc; whose husbands are equally "modern" in orientation and highly participative in household and child-rearing tasks, while they themselves have been able to reduce their own participation on farm tasks to the minimum.

The fact that role expectations are not so neatly translated into actual behaviour in a substantial proportion of cases accounts for the very low correlation between reference group effects and actual role performance.

Situational Factors: The association between situational constraints within the nuclear family and the extent of wives' participation on farm tasks is minimal. There are no significant relationships between family cycle ($r = .05$), number of children in the family ($r = -.00$); or presence/absence of other adults in the households ($r = .00$). Such structural factors that were found to be significant in previous cases do not appear to be important here.

Social Emotional Patterns

(a) *Social Emotional Leadership*

In Chapter 2 we reviewed and evaluated the various scales used to measure social-emotional leadership and integration within families. We selected one measure of social-emotional leadership (a Likert Scale constructed from the mother's responses to a series of five questions) as the most valid and reliable measure. The following discussion therefore uses this scale exclusively. However, before proceeding with the analysis it would be instructive to examine first the frequency distributions of both spouses' responses on this scale. (See Table 8, Ch. 2).

The most outstanding feature is that both distributions show an equally low level of participation of husband in the social-emotional areas. Approxi-

mately 25 per cent of both spouses report that the husbands play no role whatsoever in emotional-support or tension-management situations, and at the other extreme only 27 per cent of mothers' responses and 32 per cent of fathers' responses describe the father as playing an equally important to a dominant role in the social-emotional area. In general, therefore, although the distributions show a clear departure from the strictly neutral or non-supportive emotional role, described by Arensberg and Kimball as being typical of the traditional father, the majority of families still display the typical maternal nurturant pattern. Nevertheless, if Arensberg and Kimball's description is taken as the modal pattern typical of the 1930s, in nearly half of all families there has been a considerable movement away from the strictly unemotional, unexpressive and emotionally non-supportive role of the father so typical of the old traditional structure. But, compared to the variation present in the division of labour scales, there appears to be much less variation here, with 60 per cent of all husbands with scores of less than half of that possible. The equivalent figure for all previous scales was only one-third to one-half with such minimal involvement.

Table 7: *The relationship between the extent of fathers involvement in social emotional leadership and a series of independent variables*

Independent variables	*Extent of husband's emotional leadership*			*Overall correlation*
	Low	*Medium*	*High*	
Respondent by	%	%	%	
A. Background variables				
(i) Education of wife: % primary only	79	70	65	r = .16 p < .05
(ii) Residence of father since childhood * % on this farm	54	67	58	r = –.09 p < .10
B. Present life situation variables				
(iii) Gross margin: % with £1,200+ p.a.	24	32	35	r = .16 p < .05
(iv) Remoteness from 'urban' centre: (4+ miles)	26	22	20	r = .09 p < .10
Organisation involvement (mother): (% a member): **	10	14	22	r = .11 p < .05
C. Variables indexing traditional/ modern value systems				
Familism scale (mother): % with high score (6+) N = 146 ***	45	31	31	r = –.10 p < .05

*Education of husband (r = +.02); age of father (r = –.02); migration experience of wife etc., not significantly related.

**SES. Fathers organisational involvement; mass media participation, not significantly related.

***Farm adoption; Nuclear family modernisation, Farm sales, Modernity scale; Willingness to move etc., not significantly related.

As in previous cases the participation of husbands in social-emotional processes is moderately correlated to a number of the independent "reference group" variables. (See Table 7). Here also the magnitude of these correlations is rather small, the highest correlation reaching $r = +.16$. The overall multiple correlation between education of wife, gross margin and SEL reaches $R_{1.23} = .22$. It is remarkable in this case that the socialisation experiences of the wife—her education, formal organisation membership and familistic attitudes—show higher correlations with her husband's leadership score than his own. It may well be, of course, that her choice of spouse has been directly influenced by these experiences.

Situational Factors:

There are also situational pressures within the nuclear family which are associated with and affect the participation of the husband in such emotional support of children. They may do so in various ways, such as increasing the pressure for, or, in other areas, reducing the need for his participation.

The overall correlation between stage of family cycle and fathers' Social Emotional Leadership is relatively high ($r = -.20$). It declines markedly with progress through the family cycle. This is especially significant since there is no correlation whatever with age of either spouse. The parental nurturant or supportive behaviour of the father actually increases with the presence of either of the grandmothers in the household. Even when we partialled out the effects of family cycle this correlation still remained and the joint effect of these two variables explains over 9 per cent of the variance in SEL scores. Overall, therefore, reference group effects appear less influential in determining Social Emotional Leadership patterns than do situational variables. It may well be, of course, that a non-emotionally supportive father is more likely to welcome grandparents into the home. Before we interpret what exactly those relationships mean, however, we want to examine the relationship of SEL to the Social-emotional integration of families in the following section.

(b) *Social Emotional Integration*

A Guttman Scale was constructed to measure the degree of emotional *integration* within the nuclear family. This differs from the previous scale which measured only the extent of participation by the father in the social-emotional area. The present scale attempts to measure the extent to which spouses empathise with each other's satisfactions in marriage, the extent to which they perform tension management functions for each other, and of the perceived involvement of each in the care and emotional support of the children. In order to get the best overall measure the combined responses of both spouses were used to build up the scale.

Table 8: *The distribution of families by scale type on the social emotional integration Scale.*

Items — Guttman scale; CR = .89	*Scale type*	*Distribution of families*
		%
Case where a low social emotional score on all items	1	7
(1) Case where wife resorts to husband in tension situations and/or finds him easiest to talk to	2	8
(2) Case where, as well as above, the father has main meal with all the family and/or usually comes in for tea with the children after school.	3	26
(3) Case where, as well as (1) and (2) both mother and father agree that at least 2 child-rearing activities are carried out jointly.	4	16
(4) Case where, as well as (1)-(3) above, both mother and father agree that a child may go on occasions to either parent when upset.	5	22
(5) Case where, as well as (1)-(4), the husband is aware of the type of tasks his wife dislikes doing and sometimes helps out with these unasked.	6	12
(6) Case where, as well as (1)-(5), both husband and wife guessed correctly the order of ranking of spouses satisfactions derived from family life i.e., demonstrate very high interspousal empathy.	7	5
(7) No Information.		3
Total	%	100%
	N	408

The most striking feature of the distribution of families on this scale, shown in Table 8 is the very wide variation present, from one-sixth of families with extremely low emotionally supportive relationships to an equal proportion at the other end of the scale who appear to be very highly integrated emotionally. In the former case the father appears to be almost emotionally isolated from his wife and children. In the latter both spouses not only participate jointly in family activities (child-rearing tasks and joint parental emotional-support) but also show a very high degree of mutual empathy, awareness of each other's needs and satisfactions and high mutual interpersonal support. Besides this small proportion (one-sixth) of families with such a high degree of spousal empathy and mutual helpfulness, a further 22 per cent of all families showed a high degree of joint parent-child supportive and integrative interaction. This gives a total of forty per cent of

all families with a relatively high degree of joint parent-child integrative interaction. This contrasts markedly with the picture presented by Arensberg and Kimball as typical of the traditional farm family, and appears more in keeping with that of the ideal model of the modern urban middle-class family.

At the other extreme, 15 per cent of all families have a very low level of integration. These families exhibited a very low level of parent-child supportive interaction at meal times, in ordinary child rearing and child supervision tasks and in interpersonal support.

These leadership and integration scales tap two different aspects of the emotional quality of familial interaction, with the former measuring the extent or degree of husband/father participation in these activities and the latter measuring the extent of incidence of emotional-supportive behaviour in families. Neither of the two social emotional scales are correlated with each other (r = .08). Families with high levels of Social Emotional Integration are just as likely to be those with low father dominance of the social-emotional areas as those with high father dominance. Both scales appear to be measuring completely different dimensions of the social-emotional characteristics of family interaction. However, if we examine carefully the data of Table 9 some consistent relationships are obvious.

There is, in fact, a pronounced, highly significant, though not linear relationship amongst the variables. If we exclude scale Types 6 and 7 of the Social-Emotional Leadership scale, we find a very pronounced linear relationship amongst the variables. Roughly two-thirds of families with low social-emotional leadership scores (< 3) have equally low social-emotional integration scores (< 4); while this is true for only 30 per cent of families with medium social-emotional leadership scores (3-5). On the other hand, families of a high Social-Emotional Leadership scale type tend to have a distribution on the social-emotional integration scale which is almost equivalent to those of an extremely low social-emotional scale type.

When the internal content of these scales is examined one explanation suggests itself. The high scores on the social-emotional leadership scale indicate families where the father is almost exclusively the most supportive, patient, forgiving and emotionally expressive parent *vis-à-vis* the children. The highest scale type, therefore, seems to indicate families, some of whom at least have emotionally unsupportive mothers. They are *not* generally joint-parental supportive families, whereas they tend to be so at the medium levels of social-emotional leadership. As a result, families with high scale values on the social-emotional leadership variable would be rather similar to those with low values. They both represent families where there is minimal parental jointness in emotionally supportive roles. Both ends of the scale represent rather specialised emotionally supportive leadership roles, in one case (low scores) on the wife's part and in the other (high scores) on the husband's part. In both cases levels of social-emotional integration

would tend to be low. As Levinger points out "A marriage when only one partner engages in social-emotional action breaks down in its interaction" (58). The maintenance of high levels of social-emotional integration requires reciprocal spousal behaviour, and the lower the reciprocity the lower the level of social-emotional integration. It appears, in retrospect, therefore, that the leadership scale is measuring the degree of specialisation of husbands or wives in the social-emotional area and not the greater participation of husbands in a reciprocally growing level of expressiveness. The second measure, therefore, is a clearer index of the increasing involvement of husbands in social-emotional behaviour. The Social Emotional Integration scale appears to measure both the level of social-emotional, or mutually responsive and expressive, interaction in families and also the extent to which husbands involve themselves in this kind of mutually supportive behaviour.

Table 9: *Percentage distribution of families on social-emotional integration scale by their social-emotional leadership characteristics*

Social emotional integration		*Social emotional leadership*			
		Low husband participation		*High husband participation*	
	Score	1 & 2	3	4 & 5	6 & 7
		%	%	%	%
Low	1 & 2	29	7	14	12
	3	36	23	17	33
	4 & 5	27	43	49	42
High	6 & 7	8	17	20	14
Total	%	100	100	100	100
	N	78	108	65	95

$X^2 = 78$; $P < .005$; $\bar{C} = .41$ [$r = +.08$ for total table.]

Reference Group Effects and Social Emotional Integration

Table 10 summarises the correlations found between levels of social-emotional integration and extent of involvement in and exposure to societal wide membership and reference group influences. These were hypothesised to influence people's values and expectations with regard to emotionally supportive and integrative behaviour within families.

Variation in social-emotional integration scale types, as can be seen from Table 10, is moderately highly correlated with almost all communicational and "external" participational variables, as well as with other "traditional-modern" value scales. The strength of these influences in almost all cases,

Table 10: *The relationship between the degree of social emotional integration existing within the family and a series of independent variables which index the background, and the present life style and values of the family*

	Degree of integration within the family			*Overall correlation*
	Low	*Medium*	*High*	
	%	%	%	
A. Background variables				
(i) Education of husband: % primary only:—	92	90	87	r = .11 p< .05
(ii) Education of wife: % primary only:—	75	73	59	r = .09 p< .10
(iii) Migration experience of mother: % who did not move from parish:—	60	60	51	r = .09 p< .05
(iv) Age of husband: % 55+:—	48	37	29	r = —.21 (p< .05)
(v) Age of wife:—				r = —.18 (p< .05)
B. Present life situation				
(vi) Mass media participation: % with high score (6+):—	34	41	49	r = .11 p< .05
(vii) Organisational involvement (father): % not members	65	57	46	r = .16 p< .05
(viii) SES: % with high score (6+)	32	37	56	r = .16 p< .05
(ix) Gross margin: % with £1,200 + p.a. *	25	29	44	r = +.10 p< .05
C. Variables indexing traditional modern value orientations				
(x) Familism (mother): % with high score (6+):—	45	32	25	r = —.18 (p< .05)
(xi) Familism (father): % with high score (5+):— **	42	24	27	r = —.11 (p< .05)

*Mother organisational involvement; Remoteness from 'urban' centre, not significantly related.

**Farm adoption; Willingness to move, not significantly related.

except for Gross Margin and Remoteness, is much greater than for the Social-Emotional Leadership scale and significantly greater than for any previous scales. This suggests that Social-Emotional Integration, as an index of "modernity" in family patterns is a far more valid measure than the Social-Emotional Leadership scale. The latter scale seems to be measuring, besides the modernity of values and orientations of both parties, the actual emotional competence and ability of both parents to play these roles. The father's dominance of the social-emotional functions of the family may be due as much to his relative "advantage" in temperamental and emotional characteristics *vis-à-vis* his wife, as to any difference in the values and expectations about what he should or would like to do.

In summary, therefore, both the social-emotional leadership and the social-emotional integration scales are moderately associated with each other but not in a linear fashion. And in both cases their correlations with the independent variables are consistently greater than in previous cases. Those with high social-emotional integration scores tend also to be more highly involved in mass media and formal organisations, less bound to local loyalties

Table 11: *Controlling for levels of social-emotional integration percentage distribution of wives who are satisfied at three levels of mass media participation*

Mass media participation	*Controlling for social-emotional integration*			*Overall correlation between social-emotional integration and level of wives' satisfaction, for each level of mass media involvement*
	Low	*Medium*	*High*	
	% of wives satisfied			
Low	44% (18)	43% (58)	44% (50)	r = ns, N = 126
Medium	21% (25)	31% (44)	36% (33)	r = .16**, N = 102
High	23% (22)	48% (56)	53% (72)	r = .20*, N = 150
Overall correlation between mass media participation and wives' satisfaction, for each level of social-emotional integration ***	r = −.21** N = 65	r = ns N = 160	r = ns N = 155	

*Significant at .05 level.

**Significant at .01 level.

***The "satisfaction" scale used here is for wives' satisfaction with husbands' participation in child rearing.

and attachments, more "modern" in their household purchasing and general farm marketing behaviour, and they also tend to have moved around more outside the ambit of their home community. The joint effects of (1) mass media participation, (2) Education of husband and (3) of wife, and (4) husband's organisation memberships, on SEI reaches a multiple R of .36—i.e., their joint effects explain 13 per cent of the variance in SEI. It appears, therefore, that reference group effects have more direct influences on social-emotional behaviour than on task or work behaviour; and that both the level of that expressive behaviour increases with modernisation, and the degree of maternal specialisation in social-emotional roles, that was so typical of the traditional peasant family declines with modernisation (54a, 101).

As the results in Table 11 make clear, however, not all of these modernising influences are being translated into such reciprocally supportive behaviour by husbands. A quarter to a third of all wives with high levels of exposure to mass media effects have apparently extremely unsupportive husbands and appear to be the most dissatisfied of all wives.

The results here again illustrate the relationships observed previously between reference group exposure, the level of expectations and level of satisfaction with the existing social-emotional characteristics of families. The figures indicate that at low levels of mass media participation there is absolutely no difference in level of wives' satisfaction at any level of integration—i.e., at low levels of integration expectations are still being met. On the other hand, at high levels of mass media participation there is a moderately high correlation (r = +.20) between SEI and degree of satisfaction—i.e., where mass media exposure is high, expectations are high and when these are not being met dissatisfaction results. To examine this table from another perspective clarifies this. At low levels of SEI increasing levels of mass media exposure—and, therefore, increasing levels of expectations—result in decreasing levels of satisfaction (r = —.21). The relationship, therefore, between increasing modernising influences and family modernisation is even stronger than the correlations in Table 10 suggest. The hypothesis, therefore, is very strongly supported.

Situational Factors

There are a small number of situational variables which might reflect the degree of emotional integration within families, irrespective of people's values or feelings. Integration declines significantly with progress through the family cycle (r = —.21), but does not vary significantly by number of children in the family or the presence of grandparents in the household. However, if one controls for family cycle quite clear patterns emerge. At the early stages, a statistically insignificant but slightly negative relationship is observed between degree of integration (i) number of children in the

family, and (ii) presence of grandmother. At the middle and later stages of the cycle, some significant positive relationships do appear. Broadly, the trend is that the larger the family the more integrated it tends to be. (See Table 4.1 and 4.2 in Appendix III).

The trend may be due to the fact that when the children are very young and pregnancies follow one after the other, work or task requirements are so high in household and child rearing that serious emotional support problems arise. However, when the children are older they can contribute more to the household, there is less pressure on parents and the emotional-support problems decline in seriousness.

The hypothesis of situational effects is, therefore, supported also in this case. And both reference group and situational variables together show a reasonably high relationship with the degree of social-emotional integration to be found within the family. The multiple R taking both sets of variables together reaches R = .39. This would explain roughly 15 per cent of the variance in SEI scores.

Power and Authority in the Family

The traditional family was generally patriarchical. The father enjoyed a position of great authority, respect and deference. The mother did, however, enjoy a considerable degree of autonomy within her own delimited area of responsibility, especially in housekeeping. To what extent does this system still hold? The following table summarises the main scales used to investigate this dimension.

It is striking that in each of the four subscales the husbands' responses assign a more influential position to their wives in these various decisions than do wives themselves. This is particularly noticeable in the household and child-rearing areas. In both of these cases, while wives' responses indicated that their husbands dominated in 38 per cent and 43 per cent respectively of child-rearing and house-keeping decisions, this was only true of 17 per cent and 24 per cent respectively of their husbands. Either the wives are overemphasising their husbands' participation and are responding according to traditional expectations rather than actual practice and their husbands have given the more accurate responses, or else, as was found in previous scales, the husband is tending to downgrade his participation in household and child-rearing decision making. In previous cases we found that the husband tended to downgrade his participation in housekeeping tasks, especially. His wife's more complimentary picture tended to provide a more valid response, at least as judged by the relative strength of the relationship between both scales and a series of independent variables with which they should theoretically be related. As in previous cases we checked out this possibility by correlating both sets of scales with a series of independent validating variables. In general, although the fathers' responses provide a

Table 12: *Percentage distribution of respondents on a series of power or decision-making scales*

Household decision scale				*Child-rearing decisions scale*				*Farm production decisions scale*			*General power scale (Likert)*			
4 Item G. Scales asking "who would make final decision" on	*Scale type*	*Wife responses (CR = .95)*	*Husband responses (CR = .90)*	*5 Item G. Scale asking "who would make final decision" on*	*Scale type*	*Wife (CR = .91)*	*Husband (CR = .90)*	*Index based on responses to 9 items dealing with various farm decisions*	*Wife*	*Husband*	*7 Item Likert Scale asking who makes decisions on*	*Scale type*	*Wife*	*Husband*
		%	%			%	%		%	%			%	%
(i) None of the decisions below	1 [Wife dominant]	13	34	(i) None of the decisions below	1	26	39	(i) Primarily wife dominant in decisions	1	5	(i) To borrow money to buy land	0-3	2	3
(ii) Buying a TV set	2	11	15	(ii) General decisions in child-rearing	2	8	24	(ii) Relatively joint or shared	2	5	(ii) General boss in financial matters	4-5	5	9
(iii) Putting in running water	3	26	22	(iii) Sending a child on for further education	3	10	8	(iii) Primarily husband dominant	30	48	(iii) Buy or rent TV set	6-7	11	16
(iv) Painting walls of home	4	35	17	(iv) Allowing teenagers to a dance	4	18	6	(iv) Husband completely dominant in decisions:—	65	43	(iv) Installing running water	8-9	18	22
(v) General decisions in running household	5 [Husband dominant]	13	7	(v) Sending for a doctor when a child is ill	5	36	7				(v) Who keeps track of money	10-11	32	22
				(vi) Dispatching children on holidays to a relative where they have never been before:—	6	12	10				(vi) Who child is afraid of most	12-13	19	15
											(vii) Who disciplines child	14	8	5
DK		2	5	DK		2	6	DK	2	4	DK		5	8
X = father only O = wife or joint				X = father only O = wife or joint							2 = Father only makes decisions 1 = Joint 0 = Mother only makes decisions			
Total %		100	100	*Total* %		100	100	*Total* %	100	100	*Total* %		100	100
N		408	408	N		408	408	N	408	408	N		408	408

more even distribution of cases than the mothers' most of the validity measures are generally more highly correlated with the mothers' responses. Partly as a result, but also because mothers' responses scaled more consistently and had higher reliability levels, these are regarded as the more reliable and valid measures of family power.

The results show very clearly that there is rather wide variation in the relative influence of wives and husbands in family decisions; and also that the extent of paternal dominance of decisions varies by the content or nature of the decision. Wives appear to be most involved in household and child-rearing decisions. Indeed they have the dominant voice in these decisions according to their husbands. On the other hand, husbands clearly dominate in farm management decisions and in financial decisions. Even in these decision areas however, there is much greater participation or even dominance of wives than was expected.

Explaining Variation in Decision-making Scales

We hypothesised that increasing contact with and reference group influences from urban areas would lead to a decline in patriarchical power. It should be remembered that the higher the scale value the greater the dominance of the father, so that we are predicting a negative correlation between these reference group effects and all the decision-making scales.

Table 13: *Pearson Product Moment Correlations between the family power scales and a series of independent educational, occupational, migrational, communicational and participational scales*

Independent variables	*Household decision scale*	*Child-rearing scale*	*Farm decisions scale*	*General power scale*
2. Education of wife	−.02	−.11*	−.00	−.10*
3. Family communic. scale	+.03	−.04	−.01	+.04
4. Gross margin	+.01	−.03	−.12*	−.01
5. Household adop. scale	+.01	−.11*	−.20*	−.10*
6. Familism (mother)	+.04	+.16*	−.01	+.06
7. Familism (father)	−.10*	+.04	+.06	−.08
8. Household subsistence scale	−.12*	.00	.01	−.10*
9. Family cycle	r = −.18*	r = −.15*	r = .01	r = −.10*

*Correlations of .10 or greater are significant at the .05 level, 2 tailed.

As the data in Tables 13 and 14 clearly show variation in the extent of father dominance of family and farm decisions is not nearly as highly related to the independent reference group or situational variables as were the division of labour or social-emotional characteristics of families. Although wives' decision-making involvement increases with their level of education, and with the modernity of their household practices, the joint effects of all

Table 14: *Correlations between (1) No. of children in family, and (2) presence of others in household and power of father in family, controlling for three levels of the family cycle*

	Controlling for family cycle, correlations between general power and No. of children			*Controlling for family cycle, correlations between general power scale and presence of grandparents in household*		
	Early	*Middle*	*Late*	*Early*	*Middle*	*Late*
	(1) *No. of children*			(2) *Presence of others in household*		
General Power (Likert)	r = .27* N = 116	r = .10 N = 73	r = –03 N = 147	r = –.24* N = 155	r = –01 N = 73	r = .01 N = 148

*Significant at the .05 level.

the independent variables combined explains less than seven per cent of the variance in any of the decision-making scales.

Except for family cycle, situational variables are not directly related to the extent of fathers' dominance of decision making. The later the stage of the family cycle the lower the dominance of the father. Since age has no relationship to father's power this decline must be due to the changing composition and characteristics of families—the number and age of children, and their extent of dependence or independence etc. This finding corresponds very closely to that found in other studies (11, p. 41-44). It is explained by Blood and Wolfe and others, as due primarily to the decreasing dependence of the wife on the husband as the children grow older, the mother becoming less tied to household and infant care duties, and the children changing from being burdens to contributors. Both of these changes increasingly make the wife less dependent on her husband.

However, if we control family cycle as we have done in Table 15, we find that at the early stage of the family cycle, when children are still very young, very clear relationships exist. Here the greater the number of children in the family the more power the father has. This result confirms findings of many earlier studies that the larger the number of children the greater the concentration of power in families; and indeed the greater the extent of internal differentiation in the family generally (12a, 14, 30). And, where only the nuclear family is present, the father tends to be more prominent in general decisionmaking than where the grandparents are present. In three generational households, of course, it is very likely that some decisions will still be made by the old people; although we have already a series of consistent findings which tends to show that in the young, three-generation household, husbands tend to be more active and more emotionally integrated into the nuclear family than in two-generation families. This occurs

despite the fact that in three generation households child rearing and farm roles tend to be far more segregated than in nuclear households.

In conclusion, therefore, there is a much smaller relationship between reference group factors and power differences amongst families than was expected. There are, however, some small but significant relationships in the expected direction, the greater the family's external participation and the less traditional they are in orientations the more influence the mother gains and the less autocratic the control of the father becomes. The relationships, however, are rather slight. In the following section, however, we show that when we examine the distribution of power in families in relation to their division of labour characteristics some very clear-cut patterns emerge. As the results in Table 1, Chap. 5, make clear these variables have almost no correlation with each other but taken in combination they tend to have more clear-cut relationships to most of the independent variables than they had individually.

The Distribution of Tasks and Power in Families

Although there is no overall correlation between the extent of participation of husbands in household and child-rearing tasks and the extent of their participation in household and child-rearing decisions, (see Table 1), there are very important and systematic relationships between both variables. For if families are classified by the kind of division of labour in household and child rearing and the extent of father dominance of decisions in each of these areas we get a very important classification of family types—i.e., from ones where the wife has a completely separate or autonomous housewifely or child-rearing role, to ones where both husband and wife equally and jointly participate in house activities and decisions. This categorisation was first used by Herbst (50)*. He distinguished between "who actually does" and "who really decides" activities in the various areas in the family and classified families from one extreme where the mother carried out all household tasks and makes all the household decisions—a highly differentiated but autonomous role system—to families where both spouses equally and jointly participate in tasks and decisionmaking—the joint system. This more complex categorisation he found to be more meaningful and explainable than when he considered each variable separately.

The validity of this categorisation is clearly illustrated when we relate it to the social-emotional characteristics of families. If these classifications are valid, one would predict that the greatest differences in social-emotional

*Herbst in this article, by cross classification, divided families into eight different types on the basis of their categorisation on power (decision-making) and task participation dimensions. In many ways his categories are more refined than the ones used above because he included separate categories where jointness in one or both were evident.

integration scores, for instance, should be between the two extreme types of families. Table 15 gives the results.

Table 15: *Social-emotional integration within families as related to their task and decision-making patterns in household and child rearing*

I	*Housewifely-house-keeping roles*							
	Low husband participation in household tasks and low husband participation in decisions		*Low husband participation in D.L. in household but high participation in decisions*		*Med.-high husband participation in D.L. in household and low participation in decisions*		*Med.-high husband participation in D.L. in household and high participation or dominance of decisions*	
	Low	*Low*	*Low*	*High*	*High*	*Low*	*High*	*High*
	i.e. Autonomous wife role system (N = 45)		*Husband autocratic families* (N = 151)		*Wife dominant or joint families* (N = 49)		*Syncratic or joint system* (N = 142)	
Independent Variables *Social-emotional integration* % of families:								
(a) with low SEI scores (< 3)	60%	(27)	46%	(69)	43%	(21)	32%	(46)
(b) with high SEI scores (> 6)	24%	(11)	40%	(60)	29%	(14)	46%	(65)

II	*Child-rearing roles*							
	Low husband participation in D.L. (child rearing) and low husband participation in decision making		*Low husband participation in D.L. child rearing and high husband participation in decisions*		*High participation of husband in D.L. child rearing and low in decision-making*		*High participation of husband in D.L. child rearing; and high in decisions*	
	Low	*Low*	*Low*	*High*	*High*	*Low*	*High*	*High*
	Wife autonomous (N = 72)		*Husband autocratic* (N = 76)		*Wife dominant or joint* (N = 100)		*Joint or syncratic roles* (N = 140)	
Social-emotional integration % of families:								
(a) low SEI scores (< 3)	56%	(40)	59%	(45)	35%	(35)	28%	(39)
(b) high SEI scores (> 6)	36%	(26)	30%	(23)	40%	(40)	49%	(68)

The results in fact clearly support the hypothesis that there is a strong relationship between task allocation, decision making and type of overall emotional integration patterns within the family. Those families with autonomous housewifely roles are those with the lowest level of social-emotional integration, while those with joint or syncratic roles have the highest level. The order is slightly different for child rearing, with the least "satisfactory" patterns being that with paternally autocratic patterns of

child rearing, i.e., where the mother does the work but the father makes the decisions*.

Although the most emotionally integrated families in both categorisations are those with joint (syncratic) roles—where husbands help in housekeeping and child-rearing tasks and are also highly involved, if not dominant, in decisionmaking in both areas—the least integrated families are clearly those where the wife is completely autonomous in her housekeeping but where the husband has autocratic control in child-rearing decisions though not helpful with child-rearing tasks.

Exactly the same pattern of results is reproduced when we related these family interaction categories to the independent "reference group" variables —i.e., both spouses in families with wife-autonomous household roles, but with husband-autocratic child-rearing roles, had by far the lowest level of education; were the least likely to have left the home community; and, if wives had worked outside farming, they were least likely to have worked in non-manual occupations; were the least likely to be involved in mass media channels, and were the most likely to have the lowest incomes, etc. On all of these variables the most "modern" category in each case was the joint-syncratic family type. Surprisingly, those families where husbands had high decision-making involvement in household matters but with low actual participation in household—i.e., "Husband autocratic"—were almost equally as "modern" in terms of these "reference group" variables as the stereotypical joint spousal category—i.e., the pattern which appears to be the most traditional pattern of interaction in child rearing, appears to be one of the most "modern" in housekeeping. Again this result buttresses the earlier assertion that the sex typing of house-keeping tasks is much more pronounced than in child rearing, so that husband's involvement in household decision-making seems to be an acceptable substitute where he cannot yet bring himself to help with actual house-keeping tasks.

A second, and equally important point about these findings is that the relationships between the independent variable (Social-Emotional Integration) and the two dependent variables taken jointly is not linear. It is a particular combination of the values of both variables taken jointly that isolate the most integrated and the least integrated families, and these values are not necessarily collinear. For example, up to this point we have attempted to explain each of the interaction variables individually, e.g., the increasing extent of husbands' participation in household tasks, and the decreasing level of husband dominance of decisions. The results above, however, show clearly that low husband participation in house-keeping tasks can have different consequences for family integration depending on whether hus-

*Herbst, *op. cit.*, found that the highest levels of tension occurred in husband autocratic families; i.e., with a clearly differentiated division of labour but with husband control of decisions; the next highest in families with an autonomous role system—i.e., where husbands and wives have highly differentiated but autonomous roles; and the lowest in "syncratic" or completely joint roles.

bands participate in decisions or not. Where he only participates in decisions families appear to be more integrated, not less. Here we appear to be dealing with wives who have very traditional sex-role expectations but who value their husbands' interest and involvement in house-keeping decisions. On the other hand, the exact opposite seems to be the case for child-rearing activities. The least integrated families are those where husbands do not help with child rearing but still dominate decisions about child rearing. Over both sets of variables, therefore, the least integrated families are those with autonomous housewifely roles but with husband autocratic child-rearing roles. Therefore, much of the variance in any single family interaction variable—division of labour, social-emotional, or decision-making is explainable only by its contingent relationships to the other family interaction variables and not by any direct relationships to a set of exogenous independent variables. In the following chapter we explore these endogenous interrelationships in great detail. And, in Chapter 6, we use a much more complex method of categorising family interaction types—by Cluster Analysis—to examine these more complex interrelationships in more detail and with more sophistication than in this introductory discussion.

Conclusion

In the course of this chapter we have endeavoured to pinpoint some of the normative and situational factors which affect the participation of husbands and wives in their task, social-emotional, and decision-making roles within the family. Certain variables were used consistently as indicators. At a normative level variables were chosen which would either expose the individual families to, or protect them from, external reference group influences—e.g., level of education, migration and work experience outside their home community, formal organisation membership, high participation in mass media, greater involvement in the market economy etc. These should expose the individual to more prestigeful reference groups with meaningful alternative ways of organising family roles. On the other hand, remoteness, low level of education, limited experience or contact outside the community, etc., should logically be conducive to the maintenance of traditional expectations.

The hypotheses were clearly confirmed. However, although increases in the individual's contacts and identification with societal communication networks were related to increases in husbands' participation in housekeeping and child-rearing roles, the correlations were generally rather low. We clearly demonstrated, however, that part of the reason for the low impact of reference group effects was the fact that ideational change, or ideational differences amongst respondents, was not being directly translated into actual behaviour. In this case reference groups' influences were, however, clearly influencing people's level of satisfaction with actual family roles. People's feelings about what they would like or what they think should be

done have obviously been highly influenced by such reference groups' effects and the fact that these expectations have not been translated into actual behaviour—usually husbands' behaviour—has clearly accounted for some of the low correlations actually found.

A second factor that intervened was that many purely situational factors—e.g., family cycle, number of children in household etc.—appear to be almost as equally important as expectations in influencing "who does what" in housekeeping and child-rearing tasks. What seems to underlie these purely situational influences is that they indicate considerable differences amongst families in the amount of work to be done and the sheer need to get it done as well as the availability of others to do that work. In brief our low correlations with reference groups' factors, therefore, appear to be accounted for by the fact that:

(a) The actual or reported role behaviour is not alone influenced by the reciprocal expectations of both husband and wife but also by the relative power of both in this social exchange, so that in many cases husbands are not responding to their wives' expectations in household and child-rearing roles. In both these areas it is the husband who must respond beyond his traditional role expectations.

(b) A whole series of situational constraints prevent or hamper the translation of even consensual expectations into actual behaviour. Where there are legitimate or fully accepted reasons why husbands cannot reciprocate, it does not appear to affect wives' satisfactions.

Following on from this line of investigation we then went on to categorise families in a more complex way, by classifying them simultaneously according to both their task allocation and decision-making patterns. This yielded four basic categories of families, from one where the household and child-rearing roles were primarily maternal and where the mother was almost completely autonomous in carrying out these roles, to one where both tasks and decisions were carried out jointly by both husbands and wives. The relationships observed between this more complex classification of family interaction types and the set of independent variables is clearly not linear nor simply additive. Much of the variance and a lot of the meaning of any single family interaction variable seems to depend more on the contingent relationships to the other family interaction variables and not to any direct effects of external modernising influences. In the following chapter we explore these reciprocal interrelationships amongst the family interaction variables in great detail. We show even more clearly why an attempt to explain any single variable in isolation cannot succeed to any much greater extent than we have done in this chapter.

Chapter 5

Mutual Helpfulness or Exchange in Task Roles between Spouses

AT the end of the previous chapter we indicated how different task role and authority patterns are interrelated in consistent ways to constitute clearly different family systems. And these different family structures have been shown to be consistently related to the kind of background and socialisation experiences both spouses have had, to their current communicational and participational patterns, and to the kinds of interpersonal feelings and emotionally supportive relationships within these families.

In this chapter we propose to continue with this kind of analysis and investigate the extent to which the reciprocal helpfulness of spouses is: (1) mutually contingent or interdependent; (2) is situationally determined, or (3) is related to spouses' feelings toward each other.

We can divide task roles in the farm family into those which are primarily those of the husband (the farm); those which are primarily those of the wife (the household and housekeeping); and those which are joint or, at least, demand some husband participation (the children). The following table summarises the individual correlations amongst these variables; and with authority and social emotional patterns in the family.

In regard to the basic role differentiation measures, only two, housekeeping and child rearing, are moderately correlated with each other and with social emotional leadership and integrative patterns within families. The more helpful the father is in housekeeping the more he tends to participate in child rearing also and the more emotionally integrated the family tends to be. On the other hand, the greater the wife's help on the farm the lesser the husband's involvement in resolving emotional problems within the family. There also appears to be no mutual or reciprocal exchange between husband and wife on farm and household or child-rearing tasks. This would appear to indicate that the wife's help on the farm is partly, at least, a response to the traditional expectations of the husband—indicated by his low emotional leadership score, and not in any way a reciprocal response to his household and child-rearing involvement. It is very revealing that none of these variables—D. Lab. or SEL or SEI*—has any significant correlation with the measures of power or authority in the family. They appear to be

*For the remainder of this chapter, Social Emotional Leadership and Social Emotional Integration will be referred to as SEL and SEI respectively, and division of labour as *D. Lab.* Family cycle will be referred to as FC.

two completely independent dimensions of family interaction. As later analysis shows, however, they have very significant interaction effects.

In the following tables we explore the relationship between the wife's helpfulness on the farm, the husband's helpfulness with the housework and child rearing, by varying levels of SEL and SEI and under different situational pressures. As we have already seen D. Lab. (Farm), is correlated only with SEL and not with husband's participation in household or child-rearing tasks. There appears to be no direct reciprocity involved. But when we control for SEL or SEI a much clearer and very obvious set of reciprocal exchanges exist between both spouses, but varying greatly by level of SEL and SEI. There is, therefore, very clear interaction in the data. In the following tables we attempt to explicate these relationships further.

Reciprocity or Mutual Helpfulness in Husband's and Wife's Roles at Varying Social-emotional levels, and at Varying Levels of Need in Farm Families

As we have seen, there appears to be no direct relationship between the extent of husband's helpfulness in housekeeping or child-rearing tasks and wife's helpfulness on farm (r = .02, and −.07 respectively). However, all three variables are significantly related to both social-emotional variables—the housekeeping and child-rearing scales positively, and the D. Lab. (Farm) scale negatively. The higher the degree of emotional integration within families the greater the husbands' participation in housekeeping and child-rearing tasks but the lesser the extent of wives' help on farm tasks.

Irrespective of the emotional-integrative aspect of family interaction, another variable—family cycle—is also bound to have clear effects on task-roles in the family. At the early stage of the family cycle, when all children are less than five years old or are still too young to be of much help in the household or on the farm, the absolute need for mutual helpfulness is at a maximum. With only one unit of male farm labour and one of female household labour and with maximum child dependency in the family—to be supported economically, to be cooked for, cleaned and generally looked after—one would expect at this stage of the family cycle a maximum level of mutual helpfulness in spousal roles the husband helping out the wife with her housekeeping and child-rearing tasks, and the wife helping the husband with his farm tasks etc. In fact, as the correlations in Table 1 clearly show this is only true for wife's participation in farm tasks. The husband's participation in housekeeping or child-rearing roles is not directly related to variations in family cycle position. However, if we control for stage of family cycle and SEL simultaneously there appears to be a very clear relationship between SEL and husband's participation in housekeeping and child-rearing tasks *but only* at the middle to later stages of the family cycle. Table 2 provides the results.

Table 1: *Pearsonian product moment correlations amongst 9 variables measuring intrafamilial interaction*

	(1) *Div. of labour in household*	(2) *Div. of labour in child rearing*	(3) *Div. of labour on farm*	(4) *(SEL) Social emotional leadership*	(5) *(SEI) Social emotional integration*	(6) *General power scale extent of paternal dominance*	(7) *Power (household), extent of paternal involvement*	(8) *Power (child rearing), extent of paternal involvement*	(9) *Power (farm), extent of paternal dominance*
1	—	.23*	−.04	.12*	.12*	.01	.00	.00	.00
2	—	—	−.07	.26*	.24*	.10*	.03	−.05	.05
3	—	—	—	−.13*	−.05	−.03	.07	.14	.09
4	—	—	—	—	.01	−.06	−.10*	.00	−.08
5	—	—	—	—	—	.12*	.16*	.08	−.06
6	—	—	—	—	—	—	.55*	.31*	.61*
7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.27*	.33*
8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.23*
9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Family cycle	+.02	−.10*	−.20*	−.20*	−.21*	−.11*	−.18*	−.15*	.01
Jointness in decision making	+.00	+.06	.01	.10*	−.06	−.40*	−.37*	−.27*	−.19*

*Correlations at .10 are significant at the .05 level, 2 tailed.

Table 2: *Percentage of husbands with high levels of participation in household tasks (i.e., scores 5) by 3 levels of family cycle and by 3 levels of SEL.*

(1) *Social emotional leadership*	(2) *Stage of family cycle*			
	Early	*Mid.*	*Late*	
	Percentage of husbands with high levels of participation in housekeeping tasks (3) (i.e. "scores" of 5 or more)+			*Correlation of* FC x D. Lab. (Ho.); *controlling for SEL*
	(a_1)	(a_2)	(a_3)	
(b_1) Low (1 + 2)	35 (20)	17 (12)	19 (53)	r = −.13, n = 85
(b_2) Medium (3 + 4)	24 (75)	32 (28)	35 (40)	r = +.11, n = 143
(b_3) High (5-7)	30 (67)	58 (31)	30 (50)	r = +.10, n = 148
Correlation of *SEI* x *D. Lab. (Ho.);* Controlling for FC	r = −.05 n = 162	r = .39** n = 71	r = .16** n = 143	r = .12** 13 / r = .02 23

Notes: The Guttman SEL and Div. of Labour, Child-Rearing scales were used for all tables in Chapter 5. The Likert scales were run with the same variables, and it was found that the patterns of interaction did not differ significantly from where Guttman Scales had been used. For computational reasons, therefore, it was decided we should use the Guttman Scales.

+For the total sample 30% of husbands had scores of *5 or 6.*

**Significant at .05 level.

At low levels of SEL the later the stage of the family cycle the lower the level of husbands' household helpfulness ($r = -13$). At medium to high levels of SEL the exact opposite appears to be the case (r = +.10 etc.). When husbands play a minimal role in the social emotional life of the family they appear to reduce their household helpfulness as soon as their children become old enough to take over their tasks. It is not indeed that they are ever very helpful. Even at the earliest stage of the FC with all their children under five years, the proportion of husbands helpful in the household is only slightly greater than that of the total sample.

The fact that husbands with low SEL characteristics are only "normally" (in the statistical sense) helpful to their wives at the earliest stages of the family cycle is clearly indicated by the fact that there is no correlation between variation in SEL and D. Lab. (Ho.) at the early stages of the cycle. One interpretation of these figures would suggest that "emotionally distant" fathers participate in the household only when they have to, and reduce that participation as soon as their children are old enough to take over their

household tasks. It is obvious from any careful examination of the figures summarised in Table 2 that the only two cells which have clearly different figures from others are those of b_1a_2 and b_1a_3.

All other cells are remarkably similar. In fact the differences in the figures between these two cells and others account for most of the variance in the table. It appears therefore, that, except for low SEL fathers at the later stages of the family cycle, all other fathers have rather similar levels of household helpfulness. These rather exceptional husbands appear remarkably unhelpful to their wives. Husbands with medium to high leadership scores have a slight tendency to *increase* their household participation with progress through the family cycle. This may be partly a compensation for the declining importance of either grandmother's help as the family ages.

Child-rearing Tasks

Somewhat similar conclusions hold in the case of fathers' helpfulness in child rearing as the results in Table 3 below clearly indicate.

Table 3: *Percentage of husbands with high levels of participation in child-rearing tasks by 3 levels of family cycle and 3 levels of SEL*

(1) *Social emotional leadership*	(2) *Stage of family cycle*			
	Early	*Middle*	*Late*	
	(3) *Percentage of husbands with high levels of participation in child-rearing tasks+*			*Correlation of FC x D. Lab. Chi., controlling for SEL++*
Low (1 + 2)	20% (20)	33% (12)	30% (53)	r = +.06, n = 85
Medium (3 + 4)	54% (74)	50% (28)	41% (39)	r = −.12, n = 141
High (5 +)	45% (60)	71% (31)	47% (50)	r = −.01, n = 141
Correlations of SEL x D. Lab. Chi., controlling for FC++	r = +.07 n = 154	r = +30* n = 71	r = +.15* n = 142	r = +.26* 13 / r = +.05 23

+'High' equals a score of five or greater. This again is the Guttman Scale, 41% of all families had a score of 5 or greater.

++Numbers of families in each cell at different levels of SEL and FC vary slightly from table to table due to varying numbers of non response, etc. on the third variable.

*Correlations significant at 5% level.

In this case, husbands' helpfulness in child-rearing tasks does not vary significantly by FC, at any level of leadership. Although his participation in child-rearing tasks is, as in housekeeping tasks, much lower at low emotional leadership level this does not vary by stage of the family cycle. Even when he is emotionally "alienated" from the family he increases his participation to "normal" or average levels of housekeeping, when he is most needed; but he clearly does not do so in child-rearing tasks. The emotional role of the father is much more closely related to his child-rearing than his housekeeping roles. Controlling for emotional leadership leaves no consistent relationship between child-rearing participation and family cycle. When the father plays a more emotionally active role within the family he becomes much more highly involved in child-rearing tasks, irrespective of the "need" of his help—i.e., at the later stages of the family cycle when there are other older children present in the family who could take his place. Participation in child-rearing tasks, therefore, appears highly related to the father's social-emotional involvement with the family and, to a large extent, is independent of his "need" to help. His helpfulness in this area appears responsive only to emotional "pressures" and not to any circumstantial "needs".

In summarising the husband's helpfulness with household and child-rearing tasks, therefore, it appears that even when he is emotionally alienated from the family he does increase his household participation when his help is badly needed. But even in this case, where there would appear to be an equal need to help with child-rearing tasks, he does not do so. In fact, if he is emotionally alienated from the family he appears to be extremely unhelpful with child-rearing tasks, irrespective of the demands involved. If he is even moderately emotionally active within the family, however, only a small minority of fathers remain unhelpful, irrespective of the stage of the family cycle and of the apparent need to help out his wife.

Farm Work Roles

The wife's participation in farm task roles is rather similar in task characteristics to the husband's participation in housekeeping tasks. They are both concerned primarily with the manipulation of physical or non-social objects and not with people, as in child-rearing tasks. Does her participation in farm tasks, therefore, have the same characteristics? The following table shows the results.

The results, at first glance, appear somewhat different to those of Table 2. However, if we examine the partial correlations of FC x D. Lab. (Farm), and controlling for SEL, we get almost exactly complementary trends to those in Table 2. There is, in fact, a moderately high correlation between FC and D. Lab. (Farm), for those with low SEL scores. In both tables the earlier the stage of the family cycle the greater the participation of the wife in farm tasks, and husband in household tasks. But, unlike the husbands' participation in housekeeping tasks, the highest level of wives' participation in farm tasks occurs here, at the earliest stage of the family cycle. In this

Table 4: *Percentage of wives with high* levels of participation in farm tasks by 3 stages of the FC and 3 levels of SEL*

Social emotional leadership (1)	*Stage of family cycle* (2)			
	Early	*Middle*	*Late*	*Correlation between DL (Farm) x FC controlling for SEL*
	Percentage of wives with high participation on farm tasks+ (3)			
Low (1 + 2)	56% (16)	23% (13)	25% (44)	r = −.31* n = 73
Medium (3 + 4)	37% (59)	42% (26)	45% (33)	r = +.15** n = 118
High (5 +)	28% (64)	43% (30)	34% (41)	r = +.09 n = 135
Correlation between DL (Farm) and SEL, controlling for FC	r = −.23* n = 139	r = +.04 n = 69	r = .00 n = 118	$r_{23} = -20^*$ $r_{13} = -13^*$

+High equals a score of 5 or greater: 33% of wives had scores of 5 or greater.

*Correlations significant at the .05 level, 2 tailed.

**Correlations significant at the .10 level, 2 tailed.

particular case where husbands had statistically "normal" housekeeping participation scores and subsequently, as the children grew older, reduced their participation to extremely low levels; wives had extremely high farm task participation scores and subsequently reduced participation to "normal" levels. In fact, as a careful examination of this table clearly shows almost all the variance in the table is accounted for by the extremely high level of participation of wives in farm tasks at low SEL and early FC stage.

At the early stage of the family cycle, therefore, when there are many young dependents in the family and there are no other family helpers, a very high proportion of wives help their husbands with farm work, especially in cases where husbands are *not* very emotionally supportive. However, when children get old enough to help, the majority of these wives reduce their farm role to a minimum. In the exactly analogous situation the proportion of husbands who are equally helpful to their wives in housekeeping is no more than the average for the total sample at the earliest stage of the FC, but this "average" is quickly reduced to an abnormally low rate of helpfulness, as soon as the children get older. (Compare the first column of figures in Tables 2 and 4). There appears, therefore, to be a considerable lack of reciprocity here, where the spousal and parental emotional climate is rather cool, with the wives' helpfulness in farm tasks not being equally reciprocated by husbands' help in household.

A number of factors could explain this lack of reciprocity. First the power differences between husbands and wives. Here husbands with low SEL characteristics, at the early stages of the family cycle might be expected to have more power or authority. They could, therefore, ensure that their wives help out more on the farm than they themselves do in the household, in situations where they are both short-handed. A later result rules this possibility out, however (see Table 10). Secondly, a clearer sex typing of household than farm tasks would make it far more "difficult" for men than women to display an excessively high participation in what are regarded as one's spouse's legitimate roles. This would be most obvious where expectations are very traditional; i.e., if low SEL levels can be taken as indicative of traditional norms. Both of these possibilities will be checked out later on. A second factor deserves more immediate attention. This is the variation in housekeeping and farm task participation by stage of family cycle.

The Causes of Variation by Stage of Family Cycle

The family cycle, as measured here, refers to the number and relative ages of children in the family and to the particular roles played by parents and growing children in the family, as well as the presence of grandparents in the household. The first stage is that where all children are under four years of age. The second refers to an older stage where children are up to 12/13 years old but are still at primary school. And the third stage refers to those families where most children are older than this, but where some of them are still at post primary schools.

The first obvious variable of importance here that might affect both the husbands' and wives' task roles is the extent of dependency of the children—i.e., the extent to which actual work done in household and child-rearing tasks etc., is work created by the dependency of the children themselves. When they are very young (up to, say, seven years of age), a considerable proportion of the household task load—i.e., food preparation, cleaning the house, washing and ironing clothes, getting children up and dressed for school and ready for bed in the evening etc., is accounted for by this child dependency. Usually, unless the wife's mother or mother-in-law is resident, the wife and husband are the only persons who are available to do these tasks. Work requirements per adult in the family are at a maximum in the household and around the farm yard at this stage of the family cycle. Studies which have related farm productivity to stage of family cycle have clearly shown that labour productivity and output *per worker* is at a maximum at this stage (33, pp. 18-19; 45, p. 107). The actual work demands on both husband and wife, in the household and in the farmyard are, therefore, at a maximum at this stage.*

*One study, quoted by Blood and Wolfe (*op. cit.*, p. 43) found that a wife's housework increases from 50 to 94 hours a week with the arrival of the first child and then gradually tapers off as the child grows older.

As the children age, however, they begin to take up more and more household, farmyard and farm tasks. This allows the husband to withdraw from household tasks, if he wants to; and allows the wife to withdraw from the farm, if she wants to. Since, however (unless the children are of one sex only), it is likely that the growing children will be of relatively equal helpfulness to both spouses in their different task-roles, a person's own particular feelings about helping with one's spouse's task-roles may play a major role in deciding whether to remain "helpful" or to withdraw one's help and let the children take over. The fact that such a withdrawal of labour occurred only at low levels of SEL strongly suggests that such feelings play an important role here, and that it is not just a simple matter of labour requirements. Indeed in the husband's case, where he had high SEL scores, his level of participation in household tasks actually increases up to later stages of the family cycle; while his lowest rate of household participation occurred at the later stage of the family cycle with low SEL scores. The level of demand for his help and his degree of social-emotional involvement in the family, therefore, are two of the main variables that directly mediate his household participation. If his emotional involvement in the family is low he reduces his household participation as fast as he can; and if high, he increases this participation as soon as he can.

This interpretation is in line with the findings of the senior author in a previous study that family obligations (i.e., where children worked at household and farm tasks and felt that the family depended a great deal on their help) are very deeply institutionalised such that the older sons and daughters develop a strong sense of obligation to the family to help on the farm or in the household as they grow up (45, p. 184). It is reasonable to suggest that these obligations might be more keenly felt in those households where the father has a low SEL score and has withdrawn from household tasks. On the other hand, at the later stages of the FC where the father has high SEL scores and has other help on the farm, he is obviously prepared to increase his household participation as the older children move out.

This conclusion, however, assumes that the stage of family cycle does actually indicate the level of available labour in the family. There are a number of other sources of labour available for household and farm tasks, besides that of growing children. The presence and number of other adults in the household—parents or siblings of either spouse, for instance—was also recorded, and is controlled for in the following table. This examines the relationship between social-emotional leadership, family cycle, and husbands' housekeeping participation, in those families where there are no grandmothers or other adult female relatives in the family. The results here almost exactly reproduce those of Table 2 and very clearly support the interpretation given there.

In conclusion, therefore, the tables presented so far show very clear patterns of exchange or reciprocity in task roles within the family. They also

Table 5: *For those families without any grandmothers living in the household, the percentage of husbands with high levels of participation in housekeeping tasks at three stages of the FC and three levels of SEL*

Social emotional leadership (1)	*Stage of family cycle* (2)			*Correlation between SFC and DL (household) controlling for SEL*
	Early	*Middle*	*Late*	
	Percentage of husbands with high participation in household (3)			
Low	36% (11)	22% (9)	21% (48)	r = –.16, N = 68
Medium	18% (44)	34% (18)	48% (31)	r = +.21**, N = 93
High	36% (22)	59% (22)	37% (41)	r = +.04, N = 85
Correlation between SEL and DL (household controlling for SFC)	r = –.04 n = 77	r = +.19 n = 49	r = +.25* n = 120	$r_{23} = .02$ $r_{13} = .12$*

*Significant at .01 level

**Significant at .05 level

indicate clearly that the extent of mutual helpfulness and exchange between husband and wife, in what was traditionally defined as specifically male or female task-roles, is very clearly mediated by:

(1) the actual need for such help, which is primarily situationally determined;

(2) the degree of social-emotional leadership exercised by both spouses within the family; and

(3) deeply institutionalised normative factors which appear to set limits to the extent of husband's helpfulness, especially in housekeeping roles.

The overall impression created suggests that the division of labour in families is more likely to be based on the quality of interpersonal relationships and on situational variables, than on very widely accepted sets of prescriptive norms. The latter seem only to set rather wide ranges within which interpersonal and situational factors determine the actual outcome. Nevertheless, there does appear to be a very definite and rather rigid set of such cultural prescriptions operating. In the following section, however, we explore in more detail the extent to which variations in levels of emotional-integration in the family influences spousal reciprocity, and return to this question of normative constraints later.

Social Emotional Integration and Reciprocity in Family Roles

We used a 5 item Guttman Scale to measure this variable. Families were allocated to scale types on the basis of the extent of mutually supportive behaviour present in the family. Where husbands are supportive of their wives in tension situations, where they give spontaneous unsolicited help in tasks wives dislike, where husbands and wives have high empathy with one another's feelings and goals etc., where husbands help with child-rearing tasks in a joint arrangement with their wives, and where fathers are interested and participate in the children's activities, etc., families are coded as highly integrated emotionally. Where none of these interpersonally supportive characteristics are present families are defined as very poorly integrated. Most families fall between these extremes.

At the end of Chapter 4 we indicated the importance of emotional integration in relation to task-role and decision-making patterns. We found this variable to be very discriminating, especially where we compared families of high and low levels of emotional integration. In the following tables we examine the interaction between SEL, SEI and participation of the father in household tasks. The tables have been set up in the same way as in the previous section but we have substituted SEI for FC.

Table 6: *Percentage of husbands with high+ levels of participation in household by three levels of SEL and SEI*

(1) *Social-emotional leadership (Father level of participation)*	(2) *Social-emotional integration*			*Correlation between SEI and (DL household) controlling for SEL*	
	Low (1 + 2)	*Medium (3 + 4)*	*High (5, 6 + 7)*		
	Percentage high husband participation in household (3)+				
	N	N	N		
Low (1 + 2)	14% (22)	26% (43)	43% (7)	r = +.23*	N = 72
Medium (3 + 4)	25% (12)	32% (43)	34% (73)	r = +.06	N = 128
High (5 +)	38% (13)	50% (58)	46% (48)	r = +.11	N = 119
Correlation between SEL and DL (household), controlling for SEI	(n.s.) N = 47	(n.s.) N = 144	(n.s.) N = 128	r_{13} = +.12* 336	r_{23} = +.12*

+High equals a score of 5 or greater.

*Significant at the .05 level, 2 tailed.

Controlling for SEI there is no correlation between SEL by DL in household. But there remains some significant correlations between SEI and DL in household, controlling for SEL, i.e., SEI is by far the most important variable. The more integrated and mutually supportive the different family members are the more does the husband help with housekeeping. At high levels of SEI almost all husbands (90%) do some housework. At low levels of SEI about fifty per cent of the husbands do none at all.

Using the same control variables but substituting DL (Farm) or DL (household), gives us almost exactly the same results. Controlling for social-emotional integration leaves no significant relationships between the emotional leadership role of the husband and his wife's farm-task participation, while the relationship between level of family integration and farm task participation becomes statistically significant but negative. The higher the level of familial integration the lower the participation of the wife on the farm. As in previous cases the wife's farm role seems to indicate both traditionality of expectations but also poorer emotional integration within families. In the following table the relationship between the father's child-rearing role, SEL and SEI is examined.

Table 7: *Percentage of husbands with high levels of participation in child-rearing tasks by three levels of SEI and SEL*

(1) *Social emotional leadership*	(2) *Social emotional integration**			*Correlation between SEI husbands participation in child-rearing, controlling for SEL*
	Low (1 + 2)	*Medium (3 + 4)*	*High (5 +)*	
	(3) *Percentage of husbands with high levels of participation in child-rearing tasks (5+)*			
	N	N	N	
Low (1 + 2)	17% (23)	20% (44)	60% (10)	r = +.26* N = 77
Medium (3 + 4)	27% (11)	40% (42)	49% (72)	r = +.21* N = 125
High (5 +)	44% (16)	42% (62)	42% (57)	r = +.19* N = 135
Correlation between SEL and DL child-rearing controlling for SEI	r = +.34* n = 50	r = +.21* n = 148	r = +.21* n = 139	r_{23} = .24* r_{13} = .26*

*Significant at the .05 level, 2 tailed.

+High equals a score of 5 or greater.

Here there is a moderately high correlation between SEL and DL (Chi.), at all levels of SEI. And there is also a consistently positive relationship between SEI and DL (Chi.), at all levels of SEL. In this case, therefore, there is no worthwhile difference in the discriminant ability of SEL or SEI. It is interesting that at all levels of integration where the father has a high level of

social-emotional leadership score he also tends to participate more highly in child rearing. This appears to be particularly true where the overall level of emotional integration in families is very low. The explanation which suggests itself in this case is that, for some reason, some mothers are unable to play the traditional supportive emotional role expected of them, hence the lower level of overall familial integration. As a result, in some cases, husbands have taken over the emotional leadership role, not only fulfilling an emotional-supportive role towards the children, but furthermore, playing a much more active role in child-rearing tasks. In these families there appears to be a complete reversal of the type of structure described by Arensberg and Kimball, where the family is poorly integrated emotionally, but the father, rather than the mother, is fulfilling the emotionally supportive role. This appears to hold for something between 10 and 15 per cent of all families. This appears to suggest that a strongly "psychological" set of variables are influencing family interaction in these cases.

With this latter exception, however, emotional integration appears to be by far the more discriminating variable and in the following section it is the main control variable employed.

Reciprocity in Family Roles at Different Levels of Social-Emotional Integration

The data so far presented very clearly demonstrate the importance of the social-emotional structure of the family. The extent of husbands' participation in inter-personal supportive and tension management functions, as well as the overall degree of emotional integration of the family have been very

Table 8: *Percentage distribution of wives with high levels of participation in farm tasks by participation of husband in housekeeping tasks, controlling for different levels of SEI*

Division of labour in housekeeping (1) *i.e., husbands' level of participation*	*Social-emotional integration* (2)			*Correlations between DL Farm x SEI, controlling for DL Ho.*
	Low (1 + 2)	*Medium (3 + 4)*	*High (5 + 7)*	
	Percentage wives with high participation on farm+ (3)			
Low (1 + 2)	39% (18)	20% (45)	25% (24)	r = –.08 N = 87
Medium (3 + 4)	27% (22)	39% (67)	32% (56)	r = +.08 N = 145
High (5 +)	38% (13)	59% (47)	38% (55)	r = –.15** N = 115
Correlation of DL (Ho.) x DL (farm), controlling for SEI	r = .00 N = 53	r = +.22* N = 159	r = +.09 N = 135	$r_{23} = 05$ $r_{13} = .02$

*Significant at the 5% level. **Significant at the 10% levels. +Score of 5+.

clearly shown to be extremely important intervening variables in understanding spousal reciprocity.

In this section we explore in more detail the degree of mutuality or reciprocity involved in spousal task roles. Tables 8, 9 and 10 summarise the reciprocal relationship between spouses in their respective housekeeping, farm and childrearing task roles, controlling for three different levels of social-emotional integration.

The results here show that at medium to high levels of SEI there is a rather moderate level of association between the extent of wives' participation on farm and husbands' participation in household. A certain reciprocal exchange of services seems to take place. The more the husband helps in the house, the more the wife helps on the farm. There is no recriprocity at all at low levels of SEI. In all cases the wives are most helpful to their husbands at low SEI, although husbands are less helpful and least likely to reciprocate at low integration levels. What about farm and child-rearing roles? The following table summarises these results.

Table 9: *Percentage distribution of wives with high levels of participation in farm tasks by percentage of husbands in child-rearing tasks, controlling for different levels of SEI*

DL child rearing (1)	*Social-emotional integration* (2)			*Correlation between social-emotional integration and wife's part on farm, controlling for husbands' participation in child rearing*
	Low	*Medium*	*High*	
	Percentage of wives with high participation on farm (3)			
Low (1 + 2)	26% (23)	35% (54)	52% (21)	r = +.14** N = 98
Medium (3 + 4)	44% (9)	46% (26)	44% (36)	r = .05 N = 71
High (5 +)	59% (17)	43% (67)	23% (70)	r = −.30* N = 154
Correlation between husbands' participation in child rearing and wives' participation on the farm, controlling for SEI	r = +.24** N = 49	r = .07 N = 147	r = −.27* N = 127	$r_{23} = -.05$ $r_{13} = -.07$

**Significant at 10 per cent level, 2 tailed. *Significant at 5 per cent level, 2 tailed.

At low levels of SEI the more the husband participates in child rearing the more the wife participates on farm. There appears to be a clearcut reciprocal exchange here. Indeed almost a switching of roles at high levels of husband participation in child rearing. For a small proportion of families here the wife appears to be the task leader, the husband the supportive leader. On the other hand, at high levels of SEI the exact opposite is the case, the more the husband participates in child rearing, the *less* the wife helps on farm. The sort of "role bargain" worked out in this kind of family is, therefore, of a completely different nature to that of low SEI families. Why? It may well

be, of course, that in these highly emotionally integrated families, such integration is in the majority of families—as above—a function of high husband participation, and in others, a minority, as above—of high wife participation and emotional involvement. It may be that where the husband does not participate in child rearing the wife makes it her business to help with the farm; and where he does she can safely withdraw from that role. The fact that there is a moderate positive correlation between DL (Farm) and SEI at low levels of the husband's participation in child rearing, and a completely reversed negative correlation at high levels of husband's participation supports this interpretation. Whatever the interpretation, the relationship here is highly complex. Because the sample size is too small it is not possible to explain it further by introducing other variables.

In conclusion, therefore, the extent of reciprocity in husband and wife task-roles in the family appears to be as highly dependent on their feelings towards, or mutual emotional support for, each other as on the stage of family cycle. It is not a straight role bargain, although it does approach this when such emotional integration is low. At high levels of emotional integration, however, it appears that spousal reciprocity in task-roles is absent, as in spousal exchanges of labour in housekeeping and farm-roles; or actually counter profitable for husband as in farm and child-rearing roles. The characteristics of the social-emotional relationships here becomes extremely important, therefore, and would need to be controlled when examining any relationships between the exogenous independent variables examined in the previous chapter and any of the family interaction variables. Variation in any one of the interaction factors appears so highly contingent on the values of other "dependent" endogenous variables that they can only safely be examined as a total system. Before proceeding to do this, however, there is one other variable, power, that needs to be examined in similar detail.

Family Power Characteristics and Reciprocity in Family Roles

The scale used to measure family power was a Likert Scale. This allocated families to ordinal categories of increasing paternal power on the basis of the degree of perceived control over decision-making within the family in *seven* specific and highly discriminatory decisions in household, farm, child rearing and financial areas. In each decision a score of *0* was given where the mother was perceived to make the final decision; *1* where the decision was joint and *2* where the father was perceived to be the final decision-maker. A score of 14 was therefore given to families in which the mother perceives the father as dominant in all seven areas. In fact, over a quarter of all families got a score of 12 to 14 indicating very high paternal dominance, but 83 per cent of wives gave their husbands a score of 8 or greater indicating a clear overall father dominant system: Only 17 per cent of families have scores of 7 or less which are clearly highly mother dominant families.

The extent of control over family decisionmaking exercised by the father—as measured by the four tables given in Table 12, Chapter 4, has no consistent relationship with any of the other family interaction measures employed (see Table 1 of this chapter). There is a slight negative relationship to SEL but hardly sufficient to confirm the Bales and Slater hypothesis of a negative association between paternal dominance of decisions and paternal involvement in emotional and tension management functions in the family (6, 101). The relationships between these two dimensions of family interaction is far more complex than a simple two-way cross classification can resolve. There is, on the other hand, a moderate positive correlation between "general power", "household power" and SEI, i.e., the greater decision control exercised by the father, especially in household and financial matters, the more emotionally integrated the family becomes. This is probably accounted for by the fact that, as seen at the end of the last chapter (Table 15), the emotional integration of the family is negatively related to the degree of autonomy of household and child rearing roles. High husband involvement in these decision areas, when associated with actual helpfulness, indicates a joint system of roles rather than actual husband dominance in decisions.

We have already seen that spousal reciprocity in family roles is highly contingent on social-emotional and circumstantial factors. To what extent is it equally influenced by power or authority differences? The following section explores this question in detail. To simplify matters we used "General Power" scale as an overall measure of the extent of father dominance in decision making (see Table 10, Chapter 2, for details of these scales).

A series of tables which controlled for family cycle and related the family power characteristics to D. Lab. (Ho.), D. Lab. (Farm), and D. Lab. (Chi.), showed no consistent correlation between power and the division of labour in the family.* The increasing participation of the husband in household and child-rearing tasks is not related to his extent of dominance of decision making in these areas; nor is the wife's participation in farm tasks related to her participation in farm decisions. These appear to be relatively independent dimensions of family life. And this holds for all stages of the family cycle. However, the power scale used measures only the extent of father dominance in these decisions, not the kind or nature of the decision-making process. We constructed one further measure of these latter characteristics of family decision making—the extent of joint spousal consultation involved. Again, however, controlling for family cycle, and looking at the same variables as above, no clearly consistent pattern emerged.

What emerges at this stage, therefore, is that there is apparently no direct correlation between both spouses' reciprocal participation in family tasks

*See Appendix III, Tables 5.1 to 5.4.

and their participation in decisions. Both dimensions appear to be relatively independent of each other. Unlike family cycle and SEI, the decision-making characteristics of the family do not appear to influence reciprocity. However, if we also control for the emotional-intergrative characteristics of family interaction some interesting patterns emerge. Here the decision-making and social-emotional characteristics of the family appear to interact with each other, as in some previous cases, to influence spousal reciprocity.

Controlling for SEI there is no consistent relationship between family power and D. Lab. (Ho.) or D. Lab. (Chi.).* The correlations between SEI and D. Lab. (Ho.), and D. Lab. (Chi.), remained relatively stable for all levels of power, i.e., there appeared to be no significant interaction in the data. However, this situation did not hold for the wife's participation on the farm, as the following table shows.

Table 10: *Percentage distribution of wives with high participation on the farm by three levels of power*

Husbands' power (1)	*Social-emotional integration* (2)			*Correlation between SEI and DL (farm), controlling for power*	
	Low (1 + 2)	*Medium (3 + 4)*	*High (5 +)*		
	Percentage of wives with high participation on farm+ (3)				
	N	N	N		
Low (0-8)	52% (17)	33% (51)	30% (33)	r = .01	N = 101
Medium (9-11)	33% (24)	48% (60)	30% (62)	r = −22*	N = 146
High (12 +)	8% (13)	44% (38)	30% (40)	r = −01	N = 91
Correlation between power and DL (farm) controlling for SEI	r = −.37* (N = 54)	r = .11 (N = 149)	r = 05 (N = 135)	$r_{23} = -.05$ $r_{13} = -.03$	

*Significant at the .05 level.

+High equals a score of 5+.

The correlations in the table above indicate that at low levels of integration the lower the power of the father the higher the participation of the wife on the farm; i.e., high paternal dominance is usually accompanied by low participation of the wife on the farm. This position is reversed at medium levels of integration where the higher the power of the father the higher the participation of the wife on the farm. This finding is in line with a previous interpretation of the data in Table 4 which sought to explain

*Appendix Tables 5.5 and 5.6.

why the wife's help on the farm is so abnormally high at early SFC and low SEL. The higher power of the husband in traditional families could possibly have explained it. But it is very obvious in this case that the greater the power of the husband the less the wife helps on the farm; or, alternatively the greater the influence of the wife on decisions the more she helps on the farm.

Finally, when we relate family power to SEL, controlling for SEI some very consistent inter-relationships emerge as the following table shows. Since there are no overall correlations between SEL and power these data are highly significant.

Table 11: *Percentage distribution of fathers with high SEI scores by three levels of SEI and three levels of power*

Husbands' power (1)	*Social-emotional integration* (2)			*Correlation between SEI/SEL, controlling for power*
	Low (1+2)	*Medium (3+4)*	*High (5+)*	
	Percentage husbands with high score on SEL (3)			
	N	N	N	
Low (0-8)	18% (17)	48% (48)	53% (30)	$r_{23} = .29^*$, N = 95
Medium (9-11)	48% (21)	41% (61)	40% (62)	$r_{23} = -.10$, N = 144
High (12+)	30% (10)	42% (60)	28% (40)	$r_{23} = .00$, N = 110
Correlation between SEL and power controlling for SEI	$r_{13} = +.17$ N = 48	$r_{13} = -.07$ N = 169	$r_{13} = -.14^{**}$ N = 132	$r_{23} = .01$ / $r_{13} = -.06$

*Significant at the .05 level. **Significant at the .10 level.

Only at high levels of SEI is there a consistent negative relationship between father dominance of decision making and his Leadership role in social-emotional behaviour. At low SEI there is a consistent, though statistically insignificant, positive correlation between power and SEL; the greater the power of the father the more involved he becomes in SEL. This result is in direct contradiction of that hypothesised by Zelditch (101 and 58) who proposed that these two dimensions of family relationships are inversely related. He hypothesised that in the 'normal' nuclear family consisting of a male adult, his spouse, and their children, the male will play the role of a task or instrumental leader and the female the role of expressive leader, and that the greater the extent of authority enjoyed by the male the greater the tendency of the female to be the expressive leader. In this case, however, where the overall mutual emotional supportiveness of family members is low, the father's emotional leadership and authority

positions are partly correlated. Indeed, even in this case, those families with low husband leadership and power are the least emotionally integrated of all families, i.e., where the father is both weak in authority and low in emotional supportiveness families appear to have the lowest level of emotional integration of all. On the other hand, it appears that even where he has a low emotional but a high authority position in the family the level of emotional integration is higher than average. In other words, his authority and his emotional leadership role appear to be relatively substitutable in regard to maintaining a high level of emotional supportiveness in families. The least emotionally integrated families are those where the mother dominates both areas; i.e., low SEL and low paternal authority; or where the father dominates both areas, i.e., with a very weak maternal emotional leadership role and a very high paternal authority role. The relationship between these variables is very much more complex than suggested by Zelditch.

It is very clear also from the data in Table 11 that at low levels of paternal power there is a significant and clear positive correlation between SEL and SEI, despite their being no overall correlation. This would suggest that where family decision making is dominated by the mother or is primarily mother dominant but of a joint spousal nature, family integration and the father's emotional leadership roles are mutually contingent. At medium to high levels of paternal dominance the opposite tends to be the case, although the trend here is not nearly as consistent.

In conclusion, therefore, the power or decision-making characteristics of families does not appear to act as an intervening variable which influences the degree of spousal reciprocity in the same way as SFC or SEI. However, there still remains very clear interaction effects between Power and SEL and SEI. Relationships are clearly not linear nor additive. The relationship between any two of these variables is clearly contingent on the values of the third.

Conclusions

In Chapter 4 we examined the relationships between each of the individual variables used to measure family interaction characteristics and the hypothesised set of influencing variables. Although most of the hypotheses were supported, the actual strength of the relationships was generally rather low. A number of reasons were isolated, which partly accounted for this.

The first reason was that the hypothesised reference group effects could only directly influence expectations or values, and these are not necessarily translated into behaviour; especially into such complex interactional behaviour as that between spouses and between parents and children. We found this to be clearly the case. Reference group differences were as efficient in explaining degrees of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with one's spouse's actual performance as they were with explaining that performance itself.

The second reason for the low correlations found was that a set of situational factors—i.e., family cycle, number of children, etc., accounted for almost as much of the variance as did reference group factors. This was especially the case for the division of labour in household and child rearing, where the amount of work to be done, and the sheer need to get it done, varies considerably over the life cycle of the family and influences the mutual spousal helpfulness irrespective of expectations or feelings.

A third, and even more important reason, however, why these correlations were low was the finding that all of the family interaction variables appeared to be mutually dependent on one another and that their individual relationship with extraneous variables was partly dependent on this mutuality. The initial implicit assumption of simple linear additive relationships was, therefore, clearly false. Relationships amongst the dependent variables appeared to be almost as important as those with the independent variables. The task of Chapter 5 was to try and unravel these inter-relationships.

Chapter 5, therefore, has concentrated primarily on the interaction between task role variables, i.e., the degree of reciprocity or mutual helpfulness that was occurring between spouses at varying stages of the family cycle, at different levels of emotional integration and different levels of paternal authority. The most striking feature of the results was the very high degree of interaction which is occurring between these variables.

The first part of the chapter dealt with husbands' participation in housekeeping and child rearing at different levels of emotional leadership, and at three different stages of the family cycle. What emerged from this line of investigation was that the husband's helpfulness with household and child-rearing tasks was clearly contingent on the stage of the family cycle and on his emotional involvement in family activities. In child rearing it was particularly noticeable that where he was emotionally alienated from the family he displayed minimal helpfulness. A similar set of contingent influences appeared characteristic of the wife's participation on the farm. It was also found, however, that such situational variables as the stage of family cycle influenced husband's participation in household tasks regardless of his emotional involvement.

Using the same variables, but substituting Social Emotional Integration (SEI), for stage of family cycle, it was shown that SEI was equally discriminatory, in that at different levels of integration there were clear differences in the degree of reciprocity or mutual helpfulness between spouses.

Controlling for levels of SEI within the family unit, and relating differences in decision-making patterns in families to their division of labour characteristics, showed almost no consistent effects, except in the case of wives' participation on the farm (Table 10). Here, a relatively high negative correlation appeared at low levels of SEI: the lower the dominance of the husband, the higher the participation of the wife on the farm. This relationship disappeared at high levels of integration, however. The power dimen-

sion, therefore, does not appear to play a comparable role to emotional and situational factors in influencing reciprocity. It may well be that other factors may be intervening which obscure these relationships. It was, however, clear that the distribution of power in the family was influencing its level of social-emotional integration. The least emotionally integrated families were those where the mother dominated both emotional and decision-making functions.

It is very clear, therefore, from the results presented in Chapter 5, that a simple additive model of the data, such as was initially assumed in Chapter 4, cannot represent the relationships involved. It appears that certain configurations of variables (such as a clearly segregated division of labour when associated with an autonomous decision-making pattern within the family, and combined with a particular social-emotional structure) hang together in clearly distinguishable patterns and have effects which are clearly interactive. Examining each of these variables in isolation ignores its contingent association with other interaction variables. The main reason for some of the low correlations in Chapter 4 appears to be that we ignored this fact.

In the next chapter we use a method of cluster analysis to separate out types of families which are distinguishable on the basis of their configuration or pattern of scores across 10 family interaction variables: 3 division of labour scales, 5 decision-making scales and 2 social-emotional scales. The method extracts 7 different types of families which are clearly distinguishable from one another. Some have patterns which are very similar to those observed to be characteristic of the traditional peasant family. Others have configurations which approximate those of the urban middle-class model. As a first approximation, this method of analysis allows us to simultaneously examine the effects of a number of variables acting together. In sociological research interaction amongst variables has usually been considered only amongst independent variables. In this particular case, Cluster Analysis, which pulls out a number of relatively homogeneous sub-categories of families with similar patterns of scores across these ten variables and with statistically distinguishable differences from other sub-categories, appears to be the only suitable technique for which operating computer programmes exist in Ireland. It yields subject clusters, or idealised subject types, which are determined both by the degree of co-variance of the subjects' scores across the 10 variables, as well as by the "distance" or closeness of these similar patterns of scores from each other. The latter "correction" is included to correct for situations when two patterns of scores, such as 3, 2, 1, 4, 3, 7, etc. and 7, 6, 5, 8, 7, 11, etc. have a correlation of 1.00 but have an average scale "distance" of 4 units between them, i.e., although highly correlated patterns, they are clearly qualitatively different.

Chapter 6

Categorising Families by Cluster Analysis

THE principle of Cluster Analysis is to segregate a population, having many different and varying characteristics, into discrete and relatively homogeneous classes of individuals (31). This is done by assigning individuals who are most similar to each other, on their overall configuration of scores across a number of significant variables, to a single cluster.* The method extracts the minimum number of unique clusters that best segregate most individuals. If we visualise each cluster in terms of the typical member of the class—the configuration of average scores across all variables—it is the minimum number of unique modal configurations which best represents the total matrix of scores. This might be most logically done by a Factor Analysis of subjects across the relevant variables. However, such a straightforward solution, which would be based on factoring a subject by subject correlation matrix, would be highly misleading in this case. Since it is based on correlating the scores of each pair of subjects across 10 variables, whose values vary from 1-9 as here, it would be inevitable that two subjects with score configuration of:

(i) 2, 1, 3, 5, 4, 2, 5, 3, 1

and

(ii) 6, 5, 7, 9, 8, 6, 9, 7, 5

would be put in the same cluster (r = 1.00), although each one is almost at the opposite end of each scale. Since correlation methods, being based on covariation, do not necessarily take the "distance" of each pair of scores from each other into consideration, the probability of such anomalous categorisations would be maximised.

The method of Cluster Analysis employed here used both correlation and "distance" methods, constructing clusters with the maximum correlations but the minimum average "distances" between subjects; and the maximum "distance" between adjacent clusters. "Distance" in this case is equivalent to the sum of the average "distance" between pairs of observations across the 10 variables concerned.

*The programme used was that developed at the University of Edinburgh and described more fully in *Clustan, I.A. User Manual,* Edition 1, first issued in November 1969, corrected in August 1970.

Table 1: *Arithmetic Mean values ($\bar{X}$) and Standard Deviations (S) of all 7 Clusters over the 10 interaction variables included*

Variables on which clusters are based	*Measures* $\bar{X}$=Mean S=Standard dev.	*Total sample (N=408) values*	*Cluster types* 1 (N=39)	2 (N=56)	3 (N=52)	4 (N=46)	5 (N=72)	6 (N=101)	7 (N=39)
1. *DL (Ho.):* Extent of husband's participation in household tasks (Scores range from 1-7)	$\bar{X}$	3.7	2.6	3.1	3.6	4.2	3.7	3.7	3.2
	S	1.3	1.0	1.3	1.5	1.3	1.3	1.6	1.5
2. *Power (Ho.):* Extent of husband's dominance in household decisions (Range 1-5)	$\bar{X}$	3.2	2.9	3.1	3.6	4.2	3.7	3.7	3.2
	S	1.2	1.4	1.5	1.5	1.3	1.3	1.6	1.5
3. *DL (Chi.):* Extent of husband's participation in child-rearing tasks (Range 1-28)	$\bar{X}$	8.1	4.7	6.6	7.9	9.1	9.0	10.7	7.7
	S	4.5	3.5	4.0	3.9	4.2	4.0	5.3	3.2
4. *Power (Chi.):* Extent of husband's dominance in child-rearing decisions (Range 1-6)	$\bar{X}$	3.5	3.3	2.1	3.6	1.6	4.7	4.3	3.3
	S	1.7	1.8	1.7	1.8	1.0	1.2	1.3	1.9
5. *DL (Farm):* Extent of wife's participation in farm tasks (Range 1-7)	$\bar{X}$	3.5	2.6	3.8	4.5	3.7	5.0	2.8	2.6
	S	1.6	1.1	1.9	1.4	2.1	1.3	1.9	1.3
6. *Power (Farm):* Extent of husband's dominance in farm decisions (Range 1-5)	$\bar{X}$	4.7	5.0	4.5	4.3	4.5	4.8	4.7	4.2
	S	0.5	0.2	0.8	0.8	0.5	0.4	0.7	0.8
7. *General Power:* Extent of husband's dominance in the most discriminatory family decisions (1-14)	$\bar{X}$	9.8	10.2	6.7	9.3	9.4	11.0	11.0	8.1
	S	2.7	2.4	2.8	1.9	2.4	2.0	1.8	2.5
8. *Jointness in decision-making:* Extent of mutual or joint spousal involvement in general decisions (0-14)	$\bar{X}$	1.2	0.5	1.2	1.9	1.2	0.9	0.9	1.7
	S	1.5	1.2	1.5	1.6	1.5	1.2	1.2	1.7
9. *Social-emotional leadership:* Extent of husband's participation in expressive and tension management functions (1-10)	$\bar{X}$	3.7	2.6	4.1	4.5	4.6	3.0	3.8	5.3
	S	2.6	2.9	2.7	2.5	2.6	2.7	2.4	2.9
10. *Social-emotional Integration:* Extent to which spousal and parent-child relationships are mutually emotionally supportive and expressive (Range 1-7)	$\bar{X}$	4.1	2.4	3.1	3.5	4.9	4.3	4.5	4.2
	S	1.7	1.2	1.4	1.6	1.4	1.2	1.5	1.7
Overall extent of husband's participation in 1, 3, 9		15.5	9.9	13.8	16.0	17.9	15.7	18.2	16.2
Overall extent of husband's dominance in decisions (2, 4, 5, 7)		21.1	21.4	16.4	20.8	19.7	24.2	23.7	18.8

The following are the variables we used in clustering families:

(a) *Division of Labour:*

(1) In household (DL Ho.). This is a 5 item Guttman Scale. CR = .92; scores range from 1-6.

(2) In child rearing (DL Chi.). This is a 7 item Likert Scale; scores range from 1-20.

(3) On farm (DL Farm). This is a 6 item Guttman Scale. CR = .93; scores range from 1-7.

(b) *Extent of Paternal Dominance in Decision-making in Families:*

(4) In household (Guttman Scale; CR = .95; scores range from 1-5.

(5) In child rearing (Guttman Scale; CR = .91; scores range from 1-6.

(6) On the farm (Guttman Scale; CR = .93; scores range from 1-5).

(7) General power, or overall paternal decision-making dominance in families (Likert Scale; score 1-14).

(8) Extent of autonomy in or reciprocal spousal joint consultation in decision-making in families (Index 0 = none, to 14 = v. high).

(c) *Social-emotional Characteristics of Families:*

(9) Social-emotional leadership (Likert Scale; scores range from 1-10).

(10) Social-emotional integration (Guttman Scale; CR = .89; scores range from 1-7).

All of the scores were standardised before computation began. The ideal solution to our problem would have been to put in all 408 respondents and have the computer calculate all the "distances" for all the subjects simultaneously. Unfortunately, since the maximum size matrix that the computer could handle was limited to 120 x 120, it was not possible to do this. As a result we had to put in four separate samples of 102 families to be clustered independently. We then tried to match these with each other. This is a rather crude and only partly successful strategy, but was the only one possible in the circumstances. The four sets of cluster analyses were, in most respects, highly similar and, when amalgamated, yielded relatively homogeneous clusters of families with similar configurations of scores across the ten variables. The outcome is shown in Table 1. The 10 means and standard deviations for each cluster are given in the individual columns, and can be compared with the overall sample means and standard deviations given on the first column on the left of the table. By comparing the underlined 10 mean scores per column with each other the cluster profiles can be compared with each other and with the overall sample scores.

First, however, it is obvious if we compare the standard deviations of clusters in this way, that clusters *6 and 7* are less homogeneous than others,

each having 5 of the 10 variables where variances are somewhat greater within the cluster than within the overall sample, while clusters 4 and 5 have only a single value each where this is the case. Clusters 1, 2 and 3 are intermediate in this respect. Of the 10 variables, 4 are very clearly segregated, i.e., with low within cluster variances: (10), Social-emotional integration; (3), DL (Chi.); (7), General power; (8), Jointness in decision-making. These stress differences amongst categories of families in terms of their power structure, and joint spousal and parental emotionally supportive behaviour. The clusters are relatively well segregated on these dimensions. On the other hand they are least well segregated on variables 2, 6 and 4; i.e., power differences amongst families in household and farm and in SEL. They are relatively well segregated on the remaining division of labour scales and the exercise of power in child rearing. Variances, although greater than in the case of jointness scales, are still very small.

Unfortunately, the necessity to put in four separate sub-samples for clustering meant that the optimisation of similarity within clusters and maximisation of differences or variances between clusters—carried out by a modified set of F and t tests by the programme—which was carried out by the original Cluster Analysis, was lost through the amalgamation of similar clusters from the four different analyses. As an example the following table compared the means and standard deviations for the first cluster extracted and the similar finally amalgamated cluster.

As can clearly be seen, the means of the two clusters are remarkably similar across 9 of the 10 variables and, for most variables, are clearly different from the over-all average values for the sample. A series of modified t tests which compared the means of the individual clusters with the mean values for the over-all sample found that in 5 cases out of 10 these differences were highly significant.

However, the main interest of the table is in the great increase in the variances as similar clusters from the four different analyses were amalgamated. In nine out of the ten cases, variances were considerably increased by amalgamation, in most cases by over half. In fact, in three out of the ten variables, the variance is now equal to, or greater than, the over-all sample variance. The final amalgamated cluster, therefore, is much more approximate than one would wish but, in the local circumstances of limited computer capacity, could not be avoided. Despite this, however, the resultant types of families have clearly distinguishable differences from each other and, as later tables show, these differences are clearly very significant.

Interpreting Family Types

A careful examination of the results in Table 1 and of a further analysis of these in Appendix III (Table 6.1) shows that Type 1 families have the highest level of sex segregation in family roles of all the types isolated. On average, wives in these families do nearly all the household and child-rearing

Table 2: *Comparison of means and standard deviations of computer derived clusters and amalgamated clusters (10 variables on which clusters are based)*

		1 *DL (Ho.)*	2 *Power (Ho.)*	3 *DL (Chi.)*	4 *Power (Chi.)*	5 *DL (Farm)*	6 *Power (Farm)*	7 *General power*	8 *Jointness decisions*	9 *SEL*	10 *SEI*
First Analysis:											
First cluster type extracted (N = 11)	$\bar{X}$	2.3	3.5	4.4	3.0	2.4	5.0	10.8	0.3	4.1	2.6
	S	0.7	1.0	2.8	1.5	1.2	0.0	1.4	0.7	3.2	0.6
Amalgamated from 4 separate analyses: first amalgamated cluster type (N = 39)	$\bar{X}$	2.6	2.9	4.7	3.3	2.6	5.0	10.2	0.5	2.6	2.4
	S	1.0	1.4	3.5	1.8	1.1	0.2	2.4	1.2	2.9	1.2
Average for total sample (N = 408)	$\bar{X}$	3.7	3.2	8.1	3.5	3.5	4.7	9.8	1.2	3.7	4.1
	S	1.3	1.2	4.5	1.7	1.6	0.5	2.7	1.5	2.6	1.7

work, while husbands do almost all the work on the farm. In their relatively "isolated" task roles also, both spouses are relatively autonomous in decision-making, the husband showing less than average interest in household and child-rearing decisions, while the wife has almost no say in farm decisions. These families appear to constitute the most typical case in our sample of what Herbst (50) labelled the traditional "autonomic" role system; i.e., segregated roles which are run relatively autonomously. In other respects also these families are equally traditional, having higher than average parental dominance of, and the lowest level of reciprocal or joint spousal involvement in over-all, particularly financial, decision-making. This type is also equally low in terms of social-emotional leadership role of the husband and of the over-all emotional integration of the family. Over all variables it clearly constitutes what is almost stereotypical of the traditional farm family system as described by Arensberg (3, pp. 45-58). As Herbst points out, however, this type may have gone beyond a point of role autonomy where its over-all integration is seriously threatened (50). In all, however, only 10 per cent of all families belong to this type.

Cluster 2 on the other hand, has almost equally low levels of husband involvement in household and child-rearing tasks and decisions as in Cluster 1, i.e., a highly autonomous role system. It has, however, greater than average participation of wives in farm tasks, as well as in over-all decision-making. In fact, it has the lowest overall level of father dominance of decisions of all types and average levels of jointness in decision-making. At the same time, it has greater than average emotional leadership by the husband. Indeed, one could characterise these families as partially maternally dominant with a strong emotional role being played by the father. Overall, however, it has the second lowest level of emotional integration of all types. Over all variables it could, therefore, be regarded as the second most traditional type in task role structure, and indeed in internal roles generally, but exhibiting some considerable movement away from tradition on the father's side. Again, as found in other studies, this type of pattern of wifely autonomy with high participation of wives in husbands' decisions—a mirror image, almost, of Cluster 1—has the second lowest level of over-all familial integration (50). Taking all variables together, therefore, Clusters 1 and 2 show the highest level of sex segregation in household and child-rearing roles and in the overall autonomy of the mother in these roles. They diverge in terms of maternal involvement in over-all decision-making and in the social-emotional leadership roles of fathers. In these cases, however, either because of the nature of the maternal involvement in decision-making or of a lack of jointness or reciprocity in social-emotional roles, both types of family have equally low levels of emotional integration. Roughly one quarter of all families belong to both types.

Cluster 3 families, on the other hand, have an over-all pattern of scores which is closest to the over-all sample average. It has much less segregated

task roles than 1 and 2 with an especially high level of jointness in farm tasks. Nevertheless, these families were still much more segregated than Clusters 4, 5, and 6. They also have the highest level of joint spousal decision-making of all family types and a higher than average participation of husbands in social-emotional leadership tasks. Nevertheless, despite this high level of jointness in decisions, etc., they have lower than average scores on social-emotional integration, although still higher than Clusters 1 and 2. It could be defined, in comparison to Cluster 2, as a "wife leadership" pattern (50).*

The next highest levels of social-emotional integration is 7—with slightly above average scores. It has an even higher level of sex segregation in task roles than 3, especially in farm roles. It also has lower levels of paternal dominance of decisions than 3 and equally high levels of mutual involvement in decision-making. What really distinguishes Cluster 7, however, is that husbands are extremely active in emotional leadership and tension management functions as well as in sharing decision-making with their wives. As a result, perhaps, of the very high levels of emotional involvement by husbands and their higher level of reciprocity in decisions, despite the lower level of wives' helpfulness in farm tasks, Cluster 7 families have higher than average levels of emotional integration. In terms of segregation of roles and decision-making patterns, Cluster 7 is even more "traditional" than Cluster 3 and, in terms of Herbst's categorisation, could be called the "complementary syncratic" pattern.** But, in terms of the social-emotional role of the father, it is the most "modern" of all family types.

All of the four family types we have been dealing with so far have much higher levels of segregation of task roles than the remaining three. Partly as a consequence, perhaps, they also have lower levels of emotional integration, all of the remaining three having higher than average levels. The other three clusters show equally contrasting configurations. Clusters 5 and 6 are almost equally similar over all but two variables. They both have equally low levels of segregation and autonomy of housekeeping and child-rearing roles. They both show slightly higher than average participation of husbands in household and child-rearing tasks and a greater than average involvement in both decision areas. They differ only on farm roles, five having very high levels of wife participation and six very low. They both show the highest level of paternal dominance of decision-making and a low level of joint consultation. In Herbst's terms they could be defined as "Husband Leadership"—with low segregation of roles, but high husband involvement or dominance of decisions. They have, on the other hand, average levels of father's involvement in emotional leadership roles but slightly higher than average levels of overall emotional integration. Except for farm roles, therefore, both of these

*Where there is some jointness in activity but slight wife dominance in decisions.

**Both spouses tend to work separately but make joint decisions.

types are rather husband dominant in decision-making patterns, but have much lower levels of segregation of household and child-rearing roles than others. In the latter case, as in their overall emotional integration level, they are more "modern" than Clusters 1, 2, 3 and 7.

While Cluster 4 families have equally high levels of husband participation in housekeeping and child-rearing roles, they have a much more joint, less patriarchal, pattern of decision-making. They have much higher levels of husband participation in emotional and tension management functions and, perhaps, as a consequence, the highest level of social-emotional integration or mutually supportive behaviour of all types. They could be termed as having a "Joint Syncratic" pattern of interaction—where both spouses co-operate in work and decisions.

Clearly, therefore, although the seven family types differ very widely and very significantly from each other, it is obviously not possible to arrange them along a single continuum from most traditional to most modern. While Clusters 1 and 2 exhibit clear patterns of sex role segregation, decision-making and social-emotional patterns, which are the most "traditional" of all types, and Cluster 4 has an almost equally contrasting pattern at the "modern" end of the continuum, the remaining four clusters are not as easily ordered. While Cluster 7, for instance, has a more segregated allocation of task roles than Cluster 3, it has a much more joint system of decision-making and very high levels of husband leadership in emotional management processes within the family, etc. Similarly, any attempt at ordering Clusters 5 and 6 as against 3 and 7 runs into equally intractable problems of doing so in a number of ways depending on which dimension one chooses to order them along.

The presumed advantage of this technique of categorising families, however, is this multidimensionality and the following sections will attempt to assess this advantage. The results of the previous chapter clearly showed that change in family interaction patterns is definitely not a simple uni-dimensional process. Whatever the originating source of such change, it appears to set up a series of reverberating adjustments within the various dimensions of spousal roles—division of labour, decision-making and social-emotional processes. Thus, once introduced, the overall "role adjustment outcome" after a period of time depends so much on the original characteristics of the family and on the subsequent internal dynamics of family interaction, that a simple uni-dimensional change model is patently invalid.

At this stage, therefore, we have sufficient information to come to some clear conclusions about some basic research questions raised in Chapter 1. The main question involved is: (Q. 3), "How is variation in one aspect of family roles, or family interaction patterns—such as segregation or differentiation in age and sex roles—related to variation in other areas of family interaction, such as in authority or decision-making patterns, or in expressive or social-emotional roles?" It was then assumed that change in all of these

variables was to a considerable extent collinear; and that, as a result, it would be possible to rank order family types from the most traditional to the most modern, along a single continuum. The results so far presented in Chapters 4 and 5 clearly demonstrate that the direction and extent of internal family change in any interaction variable—whether motivated by ideological reasons or merely adaptive to situational constraints—is, in itself, so dependent on other characteristics of family interaction and has consequences on these other variables which are equally reciprocally dependent, that a straightforward linear model of change is simply invalid.

Some of the less complex aspects of such internal family dynamics have been elucidated in Chapter 5. So far in this chapter we have been able to answer one further question—"whether it is possible to rank order families along a single continuum from traditional to modern?" As could be easily predicted from the results in Chapter 5, and has been demonstrated above, it is not. Although one can indicate the two extreme family types, 1, 2 and 4, in that on most of the ten variables involved they possess opposite extreme values, it is not possible to arrange the other four cluster types along the same continuum.

Variation in family interaction patterns and, almost inevitably, change in these patterns, is a highly complex multidimensional process. As a result, the particular organisation of role-relationships observed at any one time within a sample of families is the outcome of so many different and often conflicting external and internal family variables that one cannot expect anything except very low correlations between external ideological or situational variables and internal family variables. It appears unlikely, therefore, that we will find any higher correlations between any "external variables" and these seven complex family types than we found with the individual variables in Chapter 4.

However, before we proceed with the analysis of these relationships we need to establish, on a more solid basis, the validity and usefulness of these isolated types. In the following section we relate the seven types to the different feelings about and to some extent the different meaning that both spouses attach to their family roles. According to our analysis up to this point, they should be very different.

The Validity of the Types

To check the validity of these configurations, we related them to a series of independent measures about people's feelings and satisfactions about family life. One would expect that the more "traditional" families (1 and 2), would show a clearly different pattern of feelings and satisfactions than the more "modern" ones (4, 5 and 6). Is this, in fact, the case? Table 3 below contains the relevant results.

Over all ten variables which were constructed to index or scale respondents' feelings about, and satisfactions with, their own and their spouse's

Table 3: *Percentage of each cluster who are satisfied/dissatisfied, etc.*

Wives' and husbands' feelings about family life		*Cluster types*						
		1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*
1. Wife's satisfaction with husband's roles and general helpfulness (Guttman Scale: CR = .91) P< .05*	Low satisfaction	(N=39) % 49	(56) % 27	(52) % 13	(46) % 13	(72) % 25	(101) % 13	(39) % 23
2. Wife's satisfaction with husband's help in child-rearing: (4 item index) P< .05*	(a) Low—not satisfied	26	20	12	15	17	15	21
	(b) High—def. satisfied	26	34	44	41	40	39	39
3. Wife's ranking of family satisfactions (i.e. of 8 options presented which 3 were ranked as most satisfying in married life) P< .05*	*(Wives' responses)* Spousal satisfactions	10	11	14	22	19	23	18
	(Husbands' responses) Spousal	15	9	27	17	13	18	15
4. *Interspousal conflict:* "Who is faster to get over rows, or 'give in' usually" P< .05*	Mother is faster and usually gives in	41	25	29	22	22	26	28
5. "Person who is easiest to talk things over with when worried or upset about something" P< .05*	*(Wives' responses)* (a) Husband	54	57	69	67	75	67	62
	(Husbands' responses) (b) Wife	56	64	83	83	71	75	74
6. "Person whom it is most enjoyable to talk to" P< .05*	*(Husbands' responses)* "Wife"	39	34	52	50	51	46	56
7. "Families should spend free time together, and own family generally does" P< .05*	*(Wives' responses)* Agree	18	38	31	27	38	37	44
8. *Recreational behaviour* Families where both spouses have similar, rather high, and joint patterns of outside recreational activity. (Guttman Scale; CR= .92) (6 point scale) P< .05*	High jointness	16	27	22	39	34	29	22
9. *Terms of reference spontaneously used by wife for husband:* Used Christian name or warm affectionate spousal term P< .05*		18	38	31	37	38	37	44
10. Evaluation by interviewers of reciprocal attitudes expressed by husband for wife and wife for husband during interview P< .05*	High positive	24	20	45	50	27	51	34
Modal rank order of types in terms of the degree of satisfaction with family roles		*Rank* 1st	*Rank* 2nd	*Rank* 3rd	*Rank* 7th (most)	*Rank* not clear	*Rank* 6th	*Rank* not clear

*By chi-square test.

family roles, cluster differences are highly statistically significant. In all cases Cluster 1 has, by far, the lowest level of satisfaction, the lowest level of expressed interspousal affection and supportiveness and the least integrated pattern of interspousal tension-management and even recreational behaviour of all types. For most wives it appears to be the least satisfactory kind of family structure. This is most vividly indicated, perhaps, by the very low proportion (18 per cent) of wives who were observed, during the interview, to use the Christian name or a warm affectionate spousal term of reference for their husbands. Since these terms were recorded only as they were used spontaneously during the interview, and were not elicited by questioning, the distribution of this variable clearly indicates great differences in the feelings and meanings participants have about each kind of family (50, 73).

At the other extreme, Clusters 4 and 6 seem to share the most satisfactory forms of family life, having, on average, roughly double the percentage of families who are satisfied on almost all variables as compared to Cluster 1; and with nearly 40 per cent of the wives observed using affectionate terms of reference for their husbands during the course of the interview. Of the remaining four Clusters, 2 and 3 seem closer to Cluster 1 on most variables, while Clusters 5 and 7 are closer to 4 and 6. Over all these variables, therefore, there are very significant differences in the feelings of participants toward the particular configuration of relationships in which they are involved, especially between the two extremes of the continuum. This method, therefore, has extracted complex family types which have some clearcut validity.

Taking Type 1 first, roughly half of the wives appear dissatisfied with their husband's overall familial roles and a quarter with their child-rearing roles, compared to 13 per cent and 15 per cent of Type 4 and 6 wives. Over all, only 24 per cent and 20 per cent respectively of Type 1 and 2 families got an over-all score which indicated highly positive reciprocal attitudes between the spouses, as assessed by interviewers, compared to 50 per cent and 51 per cent of Type 4 and 6 families. Only 10 to 15 per cent of Types 1 or 2 spouses emphasise the spousal roles of companionship, understanding and reciprocal co-operation, compared to 17 per cent to 23 per cent of Type 4 and 6 families. The differences between these two types is even greater in terms of the way they handle tensions and disagreements within the families. Over 40 per cent of wives in Type 1 families appear to play the traditional emotionally supportive or integrative role of being "faster to get over disagreements" and usually "giving in" to others in disagreements. This is true only of roughly a quarter of the more modern types (4/6). Much the same, though less obvious, differences exist between the two types in terms of the extent both spouses resort to each other to talk over and share worries and upsets and even mention each other as the one they most enjoy talking to. In all cases the more "modern" (4/6) are by

far the more interpersonally supportive. In actual recreational patterns and values the same patterns emerge. Over twice the proportion of the more "modern" types have high rates of joint recreational activity, and feel that this is the more satisfactory arrangement.

Over the three main variables which index the wives' level of satisfaction with family life (nos. 1, 2, 3, in Table 3), the average rank order of types from lowest level of satisfaction to highest is pretty consistent. Types 1, 2 and 7 are consistently least satisfactory and 5, 4 and 6 most satisfactory; with Type 3 having no consistent position. By rank ordering each cluster on *each* of the ten variables in Table 3—from least to most satisfactory, i.e., 1st to 7th—and by taking the modal rank order (i.e., the most frequently occurring one) we were able to derive a rank order of types in terms of the degree of satisfaction of spouses with relationships within the family, and these are given in the bottom row of the table. Because Clusters 5 and 7 occupied clearly different rank orders in different variables, it was not possible to rank order them. They would both, however, be closer to 4/6 than 1-3. The final rank order of types, therefore, from least to most satisfactory is: 1, 2, 3 (5, 7), 6, 4. Type 7 especially holds a very anomalous position. It was the type of family where wives were most likely to spontaneously use a warm affectionate term of reference for their husbands, and also where husbands were most likely to say they most enjoyed talking to their wives, etc.; yet it clearly occupies a low to medium rank order on most other variables. Type 5 is equally variable in its rank order position.

This rank order of satisfaction, however, almost exactly conforms to the rank order of clusters in terms of their average scores on social-emotional integration, a variable (No. 10) which was used in sorting. So, although it clearly validates that other major social-psychological differences equally—or even more dramatically—discriminate amongst these clusters, it is hardly a surprising result.

If, therefore, Type 1 families, which anthropological and sociological research has shown to be most typical of the peasant family systems (4, 67, 101); and if, as Arensberg and Kimball also suggest, these patterns were typical of and accepted as legitimate and normal in rural Ireland in the 1930s; this is clearly no longer the case. Across all of these variables which are direct, or indirect, measures of both spouses' feelings, it has, by far, the most unsatisfactory rating of all family patterns.

Type 2 shows an almost equally segregated pattern of roles, except for farm tasks where the wife appears to be more helpful than average. It has, however, a slightly more consultative, if not slightly wife dominant, pattern of decision-making. Overall, however, it is the next most unsatisfactory type of family for wives. Taking both types together, which clearly represent the most traditional patterns and which comprise a quarter of all families, they are by far the least satisfying form of family structure.

It is obvious, therefore, that we are not dealing with clearly different

types of family structure which are equally validated or institutionalised in the society, but with clearly different types where, in many cases, the feelings and satisfactions of wives especially are not in balance with their roles. If the traditional system of family roles, so graphically described by Arensberg and Kimball, was so deeply institutionalised in rural communities as they suggest in the 1930s, in that there was (i) almost complete community consensus on the appropriate role models and expectations; (ii) almost universal similarity in behaviour and in values, and in the practice of effectively socialising younger people into these roles; and (iii) complete internalisation of these highly consensual role models by younger entrants to the system, so that they come to regard them as not only legitimate but their feelings and expectations were completely in harmony; this is clearly no longer so. If, as Arensberg and Kimball also reported, the expectations and feelings that nearly every person comes to develop for his own roles, are not alone balanced within the person himself but also with the reciprocal expectations of significant others in the system —spouses, parents, siblings, etc. which were equally as harmonised and in balance—then a very dramatic transformation of family roles has occurred. This is obviously an extreme degree of institutionalisation of roles, however. If it was present in rural Ireland in the 1930s to the extent that Arensberg and Kimball suggest, so that they could say that "The interests and desires of the individual concur in large measure with the norm, and he finds reward and pleasure in it" (4, p. 46), it is certainly no longer the case. The highest proportion of dissatisfied wives and the least emotionally integrated families occur amongst those with the most "traditional" patterns. But even amongst the most "satisfactory" family types such a high degree of personal satisfaction with one's family roles is not universal. Even if such a high degree of institutionalisation of family roles was unlikely to be valid for the 1930s, it appears most likely, however, that this traditional pattern was the most common and the most deeply institutionalised of all patterns at that time.

It appears most likely that coincident with the collapse of the isolating boundaries of the traditional communities the legitimacy of traditional female subservience, which was characteristic of most peasant systems, became increasingly less sustainable. In a much more dramatic opposition of the old and the new, Barbara Harrell-Bond's study of working class marriages in Oxford in the mid-1960s illustrates the likely pattern of change. There, a comparison between Irish-born and English husbands showed that the former were much more traditional in their household and child-rearing roles and leisure time activities, and that their wives were much less satisfied with their spousal relationships than the latter. This was primarily because the Irish husbands maintained their traditional patterns of family behaviour, while their wives' peers were married to Englishmen who were far more likely to interact in a more interpersonally supportive pattern (47, 88). The internalisation of the values of such prestigeful external reference groups had

made it virtually impossible for the Irish wives to remain satisfied with the traditional system of family roles. The greater reluctance of husbands to change is understandable. After all, if change occurs away from the sharp division of roles between spouses, it is the husband who must accept or make the more radical change in his behaviour. It is growth in the husband's participation in household and child-rearing activities and his increased willingness to share responsibility in areas where wives traditionally had complete responsibility, that is the main direction of change. Equally, it is his willingness to relinquish some of his traditional autocratic control of family decisions and his increased emotional involvement in the family that is significant. Oeser and Hammond (73) found in one Australian study that most family tensions occurred in husband autocratic families where the lowest level of joint consultative decision-making took place. The most reasonable conclusions one can come to, therefore, on the basis of the above evidence, is that reference group changes appear to have been almost universal over the past twenty years, so that the resultant collapse of the isolating boundaries of the traditional cultural system almost necessarily undermined the legitimacy of male self-interest in maintaining the traditional system of roles. If these interests were fully legitimised in the 1930s this is clearly no longer the case. Whether this conclusion, as to the importance of reference group effects, is supported by the evidence from this study will be established in the following section.

Social Background Correlates of Different Family Types

If our explanation for the differential levels of satisfaction of wives with the different family types is valid, then variation in family types should be closely related to the type of background both spouses come from and the kind of experiences both spouses have had. People from more remote communities, who have not lived outside the community, who are from farm backgrounds and with only farming experience, and who have only had a primary level of education should be much more likely to be satisfied with traditional family patterns—i.e., 1 and 2—and be much less likely to want and work towards Types 4 and 6. Is this, in fact, the case? To what extent do these differences between husbands and wives influence family outcomes? Table 4 gives some relevant results.

Table 4 indicates clearly that almost all the background variables are significantly related to the various cluster types, although not exactly in the same way as satisfactions were. The education of spouses, the residence of wives before marriage and the migration experience of both spouses are significantly related to the different family types. One can see clearly that the percentage of wives who come from the home parish and the percentage of both spouses who have never migrated outside the home community are greatest in Clusters 1 and 2 and least in 3, 6 and 7. When education of both

Table 4: *Percentage of respondents in each cluster type with specified background characteristics*

Background variables		*Cluster types*						
		1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*
		(N=39)	(N=56)	(N=52)	(N=46)	(N=72)	(N=101)	(N=39)
1. Residence of wife previous to marriage	Percentage resident	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	(a) In home parish	67	70	40	60	68	52	49
	(b) Small towns	16	18	25	18	11	15	10
$X^2 = 22.9$ $P < .05$	(c) Large urban areas	18	12	28	22	21	33	41
	Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	N	39	56	51	46	72	101	39
2. Residence of husband since birth	Always within home parish	59	57	60	61	61	66	46
(P< .10)	Have lived and worked outside parish	41	43	40	39	39	34	54
	Total N	39	56	51	46	72	101	39
3. Education of husband X education of wife	% Both with primary only	77	72	83	58	69	54	64
$X^2 = 29.39$ $P < .05$	% Wife some secondary Husband primary	18	23	15	30	22	27	31
	% Husband some secondary Wife primary	--	1	2	10	0	8	2
	% Both some secondary	5	4	—	2	4	11	3
4. Remoteness of community X distance from tarred road	1. 0-3.5 miles from nearest town							
	(a) Beside road	18	36	21	37	28	32	28
(P< .20)	(b) Away from road	44	23	44	20	28	23	41
	1. 3.5+ miles from nearest town							
	(a) Beside road	13	10	11	15	21	17	15
	(b) Away from road	20	27	25	28	24	29	15
5. Religion	% Roman Catholic	98		95		97	93	85
$X^2 = 12.2$ $P < .02$								
6. Migration experience of spouses	(a) Neither have migrated	50	55	29	50	49	45	38
	(b) Husband has	18	18	17	17	21	10	10
$X^2 = 32.3$ $P < .05$	(c) Wife has	24	27	44	33	28	37	28
	(d) Both have	8	—	10	—	1	9	23

spouses is controlled for, the differences are even more striking with the pattern of differences remaining very much the same. Similarly with the migration experience of both spouses, although the differences between clusters where neither spouse has migrated are slight, spouses in Clusters 3 and 7 stand out as having more migration experience. In almost a quarter of Cluster 7 families both spouses have lived and worked outside the home area for some time. These clusters are the ones, noted earlier, that are characterised by low husband dominance, high jointness in decisions and by a high degree of emotional integration, despite a rather highly segregated division of labour. Very surprisingly, religion is one of the most statistically significant of the background variables. Although less than five per cent of all respondents belong to the Church of Ireland or Protestant denominations, nearly one-third of these occur in Cluster 7 families.

In conclusion, therefore, background differences, including the extent of mobility or stability of residence of respondents and their education, are highly significantly related to family type. However, these relationships are no stronger or no more significant than one would expect from relationships with the individual variables considered separately.

The Relationship of Cluster Types to Current Life Style Differences and Extent of Contact with External Reference Groups

Table 5 gives a number of current life style variables which are related to the different family types.

Again here we find that almost all current life style variables which indicate reference group differences are highly significantly related to family type. However, once more the strength of the relationships observed are no more remarkable than for the individual variables in Chapter 4. The hypothesis, therefore, of the greater ease of "explaining" more complex configurations of variables—because of their complex interactive relationships with each other—than in explaining single variables is not supported. The reasons why this did not occur will be explored in the last section of this chapter. However, some very interesting patterns do emerge in the two Tables, 4 and 5.

First, the relative influence of these background variables on family types yields a rank order of types which is quite different to their order of satisfaction. Although spouses in Types 1, 2 and 3 families come from the most conservative backgrounds, and are least likely to be exposed to mass media effects, etc., have the lowest incomes and most traditional farming patterns, etc., the family type that has been most clearly exposed to, and influenced by, these forces is Type 7; not 6 or 4, the most modern! With some exceptions both husbands and wives in Type 7 families have the highest levels of education; the most experience in and most contact with outside communities; are most likely to be living in the least remote communities and

Table 5: *Percentage of respondents within each cluster with specified characteristics of their current life situation which would indicate differences in reference group identification and contact with extra community influences*

Independent variables	*1 (N=39)*	*2 (N=56)*	*3 (N=52)*	*4 (N=46)*	*5 (N=72)*	*6 (N=101)*	*7 (N=39)*
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. Father's involvement in formal organisations:—							
$X^2 = 24.2$ P< .02 (a) Not a member	80	69	61	63	58	48	45
(b) Inactive member	15	29	35	30	32	38	37
(c) Active member	5	2	4	7	10	14	18
2. Mother's involvement in formal organisations [P< .20] Not involved:—	92	86	90	91	82	83	74
3. Mass media involvement (P< .10) % v. high:—	28	30	38	40	32	36	43
4. Gross margin: (Scale 0-9) [P< .05]							
% with incomes > £1,200:—	23	23	39	22	26	33	49
Median score:—	3.8	5.6	6.2	4.92	4.59	4.95	6.5
5. Socio-economic scale (Scale 1-7)							
[P< .05] % + High:—	31	30	34	38	30	44	64
Median score:—	3.87	4.71	4.75	3.83	3.77	4.70	5.92
6. Modernity of marketing behaviour of farm products [P< .01]							
Completely traditional methods	39	27	21	33	39	34	15
7. Farm-technology innovation scale:— (Likert, 1-7) (P< .10)							
% very low adoption:—	36	18	19	17	17	23	18
% very high adoption:—	35	43	42	35	39	38	46

in terms of current contacts (see Table 5), are the most involved in formal organisations; are most exposed to mass media source; have the highest income and level of living, and are the least traditional in farming and marketing techniques, etc.

Clearly then, although the most traditionally structured (Types 1 and 2) families come from the most conservative and traditional backgrounds, and are least exposed to present-day modernising influences, those from the least conservative backgrounds and most exposed to modernising influences

are *not* the most "modern" in family role structure. Indeed, paradoxically, in many respects they are more "traditional" than most other families, especially in terms of their segregation of sex roles. Clearly, they have lower levels of emotional integration and less satisfied wives than Type 4 families, for instance. Why should this be the case? It may well be, of course, that the rather traditional role segregation found in these families (Type 7) is a consequence of the very high level of economic activity present. With nearly double the gross margin and output of Types 1 and 2, and much higher levels of consumption, this level of economic activity requires a very high degree of efficiency in farm, household and farmyard operations and in financial management generally. As a result, the allocation of task roles between spouses is forced towards a traditional segregated model, irrespective of the values of the participants. The fact that, despite an almost equally "traditional" segregated system in household, child-rearing and farm task roles as in Type 1 and 2 families, Type 7 families have much higher levels of consultative joint decisions, the highest level of SEL participation by the husband, and a higher than average level of family Emotional Integration, suggests that the division of labour is not caused by motivational, but rather by circumstantial, factors.

It appears likely, therefore, that there may be a series of situational factors operating which clearly intervene in the relationship between normative and actual behavioural change and which may not have any serious effects on the emotional integration of families. In certain circumstances, as in highly commercialised farm businesses, or in highly onerous non-farm occupations, actual family relationships do not necessarily reflect ideal expectations because of those circumstantial constraints. But if both spouses equally recognise these circumstantial constraints, their deviation from ideals does not give rise to any emotional problem (9, 11).

When we controlled for gross margin, as an indicator of the level of farm production and size of enterprise, and therefore of the relative availability of the husband to help with household and child-rearing tasks, etc., we did, in fact, find that where output was low, Clusters 1-2 tended to have far lower levels of fathers' participation in child rearing and household tasks than Cluster 7. At higher income levels (£1,200+), however, fathers' household and child-rearing task participation tended to drop in all cases, but to a far greater extent in the case of Cluster 7 than in Clusters 1 and 2, where participation remained at a fairly constant low level irrespective of total output. It would appear then that the level (or, perhaps, methods) of production is, in fact, as we suggested, forcing these latter families to adopt a more segregated role allocation than would be indicated by their own feelings.

There are also other situational variables which may be equally important. Family cycle is one of the most important of these. Its relationship to the different family types is dealt with in Table 6.

Table 6: *The relationship of cluster types to family cycle stage*

a. *Stage of family cycle* (P< .05)	*Cluster* 1 (N=39)	2 (N=50)	3 (N=52)	4 (N=46)	5 (N=72)	6 (N=101)	7 (N=39)	Total	
Early stage (pre-school) and primary school)	% 4	% 11	% 14	% 10	% 21	% 28	% 12	% 100	N 179
Middle stage	8	14	12	21	14	23	8	100	73
Late stage (post-school, children working, etc.)	17	17	11	9	17	22	7	100	149

Stage of family cycle is highly related to the different types of families. Two-thirds to three-quarters of Cluster 1 and 2 families are in the late stage of the family cycle, where the children are either at post-primary school, are working, or have left home. In contrast, the majority of all other family types are in the early stage of the cycle, up to two-thirds of them with all children at the primary school or pre-school stage. These family cycle differences are naturally reflected in household composition with over 80 per cent of family Types 1 and 2 having only the nuclear family present in the household, while over a third of Type 7 families have at least one grandparent living with the family. However, the relationship of family type to this latter variable is minimal, and disappears entirely when we partial out the effects of family cycle.

Clearly, however, the family cycle is very highly related to the family role configuration. At the early stages of the family cycle, with a growing number of young dependent children in the family, the extent of task role segregation and degree of role autonomy in families is at a minimum. At this stage only 15 per cent of families are of the Type 1 and 2 configuration. At the latest stage of the family cycle, however, when most of the children are at the post-adolescent stage and many of them have left home, over a third of families fall into this pattern. Those have very high levels of sex role segregation, low levels of jointness in decision-making and low levels of husband involvement in emotional leadership and low over-all levels of emotional integration in the family.*

The above results more clearly illustrate the effects of progress through the family cycle than the individual uncollated results of Chapters 4 and 5. Progress through the family cycle was found to be related to decreasing involvement of husbands in household and child-rearing tasks and of wives in farm tasks; of husbands in household and child-rearing decision-making

*See also Table 1 (Chap. 5) for the relationships of these variables to each other.

and in social-emotional leadership roles, etc. In Chapter 5 we found that this increasing degree of segregation in familial roles depended on the degree of emotional supportiveness between spouses. Where this was low, increasing segregation and differentiation of roles with progress through the family cycle was very clearcut. Where mutual emotional supportiveness was high this did not occur, indeed there was some evidence that it might have decreased (11, pp. 41-43). The results, therefore, summarised in Table 6 can be taken as crudely representing the outcome of these very complex structural changes on internal family interaction processes. At the later stages of the cycle, when pressures for reciprocal helpfulness are removed, those couples who have not formed effective emotionally supportive ties become increasingly estranged from each other.

Progress through the family cycle is, of course, highly related to many of those modernising influences such as mass media involvement, formal organisational membership, etc. Because of these relationships we decided to control for family cycle and relate the different cluster types to some of the reference group and current life style variables, to evaluate to what extent the situational factors of family cycle, age, etc., might account for any of the relationships previously observed. In this way, by holding constant the influence of family cycle, we related variation in the cluster types to the various reference group and current life style variables used earlier. Unfortunately, because of these controls, the numbers in each cell are considerably reduced. Some of these results are given in Table 6.2, Appendix III. First, the results show that there is a very clear relationship between stage of family cycle and exposure to these modernising influences. The later the stage in the family cycle and age of respondent, the lower the exposure people have had to modernising influences.* Secondly, however, in most cases the relationships previously observed between these modernising influences and family relationship characteristics continue to hold for *both* stages of the family cycle, but particularly for the second stage. In other words it appears that at the first stage of the family cycle when pressures of work are at a maximum—in the household with the children and on the farm—these very pressures force spouses to co-operate even where they may not like doing so. As a result, the relationship between family role configuration and the independent variables which were expected to influence both role expectations and actual "outcomes" does not occur. However, at the later stages, when the relationship between expectations/behaviour is not so influenced by such circumstantial constraints, such relationships do occur.

In conclusion, therefore, the stage of family cycle does clearly distinguish between the various family types. Since the variable summarises so many of the varying internal circumstances of the family—particularly the amount of

*The correlations between family cycle and each one of the most important variables are: (i) Level of education (Mo), r = −.28; Level of education (Fa), r = −.10; Communication scale, r = −.10; Organisation Involvement (Fa), r = −.17; (Mo), r = −.17; Gross margin r = −.11, etc.

work to be done, the time pressures to have it done and also the relative availability of different adults to carry out that work—this result is hardly very surprising. Given also the consequences of changing stages and circumstances of the family cycle on internal family dynamics that was so clearly demonstrated in Chapter 5, the increasing segregation and autonomy of family roles at the later stage of the family cycle was to be expected. Much of the mutuality or reciprocity involved in spousal roles at the beginning of the family cycle appears to gradually recede as children grow older and the actual work pressures of family life decline in intensity. However, some of the findings of Chapter 5 would suggest that where a warm, affectionate and supportive relationship has been built up in the course of early child rearing, such a decline in marital integration does not occur at the later stages of the family cycle. The increasing segregation and autonomy of spousal roles appears to occur primarily where such a residue of mutual positive feeling has *not* been built up. This particular phrasing, however, of the problem is somewhat misleading—although it is usually the way in which sociologists treat mutual love or affection—as a result of other more important spousal processes rather than as an independent and spontaneously innovative force itself. Much of the evidence of this study—and particularly of the results in Chapter 5—would suggest that the growth of spousal love and affection is better treated as an independent dimension, not merely a response to presumed more fundamental characteristics of interaction. It is also presumably closely related to the sexual satisfactions of marriage, an almost equally ignored facet of spousal interaction in the family literature.

The normative dimension of familial interaction—the mutual expectations of spouses for each other's behaviour—has been the dimension most emphasised in family sociology, presumably because of the popularity of structural-functional theory and more recently role theory, amongst family sociologists. This was also the main background theoretical orientation behind the guiding propositions put forward initially in this study. We have found that ideological and normative factors are very important, but not as dominant as originally supposed. There are probably many other factors that affect familial interaction but so far these three major sets of variables—Normative/Ideological; Situational; and Affectional—appear to be the most significant.

In conclusion, what is perhaps most remarkable about our data are the tremendous variations that they show exist in family interaction patterns in rural communities today. What is equally significant, however, is the extent to which, even within these older more traditional families, the wives' expectations and feelings are at variance with their actual situation. In this present period of rapid social and cultural change such imbalances in values, behaviour and feelings are almost inevitable, given the relatively high probability of clashing role expectations between spouses. The different

patterns of resolution of these conflicts warrant further study. They have obviously significant consequences for the adaptation or integration of the families themselves and for the happiness and adjustment of the different personalities involved.

In the following and final chapter we examine one further variable, the enveloping kinship and communal organisation within which family interaction occurs. The relationship between the enveloping social organisation and internal family interaction characteristics has been the subject of considerable controversy in the family literature. We examine some of the most important of these relationships in this, the penultimate chapter.

Chapter 7

Kinship Ties and Family Relationships

THE detailed information on kinship will be reported on later. Here, however, we would like to introduce some of the more relevant and interesting connections between internal family interaction patterns and kinship contacts.

We first examine the relationships between the segregation of spousal roles within the household and the structure of primary groups encapsulating the family. Families varied widely in the extent of their incorporation within tightly organised local groupings of neighbours and kinsmen, as can be clearly seen from some of the preliminary results presented in Chapter 3. Whether such variation in external systems is related to internal family roles —as Elizabeth Bott has proposed, for instance—will be examined here.

Secondly, we examine the extent to which the seven family interaction types, isolated in the last chapter, vary in their external network characteristics and in their extent of kinship identification and contact. From previous literature one would expect that the more traditional the family type (i.e., Types 1 and 2), the greater the contact and identification with one's kin. We found, in fact, that this was not the case.

Thirdly, some of the most significant differences found amongst family types was in the relative importance or dominance of either husband's or wife's kin. There appears to be a very clearcut relationship between family interaction characteristics and the relative importance or dominance of one kin set over the other. These results are reported in the last part of this chapter.

The Segregation of Spousal Roles and the Structure of Informal Networks

The most controversial and the most research-provoking hypothesis in the whole literature dealing with the relationship between the nuclear family and the "external" social environment was that put forward by Bott (1957): "The degree of segregation in the role relationship of husband and wife varies directly with the connectedness of the family's social network".*

The rationale given for the hypothesis was that the external primary relationships of each family—with kin, friends, neighbours, workmates,

*Bott, *Family and Social Network,* op. cit., p. 60.

etc.—varied widely in the extent to which all the persons involved formed a cohesive social group; i.e., had interdependent social relationships with each other. She suggested that the word "network" would be more appropriate than "group" in a situation where only some of the component individuals had social relationships with each other.

A highly connected network, or a "social-group", is one where almost everybody has important social relationships with everybody else. A dispersed network is one in which very few of one's close friends, or people with whom one maintains close and friendly relations, have equally significant relationships with each other. The more interconnected the network of external relationships—i.e., the extent to which an organised group exists —the greater the consensus on role expectations and the greater the pressure for conformity. Because such organised groupings are most likely to arise in stable traditional contexts, the greater the connectedness of the network, the more segregated the roles of husband and wife tend to be.

Of course, highly connected networks may develop a concensual set of expectations which emphasise joint spousal interaction. However, the probability of this occurring is very low. Connected networks are most likely to develop where both spouses have grown up together in the same locality and where most of the people in that locality—their neighbours, friends and relatives—have been born there and lived there all their lives; i.e., a "locality descent group". The marital relationship, therefore, is superimposed on these pre-existing local relationships. Both spouses are, therefore, encapsulated within highly intercorrelated and overlapping networks of primary relationships. These are most likely to be associated with the most traditional role expectations. Social control also is much more pervasive and persistent in such highly connected networks.

In addition, because these important primary relationships can be continued after marriage, both spouses can independently satisfy part of their need for emotional support outside the marriage, so that their emotional investment in it need not be as intense as in other families. Equally these external relationships can substitute for one's spouse's help with tasks within the family, etc. So, besides the fact that such highly connected networks are most likely to be associated with highly traditional role expectations, they also provide a wider range of emotionally satisfying relationships.

With greater educational and occupational mobility and consequent residential movements, people become geographically and emotionally estranged from their originating community. If both spouses have been equally mobile they come to marriage with already widely dispersed networks and live in "communities" which no longer form that cohesive social group that was characteristic of traditional farm or urban working class communities. These had relatively persistent kinship and neighbour group relationships which might have lasted for a number of generations amongst the same families. Mobile families, on the other hand, live within enveloping

sets of relatively open networks of friends, neighbours, kinsmen. These not alone allow them more freedom in a normative or social control sense but, at the same time, provide them with less immediate helpfulness in carrying out their tasks and less immediate access to emotional support. As a result the more open the network the greater the jointness of the spousal relationship.

The Connectedness of Networks

The interconnectedness of both spouses' networks was measured by calculating the proportion of actual to potential connections amongst each married couple's closest confidants; i.e., the proportion of all those named as close friends or confidants, by both spouses, who had close kinship or neighbourhood relationships with each other.*

The degree of connectedness ranged from very highly connected networks, to the very loosely connected. If we define a highly connected network as one where over two-thirds of all network members were closely linked to each other by kinship and neighbourhood bonds, then 28 per cent of all couples were incorporated within such tightly organised groupings. At the other extreme, were the very dispersed networks, incorporating 21 per cent of all families. In this case each couple's network of friends and confidants had less than one-third of its members actually related to each other by kinship or neighbourhood bonds. The remaining half of the sample occurred between these extremes.

The degree of connectedness of a network—the extent to which it forms a "closed circle"—seems to depend mainly on the size and degree of contact with the local kin group of both spouses; i.e., the number of siblings, uncles, aunts and cousins who live locally, and the extent of contact with these. It also depends on the extent to which the local neighbour group retains

*(i) Both spouses (each couple interviewed separately), were first asked to name or describe the six people—outside immediate family—to whom *each* spouse was most closely attached to or felt closest to; i.e., a maximum of 12 names for each couple. The exact relationship of each spouse to each person was subsequently established. At this stage we treated the couple as a unit.

(ii) The maximum possible number of interconnections amongst all the people named as confidants by both spouses is given by the formula $[(n\ (n-1)/2)]$, where n = total number of persons named as close confidants. For the maximum number of 12 "confidants" named by both spouses the total possible number of interconnections $= \frac{12 \times 11}{2} = 66$

(iii) For each separate person named by each couple the actual number of other persons belonging to the same kin or neighbour group was counted, making sure to count each relationship only once. For example, confidant A, a neighbour (Nb), but also one's brother had other relationships with Nb_1, Nb_2, Nb_3 etc., but also Sib_1, Sib_2, Sib_3 etc., and all other kin belonging to the same kin group etc.; *counting each relationship once only,* i.e., $A + Nb_1$, but not also $Nb_1 + A$ etc.

(iv) The degree of connectedness was measured expressing the total number of actual interconnections as a proportion of the total possible number of interconnections. Strictly speaking, therefore, this is a measure of "categorical connectedness", i.e. the proportion of total confidants belonging to the same group or category, and not of actually existing relationships. However, both measures should be highly correlated.

significance as an emotionally supportive and mutual help group. (See Table 1). The greater the number of and the greater the involvement with local relatives and neighbours the higher the degree of connectedness of one's network. Also the younger the age of respondents the more likely it was that their friendships were more widely dispersed.

Table 1: *Correlations between degree of network connectedness and some kin and neighbour group variables.* (r = Pearsonian r)*

No. of siblings living locally		*No. of other close kin living locally*		*No. of good neighbours*	*Usefulness of neighbours' help*	*No. of secondary kin kept in close touch with*		*Age*	
Husband's sibs.	*Wife's sibs.*	*Husband's kin*	*Wife's kin*			*Husband's*	*Wife's*	*Husband's*	*Wife's*
r = +.10	r = +.08	r = +.23	r = +.13	r = +.16	r = +.10	r = +.18	r = +.10	r = +.09	r = +.11

*See Tables 17, 18 and 19 in Chapter 3 for details of kin and neighbour group characteristics.

Household Roles and Network Connectedness

The degree of interconnectedness of each couple's network—the extent to which the friends and confidants of both spouses are also "connected" with each other—is, in fact, positively correlated with the participation of husbands in household tasks (r = +.18)*. The more connected the network the greater the jointness in household roles. However, this is not true of any other task-roles within the family; i.e., in child-rearing or farm roles or even in social-emotional roles. (See Table 2).

This result is directly contrary to Bott's hypothesis, which stated that the more connected the network the greater the segregation of spousal roles. The actual reliability of this finding is strengthened by the fact that the overall level of kinship integration—for *both* spouses—increases with the level of jointness in household roles and household decisions and also with the level of social-emotional integration within families. (See columns 2 and 3 of Table 2). The more deeply both spouses are integrated with their kin the greater the degree of jointness and sharedness in their roles within the family.

On the other hand, Bott was not alone concerned with the connectedness of informal networks but also with the actual degree to which each spouse had separate networks—the extent to which both spouses actually shared

Table 2: *Correlations between level of network connectedness, kinship integration, extent of sharedness of confidants between spouses, and extent of jointness in household roles. (r = Pearsonian r)*

Characteristics of spousal interaction within family	*Characteristics of networks of spouses' extra-familial confidants*			
	(1) *Degree of network connectedness*	(2) *Kinship integration*		(3) *Extent of segregation between husband's and wife's networks*
		Wife	*Husband*	
(i) Division of labour in household:	r = +.18*	r = +.09	r = +.02	r = −.10*
(ii) Extent of jointness in household decisions:	r = +.03	r = +.10*	r = +.12*	r = −.15*
(iii) Division of labour, farm:	r = +.02	r = −.03	r = −.01	r = −.15*
(iv) Social-emotional leadership:	r = −.07	r = +.11*	r = +.11*	r = −.09
(v) Social-emotional integration:	r = −.03	r = +.08	r = +.10*	r = −.08

*All correlation ratios greater than .10 are statistically significant at the .05 level.

their friends rather than having inter-linking connections.* The extent of separateness of each spouse's network is not significantly correlated with the connectedness of the total network of friends maintained by both spouses ($r = -.08$). It appears that couples who have almost no common friends are just as likely to find that these separate sets of confidants know one another as well and talk to each other as often as do the set of friends and confidants of couples who share a large proportion of their friends.

Nevertheless, the extent to which spouses share a set of friends and confidants—mostly kin and neighbours—is very clearly correlated with the extent of jointness in household and farm roles and in joint participation in emotionally supportive behaviour (see Table 2). The more segregated their roles are within these families the greater the segregation of their friendship networks outside the family.

Equally, the extent to which one's close friends and confidants are of the same sex is also equally highly associated with segregation of household roles and decision making. It is not, therefore, the degree of connectedness of the network that is important but the extent to which the networks of husbands and wifes overlap or separate.

*The extent of separateness or jointness of spouses' networks was measured by expressing the actual number of friends named by *both* husband and wife (shared), plus the number of named friends whose spouses were named by the other partner, as a proportion of all persons named by *each* spouse. On this basis less than one-quarter of all couples shared half or more of their confidants. At the other extreme 28 per cent of all couples had no common friends. And only one-third shared up to one-third of their total network of confidants.

Indeed the above results suggest that the greater the degree of kinship integration of both spouses, and the greater the degree of connectedness amongst their close confidants—almost exclusively selected from their kin and neighbours—the higher the degree of jointness in household and decision-making roles within the family. Those couples who share a large proportion of their close confidants—even if these are exclusively selected from amongst both sets of kin and neighbours—and who are highly integrated into their respective kin groups, exhibit the highest level of jointness in household and decision-making roles. On the other hand, those couples who have separate male and female networks of friends and confidants, who are least integrated with their kin and who have the more dispersed networks, tend also to have the most segregated household, farm and decision-making roles and exhibit lower levels of emotionally supportive and integrative behaviour. It is the extent of jointness of roles within the family and the extent of sharedness of interests and friends outside the family that is important, not the actual formal characteristics of the socio-cultural environment within which each couple's relationship develops.

Bott paid particular attention to the formal characteristics of the network of supportive primary relationships within which each spouse was encapsulated; i.e., that network of supportive "primary group" relationships that "stands between" the individual or the couple and the larger social environment. She placed particular emphasis on the social processes which would lead to dispersed or connected networks and to the conservative normative and social control consequences of highly connected networks, especially ones that are rooted in traditional local community groups, of kinship and neighbourhood. In this study, however, we have found very few families whose friends and confidants are recruited from outside the traditional bonds of kinship and neighbourhood (see Chapter 3). Despite this, however, considerable differences exist in the extent of connectedness and segregation of each couple's networks. In terms of connectedness of these networks what few consistent differences do exist are contrary to Bott's hypothesis. In terms of the segregation of each spouse's network, however, Bott is clearly supported.

In this study, therefore, the actual relationship found between internal family interaction patterns and external informal relationships appear to have less to do with the normative constraints and social control pressures operating within tightly connected networks than with the quality of the emotional bonds between husband and wife within the family and the way these appear to extend to their wider kinship and friendship relationships. If the spousal relationship has a highly joint quality and exhibits a high level of emotional integration, both spouses tend to be highly integrated into both sets of kin, and to have many joint friendships etc. In other words, the relationship between internal family roles and external relationships appears to be more closely influenced by emotional rather than by exclusively

normative or structural variables. Considerable support for this conclusion comes from the results presented in the following section.

Family Interaction Types and Kinship Involvement

In Table 3 the relationship between the seven family interaction (cluster) types, isolated in Chapter 6, and their external kinship and neighbour group relationships are reported.

The results are very clearcut. Type 1 families have, by far, the lowest level of kinship contact and integration of all types; while Type 4, with the

Table 3: *Some kinship characteristics of the seven family (cluster) types.* (Percentage of spouses in each family type with particular kinship contacts)*

Kinship relationships	*Clusters—family types*						
	1 (N=39)	2 (N=56)	3 (N=52)	4 (N=46)	5 (N=72)	6 (N=101)	7 (N=39)
(1) *Median no. of siblings alive:*							
Wife's:	4.3	4.3	4.1	4.6	3.7	4.1	3.5
Husband's:	4.9	4.3	4.2	4.1	3.6	3.8	5.0
(P< .05)							
(2) *Median no. of secondary kin kept in close touch with:*							
Wife's:	2.0	6.5	9.0	11.0	8.5	7.5	5.5
Husband's:	8.3	10.7	9.4	10.5	7.2	8.6	12.5
(P< .01)							
(3) *Help from relatives: % who say they receive no help:*							
Wife's:	41%	34%	29%	30%	36%	34%	23%
Husband's:	51%	45%	35%	30%	28%	27%	26%
(P< .01)							
(4) *Total kin contact: % who say that no. of parents/siblings, in-laws, seen within previous 6 months is more than 4:*							
Wife's:	64%	80%	81%	89%	68%	74%	72%
Husband's:	64%	64%	83%	76%	61%	68%	84%
(P< .05)							
(5) *Total kin integration: % with very high contact with secondary kin (12+) and high involvement/identification with primary kin:*							
Wife's:	10%	25%	17%	26%	24%	22%	20%
Husband's:	23%	20%	23%	30%	24%	19%	39%
(P< .05)							

*See also Appendix III, Table 6.3.

lowest level of role segregation of all types and the highest level of social-emotional integration has, by far, the highest level of kinship integration. Here the results again run directly contrary to Bott's hypothesis. The more integrated both spouses are into their separate kin networks and the greater the degree of connectedness of these networks the greater the extent of jointness in spousal roles.

However, family types vary widely in the actual availability of kin. Some families may, however, have no choice but to seek friendships outside the more tightly interrelated kin system. In terms of the actual number of siblings alive, and the number of secondary kin available locally, for instance, Type 1 families have far fewer contacts to choose from than others (see rows 1 and 2 in Table 3). Forty-six per cent of Cluster 1 families have no secondary kin living in the local area compared to 26 per cent, 28 per cent and 35 per cent respectively of Types 4, 5 and 6 families. However, even when we controlled for the size of the kinship universe, Clusters 4, 5 and 6 still remain the most highly kinship integrated of all types. So, variation in the size of kin group does not explain variation in kinship contact. However, the variation in kinship contact could be partly explained by the very low income levels of Type 1 families (see Table 5, Chapter 6), and the much lower standard of living enjoyed by these families. In almost all studies of the phenomenon, income or class differences have been found to be highly correlated with the maintenance of kinship contacts. The higher the income or level of living of the family the greater the extent of kinship contact. This study was no exception.*

However, this would not account for the highest levels of contact with wives' kin, especially, being maintained by Type 4 families. These families have only slightly higher than average income, whereas Type 7 families, with the highest income and level of living enjoyed by all families, only equalled Type 4 families in terms of contact with husbands' kin but was much lower than Type 4 in terms of contact with wives' kin. In this latter case, however, the lower kin involvement with wives' kin in Type 7 families appeared to be partly a consequence of the lower availability of her kin. A significantly higher proportion of wives in Type 7 families had moved to the parish on marriage—46 per cent compared to 18 per cent to 38 per cent of wives in all other family types.**

*The correlation (Pearsonian) between level of living (SES) scale and Kinship Integration is: r = +.16, husband's kin; and r = +.13, wife's kin.

**Percentage of wives and husbands born within parish of residence by family types.

Place of birth of:	*Family types (Clusters)*						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(i) Wife	69	69	67	65	82	62	54
(ii) Husband	88	91	90	94	93	90	95

As to the relationships with network structure there is, in fact, no statistically significant difference amongst family types in the extent of connectedness or segregation of network (see Appendix Table 7.1); although there is a slight but consistent tendency for the most segregated networks to occur amongst families with the most segregated roles. The most segregated, most interconnected and most male dominant networks are those of husbands from Type 1, 2 and 7 families. This result would give some slight support for Bott's hypothesis. However, as we shall see, in the next section the reasons for this are not as straightforward nor as simple as Bott proposed.

It appears, therefore, that not alone is the relationship between nuclear family interaction characteristics and kinship and network connectedness not as Bott hypothesised, but the relationships involved are far more complex than could be articulated by one simple hypothesis. In the following section we explore some of the substantive reasons why husbands and wives in different family types vary so much in the extent of jointness or segregation in their kinship contacts.

Extent of Dominance of each Spouse's Kin

What is equally as important as the relationship between family type and the individual spouse's kinship involvement is the relative degree of dominance of each spouse's kin set. In the following table we summarise the results.

Type 4 families have the highest level of joint or mutual contact with both sets of kin. Of all family types both spouses are most highly integrated with their respective kin. In these families also (Type 4), the degree of integration with one set of kin is most highly correlated with that of the other ($r = +.45$). The greater the extent to which husbands are integrated with their kin the greater the tendency of their wives to be integrated with theirs. In these families also it was least likely that one set of kin dominated the other (see Table 4).

At the other extreme family Types 2 and 7 showed the lowest level of mutual or joint integration with both sets of kin. Here either the husband's (as in Type 7), or the wife's kin (as in Type 2), tended to dominate and where integration with one set of kin tended to be negatively correlated with integration into the other set. There were rather dramatic differences between these two types. Type 7 families tended to be dominated by the husband's kin. And the greater the extent that husbands were involved with their kin the less their wives were integrated with theirs. On the other hand, in Type 2 families the exact opposite was the case. These families tended to be dominated by wives' kin, and the more wives became involved in their kin set the less did their husbands become involved with their own. Type 2 families also had the lowest proportion of families with high levels of in-

Table 4: *The relative degree of dominance of each spouse's kin group, by family type. Percentage distribution of families by relative dominance of each spouse's kin, within each family (cluster) type*

Relative degree of dominance of each spouse's kin set	*Family type (clusters)*						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(i) Families where husband's kin integration is greater than his wife's:	27	34	32	26	32	32	53
(ii) Where husband's kin integration = wife's:	32	9	30	41	24	27	10
(iii) Where wife's kin integration is greater than her husband's:	41	57	38	33	44	41	37
Total: %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	39	56	52	46	72	101	39
(P< .05)							
Correlation (Pearson product moment) between degree of husband's kin integration and degree of wife's kin integration, within each family type:	r = +.31 (P< .05)	r = −.26 (P< .05)	r = +.15 (n.s.)	r = +.45 (P< .01)	r = +.31 (P< .01)	r = +.19 (P< .05)	r = −.16 (n.s.)

tegration with both sets of kin. Only one-fifth of Type 2 families compared to one-third of Type 7 families and over half of Type 4 families had high levels of contact and integration with both kin sets.

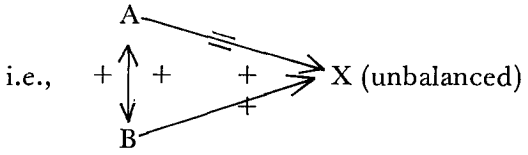
As we originally saw in describing these two family types (Clusters 2 and 7), Type 2 has a tendency toward a maternally dominant family. These families have a highly segregated system of spousal roles where wives enjoy most autonomy in their own task roles while at the same time having considerable influence on farm decisions. In these families also husbands tend to be dominant in social-emotional leadership. We saw in Chapter 6 that this sort of role constellation is associated with a very low level of social-emotional integration within the family. This mother dominant pattern seems also to be reflected in her kinship contacts, the more she is integrated with her kin the less her husband is with his. That this must be more a matter of actual mother dominance rather than of opportunity can be seen from a careful examination of the results in Table 3.

Type 7 families, however, could not be described as paternally dominant except in the extent to which husbands are involved in SEL functions.

Perhaps the dominant significance of husbands' kin here could be partly explained by this factor. However, more important is the fact that the wives in these families were least likely to be born within the parish. But, although this would explain why husbands are relatively more integrated with their kin it would not explain why increasing kinship involvement of husbands is related to decreasing kinship involvement of their wives. This appears to be due to a pattern of husband leadership, in both decision-making and social-emotional roles; i.e., to some extent it is the mirror image of Type 2.

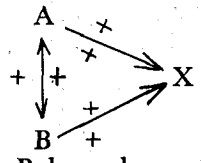
There are, therefore, very clear and highly significant relationships between family interaction characteristics and the relative dominance of either husband's or wife's kin. Unfortunately our explanations for this, being post-factum, are highly tentative and open to the charge of exploiting merely fortuitous differences. If, however, we restrict ourselves to statistically significant patterns and could propose a theoretical model, or utilise an existing one, within which all of these post-factum explanations could be accommodated, then they would obviously have much greater validity.

Fortunately such a model exists, that of Balance theory (16, 70). This states that in any situation involving two persons (A and B), and an object (X), about which both have important or salient attitudes, there is a clear tendency or strain toward the maintenance of symmetry or balance in the reciprocal system of attitudes or feelings. Thus if wife (A) is highly attached to her husband (B) but heartily dislikes his mother (X) but B, reciprocating his wife's affection, is closely attached to his mother (X); then a very clear strain exists in these set of relationships which will have to be managed in some way.

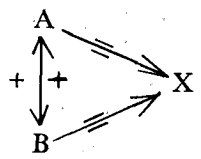


According to the original theory, communication will occur to bring the reciprocal set of attitudes into balance.* Three possibilities exist: (i) A can change her attitude; i.e., from negative (−) to positive (+); (ii) B can change his attitude to X, i.e., from positive (+) to negative (−); or (iii) A or B or both can change their attitude toward each other, i.e., from positive (+) to negative (−). All of these states are balanced ones.

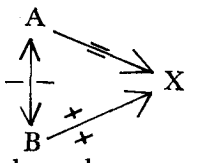
*Since our measures deal with actual rates of contact and exchanges with kin and not feelings toward them; and we are trying to explain variation in that rate of contact; we are assuming, for this exercise, that increasing or decreasing one's rate of contact is a sufficient response to one's spouse's expectations. It is not necessary to actually come to feel equally negatively about one's mother to balance off the attitudinal set, merely that one reduces rate of contact with her.

(i) 

Balanced

(ii) 

Balanced

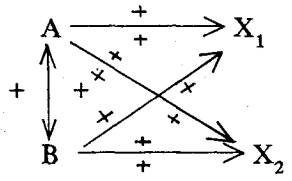
(iii) 

Balanced

Since the third possibility will usually be minimised, the actual outcome would appear to depend on: (a) A's and B's beginning attitude and extent of integration with their own kin; (b) B's original attitude toward A's kin, and A's attitude to B's kin; (c) the relative "availability" of A's and B's kin; and (d) each spouse's relative emotional investment in the spousal relationship and the relative degree of dominance and submission of each spouse to each other.

Examining the results presented in Tables 3 and 4 in terms of the above schema, there appears to be at least four ways in which variation in reciprocal spousal attitudes or relationships and attitudes toward and integration with both sets of kin are resolved:

(i) + = positive attitude
— = negative attitude

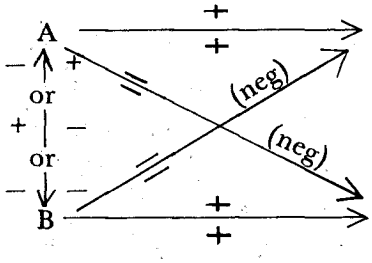


(Wife's kin)

(Husband's kin)

i.e. Fully balanced in both triads.

Here A and B are highly attached to each other and are jointly highly integrated with both kin sets. This seems to be characteristic of Type 4 families.

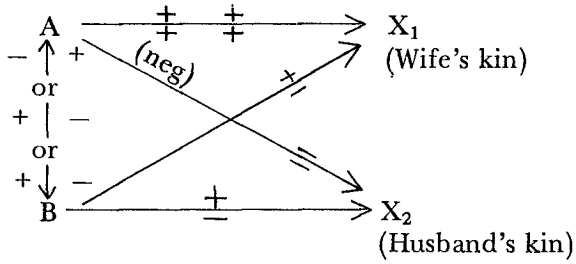
(ii) 

(Wife's kin). (Husband's kin).

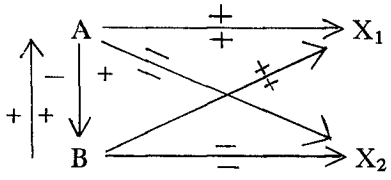
Balanced states: Attitude to spouse is negative or ambivalent, to spouse's kin is negative, to own kin is positive.

Here the relationship between husband and wife is ambivalent or negative, as is that between each spouse and their in-laws. Both, however, are separately integrated with their own kin group. This appears to be typical of Type 1 families, for instance. Here, however, the level of integration with either kin set is the lowest of all family types.

(iii)

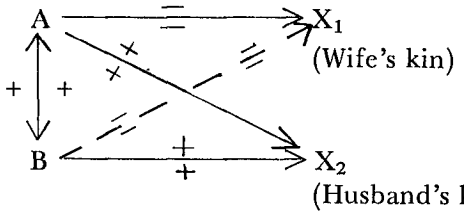


Here again the relationship between husband and wife, although much less negative than in the former case, is still cool. The wife is much more highly integrated with her kin than is her husband with his. And the more she is involved with her kin the less he becomes integrated with his own. Here the actual outcome of his relationship with her kin would appear—to maintain balance in the set of relationships—to be a function of his affection for his wife, of her relative power in the relationship, and of the relative availability of both kin sets. The greater his affection, the greater her power in the relationship and the more available her kin the more he becomes estranged from his own kin and involved in hers i.e.,



This appears to be characteristic of many families of Type 2.

(iv) The fourth type is almost the exact mirror image of (iii) with an outcome like the following:



This appears to characterise Type 7 families where the lower integration with wife's kin appears to be partly due to their lower availability but also to an apparent dominance of husbands in the relationship.

These ideas from Balance Theory would help account for the clearly asymmetrical relationship that exists with both kin sets. Unfortunately we

have no direct measure of each spouse's attitudes toward, or actual relationship with, in-laws, so that these conclusions are put forward very tentatively. Nevertheless, the consistent relationships that were found between the degree of symmetry (Types 4 and 5), or asymmetry (Types 2 and 7), in the relationship between spouses and their respective kin groups, and equivalent variations in internal family interaction characteristics etc., would suggest that these lines of enquiry should be pursued in future research.

Conclusion

We have found that interaction patterns within the family are highly correlated with patterns of relationships with the wider networks of kin, friends and neighbours. However, the results clearly do not support Bott's hypothesis, nor the reasons given by Bott for proposing that hypothesis. The only support for the hypothesis given by our data is in terms of the relationships between segregated spousal roles within the family being clearly related to segregated and usually single sex networks of friends and kin intimates outside the family. In all other respects, however, the families with the most segregated roles tended to be those with the least contact with their kin, and to be members of networks which were the more loosely articulated. In most of these cases also there appeared to be a clear disjunction, even competition, between both kin groups.

On the other hand, those families which had the least segregated or the most joint set of family roles tended, on the whole, to be most integrated with their kin, and relationships with both kin sets were co-operative rather than competitive. The relationship between variation in nuclear family interaction characteristics and kin and friendly networks seems to be more influenced by differences in the relative power or influence of both spouses within the family and to differences in the emotional-integrative quality of spousal and parental interaction within the family than to any formal structural or normative variables such as those proposed by Bott. Within the rather traditional settings in which this study was carried out, the greater the jointness of spousal roles within the family the greater the level of joint segregation of spouses with both sets of kin. And the greater the integration of spousal roles within the family the greater the bias in contact with one of the kin sets.

Chapter 8

An Overview and General Conclusion

IN this concluding chapter we do not provide a conclusive summary of the main results of the study. Such summaries and substantive conclusions have already been given at the end of each preceding chapter. Rather our intention is to try to crystallise the main substantive, theoretical and methodological implications of the study, to indicate some of its main weak points and to suggest the main directions that research should take in the future. We begin, therefore, with a short introductory statement of the problem. We then provide a rather selective summary of the main results. These are selected to lead towards the main substantive, theoretical and methodological conclusions of the study which are presented side-by-side with the results. We then proceed with a discussion on the main theoretical and methodological limitations of the study and indicate the main directions that we think future research should take.

Introduction

Up to relatively recent times most sociologists and anthropologists describing and analysing systems of social relationships concerned themselves primarily with the overall consistent repetitive modal pattern of relationships observed—i.e., the "structure" of these relationships—to the virtual exclusion of variations that existed. This was particularly true of these operating within the structural-functional approach, a relatively dominant theoretical orientation up to the early 1960s. They were mainly concerned with cultural or social patterns that characterised the total system. For instance, in Arensberg and Kimball's (4) description of the structure of husband/wife, and parent/child relationships in the traditional farm family of North Clare in the 1930s, they describe it as one where: (1) The reciprocal spousal roles in housekeeping, child-rearing, farmyard and farm tasks are clearly differentiated by sex and age roles; (2) overall authority is concentrated in the father's hands, although the mother may enjoy certain areas of autonomy in her household and farmyard roles; and (3) partly as a consequence of this extreme concentration of power in the father's hands, the mother takes on the emotionally supportive and tension management role in the family (67). These relationship patterns were stated to be present within such a highly localised social and cultural environment that people's beliefs, values and feelings were so overwhelmingly popularly shared as to be largely unquestioned, and so "sacred" as to be unquestionable. That is,

local systems of neighbourhood, kinship and community were so tightly organised and so culturally isolated that very few reference standards outside the local area were relevant. So, people who were born and socialised within this local system would have no alternative but to use local norms in judging their own situation. As a result the majority of people found "reward and pleasure" in living out their traditional roles within it (4, p. 46).

This study, unlike that of Arensberg and Kimball's research, set out specifically to measure the variation actually existing amongst West of Ireland farming families in the early 1970s and tried to pinpoint factors which influenced this variation. If Arensberg and Kimball's description of the way of life in a few small and isolated farm communities in County Clare in the early 1930s was a fairly representative picture of the actual situation in these kinds of communities in the West of Ireland in the early 1930s (and the case for its representativeness is supported by many studies of peasant family systems in other countries), it clearly is not valid for the present day, indeed probably not since the early 1950s.* The case for this proposition is argued in Chapter 1 and in an earlier paper (46) and the results of our research clearly support it.

There are two factors which would almost inevitably have brought about change. First, the social and cultural isolation of previously traditional communities has become progressively eroded. Consequently the autonomy and authenticity of local and regional cultures has greatly declined. As a result, younger people, especially, have become aware of and identify with alternative ways of organising their lives which appear more satisfactory to them than the local alternatives; i.e., the well-known growth of "external" reference group effects. This ideational change in people's beliefs, values and ideal role expectations would almost inevitably bring about major changes in how actual family relationships are constructed.

Equally significant are the cumulative changes in the economic and technological environment within which these families operate. Since the early 1950s especially there has been a gradually increasing commercialisation or market domination of farming and household activities. There has been an equally significant increase in powered machinery and other innovations in farm practice. Both of these changes would have had significant effects on husband-wife relationships. They would have effectively undermined the traditional technological apprenticeship between father and son, as they would also have diminished any justification for assigning to age and lifetime experience such a concentration of power, privilege and prestige to the father's role that was characteristic of the traditional system. Similarly, the commercialisation of farm production considerably reduced the traditional

*We are concerned here only with the reliability and validity of Arensberg and Kimball's ethnography, and specifically their description of the structure of family relationships, not with their functional theorising.

farmyard task roles of the farm wife. This results in her gradual withdrawal to household, child-rearing and "kitchen" roles. And, as commercialisation of production proceeds and family consumption patterns change away from the traditional staples to ever increasing wants, such a rigid routinisation of decision-making patterns, as appears to have been characteristic of the traditional family system, becomes dysfunctional. The increasing frequency and complexity of decisions makes it very difficult to maintain the traditional routinised patterns of decision making. The decision-making process becomes much more complex and consequences of decisions less easily calculable. As a result, such economic changes alone would require that adaptations be made in the family decision-making process. So, apart from the declining percentage of wives and adult children who would be content to be subservient to their husbands' or fathers' decisions, changes in family production and consumption patterns almost necessarily require a change in the division of labour within families and a much more consultative and less authoritarian family decision-making process. To what extent do our results support these propositions?

Results and Conclusions

First, the results presented in Chapter 3 indicate that very wide variations exist amongst families in their economic and technological conditions and in their social and cultural environment. Equally wide variations exist in the socialisation experiences of both spouses, especially in their level of education and their migration and work experiences outside the confines of the home parish. The majority of families also had rather high levels of participation in mass media, although a small minority were almost completely isolated from national media channels. Overall, therefore, there were considerable differences amongst couples in their background socialisation experiences, in their current life styles and in the social and cultural environment within which interaction amongst family members occurs. It was not very surprising, therefore, to find that equally wide variations existed in family interaction patterns.

A very significant change, therefore, has occurred since the 1930s in the economic, social and cultural environment within which interpersonal relationships develop within families. Not every family has changed, however. A large minority of families interviewed in this study still existed within an economic, social and cultural environment which is very little different from that of the mid-1930s. Whether such variation in the backgrounds of spouses and in the environment within which family interaction occurs explains most of the variation in the family interaction and is explored in Chapters 4 and 5 of this report.

The results presented in Chapters 2 and 4 show that very wide variation exists in family relationship patterns, from the rigidly traditional to patterns characteristic of the modern urban middle class. Only about one-third of

the sample families displayed the rather rigid sex role and decision-making patterns characteristic of the traditional farm family, and even this proportion was much smaller amongst younger couples. At the other extreme over a quarter of all families interviewed had a very "modern" pattern of interaction with considerable breaching of the traditionally rigid sex roles in household and child-rearing tasks; with a joint consultative pattern of decision making; and with a mutually supportive emotional structure.

There were considerable differences between these two extremes in their backgrounds, socialisation processes and current membership and reference group characteristics. The more traditional families, and especially the fathers, tended to be somewhat older and much more socially isolated, although age *per se* is, surprisingly, not a very significant discriminator. What is much more significant is that they are embedded in rather traditional local systems of neighbourhood and community and to a large extent are insulated communicationally from outside reference group effects. The "modern" families, on the other hand, tended to be younger and to be far more highly involved in modern market contacts, to have joined voluntary organisations, to have greater informal contacts outside the community and finally to be more highly involved in the mass media. There are clear memberships and reference group differences, therefore, between the two groups. However, these differences were not always as hypothesised. Indeed in terms of kinship contact, the more "traditional" the family the less the contact with kin.

Equally as important as these influences were some situational factors which in one case would have "forced" an adaptation to "modern" patterns of familial interaction, irrespective of the feelings or beliefs of the participants involved; and, in the other case, a situation which considerably facilitated the maintenance of traditional patterns. The most important situational influence was that of family cycle stage. In contrast variation in the family's economic or technological situation appeared to have a relatively minor influence on family interaction.

Change in family interaction characteristics or, as measured here, variation in these patterns was originally hypothesised as coming from two sources: changes in values and role expectations, and changes due to continuous adaptations to economic and technological transformations. Of these two sources of change, therefore, our data would suggest that ideational change is by far the most important. And, in most instances, such ideational changes appear to have proceeded at a much faster rate than people's actual behaviour has changed, if the degree of dissatisfaction manifest by wives in the most traditional families is taken as an indicator. In Chapters 4, 5 and 6 our results show quite clearly that a rather large proportion of wives especially have "modernised" expectations and values about family roles which are obviously not shared by their husbands and are not being realised.

Reference group influences, therefore, appear to be as important in ex-

plaining people's feelings about their actual family roles as the way in which people actually enact these roles. Our results also suggest that merely latent adaptations to changing technological and economic circumstances is much less significant than had been anticipated. Very little of the total variation in family interaction is explainable in terms of concurrent variation in levels of technological or economic innovativeness in farming. This is perhaps, most neatly illustrated by the fact that wives' farm task roles are not related to the size or degree of innovativeness or modernisation of farms, or even to total output. But such variation is highly correlated with the level of education, migration experience, standard of living, mass media participation and values of wives.

A much more significant situational influence on family interaction than adaptation to economic or technological change is that of the family cycle. Even within the restricted sample of "young" nuclear families—with both parents and at least one child under 16 living in the household—with which we were working, much of the variation in interaction patterns is due to the stage of the family cycle. Interaction patterns change significantly from the first stage, with young parents and very small children and frequently with one or both of the paternal grandparents living in the house, to the last stage where most of the adult children have left home. The proportion of couples with high levels of mutuality in their relationships or jointness in their roles declines with progress through the family cycle. This, however, appears to be partly a function of work pressures and, perhaps, mutual involvement and identification with young children being at its greatest at the early stages of the family cycle. As soon as these work pressures decline and mutual parental identification evaporates as the children age, then spousal mutuality also declines. However, this increase in the segregation of spousal roles with progress through the family cycle does not appear to occur if a strong autonomous emotionally supportive spousal relationship has been built up early in the marriage or even earlier in courtship. Our results suggest, therefore, that the reason for the decline in the proportion of couples with mutually supportive relationships with progress through the family cycle is that at the early stages of the cycle immediate work pressures, mutual parental identification with young children, perhaps the residual effects from courtship days of shallow bonds of mutual infatuation etc., can compensate for deeper and more persistent mutually supportive bonds. However, as soon as such circumstantial pressures ease, as the children grow up and as courtship infatuation declines, then role segregation increases amongst these spouses.

It is evident from our results that the level of significance of such emotionally supportive relationships between spouses is highly correlated with modernising influences—i.e., education, migration experience, occupation and residence in urban areas, involvement in mass media etc. This evidence very strongly supports the notion that the marital relationship has

become increasingly based on emotionally supportive bonds built up between couples in the courtship and early marriage stage, and has been moving away from the almost instrumental basis of the relationship which appeared to be characteristic of traditional marriages.

Our results also support the view that it would have proved impossible to maintain the legitimacy of traditional peasant familial roles especially—the female roles—in modern market and communication conditions. If, in the 1930s, there was such a high degree of consensus on these roles, if the efficacy of the socialisation process was so overpowering that personalities and social roles were so completely articulated that "the interests and desires of the individual concur in large measure with the norm, and he finds rewards and pleasure in it," (4, p. 46); this became less and less possible as the isolating boundaries of such locally indigenous social and cultural systems became eroded with economic, technological and other institutional and communication changes. As a result the latent tensions that might have been containable within the conservative economic, social and cultural environment in which the peasant family system operated—particularly the inequalities in sex and age roles—was bound to become manifest as this environment became transformed.* Our results suggest, however, that although this change in consciousness or, more specifically, in the ideal role expectations of wives had occurred in a large proportion of cases this had not resulted in any change in their husbands' behaviour but had merely increased wives' level of dissatisfaction.

There are many factors, therefore, influencing family interaction other than the ideal expectations of husbands or wives. As a result, in a substantial proportion of cases it was quite evident that some of the spouses' expectations were not being met. This was most evident in the case of wives in the most traditional families (10 per cent of the total sample). In these families half of the wives expressed clear dissatisfaction with their husbands' family roles. On the other hand, in those families with a highly "modern" pattern of interaction (one-quarter of all families), less than one-seventh of all wives were dissatisfied. That is, not alone have actual family patterns changed dramatically from the situation described by Arensberg and Kimball, but even in those families where traditional relationships persist this appears to be more a function of the husband's power and the emotional quality of the spousal relationship than from any shared set of values. In these families changes in ideals and values appear to have proceeded much further than actual change in behaviour.

*See Brody, *Innishkillane*, op. cit., pp. 109-130, for some very vivid descriptions of family relationships where the "delegitimisation" of traditional family roles has proceeded to a point of almost complete demoralisation or of actual role reversals, where adult sons adopt dominant roles and their definition of the situation is accepted by parents as the legitimate one. However, according to our data this would hold in only a very small proportion of cases. Like many of Brody's other cameos these ethnographic examples appear to be selected to dramatically illustrate the direction of social and cultural change and not to provide representative ethnographic descriptions.

The relative power of both spouses, the quality of the affectionate attachments between spouses and stage of the family cycle appear to be the most important intervening variables here in influencing whether expectations are actually being met. If wives in the 1930s were as likely to find reward and fulfilment in their traditional roles, as Arensberg and Kimball suggest, this is clearly no longer the case. Where modernising influences are not matched by actual behavioural adaptations within one's family, exposure to those influences rapidly increases levels of dissatisfaction. This was quite evident in the results presented in Chapters 4 and 6.

It is clear, therefore, from the results presented in Chapters 4 and 5 but especially in Chapter 6 that the interplay of factors influencing family interaction patterns is so complex that the rather simple linear model of change presented in the first chapter is extremely naive. Any particular organisation of family roles is the outcome of a very complex process of interaction between both spouses in which the three variables already mentioned appear to play a central role:

(i) *normative* factors, specifically spouses' reciprocal role expectations
(ii) *emotional* factors, the quality of mutual identification and affectional support.
(iii) *situational* factors, the stage of the family cycle.

Each of these three variables appears to be equally important. Some of the obvious ways in which this occurs has been elucidated in Chapter 5.

Considered over time, therefore, change appears to have occurred through the interaction of a number of forces.

(i) Increasing incorporation of previously autonomous social and cultural systems within the larger and more open national system. This brought about cumulative ideational changes, specifically changes in the role expectations of husbands and wives. These changes fused with role tensions which were latent in the original peasant system.
(ii) As a result an increasing proportion of each new generation of couples getting married adopted attitudes and values about married life and marriage roles which were increasingly "modern"—i.e., less rigidly defined sex roles, equalitarian relationships and a very high value on emotional supportiveness.
(iii) The significance of the affectional bonds between husband and wife appears to have become increasingly salient over time and now appears to play a central role in the way spousal relationships become stabilised. The role of this latter variable appears to have been completely underestimated in most conventional sociological research dealing with family interaction, even by those who reject functionalist models. From our data it appears that the emotional dimension in spousal relationships develops rather autonomously—i.e., independent of normative or situational variables—and that its development has a major

structuring affect on other aspects of family interaction. The neglect of this variable has occurred despite the fact that it was the central variable emphasised by sociologists studying courtship processes and early marital adjustment (19, 14).

(iv) After varying periods of marriage, therefore, the characteristics of familial interaction appear to be a function of: (a) the reciprocal expectations in spousal and parental roles and in the relative power of both partners in influencing the actual behavioural response of others; (b) the quality of the mutual affectional attachments between spouses; (c) the stage of the family cycle.

If, as Arensberg and Kimball suggest, it was possible in the 1930s to maintain a high degree of institutionalisation of traditional farm family roles within the conservative social and cultural context of the time, this is clearly no longer the case. Economic, social and cultural changes are such that it is now obviously impossible to do so. As a result very wide variations exist in family interaction patterns and no single type predominates.

It is equally clear from our results that the structural-functional mode of theorising is not the most useful one in studying the current very wide variation in family interaction systems—especially the theory's emphasis on abstracting out that basic interdependent system of roles or relationships that is most characteristic of the group being studied and then tracing out the functional interconnections amongst the different parts of the system. Equally there is clearly an overemphasis on purely normative factors in the theory, i.e., on expectations, values, or feelings of obligation or correctedness etc., and the way such feelings of reciprocal rights and obligations underlie role playing. As is very clear from our data, in a rather large proportion of cases the role expectations ("rights") of spouses are not being met. Although this may be partly explicable in terms of the lack of reciprocal feelings of "obligations" on the part of one's mate it is equally clear from our data that other variables are equally important.

However, if sociologists using a functionalist orientation in studying the family have over-emphasised normative variables, sociologists using other theoretical orientations, such as Exchange Theory, equally tend to underemphasise the role of emotional factors or spousal love in family interaction and treat it as a residual variable explainable by other more central factors (11, 8a, 51). Our results, on the other hand, suggest that such mutual feelings of attachment or interpersonal commitment play a very important independent role in family interaction processes. They appear to be central as normative or ideational factors are in Structural-Functional or Role Theory, or as relative "resources" and "power" in Exchange Theory. These tend to be the dominant theoretical orientations in sociological research on the family. There are, however, other theoretical orientations and other

research traditions in sociology where this is not the case,* but this will be gone into later.

If Structural-Functionalism as a theory overemphasises normative factors in interaction it also exaggerates the degree of systematic interconnectedness in a system of human relationships. Yet it is clear from our data that particular patterns of family relationships do fit together in consistent ways. This became obvious in our attempt to derive a typology of family interaction patterns (Chapter 6). Although a first attempt and put forward tentatively, the results clearly suggest that different aspects of family roles—the division of labour in carrying out tasks and making decisions, and social-emotional patterns—fit together in consistent ways to form clear family interaction types. In this respect at least a modified functional model may be useful in trying to explain why this should be the case.

The results of this attempt at defining a series of family interaction types showed that about a third of the families sampled could be defined as "traditional", i.e., in having a clearly defined sex segregated division of labour in family roles. However, less than a quarter also had that kind of decision-making and emotional characteristics that Arensberg and Kimball described as typical of the traditional family. What was most significant about these latter families was that they were the most emotionally unsatisfactory of all types. At the other extreme over a third of families belonged to types which were clearly very "modern" in their interaction characteristics. These also were by far the most emotionally satisfactory (to wives), of all families.

Although the relationship amongst the three major family role variables we dealt with—the allocation of task roles, decision-making patterns, social-emotional characteristics—are clearly not linear they appear to be highly interdependent. Any future research should try to explicate these inter-relationships in more detail than we were able to do in Chapters 5 and 6.

If there was any doubt of the importance of viewing the interdependence of variables from a modified functional or system perspective it will be removed by the results presented in Chapter 7, i.e., the very consistent and statistically significant relationships found between the patterns of spousal relationships within the family and the links both spouses maintain with their own kin and with their in-laws. The results in some respects support previous research, especially in regard to the consistent relationships between segregation of spousal roles within the family and the separation of husbands' and wives' networks of kin and friends outside it. However, in many other respects our findings run contrary to previous theorising in this area.

*The growth of mutual empathy—the ability, willingness, even commitment to take the role of the other, even to such an extent as to accept the interests and feelings of the other as equally or more important than one's own—has been studied extensively as a process amongst courting, engaged and young married couples by sociologists using the Symbolic Interactionist perspective. See Review of these studies by Stryker "The Interactional and Situational Approaches", in Christensen, (ed.), *Handbook of Marriage and the Family,* pp. 125-146.

The families least integrated with their kin were those with the most traditional pattern of family roles. Further analysis of our data also showed that clear differentials existed within families in levels of contact with both kin sets and that these differentials were highly correlated with certain features of interaction within the family. A formal explanatory model was put forward in an attempt to explain these relationships which appear to be far more complex than previously thought. The model proposed, although apparently satisfactory, is nevertheless a post-factum one and its usefulness and validity can only be established by future research.

This completes our summary of results and conclusions. In the following section we deal with the major limitations of the study and put forward suggestions for future research.

Limitations of the Study and Recommendations for Future Research

We initiated this research using a rather straightforward hypothesis testing model; to describe and attempt to explain concurrent variation and assumed or inferred change in patterns of interaction within farm families. A modified form of structural functional theorising underlay its conceptualisation and a simple linear additive model of statistical analysis was assumed. Once the analysis started, however, it became obvious that the explication of the actually existing relationships amongst the variables studied would prove completely intractable using these perspectives. As the analysis proceeded a rather eclectic mixture of role, exchange and reference group theory replaced the modified structural-functional mode of theorising originally employed, and a type of statistical analysis was used that tried to isolate and explicate statistical interaction amongst the variables. By using this approach we feel we have successfully elucidated some of the most important and relevant aspects of family interaction. We could then have gone back and altered our original theorising but felt strongly that this would have been completely misleading to our readers.

In other respects, however, the assumed model held up, especially in regard to the direction of change in women's roles. The end point of change is not toward the modern liberated woman role, independent of her husband's provider role and fully integrated with the main instrumental work oriented aspects of society, but actually toward the "wifehood", "motherhood" and even "housewifely" role models assumed to be characteristic of the urban middle class. In one respect, however, it is significantly different from the typical middle-class pattern in that such wives in farm families tend to play a central role in the financial management of farms and in this way they may escape the frustrations that apparently are now characteristic of many middle-class urban wives.* In this sense they are not

*See H. Gavron, *The Captive Wife*, op. cit.; and A. Oakley, *The Sociology of Housework*, op. cit. A study of the subjective orientations of a sample of Dublin upper middle class housewives, being presently written up by Patricia O'Connor for a M.Soc.Sc. degree at UCD, shows a rather high level of dissatisfaction and frustration with their maternal, housewifely and wifely roles.

as isolated from the main stream of status-giving activities in society as are most middle class urban wives and their status is not as derivatory.

In many other respects also our original conceptualisation and research design was equally satisfactory to yield the important results and conclusions presented so far. However, there were limitations in research design which were not redeemable and which made it very difficult to explain variation in family interaction patterns. The first failure arose from an attempt to use a cross-sectional study of families who varied greatly in this stage of the family cycle to try and explain even their own behaviour at that point of time. It is clear from our analysis that even when one limits the sample severely as we did, the remaining differences in family cycle position are very significant in explaining family interaction characteristics. This is not alone because situational constraints change as families pass through their typical cycle and these have a notable influence on family interaction characteristics, but also that one of the most important variables that plays a central role in structuring family interaction is the growth of emotional-empathic bonds between spouses as their life together proceeds.

The growth of these bonds can obviously only be studied as a process from courtship to the first accommodative years of married life together, to the stage with young children etc. Our data strongly indicate that the growth of empathic-affective-supportive bonds is a relatively autonomous process, not merely a dependent one as some theories suggest; that it must be highly correlated with the way sexual relationships are incorporated within the married relationships, and that it is a central variable structuring many aspects of the spousal and parental relationships.

A cross-sectional study, therefore, can only indicate its significance but cannot throw much light on how or why such variation exists. The study has, however, shown that the relative importance of such emotional bonding is highly correlated with modernising influences—the level of education of spouses, their occupational and migrational experiences, external reference group identities, mass media exposure and level of integration into modern societal contexts. The significance, therefore, of individual choice and what has been called the "romantic-love complex" in marital relationships has greatly increased in significance since the early 1930s (40, 39).

As a result the relative importance of institutionalised, prescriptive normative orientations has become much less significant in determining familial relationships, while interpersonal processes of "role bargaining" have become much more significant. In other words the major structuring principle in family interaction may well have changed from cultural or normative prescriptions to the process of empathic-affectional bonding in marriage. So, on both theoretical and methodological grounds a research procedure that stresses cultural change—changes in widely shared sets of beliefs, values and norms governing marital and sex roles—that adopts a systematic functional orientation, and one that is based on a cross-sectional synchronic study is not a completely appropriate one.

On theoretical grounds functional theory in all of its guises underplays the dynamics of interactional processes and treats interpersonal feelings as a residual or dependent aspect of relationships. On methodological grounds as an investigative model, it either prescribes a totally synchronic view, or, if diachronic, it tends to view change as merely adaptive to external normative or situational changes (54, 57, 79, 80).

Our data strongly suggest, on the other hand, that only if one can validly assume the existence of a widely shared and relatively closed normative system, which is adaptive as a total system, can such a view of social or cultural change be in any way useful. This is particularly true if one is studying changes in small systems of interpersonal relationships, as in families. Here it appears that the actual interpersonal relationships constructed become increasingly a function of the dynamics of interpersonal interaction with changes in the ideal cultural patterns merely indicating the direction in which change is to occur or the broad limits within which adaptation is legitimised.

Our results also clearly indicated that in studying the actual behavioural outcome of "role bargaining" between spouses an Exchange Theory view of interpersonal interaction, which stresses the relative power and resources of each spouse, is rather misleading. Much more attention needs to be paid to the process of empathic-affectional bonding that occurs between couples as they progress in their relationships from early courtship to the early years of marriage. Research models based on a Symbolic Interactionist perspective, which view the nuclear family as a "unity of interacting personalities", and the growth of affectional bonds as a reciprocal empathic or role taking process—i.e., the ability and willingness to take the role of the other, and one's personal commitment to that taken-role etc.—are more useful. Unfortunately this theoretical and methodological perspective is relatively rare in conventional family interaction studies and tends to be limited to studies predicting marital success. Where the emotional or, what was called, the "expressive" aspects of family relationships were treated within conventional studies concerned with studying family relationships systems, it was usually conceptualised in terms of the specialisation of sex roles within the family (16, 101, 102).

Our results, however, especially those presented in Chapter 4, clearly indicate that the quality of the mutually supportive, emotional-empathic, bonds between spouses is a crucial intervening variable in explaining and understanding the allocation of task roles within families. It is especially important in explaining the re-allocation of task roles that occurs as families pass through their typical cycle. So, besides indicating the importance of a systemic view of family interaction, these results also indicated the crucial importance of empathic-affective variables, even in cross-sectional studies of family interaction. Our measurement of this variable was not fully satisfactory, although it did include measures of mutual empathy, reciprocal

supportiveness, and extent of jointness in task roles etc. The results clearly indicate that the variable is extremely important in any family study.

However, to really understand or explain why such wide variation exists in levels of social-emotional integration within families would require a longitudinal study, most probably one that included both observational and interviewing procedures. We were able to show that some of the differences amongst families on this variable was due to differences in values or expectations—i.e. its relatively high correlation with "modernising" variables. But we were also able to show that such modernisation of people's values or ideals had proceeded at a much faster rate than people's actual behaviour within families. So, it appears that, although the variable has grown in importance over time, there are many factors other than people's values that influence the extent to which such ideally expected behaviour is actualised. Only a longitudinal or panel study concerned with the development and stabilisation of the actual process of interaction between spouses could adequately assess what these factors are.

A related but more direct limitation of the present study was our attempt to use a study done in 1970 to try to assess the extent of change, and the causes of change, in family interaction patterns since the early 1930s. Of course, we could only do this by inference, using Arensberg and Kimball's study of the early 1930s as the base. We were, however, able to show that much of the variation in family interaction patterns, particularly in social-emotional patterns, was highly correlated with modernising influences. Most of these influences have only come into play since the early 1950s; i.e., increasing levels of education, mass media influences, extent of societal integration of previously relatively autonomous communities etc. We are confident of the validity of our inferences in this regard but are uncomfortably aware of the gaps in evidence. Unfortunately this is one area in which future research cannot help, except in so far as it can help elucidate the extent to which the "modernisation" of rural communities occurred consistently and evenly over the whole period from the 1930s, and indeed over the previous 80 years also, as has been suggested by Gibbon (37). Under this assumption the picture of relatively unchanging and stable cultural patterns, presented by Arensberg and Kimball as typical of the small-farm western communities of the early 1930s, is completely invalid. Our assumption, on the other hand, is that cultural and social change was highly discontinuous over that whole period; that Arensberg and Kimball's ethnographic accounts of farm family life in the early 1930s are relatively reliable; but that the autonomy and legitimacy of these small scale relatively isolated cultural systems was massively breached in the early 1950s and that the rate of change dramatically increased from that date onwards. This view is in line with a previous study of the senior author's (46) and with Brody's study (15). We believe that it is also in line with most of the published demographic, economic and technological data available over the past 100

years or so. A preliminary analysis of these data clearly supports our view. However, we hope to test these opposing hypotheses in a later study, using these time series data.

There are many other areas where our data and analyses are equally incomplete. Many assumptions have been made which could not be validated. We have come to many conclusions with inadequate evidence. There are many post-factum interpretations made that could not be checked out. We end this section of the research report, therefore, with the conventional request for future research to correct these imperfections and to further advance our knowledge of family life in Ireland. We believe that the work we report in this volume makes an important contribution to that knowledge, despite its many imperfections. We hope in future research work on urban families to correct many of this study's deficiencies and to provide much needed research on urban working-class and middle-class family and kinship patterns.

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Appendix I (a)

Economic and Social Research Institute

Family and Community Life Schedules—1970

Father's Schedule

Date_____ Schedule No.: _____

Interviewer: _____ Time: In _____ Out _____

The schedule contains a total of 112 "questions", but there was a total of 278 individual items on which information was to be sought, though some of the latter were optional. On average, it took an hour to administer.

The order and content of questions in the Husband's schedule was:

Questions 1-14 deals with the Educational and Occupational Patterns of Inheritance and Ownership of Farm, of Respondent and his Father.

Questions incl. 16-24: Attitude towards Farming, towards the Locality and towards own Sons Farming.

Questions 12, 15: Basic Socio-demographic Information.

Questions 25-30: Information on Farm Production, Work Roles, Technical Innovation.

Questions 31-36: Farm Decision making.

Questions 37-47: Sibling, wider Kinship and Neighbour group Relationships.

Questions 48-53: Work Roles in Household. Attitudes towards Household Work Roles.

Questions 54-55: Decision making in Household.

Questions 56-75: Division of Labour in Child rearing, Attitudes towards Sex Roles and towards Socialisation into Sex Roles.

Questions 76-77: Decision making in Child rearing.

Questions 78-80: Priorities and Goals in Family Life. Perception of Wife's Priorities.

Questions 81-91: Accounting Procedures and Financial Decision making within Farm Families; marketing and purchasing patterns.

Questions 93-94: Ranking of Satisfactions in Family Life and Perception of Wife's Satisfactions.

Questions 95-101: Family Recreational Patterns and Attitudes towards Recreation.

Questions 102-110: Primary Group Networks.

Question 111: Formal Organisations, Membership.

Question 112: Communicational Involvement.

Appendix I (b)

Economic and Social Research Institute

Family and Kinship Schedule, 1970

Mother's Schedule

This schedule contains a total of 103 "questions" but there were over 280 independent items in the schedule, varying somewhat in applicability.

The order and content of questions in the Wife's Schedule was as follows:

Questions 1-5: Basic Household and Family Data.

Questions 6-12: Basic Socio-demographic data.

Questions 14-21: Kinship: Numbers, Contact Frequency and Functions.

Questions 22-43: Daily and Weekly Routines in Housekeeping and Child rearing.

Household Tasks, Role Allocation.

Attitudes towards sex-roles and sex-role socialisation.

Household Decision making.

Questions 44-47: Division of Labour on Farm, and Attitudes towards own Work Role on Farm.

Question 48: Household Subsistence Activities.

Questions 49-50: Feelings about Task Roles and Perceived Husband's helpfulness in Task Roles.

Questions 51-52: Respondent's Goals in Family Life. Perceived Goals of Husband in Family Life.

Questions 53-69: Division of Labour in Child rearing, Child-rearing Practices; Decision making and Sanctioning Patterns etc. Occupational and Educational Aspirations for Children.

Questions 70-84: Financial Accountancy Procedures; Household Purchasing Pattern; Financial Decision making in Family.

Questions 85-86: Ranking of Satisfactions in Family Life. Perception of Husband's Satisfactions.

Question 87 (a) to (k): Household Decision making.

Questions 88-91: Tension Management Patterns.

Questions 92-99: Recreational Patterns and Attitudes toward Recreational Patterns.

Question 100 (i) to (x): Primary Relationship Networks.

Questions 101-102 (a) to (g): Formal Organisation Membership and Communication Behaviour.

Question 103 (i) to (xi): Level of Living Scale.

Copies of these questionnaires are available from the ESRI, on payment of a small fee.

Appendix II

List of scales and indexes used in study and constructed from responses by both spouses using scalogram, Likert type item analysis, and index construction methods.

Scale/index	*No. and identification of items*	*Reliability*	*Validity*
1. *Stage of Family Cycle*—8 values	No., age, education and occupation of all children.	Index	Face validity
2. *Occupational Status*—of children, and of wife previous to marriage	Occupations classified on basis of prestige.	Of known and adequately tested reliability and validity	
3. *Kinship Integration Scales*—7 values measures kinship size and contact	6 items: 15 separate questions on father's and mother's questionnaire.	Guttman Scale CR = .93	r = .44 with no. of close kin living locally r = .39 with no. of siblings living locally
4. *Power 1; Household Decision Scale*—(wife's responses) —5 values	4 items: Q. 35, 36 (a), (b), (c). Mother's schedule. High score = Father's dominance Low score = Mother's dominance	Guttman Scale CR = .95	r = .18 Stage of family cycle r = .12 Subsistence index r = .59 Financial decisions (mother) r = .12 Financial decisions (father) r = .14 Household decisions (father)
5. *Jointness/Segregation in Household Decisions* —6 values (wife's responses)	Same items scored on basis of whether both partners were involved in decision or not.	Index	
6. *Nuclear Family Modernisation Scale*—9 values (Mother's responses)	8 items. Qs.: 40 (1) (2) (5) (6); 42; 43 (a), (b); 44/45—Mother's schedule. High scores indicate values of sexual equality, low sex typing of tasks and a non-discriminatory pattern of socialising boys and girls etc.	Guttman Scale CR = .89	r = .12 with DL in household r = .07 with father's comparable scale
7. *Power 2: Farm Decisions Scale:* —5 values (Mother's responses)	7 items: Q. 46; Q. 47 (i, ii, iii); Q. 87 (i, j, k) —Mother's schedule High score = Complete father dominance Low score = Complete mother dominance.	Index	r = .15 Same scale (7a) father's scale

continued on next page

Appendix II (contd.)

Scale/index	*No. and identification of items*	*Reliability*	*Validity*
8. *Jointness/ Segregation in Farm Decisions* —8 values	Same items as down, scored on basis of whether both partners were involved in decisions or not.	Index	
9. *Household Subsistence Scale/Index* —9 values (Mother's)	4 Qs.—48 (a, b, c, d). Scored on basis of whether "All, Some, None" of butter, clothes, knitting, baking is produced within the family.		r = .08 with SES r = .07 with self sufficiency on farm
10. *Ranking of Family Goals by Wife* —8 codes (Mother's)	7 items—Q. 51 (a to b). Mother's schedule. Three different categories of goals statements are included. Spousal (A and C)—Parental/ Familial (B, D, E); and Status/ Consumption (F, G, H). Coded on relative priority given to each.	Index	
11. *Perception of Husband's Family Goals* —8 codes	As above coded on basis of wife's guess of husband's ranking.		
12. *Wife's Evaluation of Husband's Roles* in childrearing and housekeeping	2 separate indexes —Qs. 30/31/34— and 54/55, Mother's schedule, —coded on basis of degree of satisfaction with husband's contribution.	Index	
13. *Child Discipline* —6 codes	2 Qs.—57 (a, b) Mother's schedule—who child is "afraid of most", and who "disciplines them most". Coded from "Father exclusively to Mother exclusively".	Index	r = .38 with father's scale r = .15 with SFC r = —.16 with education of mother r = —.69 with SES
14. *Power 3: Child Rearing Decisions Scale* —6 values	5 Qs.—65, 64 (a, b, c, d)—Mother's schedule. From "Father Dominance" to "Mother Dominance".	Guttman CR = .91	r = —.11 Education of mother r = .24 with father's scale
15. *Jointness/ Segregation in Child Rearing Decisions* —9 values	Same questions as above coded on degree of mutual consultation in decisions.		
16. *Financial Decisions* —6 values	5 Qs.—36 (a) and (b), 47 (ii), 70, 93.—Mother's schedule. Coded from Father Dominance (High score) to Mother Dominance (Low score).	Guttman CR = .92	r = .33 Farm decision (Mother) r = .22 Farm decision (Father) r = .59 G'1 Power (Mother) r = .59 Household decision (Father) r = .17 P. scale II (Father)

continued on next page

Appendix II (contd.)

Scale/index	No. and identification of items	Reliability	Validity
17. *Jointness/ Segregation in Financial Decisions*	Same questions as above coded on degree of mutual consultation or degree of jointness in decisions.		r = —.38 with jointness in farm decisions r = .13 with paying bills r = .47 with boss in financial matters r = .18 with control of money matters r = .11 with where money is deposited r = .13 with relative prices
18. *General Power Scale* —9 values	8 Qs. (Mother's schedule) 35, 36 (b), 47 (ii), 63, 64 (a), 64 (c); 70, 83. This scale covers all decisions over—household, child-rearing, finance etc.—coded from "Father Dominance" to "Mother Dominance".	Guttman CR = .91	r = —.16 stage of cycle r = .12 Father's education r = —.10 Subsistence r = .27 G. Power (Father)
19. *General Power Jointness/ Segregation* —8 codes	Same questions coded on degree of mutual consultation in above decisions.		
20. *Ranking of Family Satisfactions* —7 values	Q. 85 (Mother) coded as in No. 10. There are three categories of statements ranked. Ones that emphasise: (1) Spousal relationships (2) Parental relationships (3) Status/community, coding is in terms of priority given to each.		
21. *Guessing of husbands' rankings*	As above.		
22. *Correlation between Mothers' ranking of family goals and average (150 Mos.) ranking.*	Spearman rank order correlation between average ranking of 8 items, calculated from sample of 150, and mother's individual ranking.		
23. *Correlation between Mothers' ranking of family satisfactions and average ranking*	As above.		

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Appendix II (contd.)

Scale/index	*No. and identification of items*	*Reliability*	*Validity*
24. *Correlation between Mothers' ranking of family goals and family satisfaction*	Q. 85 and Q. 51 Spearman rho between rankings assigned to same items in Q. 85 and Q. 51.		
25. *Familism Scale*	Qs. 3, 4, 51, 69, 85 6 items. A high scale type (5 or 6) indicating a high degree of subordination of individual personal interests to group or family interests; and of individual happiness to group *esprit de corps*. A low score indicates subordination of group to individual interests and of group to individual happiness.	Guttman Scale: CR = .91	r = .15 Father scale r = −.11 Total gross margin r = −.19 Emotional integration r = −.14 Realistic joint community
26. *Household Adoption*	Q. 87: 9 items (running water, TV, car, house renovated, new cooker, washing machine, new lino or tiles, new furniture bought recently).	Likert Scale:	r = .31 Total gross margin r = .15 Farm adoption r = .36 SES
Father's Schedule			
27. *Familism Scale (Father)*	Qs. 18/20, 19, 22, 93, 79: 6 items coded as in 25. Not completely comparable but having higher correlation than exactly comparable scale.	CR = .90	r = .15 with Mother scale r = .10 Emotional integration scale
28. *Estimated Total "Gross Margin" (Income) from farm*	Q. 26 (Father). Calculated on the basis of average gross margins per unit of cattle, sheep, pigs and tillage crops produced on farm. Farm figures supplied by the Agricultural Institute Reports for 1970.		r = −.31 with household adoption scale r = .19 with farm adoption scale r = .29 with SES
29. *Farm Subsistence*	Q. 27 (Father). Extent to which potatoes, vegetables, eggs, poultry, bacon consumed in household are produced on farm. 0 = none 8 = all	Index	r = .16 with *Household Subsistence Scale* (9) r = .19 with gross margin
30. *Division of Labour on Farm*	Q. 28 (Father) 6 items Guttman Scale. Scaled on extent to which wife works on such tasks as poultry keeping, cleans milk utensils, milks cows, feeds calves. Helps with cattle etc.	CR = .93	r = .09 with *Farm Subsistence Scale.* r = −.17 with wife's education

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Appendix II (contd.)

Scale/index	*No. and identification of items*	*Reliability*	*Validity*
31. *Farm Decisions Scale: (Father)* —5 values	Qs. 30 (a, b); 35, 36 (a) (b) (c). (Father) 5 = Husband dominant 1 = Wife dominant. Coded on basis to which wife is mentioned as decision maker or consultant in 9 separate farm decision items.	*Index:* Guttman Scale gave such high Father Dominance (83%) that scale was dropped	r = —.15 with gross margin r = .31 with *General Power Scale* (Father) r = .12 with Financial Decision (Mother) r = .24 with *Financial Decision* (Mother)
32. *Jointness/ Segregation in Farm Decisions* —9 values (0-8)	Qs. as above. Coded on extent to which *both* husband and wife were involved in each decision—initiating, consulting, or deciding.	Index	
33. *Farm Adoption/ Innovation Scale*	Q. 30 (i) to (vi) (Father). Innovations/changes in cattle/cow numbers; artificial insemination; milking machines; antibiotics; dehorning calves; use of nitrates for early grass; weedkillers etc. Score 1 if present 0 if absent.	Likert Scale	r = .15 with *Household Adoption Scale* r = .19 with gross margin r = .11 with self sufficiency scale of farm r = —.13 with ranking of family goods (Father) r = .11 with SES
34. *Kinship Integration*	Qs. 37 (a, d, f, g); 38 (a, c). Qs. 40, 41, 106 (Father) High Scale Type—indicates large number of kin communicated with, and high level of helpfulness and exchange with father's kin etc. Equivalent to Mother's scale (3).	Guttman Scale CR = .93	r = .16 with mother kinship integration scale r = .19 with communication scale r = .09 with no. of close kin in contact with r = .16 with SES
35. *Division of Labour in Household Scale (Father)*	Qs. 48 (1, 3, 10, 7, 11) (Father) (6 items). Comparable to Mother's DL Household Scale.	CR = .89	r = .30 with Mother's scale
36. *Nuclear Family Modernisation Scale (Father)* —8 values	Qs. 51 (3, 4, 5, 6); 52 (a, b); 49/50. (Father) 8 items Guttman Scale. It allocates people to such types on the "moderness" of their values/ norms regarding women's roles in society high score indicates values of low sex typing of tasks and roles, sexual equality and low sexual discrimination in socialisation sons and daughters.	Guttman Scale CR = .90	r = .14 with DL in Household (Mother) scale r = .13 with DL Household (Father) scale

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Appendix II (contd.)

Scale/index	*No. and identification of items*	*Reliability*	*Validity*
37. *Household Decisions Scale (Father)* —5 values	Qs.: 54, 55 (i, ii, iii) 4 items (Father) High score = Father dominance Low score = Mother dominance	Guttman Scale CR = .93	r = .14 with mother's scale (4) r = .10 occupation of mother previous to marriage
38. *Jointness/ Segregation in Household Decisions (Father)* —6 values	Same items as above (Father). Scored on basis of whether both parties were involved in decision or not.	Index	r = .14 with mother's scale (5)
39. *Division of Labour in Child Rearing Scale (Father)* —6 values	5 items: 56 (1, b) (c, g, i). Allocated to such types on basis extent to which pattern helps with child-rearing tasks.	Guttman Scale CR = .89	r = .30 with mother's scale r = .15 with stage of family cycle r = .18 with SE Integration r = —.17 with div. of labour on farm r = .12 with SES
40. *Social-Emotional Leadership Scale* —6 values	5 items: 56 (d); 57 (5, 6); 61; 62. People are allocated to scale types in extent to which father plays a supportive/tension management role in spousal and parental interaction.	Guttman Scale CR = .91	r = —.18 with family cycle r = .34 with mother's scale r = .14 div. of labour child-rearing (mother) r = .13 div. of labour child-rearing (father)
41. *Child Discipline Scale (Father)*	2 Qs.—58, 59 (Father). Coded on basis of responses to questions on "who disciplines child most" and "who child is afraid of most". High = Father exclusively to both questions Low = Mother exclusively to both questions.	Index	r = .33 with mother comparable scale (13)
42. *Power, Child Rearing Decision Scale*	5 Qs.: 76, 83 (i) (ii) (iii) (iv). Coded from father dominant to mother dominant.	Guttman Scale CR = .93	r = .24 with comparable mother's scale

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Appendix II (contd.)

Scale/index	*No. and identification of items*	*Reliability*	*Validity*
43. *Jointness/ Segregation in Child-rearing Decisions*	Items as above, coded in degree of mutual consultation or involvement in decisions.	Index	
44. *Ranking of Family Goals (Father)*	8 items: Q. 79: Coded as for No. 10, which is exactly comparable question in mothers' schedule.		
45. *Perception/ Guessing of Wife's Ranking of Goals*	As above coded on basis of husband's guess of wife's ranking.		
46. *Correlation between Father's ranking of Family Goals and Average Ranking*	Spearman rank order correlations between average ranking of 8 items calculated from sample of 150 and from individual ranking.		
47. *Financial Decisions (Father) Scale*	5 Qs.: 36 (b), 55 (i) (iii). Qs. 91, 81. Coded from father dominance (high score) to mother dominant (low score).	Guttman CR = .92	r = .22 with mother's r = .27 General power (mother)
48. *Jointness/ Segregation Decisions*	From questions above coded on the degree of mutual consultations or degree of jointness.	Index	
49. *Index of Method of Selling Stock*	4 items: Q. 88 (a) (b) (c) (d). High score indicates stock sold at mart or to factory. Low score if sold at fair or to farm dealer.	Index	r = —.10 Subsistence index r = .32 Total gross margin r = .18 with size of farm
50. *Index of Locality*	Q. 39: (1) (2) (3). Low score indicates all items are repaired and bought in local area. High score where all bought in bigger town.	Index	
51. *Relative Prices*	Q. 90: (1) (2) (3)—2 comparison of prices of fertilisers, seeds, veterinary medicines and machinery costs between local and town shops. High score indicates higher local prices. Low score lower.	Index	

continued on next page

Appendix II (contd.)

Scale/index	*No. and identification of items*	*Reliability*	*Validity*
52. *General Power Scale II*	8 Qs.: 36 (b), 55 (iii), 54, 7 (ii), (iii), 78, 81, 91. Scale covers financial, farm, child rearing and household decisions. High score = father dominance. Low score = mother dominance.	Guttman CR = .90	r = .27 with mother scale
53. *Jointness/ Segregation in Decision making*	Items as above, coded on the degree of mutual consultation or joint decision making. High score—high joint participation.	Index	
54. *Ranking of Family Satisfaction*	Coded as No. 10 and 20. Three categories of statements ranked (a) spousal relationship, (b) parental and familial, (c) status—and community. Coding in terms of relative priority given to each.		
55. *Perception of Wife's Satisfaction (Guessing)*	As above.		
56. *Correlation between Father's Ranking of Family Satisfactions and Average ranking*	A Spearman's rank order correlation between average making of 8 items calculated from a sample of 150 and father's individual ranking.		
57. *Correlation between Father Ranking of Family Goals and Family Satisfactions*	Qs. 79 and 93. Spearman's rank order correlation between rankings assigned to same items in Qs. 79 and 93.		
58. *Correlation between Mother's Ranking of Family Goals and Father's Ranking of Family Goals*	Q. 51 (Mother). Q. 79 (Father). A Spearman's rank order correlation ranked by degree of association between mother's and father's responses or ranking.		

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Appendix II (contd.)

Scale/index	*No. and identification of items*	*Reliability*	*Validity*
59. *Correlation between Mother's Ranking of Family Satisfactions and Father's Ranking of Family Satisfactions*	Q. 85 (Mother). Q. 93 (Father) as in previous no.		
60. *Jointness of Recreational Roles*	5 items: Qs. 92 (a), 93, 94 (Mother). Qs. 95, 96, 97 (Father). High score represents high jointness of recreational roles. Low score represents separateness of roles.	Guttman Scale CR = .92	
61. *Index measuring the extent of interconnectedness of the separate Primary Group Networks of Husbands and Wives*	Qs. 100 (Mother), 106 (Father).	Index	
62. *Index indicating the extent of interpenetration or separatedness of Husbands' and Wives' Networks*	Q. 100 (Mother). Q. 106 (Father). Index measures the total number of people mentioned by both husband and wife. Low score indicates a high degree of interpenetration, a high score a high degree of separatedness.	Index	
63. *Index indicating the extent of interpenetration or separatedness of Husbands' and Wives' Networks*—excluding all kin	Q. 100 (Mother). Q. 106 (Father). Measures the number of persons who are friends of both husband and wife (mentioned by both)—excluding kin and coded as above.	Index	
64. *Index indicating extent of sex segregation of the Father's Network*	Q. 106 (Father). Consists of total number of male friends, relatives and neighbours mentioned by the father and expressed as a proportion of total number named. High score indicates a high proportion of males in name. Low score few.	Index	

continued on next page

Appendix II (contd.)

Scale/index	No. and identification of items	Reliability	Validity
65. *Index indicating the extent of sex segregation of mother's networks*	Q. 100 (Mother) as in previous no. except inserting female where male previously mentioned.	Index	
66. *Nuclear Family Emotional Integration Scale*	6 items—Qs. included Qs. 90/92, 23/24, 53 (a) (g), 58, 59, 49, 86 (Mother). Qs. 56 (a) (g), 60, 61, 94 (Father). Allocates families on the basis of their social-emotional integration. Items measure the degree of mutual sympathy and extent of communication between husband and wife, joint participation in child rearing and joint involvement in meeting the emotional needs of children. Participation in family activities (joint) and awareness of the satisfaction derived from family life of spouse.	Guttman CR = .91	r = —.21 stage of family cycle r = .12 jointness of recreational role r = .11 realistic joint communication scale r = .19 with summary evaluations of husband and wife's satisfactions
67. *Realistic Joint Family Communication Scale*	5 items—Qs. 102 (a) (Mother), 112 (a) (Father), 112 (c) (e) (+) (g) (Father), 102 (c) (e) (g) Mother. High score indicated where both partners read *Farmers Journal,* listen to news, read regularly. Low where only one partner or neither participate.	Guttman CR = .91	
68. *Socio-Economic Scale*	Q. 103: 6 items (2) (4) (5) (6) (8) (10) included are when the house was last renovated, no. of bedrooms, piped water, sitting room, tiles or lino, washing machine. High score indicates the presence of all items, low score if none are.	Guttman CR = .90	
69. *Division of Labour in Household: Jointness of Roles (Mother)*	5 items: Q. 29 (b) (d) (+) (Mother) (i) (g). Measures degree of participation of father in household tasks. High score indicates high participation by father, low = low participation.	Likert	r = .12 with father scale
70. *Division of Labour in child rearing: Jointness of roles*	Q. 53 (Mother), 6 items 53 (a) (b) (c) (g) (e) (h). Measures degree of jointness in child-rearing tasks. Coded as above.	Likert	r = .31 with father scale

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Appendix II (contd.)

Scale/index	*No. and identification of items*	*Reliability*	*Validity*
71. *Division of Labour on farm: Jointness of roles*	6 items: Q. 28 (a) (b) (c) (d) (f) (h). Measures degree of jointness in farm tasks. High score indicates high joint participation, low = separation of tasks.	Likert	
72. *Division of Labour in Household: Jointness of roles (Father)*	5 items: Q. 48 (1) (7) (10) (11) (14) (Father). Similar to 68 and coded in same way.	Likert	r = .12 with mother's scale
73. *Division of Labour in Child rearing: Jointness of roles (Father)*	Comparable to 69. Q. 56 (b) (c) (d) (e) (g) (h) (Father) Schedule, and coded in the same way as mothers.		r = .31 with mother's scale
74. *Power Scale II (Father)*	5 items: Q. 55 (i) (iii) 59, 77 (i), 91. Covers household, child rearing and authority and financial decisions. High score indicates father dominance, low score mother dominance.	Guttman CR = .91	
75. *Jointness in Decision Making (Father)*	Same items—high score indicates high degree of jointness, low score high degree of separatedness.	Index	
76. *General Power II (Mother)*	5 items: Qs. 36 (a) (b), 57 (b), 65 (b), 83. Covering areas of child discipline, and household. Coded as 13. Power Scale II (Father).		
77. *Jointness in Decision Making (Mother)*	Same items as above. High score indicates high degree of jointness in decision making. Low score high degree of separatedness.		
78. *Power Scale III (Father)*	7 items: Qs. 36 (b), 91, 55 (i) (iii), 58, 59, 81 includes decisions about the farm, household, child rearing and discipline and financial. High score (father dominance). Low = (no dominance).	Likert	r = .42 with mother's scale
79. *Power Scale III: Jointness of Roles (Father)*	Same items included as in 77. Scored on jointness. High score indicates high participation in all areas. Low = high separatedness.	Index	

continued on next page

Appendix II (contd.)

Scale/index	*No. and identification of items*	*Reliability*	*Validity*
80. *Power Scale III (Mother)*	7 items—Qs. 47 (ii), 36 (a) (b), 70, 83, 57 (a) (b). Comparable to 78 (Father) and coded in same way.	Likert over 7 items	r = .42 with father's scale
81. *Jointness in Power (Mother)*	Same items as 79. Measures degree of jointness. Coded as 78.	Index	
82. *Division of Labour in Household Scale II (Father)*	7 items: Q. 48 (3) (4) (5) (8) (10) (11) (14). High score indicates high father participation, low score minimum participation.	Likert over 7 items	
83. *Household participation II—Jointness of Roles (Father)*	Items as above—scored on the degree of participation of husband and household.		
84. *Division of Labour in Household, Scale II*	Comparable to 81 and scored in same way.	Likert	
85. *Household participation II (Mother)*	Same items as 83—measured jointness.	Index	
86. *Division of Labour in Child Rearing Scale III (Father)*	8 items: 56 (a) (b) (c) (f) (g) (h) (i) (j), high score indicates husband dominance, low score mother dominance.	Likert 8 items	
87. *Child Rearing III—jointness*	Same items as above. Scored on degree of jointness, high score = high jointness in child-rearing activities, low score = high separatedness.	Index	
88. *Division of Labour Child-rearing III (Mother)*	Comparable to 85 (Father) Scale III and coded in the same way.	Likert 8 items	
89. *Child rearing III—jointness*	Same items as 87 measuring jointness and comparable to Father Scale III—jointness.	Index	

continued on next page

Appendix II (contd.)

Scale/index	*No. and identification of items*	*Reliability*	*Validity*
90. *Social-Emotional Leadership Scale III (Father)*	5 items—Q. 57 (2) (3) (5) (6) and (Q. 61 + 62). High score (father dominance). Low score (mother dominance).	Likert 5 items	
91. *Social-Emotional Leadership Scale III*	Comparable to Father Scale III using same items on Mother Scale.		

Appendix III

Table 3.1: *Percentage distribution of wives and husbands by age at time of survey; and at time of marriage*

	Current age											*Total*		*Average age current*
	25	*25-29*	*30-34*	*35-39*	*40-44*	*45-49*	*50-51*	*55-59*	*60-64*	*65+*	*No information*	*%*	*Number*	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%				
Wife %	1.5	3.7	11.3	15.2	17.7	16.2	16.7	16.2	2.0		0.7	100%	408	44.4
Husband %	—	1.0	4.4	8.8	9.1	18.1	16.4	16.4	13.2	10.0	2.5	100%	408	51.4

Age at marriage of:	*Age at marriage*									*No information*	*Total*		*At marriage*
	25	26-27	28-29	30-31	32-33	34-35	36-37	38-39	40+				
Wife: %	38	15	14	11	10	6	3	1	1	1	100%	408	27.3
		< 26	*26-28*	*29-31*	*32-34*	*35-37*	*38-40*	*41-43*	*44-46*	*47+*			
Husband: %		6	9	16	20	17	13	8	4	3	3	100%	408	34.4

Appendix III (contd.)

Table 3.2: *Total number of children in families and total number living at home*

Total No. of children	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9+*	*No. infor.*	*Total*		*Average number per family*
											%	*Number*	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%			
(a) In family	10	11	12	17	14	11	8	5	11	1	100	408	4.4
(b) Living at home	12	19	18	22	14	7	4	4	—	1	100	408	3.6

Table 3.3: *Percentage distribution of families by stage of family cycle*

Stage of family cycle						*Total*	
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*%*	*Number*
All children are pre-school	Oldest children in primary school	Oldest child in post-primary school (Not working)	Oldest child working. But all living at home	As for 4. But some have left home	As for 5, but all children have left school		
14%	30%	13%	6%	32%	4%	99	404

Appendix III (contd.)

Table 3.4: *Age of wife at marriage by age of husband.*

Age of husband at marriage	*Age of wife at marriage*									*Average age of wife*
	25	*26-27*	*28-29*	*30-31*	*32-33*	*34-35*	*36-37*	*38-39*	*40+*	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
26	16	7	5	—	—	4	—	—	—	25.5
26-28	15	12	5	7	—	—	—	—	—	25.6
29-31	21	18	21	12	12	4	—	—	—	26.7
32-34	19	18	21	14	42	23	8	—	—	28.4
35-37	12	25	21	26	20	12	–8	—	33	28.7
38-40	8	11	11	19	17	27	15	50	33	30.0
41-43	5	7	7	7	7	19	31	—	—	30.0
44-46	3	2	4	2	2	7	23	50	17	31.6
47+	1	—	5	9	—	4	15	—	17	32.0
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
No.	156	60	57	43	41	26	13	2	6	
Average age of husband	30.9	33.6	34.1	36.0	34.2	38.2	42.3	42	39	

Appendix III (contd.)

Table 3.5: *Percentage distribution of oldest child by age, by age of father*

Current age of oldest child	*Current age of father*									*Average age of child*	*N*	*Father's average age at birth of first child*
	29	*30-34*	*35-39*	*40-44*	*45-49*	*50-54*	*55-59*	*60-64*	*65+*			
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%			
< 5	75	67	44	32	12	7	—	—	—	3.0	58	34.8
5-9	—	33	36	46	31	18	10	—	—	7.5	79	37.9
10-14	25	—	14	19	35	25	8	7	—	12.5	65	38.4
15-19	—	—	6	3	14	21	25	9	10	17.5	53	37.0
20-24	—	—	—	—	8	21	34	32	24	22.5	70	35.9
25-29	—	—	—	—	—	4	21	38	34	27.5	51	34.6
30-34	—	—	—	—	—	3	2	7	27	32.5	17	38.3
35-39	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	5	37.5	5	27.0
39+												
Not known												
Average age, father	27	32.5	37.5	42.5	47.5	52.5	57.5	62.5	67			
Nos.	4	18	36	37	74	67	67	54	41	398		

Appendix III (contd.)

Table 3.6: *Percentage distribution of families by stage of family cycle and by current age of father*

Stage of family cycle	*Current age of father*									*Average age of father*
	< 30	*30-34*	*35-39*	*40-44*	*45-49*	*50-54*	*55-59*	*60-64*	*65+*	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
1. *All* children are pre-school. N = 58	75	65	46	36	12	9	—	—	—	39.9
2. Oldest in primary but some children are pre-school. All < 13. N = 122	25	35	46	58	57	33	13	10	—	46.0
3. Oldest child in post-primary schools. N = 51	—	—	6	6	16	21	21	10	4	54.5
4. Older children working, but all still living at home and some at school. N = 20	—	—	2	—	8	1	12	2	7	56.4
5. As for 4 but some have left home. N = 142	—	—	—	—	6	36	54	78	89	60.5
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	4	27	35	36	74	67	67	52	41	

Appendix III (contd.)

Table 4.1: *Pearson product moment correlations between the scales measuring extent of husband/wife participation in the various task and social-emotional areas and a series of variables indexing situational factors which might affect the need for availability of alternative labour.*

Variables correlated	*Controlling for family cycle*			
	*Early***	*Middle****	*Late****	*Overall correlation*
1. Correlation between DL (household) + number of children living at home	r = .01 N = 174	r = .03 N = 70	r = .17* N = 147	r = .13*
2. Correlation between presence/absence of Mother/Mother-in-law in household and father's household participation	r = –.28* N = 164	r = .08 N = 70	r = .07 N = 145	r = .13*
3. Correlation between DL (child-rearing) + number of children living at home	r = .25* N = 150	r = .25* N = 71	r = .15** N = 146	r = .22*
4. Correlation between presence/absence of Mother/Mother-in-law in household and father's child-rearing participation	r = –.10 N = 153	r = .03 N = 72	r = –.09 N = 135	r = –.06
5. Correlation between wife's participation on the farm and number of children living at home	r = .00 N = 167	r = .04 N = 71	r = –.03 N = 135	r = NS
6. Correlation between presence/absence of Mother/Mother-in-law in household and wife's farm participation	r = .06 N = 167	r = .10 N = 70	r = .14* N = 136	r = .00
7. Correlation between father's (SEL) and number of children living at home	r = .03 N = 178	r = .06 N = 70	r = .06 136	r = .04
8. Correlation between presence/absence of Mother/Mother-in-law and father's SEL	r = .10 N = 158	r = –.10 N = 72	r = .00 N = 136	r = .13*
9. Correlation between SEI and number of children living at home	r = –.09 N = 178	r = .20** N = 70	r = .10 N = 138	r = –.02
10. Correlation between presence/absence of Mother/Mother-in-law and SEI	r = –.04 N = 176	r = .26* N = 72	r = .13 N = 139	r = .06

*Significant at .05 level, 2 tailed.

**Significant at .10 level, 2 tailed.

***Early stage:—All children are pre-school, or older in primary school.

Middle stage:—Oldest in post-primary school or has just begun to work.

Late stage:—Oldest has left home, most children are working, youngest usually between 12-16 years old.

Appendix III (contd.)

Table 4.2: *Pearson product moment correlations between the scales measuring the extent of husband/wife participation in the various task and social-emotional areas and a series of variables indexing situational factors which might affect the need for availability of alternative labour*

Variable correlated	*Controlling for the presence/absence of mother/mother-in-law in the household*				
	Mother/mother-in-law present		*Mother/mother-in-law absent*		*Overall correlation between FC and participation variables*
1. Correlation between stage of family cycle and father's participation in household tasks	r = .01	N = 86	r = –.11	N = 302	r = .02
2. Correlation between stage of family cycle and father's participation in child-rearing tasks	r = –.05	N = 77	r = –.06	N = 286	r = –.10*
3. Correlation between stage of family cycle and wife's participation on the farm	r = –.11	N = 80	r = .02	N = 291	r = –.20*
4. Correlation between stage of family cycle and father's SEL	r = –.13	N = 70	r = –.11	N = 327	r = –.20*
5. Correlation between stage of family cycle and SEI	r = –.05	N = 81	r = –.22*	N = 291	r = –.21*

*Significant at .05 level, two tailed.

Appendix III (contd.)

Table 5.1: *Percentage distribution of husbands with high social-emotional leadership scores at three levels of power and three levels of FC*

	Family cycle (2)			
	Early	*Middle*	*Late*	*Correlation between FC and SEL controlling for power*
Power (1)	*Percentage of husbands with high SEL (3)*			
Low	53% (34)	48% (21)	34% (47)	−30* N = 112
Medium	38% (60)	49% (35)	45% (60)	−04 N = 155
High	33% (64)	36% (14)	29% (28)	−19** N = 96
Correlation between power and SEL, controlling for FC	r = −11** N = 158	r = −03 N = 70	r = −00 N = 135	r_{23} = 20 r_{13} = −06

*Significant at .05 level. **Significant at .10 level.

Table 5.2: *Percentage distribution of husbands with high DL (child rearing) scores at three levels of power and three stages of FC*

	Family cycle (2)			
	Early	*Middle*	*Late*	*Correlation between DL (child rearing) and FC controlling for power*
Power (1)	*Percentage of husbands with high score DL child rearing (3)*			
Low	30% (33)	30% (23)	27% (52)	r = .08 N = 108
Medium	56% (52)	51% (35)	39% (57)	r = −.15** N = 144
High	32% (50)	57% (14)	44% (27)	r = .00 N = 91
Correlation between power and DL child-rearing controlling for FC	r = n.s. N = 135	r = .20* N = 72	r = .07 N = 136	r_{23} = .05 r_{13} = .10

*Significant at .05 level. **Significant at .10 level.

Appendix III (contd.)

Table 5.3: *Percentage distribution of fathers with high participation in household by three levels of power and three stages of the FC*

	Stage of FC (2)			
	Early	*Middle*	*Late*	*Correlation between FC and DL (household) controlling for power*
	Percentage of husbands with high participation in DL household (3)			
Power (1)				
Low	30% (44)	48% (23)	29% (51)	r = —.13* N = 118
Medium	37% (65)	46% (33)	39% (57)	r = —.03 N = 155
High	27% (58)	57% (14)	25% (28)	r = .06 N = 100
Correlation between DL (household) and power controlling for FC	r = .01 N = 167	r = .02 N = 70	r = .03 N = 136	r_{23} = .02 / r_{13} = .01

*Significant at .10 level.

Table 5.4: *Percentage of wives with high participation scores on farm by three levels of power and three stages of the FC*

	Stage of FC (2)			
	Early	*Middle*	*Late*	*Correlation between DL (farm) and FC controlling for power*
	Percentage of wives with high participation on farm (3)			
Power (1)				
Low	38% (42)	29% (24)	34% (47)	r = —.04 N = 113
Medium	36% (61)	44% (34)	33% (54)	r = —.04 N = 149
High	36% (55)	39% (13)	32% (25)	r = —.09 N = 93
Correlation between DL (farm) and power controlling for FC	r = —.09 N = 158	r = .07 N = 71	r = .00 N = 126	r_{23} = —.20 / r_{13} = —.03

Appendix III (contd.)

Table 5.5: *Percentage distribution of husbands with high participation in child rearing by three levels of social-emotional integration and three levels of power*

	Social Emotional Integration (2)			
	Low	*Medium*	*High*	*Correlation between SEI and DL (child rearing) controlling for power*
	Percentage of husbands with high participation in child rearing (3)			
Power (1)				
Low	21% (19)	34% (50)	55% (44)	r = .28* N = 113
Medium	39% (21)	34% (53)	70% (69)	r = .37* N = 143
High	40% (10)	12% (33)	31% (32)	r = .17 N = 75
Correlation between DL (child rearing) and power controlling for SEI	r = .08 N = 50	r = —.13** N = 136	r = —.10 N = 145	$r_{23} = .24$ $r_{13} = .10$

*Significant at the .05 level. **Significant at the .10 level.

Table 5.6: *Percentage distribution of husbands with high level of participation in household tasks by three levels of power*

	SEI (2)			
	Low	*Medium*	*High*	*Correlation between SEI and DL (households) controlling for power*
	Percentage of husbands with high participation in DL (household) (3)			
Power (1)				
Low	29% (17)	40% (55)	28% (29)	r = .06 N = 101
Medium	26% (23)	39% (62)	46% (65)	r = .18* N = 150
High	21% (14)	21% (42)	44% (41)	r = .16** N = 97
Correlation between power and DL (household) controlling for SEI	r = .02 N = 54	r = —.09 N = 159	r = .06 N = 135	$r_{23} = .12$ $r_{13} = .01$

*Significant at the .05 level. **Significant at the .10 level.

Appendix III (contd.)

Table 6.1: *Characteristics of family types in terms of their task role and decision-making patterns by comparison of each cluster's average score to that of the total sample.*

Clusters	*Degree of sex segregation in, and autonomy of task roles*			*Degree of paternal dominance of decisions, and extent of jointness in decisions*				*Degree of Social-Emotional Integration (SEI) of families, and extent of paternal involvement in Social-Emotional Leadership (SEL)*	*Summary description*	*Designation See Herbst, op. cit.*
	Household	*Child-rearing*	*Farm*	*Household*	*Child-rearing*	*Farm*	*Total*			
Cluster 1	Very low* husband participation	Very low* husband participation	Very low* wife participation	Low husband	Low husband	High husband (i.e. low wife participation	*High* and very low jointness in decisions	SEI is very low SEL is very low	Highly segregated and autonomous sex role division of labour. Highly patriarchal decision-making patterns. Traditional maternal dominance of SEL.	Autonomic. Traditional patriarchal.
Cluster 2	Low	Low	High wife	Low	Very low	Low (i.e. high wife participation)	*Very low* and average jointness	SEI is low SEL is high	Highly autonomous maternal roles; with high segregation in decision areas; highly joint paternal task and decision-making roles. High paternal involvement in SEL, but low SEI.	Autonomic. Wife dominant.
Cluster 3	Average	Average	Very high wife	High	Average	Low (i.e. high wife participation)	*Low* and very high jointness	Low SEI High SEL	Less segregated and lower autonomy in task and decision-making roles—very high jointness in decisions. High SEL. Low SEI.	Wife leadership.
Cluster 4	High	High	Average wife	High	Very low	Average	*Low* and average jointness	Very high SEI Very high SEL	Low sex segregation and autonomous in task and decision-making role. Low segregation in decision-making areas; high SEI and high SEL.	Joint syncratic—they both co-operate in work and decisions.
Cluster 5	Average	High	Very high	High	Very high	Average	*Very high* and low jointness	High SEI Low SEL	Low segregation of labour but very low autonomy of maternal task roles; high paternal dominance of decisions, but low SEL. High SEI.	Husband leadership—i.e. low segregation but high husband involvement.
Cluster 6	Average	High 1	Very low	High	Very high	Average	*High* and low jointness	High SEI Average SEL	Low segregation and very low autonomy in maternal roles segregated but low autonomy in farm roles. High paternal dominance. Average SEL. High SEI.	Husband leadership.
Cluster 7	Low	Low	Low	Average	Average	Low (i.e. high wife participation)	*Low* and very high jointness	Above average SEI Very high SEL	High segregation in task roles, with average to high jointness in decisions; low autonomy in decision areas. Very high SEL and SEI.	Complementary syncratic. They work separately but make joint decisions.

*Low = Below average participation
High = Above average participation

Appendix III (contd.)

Table 6.2: *Controlling for stage of family cycle, the relationships between current life style and reference group variables and the different cluster types*

	Clusters %						
Controlling of family cycle	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*
1. *Income*							
Early (SFC): % with incomes over £1,200 (P< .05)	36	28	39	25	30	32	56
Late (SFC): % with incomes over £1,200 (P< .05)	16	19	38	17	21	33	30
2. *Recreational pattern (father)*							
Early (SFC): % who say family should, and do spend free time together (P< .20)	36	37	27	50	40	35	30
Late (SFC): % (P< .05)	13	48	45	22	35	43	33
3. *Jointness in recreational roles (mother)*							
Early (SFC): % with high jointness (P< .20)	21	24	27	35	37	32	20
Late (SFC): % with high jointness (P< .10)	12	28	11	39	28	23	18
4. *Mass media participation*							
Early (SFC): % with high score (6+) (n.s.)	50	50	40	60	41	45	52
Late (SFC): % with high score (P< .10)	18	36	44	17	25	28	27
5. *Organisational involvement (fathers)*							
Early (SFC): % non-members (P< .05)	63	72	61	57	47	37	33
Late (SFC): % non-members (P< .20)	88	65	61	61	76	64	63

Appendix III (contd.)

Table 6.3: *The relationship between family (cluster) types and degree of kinship integration*

	Clusters						
Father's integration with neighbours (Scale 1-7)	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*
% Highly attached	30%	36%	21%	24%	26%	22%	21%
% Not attached	49%	45%	44%	30%	40%	48%	33%
(P< .10)							
Kinship integration (wife) (Scale 1-7)							
[$X^2 = 55$; P< .01]							
% with kinship integration scores:							
Low:	30%	20%	19%	11%	32%	26%	28%
High:	10%	25%	17%	26%	24%	22%	20%
Kinship integration (husband) (Scale 1-7)							
[$X^2 = 52.6$; P< .05]							
% with kinship integration scores:							
Low:	30%	36%	17%	24%	39%	32%	15%
High:	23%	20%	23%	30%	24%	19%	39%

Appendix III (contd.)

Table 7.1: *Extent of connectedness or separateness of both spouses' networks within each family (cluster) type*

Degree of connectedness and significance of networks	*Clusters—family types*						
	1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*
(1) Degree of interconnectedness of husband/wife networks:							
% Very high connectedness	46%	43%	42%	36%	42%	35%	48%
% Very low (P< .20)	34%	29%	32%	26%	29%	27%	37%
(2) *Including kin:* % of couples with no common friends:	39%	33%	26%	33%	23%	30%	32%
(3) *Excluding all kin:* % of couples with no common friends:	64%	56%	54%	55%	57%	60%	54%
(4) % of respondents whose friends are all of the same sex:							
Husband: (all male) (n.s.)	65%	67%	57%	56%	53%	55%	58%
Wife: (All female) (P< .05)	22%	17%	33%	28%	30%	30%	42%