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**THE PROPER ROLE OF WOMEN (AND MEN):
A COMPARISON OF BELIEFS FROM 1980 AND 1997
FOR UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY STUDENTS**

by

Tavia Elaine Simmons

**Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree**

of

**UNIVERSITY HONORS
WITH DEPARTMENT HONORS**

in

Sociology

**UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY
Logan, UT**

1997

INTRODUCTION

Since 1970, the United States has seen an explosion in the rate of women working and a change towards equality in men's and women's roles. In 1980, Helal Mobasher Liaey gave a survey to measure what Utah State University students thought were proper roles for women, in categories ranging from occupations to decision making. He did this research at a time when traditional and egalitarian role views were still furiously clashing, especially in Utah, which is generally considered to be one of the most conservative states in the country since it is primarily LDS. This study revisits how gender roles are shaped by gender and religion for Utah State University students. This research project's goal is to assess the changes that have occurred in seventeen years.

LITERATURE REVIEW

During the 1970's, vast changes occurred in the spectrum of work and family as women went to work in record numbers. During the 1980's and early 1990's, this trend slowed in momentum but continued moving slowly upward. Researchers have been fascinated by the changes and have devoted much time to studying this phenomenon. The following section reviews the research devoted to women's and men's relationship to housework, occupations, and decisions.

Women and Housework

Researchers have been particularly interested in how men and women divide housework up. Traditionally, most women stayed in the home while men produced the family income. As mentioned before, this trend has changed rapidly in the past twenty five years. The U.S.

Department of Labor reports that in 1950, 34% of women worked, in 1970 43% worked, and in 1993, 57% of women worked, indicating the change that has taken place (cited in Macionis, 1994, p. 246). Women now constitute 46% of the workforce (Spain and Bianchi, 1996, p. 91). In Utah, in 1950 25.3% of women worked, in 1970 41.5% worked, and in 1987 59.9% worked--a higher percentage for Utah women than for the nation (Utah Department of Employment Security, 1989, p. 43). Moreover, these women entered the workforce while raising young children, something almost unheard of in the past. Today, 60% of married women with children under the age of six work. The U.S. Bureau of the Census reports that for women with children six to seventeen years of age, 75% work, and of those with older children, 80% work (cited in Macionis, 1994, p. 246).

With this increase of women in paid work, researchers expected there to be a decrease in the amount of housework done by women. The researchers found that there has been some change, but that women still do the brunt of the housework. Robinson found that women do about twenty hours of housework a week (down slightly from past decades) while men do about thirteen hours a week (slightly higher than in past decades.) In other words, women do about two-thirds of the housework now as compared to three-fourths in 1965(cited in Spain and Bianchi, 1996, p. 169). Arlie Hochschild (1989) coined the term "second shift" to explain this phenomenon, claiming that women faced a full other shift of work after coming home from their paid job.

Researchers also report that household jobs are gender segregated. Women spend more time cooking, washing dishes, cleaning house, shopping, and doing laundry, while men spend more time engaged in outdoor tasks and auto maintenance (Shelton, 1992, p. 80-91). In other

words, they are perpetuating traditional ideas of "male" and "female" tasks. Also, women who engage in paid work spend less time at housework, but still do much more than husbands who work the same amount of paid hours. Women who have children spend even more time on housework than their husbands (Shelton, 1992, p. 108). In one Utah study, it was found that active Mormon husbands with more traditional values performed less child care tasks compared to non-Mormon husbands (Smith and Shipman in Heaton, Hirschl, and Chadwick, 1996, p. 102-3).

In trying to explain this phenomenon of more housework for women, researchers posited many theories, the main ones being resource theory, time availability, socialization, the life course perspective, and symbolic interactionism. Huber and Spitze, proponents of resource theory, suggest that one spouse has more power and prestige than the other spouse because of education, income, and occupation, so can use this power and prestige to make the other spouse do more of the mundane household chores (cited in Pittman and Blanchard, 1996, p. 79).

Another theory has to do with socialization. Many researchers believe that women and men are socialized into gendered roles from the time that they are babies. Therefore, people grow up with the idea that men should be more responsible for financial responsibilities while women should be more responsible for home maintenance. Some studies using this perspective (like that of Seccombe) found that less traditional attitudes were related to the greater participation of men in housework (cited in Pittman and Blanchard, p. 79). Cassidy and Warren(1996) found that there was an important influence from work experiences, lifestyle choices, and gender role attitudes. They found that women who worked full-time were the

most supportive of non-traditional family gender roles, part time women workers were less supportive, and homemakers and men held the most traditional views. Perkins and DeMeis (1996), trying to explain why women with children do more housework, posit that early traditional gender socialization reasserts itself over gender equality views when children are born.

Time availability has also been explored in explaining women's greater housework hours. In this idea, housework is done by the spouse who has more time. So according to this theory, women who do not work have much more time to do housework. Women who work have less time, so their husbands pitch in more.

Another theory, the life course perspective, involves the timing, sequencing, and duration of life events. The timing of childbearing later in a marriage is related to husbands engaging in more housework (Coltrane and Ishii-Kuntz, 1992). For women, marrying at a later age reduces their family size, in turn reducing the housework load. Also, women who work a large portion of their life engage in less housework (Pittman and Blanchard, 1996).

The last major theory is symbolic interactionism. This theory entails how men and women bring their own meanings and values to housework, and actively construct their definitions of it. Many studies have used this theory. For instance, Thompson (1991) suggests that women and men use different comparison referents. Men might compare their housework duties to other, not as involved husbands and feel that they do a lot. Women might compare their present dual role to the single role of their mothers and grandmothers and become angry that their husbands have not done more. A related but opposite argument is that women compare how much housework they are doing to their mothers, and see that their husbands are

doing more than their fathers. Therefore, they feel that the housework split is equal.

Lennon and Rosenfield (1994) found that though women do two-thirds of the housework, they still perceive the split as fair because they have few alternatives. Other researchers found that a family's appreciation of housework makes the extra housework women do seem fair (Hawkins, Marshall, and Meiners 1995). Sanchez (1996) on the other hand argues that both men and women perceive unequal housework as unfair to the wife, but that other factors like interdependence and symbolic ideas discourage these perceptions. Also, Kiger and Riley (1996) found that men overestimate their portion of household tasks, attributable to one of many explanations of differing perceptions of the sexes. As indicated above, there are multiple and complex theories about why women do more housework though they are in the workforce en masse.

Women and Occupations

There are several issues facing working women. One problem is that working women get \$.71 for every \$1.00 that men earn. This is a combination of three factors at work: 1) child birth and rearing, 2) the type of work, and 3) discrimination (Macionis, 1994, p. 249-250) Women break up their years in the workforce to bear and raise children, so do not have the seniority (and higher pay) that comes with unbroken years in the labor force. Women also work in different kinds of jobs than men do, generally choosing occupations dominated by women and characterized by lower pay. Sexual discrimination is also a factor in why women get paid less. However, these three factors have lessened over the years. One study found that declining occupational segregation in the 1980's accounted for about 36% of the decline in the earnings gap, while most of the rest of the decline resulted from more equal pay within

occupations (Cotter, DeFiore, Hermsen, Kowalewski, and Vanneman, 1995).

Women generally enter the workforce for economic need or for personal fulfillment. In this process, they often face extreme role conflict between their work and family roles. Today, it is more accepted to place children in daycare. Indeed, many studies have found no ill effects for children in day care except in cases where the day care is of poor quality (Lerner, 1994). Social attitudes have not shifted with this view, however, burdening women with the worry and guilt caused by the belief that they are ruining their children's lives by working. Women are caught in a double bind. They are pressured to "give their all" to their career by their bosses and coworkers, while putting pressure on themselves to "give their all" to their children so that they will grow up to be well behaved, contributing members of society. Obviously, there is a lack of time to accomplish both goals since both expect 100% effort. Therefore, many women feel extreme role strain and stress in trying to be the "super women" that Betty Friedan unintentionally advocated.

Workplaces are starting to respond somewhat to this problem with unique solutions. For instance, flextime allows women to come to work early or late so that they can spend more time with their children. Flexplace allows women to work in their home, doing both child care and work in the same location. There is also permanent part-time. Another unique solution is job sharing, where two people share the responsibilities of one job. These options have given women (and men) more options regarding work and family. However, these options are not implemented widely. Shellenbarger (cited in Dubeck and Borman, 1996, p. 315) found that two thirds of corporations would never offer even minimal assistance to working parents.

Another problem facing women is the gender segregation of and within occupations. Half of working women today are employed in fields that are more than 75% female and are hence labeled "pink collar" occupations. Dunn found that clerical and service jobs make up most of these "pink collar" jobs (cited in Dubeck and Borman, 1996). These fields tend to pay less, have less benefits, and are dead-end. Utah women are similar to the nation in gender segregation (Utah Department of Employment Security, 1989).

Women have made some gains, however. More and more of them are becoming executives and managers, now constituting 42% of workers in this area. Also, they now constitute 54% of professionals. However, they have been held back in certain jobs like machine operation, precision craft production, and transportation (Spain and Bianchi, 1996, p. 90-91). Reskin and Roos (1990, p. 16-21) support this contention with data suggesting that women are still making little progress in the male dominated fields of engineering (7.9% female), clergy (8.8% female), firefighting (2.1% female), automobile mechanics (.7% female), machinists (4.8% female), truck drivers (2.3% female), and construction workers (3.4% female). Lawyers (19.3% female) and physicians (20% female) registered slightly higher numbers of women (Kelly, 1991, p. 42).

Some occupations desegregated in the 1970's and early 1980's, but later reseggregated so that occupations that were previously primarily constituted of males came to be constituted primarily of females. This occurred in occupations such as pharmacy, real estate, and insurance sales. These jobs became lower paying and less prestigious (Spain and Bianchi, 1996, p. 95-96)

Gender segregation also occurs within occupations. Many writers speak of a "glass ceiling" which keeps women from getting into the top positions such as top management and CEO positions. In other words, women comprise much of the lower status positions like secretarial jobs, while men overwhelmingly represent the top tier of businesses. Such things as not being placed on the high track and a lack of highly placed mentors contribute to this effect (Dubeck and Borman, 1996).

There are several theories that try to explain this gender segregation between and within occupations, among them socialization, human capital, discrimination, and systemic barrier theories. Socialization and sex role theories are based on the idea that women are brought up to believe that they must go into "traditional" careers.

Economic explanations, based on human capital theory, suggest that differences in education, training, and work experience penalize women (Konek and Kitch, 1994, p. 4-5). Using this theory, Polachek (cited in Konek and Kitch, 1994, p. 4) argues that because women plan to take time out for bearing and raising children, they choose occupations characterized by low depreciation and low training costs. These jobs unfortunately also come with lower wages and fewer advancement opportunities.

Discrimination theories suggest that the biggest reason for women's limited success is due to systematic biases of those in control of businesses. This theory postulates that women will be hired only as long as they do not threaten men's privileged position.

Systemic barrier theories claim that structural patterns promote discrimination. Using this idea, dual market theory postulates that men get most of the good primary sector jobs while women get most of the marginal secondary jobs (Kelly, 1991, p. 1-2). As one can see,

there are multiple explanations for job segregation.

This gender segregation is slowly changing however, because many women are going to college to earn the education they need to break into many male-dominated fields. In 1990, women earned 54% of bachelors' degrees and 53.6 percent of master's degrees, but earned only 37% of doctoral degrees. Even though these numbers look good for the lower degrees, many women still go into "traditional careers." In spite of this, in the past twenty years women have increasingly majored in areas previously dominated by males. Women have made inroads into such occupations as medical doctors (36% of degrees), lawyers (43% of degrees) and dentists (32% of degrees) (Macionis, 1994, p. 250). In 1990, women were obtaining bachelors' degrees in business, biology, and social sciences in nearly as great numbers as men (Spain and Bianchi, 1996, p. 62-64). In future years, this will cause these fields to have a more equal representation of the two genders. However, in such areas as engineering and the physical sciences, there are still few women earning degrees in these fields. Consequently, these fields will be gender segregated for years to come.

Some gender segregation occurs from gendered perceptions of traditional and nontraditional occupations. Yoder and Schleicher (1996) found that in the 1970's, deviation from norms defining the gender-appropriateness of occupations was costly for both genders. However, in the 1990's they found that deviation from these gender-appropriate occupations was personally costly only for women. The researchers report that this is consistent with research on people in these occupations. Men who work in male-incongruent occupations appear unharmed and even benefit sometimes. For women, however, negative stereotypes of them in nontraditional careers have become more subtle, but still exist. These women in

nontraditional careers were graded as less likeable and attractive, were questioned as to their femininity, and were generally rated less positively. In one study, women in nontraditional occupations were found to be socially isolated among other things (Yoder, 1996). Therefore, though both sexes increasingly believe in gender equality, women may avoid such occupations that hold high personal costs. Cleveland (cited in Dubeck and Borman, 1996, pp. 139-141) discusses how women in nontraditional jobs are "token females" who are highly visible. When they fail, it is viewed as reflecting on all of womanhood. The token woman is also often isolated because of differences from coworkers, and often stereotyped into a particular social type. In other words, there are many factors causing women to stay away from and/or not go as far in nontraditional careers, replicating to a lesser degree the gender segregation that has occurred in past decades.

Decision Making: Who Holds the Power?

In the past, men were the most powerful figures in the family. Families with traditional values placed the man as having the final say in all family decisions (except basic household concerns). With the advent of the idea of equality, this has changed somewhat, but not dramatically. Felmler (1994) found that 46% of respondents felt the power division was equal, while 36% felt the male had more power and 17% felt the female had more power. More females (48%) felt that their relationship was equal, while more males (46%) felt that their relationship gave more power to the male, presenting an interesting gender perception difference. Vogler and Pahl (1994) found that gender inequality was least in households that used a joint control of pooled money, while it was greatest in low income households and in higher income households where the man controlled the finances. From this data, it seems that

there has been an increase in equality of decisions, but that not all husbands and wives have incorporated this view in their lives.

There are various theories to explain the division of power between husbands and wives. Resource theory and exchange theory are a few of them. Blood and Wolfe, proponents of resource theory, feel that a person's power to make decisions is based on the resources they have (cited in Ingoldsby and Smith, 1995, p. 303-304). Therefore, men who are the breadwinners would have much more power than their wives who are homemakers. Dual career couples, who bring home the same amount of money, would have the same amount of power.

Exchange theory argues that each person has different resources that they use to bargain and negotiate for power. If one person uses their resources to control another, then the relationship becomes unequal. Lee claims that since economic resources are valued, women have trouble converting their resources to family power (cited in Ingoldsby and Smith, 1995, p. 304-305.) As one can see by the brief introductions of these theories, there are varying opinions about the power structure of families.

Religion and Traditional Values

Many researchers have noted a relationship between traditional ideology and religious beliefs. For example, Hertel (1988) found that less religiously involved women were more likely to be employed outside the home than religiously involved women. Corroborating this, Morgan and Scanzoni (1987) found that women's religious devotion had both direct and indirect effects on their decisions to enter the labor force. Highly religiously devoted women tended to see themselves as nurturing, so chose female dominated majors, while less

religiously devout women were more likely to choose nontraditional careers and enter the labor force after obtaining their degree.

The study the writer did was done in Utah, which is predominantly Mormon. (The official name is the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.) The church prophet, President Gordon B. Hinckley, gave the official view that the father should be the breadwinner and the mother should stay at home and raise the children. However, if there is financial necessity, the church recognizes that women must work in these situations. In this case, the church emphasizes that families must evaluate whether the wife is working out of necessity or to get luxury items, again emphasizing the value that women should be homemakers if at all possible (Hinckley, 1996). This belief seems to be the exact same position held in 1980 when Liaey did his research.

METHODS OF THE STUDY

This study is a replication of a 1980 study, so the original three page survey was used in an unchanged form. A cluster sampling for the entire sample was employed for this survey. A list of all classes taught at Utah State University was obtained, and all of the undergraduate classes were numbered. Following this, a random number table was used to obtain twenty classes. Five classes from each of the four levels (100, 200, etc.) of undergraduate course work were chosen in order to get age representativeness. Each teacher was contacted and asked if a ten minute survey could be administered to their class. One teacher out of the twenty refused, and another class was chosen by random to take its place.

At each site, the survey was handed to all present members of the class. (Class attendance was generally about 70%, since only 446 surveys were completed out of the 650

people enrolled for the classes. Also, about five to ten people had overlapping classes and only took the survey once out of the two classes they were registered for.) The students were told that the survey was for an honors project and that it was voluntary.

Unforeseen departures from the established plan arose in some classes. In two of the classes, the professors administered the survey rather than the primary researcher. One of these professors lost the completed surveys and had to repeat the process, which resulted in a lower response rate for that specific class. In another class, the teacher only allowed the researcher to hand the survey out and ask the students to fill it out in their free time and return it the next day. (Interestingly, a large number of students belied the researcher's expectations and returned the survey in completed form.) In another class, the students were told that the survey was a replication by a well-intentioned teacher before they filled out the survey, potentially biasing their answers. Despite these slight changes for some classes in operating procedure, the rest of the surveys proceeded as planned.

In the end, seven students did not fill the surveys out completely and were removed from the sample, resulting in a total of 439 surveys used for the research. All were Utah State University students, therefore making the sample applicable only to the Utah State University student body at large (as had occurred in Liaey's 1980 research.) The data from these 439 surveys was entered into the SPSS program.

As the survey was already formulated, the variables were already operationalized. Liaey in his study looked at several variables such as gender, religion, urban/rural background, mother's education, and birth order. As this is not a master's thesis, the present researcher only looked at the effect of two variables, gender and religion, on 1) decision

making, 2) the family division of household labor, and 3) the appropriateness of different occupations for the two genders.

Liaey found that religion and gender significantly affected a person's beliefs. Namely, males and LDS were more conservative than females and non-LDS. It is predicted in this study that this finding will be repeated. Also, it is predicted that there will be a change towards more liberal or egalitarian viewpoints for all in the survey, since these views that were rather new in 1980 are now becoming more conventional and accepted.

(See the following pages for a complete copy of the survey used.)

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY,
SOCIAL WORK AND ANTHROPOLOGY
Logan, UT 84322-0730
(801) 797-1230
FAX (801) 797-1240

Dear Student:

In cooperation with the Sociology Department, I am conducting a short survey of how Utah State University students feel about the "proper" role of women in American society. The survey is being used as part of my Honors Thesis for the undergraduate sociology program here at Utah State University.

No information is collected that could be used identify you as an individual. Your participation in the survey is completely voluntary and nonparticipation will not affect your grade. You must be 18 or older to take part in this survey. The survey will only take a few minutes. Your participation in the survey is important. Thank you for your time and cooperation!

Tavia Simmons

Tavia Simmons

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ABOUT RESPONDENT

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1. Sex
 1. Male
 2. Female
2. What is your current class rank at Utah State?
 1. Freshman
 2. Sophomore
 3. Junior
 4. Senior
 5. Graduate
 6. Other (please specify) _____
3. What is your ethnic origin?
 1. Caucasian
 2. Black
 3. American Indian
 4. Other (please specify) _____
4. What area of the United States are you from (lived the longest period of your life)?
 1. Utah
 2. North East
 3. North Central
 4. South
 5. West (except Utah)
 6. Outside the USA
5. What kind of place are you from (lived the longest period of your life)?
 1. large city (population of 250,000 or more)
 2. smaller city (population of 50,000 to 250,000)
 3. town (10,000 to 50,000)
 4. county (less than 10,000)
6. What is your religious affiliation?
 1. LDS
 2. Catholic
 3. Protestant
 4. Jewish
 5. Other (please specify) _____
7. Please describe in detail the type of work your father is doing (or was doing if retired or deceased).
 What were his most important activities or duties? _____

 Title and/or Rank _____

8. What is the highest grade of school your mother completed?
 1. never attended school
 2. grade school
 3. some high school
 4. completed high school
 5. some college
 6. completed college
 7. graduate work
9. Has your mother ever worked outside the home?
 1. Yes
 2. No
10. How many
 - _____ Older brothers
 - _____ Younger brothers
 - _____ Older sisters
 - _____ Younger sisters
 do you have?

OPINION ABOUT WOMEN'S SOCIAL ROLE IN THE FAMILY

For the following statements, please indicate to what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the statements by circling one of the four possible answers.

	<u>Strongly Agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly Disagree</u>
1. Husbands of working wives should share in the household tasks.	1	2	3	4
2. If a woman works outside the home, it should only be in times of family economic hardship.	1	2	3	4
3. The family suffers if the mother works.	1	2	3	4
4. The woman's place is in the home.	1	2	3	4
5. Working women can't be good mothers.	1	2	3	4
6. A married woman should not plan to have her own career because it will prevent her from being a good mother.	1	2	3	4
7. A working woman gets a higher appreciation from society than a housewife does.	1	2	3	4
8. A working woman gets more satisfaction than a woman who stays home all day.	1	2	3	4
9. Women should be paid the same wage as men for equal work.	1	2	3	4
10. Men should be given preference over women in promotion and hiring since they are usually supporting a family.	1	2	3	4
11. Who should usually do the following activities in the family?				
	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Wife</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>Other</u>
A. Cooking	1	2	3	4
B. Washing dishes	1	2	3	4
C. Taking care of children	1	2	3	4
D. Food shopping	1	2	3	4
E. Laundry	1	2	3	4

12. Who should have the final say on the following decisions?

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	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Wife</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>Other</u>
A. Major purchases	1	2	3	4
B. Leisure-time activities	1	2	3	4
C. Food shopping	1	2	3	4
D. Discipline of the children	1	2	3	4

13. It is good for married women to work outside the home:

1. only if she has no children
2. only if she has no preschool age children at home
3. only if she has no children under 16 at home
4. under any conditions
5. under no conditions

WOMENS' ROLES IN THE ECONOMY

14. In this part of our questionnaire we would like you to consider the following occupations and tell us on a scale from 1 to 7 how appropriate for women these occupations are in our society today. 1 will signify that the occupation is inappropriate. A score of 7 means the occupation is definitely appropriate.

	<u>Inappropriate</u>						<u>Definitely Appropriate</u>
a. Construction worker	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
B. Engineer	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
C. Executive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
D. Foreman in industry	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
E. Garbage collector	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
F. Judge	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
G. Pilot	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
H. Production manager	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I. Psychologist	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
J. Surgeon	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
K. Truck driver	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

15. Now please consider the following occupations and how appropriate they are for men on a scale of 1 to 7.

A. Kindergarten teacher	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
B. Maid	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
C. Nurse	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
D. Stewardess	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
E. Typist	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION

FINDINGS

As mentioned, univariate analysis of gender (male/female) and religion (LDS/Non-LDS) were used to see the effects of these variables on 1) decision making, 2) division of household labor, and 3) appropriateness of occupations. In each category, the researcher will first discuss Liaey's 1980 findings. Then the 1997 data will be discussed. Finally, the 1980 and 1997 data will be compared. (*Tables of the data are throughout the paper. For those who like picture representations, see the bar charts in the Appendix.*)

Division of Household Labor

In this section, Liaey defined conservative (or traditional) responses as those who answered that only the wife should do the cooking, wash the dishes, take care of the children, shop for food, and do the laundry. Overall, he claims that people were more conservative on these five items.

By Gender

Males were more conservative on each measure (*see Liaey's Table 8 on page 20*). The most extreme examples of this conservativeness were cooking (49.8% of men versus 31.9% of women expected only wives to do it) and laundry (56.4% of men and 50.9% of women felt only wives should do it.)

Seventeen years later, men are still more conservative than women (*see Table 1 on page 21*), with laundry (24.6% of men and 15.8% of women believe that it is only a wife's job) and food shopping (24.1% of men and 17.4% of women believe that it is only a wife's job) being the largest differences. Overall, both sexes seem to embrace egalitarian beliefs. For cooking, only 12.4% of men and 12 percent of women believe that the wife should do it. For washing

Table 8. Percent Distribution of Responses to Who Should be Responsible for Family Roles and Decisions by Gender

Family Roles Questions	Total N	Male				Total N	Female			
		Husband	Wife	Both	Other		Husband	Wife	Both	Other
1. Cooking	241	.0	49.8*	48.5	1.2	216	.0	31.9*	68.1	.0
2. Washing dishes	241	.0	22.4*	74.3	3.3	216	.5	15.3*	82.4	1.9
3. Taking care of children	241	.0	10.8*	88.4	0.8	216	.0	6.9*	93.1	.0
4. Food shopping	241	.0	34.0*	63.9	2.1	216	.0	30.6*	69.4	.0
5. Laundry	241	.0	56.4*	41.9	1.2	216	.0	50.9*	49.1	.0
<u>Decision Making Questions</u>										
6. Major purchases	241	22.0**	.4	75.5	1.7	216	15.7**	.0	84.3	.0
7. Leisure time activities	241	2.1**	1.7	95.0	.8	216	1.4**	.5	98.1	.0
8. Food shopping	241	.0**	47.3	51.9	.4	216	.0**	31.0	69.0	.0
9. Discipline of the children	241	11.2**	1.2	86.3	.0	216	4.2**	2.8	93.1	.0

* For the first five questions (family roles), conservative is defined as responding that the wife should do these tasks.

** For the remaining questions (decision making), conservative applies to the response that husband alone should have final say.

Table 1.

Percent Distribution of Responses to Who Should Be Responsible for Family Roles and Decisions by Gender

Family Roles Questions	Males				Females			
	Husband	Wife	Both	Other	Husband	Wife	Both	Other
1. Cooking	0	12.4	80	2.1	0	12	87.6	0.4
2. Washing Dishes	0.5	8.7	88.2	2.1	1.2	6.2	91.8	0.8
3. Taking Care of Children	0	11.3	86.7	1.5	0	5.4	94.6	0
4. Food Shopping	0.5	24.1	73.3	1.5	0.4	17.4	81.7	0.4
5. Laundry	1	24.6	70.8	3.1	0	15.8	82.1	1.7
<u>Decision Making Questions</u>								
6. Major Purchases	13.3	0.5	85.6	0.5	3.7	0	95.8	0
7. Leisure Time Activities	2.6	1.5	94.4	1.5	1.2	0.8	97.5	0
8. Food Shopping	1	31.8	65.1	2.1	0	10.4	88.8	0.4
9. Disciplining Children	3.6	3.6	92.3	0.5	2.5	0.4	96.7	0

* Total N for males= 195 for all categories; Total N for females =241 for all categories

** For the first five questions (family roles), conservative is defined as responding that the wife should do these tasks

***For the remaining questions (decision making), conservative applies to the response that the husband alone should have the final say.

dishes, 8.7% of men and 6.2% of women believe the wife should do it. 11.3% of men and 5.4% of women feel the wife should take care of the children. 24.1% of men and 17.4% of women feel the wife should shop for food. For laundry, 24.6% of men and 15.8% of women feel that the wife should do it.

As indicated by the data, the men are a bit more conservative than the women, but overall are liberal, especially compared with the data in 1980. For the two highest conservative measures, cooking and laundry, this is especially evident. In 1980, 49.8% of men and 31.9% of women believed only wives should do the cooking, while in 1997 only 12.4% of men and 12% of women believed that only the wife should do it. For laundry, in 1980 56.4% of men and 50.9% of women believed that only the wife should do it, while in 1997 only 24.6% of men and 15.8% of women believed only wives should do it. These are large changes in a seventeen-year period, indicating that though historians argue that the major changes occurred between 1970 and 1980, changes are still occurring.

By Religion

In Liaey's 1980 study, the LDS were more conservative than the non-LDS (*See Liaey's Table 9 on page 23*). Again, the biggest differences were in cooking (51.7% of LDS versus 22% of non-LDS believed that only the wife should do it) and laundry (63.3% of LDS versus 36.1% of non-LDS believed only women should do it.)

In 1997, LDS members were still slightly more conservative regarding family roles (*See Table 2 on page 24*). However, the gap has closed considerably, with noticeable differences only in food shopping (22% of LDS versus 12.1% of non-LDS believe that only wives should do it) and laundry (20.9% of LDS versus 13.6% of non-LDS believe only wives

Table 9. Percent Distribution of Responses to Who Should be Responsible for Family Roles and Decisions by Religion

Family Roles Questions	LDS					NON-LDS				
	Total N	Husband	Wife	Both	Other	Total N	Husband	Wife	Both	Other
1. Cooking	300	.0	51.7*	47.3	.7	158	.0	22.2*	77.2	.6
2. Washing dishes	300	.0	21.7*	74.7	3.7	158	.6	14.6*	84.2	.6
3. Taking care of children	300	.0	10.7*	89.0	.3	158	.0	6.3*	93.0	.6
4. Food shopping	300	.0	33.7*	65.0	1.3	158	.0	30.4*	69.0	.6
5. Laundry	300	.0	63.3*	35.7	.7	158	.0	36.1*	63.3	.6
<u>Decision Making Questions</u>										
6. Major purchases	300	23.3**	.0	75.7	.7	158	10.8**	.6	87.3	.4
7. Leisure time activities	300	2.0**	1.7	95.7	.3	158	1.3**	.0	98.1	.6
8. Food shopping	300	.0**	46.3	53.3	.0	158	.0**	27.2	72.2	.6
9. Discipline of the children	300	9.3**	2.3	87.7	.0	158	5.1**	1.3	93.0	.0

* For the first five questions (family roles), conservative is defined as responding that the wife should do these tasks.

** For the remaining questions (decision making), conservative applies to the response that husband alone should have final say.

Table 2. Percent Distribution of Responses to Who Should Be Responsible for Family Roles and Decisions by Religion

Family Roles Questions	LDS				Non-LDS			
	Husband	Wife	Both	Other	Husband	Wife	Both	Other
1. Cooking	0.0	14.5	84.2	1.1	0.0	13.6	83.3	3.0
2. Washing Dishes	0.8	7.8	90.1	1.1	1.5	4.5	89.4	4.5
3. Taking Care of Children	0.0	8.0	91.2	0.5	0.0	9.1	87.9	3.0
4. Food Shopping	0.5	22.0	76.4	0.8	0.0	12.1	84.8	3.0
5. Laundry	0.5	20.9	75.9	1.9	0.0	13.6	80.3	6.1
<u>Decision Making Questions</u>								
6. Major Purchases	7.5	0.0	92.0	0.3	10.6	1.5	87.9	0.0
7. Leisure Time Activities	0.8	1.1	97.3	0.5	7.6	1.5	89.4	1.5
8. Food Shopping	0.5	20.4	77.7	1.1	0.0	18.2	80.3	1.5
9. Disciplining Children	3.2	1.1	94.6	0.3	1.5	6.1	92.4	0.0

* Total N for males= 195 for all categories; Total N for females =241 for all categories; Totals may not necessarily total 100% due to non-response.

** For the first five questions (family roles), conservative is defined as responding that the wife should do these tasks

***For the remaining questions (decision making), conservative applies to the response that the husband alone should have the final say.

should do it.) However, the most striking difference is between the rate of conservative responses overall in 1980 compared with those in 1997. There was over 40% change for some questions, especially noticeable in the LDS percentages. For example, in 1980 in cooking, 51.7% of LDS and 22.2% of non-LDS believed that only wives should do it while in 1997 only 14.5% of LDS and 13.6% of non-LDS believed the same thing. For laundry in 1980, 63.3% of LDS and 36.1% of non-LDS believed only wives should do it, while in 1997 only 20% of LDS and 13.6% of non-LDS believed this. For the other chores of washing dishes, taking care of children, and food shopping, all three had reduced in conservative responses over time, but less so since they were already lower in the first place.

Decision Making

Decision making is often used as a measure of who holds the power in the family. Therefore, Liaey used four measures of decision making: 1) major purchases, 2) leisure time activities, 3) food shopping, and 4) discipline of the children. He considered conservative or traditional answers to be those who answered that the husband should have the final say rather than the wife or both of them.

By Gender

Liaey found that both sexes were generally more liberal on these measures (*See Liaey's Table 8 on page 20*). Opinions about decisions of leisure time activities (with 95% of males and 98.1% of females feeling both should decide), discipline of children (with 86.3% of men and 93.1% of women believing both should decide), and major purchases (with 75.5% of men and 84.3% of women believing both should decide) showed overwhelming approval of joint decision making. Interestingly, on food shopping 47.3% of men and 31% of women felt that

the wife should have the final say, giving women the final say on this home-related decision category.

The 1997 data indicate even more egalitarian attitudes, especially regarding major purchases, leisure time activities, and disciplining children, with the vast majority feeling that both should decide these things (*See Table 1 on page 21*). Food shopping, with 31.8% of men and 10.4% of women believing the wife should have the last say, indicates a slight break from the overwhelming egalitarian views of the other measures. But there was still a majority who felt there should be equal decision power between the couple.

In comparing the 1980 responses with those of 1997, there has been an increase in egalitarian decision making beliefs (even though people were already quite liberal in 1980.) For instance, for major purchases in 1980, 75.5% of men and 84.3% of women had egalitarian views, while in 1997 85.6% of men and 95.8% of women believe this. Interestingly, women's views are becoming more egalitarian on major decisions (and other measures) more quickly than are men's views. Also, food shopping is an intriguing case. In 1980, no one was conservative (feeling the husband should have the final say), while 47.3% of men and 31% of women felt that the wife should have the final say. In 1997, there is a trend towards more egalitarian decision making rather than the wife having the final say on food shopping. Today, only 31.8% of males and 10.4% of females state that the wife should have the final say.

By Religion

In looking at the effects of religion on power and decision making, in 1980 people of all religions seemed to be mostly egalitarian (*See Liaey's Table 9 on page 23*). However, LDS were more conservative than non-LDS on all items, with the greatest difference being on major

purchases. 75.9% of LDS versus 87.3% of non-LDS held egalitarian decision making views. The discipline of children and leisure time activities were also overwhelmingly considered to be decisions made by both husband and wife. Again, food shopping is an interesting case because many people thought women should have the final decision (46.3% of LDS versus 27.2% of non-LDS).

In 1997, decision making had become even more egalitarian for both LDS and non-LDS (*See Table 2 on page 24*). However, the comparison between LDS and non-LDS is not as clear-cut. On some measures, LDS answered more liberally than non-LDS. For example, for major purchases, 92% of LDS versus 87.9% of non-LDS believed in equal decision making power. For leisure time activities, 97.3% of LDS versus 89.4% of non-LDS believed in equal decision making power. For disciplining children, the two groups answered similarly (94.6% of LDS and 92.4% of non-LDS held egalitarian beliefs.) For food shopping, as in 1980, more people (20.4% of LDS and 18.2% of non-LDS) gave power to the wife, but less than in 1980, indicating a more egalitarian turn. (For hypotheses on these peculiar results, see the Discussion section.)

In comparing the 1980 and 1997 data by religion, there has been a continuing increase in egalitarian beliefs. The biggest difference has been in major purchases. (In 1980, 75.7% of LDS and 87.3% of non-LDS were egalitarian, whereas in 1997, 92% of LDS and 87.9% of non-LDS were egalitarian.) The rest of the decision making measures also increased in egalitarian answers, but less so, since they were already egalitarian in the first place. Food shopping has become more egalitarian, actually taking decision making power away from women on this item. (In 1980, 46.3% of LDS and 27.2% of non-LDS felt the wife should

have the final say, while in 1997 only 20.4% of LDS and 18.2% of non-LDS felt so.)

Appropriateness of Occupations

Liaey used eleven occupations to measure people's level of acceptance regarding women in nontraditional occupations. These occupations were: construction worker, engineer, executive, foreman in industry, garbage collector, judge, pilot, production manager, psychologist, surgeon, and truck driver. Liaey also used five occupations (kindergarten teacher, maid, nurse, stewardess, and typist) to measure people's level of acceptance regarding men in non-traditional occupations. He used a scale of one to seven with choices of "strongly inappropriate," "moderately inappropriate," "slightly inappropriate," "neutral," "slightly appropriate," "moderately appropriate," and "strongly appropriate." Liaey considered all answers in the "inappropriate" categories to be conservative responses.

Women in Non-Traditional Occupations

By Gender

In Liaey's 1980 work he found that four occupations (construction worker, garbage collector, foreman in industry, and truck driver) were treated with more conservative attitudes (See Liaey's Table 15 on page 29). For instance, 81.4% of males and 61.6% of females considered construction work to be inappropriate for women, with similar numbers for the job of garbage collector. The jobs of surgeon and psychologist had the least conservative responses, with 7.7% of men and 1.8% of women feeling that the career of surgeon is improper for women, while 3.8% of men and 1.4% of women felt that the career of psychologist was improper for women. Conservative responses for engineers (26.1% of males and 18.5% of females), pilots (17.1% of males and 7% of females), executives (14.1% of men

Table 15. Percent Distribution of Conservative* Responses to Appropriateness For Women of Various Occupational Roles by Gender and Religion

Occupations	Male	Female	LDS	Non-LDS
1. Construction worker	81.4 (196)	61.6 (133)	79.6 (239)	57.6 (91)
2. Garbage collector	81.8 (179)	61.1 (132)	75.3 (226)	50.6 (80)
3. Forman in industry	48.6 (117)	38.0 (82)	49.0 (147)	33.6 (53)
4. Truck driver	47.2 (114)	34.6 (75)	49.3 (148)	26.6 (42)
5. Engineer	26.1 (63)	18.5 (49)	28.3 (34)	11.3 (10)
6. Pilot	17.4 (42)	7.0 (15)	14.3 (43)	8.9 (14)
7. Executive	14.1 (34)	5.6 (12)	12.6 (38)	5.1 (8)
8. Production manager	13.2 (32)	7.0 (15)	13.7 (41)	3.8 (6)
9. Judge	10.0 (24)	4.2 (9)	8.3 (25)	5.1 (8)
10. Surgeon	7.7 (21)	1.8 (4)	6.7 (20)	3.2 (5)
11. Psychologist	3.8 (9)	1.4 (3)	3.0 (9)	1.9 (3)

* Percent conservative is the sum of the percentages in the first 3 columns (See questionnaire in Appendix B).

NOTE: The numbers in parentheses are actual frequencies.

and 5.6% of women), and production managers (13.2% of men and 7% of women) fell somewhere between these extremes of acceptance and nonacceptance.

As can be seen by the figures above, there was some divergence in conservative responses of men and women, with men being more conservative. In each of the eleven occupations, a higher percentage of males than females gave conservative responses. Differences were more pronounced in the four occupations of construction worker, foreman in industry, garbage collector, and truck driver. For instance, there is a 20% gap (80% for men and 60% for women) in conservative responses for the occupations of construction worker and garbage collector.

In 1997, there are still differences between men's and women's responses, again being most striking in those occupations that got the most conservative responses (*See Tables 3 and 4 on pages 31 and 32*). For example, for the occupation of construction worker, 61.6% of men compared with 36.5% of women felt the job was inappropriate. In the two mediumly conservative occupations, this was also apparent. 35.3% of men compared with 22% of women answered conservatively for the occupation of truck driver, and 24.6% of men versus 9.9% of women answered conservatively for the occupation of foreman. For the rest of the occupations, men's conservative scores tended to range from 5 to 10% while women's scores ranged from below 1% to 3%.

In comparison to 1980, the data from 1997 reveal a much higher acceptance of women in non-traditional occupations. Again the occupations of construction worker (61.6% of men and 36.5% of women) and garbage collector (49.3% of men and 30.7% of women) are considered inappropriate for women by at least half the respondents. However, the two other

Table 3.

Percent Distribution of Responses to Appropriateness for Women of Various Occupational Roles
Male Responses

Occupations	Total N	Inappropriate			Total % Conservative	Appropriate				Total % Non-Conservative
		Strongly	Moderately	Slightly		Neutral	Slightly	Moderately	Strongly	
1. Construction Worker	194	21.0	22.1	18.5	61.6	17.4	5.6	3.1	11.8	37.9
2. Engineer	193	2.1	3.1	4.1	9.3	11.8	15.9	15.4	46.7	89.8
3. Executive	192	2.6	1.5	1.0	5.1	5.6	16.4	21.0	50.3	93.3
4. Foreman in Industry	194	5.6	10.3	8.7	24.6	19.0	17.4	10.3	28.2	74.9
5. Garbage Collector	194	22.1	15.9	11.3	49.3	15.4	6.2	5.6	23.1	50.3
6. Judge	192	2.6	2.1	2.1	6.8	7.2	9.2	22.1	53.3	91.8
7. Pilot	193	2.1	2.6	4.6	9.3	9.2	10.8	23.6	46.2	89.8
8. Production Manager	193	2.6	1.0	2.1	5.7	12.8	15.9	23.6	41.0	93.3
9. Psychologist	192	1.5	1.0	0.0	2.5	4.6	5.6	23.6	62.1	95.9
10. Surgeon	193	1.0	1.5	1.5	4.0	5.6	11.8	21.5	55.9	94.8
11. Truck Driver	193	9.2	12.8	13.3	35.3	15.9	12.8	11.8	23.1	63.6

* Percent conservative is the sum of the percentages in the first 3 columns.

**Conservative and nonconservative percentages do not necessarily total 100% due to non-responses

Table 4

Percent Distribution of Responses to Appropriateness for Women of Various Occupational Roles

Female Responses

Women										
Occupations	Total N	Inappropriate			Total % Conservative	Appropriate				Total % Non-Conservative
		Strongly	Moderately	Slightly		Neutral	Slightly	Moderately	Strongly	
1. Construction Worker	239	7.1	12.4	17.0	36.5	23.2	10.4	6.2	22.8	62.6
2. Engineer	239	0.8	0.4	2.5	3.7	11.2	7.9	14.9	61.4	95.4
3. Executive	240	0.8	0.0	0.4	1.2	6.2	3.3	13.7	75.1	98.3
4. Foreman in Industry	240	2.9	3.7	3.3	9.9	21.2	17.8	13.3	37.3	89.6
5. Garbage Collector	238	9.1	11.6	10.0	30.7	19.1	10.4	7.1	31.5	68.1
6. Judge	241	0.8	1.7	0.0	2.5	6.2	5.0	14.1	72.2	97.5
7. Pilot	241	0.8	0.8	0.4	2.0	7.9	6.6	14.5	68.9	97.9
8. Production Manager	240	0.8	0.4	0.4	1.6	8.3	6.6	13.7	69.3	97.9
9. Psychologist	240	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.8	5.0	2.1	10.8	80.9	98.8
10. Surgeon	240	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.8	5.8	3.3	12.4	77.2	98.7
11. Truck Driver	239	4.1	7.1	10.8	22.0	15.4	11.6	11.6	38.6	77.2

* Percent conservative is the sum of the percentages in the first 3 columns.

**Conservative and non-conservative percentages do not necessarily total to 100% due to non-responses

occupations that were considered inappropriate in 1980 (foreman in industry and truck driver) are now judged to be inappropriate only by about one-fourth to one-third of the respondents. The rest of the occupations (including those that in 1980 received medium disapproval) are in 1997 by and large considered appropriate for women, with at most 10% of the respondents rating them inappropriate.

Another difference is the spread of answers on the Lieckert scale. In 1980, the answers were spread out somewhat continuously along the seven number values. In 1997, most of the answers are concentrated on the "appropriate" side, with the great majority concentrated in the "strongly appropriate" category. (This is true except for the categories of construction worker and garbage collector, where there are still a lot of conservative ideas about these occupations.) Overall, the differences between 1980 and 1997 are more striking than the differences between men's and women's responses.

By Religion

In Liaey's 1980 study, the respondents, whatever religion they were, found the jobs of construction worker, garbage collector, foreman in industry, and truck driver to be inappropriate for women. Also, people of all religions found the occupations of judge, surgeon, and psychologist to be appropriate for women, and had mixed feelings about the occupations of engineer, pilot, executive, and production manager.

On all eleven occupations, LDS respondents were more conservative than non-LDS respondents (See Liaey's Table 15 on page 29). However, the degree of difference was greatest in the four occupations that people rated the most inappropriate. Conservative answers for construction workers (79.6% of LDS versus 57.6% of non-LDS), garbage

collectors (75.3% of LDS versus 50.6% of non-LDS), foremen in industry (49% of LDS versus 33.6% of non-LDS), and truck drivers (49.3% of LDS versus 26.6% of non-LDS) all illustrate the divergence between LDS and non-LDS answers. With over 20% difference on the occupations with the most conservative opinions, these results were very similar to those divided by gender.

For the data from 1997, (*See Tables 5 and 6 on pages 35 and 36*) the occupations of construction worker (48.3% of LDS and 45.5% of non-LDS) and garbage collector (40.5% of LDS and 31.8% of non-LDS) were both still rated more conservatively. Two occupations that used to be conservatively rated are now only somewhat conservatively rated. These two occupations are that of truck driver (28.5% of LDS and 24.2% of non-LDS) and foreman in industry (16.4% of LDS and 16.7% of non-LDS). The rest of the occupations had few conservative answers.

In comparing LDS with non-LDS answers, there are less clear results. In the 1980 results, the LDS were more conservative than the non-LDS on all eleven occupations. In the present study however, this was true for only three occupations (the ones that people had held the most conservative opinions about in 1980.) 48.3% of LDS versus 45.5% of non-LDS held conservative opinions about construction workers, 40.5% of LDS versus 31.8% of non-LDS held conservative opinions about female garbage collectors, and 28.5% of LDS versus 24.2% of non-LDS held conservative opinions about female truck drivers.

For the rest of the occupations, non-LDS people rated them more conservatively, but by little amounts--from .3% to around 5% more conservatively. (For an analysis of this peculiar outcome, see the Discussion section.) Also, the occupations that LDS people rated

Table 5.

Percent Distribution of Responses to Appropriateness for Women of Various Occupational Roles
LDS Responses

Occupations	Total N	Inappropriate			Total % Conservative	Appropriate			Total % Non-Conservative
		Strongly	Moderately	Slightly		Neutral	Slightly	Moderately	
1. Construction Worker	372	12.9	17.7	17.7	48.3	20.6	8.8	4.6	51.4
2. Engineer	372	0.5	1.9	3.2	5.6	11.3	12.1	16.4	94.0
3. Executive	370	1.1	0.8	0.8	2.7	6.2	8.8	17.4	96.5
4. Foreman in Industry	372	3.8	7.2	5.4	16.4	20.9	18.5	12.1	83.4
5. Garbage Collector	372	16.1	13.9	10.5	40.5	17.4	8.8	6.2	59.2
6. Judge	371	1.3	1.6	1.1	4.0	6.4	6.2	17.4	95.4
7. Pilot	372	1.1	1.3	2.1	4.5	8.3	9.1	19.0	95.1
8. Production Manager	371	1.3	0.5	1.1	2.9	11.3	11.0	17.7	96.6
9. Psychologist	370	0.8	0.5	0.0	1.3	4.6	3.8	16.4	98.0
10. Surgeon	371	0.5	0.8	0.8	2.1	5.4	6.2	16.9	97.4
11. Truck Driver	371	6.7	9.7	12.1	28.5	15.8	12.3	11.8	71.0

* Percent conservative is the sum of the percentages in the first 3 columns.

**Conservative and non-conservative percentages do not necessarily total to 100% due to non-responses

Table 6.

Percent Distribution of Responses to Appropriateness for Women of Various Occupational Roles
Non-LDS Responses

Occupations	Total N	Inappropriate			Total % Conservative	Appropriate				% Total Non-Conservative
		Strongly	Moderately	Slightly		Neutral	Slightly	Moderately	Strongly	
1. Construction Worker	63	15.2	12.1	18.2	45.5	19.7	4.5	6.1	19.7	50.0
2. Engineer	63	6.1	0.0	3.0	9.1	12.1	9.1	9.1	56.1	86.4
3. Executive	64	4.5	0.0	0.0	4.5	4.5	12.1	13.6	62.1	92.3
4. Foreman in Industry	64	6.1	3.0	7.6	16.7	15.2	15.2	10.6	39.4	80.4
5. Garbage Collector	62	7.6	12.1	12.1	31.8	16.7	6.1	7.6	31.8	62.2
6. Judge	64	3.0	3.0	0.0	6.0	7.6	10.6	18.2	54.5	90.9
7. Pilot	64	3.0	3.0	3.0	9.0	9.1	4.5	16.7	57.6	87.9
8. Production Manager	64	3.0	1.5	1.5	6.0	4.5	9.1	21.2	56.1	90.9
9. Psychologist	64	3.0	0.0	0.0	3.0	6.1	3.0	16.7	68.2	94.0
10. Surgeon	64	3.0	0.0	0.0	3.0	7.6	12.1	13.6	60.6	93.9
11. Truck Driver	63	4.5	9.1	10.6	24.2	13.6	12.1	10.6	34.8	71.1

* Percent conservative is the sum of the percentages in the first 3 columns.

**Conservative and non-conservative percentages do not necessarily total 100% due to non-responses.

more conservatively were not differentiated by huge gaps between LDS and non-LDS as in 1980. In 1997 the gaps were at most 10%. So the changes from 1980 to 1997 have been significant both in a liberal shift for both LDS and non-LDS and also in the differences between LDS and non-LDS.

Men in Non-Traditional Occupations

Liaey in his 1980 survey included five occupations that were non-traditional for men: kindergarten teacher, maid, nurse, stewardess, and typist. He used the same seven point scale used for women's nontraditional occupations to determine people's conservative feelings about the appropriateness of men in these occupations.

Unfortunately, he did not report the results for these occupations. This study however, will look at them, at least as a comparison to that of women's nontraditional careers. In this present study, all of the nontraditional occupations for males were rated mostly appropriate for men. The most conservative answers were in reaction to the occupation of maid, while the other four occupations had only a small minority of conservative responses.

By Gender

In comparing male with female responses, there was a definite difference, with men rating the occupations more conservatively than women (*See Table 7 on page 38*). The biggest difference was in the most conservatively rated occupation of maid work. 38.5% of men versus 17.4% of women rated it as inappropriate for men, giving around a 20% difference between the two sexes on this occupation. The rest of the occupations men rated around 15-20% conservatively while women rated them around 7-10% conservatively, giving around a 10% difference between the sexes for the rest of these jobs.

Table 7

Percent Distribution of Responses to Appropriateness for Men of Various Occupational Roles

Male										
Occupations	Total N	Inappropriate			Total % Conservative	Neutral	Slightly	Appropriate		Total % Non-conservative
		Strongly	Moderately	Slightly				Moderately	Strongly	
1. Kindergarten teacher	194	3.1	4.6	9.7	17.4	11.8	10.3	17.9	42.1	82.1
2. Maid	194	10.8	11.8	15.9	38.5	19.0	8.7	7.2	26.2	61.1
3. Nurse	193	5.6	2.1	6.7	14.4	12.3	11.8	21.5	39.0	84.6
4. Stewardess	194	7.2	5.6	9.2	22.0	19.5	10.8	13.8	33.3	77.4
5. Typist	193	5.1	6.7	7.7	19.5	16.9	12.8	12.8	36.9	79.4
Female										
Occupations	Total N	Inappropriate			Total % Conservative	Neutral	Slightly	Appropriate		Total % Non-conservative
		Strongly	Moderately	Slightly				Moderately	Strongly	
1. Kindergarten teacher	241	1.7	2.5	3.3	7.5	10.0	6.2	12.9	63.5	92.6
2. Maid	240	2.9	9.1	5.4	17.4	21.6	8.7	9.5	42.3	82.1
3. Nurse	241	0.8	0.8	6.2	7.8	7.5	7.1	14.9	62.7	92.2
4. Stewardess	241	1.2	4.1	3.3	8.6	13.3	8.7	13.7	55.2	90.9
5. Typist	241	2.5	3.7	4.6	10.8	12.9	7.9	12.9	55.6	89.3

* Percent conservative is the sum of the percentages in the first 3 columns.

**Conservative and non-conservative percentages do not necessarily total to 100% due to non-responses

By Religion

In dissecting religion's effects on occupational appropriateness, the occupation of maid again gains the most conservative responses, with more moderate reactions to the remaining four occupations (*See Table 8 on page 40*). Interestingly, on all measures LDS were more liberal than non-LDS. 10.4% of LDS versus 19.8% of non-LDS rated kindergarten teaching conservatively, 26.6% of LDS versus 30.4% of non-LDS rated maid work conservatively, 9.4% of LDS versus 18.2% of non-LDS rated nursing conservatively, 14.2% of LDS versus 16.6% of non-LDS rated stewardesses conservatively, and 13.4% of LDS versus 21.2% of non-LDS rated typists conservatively. As the reader can see, all occupations were rated more conservatively by non-LDS, from 2-10%. (See Discussion section for hypotheses about these unexpected results.)

In comparison to results for the present study's conservative ratings for women's nontraditional occupations, conservative ratings for men seem to be: 1) generally lower and 2) more consistent. First of all, there was no non-traditional occupation for men that was rated conservatively by 50% of the sample, while such women's nontraditional occupations like construction workers and garbage collectors were. Also, the results for men were more consistent. Most of the occupations were rated 10-20% conservatively. For women's non-traditional occupations, the conservative responses ranged from .8% to 61.6%, indicating a much wider differentiation of various nontraditional jobs for females.

Table 8.

Percent Distribution of Responses to Appropriateness for Men of Various Occupational Roles

LDS										
Occupations	Total N	Inappropriate			Total % Conservative	Neutral	Slightly	Appropriate		Total % Non-conservative
		Strongly	Moderately	Slightly				Moderately	Strongly	
1. Kindergarten teacher	373	1.6	2.9	5.9	10.4	11.0	7.0	16.6	55.0	89.6
2. Maid	373	6.2	11	9.4	26.6	20.4	8.8	9.4	34.9	73.5
3. Nurse	373	2.4	1.6	5.4	9.4	9.4	9.1	18.8	53.1	90.4
4. Stewardess	372	3.8	4.8	5.6	14.2	16.4	9.9	13.4	45.8	85.5
5. Typist	372	3.5	4.8	5.1	13.4	14.7	9.9	13.7	48.0	86.3
NON-LDS										
Occupations	Total N	Inappropriate			Total % Conservative	Neutral	Slightly	Appropriate		Total % Non-conservative
		Strongly	Moderately	Slightly				Moderately	Strongly	
1. Kindergarten teacher	64	6.1	6.1	7.6	19.8	10.6	13.6	7.6	45.5	77.3
2. Maid	63	7.6	6.1	16.7	30.4	19.7	7.6	3.0	34.8	65.1
3. Nurse	64	6.1	0	12.1	18.2	10.6	9.1	15.2	43.9	78.8
4. Stewardess	63	4.5	4.5	7.6	16.6	13.6	9.1	15.2	40.9	78.8
5. Typist	64	4.5	6.1	10.6	21.2	15.2	12.2	7.6	40.9	75.9

* Percent conservative is the sum of the percentages in the first 3 columns.

**Conservative and non-conservative percentages do not necessarily total to 100% due to non-responses

DISCUSSION

This research was a replication of Liaey's 1980 research. It was intended to see: 1) if there had been changes toward egalitarianism and liberalism in the general population at Utah State University, and 2) if there had been changes in the significant results of the variables of gender (male, female) and religion (LDS, non-LDS).

Family Roles

The present research found large changes in the beliefs of the general population. Whereas in 1980 about half believed in sharing housework and half believed the wife should do it, in 1997 most espoused egalitarian views. In terms of gender, more men than women answered conservatively in both 1980 and 1997. For religion, more LDS than non-LDS answered conservatively in both studies.

Decision Making

In regards to power, in 1980 the majority believed that decisions should be made by both husband and wife. This trend has continued so that the vast majority believe in both partners making the decisions. Interestingly, food shopping was given to the wife to decide and do mostly in 1980, while in 1997 there have been more people believing that both mates should decide on and buy food. For gender, males were and are more conservative on decision making beliefs, but by a small percentage in most cases (and 10% in the largest difference.) In terms of religion, LDS were more conservative, but again by a small percentage in most cases and 10% in the largest difference.

Women in Nontraditional Occupations

The general population has come to accept as appropriate many non-traditional occupations for women. Whereas in 1980 construction workers, foremen, garbage collectors, and truck drivers were considered inappropriate, in 1997 they are somewhat accepted, and occupations that were borderline in 1980 (like executives and pilots) are now accepted along with long accepted jobs like psychologists and surgeons. More and more people are accepting that these jobs are appropriate for women.

In looking at gender differences, there were major differences in men's and women's responses, most strikingly in the occupations that got the most conservative responses (like construction, foremen, garbage collectors, and truck drivers.) The 1997 data still show this difference and still most strikingly show it in those jobs with the most conservative responses, though the jobs of foreman and truck driver have much smaller gender differences now as compared with 1980. Overall, changes during the seventeen years for males and females combined are more striking than differences between men's and women's responses.

In looking at religion differences, in 1980 LDS were more conservative on all eleven occupations. However, in 1997 only in the three occupations with the most conservative opinions on them (construction workers, garbage collectors, and truck drivers) were the LDS more conservative. In the rest, non-LDS had similar rates or surpassed (by small amounts) the LDS conservative rates. The changes from 1980 to 1997 have been significant in a liberal shift for all and a move towards similarity in LDS and non-LDS beliefs about occupations. (However, see the Discussion section for a dispute on this last finding.)

Men in Nontraditional Occupations

There is no data from Liaey to compare changes in the general population from 1980 to 1997. However, the data can be compared somewhat to the data on women in nontraditional jobs for 1997. In looking at differences between men's and women's conservative responses for male nontraditional jobs, men were more conservative, but by a small amount since men's nontraditional occupations were rated appropriate overall. Interestingly, in terms of religion, non-LDS were more conservative than LDS, but only by small amounts. (See the Discussion section about this anomaly.)

Overall, the most conservative response to men's nontraditional jobs was to the occupation of maid. The rest of the male nontraditional jobs were rated by the general population quite consistently (around 10-20% conservatively.) In comparison, conservative responses for female nontraditional jobs ranged from .8% to 62%. From this one can see that men's nontraditional occupations were generally more accepted.

In sum, there were major differences in the data of 1980 and 1997 both for the general population and for males/females and LDS/non-LDS. This reflects the ideological changes the U.S. has gone through in the past seventeen years, continuing the process begun in the late 1960's and early 1970's.

Shortcomings and Anomalies of the Project

As mentioned above there were anomalies where non-LDS were more conservative on several measures than LDS. This flies in the face of the 1980 data and of everyday observance. The explanation for this anomaly could be one of many:

- 1) It is very likely that the non-LDS sample is too small (N=66) and that some very conservative individuals are throwing off the numbers.
- 2) Another explanation is that some report that conservative non-LDS are drawn to Utah, therefore causing the 1997 non-LDS to resemble the 1997 LDS in beliefs.
- 3) Another explanation might be that the term "non-LDS" is too broad of a catch-all term, as Protestants, atheists, and Seventh-Day Adventists are all placed in this group though they have widely diverging beliefs.

The reason for the anomaly may be explained by one of the above or a combination of them-- or it might be a totally different reason.

Another problem occurred in the survey. Because the project is a replication, the survey had to be kept in its original 1980 form. However, times change along with beliefs and terms. One major problem was the term "stewardess" as a man's nontraditional occupation. Many students wrote on their survey that these people were now called "flight attendants," and one helpful class suggested that they answered more conservatively on this question because the word "stewardess" evoked a picture of a woman. Besides these problems, the survey seemed to translate well to 1997 terms, with few other wording problems (except in areas unused by the present project.)

Relevance of this Research to the Literature

This research project has updated Liaey's research from 1980 and given an idea of how things have changed over the seventeen years for Utah State University students. The data uphold the idea that males are more conservative with respect to gender roles. The effects of religion are rather confusing in this study however, since LDS and non-LDS had similar views for 1997. Overall, the data back up the idea that our society has been shifting to a more

egalitarian viewpoint, at least for Utah State University students.

The trends indicate that women are going to stay in the workforce, with around 60% of women working presently. Therefore, the division of housework between husbands and wives has become even more important in the 90's. This research found views on housework to be much more egalitarian than in 1980. However, studies of actual labor division have found that working women still do more of the housework (Hochschild, 1989; Shelton, 1992). This is probably a result of belief versus practice, and also may be a problem of political correctness. People may feel they must say certain things to be socially correct, but do not really believe it.

There is also quite a lot of literature on occupational segregation. The present study looked at this topic in terms of how accepting people were of non-traditional jobs, in order to get a rough measure of how many people will be going into nontraditional jobs in the future. This research found that people were very accepting of nontraditional jobs, except for a few that still had a medium amount of conservative opinions about them (like women in construction work and garbage collection.) Such jobs as executive and pilot were accepted by the majority, and such occupations as surgeon and psychologist were overwhelmingly accepted.

These views, however, do not directly translate to reality. Those occupations that had more conservative responses in the survey, like truck driving and construction, have less than 5% women employed. The mostly accepted professions like engineering still have less than 10% females in their work population. Widely accepted professions like that of physicians have only around 20% females in their professions. Interestingly, women are getting degrees in equal numbers to men in areas such as business, and social sciences (Spain and Bianchi

1996). Obviously, there are many factors at work in keeping most of these numbers low.

However, the situation is slowly changing along with more egalitarian views.

In a fascinating study, Yoder and Schleicher (1996) found that people in the 1970's thought it was bad for either sex to be in a nontraditional occupation, while in the 1990's, it was costly only for women to have nontraditional jobs. The present research seems to fit into this, since conservative ratings of nontraditional men's occupations ranged from a low 10-20%, while women's occupational conservative ratings ranged from below 1% to 61%. This seems to indicate that men are more accepted in nontraditional jobs.

Decision making in the past has traditionally been given to the male in the family, but Liaey showed that egalitarian views have been most common at least since 1980. Also, the 1980 and 1997 studies indicate that men seem to always be more conservative than women. Felmlee's (1994) research suggests a possible answer. Felmlee found that more females felt their relationship with their husband was equal, while more males felt their relationship with their wife gave more power to the male. So differential perceptions of power by gender could have affected male/female results in the present study. As can be indicated by above, the researcher found many possible tie-ins to other research.

Future Work

Ideas for future work include repeating the study or modifying it to try to explain the peculiar results found for religion. Another future project could look at how the beliefs of Utah State University students translate to reality, to see how many "practice what they preach." These studies could fill in the new questions raised by the present study and bring greater meaning and understanding to the project.

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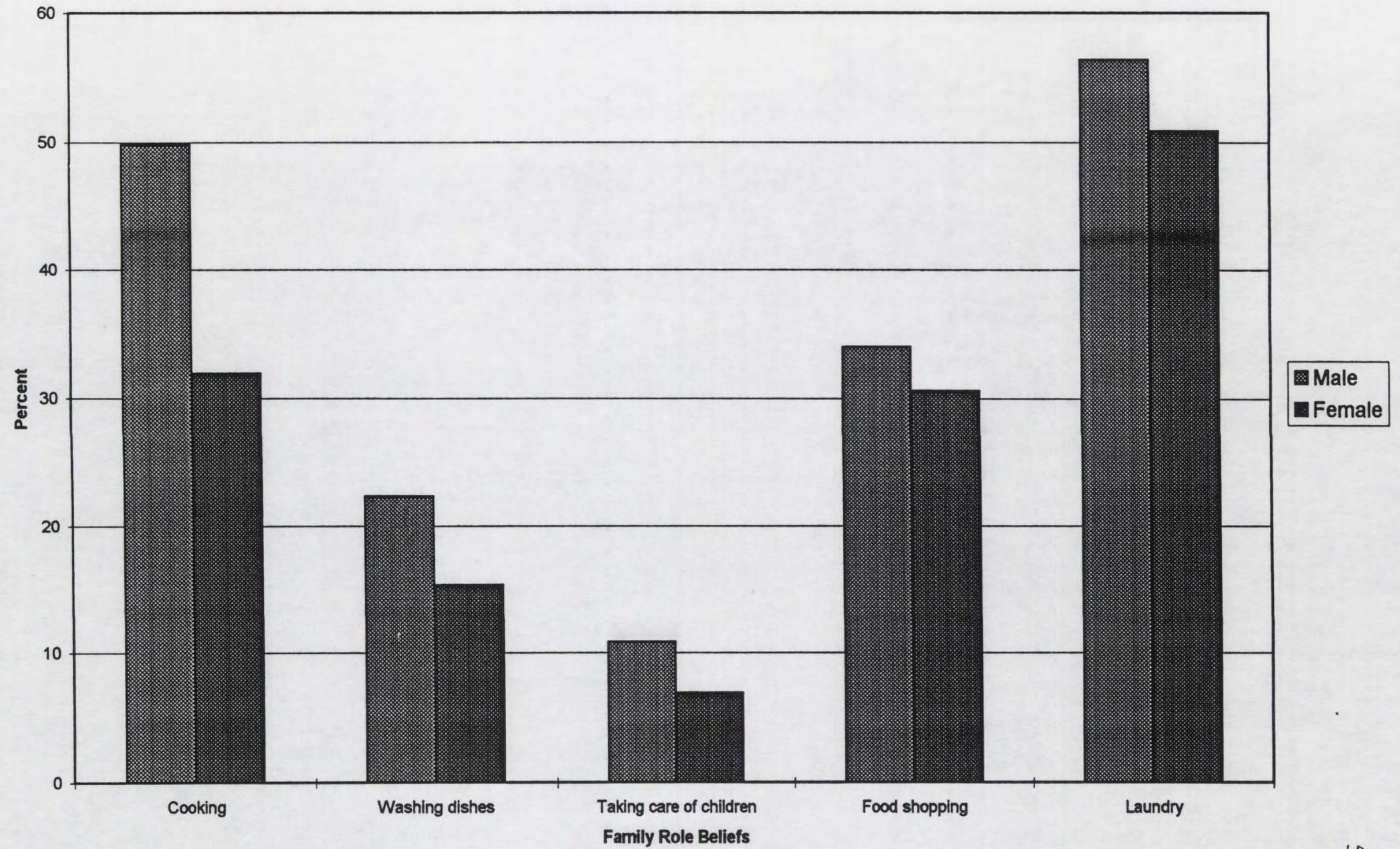
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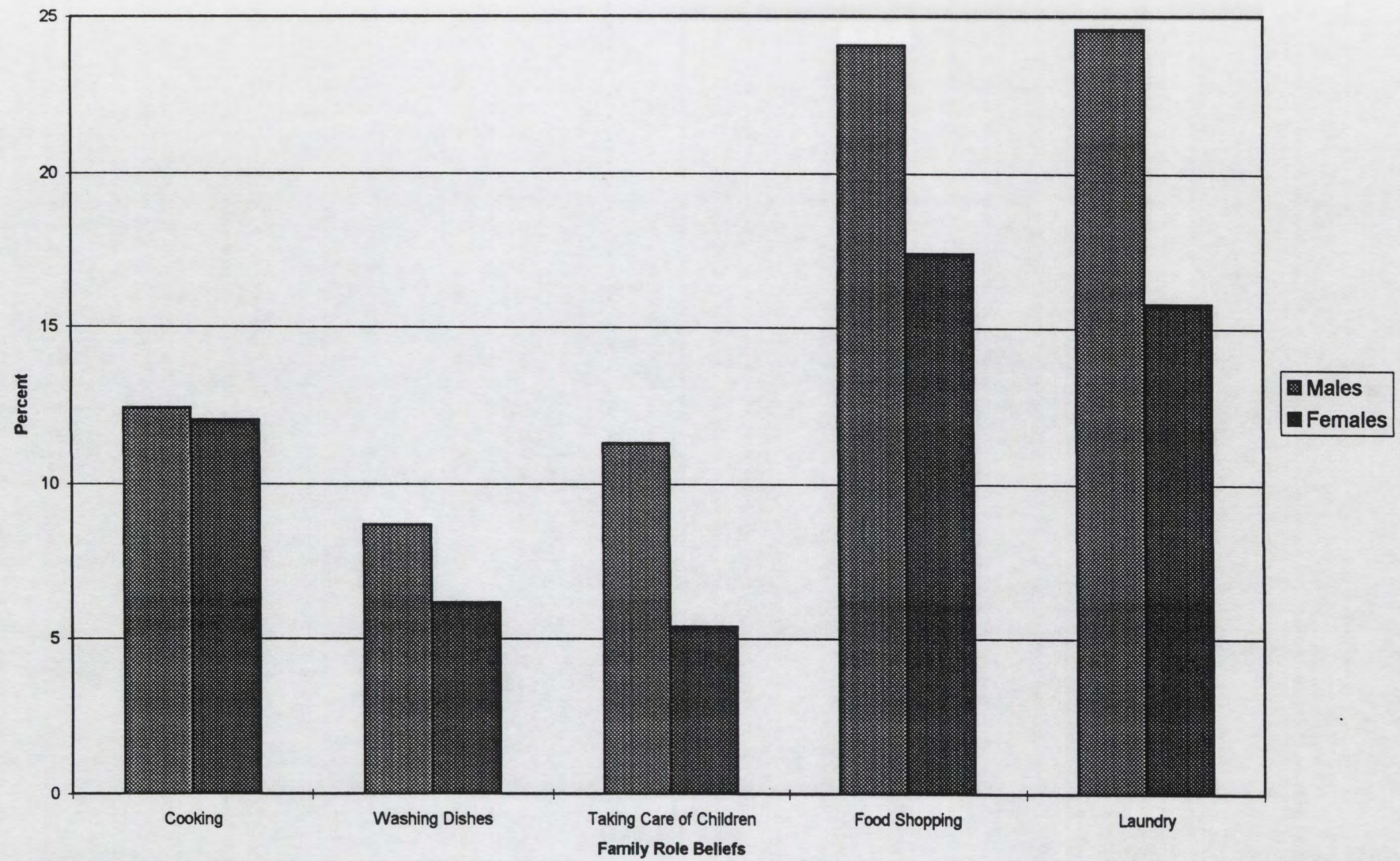
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Appendix

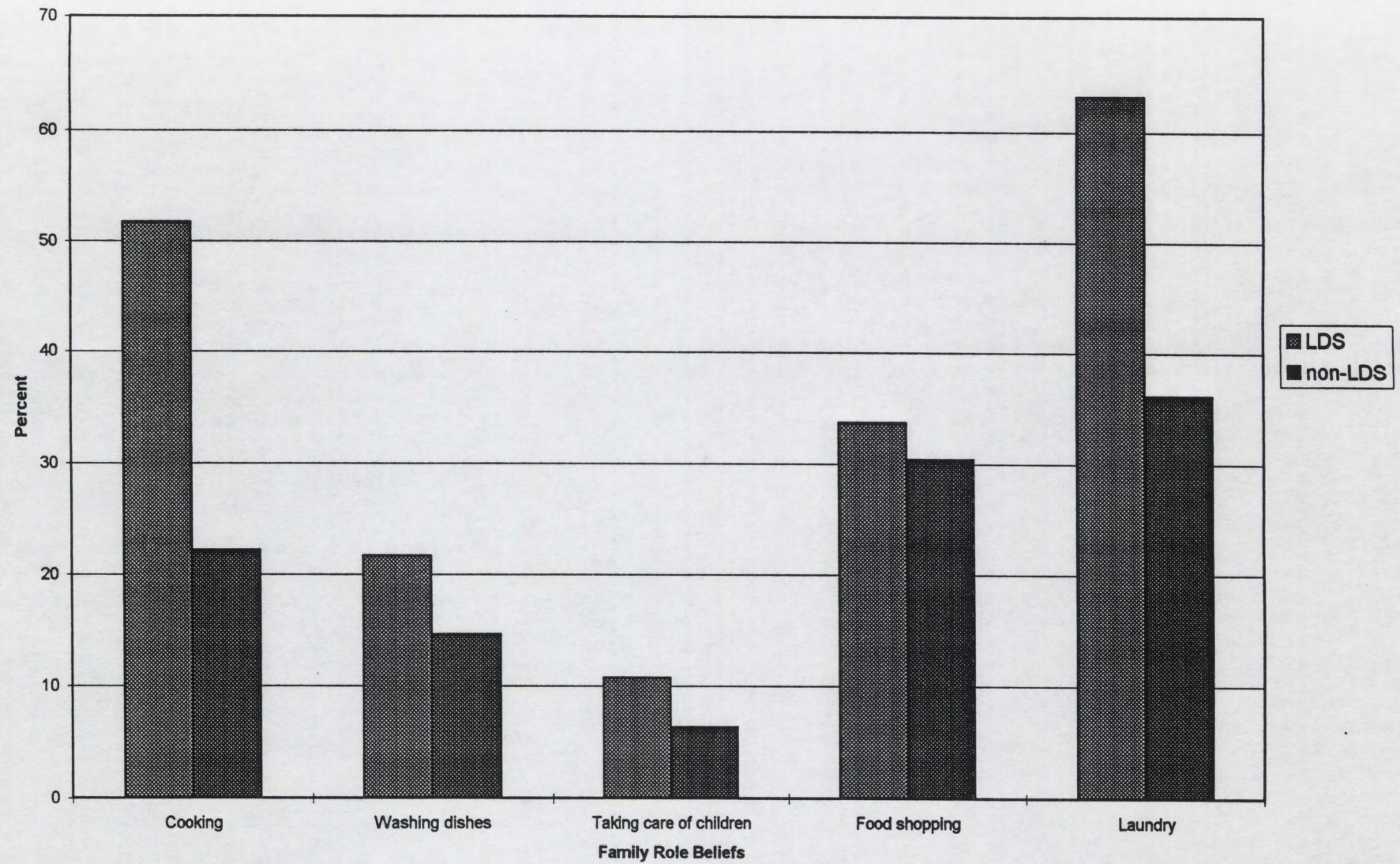
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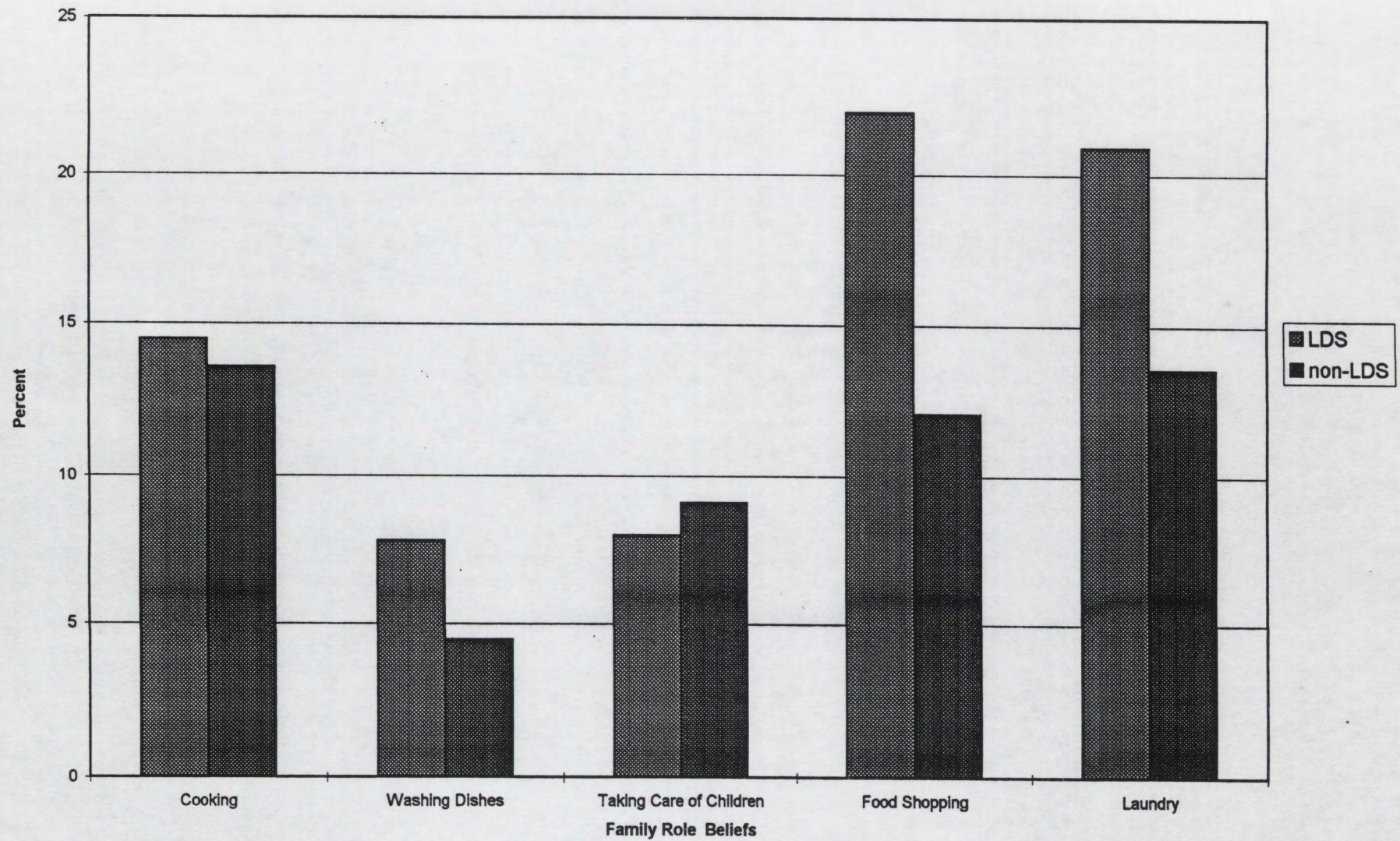
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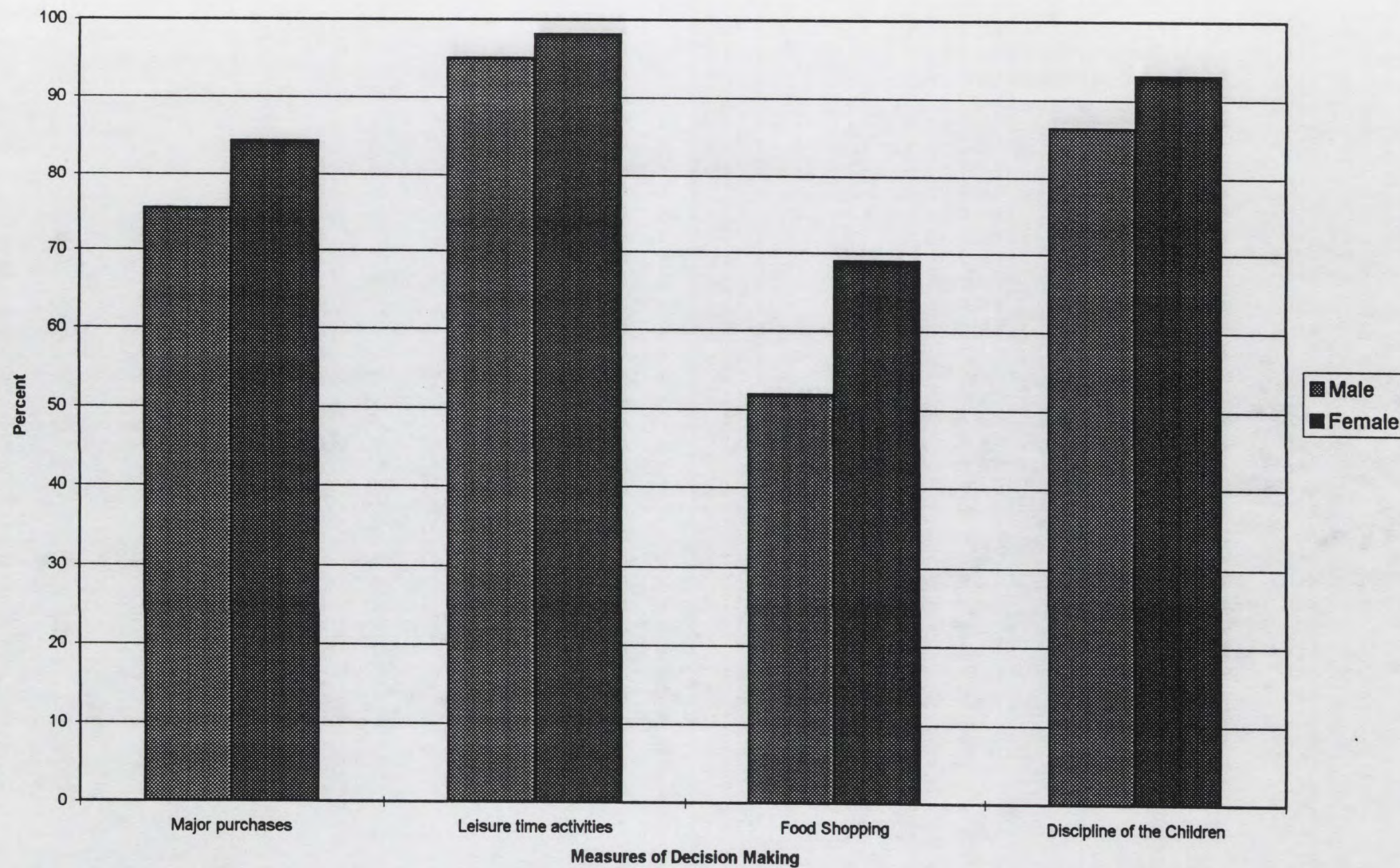
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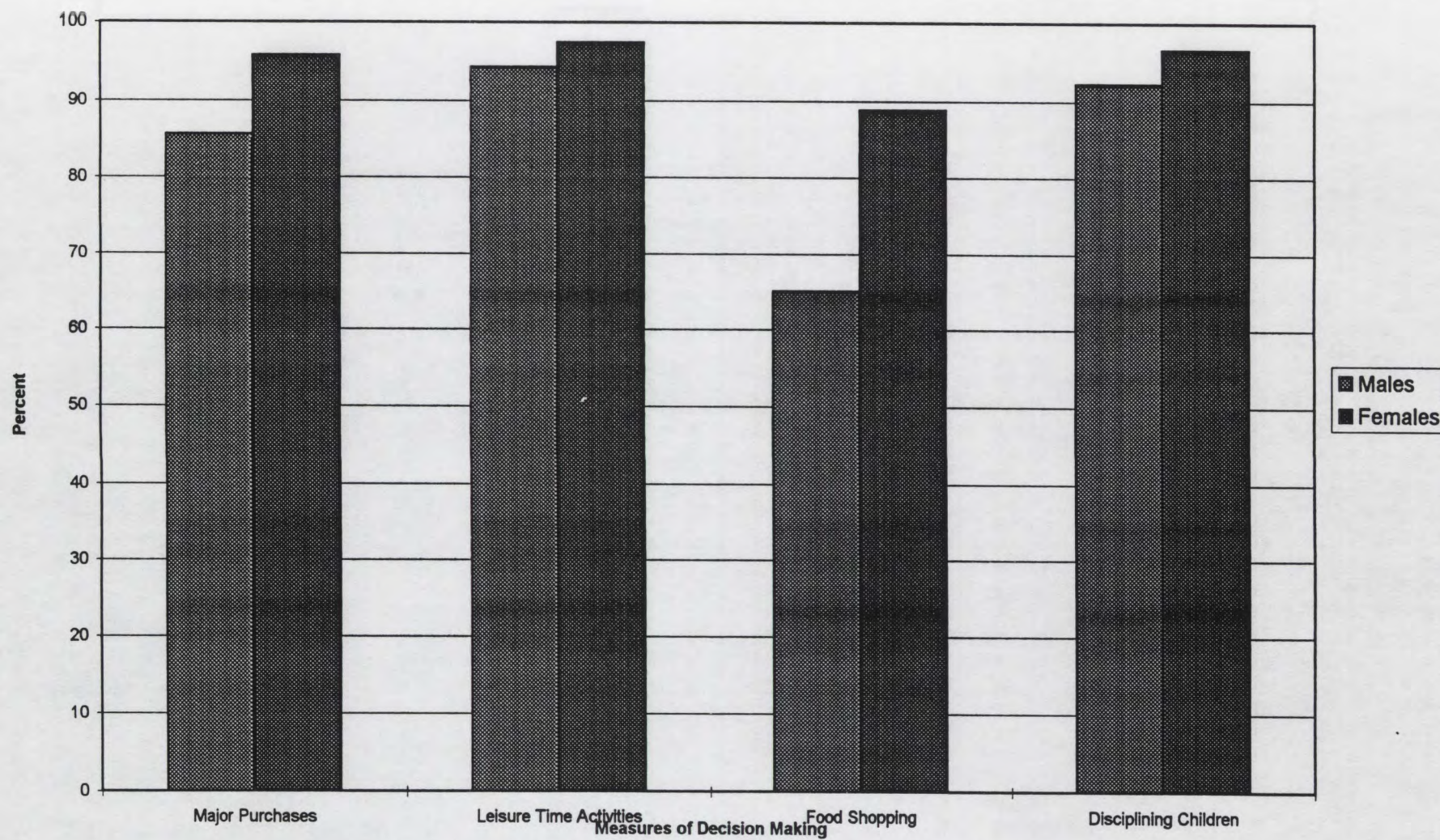
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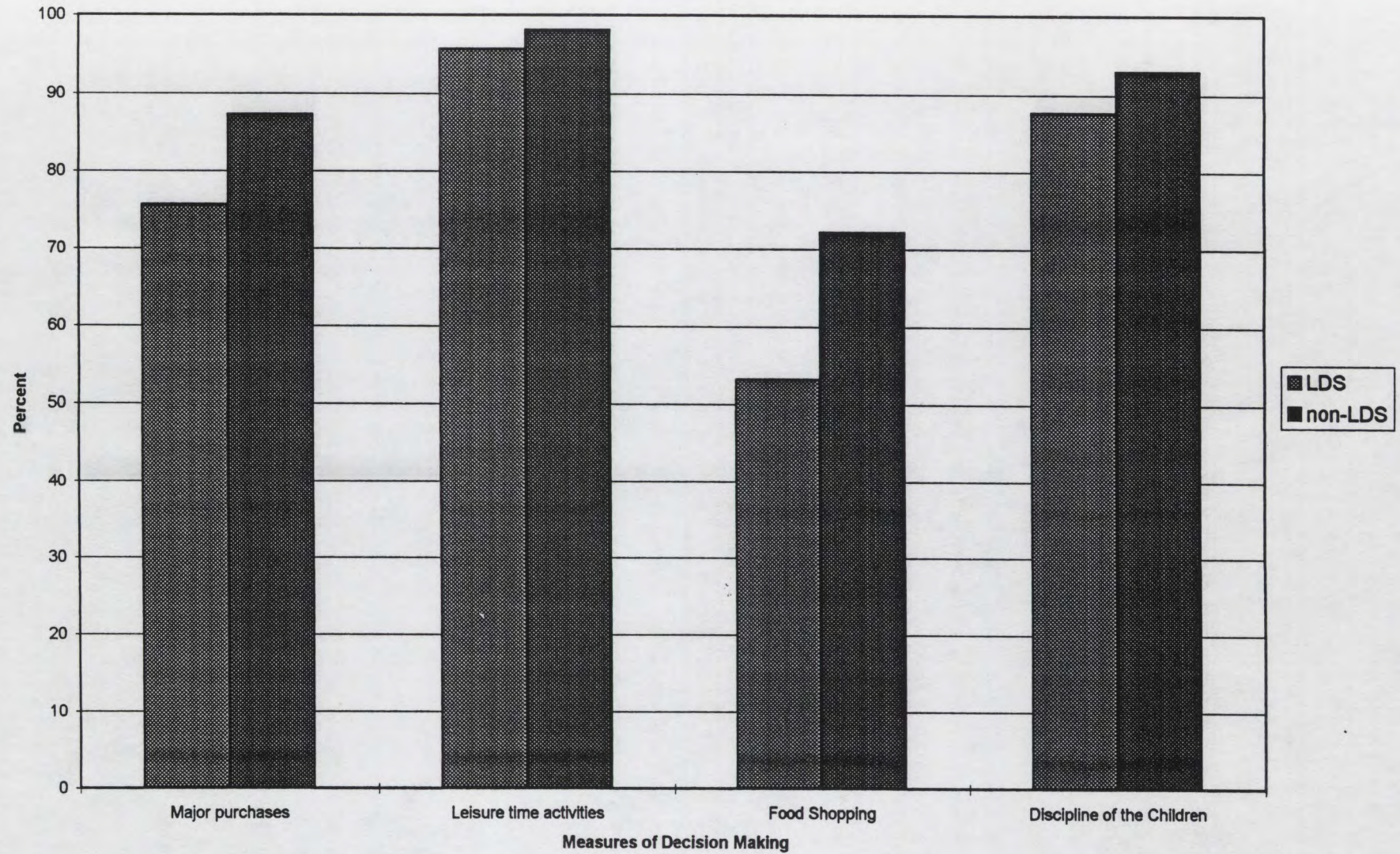
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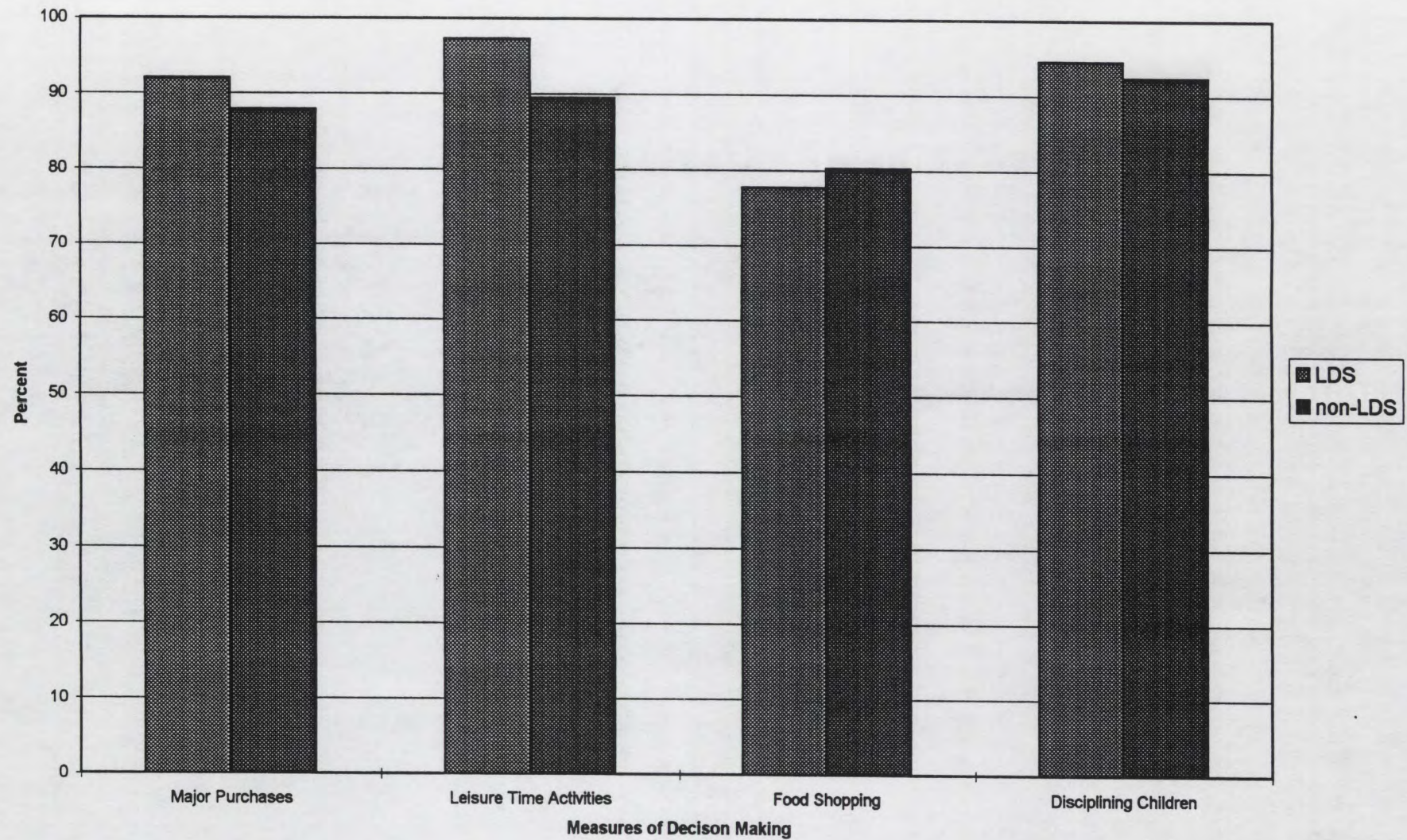
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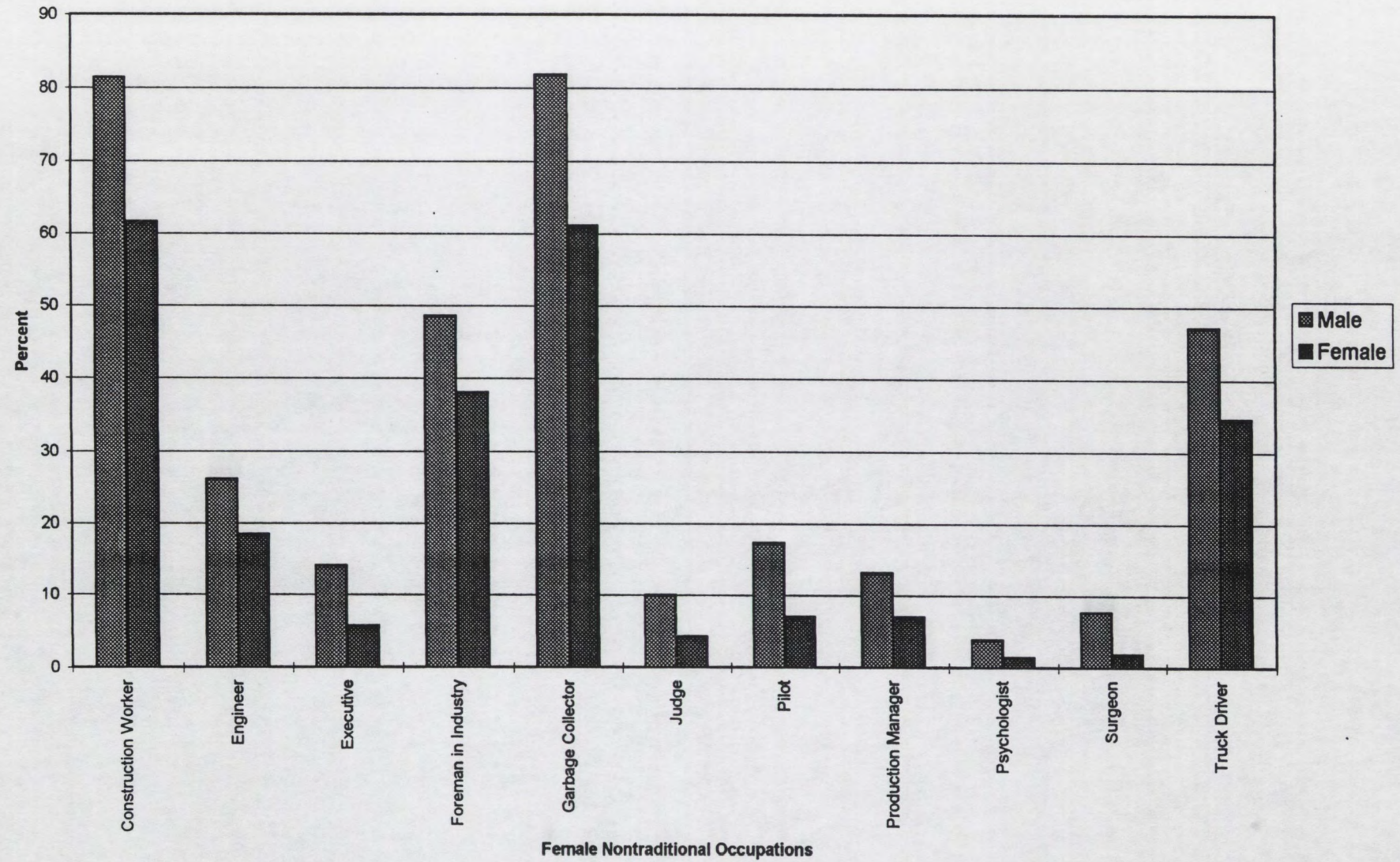
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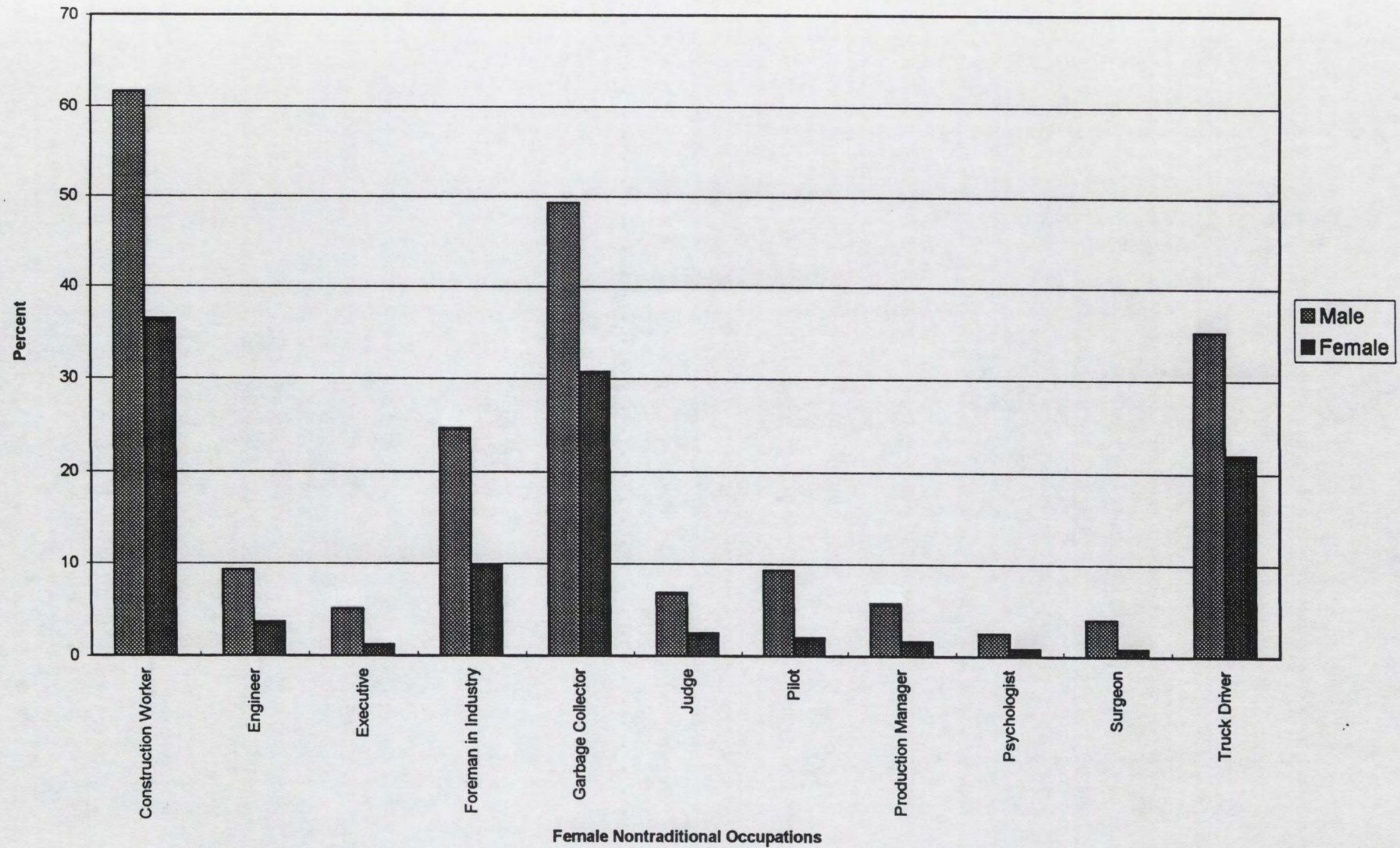
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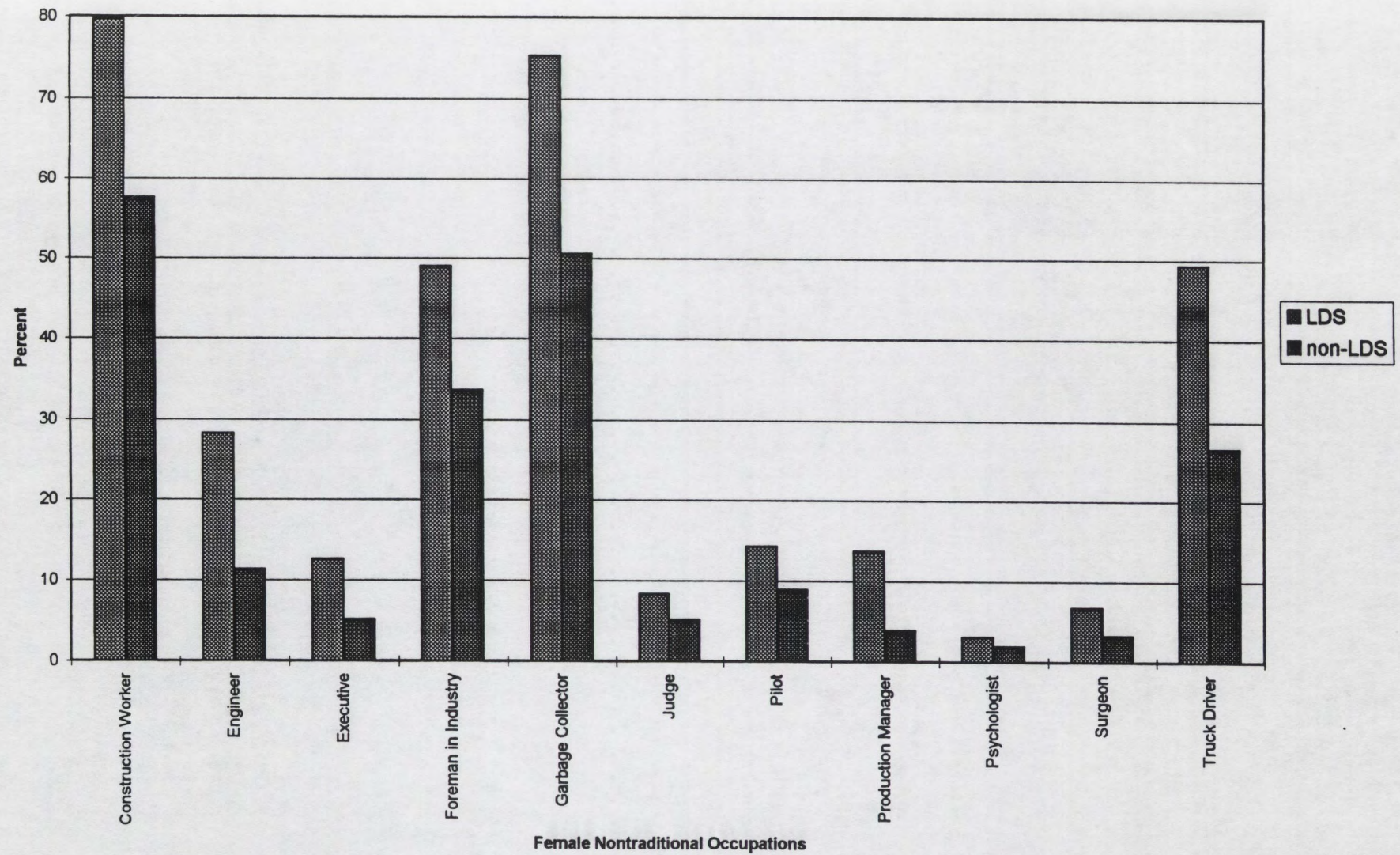
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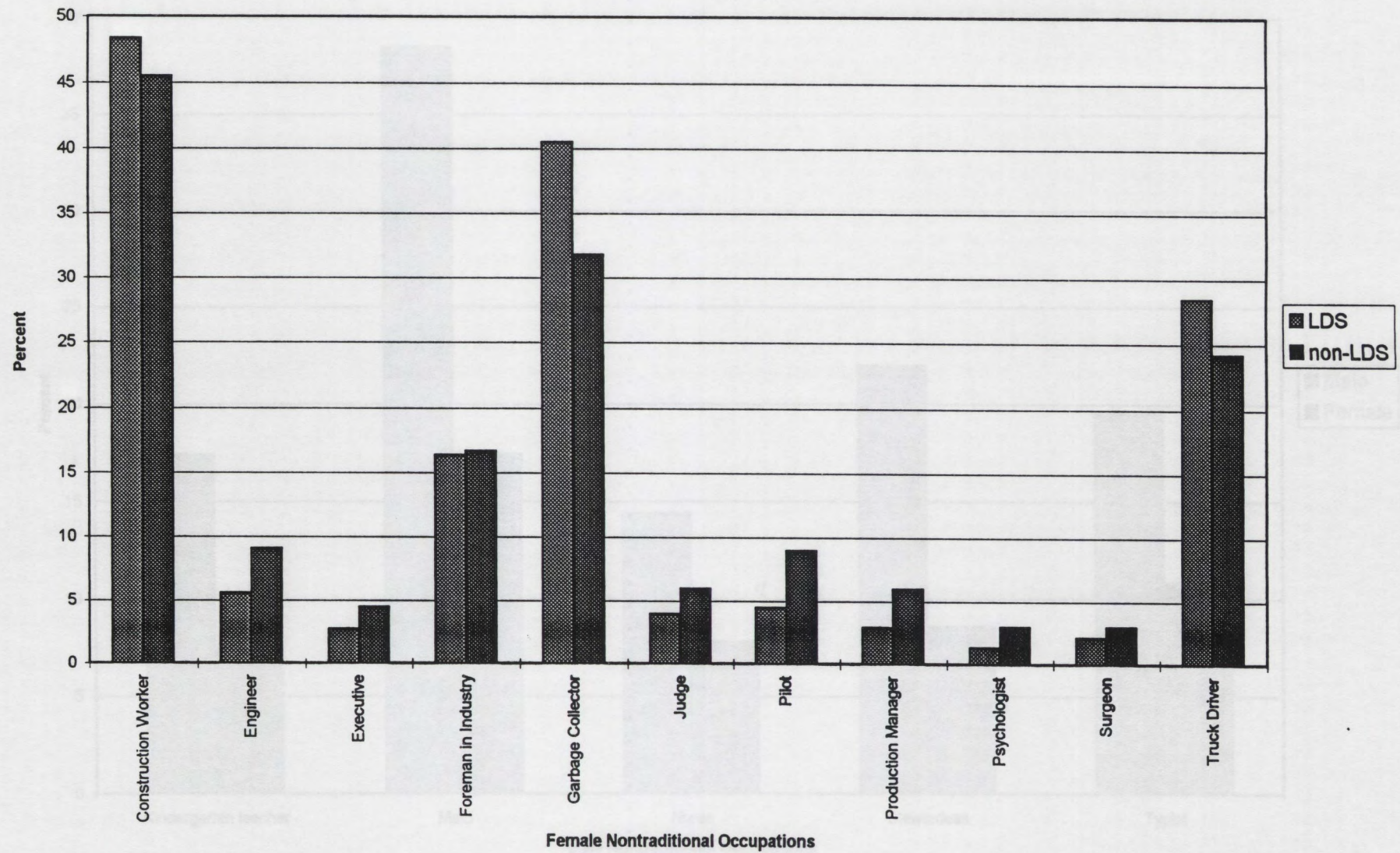
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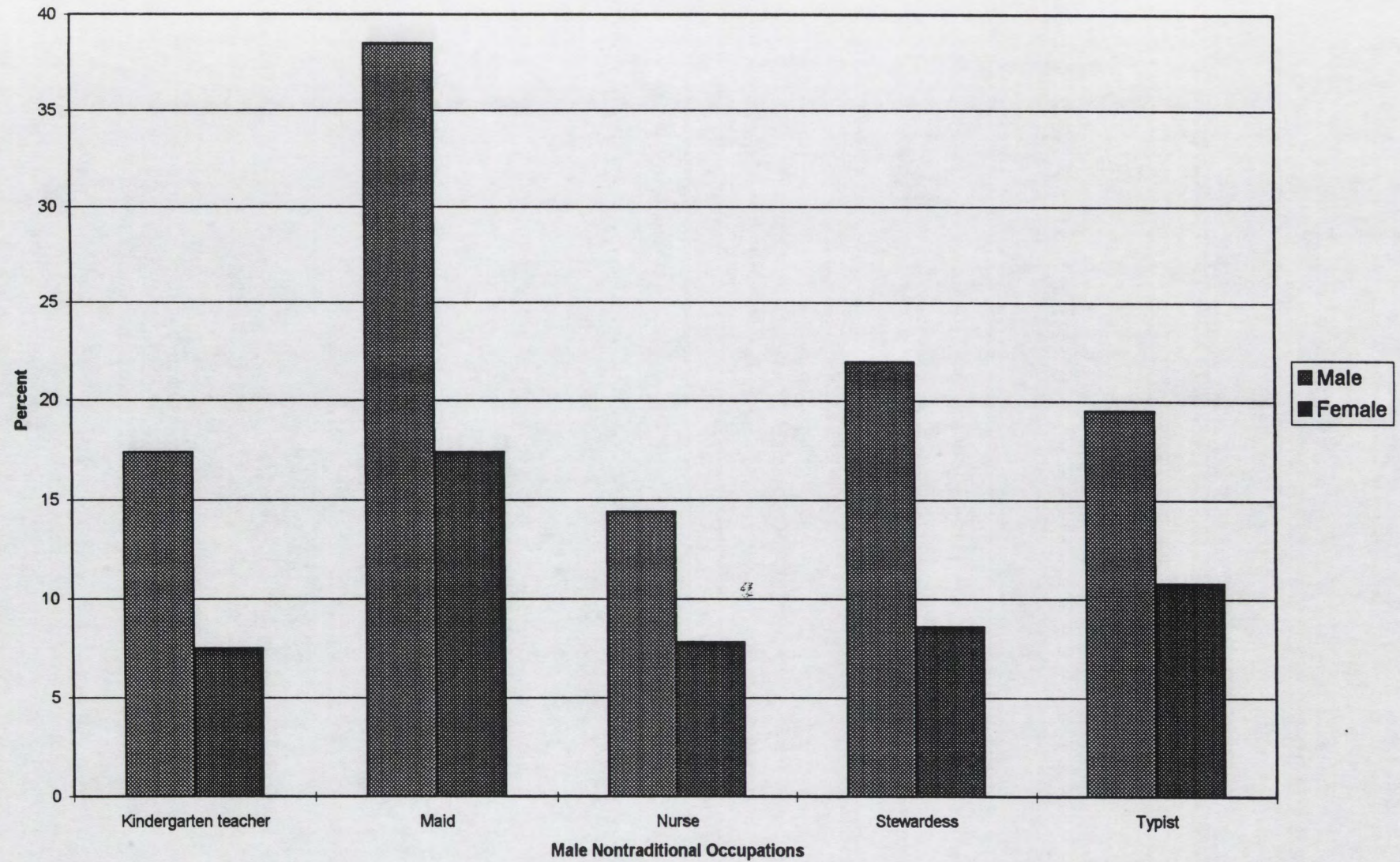
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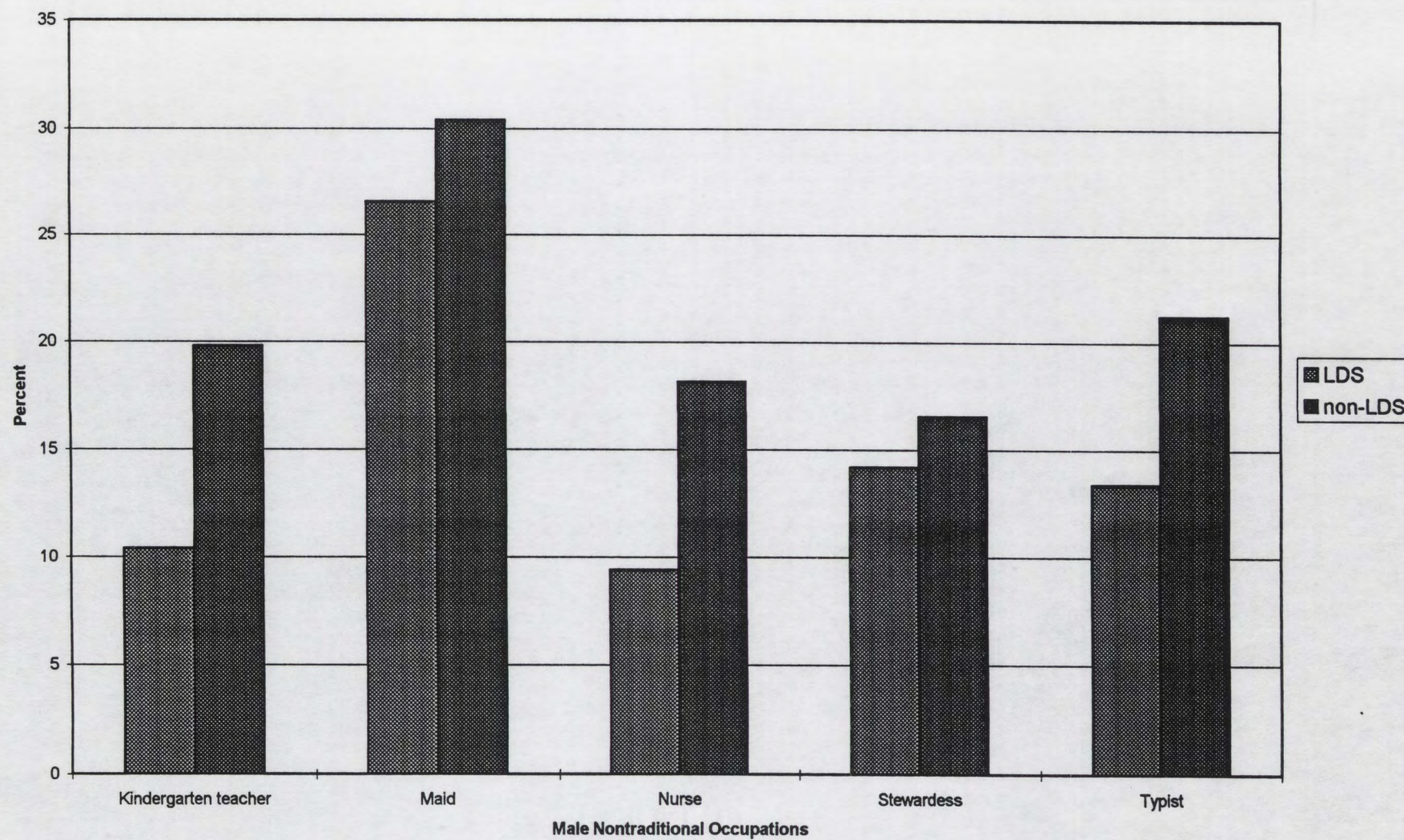
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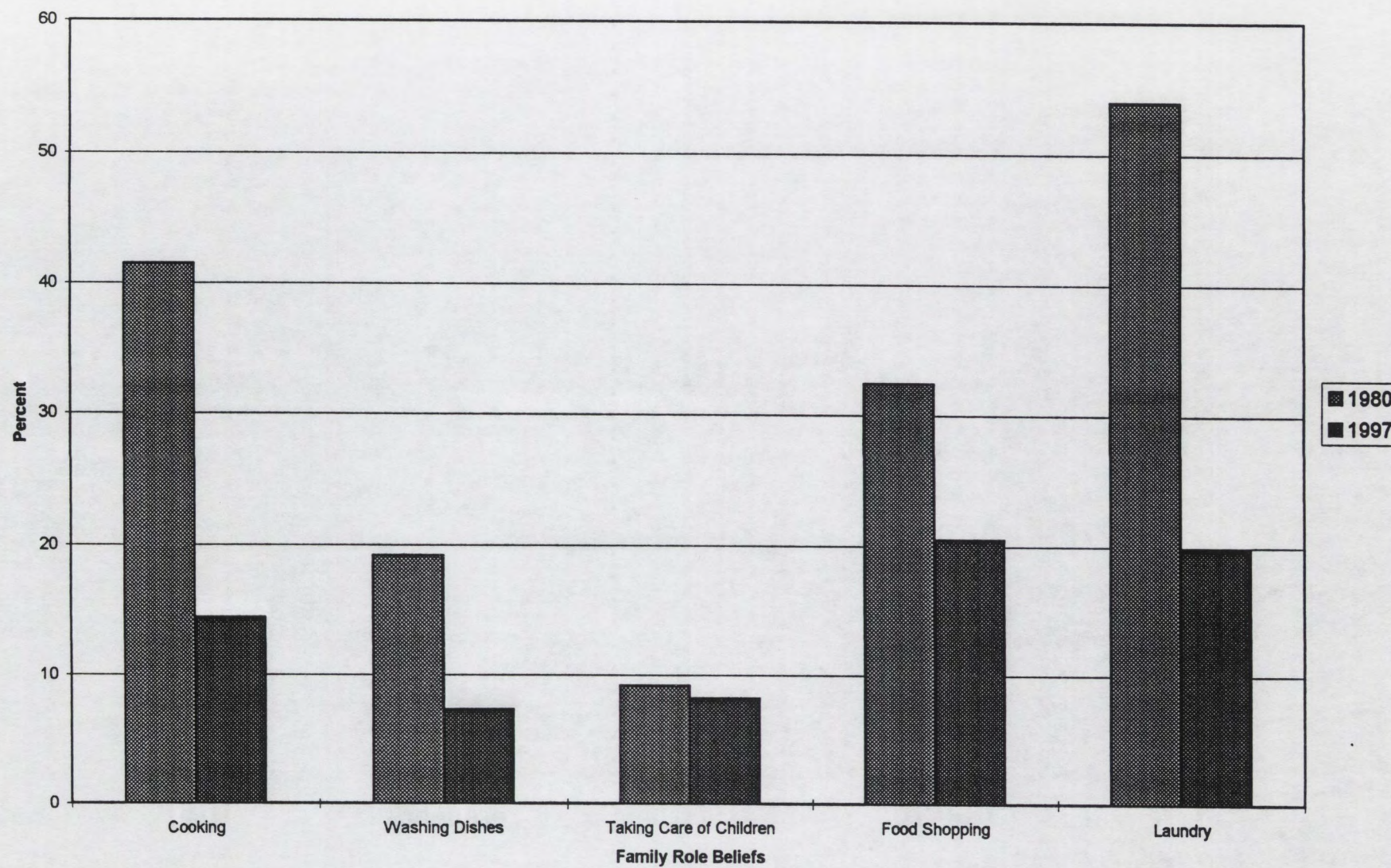
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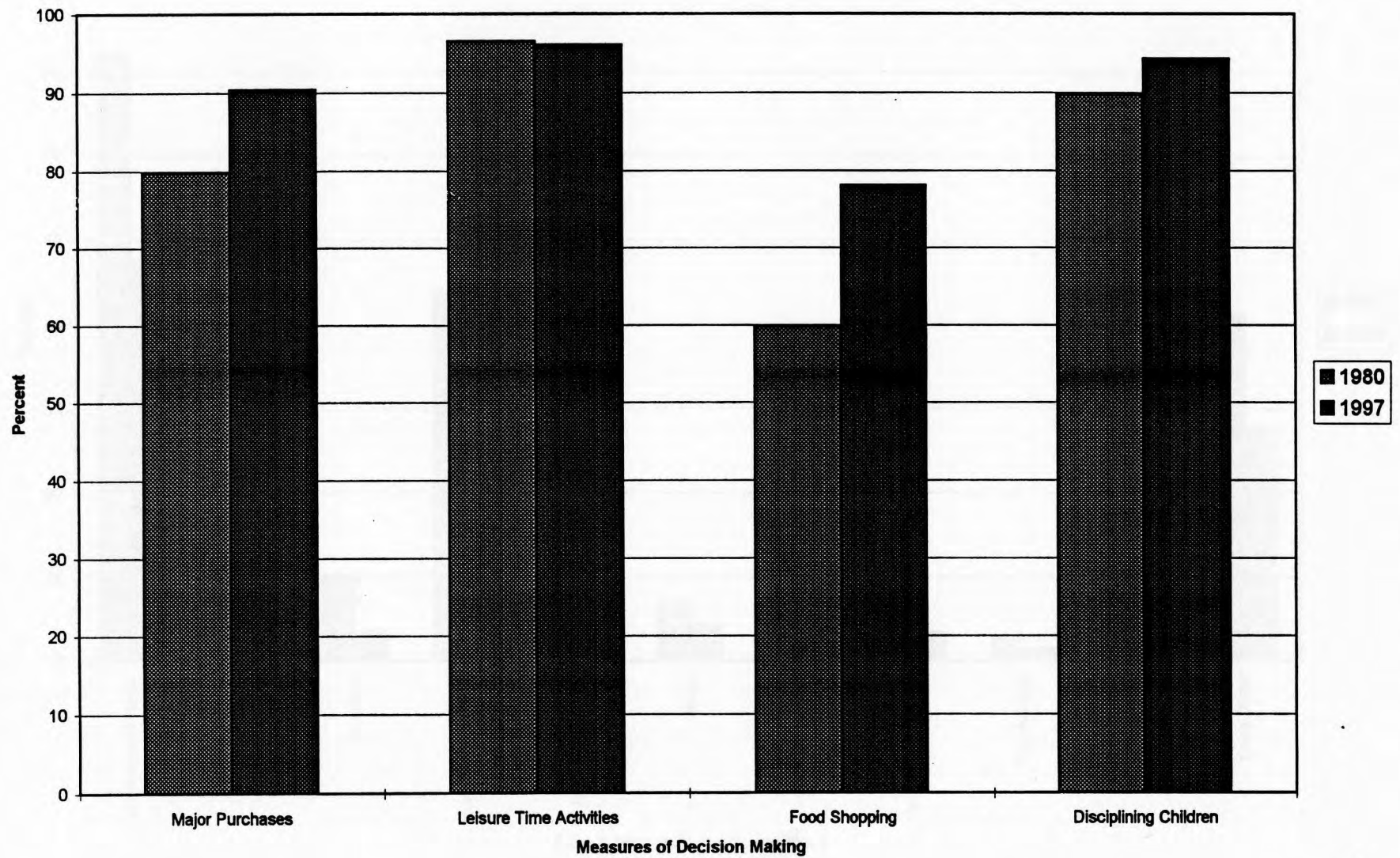
1997— % Traditional Responses for Male Nontraditional Occupations
(By Religion)



1980 and 1997— % Traditional Responses for Family Role Beliefs (Total Samples)



1980 and 1997– % Egalitarian Responses For Decision Making (Total Samples)



1980 and 1997– % Traditional Responses to Female Nontraditional Occupations (Total Samples)

