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Maternal Employment and
Family Task-power Differentiation
among Lower Income Chinese Families

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MATERNAL EMPLOYMENT AND FAMILY TASK-POWER
DIFFERENTIATION AMONG LOWER
INCOME CHINESE FAMILIES

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
I THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	1
II METHOD AND PROCEDURE	6
A. Sample	6
B. Measures	8
III FINDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS	11
A. Hypothesis 1 - Overall Task Performance	12
B. Hypothesis 2 - Performance in Task Areas	13
C. Hypothesis 3 - Overall Task Decision-Making	14
D. Hypothesis 4 - Decision-Making in Task Areas	15
E. Hypothesis 5 - Marital Power Differentiation	15
F. Hypothesis 6 - Marital Relationship	17
IV SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	19
APPENDIX I Mother's Employment Status and Household Task Performance	 20
II Mother's Employment Status and Household Task Decision-Making	 23
REFERENCE	26

Maternal Employment and Family Task-Power Differentiation
Among Lower Income Chinese Families*

Theoretical Framework

The family has been viewed as a system of acts taking place within a structural context, and the question as to how these acts are allocated between the two major actors, husband and wife, has attracted much attention and research effort over the years. This question has usually been approached in two ways: through a role analysis or through that of task differentiation. In other words, the family is treated on the one hand as a system of roles, each of which is composed of a cluster of homogeneous and intertwined acts and is assigned to and played by a certain family member. Thus, Lumpkin (1933) analyzed the family system in terms of the husband, wife, and parental roles. Somewhat later Parsons and Bales (1955) proposed a differentiation of family roles along the "instrumental-expressive axis" which is said to be a universal characteristic of the nuclear family. This proposition was further claimed to have been empirically confirmed as "a general principle of differentiation of function between the sexes" by Zelditch (1955). More recently Mowrer (1969) examined role differentiation and identification in the marriage relationship in terms of power, instrumental, expressive, and companionship roles.

On the other hand, the internal process of the family comprises a multitude of various tasks which are differentiated and performed in daily routine by family members. Hence, Blood and Wolfe (1960) studied the dynamics of husband-wife relations in terms of two dimensions: decision-making power

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and division of labor in household tasks. Herbst (1962) grouped family activities into four task regions and analyzed marital interaction patterns by using the dimensions of activity and decision, thus producing the configurations of autonomy, husband dominance, wife dominance, and syncreticity. Furthermore, Hoffman (1960) treated task participation, routine decision making, and family power structure as dependent variables, and sought to examine the effects of the mother's outside employment on these variables.

Broadly speaking, the present study is concerned with the impact of urban industrialization upon the patterns of the division of labor and power in the family. Or, specifically, it aims at examining the effect of the employment of mothers on the task and power differentiation patterns between husband and wife. Maternal employment is here taken as a rough index of urban industrialization and is used as an independent variable. Operationally it denotes gainful employment of the mother inside or outside the home, which is then categorized into full, partial, and no employment. The dependent variables of the study consist of task performance, task decision-making, and power relationship. Family tasks are divided into four areas: economic activities, social activities, child care and control, and household duties. Each of these task areas is in turn composed of a number of specific tasks which require the making of decisions about how, when, and what to carry out as well as their actual performance in the daily routine of a family. Family power has been defined as "the ability to influence or control other persons' behavior" (Misher and Waxler, 1968), and is here derived from the decision-making and performance of household tasks. Hence, it is shared mainly between the husband and the wife in a nuclear family setting.

These variables are closely interrelated and mutually reinforcing, and may thus be viewed as a system in which a change in one leads to changes in the others.¹ For example, the mother's gainful employment at or out of home may exert some pressure toward the father's increased participation and decision-making in household tasks. The increased involvement of the father in these tasks,

1 These variables are comparable to those of Hoffman's study, but the way they are analyzed is modified to suit the present study. Cf. Hoffman, 1960: 27-28.

in turn, facilitates the mother's employment by reducing the demands of her conventional homemaking role.

Similarly, maternal employment is related to husband-wife power relations. Thus, it seems likely that employment would increase a woman's power vis-a-vis her husband because of the direct or implied importance of her monetary contribution to the family coffer. Contrarily, a woman who already had high power would be more likely to seek employment because of "greater motivation, greater control over her own decisions, and greater success in obtaining her husband's participation in household tasks."

The major focus of the study, then, is to examine whether the mother's employment exerts changes in the pattern of the husband-wife participation in performing and making decisions about household tasks and in that of their power relations. The specific hypotheses are proposed as follows:

Hypothesis 1. The mother's engagement in gainful employment will function to decrease her participation in overall household tasks.

Hypothesis 2. The mother's employment will affect the pattern of family division of labor such that she will participate more in masculine household tasks and less in feminine tasks.

Hypothesis 3. The mother's engagement in gainful employment will function to decrease her decision-making in overall household tasks.

Hypothesis 4. The mother's employment will affect the pattern of family division of decision such that she will decide more about masculine household tasks and less about feminine tasks.

Hypothesis 5. The mother's engagement in gainful employment will function to increase her power vis-a-vis her husband.

Hypothesis 6. The mother's employment will affect the pattern of husband-wife relations such that it will move from an individually autonomous type to a mutually collaborative one.

The assumption behind the first hypothesis is that, because of the occupational demands upon her time and effort, the working mother simply cannot assume a full role at home satisfactorily and therefore has to request the assistance of her husband in undertaking some of the household tasks. This collaboration pattern is necessary in order to maintain the smooth functioning of the household. Likewise, the third hypothesis is based on the assumption that if the mother's employment gives rise to a decrease in her household task participation and by implication, an increase in that of her husband, there should be corresponding changes in household decision-making. This is so because most household decisions are rather trivial and are usually made routinely by the person who performs the task in question, e.g., what will be made for dinner is most likely decided by the person who cooks. Furthermore, it seems likely that the employed mother would be willing to relinquish some of her decision-making so as to obtain her husband's help with household tasks.

The second and the fourth hypotheses are also closely related. To allow the testing of these hypotheses, the household tasks are grouped into four areas: economic activities, social activities, child care and control, and household duties. The areas of economic and social activities are concerned with transactions between the family and the outside world, and are conventionally performed by the husband, e.g., to make and budget an earning and to initiate organisational and kin activities. Those tasks connecting with child care and control and household duties occur inside the family and are usually handled by the wife, e.g., to feed and cloth a child and to tend routine household chores. These four areas of household activities therefore form roughly a task scale ranging from tasks pertaining to the masculine role on one end to those connecting with the feminine one on the other, with mixed role activities in the middle. So the assumption behind the second hypothesis is that, had the working mother to relinquish some of her feminine duties at home because of occupational commitments, she would take up a certain portion of the masculine household tasks because of her occupational involvement. Similarly, the fourth hypothesis assumes that once she began to participate in the performance of these tasks, she would tend to share in the decision-making about them.

The fifth hypothesis deals with the power relationship between husband and wife. Power is quite different from mere decision-making. Whereas the latter is concerned with the making of decisions which may have little to do with other persons' behavior, the former involves decisions which exert some influence upon others. Hence, power is here considered as the extent to which one person decides over the other's behavior. The prediction that the mother's engagement in gainful employment will function to increase her power vis-a-vis her husband is based on three assumptions: (a) money is an important basis of economic independence so that the control of money leads to the possession of economic independence; (b) a person has more control over the money she earns herself than other persons have; and (c) economic independence carries with it deciding power over household activities, and the amount of this power is roughly proportional to that of economic independence. The theory is that, by her employment, the mother gains control of a certain amount of money, thus earning for herself a certain degree of economic independence. This economic independence may then enable her to obtain some familial power. Moreover, because she is working and earning money, she may gain a new image of her own importance and thus become more assertive. In short, both the husband and the wife are more likely to accept the legitimacy of the employed woman's claim to power.

The sixth hypothesis is connected with the fifth one in that, should a change in the marital power structure have taken place, whether a new form of relationship would evolve between her and her husband. It is then hypothesized that, once a mother has actively participated in economic activities and thereby raised her status in the family, she will no longer be satisfied with her conventional role as belonging to the home and taking care of routine household matters alone, but request the help and attention of her husband to form a collaborative unit on these matters.

Method and Procedure

Sample

The total sample of the study consisted of 637 Chinese families which were drawn separately from three groupings in terms of the mother's occupational involvement: full-time, part-time, and no employment. These families lived in a newly developed industrial community called Kwun Tong, which was located on the eastern end of the Kowloon Peninsula, Hong Kong, and had a population of about 450,000 (reported figure of the 1971 Hong Kong Population Census) spreading in an area of some 1,200 hectares.

The sampling procedure went through three stages. First, a large sample was drawn by the stratified random sampling method from the sample of another study². As it turned out, this sample did not produce sufficient families with mothers working either full-time or part-time and therefore had to be extended in order to meet the sample requirements. Second, the quota sampling method was applied to locate more of the employed women. A quota of families was taken proportionally from each of the ten housing types and areas of the community, and this operation was carried out by using the method of door-to-door checking and occasional shiftings of potential families. However, this process was later found to be too time-consuming and costly, and a supplementary strategy had to be used to make up the size of the sample. Third, a number of manufacturing factories were asked for cooperation, and a simple random sample of their female workers was taken. The final sample included 264 full-time and 165 part-time employed mothers, and 208 housewives.

2 This is a representative random sample drawn originally for the Life Quality Study which is part of the Kwun Tong Industrial Community Research Programme. The sample was taken in May, 1971.

The mothers under study were mainly middle-age Cantonese - the predominant speech group of Hong Kong, and over 92 per cent of them had lived in the urban environment for more than ten years. Their families represented a lower socio-economic segment of the population. Over half of the fathers had completed only six years of school, with approximately one quarter of them being illiterate or able to read a little and the other quarter having more than six years of formal education. They were usually employed in blue-collar or minor clerical posts of some industrial factories or commercial shops, making an average monthly income of HK\$611 (about US\$107). The educational standard of the mothers was even worse; 90 per cent had not gone to school for more than six years, and the rest were lucky enough to have obtained beyond the elementary level of education. Because of economic reasons most of these women had to work regularly or irregularly in semi-skilled or unskilled jobs, and earned an average income of HK\$246 per month to help maintain a minimum family living condition. These families were chiefly of a nuclear type (over 75 per cent), with an average size of 6.45 persons. They were located mostly in the pigeon rooms of these newly-built resettlement blocks or some occupying a portion in one of the small apartments, both in any case representing a crowded, sub-standard housing condition.

Measures

Data reported here were gathered through a structured interview schedule which was administered during the interview with the mothers. The interview schedule was composed of two parts. The first part aimed at collecting information about their family background as well as their working conditions. The second part consisted of thirty-four paired questions which were asked in each case as to which family member performed a particular household task and which family member decided about that task. In cases where more than one family member was reported to have handled a certain task, only the major member, e.g., either the husband or the wife or both, was recorded. Fortunately there was only a small fraction of these cases, and they therefore did not affect the bulk of the data in a significant way. Furthermore, these household tasks were grouped under four task areas, each including several related and homogeneous items.

In order to enable the testing of hypotheses, a summarizing method was required for treating the collected data, and operational indices were hence constructed respectively for the independent and the dependent variables as follows:

Maternal employment. This variable was measured by five items: work status, source of employment, work hours, work shift, and location of work. This way of measuring it was considered as more adequate than that of basing it merely on the amount of working time. It took into account several essential aspects of the mother's employment, e.g., flexibility in work pattern, amount of work involvement, effect of work schedule, and physical presence at home, which all would create psychological and physical strains upon her home-making role. For example, a working mother who was employed by others and worked overtime, at night shift, and in the factory would have more disruptive effect upon her household life than one who was self-employed and worked part-time, at flexible shift, and at home, and especially than a housewife. Thus, each of the five components of maternal employment was given several categories with corresponding weightings, and the total scale score of this variable was computed. After that, this score was, for analytical purpose, arbitrarily cut into three portions which were in turn conceptually defined as three types of employment: full, partial and no employment.

Task performance. The task performance scores were computed in four steps. First, the mothers were questioned as to who performed a particular task and their responses were recorded on a five-point descending scale from "wife always," "wife more than husband," "wife and husband equally," "husband more than wife," to "husband always."³ Each point on this scale was then given a weighted numeral, and a total score was derived by summing up the numerals of all the items in each task area. Furthermore, the total score was treated in two ways: one was to find out the mean task performance score so as to specify and differentiate the role responsibility of a certain task area between the marital partners, and the other was to arrive at the total score of each respondent in a task area in order to classify her into a certain grouping for analytical reasons. Finally, the overall task performance score representing the total scores of all the task areas was obtained to facilitate analysis at the most comprehensive level.

Task performance covered four task areas: economic activities, social activities, child care and control, and household duties. Economic activities was operationally defined as including such specific tasks as earning, budgeting, and purchasing of household items ranging from more valuable ones like an apartment or house to less valuable ones like a television set or radio or an electric fan. The components of the social activities area included various participations in occupational, religious and welfare organisations; forms of interaction among kins like mutual visits, exchange of gifts, and financial assistance; kinds of family celebration like birthday parties, social festival activities, and wedding feasts; and social entertainment events like dining out, going to movies, and attending functional feasts. The area of child care and control consisted of physical care like feeding, clothing and consulting

³ There were also other members on the response list like son/daughter, other relatives, neighbor/friend, and maid/servant. This portion of the data was not included for analysis because it was too small to make any significant difference.

doctor; behavioral controls like doing school work, requesting pocket money, and general discipline; and career controls like selecting school, deciding about the amount of education, and helping to choose occupation. The last task area was household duties which covered such routine household chores as grocery shopping, cooking, dish-washing, clothes washing, ironing, mending, house cleaning, decorating and maintaining.

Task decision-making. Whereas the measure of task performance was based on responses to the performing questions, the measurement of task decision-making used those to the deciding questions. Likewise, the questions were concerned with which family member decided about the household items of the four task areas, and responses to these questions were processed by the same tabulating, weighting and score-computing procedures. Thus, the task decision-making scores were used to indicate the household decision-making roles of the marital partners.

Power relationship. The measurement of the power relationship between husband and wife was based on the mothers' responses to both the performing and deciding questions. Power was operationalized to mean the extent to which one parent decided over the other parent's behavior. It was an entity being sought for consciously or subconsciously by the parents through their participation in doing and deciding about routine household tasks. The measuring procedure, as shown in Table I, was first to use each pair of questions as the coding unit, then assign to each unit a numerical weight, and later treat these units separately or in combination for analysis. A typology of marital power relationships was further derived by grouping these units in various forms.

TABLE I Scoring and Classifying
System for Marital Power Measure

<u>Mother's Response</u>	<u>Weight</u>	<u>Type of Power</u>
Wife decides, husband performs	3	Wife dominance
Wife decides, both perform	2	
Both decide, husband performs	1	
Wife decides, wife performs	0	Wife autonomy
Both decide, both perform		Equalitarianism
Husband decides, husband performs		Husband autonomy
Both decide, wife performs	-1	Husband dominance
Husband decides, both perform	-2	
Husband decides, wife performs	-3	

Findings and Implications

Before testing the hypotheses about the relationships between maternal employment and patterns of household task and power differentiation, it is appropriate to first ask this question "what makes the mothers engage in gainful employment?" The answer is simple and self-explaining: they work because of economic necessity. The mother's employment was found to be negatively related to her husband's income ($t = 3.38, p < .001$), i.e., those mothers who were more engaged in gainful employment also happened to have married to men who earned a smaller income. There were three facilitating factors: (1) the fully employed mothers had fewer children, e.g., with a mean number of 3.37 as compared to 4.08 for the partially employed and 4.22 for the housewives ($G = .26, Z = 4.88, p < .001$); (2) their youngest child was somewhat older, with a mean age of 7.49 in contrast to 5.93 of that of the housewives ($t = 2.22, p < .02$); (3) they were more likely to have their parents stay with them ($\chi^2 = 8.87, p < .002$). Thus, with fewer and more matured children in the family and with their parents' help in child care and other household duties, the working mother had fewer worries about the fulfillment of their home-making role and was therefore freer to engage in industrial employment.

Hypothesis 1 - Overall Task Performance

The relationship between the mother's employment and her household task performance was measured, and significance tests were made in the overall task performance as well as in each of the four task areas. The findings are presented in Table II:

TABLE II Mother's Employment Status and Household Task Performance*

Task Area	Direction of Relationship	G - Scores	Z - Scores	p Less Than
Overall task performance	FE < PE < NE**	.18	3.07	.001
Economic activities	FE > PE > NE	.11	2.24	.01
Social activities	FE > PE > NE	—	—	—***
Child care and control	FE < PE < NE	.31	5.81	.001
Household duties	FE < PE < NE	.30	5.15	.001

NOTE: N=634. This includes only families which have no or insignificant assistance in household task performance from servants or outside relatives.

* For complete tables of these data, refer to Appendix Ia-e.

** FE=full employment; PE=partial employment; NE=no employment.

*** In all tables G-scores, Z-scores and p values are not reported if p exceeds .10.

As shown in the top line of Table II, the finding is both in the predicted direction and statistically significant, thus confirming the proposition that the working mother will undergo a decrease in her participation in overall household tasks and, by implication, a comparable increase in her husband's household participation. A brief review of the detailed data shows that the bulk of the total household tasks is undertaken either "equally

between husband and wife," with 57.1 per cent for mothers engaging in full employment, 43.8 per cent for those with partial employment and 43.5 per cent for the housewives, or by "wife more than husband," with 33 per cent, 47.8 per cent and 45.4 per cent for the three groupings respectively. Hence, by and large, the fully employed mothers are very much relieved from household duties by sharing them with their husbands, whereas the partially employed and the housewives have to assume a major role in household activities. Furthermore, the image of the woman playing the homemaking role all by herself is seldom true not only among the fully employed women (5.9 per cent), but also among the partially employed (6.3 per cent) and the housewives (8.7 per cent). Lastly, the husband as a rule is ready to help in household duties, but they do so only up to the point of sharing them with their wives, and in no cases are they found taking over the home-making role alone.

Hypothesis 2 - Performance in Task Areas

Referring to the rest of Table II, it can be seen that, except for that in Social Activities, all results are in the predicted direction and bear statistical significance. Thus, the first half of the hypothesis that the employed mother will participate more in masculine household tasks is only partially confirmed, whereas its second half that she will participate less in feminine tasks is found true. One explanation that can be offered for these slightly incoherent findings is that it is difficult, if not infeasible, to locate a clear demarcation line between masculine and feminine tasks, and that consequently the area of Social Activities may include a mixture of bi-sexual role activities. After all, the negative finding in this area is too small to be statistically significant. In short, the hypothesis as a whole can be claimed as confirmed, as the mother's employment exerts a clear-cut effect upon the direction in which she will participate in household tasks, i.e., more in masculine tasks and less in feminine ones.

Hypothesis 3 - Overall Task Decision-Making

Likewise, the relationship between the mother's employment and her decision-making over household tasks was examined, and significance tests were made both in the overall task decision-making and in each of the four task areas. The results are given in the following table:

TABLE III Mother's Employment Status and Household Task Decision-Making*

Task Area	Direction of Relationship	G - Scores	Z - Scores	p Less Than
Overall task decision-making	FE < PE < NE**	.17	2.89	.002
Economic activities	FE > PE > NE	—	—	***
Social activities	FE > PE > NE	—	—	—
Child care and control	FE < PE < NE	.22	4.14	.001
Household duties	FE < PE < NE	.26	4.57	.001

NOTE: N=634. This includes only families which have no or insignificant assistance in household task decision-making from servants or outside relatives.

* For complete tables of these data, refer to Appendix IIa-e.

** FE=full employment; PE=partial employment; NE=no employment.

*** In all tables G-scores, Z-scores and p values are not reported if p exceeds .10 .

Looking across the top line of Table III, it is clear that the finding is not only in the predicted direction but also statistically significant. Thus, the hypothesis that the mother's employment will function to decrease her decision-making about overall household tasks is confirmed. There are several corresponding discoveries in the data as in those of overall task performance. First, the fully employed mothers (58.6 per cent) tend to share their decision-making about overall household tasks with their

husbands, as compared with 44.6 per cent of the partially employed and 43.9 per cent of the housewives. Second, the partially employed women (46 per cent) and the housewives (44 per cent) usually play a more important role in deciding about household matters than the fully employed mothers (32.5 per cent). Third, few women are allowed to take charge of all decisions concerning household affairs. Finally, the traditional conception of the father as an all-powerful autocrat of the household does not exist even in one single case.

Hypothesis 4 - Decision-Making in Task Areas

As seen in Table III, only the results in the areas of Child Care and Control and Household Duties come out as predicted and statistically significant, whereas those in the areas of Economic Activities and Social Activities are, though in the predicted direction, too small to be significant. Hence, the hypothesis that the mother's employment will enable her to decide more about masculine tasks and less about feminine tasks is only true in its latter part. An examination of the data shows that, even though the fully employed mothers do not make too many more decisions about social and economic activities than the partially employed and the housewives, they in fact share the making of such decisions with their husbands much more frequently than the other two groups. So this becomes a collaborative decision-making pattern between the working mother and her husband.

Hypothesis 5 - Marital Power Differentiation

This hypothesis is tested against the collected data, and, as shown in Table IV, the result is both in the predicted direction and statistically significant.

TABLE IV Maternal Employment and Marital Power Differentiation

	Maternal Employment			<u>Total Cases</u>
	<u>Full</u>	<u>Partial</u>	<u>None</u>	
Mother-dominance	13	22	18	53
Equalitarianism	106	76	71	253
Father-dominance	13	24	22	59
Total cases	132	122	111	365

$$\chi^2=11.97, df=4, p<.02.$$

NOTE: The number of cases here include only those who expressed a clear-cut power relationship between the marital couples.

It is therefore appropriate to accept the presumption that a mother's employment will function to increase her power vis-a-vis her husband. A further look at the data shows that, while the majority of the studied mothers have begun to enjoy a relatively equal status with the husband,⁴ most of them, or 80 per cent, come from the fully employed group, as compared to 62 per cent of the partially employed and 64 per cent of the housewives. In addition, it is reported that dominance by either the husband or the wife is much less accepted among the first group than among the other two groups.

⁴ This finding is consistent with those of other comparable studies on the Chinese family structure: Fai-ming Wong, "Modern Ideology, Industrialization, and Conjugalism: The Hong Kong Case," International Journal of Sociology of the Family, Vol.2, No.2 (September, 1972); "The Impact of Social and Family Change upon Social Service in Hong Kong," Journal of the Hong Kong Council of Social Service, No.40 (Spring, 1972), pp.11-18; Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society (Anchor Books, reprinted 1968), pp.203-218.

Hypothesis 6 - Marital Relationship

Hypothesis 6 seeks to examine another aspect of the marital power structure - change in marital relationship, and to relate it to the occupational involvement of the mother. The result appears in the table below:

TABLE V Maternal Employment and Marital Relationship

	Maternal Employment			Total Cases
	<u>Full</u>	<u>Partial</u>	<u>None</u>	
Mutual collaboration	106	76	71	253
Individual autonomy	72	103	95	270
Individual dominance	26	46	40	112
Total cases	204	225	206	635

$$\chi^2=18.93, df=4, p<.001.$$

NOTE: "Individual autonomy" includes both the categories of "husband-autonomy" and "wife-autonomy", and "individual dominance" those of "husband-dominance" and "wife-dominance".

As found in Table V, the finding is again in the predicted direction and bears strong statistical significance. Hypothesis 6 is therefore confirmed, thus upholding the proposition that the mother's employment leads to a change in the pattern of marital relationship from an individually autonomous or dominant type to a mutually collaborative one. This further implies that, with the participation of women in the occupational world, the traditional husband-dominant family has rapidly decreased in importance and practice, and the conventional home-making role of the mother has greatly diminished and is increasingly shared by other members of the family, particularly her husband. Thus, the working mother is seen to have moved out of

her institutional role and into a new role which allows her to actively participate in economic activities on the one hand and collaborate with her husband in routine household tasks on the other.⁵

5 These are what Burgess and Locke would have described as symptoms of change toward the companionship type of family. See Ernest W. Burgess, Harvey J. Locke, and Mary M. Thomas, The Family, 3rd ed. (New York: American Book, 1963), pp.3-5.

Summary and Conclusions

This study examined the effects of the mother's gainful employment on the patterns of task participation, task decision-making, and marital power structure in the lower income Chinese family. The total sample included 637 families locating in the industrial community of Kwun Tong, Hong Kong. To sensitize the measures and facilitate their analysis the sample was categorized into three groupings: the fully employed, the partially employed, and the housewives. Structured interviews and computer facilities were used for the collection and analysis of the data.

The findings were summarized as follows:

1. The employed mothers as a rule worked for economic reasons. Their engagement in gainful employment was facilitated by the fact that they had fewer and older children and that they could rely on their parents' assistance in household duties.
2. Working mothers generally participated less in overall household tasks, and, in particular, more in masculine tasks and less in feminine tasks, as compared with the housewives.
3. Working mothers generally made fewer decisions about overall routine household matters, and particularly less so in feminine matters, as compared with the housewives.
4. Working mothers were found to have practised relatively more equalitarianism and less dominance by either partner than the housewives. Their relationship with the husband has shifted from one of individual autonomy to that of mutual collaboration.

It may thus be concluded that a mother's employment leads to her decrease in household task participation and decision-making and a corresponding increase of her husband in assuming some of the routine household duties and making decisions about them. Her employment also enables her to enjoy a more equal status with her husband and maintain a collaborative type of relationship with him in place of that of individual autonomy.

Appendix

I. Mother's Employment Status and Household Task Performance

(a) Maternal Employment and Overall Task Performance

	<u>Full Employment</u>	<u>Partial Employment</u>	<u>No Employment</u>	<u>Total Cases</u>
Husband always	0	0	0	0
Husband more than wife	8	5	5	18
Husband and wife equally	116	98	90	304
Wife more than husband	67	107	94	268
Wife always	12	14	18	44
Total cases	203	224	207	634

Gamma = .18, Z = 3.07, p < .001.

(b) Maternal Employment and Economic Activities Performance

	<u>Full Employment</u>	<u>Partial Employment</u>	<u>No Employment</u>	<u>Total Cases</u>
Wife always	20	18	21	59
Wife more than husband	36	32	32	100
Wife and husband equally	87	99	63	249
Husband more than wife	49	55	64	168
Husband always	8	14	21	43
Total cases	200	218	201	619

Gamma = .11, Z = 2.24, p < .01.

(c) Maternal Employment and Social Activities Performance

	<u>Full Employment</u>	<u>Partial Employment</u>	<u>No Employment</u>	<u>Total Cases</u>
Wife always	9	13	15	37
Wife more than husband	48	50	52	150
Wife and husband equally	125	134	119	378
Husband more than wife	19	22	15	56
Husband always	1	4	4	9
Total cases	202	223	205	630

Gamma = $-.06$, $Z = 1.07$, $p > .10$

(d) Maternal Employment and Child Care and Control

	<u>Full Employment</u>	<u>Partial Employment</u>	<u>No Employment</u>	<u>Total Cases</u>
Husband always	1	0	0	1
Husband more than wife	12	4	4	20
Husband and wife equally	78	48	30	156
Wife more than husband	70	120	106	296
Wife always	38	51	63	152
Total cases	199	223	203	625

Gamma = $.31$, $Z = 5.81$, $p < .001$.

(e) Maternal Employment and Household Duties Performance

	<u>Full Employment</u>	<u>Partial Employment</u>	<u>No Employment</u>	<u>Total Cases</u>
Husband always	1	0	0	1
Husband more than wife	6	2	3	11
Husband and wife equally	32	12	3	47
Wife more than husband	95	104	96	295
Wife always	60	104	103	267
Total cases	194	222	205	621

Gamma = .30, $Z = 5.15$, $p < .001$.

II. Mother's Employment Status and Household Task Decision-Making

(a) Maternal Employment and Overall Task Decision-Making

	<u>Full Employment</u>	<u>Partial Employment</u>	<u>No Employment</u>	<u>Total Cases</u>
Husband always	0	0	0	0
Husband more than wife	6	6	6	18
Husband and wife equally	119	100	91	310
Wife more than husband	66	103	91	260
Wife always	12	15	19	46
Total cases	203	224	207	634

Gamma = .17, Z = 2.89, p < .002.

(b) Maternal Employment and Decision-Making about Economic Activities

	<u>Full Employment</u>	<u>Partial Employment</u>	<u>No Employment</u>	<u>Total Cases</u>
Wife always	21	18	26	65
Wife more than husband	33	44	40	117
Wife and husband equally	95	106	75	276
Husband more than wife	41	42	48	131
Husband always	6	12	15	33
Total cases	196	222	204	622

Gamma = $-.02$, $Z = .35$, $p > .10$.

(c) Maternal Employment and Decision-Making about Social Activities

	<u>Full Employment</u>	<u>Partial Employment</u>	<u>No Employment</u>	<u>Total Cases</u>
Wife always	10	16	11	37
Wife more than husband	43	43	42	128
Wife and husband equally	123	135	119	377
Husband more than wife	23	24	26	73
Husband always	2	5	5	12
Total cases	201	223	203	627

Gamma = $-.03$, $Z = .45$, $p > .10$.

(d) Maternal Employment and Decision-Making about Child Care and Control

	<u>Full Employment</u>	<u>Partial Employment</u>	<u>No Employment</u>	<u>Total Cases</u>
Husband always	0	0	0	0
Husband more than wife	12	5	8	25
Husband and wife equally	83	56	51	190
Wife more than husband	67	105	84	256
Wife always	35	57	61	153
Total cases	197	223	204	624

Gamma = .22, Z = 4.14, p < .001.

(e) Maternal Employment and Decision-Making about Household Duties

	<u>Full Employment</u>	<u>Partial Employment</u>	<u>No Employment</u>	<u>Total Cases</u>
Husband always	0	0	0	0
Husband more than wife	5	1	0	6
Husband and wife equally	33	15	10	58
Wife more than husband	95	101	93	289
Wife always	63	106	102	271
Total cases	196	223	205	624

Gamma = .26, Z = 4.57, p < .001.

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