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University of New Hampshire

PH.D.

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IMAGES OF FAMILY LIFE IN MAGAZINE

ADVERTISING: 1920-1978

BY

BRUCE W. BROWN

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A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the University of New Hampshire

in Partial Fulfillment of

the Requirement for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

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DEDICATION

To Anna and Jason. Thanks for waiting.

There is one traveler whose path the sociologist will cross more often than anyone else's on his journeys. This is the historian. The sociological journey will be much impoverished unless it is punctuated frequently by conversation with that other particular traveler.

-Peter L. Berger-

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ABSTRACT

IMAGES OF FAMILY LIFE IN MAGAZINE

ADVERTISING: 1920-1978

by

Bruce William Brown

University of New Hampshire, 1979

Previous research on family roles suffers from a number of deficiencies, including: (1) lack of historical evidence; (2) a disregard for how family roles change throughout the family life cycle; (3) an overemphasis on certain family members (in particular, the wife); and (4) an overemphasis on certain aspects of family life (in particular, household chores, child-rearing, and economic provision). The purpose of the present study was to analyze images of family life in magazine advertising and, in so doing, deal with these deficiencies.

Advertising in general interest magazines published between 1920 and 1978 served as the data source. Both the verbal and non-verbal components of the advertisements were used in the analysis. Advertising is a source of historical data on family life values because advertisers, in their efforts to sell a product, try to attract as many potential customers as possible. In order to do so, they must allow as many people as possible to "see themselves" in the advertisement. Also, advertisers have been involved in marketing research since around 1910 and, therefore, have

been fairly sophisticated in their analysis and portrayal of basic American values. Finally certain aspects of family life may be either too personal, too threatening, or simply unknown for more obtrusive measurement techniques to deal with effectively. However, as Goffman (1976:91) points out, "in advertised worlds we can look in on almost everything."

The study measured the way family roles, family companionship, intimacy, and formality have been depicted in magazine advertisements since 1920. In addition, two-way analysis of variance was used to investigate the separate effects of historical time while holding family life cycle stage constant, and visa versa.

The analysis found that some aspects of family life have changed more than others, at least as depicted in magazine advertising. The movement toward egalitarian family norms has certainly occurred, but the changes have not been undimensional. Values concerning certain aspects of family life were found to change at a different pace than those for other aspects of family life. Some changes were found to have occurred for certain family members but not for others. Also, some changes were found to be more pronounced for families at particular stages of the family life cycle. Finally, the change that did take place was not necessarily linear. If one assumes that a more egalitarian form of family life (involving equal sharing of responsibilities and privileges, along with an increase in companionship, intimacy, and informality) is an ideal to

strive for, then during certain periods since 1920 our value system, at least as depicted in advertising, has "slipped backwards."

Overall though, the movement toward such an egalitarian ideal in our cultural norms has been fairly substantial, particularly in terms of family companionship, intimacy, and formality. The area of family roles still appears to be a major stumbling block. To summarize the findings of this study in one sentence: one could say that the cultural values reflected in magazine advertising increasingly have supported the notion of family members as more companionate, intimate, and informal, although they continue to perform their traditional roles almost unchanged.

CHAPTER I

THE STUDY OF FAMILY LIFE

During the past fifteen years the study of family roles*1 has taken on a new importance due in part to the growth of the feminist movement. It now appears that as a society, we are attempting to rectify some of the inequalities inherent in traditional family roles. Several examples of this are the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment by 35 of the necessary 38 states, the emergence of a men's liberation movement which is admittedly in its embryonic stages, and the introduction and popularity of college courses dealing specifically with sex and family roles.*2 These events suggest that there is a relatively high level of agreement that changes in family roles may be needed.

1. In the present study the terms "sex role" and "family role" will be used. Sex role is defined as "the expected behaviors attached to the differing social positions of male and female" (Scanzoni and Scanzoni, 1976:16), whereas family role refers to the expected behaviors attached to differing family positions such as mother, father, brother, sister, grandparents, etc.

2. A very similar phenomenon occurred on college campuses after the Civil Rights Movement of the late fifties and early sixties. Courses in Black History and Afro-American Studies were introduced and enjoyed an increased amount of popularity.

Along with this emphasis on family roles there has been much discussion within the general populace and among social scientists concerning "how the family used to be" and "how much the family has changed." We have, however, only recently begun to investigate such issues in an historical perspective. Gordon and Hareven (1973:393) point out that the family of half a century ago or earlier has been either ignored or romanticized as what William Goode has referred to as "the classical family of Western nostalgia." I would add that it is not only the family of half a century ago or earlier which has been ignored or romanticized, but that family sociologists in general have been ahistorical in their methods while historical in their conclusions. In other words, family sociologists revel in talking about change when, in fact, the historical evidence is scanty at best.

Changes in Sex and Family Roles: Previous Research

Numerous studies have analyzed twentieth century changes in sex and family roles.*3 These studies, although adding much to our knowledge, suffer from a number of deficiencies.

3. For an analysis of role changes during earlier periods of American history, see, for example, Bridges (1965), Demos (1968 and 1970), Easton (1976), Furstenberg (1966), Gordon (1969), Gordon and Bernstein (1970), Lantz et al., (1968, 1973, 1975, and 1977), McGovern (1968), and Welter (1966). For an excellent discussion of sex role changes during the twentieth century, see Filene (1974).

Lack of adequate longitudinal designs. The majority of the research has not been longitudinal and those studies which are cover relatively short time periods. For example, Parelus' (1975) analysis of changes in college women's sex and family role attitudes covers only the period 1969 to 1973. She found that changes in women's attitudes do not signal the end of marriage and motherhood, but rather that women are seeking a "restructuring of the family." Notions of equal responsibility for financial support, increased assistance with household tasks from husbands, and the importance of careers for married women were held by a substantial majority of women by 1973.

In a more extended analysis, Mason, Czajka, and Huber (1976), using public opinion surveys from 1964 to 1974, found that women's sex and family role attitudes have changed in the direction of egalitarianism. Similar to Parelus' (1975) findings, Mason et al. found that employment and division of labor in the home were areas of significant attitudinal change between 1964 and 1970, and that after 1970, these changes continued and may in fact have accelerated. In contrast to Parelus' (1975) study, these authors not only documented those changes which have taken place, but analyzed the possible causes of such change. Mason et al. (1976:573) conclude that "educational attainment and employment are among the most important individual level predictors of attitudes."

In addition, the previous literature has suffered from large gaps between data points. For example, Roper and LaBeff (1977), in a replication of Kirkpatrick's (1936) study in intergenerational change in sex and family role attitudes, found that there has been a "trend toward more egalitarian attitudes." Parents were found to be less egalitarian in their attitudes than their children, men's attitudes less egalitarian than women's, and finally, both men and women were more favorable toward those aspects of sex and family equality outside the home such as employment and politics than such home-related issues as domestic responsibilities. As did Mason et al. (1976), Roper and LaBeff (1977) found that higher levels of education were associated with more egalitarian attitudes.

More extended and chronologically complete analyses are needed to document those changes which have occurred--indeed, to document whether there has been change at all--and to provide us with additional clues as to why such changes, if any, took place. The portrayal of families in mass media advertising is one source of this needed information.

The less than scientific flavor. Although a number of studies have investigated sex and family roles in mass media advertising, few have taken advantage of advertising as a source of longitudinal data. Also, many of these studies seem to be more concerned with illustrating the "bad press" that women have received in advertising rather than with

careful "scientific" analysis.*4

Komisar (1972:207), for example, in her discussion of the image of women in advertising points out that, "it spews out images of women as sex mates, housekeepers, mothers and menial workers." Kilbourne (1977:293) is in agreement when she states that, "women are shown almost exclusively as sex objects or housewives." Bardwick and Schumann (1967), in a discussion of sex and family role images in television commercials, point out that men as well as women are depicted in stereotypical roles with women being portrayed as either sex-goddesses (if single) or eternal mothers (if married), while men are portrayed as suave, sophisticated, and sexy only when seen away from their families. In contrast, family men are seen as incompetent bumbler. Wald's (1975) collection of advertisements depicting women for the years 1865-1945 in particular seems to suffer from a lack of systematic analysis. The montage layout of the advertisements in Wald's collection may be pleasing to the eye, but it is confusing to those who wish to use the

4. By "scientific," this author means an analysis which has used the scientific method and all which that entails, such as an attempt to be objective, using a random and representative sample where this is possible, etc. This is not to suggest that such "unscientific" literature does not serve useful functions such as generating testable hypotheses and making people aware of possible sex and family role stereotyping.

advertisements for an analysis of trends. Similar problems are found in Wald's (1977) analysis of advertising depicting men. Finally, Goffman (1976), in a somewhat more in-depth yet unscientific analysis of magazine advertising, comes to a number of conclusions. For example, he finds that males are portrayed as being more authoritative and protective while females are portrayed as more gentle, affectionate, and dependent.

There are, however, several more scientific analyses which arrive at very similar conclusions. Courtney and Lockeretz (1971), studying advertising published in 1970 general interest magazines, conclude that according to such ads, a women's place is in the home, women do not make important decisions, women are dependent, need male protection, and are sexual playthings for men. Finally, analyses of television commercials by Courtney and Whipple (1974) and an organization titled Women on Words and Images (1975) have found results similar to those studies involving magazine advertising. Courtney and Whipple (1974:116) conclude that "women for the most part, continue to clean house, launder, cook and serve meals, while men give the orders and advice and eat the meals."

In one of the few longitudinal studies using advertising as a data source, Venkatesan and Losco (1975) found that some of women's images in magazine ads published between 1959 and 1971 had changed while others had remained essentially the same. For example, the portrayal of women

as sex objects had decreased since 1961, but the portrayal of women as dependent on men had remained relatively stable over the time period covered.

Overemphasis on certain family roles. Within the literature, there has been an overemphasis on those family roles which we might expect to change the least due to economic inequalities, biological circumstances, and other structural components. Here, I am referring to the occupational, housework and child-rearing roles in the family. For example, Brown (1978), in an analysis of marriage advice articles published in women's magazines between 1900 and 1974, found that although family role prescriptions had become more egalitarian, they were still far from advocating true sexual equality in the family. A traditional differentiation of roles prevailed with husbands primarily responsible for economic provision, and wives primarily responsible for household chores and child-care. Although changes in family roles other than economic provision, household tasks, and child-rearing were investigated by Brown (1978), specifically decision-making and interpersonal support, other important family roles were ignored. As Nye (1976) has pointed out, there are other family roles which may experience change, such as kinship and recreational roles.*5 These however, have been largely ignored in research and particularly in the longitudinal studies.

5. An excellent example of the ahistorical bent of many sociologists is the fact that Nye (1976), while speaking of emerging and declining family roles, offers no longitudinal data in his analysis.

Family companionship and intimacy ignored. Equally ignored in the historical literature have been family companionship and family intimacy, and what research there is has tended to use these terms interchangeably, similar to the "family power and authority mess" discussed by Safillios-Rothschild (1972:539) and others. Because of this conceptual confusion in the literature, this chapter will "lump" these terms together and discuss research relevant to companionship and/or intimacy. However, in a later chapter, an attempt will be made to differentiate conceptually between the two and provide operational definitions.

If "companionship has risen to become the single most valued aspect of marriage," as Blood and Wolfe (1960:150) argue, then where is the evidence for such change? Historical evidence indicates that romantic love, one component of companionship and intimacy, became an increasingly more important aspect of mate selection as we approached the end of the nineteenth century (see for example, Lantz *et al.*, 1968, 1973, 1975, and 1977). However, even in terms of this component, we know little of the changes which occurred during the twentieth century. An exception is Martel's (1968:54) analysis of family relationships as expressed in magazine fiction published between 1890 and 1955. He found a shift from marriage as partnership in the late nineteenth century to a "growing emphasis on romance, affectuality, companionship." However, other aspects of companionship and/or intimacy remain

unexplored in an historical sense. For example, are there special bonds between fathers and sons or mothers and daughters as Goffman (1976:106) suggests? If so, then have these bonds been constant or were they stronger, weaker, or even reversed in earlier times, as Martel (1968:51) suggests? Does the slight upward trend in "affiliation values" which Straus and Houghton (1960) found expressed in 4-H publications between 1924 and 1958 also apply to companionship and/or intimacy between family members? Has the presence of children always signaled a reduction in husband-wife companionship and/or intimacy as Rosenblatt's (1974) research might suggest. Finally, Macionis (1978), in an exploratory analysis of what he terms "intimacy"*6 suggests that family role structure might have an influence on "intimacy" with those of more equal status being more "intimate." He further suggests that family life cycle changes, with the concomittant shifts in role structure, might influence family "intimacy." However, at present, both insights lack empirical evidence.

6. Macionis' (1978) measurement technique, which he admits is "at best, an imperfect measure of intimacy," illustrates one aspect of the conceptual confusion between intimacy and companionship. Macionis combines items concerned with shared activity and items concerned with interpersonal disclosure. From this author's perspective, the first aspect is really a measure of companionship, whereas the second aspect is more a measure of intimacy. See page 36 for a more indepth discussion of the distinction between companionship and intimacy.

Overemphasis on husbands and wives. Another notable deficiency in the research has been an overemphasis on husband and wife roles (in particular, the wife's*), accompanied by a lack of concern with the roles of other family members such as brothers, sisters, and extended family members such as grandparents. If there are relatively agreed upon notions of the "ideal child," as Raina (1975) found, then have these notions gone through periods of change? If so, then when and why? Has the American family become "child-centered" as Demos and Demos (1962:212) suggest? Finally, the notion that the nuclear family is isolated from its extended kin has been put to rest by research which indicates that extended kin perform a number of functions in modern society (for a review of this research, see Adams, 1970). However, when and why these functions may have changed remains a fuzzy area of family sociology.

Lack of family life cycle approach. The final limitation of the research is a deficiency common to family sociology in general: the lack of a family life cycle

7. In general, there has been an overemphasis on women's roles. This limitation is particularly evident when one looks at the research concerning sex and family roles in advertising. Bardwick and Schumann (1967), Goffman (1976), and Wald (1977) are among the few who have bothered to study male sex and family roles as depicted in advertising, and even these are quite "unscientific."

approach. "The life cycle of the family is a term that has been used...in reference to the succession of critical stages through which the typical family passes during its life span" (Glick, 1977:5). As Hareven (1977:340) says, "families and households evolve different types of structures, organizations and relationships, which are generally obscured in the snapshot approach," thus illustrating the need for a family life cycle approach. For example, are certain family role changes necessary during the post-retirement years, as Medley's (1977:9) research suggests? Other family role adjustments would seem to be also necessary as the family passes through the honeymoon, childrearing, and empty nest stages. Also, how do the roles of extended kin change as the family passes through its life cycle? Finally, how does family companionship and intimacy change at specific life cycle stages?

Overcoming Previous Limitations

The study of family life has become increasingly popular, not only to social scientists, but to people in general. Our newspapers and bookstores abound with literature designed to improve family life. Increasingly, television is dealing with family-related issues in both documentary and entertainment formats. College courses dealing with family relationships are being offered in increasing numbers. Overall, one would have to conclude that the well-being of the family is of vital concern to today's American. In order to meet adequately this demand

for accurate information on family life, we must overcome the shortcomings of the previous research whenever possible.

In brief, the previous research has suffered from a lack of historical evidence to document change, a disregard for how family roles change throughout the life cycle, and an overemphasis on certain family members and certain family roles. What this means for the social scientist as well as the everyday consumer of family literature is that they may not be getting accurate information. The implications of this can be far-reaching. Not only are individual family members potentially influenced by this information, but so are those employed in family service agencies.

The main contribution of the present study is its emphasis on an analysis of the historical and family life cycle changes in the images of family life depicted in magazine advertising published between 1920 and 1978. The longitudinal design allows us to address issues of change in family life legitimately, at least as depicted in magazine advertising. The time has come in family sociology when we must either stop talking about change if the data do not include at least two time points (and preferably more), or we must seek out and use those data sources which make this possible.

To the extent that advertisements are a good reflection of societal values (see Chapter II), this study allows us to deal with a number of areas of family life which until now have been largely ignored or which require further analysis.

For example, this study goes beyond the usual emphasis on women's roles and looks at historical and life cycle changes in the contribution of all family members to family life. The overemphasis on women's roles has been a major deficiency, since the whole issue of equality in the family must be concerned with changes in both male and female roles. In addition, questions concerning such areas of family life as companionship, intimacy, and formality, not dealt with extensively before in an historical or life cycle perspective, are investigated. For example, has intimacy between husbands and wives, at least as depicted in advertisements, increased or decreased with the ever-increasing autonomy of twentieth century wives?

In conclusion, the importance of this study can be summarized by pointing out that family sociologists have learned, often the hard way, that widely-held assumptions about family life in the past need to be tested.

CHAPTER II

IMAGES AND MAGAZINE ADVERTISING

The Importance of Images in Social Life

Of all our senses, sight plays the greatest part in helping us to interpret and organize our world. "It is estimated that eighty percent of all our impressions are received through the eyes" (Baker, 1961). Not only do our eyes allow us to perceive the "world out there," but they also play an integral part in the construction of a "shared image" of social life.*1 They allow us to see an extensive range of human behavior as well as the consequences of such action. In a sense, we look to others when constructing our image of social life. It is through the reciprocal viewing of each others' behavior that an agreed upon or shared image of social life is constructed. This shared image allows for increased consensus concerning what "is" and "ought to be." The result of this shared image is social cohesion. As Boulding (1956:64) says:

The basic bond of any society, culture, subculture, or organization is a "public image," that is, an image the essential characteristics of which are shared by the individuals participating in the group.

1. In this case I am using the term "image" to refer to the conception of social life which each of us carries around in his or her mind.

It is not, however, only the viewing of other persons' behavior which contributes to the construction of this shared image. The visual media also contribute. Americans are particularly visual-minded. "Never before in history have so many people received messages, day after day by means of pictures" (Baker, 1961). The visual images² appearing in advertising, or what might be referred to as "popular imagery," also function in a reciprocal manner. Popular imagery,

...reflects popular views since it aims to please and persuade the viewer, but it also influences popular attitudes since the repeated messages form and reinforce standards and norms. (Wald, 1975:5)

It is precisely this contribution of popular imagery to the construction of a shared image of social life which makes it a data source of interest to the family sociologist.

The Growth of Magazines and Magazine Advertising

One source of popular imagery is found in commercial magazines. Both the articles and advertisements therein offer us a view of prevailing cultural values. The magazines themselves have gone through a significant metamorphosis. They have not always been the slick, relatively inexpensive, and middle-class form of mass media that we are familiar with today. Early magazines (1700's and early 1800's) were expensive and also tended to reflect regional values because of the high cost of postal rates

2. Here, the term "image" refers to the actual pictures used in advertisements.

(Greene, 1970:23). In this sense, early magazines were "class" magazines as opposed to "mass" magazines.

Another aspect of the metamorphosis of magazines is the fact that advertising has not always been part of magazine content.

Many publishers of early American magazines were not interested in accepting advertising for their publications, and the magazines themselves were not especially attractive to advertisers as conveyors of their sale messages. (Gaw, 1961:265)

At least part of the reason for advertisers' initial lack of interest in the magazine as a medium deals with the "class" versus "mass" magazine format. In order to reach a substantial portion of the buying market, advertisers had to wait until the transition to "mass" magazines had taken place around 1914. Also, changes in the physical layout of magazines may have contributed to attracting advertisers.*3 For example, around 1913-1914, a dramatic change occurred in the size of magazines. The "quarto" size page, which advertisers favored, was adopted by many mass magazines. Prior to this, most advertising was simply lumped together on the last pages of each issue. The introduction of larger pages permitted the advertiser "to experiment with arrangements of art and copy for the best display of their message and could easily accommodate editorial matter alongside the advertising" (Peterson, 1964:32).

3. It is possible that it was pressure from the advertisers themselves which instigated these physical changes.

Technological advances such as photoengraving and photography also contributed to the growth of magazine advertising by transforming it into an increasingly visual phenomenon. Since 1920, advertising text has been getting smaller and the picture has been getting larger. The "quarto" size page allowed for even larger pictures which lead to increased readership (Baker, 1961).

It is essentially the introduction of advertising on a large scale which skyrocketed the "mass" magazine industry. By 1946, according to the Magazine Advertising Bureau, 70 to 80 percent of all persons fifteen or older read one or more of the thirty-five or forty leading magazines in the United States.

The advertising industry itself became increasingly dependent on marketing research for its success and between 1910 and 1920, marketing research made major advances (Ferber, 1974:1-7). In the early stages, this research consisted of little more than collecting data on readers' social class, age, sex, marital status, etc. However, the increasing number of name brands lead to increased competition and the introduction of more sophisticated marketing techniques such as motivational analysis. It is this increasingly sophisticated and scientific analysis carried out by marketing researchers and advertisers which is central to any discussion as to whether advertising reflects or shapes cultural values.

Advertising: Reflection or Shaping of Cultural Values?

The key to understanding whether advertising reflects or shapes cultural values concerns the purpose of advertising.

Advertising is a distinctive form of communication in that it exists to communicate a message the sole purpose of which...is to convert potential consumers into actual consumers. (Millum, 1975:39)

In short, the purpose of advertising is to sell a product. To do this, the successful advertiser must first get the attention of potential consumers and, secondly, and more importantly, hold their attention long enough to communicate the sales message. The first step in the process, that is attracting attention, could be accomplished with the use of what might be called avant-garde imagery. Unusual or bizarre imagery does attract attention, possibly even more effectively than usual everyday scenes. However, in order to hold their attention, potential consumers must be able to "see themselves" in the social world which the advertiser has constructed around the product. This calls for popular imagery which is both familiar and consistent with prevailing cultural standards. As Baker (1961) points out,

...a reader's reluctance to become part of a picture which goes against his moral grain is seldom a conscious reaction. Rather it is automatic. He may turn the page...before the advertiser even has a chance to fully present his case.

Since advertising is designed for mass consumption, it is not the values of individual potential consumers which are of importance to the advertiser, but rather the values

of that part of the population which comprises the largest segment of the buying public, i.e., the middle-class. Therefore, advertising can be said to reflect middle-class cultural values. The shaping of cultural values is left to the few in the business of selling who "are willing to undertake the risky assignment of changing and refining public taste" (Baker, 1961). The successful advertiser ascertains what potential consumers want and then gives it to them.

Empirical support for the contention that advertisements reflect cultural values seems to be sparse. This contention appears to be more an act of faith on the part of advertisers. However, some empirical support was provided by Bauer and Greyser (1968). In their analysis of advertising they found that one of the reasons most often mentioned (18 percent) for liking an advertisement was that the respondent "felt I was in the situation." Similarly, the reason most often mentioned (50 percent) for finding an advertisement offensive was that it violated the respondents moral values. Evidently then, successful advertisements will not only allow the viewers to "see themselves" in the advertisement, but will also be sure to reflect the prevailing moral values. Advertisers appear to have been very successful at this since only 5 percent of the 9,325 advertisements analysed by Bauer and Greyser (1968) were rated as offensive.

A recent and controversial issue is the portrayal of women in advertising. Most of the research suggests that "the picture as a whole does fail to show the true range of women's roles within our society" (Courtney and Lockeretz, 1971:94). This could be used to support the argument that advertising is not a good reflection of cultural values concerning family life. However, as previously discussed, advertisers are well aware of such values and use them for their own profit. Consistent with its conservative nature, advertising is not concerned with advocating social change. Given that the job of advertisers is not to alter the status quo but to sell a product or service, advertisements do not reflect what family life values "ought to be," but rather what the family life values are at a particular time. Wagner and Banos (1973:214) are insightful when they point out that

While a number of critics have maintained that advertising is not moving fast enough in correctly portraying women's changing role in society, it is desirable to point out that over 50% of married women are not working outside the home and that a substantial percentage of those employed still consider their role as homemaker as important.

In addition to reflecting cultural values, advertisements also reinforce existing values by repeatedly presenting these values before the public. "Advertising uses the discourse of words and images to bring about the dialogue of values" (Leymore, 1975:viii). At the same time, it is important to keep in mind that advertisements, although reflecting and reinforcing existing cultural

values, do not necessarily reflect cultural reality. To paraphrase Millum (1975:44), if advertisements did reflect reality, there would be far more pictures of slums, unattractive people, and broken-down cars, than of elegant town houses, beautiful people, and sleek new automobiles. It is not the reality of such items that is reflected in advertising, but rather the "common aspirations" for such items and in that sense a reflection of cultural values.

The advertising industry, as was discussed earlier, has become increasingly sophisticated and scientific in the area of marketing research to the point where, for example, McLuhan (1971:229) says,

No group of sociologists can approximate the ad teams in gathering and processing of exploitable social data. The ad teams have billions to spend annually on research and testing of reactions, and their products are magnificent accumulations of material about the shared experiences and feelings of the entire community.

Advertisements, then, are cultural artifacts left behind from another time which are potentially useful to the family sociologist who may wish to excavate and analyze them.

CHAPTER III

DATA COLLECTION AND METHODS OF ANALYSIS

Advertisements as a Data Source

There were several reasons for choosing magazine advertisements as a data source.

Reflection of family life values. Since general interest magazines in themselves tend to conform, to, rather than transform, cultural values, the advertisements contained therein are useful as history (Holder, 1973:267 and 277). Therefore, as already discussed in Chapter II, magazine advertisements reflect cultural values concerning family life. Advertisements do not reflect how families actually behaved, because in advertising, one gets a very sterilized image of family life. For instance, children are infrequently, if ever, depicted as misbehaving. However, it is exactly this sterilized image of family life which can provide information on the values concerning family life which existed at a particular time.

Advertisements avoid distortion. Similar to Atwell's (1978:2) discussion of family photographs as a data source in family sociology, the unobtrusive nature of advertisements tends to minimize distortion in the sense that "imagery gets away from recollection." In other words, relying on the memories of respondents in terms of the cultural values concerning family life at particular times

in history is shaky at best. As Webb et al. (1966:111) say, "the palest ink is clearer than the best memory."

Distortion is also avoided because as Curry and Clarke (1977:21) point out, "one of the unique strengths of using the photograph as a source of data is that it can preserve relationships." In the present study, the advertising photograph can visually preserve values concerning certain aspects of family life which are either too personal, too threatening, or simply below one's conscious level. As Goffman (1976:91) says, "in advertised worlds, however, we can look in on almost everything."

The use of advertisements also helps avoid distortion because, as opposed to many other sources of information such as respondents in survey research or subjects in observation and experimental research, the advertisement "is there, static, and available for scrutiny and rescrutiny at any time" (Millum, 1975:53). It allows for the relatively easy rechecking of data already collected and for the gathering of additional information if necessary.

Advertising law. When dealing with advertisements as a reflection of family life values, a potential problem arises in that mass communication advertising has been regulated by the Federal Trade Commission since 1914. It is conceivable that the prohibition of advertising for some products might limit the image of family life depicted. Also, there might be certain activities which are banned from being depicted in advertising, thereby again potentially influencing the depiction of family life. In order to estimate the degree

and possible effects of such regulations, several works on advertising law, such as Gillmor and Barron (1969), were consulted. This author's conclusion is that, for the most part, the Federal Trade Commission has been concerned with false and misleading advertising and not with regulating the types of products or activities which may appear in advertising. As Carol J. Jennings, attorney in the Division of Advertising Practices of the Federal Trade Commission, said in a recent (July 1978) letter to this author:

I know of no federal statutes or regulations which prohibit the advertising of any products or services that can be obtained legally. Until recently, some states have prohibited the advertising of such things as contraceptives, prescription drug prices, ophthalmic goods and services, and legal services. With regard to...what kinds of activities can be depicted in print advertising, these are matters of taste which are left to the discretion of individual publications.

Efforts to obtain information on either the written or unwritten advertising standards of the magazines used in the present study proved unsuccessful. Based on the aforementioned information, it is this author's contention that regulation of advertising at either the federal, state, or magazine editor level does not pose any significant distortion of family life values as depicted in magazine advertising, with the exception of state regulations against the advertising of contraceptives. Therefore, this study does not speak to the issue of values concerning contraceptive use.

Figure 1. Magazines Sampled by Year.

The Sample of Advertisements

There were several reasons for choosing advertisements published after 1920. First, as Chafe (1972:viii) points out, "the period after 1920, in particular, has largely been ignored by historians." Possibly, family historians feel that they already know about changes in family life during the twentieth century because of its more recent nature and therefore have concentrated most of their efforts on earlier time periods. However, myths and misunderstandings can also exist about family life for more recent time periods. Secondly, and from a more methodological perspective, the post 1920 time period was chosen since, as discussed in Chapter II, it was not until after 1914 that advertising became an established and integral part of the mass-circulation magazine format.

Selection of magazines. General interest magazines, rather than specialty magazines, were used since they are more likely to reflect a wider range of family life. For example, women's magazines were not included because, as Courtney and Lockeretz (1971:93) point out, "they are directed primarily toward women as housewives, whatever their other roles." Figure 1 illustrates the middle-class,*1 general interest magazines used and the years sampled from each magazine. As can be seen, there

1. Morgan and Leahy (1934), in their analysis of the "cultural content" of several general interest magazines, rated each of the magazines used in the present research as middle-class.

were three different magazines from which advertisements were selected for each year under investigation, with the exception of 1920. This helped to assure that any differences in the images of family life were a result of changes over time and not simply differences in the editorial policies of specific magazines.

Criteria for selecting advertisements. Only those advertisements in which it was obvious that family members were depicted were used in the analysis. The question--"How do we know that it is a family scene which is being depicted?"--immediately comes to mind. The answer is that if it is important to the advertiser to make such a message clear, then he will do so either verbally or non-verbally. As Goffman (1976:83 and 91) says, "the point about an ad is what its composer meant us to infer as to what is going on...ads are intentionally choreographed to be unambiguous." Or as Updegraff (1972:20) says, "great advertisements are always simple--always obvious." The point here is that because of the unambiguous and obvious nature of advertising, viewers of advertisements "know" what is a family scene and what is not. It is a subjective judgement made by the viewer based upon the total configuration of the advertisement. However, in addition to this subjective interpretation, there are objective clues which the viewer either consciously or unconsciously employs in his judgement. For example, the presence of wedding rings, children, intimate apparel such as pajamas and underwear,

Illustration 1. Example of Advertisement Depicting Family Life.

**"There's only one word for
a wife who gives you clean clothes
without high utility bills.
Terrific!"**

**Cold Power cleaning in
cold water.
The only thing that
shrinks and fades is your utility bill.**

©1975, Colgate-Palmolive Co.

Illustration 2. Example of Advertisement Depicting Family Life.

... it was 3 a.m. and Johnny had a fever. But I felt good knowing I was giving him the same medicine more pediatricians give their own kids... Children's Tylenol.
Mrs. Marianne Maragel

You know there's a lot of children's medicine to choose from these days. But one brand seems to be getting special attention. Today, more pediatricians choose Children's **TYLENOL**® for their own youngsters, than any other brand of children's pain and fever reducer.

What's more, Children's **TYLENOL** has the only children's fever reducing medicine

available in three convenient forms... Drops for infants, Liquid and Chewable Tablets for older children.

So if you're concerned about what to give your children for fever, ask a person you can trust...ask your pediatrician.

You can trust Children's **TYLENOL.
It's the one more pediatricians
give their own children.**

Remember, no drug should be abused so follow label directions carefully.

TYLENOL is the registered trademark of the McNeil Consumer Products Co., identifying its brand of acetaminophen. ©McNeil 1978

family rituals such as shared meals and visiting, personal activities such as bathing and sleeping, are all used to indicate a family scene. Also, the text of an advertisement often contains explicit statements concerning the family relationships of those depicted. As mentioned above, and to reiterate, it is the gestalt of all these clues which forms the basis of the viewer's judgement. Illustrations 1 and 2 are examples of advertisements depicting family life. (See Appendix A for additional examples of advertisements depicting family scenes.) It is this author's contention that viewers of advertisements are extremely accurate in these judgements. In order to substantiate this contention three magazine issues were coded by both the author and another trained coder in terms of which advertisements depicted family scenes. There was inter-coder agreement on 100 percent of the advertisements.

Selection of advertisements. All advertisements published during every fifth year between 1920 and 1977, which met the above criteria, were tabulated.*2 This resulted in a total of 1489 advertisements. From this tabulation, a simple random sample was chosen of ten advertisements for each of the five family life cycle stages (see page 31 for a discussion of these stages), for each of the 13 years under investigation. This resulted in a

2. The year 1931 was substituted for 1930 and the year 1936 was substituted for 1935 due to the availability of certain magazines.

Table 1. Number of Advertisements Sampled By Year and Family Life Cycle Stage.

Year	<u>Family Life Cycle Stage</u>					<u>Total</u>
	1	2	3	4	5	
1920	10	10	8	10	2	40
1925	10	10	10	10	9	49
1931	10	10	6	10	3	39
1936	10	10	6	10	3	39
1940	10	10	4	10	0	34
1945	10	10	8	10	1	39
1950	10	10	10	10	5	45
1955	10	10	10	10	2	42
1960	10	10	10	10	10	50
1965	10	9	10	10	6	45
1970	10	10	6	10	1	37
1975	10	5	2	10	1	28
1977	10	6	6	10	2	34
Total	130	120	96	130	45	521

potential sample of 650 advertisements. In actuality, due in particular to difficulties in obtaining advertisements depicting the post-parental family life cycle stage, a total of 521 advertisements comprised the final sample. Table 1 indicates the total number of advertisements sampled by year and family life cycle stage. (See Tables B1, B2, and B3 for the percentage of advertisements by magazine, year, and family life cycle respectively).

The Coding of the Advertisements

Both the verbal and non-verbal components of the advertisements were used in the content analysis. Each of the advertisements was analyzed in terms of the variables discussed below. A sample of the coding sheet, designed to allow for both quantitative and qualitative analysis, appears in Appendix B. Since all of the coding was done by the author, an initial check of inter-rater reliability was made. Twenty advertisements were coded by both the author and another trained coder in order to pinpoint any necessary methodological changes before the actual content analysis was begun.

Historical time. This variable was measured by simply tabulating the year when the advertisement was published.

Family life cycle. "The life cycle of the family is a term that has been used for many years in reference to the succession of critical stages through which the typical family passes during its life span" (Glick, 1977:5). As mentioned in Chapter 1, the family life cycle has not often

enough figured as an independent variable in family research. Hareven (1977:58) aptly points out the importance of the family life cycle perspective:

Social scientists have often studied the family as a monolithic institution. In reality, the family is in constant flux. It is the scene of interaction between various fluid individual lives. Individual transistions into and out of different family roles, such as leaving home, getting married, setting up an independent household, commencement of parenthood, or--at the other end of the cycle--widowhood, are interrelated with changes in the family as a collective unit.

In the present study, the family life cycle is a central independent variable in its own right, but it was also used in conjunction with the historical passage of time. In other words, it is not enough to investigate changes in family life values over the family life cycle or over historical time. The present study goes one step further by investigating historical changes in the effects of the family life cycle on family life values.

Due to the nature of the data source used in this study, the following family life cycle stages, which were relatively easy to identify, were used:

1. married, no children (pre-parental)
2. married, all children under six
3. married, combination of children under and over six
4. married, all children over six

5. married, no children at home (post-parental) *3

Each stage indicates a change in family structure. Age composition of the children is emphasized because certain configurations allow for greater potential participation by children in aspects of family life such as family roles, companionship, intimacy, and formality. For example, if all the children are under six, then it is assumed that it becomes one or both of the parents' responsibility to provide care for them. However, a family where some of the children are under six and some are older (possibly teenagers) allows for the sharing of child-rearing by parents and older siblings.

Number of male and female children. The number of male and female children depicted in the advertisement was tabulated in an effort to see if differing numbers and sexual composition of children might have an effect on aspects of family life such as family roles, companionship, intimacy, and formality. For example, in terms of the number of children, Glick (1977:11) explains that:

3. This typology suffers from some of the same limitations of most stage models of the family since it is based on the conventional script of a marriage that bears children and survives to old age. In addition, it suffers from a lack of emphasis on the timing of family stage changes. However, due to the nature of the data source, this seemed the best alternative. For an in-depth discussion of these limitations, see Elder (1977).

Growing up in a family of four children is quite different in many ways from growing up in one of two children. The larger the family, the larger the proportion of time the children are likely to spend interacting with each other, whereas the smaller the family, the greater the proportion of time the children are likely to spend interacting with their parents....

Family roles. As opposed to sex roles, which emphasize male versus female issues, the present research analyzed the roles of all family members, including extended kin. The qualitative aspect of coding this variable involved verbally specifying in detail the activity in which the family member was engaged. The quantitative coding involved assigning the appropriate numerical value in terms of the Family Role Code listed below. The statistical analysis of this variable involved computing the proportion of advertisements that depicted a particular family member in a particular family role. It should be remembered that one particular person in the advertisement can fill several family positions. For example, an adult male can fill the positions of husband (in relation to his wife), father (in relation to his children), and son (in relation to his parents).

Family Role Code

- 0 = Personal care
- 1 = Economic provision
- 2 = Household task
- 3 = Child-care
- 4 = Recreation
- 5 = Therapeutic

6 = Buying

7 = Gift giving

8 = Indeterminate

9 = Family member not depicted

Companionship. This variable measured those family activities which were shared and which family members shared in these activities. Although the specific shared activity was qualitatively indicated, such as bike riding, feeding infant, cooking, etc., the following categories of potentially shared activities were used to structure the quantitative coding of companionship: economic provision, household tasks, child-care, recreation, therapeutic, buying, and gift giving. The quantitative coding involved assigning a numerical value which corresponded to a particular combination of family members sharing in the activity. The statistical analysis of this variable involved computing the proportion of advertisements that depicted particular family members sharing particular activities.

Intimacy. Closely alligned with the issue of companionship is intimacy in family life.*4 This variable, however, differs from companionship in the sense that companionship, at least as used in this analysis, necessarily implies a shared activity of some kind whereas intimacy does not. For example, a husband and wife may share the activity of watching television together (companionship), but may do so by sitting in separate chairs (less intimate) or closely holding each other (more intimate). Similarly, they may be engaged in separate activities: the husband watching television and the wife reading a book (lack of companionship) in either the same room (more intimate) or in separate rooms (less intimate).

This variable was measured by drawing on one of the basic premises of Levinger and Gunner's (1967) "Interpersonal Grid;" that premise being that the horizontal distance between persons is a measure of intimacy. As Argyle (1975:311) says, "the degree of liking felt towards another is communicated by physical closeness." Several studies (Carlson and Price, 1966 and Little, 1965) have empirically supported the validity of this measure of

4. Both the companionship and intimacy variables are concerned with the "separateness-connectedness" dimension of family life as explained by Hess and Handel (1959).

intimacy.

The Family Intimacy Index presented below was used to code this variable. The choice of distances designated for each level of intimacy is adapted from the work of Hall (1959). The determination of the physical distance between family members in the advertisement was not based on actual measured units, because of scaling problems, but rather on subjective evaluations by the author. It should be noted that there is disagreement in the literature concerning whether physical distance is a measure of intimacy, or of status, or of both. For example, Sommer (1961) and Lott and Sommer (1967), using physical distance as a measure of status, found that those of unequal status were placed further apart at tables, while peers were seated closer together. Since both sides of the argument, physical distance = intimacy versus physical distance = status, are supported by empirical evidence and since both make logical sense, choosing one over the other seems justified. Furthermore, in support of the physical distance = intimacy side, Mehrabian (1969:363) points out, that,

Sommer's (1967) review of status relationships and spatial arrangements suggested that perhaps body orientation of communicators, rather than the distance between them is a more important variable for the communication of status relationships.

Family Intimacy Index

1 = Non-Intimate (4 1/2 feet or more between each other)

2 = Intimate (within 4 feet of each other, but not touching each other)

3 = Very Intimate (touching each other)

Family formality*5 Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (1975) defines formality as "ceremonial, prim, and characterized by punctilious respect for form." Drawing on this definition, family formality deals with the degree of "reserve," "stiffness," or "stuffiness" exhibited by the family members in an advertisement. The measurement of this variable was in many ways similar to the decision as to whether or not an advertisement depicted family members. Again, it is the author's contention that viewers of advertisements "know" when they are looking at a family scene which is formal. However, again, certain clues were used to bring a degree of objectivity as well as precision concerning the degree of family formality to the measurement of this variable. The following items indicative of formality were tabulated if present in the advertisement:*6

5. I wish to thank Dr. Fred Samuels for suggesting this variable as part of the content analysis. Contrary to my initial opinion, it proved to be most interesting and useful.

6. Other indicators of formality such as facial expression and body posture, although important, were not amenable to coding from advertisements and therefore were not used. See Chapter VIII for a further discussion of this issue.

For Males

tie
 formal hat
 suit
 cane
 ascot
 white gloves
 ruffled collar

For Females

gown or fancy dress
 fancy hat
 white gloves
 high heels
 parasol
 muffler
 furs
 jewelry
 ornate hair style

It is important to point out that these items were not determined beforehand, but rather they emerged out of the content analysis. The Family Formality Score involved dividing the number of formal items in the advertisement by the number of family members depicted.

Qualitative and Quantitative Analysis

According to Fogel (1975:333), in his article on the limits of quantitative methods in history:

The majority probably hold with Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. that 'almost all important questions are important precisely because they are not susceptible to quantitative answers.'

Certainly there has been strong resistance by historians to the introduction of quantitative methods into their discipline, but Schlesinger (1962:770) goes too far.*7 Implicit in his statement is the idea that all historical questions which are susceptible to quantitative methods are unimportant.

7. For a discussion of this resistance, see Rutman (1973).

Sociologists tend toward the other extreme with an emphasis on quantification. Of course, neither the strict qualitative researcher nor the strict quantitative researcher is correct if they blindly refuse to admit that each method has its advantages and disadvantages as well as research questions to which each is best suited.

In the present study, both a qualitative and a quantitative approach were used. An example will illustrate the importance of using both methods whenever possible. A strictly quantitative analysis of these advertisements indicated that, for example, fathers since 1920 were increasingly depicted as being involved in child-care. Furthermore, even though this is a nominal level variable, with the use of dummy variables it was possible to estimate the strength and statistical significance of this relationship, something which would be quite impossible with qualitative data. However, it was only with the use of qualitative data that it became evident that fathers were increasingly depicted in only certain aspects of child care, in particular the play aspects as opposed to the physical care aspects. In short, quantitative data is necessary for purposes of statistical analysis, but this must be weighted against the inevitable loss of information. Qualitative data, on the other hand, is rich in descriptive information, but lacks the ability to be analyzed statistically. Therefore, and to reiterate, both approaches should be used whenever possible.

Statistical analysis. When choosing appropriate statistical techniques the issue of levels of measurement is of central concern. Below are listed the levels of measurement for the variables in the present study:

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Level of Measurement</u>
Historical time	Interval
Family life cycle	Ordinal
Number of male children	Ratio
Number of female children	Ratio
Family roles	Nominal
Family companionship	Nominal
Family intimacy	Ordinal
Family formality	Ratio

Certain statistical techniques are appropriate to use with variables at certain levels of measurement. For example, Pearson's correlation coefficient is, strictly speaking, to be used only with variables which are at least interval level or better. It is precisely this issue of strictness which is of concern to Labovitz (1972) in his discussion of the "sacred cows and rituals" in sociological use of statistical techniques. Labovitz (1972) makes two points which are pertinent to the statistical analysis in the present study.

First, he suggests that nominal level variables be reconceptualized in order to raise them to ordinal level. This allows for the use of more powerful statistical techniques. Whether or not this can be done with all nominal

level variables is another question, but the point here is to discuss why this author conceptualizes family life cycle as an ordinal rather than a nominal level variable.

Some may view the measurement of family life cycle stages as involving a nominal level of measurement. After all, is there a mathematical relationship between the different stages? Does a family which is in the post-parental stage have more of whatever it is that is being measured than a family which is in the pre-parental stage? Taking Labovitz's (1972:22) suggestion to reconceptualize nominal level variables in order to raise them to the ordinal level, this author's answer to the above questions is "yes." Families at later stages of the family life cycle have passed through more stages than families at earlier stages.

The second suggestion which Labovitz (1972:23) makes which is pertinent to the present study is to treat ordinal level variables as though they were interval level, again thereby allowing the use of "more powerful, sensitive, better developed, and interpretable statistics." This can be done because certain statistical techniques are robust, that is, they maintain their logically deduced interpretations even when their assumptions have been violated (Labovitz, 1972:19). *8

8. However, see Mayer (1971) for a discussion of the dangers of treating ordinal data as interval data.

Briefly, the following routines, Cross-Tabulation, Breakdown, and Analysis of Variance, available on the computer program Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), were used in the statistical analysis. The purpose of this analysis was to determine the presence, strength, and significance of relationships between the independent variables (historical time, family life cycle stage, number of male children, number of female children) and the dependent variables (family roles, family companionship, family intimacy, family formality).

Although more specific details will be given in later chapters concerning which techniques were actually used for analyzing the presence, strength, and significance of relationships between specific variables, mention should be made about what this author considers to be a major contribution of the present study. The major thrust of this study was to analyze changes in the depiction of family roles, companionship, intimacy, and formality in magazine advertizing over time and over the family life cycle. This in itself is an important contribution to the literature because of the general lack of an historical and family life cycle approach to these aspects of family life. In addition, the present study, through the use of analysis of variance, was able to investigate the separate effects of historical time while holding family life cycle stage constant and visa versa. For example, the present study was not only concerned with changes in the image of husband-wife

intimacy since 1920 or with changes in the image of husband-wife intimacy over the family life cycle. It was also concerned with changes in the image of husband-wife intimacy over the family life cycle since 1920 and with changes in the image of husband-wife intimacy since 1920 at specific family life cycle stages. Elder (1977) speaks to this issue in part when he says that to understand the impact of historical change on family life, it is important to know how this change affects families at different life cycle stages.

CHAPTER IV

FAMILY ROLES

At present one almost hesitates to write about family roles. After all much has already been written, although as previously discussed this research has suffered from several limitations. There are in family sociology, as in most other sciences, topics which are "in topics" and those which are not. Family roles is presently an "in topic;" therefore, anyone writing on the subject runs the risk of being criticised on several grounds. For example, one might be accused of unthinkingly jumping on the bandwagon. (If this author is guilty of this then so be it, but it should be noted that once upon the bandwagon some very critical thinking took place.) Secondly, one might be accused of restating what "we all have already read before in studies using different data sources." If the reader finds himself making such a criticism then it is a perfect example of triangulation as a method of validation. However, one will also find new information concerning family roles in this chapter.

Along this line of new ideas, findings which, although not often significant according to the "sacred .05 level," will be presented and discussed. This is done for three reasons. First, there is often something quite significant about non-significant findings, particularly if they go

against established theory. This does not mean that established theory should be discarded simply based on one study. Rather, these non-significant findings serve a useful purpose in bringing about a more critical evaluation of established theory. Secondly, in research dealing with change over time the lack of change is often significant. Thirdly, as Labovitz (1968:221) points out, in research "exploring a set of interrelations for the purpose of developing hypotheses to be tested in another study, a larger error rate will tend to yield more hypotheses." In other words, one does not want to bury potential hypotheses at the early stages of a research project simply because they fail to reach the "sacred .05 level" of significance. Therefore, those findings which are considered "important" will be presented and if significant at the .05 level or better will be discussed as such.*1

The plan of presentation throughout the remainder of this chapter is to discuss the activities which family members were depicted engaging in and how this depiction may have changed since 1920 and over the family life cycle.

1. Graphs and Tables illustrating findings are presented throughout the next chapters and are cited in the text.

Wives

Economic provision. Not surprisingly, wives were very infrequently depicted in economic provision. The ideology that a married woman's place is in the home is reflected in these advertisements. Of the 521 advertisements analysed only five portrayed working wives. Four of the five appeared in 1931 during the depression, a time when a working wife became an economic necessity for many. In addition, it is interesting to note that the jobs which these wives were engaged in allowed them to remain at home, so as not to interfere with their other duties such as child care and housework. For example, advertisements told wives that they could supplement their husband's income by making homemade candy and doughnuts which they could sell to their neighbors and friends. The values reflected in these advertisements are consistent with the behavior of working wives for the general time period around the 30s. As Rollins (1963:226) points out, in 1920 only 7.5 percent of the employed wives were working for money outside of their homes.

To further illustrate this idea that employment for married women shouldn't interfere with other home-bound duties, none of these five advertisements were of families at the second stage of the family life cycle, that is, when children are all under six years of age. This lack of support for employment of mothers with preschool children is contrary to the actual behavior of working wives at least

for the years between 1940 and 1960. Waite (1976:74) found that several variables, among them the presence of pre-school children, decreased in importance as predictors of married women's involvement in the labor force between 1940 and 1960. How can this contradiction between actual behavior and cultural values as expressed in advertising be explained? One possibility is that although the proportion of working wives has steadily increased since the turn of the century, cultural values, particularly those dealing with working mothers of pre-school children, have lagged behind. Social scientists have been struggling since at least the 1950s with the question of whether children of employed mothers are affected in any detrimental way. As a culture we seem hesitant to accept that evidence which suggests that there are no detrimental effects from mother-employment per se. In other words, we continue to emphasize the importance of the "mother-child bond" in our value system, regardless of the fact that "the largest recent increase in labor force activity has occurred for...mothers of pre-school children" (Waite, 1976:65).

Household tasks. A role which wives have been intimately involved with, at least as depicted in advertisements, is housework. Almost regardless of the housework activity involved, be it cooking, cleaning, shopping, decorating, etc., the wife is depicted because the home operation is primarily her responsibility. She is there essentially to meet the needs of other family members. If

Figure 2. Proportion of Advertisements Depicting Household Tasks of Wives, by Year.

$F = 2.564$ Sign. = .003 N = 332

one looks at the smiles on the faces of these advertised wives, one gets the impression that they go about their housework with a loving concern for their husbands and children.

The wife's involvement in housework as depicted in advertisements has decreased significantly since 1920 as can be seen in Figure 2. However, the decrease has not been consistent. Peak years for the depiction of wives involved in housework occurred in 1920, possibly as a result of the remnants of the Victorian Era with its emphasis on domesticity as one mark of a "true woman." Another peak year was 1945, possibly an indication of the nation's desire to return to normalcy after the Second World War.

Overall, however, wives have been decreasingly depicted in the role of housewife. This finding is consistent with Nye's (1976:99) assertion that housekeeping is a declining family role, but is contrary to the fact that wives continue to spend as many hours per week on housework as they did at the turn of the century, regardless of the technological advances in household appliances (see Bose, 1978 for an excellent discussion of this phenomenon). One reason for this contradiction between cultural values as expressed in advertising and the actual behavior of wives deals with the devaluing of the housewife role over the century. The phrase "just a housewife" is indicative of the lack of prestige attached to this form of work; and therefore, regardless of the fact that wives still find themselves

taking on most of the household tasks, the cultural values have shifted and, at least in advertising, this activity of wives is being deemphasized.

According to Lopata (1966), the wife's role in housework goes through a sequence of stages which correspond to different family life cycle stages. The first stage is referred to as the "becoming a housewife" stage. This is marked both by learning how to perform the housewife duties and by also internalizing this role as part of the wife's self-concept. From a structural-functional perspective, advertising may perform an important service by emphasizing housework at family life cycle stage one, that is pre-parental, thereby providing new wives with media role models to emulate. In fact, it is the pre-parental stage which evidenced the most emphasis on the wife's role in housework. Thereafter, there is a decreasing emphasis on the wife's role in housework over the family life cycle. Nonetheless, the fact that this decrease is not statistically significant indicates that housework remains an integral part of the wife's role throughout the family life cycle (Table C4).

Although the depiction of wives engaged in housework has decreased significantly since 1920, is it possible that these changes have occurred only for wives at certain family life cycle stages? Analysis of variance indicates that this decrease is most evident for the first three life cycle stages, that is, either when there are no children or when

Figure 3. Proportion of Advertisements Depicting Therapeutic Activities of Wives, by Year.

$F = 2.506$ $\text{Sign.} = .0049$ $N = 332$

there are still pre-school children present (2-way interaction, $F = 1.420$, $p = .048$). The depiction of wives at family life cycle stages four and five has not evidenced this decrease, essentially remaining constant since 1920. Therefore, it is the younger wife in particular whose role in housework has decreased in coverage in magazine advertising.

Therapeutics. Nye (1976:111) defines the therapeutic role as one which involves "assisting the spouse to cope with and, hopefully, dispose of the problem with which he is confronted." In the present study, advertisements showing family members comforting, sympathizing, or actively assisting another family member with a problem were coded in terms of the therapeutic role.*2 For example, an advertisement for a backache relief product showed a wife rubbing ointment into the husband's back.

How have wives fared in terms of the therapeutic role? Figure 3 indicates that since 1920 there have been significant but irregular changes. The wife's role in therapeutic activities, at least as depicted in advertising, is relatively obscure before 1931, but then shoots up dramatically only to return to pre-depression levels in 1936. After 1936 this role for wives is essentially ignored

2. Therapeutic activities performed by a parent for a child were coded under the separate category of child care.

Figure 4. Proportion of Advertisements Depicting Therapeutic Activities of Wives, by Family Life Cycle.

$F = 3.015$ Sign. = .03 N = 332

Figure 5. Proportion Depicting Recreation of Wives, by Year.

$F = 3.693$ Sign. = .0000 N = 332

for the remainder of the century.

Although only eight of the 332 advertisements depicting wives showed them in this therapeutic capacity, it is this very absence which brings into question Nye's (1976:111) assertion that the therapeutic role is emerging in American culture. If it is, then it is certainly not evident in magazine advertising. A more plausible explanation of this lack of emphasis on therapeutic activities in advertisements hinges upon the "sterilized" view of family life presented in advertising. Advertisements tend to shy away from the more disruptive aspects of family life and therefore the potential for therapeutic activity by wives is decreased.

In terms of family life cycle changes and wives' involvement in therapeutic activities, Figure 4 indicates a significant curvilinear relationship. Wives are depicted as being much more involved in such activities in relationship to their husbands during the pre-parental and particularly the post-parental stages. It seems that when children come on the scene, wives no doubt because of their increased involvement in child-care, are less likely to be therapeutic towards husbands.

Recreation. According to Orthner (1975:91) "there has been a shift in values toward acceptance of leisure as a legitimate...life goal." The present analysis indicates that for wives, recreation has been given significantly increased attention in advertising since 1920 (Figure 5). Not surprisingly, a low point occurred during the depression

years when the portrayal of wives engaged in leisure activities would have been more likely to have been viewed as frivolous and irresponsible.

What sort of recreational activities are wives depicted as engaging in? For most of the time period wives are depicted in what might be called the more "home-bound" activities such as reading, knitting, and gardening. However, around 1975, probably in part as a result of the feminist movement and the "back to nature" fad, there is a dramatic shift to more active recreational activities such as hiking, tennis, camping, fishing, and swimming.

Looking at family life cycle changes, advertisements stress recreation for wives throughout the life cycle, but there is nonetheless a non-significant increase over the family life cycle with high points at stages four and five, that is when all the children are either over six years of age or are no longer living at home (Table C5).

The number of children was found to have an inverse effect on the likelihood of wives being depicted in recreational activities (Table C1). Given the fact that there was a significant direct relationship between family life cycle and the number of children, the fact that wives at later stages of the family life cycle were more likely to be depicted in recreational activities would seem to be a contradiction. However, it must be remembered that the relationship between family life cycle and the depiction of wives engaged in recreational activities was not

Figure 6. Proportion Depicting Economic Provision of Husbands, by Year.

F = 2.793 Sign. = .001 N = 332

Figure 7. Proportion Depicting Economic Provision of Husbands, by Family Life Cycle.

statistically significant. Therefore, the inverse effects of the increasing number of children over the family life cycle may be offset by the increased freedom which wives experience as they relinquish child-care responsibilities as children grow older.

Why there is less emphasis on recreation for wives at the pre-parental stage is not clear, especially since, as Orthner (1975:101) points out, both husbands and wives view leisure activities as critical to marital satisfaction at this stage of the family life cycle. An answer to this question may be supplied by looking at whether it is only during certain family life cycle stages that wives are increasingly depicted in recreational activities. Analysis of variance results indicate that although there is a general increase for all stages, the most dramatic increase occurred during the pre-parental stage. Therefore, there is a significant interaction effect ($F = 1.735$, $p = .004$) between historical time and family life cycle. The emphasis which Orthner's (1975) present day respondents place on recreation during the pre-parental stage may have gone through an evolution since 1920, at least as depicted in advertising.

Husbands

Economic provision. Similar to the emphasis placed upon household task performance for the wife, the cultural values expressed in magazine advertising have made it very clear that it is the husband's responsibility to support the

family financially. Husbands are portrayed not only working, but are also shown investing their money and taking part in forced savings plans through their place of employment. The message behind these ads is that "your family is depending on you for financial security." This of course is not a message which is communicated to husbands just through the mass media; it is also built into the legal system. Weitzman (1975:534) points out, for example, that

A wife is never held responsible for the support of her husband in two-thirds of the states, and in the remaining minority of states, a wife is held responsible for her husband's support only if he has become incapacitated or a public charge.

This emphasis in advertising on the husband's responsibility to provide financially has not, however, been constant since 1920. Essentially, as indicated in Figure 6, there have been two peaks one in 1936 and the other in 1970. The low point comes in 1945 and is easily explained by the fact that the "work" for men at this time was still being thought of largely in terms of national defense. One common factor which may explain the emphasis on employment for husbands during 1936 and 1970 is simply the fact that the former was a period of economic depression and the latter a period of economic recession. In this sense financial provision was on the minds of the populace and may have simply made good advertising copy, nonetheless reflecting cultural values.

Along with the idea of husbands being responsible for providing financially for their families, it is interesting to note that most of this emphasis is placed upon husbands depicted in family life cycle stage two, that is when all children are under six years of age (Figure 7). No doubt this is when many husbands begin truly to experience the pressure of financial responsibilities, that is, when children first come on the scene. Advertisements then reflect this concern of young husbands beginning families. After this peak at stage two, there is a significant decrease in the emphasis placed on the husband's role in economic provision. At the post-parental stage, this aspect of the husband's role is essentially ignored, indicating that at least one of the main motivations for husbands working, that is supporting children, is no longer operating. Of course, advertisements at the post-parental stage emphasize the benefits to be gained by having prepared financially for retirement, but the message is always that this is a responsibility that ought to have been met at earlier stages of the family life cycle.

As far as whether the emphasis on economic provision for husbands during times of economic depression (1936) or economic recession (1970) was evident for husbands at all family life cycle stages, analysis of variance indicates that there was a similar peak during these two time periods for husbands at all stages except the post-parental. Again, it is evident that a major motivation for husbands to work,

and in particular during times of economic strain, is the responsibility to financially support children. Given the absence of children, even an economic depression is seen as relatively less of a dilemma.

Household tasks. To no one's surprise, housework has not been an aspect of the husband's role which has experienced much emphasis (Table C6). The data indicate that in general husbands are not often depicted as engaging in housework, and as Goffman (1976:105) points out, those husbands that are shown are often portrayed as inept at it. The reasons for this general lack of emphasis on housework and for the "bumbling husband portrayal" are several. First, this is indicative that as a culture we have not seen housework as an integral part of the husband's role. Secondly, it may be that because housework has been such an integral part of the wife's role, although decreasingly so, that the cultural values, similar to the actual behavior of wives themselves (Safilios-Rothschild, 1972:65), are hesitant to allow husbands to become too involved in what is essentially considered "women's work."

Although both Ballweg (1967) and Kerckhoff (1964) found that husbands take on increased responsibility for household tasks after retirement, the present analysis did not find a similar increase in the emphasis on this role for husbands in the post-parental family life cycle stage (Table C7). Of course retirement and post-parental are not equivalent concepts, but even among the advertisements which indicated

that the husband was retired, there was not a noticable increase in the participation of husbands in housework.

One would have also expected an increase at this stage based on Powell's (1963:232) finding that husbands in families with adolescent children did less housework because these older children "took up the slack" so to speak. When these adolescent children are gone, that is, in the post-parental stage, one might expect husbands to "take up the slack." Such is not the case, at least as reflected in advertising. Actually, comparisons across different stages of the family life cycle may be quite meaningless based on the present data since there is a highly insignificant relationship between the depiction of husbands engaged in housework and family life cycle. Overall, one would conclude that housework for husbands has not been an integral part of their role since 1920 regardless of the family life cycle stage, at least as reflected in magazine advertising.

Therapeutics. Similar to the lack of emphasis placed upon therapeutic activity for wives, there was even less emphasis on this activity for husbands,. Of the 332 advertisements portraying husbands, only two (1931 and 1940) involved husbands in such a capacity.

Given that we are dealing with few cases here (eight for wives and two for husbands) it is interesting to point out that consistent with Levinger's (1964:447) finding that wives initiate socially supportive interaction more often,

Figure 8. Proportion Depicting Recreation of Husbands, by Year.

F = 4.534 Sign. = .0000 N = 332

wives more often than husbands were depicted as engaging in therapeutic activities.

In terms of family life cycle changes, again the low number of cases makes it impossible to draw any substantial conclusions. Nevertheless, the fact that the two advertisements depicting husbands in this role both occur in families in the pre-parental stage is consistent with the findings for wives. That is, husbands and wives, although infrequently portrayed in therapeutic activities in relationship to each other, are never depicted in this capacity when children are on the scene.

Recreation. Similar to advertisements depicting wives, recreation has become an increasingly important aspect of the husband's role. As can be seen in Figure 8 there has been a significant increase in the portrayal of husbands engaged in recreation since 1920. Not surprisingly, the low points in the portrayal of this activity occurred during the depression years of 1931 and 1936 when recreation by husbands may have been looked upon as frivolous and irresponsible.

Although there are no significant differences in the depiction of husbands engaged in recreation over the family life cycle, it is the fourth stage, that is, when all the children are over six years of age, which evidenced the greatest emphasis on recreation (Table C8). It may well be that at this stage husbands, as well as wives, not only are thought to have the increased time and freedom to devote to

recreation due to the education system taking over much of the responsibility for child-care, but also the increased income as compared to earlier stages.

Again, similar to wives' involvement in recreation, the number of children was found to have an inverse effect on the recreation of husbands (Table C1). Since there is a significant increase in the number of children throughout the family life cycle, the fact that husbands are more often depicted in recreation at stage four may seem a contradiction. However, the inverse effects of the increasing number of children may be offset by the fact that older children may rely less on their father for recreation, thereby freeing time for his own recreational activities.

Husbands were portrayed in more sedentary forms of recreation such as gardening, reading, listening to the radio, and viewing television up until 1960. Afterwards, husbands were more likely to be found in such activities as biking, tennis, skiing, sailing, and camping. This may be indicative of the emphasis on physical fitness which started during the Kennedy years and continued ever since.

The fact that the more active forms of recreation were emphasized earlier for husbands (1960) than for wives (1975) is indicative of the notion that men are more athletic than women. In fact, it may be that recreation in general has been thought of as a more important component of the husband's role than the wife's throughout the life cycle. Analysis of variance indicated that the increased emphasis

Figure 9. Proportion Depicting Child Care of Mothers, by Year.

F = 4.335 Sign. = .0000 N = 261

on recreation for husbands since 1920 is evident and about equally strong for all family life cycle stages with the exception of stage three (2-way interactions, $F = 1.454$, $p = .037$). Wives on the other hand showed the least dramatic increases in emphasis on recreation in advertisements depicting families at the last two stages of the family life cycle (2-way interactions, $F = 1.735$, $p = .004$).

Mothers

Child-care. Since 1920 it has been the mother in advertising who has been primarily responsible for child care. The reason for this emphasis on women as child-caretakers stems in large part from popular notions concerning the basic nature of women. It was believed by many and in fact, continues to be a question of debate, as to whether women aren't "naturally" better child-caretakers than men. Talk of "mother instinct" and similar concepts were drawn upon to explain and legitimize this responsibility.

However integral child-care may have been to the women's role in the family, as can be seen in Figure 9, it has been significantly less emphasized in advertising since 1920. Surprisingly, the greatest emphasis on child-care appeared in 1931 at a time when the birth rate was at one of its lowest points. Possibly, this emphasis can be explained by the prevailing attitudes which suggested that married women ought to be at home rather than employed and taking

jobs away from men who "really needed them." The "baby boom" years show no dramatic upswing in the emphasis on child-care, although they are higher than subsequent years. Overall, it is the shift away from defining a women's role in the family largely in terms of motherhood that explains the decrease in emphasis over time.

There is another change in the depiction of mothers in advertising. Although mothers, as compared to fathers, have always been depicted as more involved in the physical care aspects of parenthood such as feeding, bathing, and dressing, the play aspects of child-care became more prevalent for mothers over time. For example, mothers are depicted engaging in the following recreational activities with their children: traveling, picnicking, listening to the radio, watching television, and playing "board" games. This is consistent with Wolfenstein's (1952) analysis of popular child-rearing manuals and what she called the emergence of a "fun morality" in child-rearing.

The distinction between physical care of children by mothers and playing with children by fathers is a distinction which Titus (1976:527) found in her analysis of family photo albums. Mothers were much more likely than fathers, for example, to have been photographed feeding the baby. According to Nye's (1976:51) analysis, the normative expectations expressed by his respondents, support this idea that mothers are considered more responsible for the physical care aspects of parenthood. Consistent with these

Figure 10. Proportion Depicting Child Care of Mothers,
by Family Life Cycle.

$F = 3.058$ Sign. = .0289 N = 261

normative expectations, Nye's respondents reported that mothers were, in fact, more likely than fathers to carry out the physical aspects of child-care.

No difference was noted in the likelihood of mothers being portrayed as engaging in child-care with female versus male children. This is undoubtedly a result of the physical care type of child-care activities which mothers are more likely to be depicted in. That is, all children regardless of sex require such services as feeding, dressing, etc. However, the number of female children was found to have an inverse effect on the mother's likelihood of being portrayed in child-care (Table C2). As will be seen later, it is the older female child's greater likelihood being portrayed as helping mother with child-care which explains this relationship.

When looking at changes in the portrayal of the mother's role in child-care over the family life cycle, one finds a significant decrease in emphasis, as can be seen in Figure 10. Analysis of variance indicated that this relationship between mother's role in child-care and family life cycle remained the same over the time period 1920 to 1978 (2-way interaction, $F = 1.510$, $P = .07$). No doubt, this is a result of the lessening need of physical care for children as they grow older. Since it is the physical care aspects which mothers have predominated in, it is not surprising to see this decrease over the family life cycle; and it is precisely older children whom mothers are more

Figure 11. Proportion Depicting Child Care of Fathers, by Year.

$F = 1.763$ Sign. = .05 $N = 200$

likely to be depicted as playing with. In other words, when it comes to the play aspects of child-care, mothers are more likely to be depicted in this capacity later in the family life cycle.

Fathers

Child-care. As alluded to several times in the discussion of the mothers's role, fathers are more likely to be depicted in the "play" aspects of child-care. Looking at the time period since 1920, the overall portrayal of fathers engaged in child-care has been emphasized significantly less, with the height of depiction having occurred in 1931 during the depression (Figure 11). It will be remembered that the depression year of 1931 was the high point for the depiction of mothers involved in child-care activities also. Assuming that advertisements reflect family life values, it seems evident that caring for other family members was an important issue on people's minds at a time when they could count on little other than their families.

Child-care activities for fathers in 1931 did not differ from the child-care activities of fathers in other years. Essentially, they are "play" aspects of child-care, for example, traveling and playing with model trains. An exception to this idea of recreational child-care which occurred throughout the time period investigated deals with fathers helping children with homework. Here we can see a reflection of the popular belief that men exceed women intellectually.

In order to explain the emphasis on play aspects of child-care for fathers one must go beyond simply positing that mothers were given responsibility for physical care and, therefore, fathers were allocated the recreational duties. Slater (1961:305) suggests that fathers have become "pals" to their children because a strict father is dysfunctional in the 20th century nuclear family arrangement where the relationship between fathers and their children is potentially fragile due to the father's "absence from the home during most of the child's waking hours." It is precisely the fact that fatherhood has been defined largely in terms of providing financially for the children (Maxwell, 1976:387) which explains in large part their lesser involvement in the physical care aspects of parenthood: they simply aren't around.

The family life values concerning the father's role in child-care which are reflected in advertising are consistent with research concerning actual behavior of fathers. Parke and Sawin (1976:368), for example, found that although fathers are just as capable as mothers to physically care for infants, they are less likely actually to engage in such activities. Similarly, Rendina and Dickerscheid (1976:373) found that fathers are more involved in what they refer to as "social activities" than in the physical care of infants.

Advertisements since 1920 fairly consistently have depicted fathers as about twice as likely to be playing with sons as opposed to daughters (Table C3). This finding is

consistent with Rendina and Dickerscheid's (1976:376) finding that fathers of male infants were more involved than fathers of female infants in overall participation. Therefore, it is not simply that fathers play with male children because they find male recreational activities more agreeable. Rather, there appears to be a preference on the part of fathers for at least playing with male children even when they are infants.

This idea of fathers playing with infants brings up the question of possible changes in the father's role in child-care over the family life cycle. According to the depiction of such activities in advertisements, fathers do not significantly change their involvement in such activities over the life cycle (Tables C9 and C10). However, regardless of the family life cycle depicted or the time period, the number of children is related inversely to the father's involvement in child-care; that is, as the number of children increases, particularly the number of female children, child-care for fathers is less emphasized (Table C2). Given the fact that the number of children increases over the family life cycle, one might assume that there is a contradiction between the lack of significant change in fathers' involvement in child-care over the family life cycle and the fact that such a depiction is inversely related to the number of children. The explanation is that the father's involvement in child-care is influenced by different factors at different stages of the family life

cycle. In the early stages when children require more physical care, fathers are less likely to be portrayed. In the later stages, when the play aspects are stressed, the father's involvement is inversely affected by the increasing number of children. The overall pattern is an apparent lack of significant change in the father's involvement in child-care.

Siblings-Offspring-Grandchildren

The family positions of siblings, offspring, and grandchildren have been combined here because their roles are essentially the same, at least as depicted in advertising.

Brothers-sons-grandsons. In their positions as brothers, sons, and grandsons, male family members are depicted overwhelmingly in recreational activities. The cultural values reflected in advertising support the contention that this is the "century of the child." As Aries (1962) points out, the concept of childhood has been an emerging one, with the family becoming increasingly child-centered. The notion of children as something other than miniature adults is a relatively recent development, and the emphasis on depicting young brothers, sons, and grandsons in play activities illustrates this notion of childhood as a distinctive stage in the life cycle with expected behaviors unique to it.

This emphasis on recreation for male siblings, offspring, and grandchildren has been prevalent over the entire period since 1920 and, in fact, has become increasingly the case, although not significantly (Tables C11 and C13). Not only have brothers, sons, and grandsons been consistently depicted in recreational activities since 1920, they are also depicted as such consistently over the family life cycle (Tables C12 and C14).

As for the actual recreational activities engaged in by brothers, sons, and grandsons, there has not been any substantial change since 1920. Some of the more popular activities were reading, camping, biking, television viewing, and playing with model trains.

Sisters-daughters-granddaughters. The picture is essentially the same for sisters, daughters, and granddaughters; that is, they are depicted as engaged primarily in recreational activities, and this picture has not changed significantly since 1920 or over the family life cycle (Tables C15, C16, C17 and C18).

However, when comparing the recreational activities of female children with those of male children, one finds some differences, although not as much as one might expect given recent complaints about sex role stereotyping in advertising. Both male and female children are depicted in such activities as camping, reading, traveling, picnicking, and playing tennis. The reason for this non-sexist depiction is that brothers and sisters often are shown

jointly participating in these activities. As Irish (1964:282) points out, "brothers and sisters spend many hours together and share a wide range of activities." At the same time there was a certain amount of sex role stereotyping: girls playing with dolls, and boys playing with trains. However, it is the similarity in the recreational activities of male and female children, rather than the differences, which stands out.

Although both male and female children are most likely to be portrayed in recreational activities, female children are more likely than males to be depicted in household task performance and child-care. Neither of these activities for female children was depicted in great abundance (ten advertisements for household tasks and two for child-care), but the occurrence was more numerous than occurred for male children (seven for household tasks and zero for child-care). Not only were female children more likely to be portrayed in these activities than male children, but also the activities themselves were quite sex stereotyped, with girls doing such jobs as cooking and cleaning, while boys were involved in the "heavy work" such as yard work and carrying fire wood.

In terms of family life cycle changes in the depiction of female children doing housework, significantly nine of the ten advertisements portray families at the fourth stage, that is, when all children are over six years of age (Figure 12). This is consistent with Powell's (1963:234) finding

Figure 12. Proportion Depicting Household Tasks of Daughters, by Family Life Cycle

$F = 7.476$ Sign. = .0007 N = 218

that household tasks are often passed on to adolescent children rather than husbands.

Grandparents

One of the desired contributions of the present study was an analysis of the cultural values since 1920 concerning the family position of grandparent. As Neugarten and Weinstein (1964:199) point out,

Despite the proliferation of investigations regarding the relations between generations and the position of the aged within the family, surprisingly little attention has been paid directly to the role of grandparent.

Unfortunately, the present study can shed little light on this issue except to say that, given that advertisements reflect cultural values, grandparents have not been considered important family members, at least since 1920. This statement is based on the fact that only 17 grandmothers and nine grandfathers were depicted in the 521 advertisements analysed. Possibly the emergence of the modified-extended family explains part of the absence of grandparents, and yet as Adams (1968) points out, interaction with extended kin continues to be an important component of family life. In addition, as Robertson (1976:140) found, grandparents continue to be seen by grandchildren as important sources of gifts, family history, and emotional gratification. Clavan (1978:351) sheds some light on this issue when she points out that there are no normative rights and obligations attached to the role of grandparent. Therefore, with little agreement on what such

a role entails, it may be difficult to depict in advertising.

A closer look at the activities grandparents are depicted engaging in will provide further explanation as to why they appear so infrequently. Essentially both grandmothers (11 out of 17 cases) and grandfathers (6 out of 9 cases) are depicted primarily as playing with their grandchildren. This is consistent with the findings of Robertson (1977:171) who found that the three activities which grandmothers engaged in most frequently were babysitting grandchildren, playing with grandchildren, and visiting grandchildren. Neugarten and Weinstein (1964:199) explain this emphasis on play as a result of the fact that grandparents in our culture are removed from family authority positions. In fact, as Robertson (1977:171) suggests, grandmothers may fear that parents view too much interaction with grandchildren as meddlesome, intrusive, or inappropriate. This in itself may explain the low frequency with which grandparents appear in advertising. Finally, Clavan (1978:353) offers additional explanation of this low frequency, when she points out that the middle-class is less marked by "functional centrality." This refers to the degree to which extended kin are integrated into everyday family life. Since the advertisements used in the present study reflect middle-class values, one would expect less attention paid to grandparents because of their lesser "functional centrality."

Even though grandparents were not portrayed frequently, one would have expected them to appear more frequently earlier in the century. Contrary to this expectation it is both interesting and surprising to note that grandmothers were depicted most frequently (six times) in 1977. Grandfathers, on the other hand, were portrayed most frequently in 1925 (three times). What this indicates about the importance of grandmothers and grandfathers since 1920 is difficult to say, given such a small data set.

Consistent with Robertson's (1977:173) suggestion that the role of grandmothers (and no doubt grandfathers as well) changes with the age of the child, the present analysis indicates that grandparents were more likely (10 out of 17 cases) to be depicted interacting with families at the second stage of the family life cycle, that is, when all children are under six years of age. This can be explained by the fact that, as families progress through the family life cycle, grandparents become increasingly sparse due to death; and also that the young grandchildren whom they once babysat and played with have grown and now have interests of their own.

Summary

Since 1920 the portrayal of wives in magazine advertising has evidenced a change in terms of an increased emphasis on recreation and a decreased emphasis on household task performance. The depiction of their role in economic provision and therapeutics has remained essentially the

Illustration 3. Mother's Role in Physical Care of Children.

Children AT PLAY
OFTEN GET LITTLE CUTS AND
SCRATCHES. WHEN THEY DO
AND CUTS NEED BANDAGING...

USE A READY-
MADE BAND-AID
INSTEAD OF FUSSING
AROUND WITH AWKWARD,
HOME-MADE BANDAGES

BAND-AID IS NEAT AND
CONVENIENT. JUST STICK ONE ON...
AND IT STAYS...EVEN ON HARD-TO-
BANDAGE PLACES. BUY A BOX TODAY
AND HAVE IT READY.

← 19¢ FOR 36
ASSORTED SIZES

Johnson & Johnson
BAND-AID
REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.
ADHESIVE BANDAGES

(Life, 1940, Vol. 8, Jan. 29, p. 72)

Illustration 4. Father's Role in Play Aspects of Child Care.

Now. Get behind an A&C Grenadier.

His first electric train set...and you finally got it to work. The look on his face tells you this is an unforgettable moment. Now's the time to relax with an unforgettable cigar—the mild tasting A&C Grenadier. You get real flavor from the Grenadier because it has A&C's unique blend of fine imported and choice domestic tobaccos. And real flavor is the reason so many men are buying so many A&C's. So get behind an A&C Grenadier. Available in light or dark wrapper, it's shown full size on the left. Or try a Panetela, a Tony or one of nine other A&C shapes and sizes.

Antonio y Cleopatra

Pack or box, you're ahead behind an A&C.

(Life, 1970, Vol. 68, March 13, p. 16)

same. In terms of the family life cycle, there have been no significant changes in the wives' involvement in housework, recreation, or economic provision. However, the presence of children at family life cycle stages two, three, and four is associated with a decrease in the wives' involvement in therapeutic activities toward their husbands.

In spite of the fact that economic provision for husbands has been emphasized more strongly during some time periods than others (particularly during times of economic stress), it has always been emphasized more than the wife's responsibility for this role. Overall, one would have to conclude that the cultural values continue to support the idea that economic provision is an integral part of the husband's role; however, it is not all work and no play. Recreation has been increasingly emphasized since 1920 and both this role and economic provision have been emphasized throughout the family life cycle. On the other hand, household task performance and therapeutics have received little attention as aspects of the husband's role, at least as depicted in magazine advertising.

Overall, mothers still are more likely to be depicted in the physical care aspects of parenthood, while fathers are more likely to be involved in the play aspects (see Illustrations 3 and 4). The mother's involvement in child care did show a decrease; however, it does not seem to have decreased because of any compensating increase in the father's involvement.

The decreasing emphasis on child care for fathers since 1920 brings into question the emergence of fatherhood which one hears so much about lately. However, it is possible that this emergence is too recent to have been reflected in magazine advertisements. There were no significant changes in the portrayal of fathers engaged in child care over the family life cycle, but mothers were portrayed decreasingly in the physical care aspects and increasingly in the play aspects over the family life cycle.

When it comes to the roles of siblings, offspring, and grandchildren, one thing is very clear: since at least 1920, their roles have overwhelmingly involved recreation. In addition, the family life cycle stage depicted made little difference. This has truly been at least the "half-century" of the child.

Finally, the role of grandparents received surprisingly little attention even during the earlier time periods. Those advertisements that did include grandparents portrayed them as involved primarily in child care, in particular, those advertisements depicting families at stage two, when all children are under six years of age.

In conclusion, when one takes a look at the changes in the depiction of family roles in magazine advertising since 1920, one is immediately struck with the fact that certain roles have changed somewhat while others have remained essentially the same. Change then, in the cultural values concerning family roles, is not a unidimensional concept.

In addition, some of these changes have been more dramatic for families at particular stages of the family life cycle. However, when one looks at the "three pillars" of family roles, that is, economic provision, household task performance, and child care, the changes do not suggest any dramatic shift toward a more egalitarian family role structure. This is not surprising, since it is the familial aspect of sex roles which seem to change the slowest (Roper and LaBeff, 1977:118) and which males and females seem in large agreement on (Osmond and Martin, 1975:744).

CHAPTER V

FAMILY COMPANIONSHIP

Companionship in the present study is defined as joint activities, that is, activities which family members share. In much of the previous research the notion of companionship has dealt largely with leisure activities. Although companionship in recreation is dealt with in the present chapter, companionship in other aspects of family life is also discussed. One reason for including these other aspects of family life under a discussion of companionship is that as Edgell (1972:457) points out,

When companionship is defined solely in terms of shared leisure, it is not surprising to find that...companionship declines after the courtship stage and notably after the birth of the first child.

Therefore, by extending the potential range of activities, one might well find that companionship in certain aspects of family life actually increases over the family life cycle or remains essentially the same.

Husband-Father/Wife-Mother Companionship

Household Tasks. As discussed in the preceding chapter, household tasks have been depicted as primarily the responsibility of the wife. However, other family members, in particular husbands, have been portrayed as sharing in these activities. For example, husbands and wives are shown sharing in cooking, cleaning and particularly in the "maintenance" aspects of housework such as painting. This

Figure 13. Proportion Depicting Husband-Wife Companionship in Household Tasks, by Year.

F = 5.322 Sign. = .0228 N = 133

Figure 14. Proportion Depicting Husband-Wife Companionship in Household Tasks, by Family Life Cycle.

$F = 7.022$ $\text{Sign.} = .0091$ $N = 133$

sharing of household tasks by advertised husbands and wives has increased significantly since 1920, thus indicating a change in the cultural norms towards a more companionate form of marriage at least in terms of household task performance (Figure 13).

Although husbands and wives have been increasingly depicted as sharing household tasks since 1920, there is, as can be seen in Figure 14, a significant decline in this sharing over the family life cycle. That is, those advertisements which do depict housework are more likely to portray husband-wife companionship in this activity for families at the earlier stages. Analysis of variance showed no significant interaction effect, indicating that this relationship held for all years under investigation (2-way interactions, $F = .471$, $p = .944$).

In order to explain the decrease in husband-wife sharing of housework over the family life cycle, it is helpful to look at the effect that the number of children has on the relationship. As the number of children increases, regardless of their sex, husband-wife companionship in housework decreases (Table D1). Although children are not portrayed frequently as sharing household tasks with their parents, it seems that the very presence of children decreases the likelihood of husbands and wives sharing this activity. Possibly, this is a reflection of the fact that when children come on the scene, particularly older children, they serve as a new batch of potential "recruits" to help the wife with what is considered

essentially her responsibility.

Another possible explanation of this decrease in husband-wife sharing of household tasks over the family life cycle is that the overall egalitarian pattern, more common among pre-parental couples, is gradually replaced by a more differentiated division of labor in the family when children come on the scene, regardless of whether the children share in household tasks or not.

Child-care. As pointed out in the previous chapter, mothers have been depicted as primarily responsible for the physical care aspects of parenthood while fathers have been depicted as primarily involved in the play aspects. Therefore, magazine advertising has painted a picture of both mothers and fathers being responsible for child-care, albeit in terms of different activities. But, what of shared child-care activities? Has there been any change in husband-wife companionship in child-care since 1920?

The evidence from the present study indicates that no significant change has taken place in husband-wife companionship in terms of overall child-care activities (Table D2). The pattern, however is interesting. One of the high points occurred in 1936 during the depression. Possibly an emphasis on family cooperation during this stressful time explains the increase. One might assume that husband-wife companionship in child-care would have been high during the baby boom years between 1945 and 1955. However, although not significantly lower than other years

analysed, the years 1945, 1950, and 1955 were among those which least emphasized husband-wife sharing of child-care. After the baby boom years there is increased emphasis, most of these subsequent years being among those which emphasized husband-wife companionship in child-care the most.

It may be that the increased emphasis only appears when the children of the baby boom have grown older. This explanation is supported by the fact that most of the advertisements portraying husband-wife companionship in child-care involved the play aspects of parenting. That is, when sharing of this responsibility was depicted it usually showed mother and father playing with the children rather than physically caring for them.

It is this emphasis on the play aspects which may explain the lower emphasis during the baby boom years. When the children are young and require more physical care, mothers and fathers are less likely to share in child-care, activities. However, as a majority of the children of the baby boom reached the point (around the beginning the sixties) where recreation made up a larger portion of parents involvement in child-care, mothers and fathers were increasingly portrayed as sharing in this activity.

Further support for this explanation is provided by the analysis of variance results. When one looks at the changes in mother-father companionship in the play aspects of child-care since 1920, there is a significant interaction effect ($F = 1.886$, $p = .009$) with family life cycle. The

Figure 15. Proportion Depicting Husband-Wife Companionship in Recreation by Year.

F = 9.664 Sign. = .0020 N = 418

increase is particularly noticeable for the stages of the family life cycle when the children are older, that is, stages four and five (Table D3).. This finding is supported by Stone's (1963:85) results showing that adolescents, regardless of their age, wish to share recreational activities with their families.

Recreation. It is this aspect of husband-wife companionship which has received the most attention in the literature. Blood and Wolfe (1960:150), for example, found that companionship is the most valued aspect of marriage. Their measure of companionship is essentially an index of shared leisure activities. Even though Blood and Wolfe (1960:147) suggest that companionship has "emerged" as the most valued aspect of marriage, their cross-sectional data can neither support nor refute such a contention.

The present longitudinal analysis indicates, as can be seen in Figure 15, that advertisements since 1920 have increasingly emphasized shared recreational activities between husbands and wives. This significant increase has been fairly consistent except for a dramatic decline in 1931 during the depression, followed by a gradual increase until the war years when a slight decline is noted. After 1945 the increased emphasis on husband-wife companionship in recreation is fairly consistent. This increase over time is in part a result of women becoming increasingly involved in the more athletic forms of recreation such as camping, tennis, and skiing. Therefore, there is a greater range of

Figure 16. Proportion Depicting Husband-Wife Companionship in Recreation, by Family Life Cycle.

F = 345.496 Sign. = .0000 N = 418

recreational activities potentially shared with husbands.

Blood and Wolfe's (1960:147) contention that shared husband-wife recreation has emerged as a more important aspect of married life is supported, at least as reflected in magazine advertisements. The fact that "the combination of relatively late marriage, short life expectancy, and high fertility rarely allowed for an 'empty nest' stage" in the nineteenth century (Hareven, 1976:17), explains in part this emergence of shared recreation between husbands and wives. Put simply, husbands and wives have more years to devote to such activities after the "child-launching" stage.

Analysis of variance indicated a significant interaction effect ($F = 4.124$, $p = .000$) between family life cycle and the passage of time. The increased emphasis on shared husband-wife recreation was most noted among families at the pre- and post-parental stages of the family life cycle (Figure 16). This is consistent with the curvilinear relationship found in much of the research concerning general marital satisfaction over the family life cycle (Rollins and Cannon, 1974). As Burr (1970:29) points out, however, there are various aspects of marital satisfaction potentially affected differently by passage through the family life cycle. Specifically, in terms of satisfaction with husband-wife companionship in recreation, Burr's (1970) finding that satisfaction tends to be curvilinear is consistent with the present findings. That is, husbands and wives not only report greater satisfaction with shared

recreation during the pre- and post-parental stages, but the cultural values reflected in magazine advertising suggest that this is an integral part of conjugal relationships at these stages of the family life cycle.

The present findings are somewhat inconsistent with Orthner's (1975) analysis of husband-wife leisure activities. He found that "joint leisure activities" decreased over the family life cycle and did not show a curvilinear relationship. This inconsistency may be explained by several factors.

First, Orthner (1975) is dealing with actual behavior and the present study deals with cultural values. However, in addition, there are differences in the measurement of several variables in the two studies which may explain the discrepancy.

For example, Orthner (1975) differentiated between joint and parallel leisure activities, whereas these two types of shared leisure were combined in the present study. Orthner (1975:93) explains that,

Joint activities require a high degree of interaction for successful completion of the activity and tend to open communication and encourage role interchange. Parallel activities are little more than individual activities in group settings and a minimum of interaction is allowed among the participants.

He found that joint leisure activities decreased over the family life cycle, while parallel leisure activities remained about the same. By combining these two types in the present study, the decrease in joint activities may be

masked by the relative stability of parallel activities.

Possibly even more important than the issue of joint versus parallel leisure in explaining the discrepant findings is the fact that Orthner's (1975:95) measure of the family life cycle, or what he refers to as the "marital career," does not control for the number of children. Therefore, it is quite possible that even during the first and last stages of the "marital career" children might be present. This was not the case in the present study; and therefore, the curvilinear effects attributable to the presence or absence of children are more evident.

Rollins and Cannon's (1974:281) explanation of the curvilinear relationship between marital satisfaction and family life cycle would apply also to the curvilinear relationship between the depiction of husband-wife companionship in recreation and family life cycle.*1 Their explanation is based on role theory and they state that

It seems reasonable that it would be during periods of time when the number and intensity of roles of an individual are greatest that role conflict, role incompatibility, and the amount of activity that is normatively prescribed in a

1. Cautionary arguments concerning the curvilinear relationship between family life cycle and marital satisfaction have been raised by Spanier, Lewis and Cole (1975), Miller (1975), and Schram (1979). Schram (1979) discusses several confounding variables which may be involved in producing this curvilinear relationship. For example, the fact that dissatisfied couples are likely to be selected out through divorce before reaching later stages of the family life cycle needs to be taken into account.

person's life would be at a maximum. These data along with role theory suggest that role strain would be greatest and marital satisfaction least at the middle stages of the family life cycle and role strain would be least and marital satisfaction greatest at both ends of the family life cycle.

It seems likely that the increased family responsibilities which occur when children come on the family scene might well lead to a role overload situation, thereby simply leaving less time available for shared husband-wife recreation. Further support for this position is supplied by the fact that, in the present study, as the number of children increased, regardless of their sex, emphasis on husband-wife companionship in recreation decreased.

Parent-Child Companionship in Recreation.

The magazine advertisements strongly reflected the cultural value that the "family that plays together stays together." In fact, in terms of companionship, parents are depicted as sharing in little with their children other than recreation. Occasionally, a child is shown sharing in housework or child-care, but this is the rare exception.

As Nye (1976:132) points out, there has been "little research that focuses on the interaction patterns associated with family recreation," and yet it is apparently an important aspect of family life. For example, Nye (1970:137) found that a large proportion of spouses agreed that responsibility to provide for family recreation ought

to be either the husband's, the wife's or a joint responsibility. In other words, which family member organizes family recreation is less important than the fact that someone does it. The overabundance (80 percent) of advertisements depicting family members sharing recreational activities is also evidence of its importance to family life.

Has this importance attached to family companionship in recreation always been with us? Orthner (1975:91) points out that earlier studies (Ogburn, 1934; Parsons and Bales, 1955) claiming a decline in the recreational function of the family have been supplanted by studies suggesting the importance of such activities in family life (Foote and Cottrell, 1955; Hobart, 1963; Edwards, 1967; Damazedier, 1967; and Kelly, 1972). Is it not possible that both positions are correct and were in fact tapping the emergence of the recreational role which Nye (1976) alludes to? After all, as Nye (1976:131) points out, "longer paid vacations, shorter work weeks, and more three-day weekends provide increased time for recreational activities."

The present analysis, since it relies on longitudinal data, can more adequately address the issue of whether or not companionship in recreation has emerged as a more important aspect of family life than Nye's (1976) study. When one looks at the depiction of such activities in magazine advertising, one finds that there has been a significant increase in emphasis on shared recreation for

Figure 17. Proportion Depicting Mother-Father-Son-Daughter Companionship in Recreation, by Year.

Figure 18. Proportion Depicting Mother-Father-Son-Daughter Companionship in Recreation, by Family Life Cycle.

$F = 19.634$ Sign. = .0000 N = 288

the entire nuclear family unit (Figure 17).

This significant increase in emphasis on shared family recreation has not, however, been the same for all family life cycle stages. There is a significant interaction effect ($F = 1.886$, $p = .009$) between the historical passage of time and the family life cycle, with families at stage three showing the most dramatic increase since 1920. This is due to the fact that the relationship between companionship in recreation and the family life cycle is significantly curvilinear (Figure 18). Little shared recreation occurs between parents and children when all the children are below six years of age (stage two), no doubt because the range of possible recreational activities is more limited relative to those available to older children and their parents. However, at stage four, when all the children are over six years of age, there is a decrease in shared recreation, although nowhere near the low level of families at stage two. Possibly the children of families at stage four are thought to have many more outside interests of their own.

This notion of "recreational activities of their own" is particularly noticeable when one looks at the sharing of such activities between parents and their adult children, that is, families at life cycle stage five. The one predominant recreational activity which parents are portrayed as sharing with their adult children is visiting, particularly during holiday seasons. Thus, advertisements

Figure 19. Proportion Depicting Brother-Sister Companionship in Recreation, by Year.

$F = 7.069$ $\text{Sign.} = .0082$ $N = 288$

show extended families happily gathered around the Thanksgiving turkey or birthday cake. Several studies (Nimkoff, 1961; Adams, 1968; and Ward, 1978) support this contention that a major form of shared recreation between parents and adult children is what Adams (1968) refers to in his analysis of urban kinship patterns as "ritual reunions."

In addition, as the family moves through the life cycle there is an increase in the number of children portrayed. This increase in children allows for more of a potential shift away from parent-child companionship in recreation to sibling companionship in recreation.*2

Siblings Companionship in Recreation

Is there a tendency to depict particular sexed siblings sharing recreation? The evidence indicates that, overall, same sexed siblings seem to be preferred. That is, brothers prefer sharing leisure activities with brothers and sisters with sisters.

However, when one looks at Figure 19 it is evident that cross-sexed sibling companionship in recreation has become significantly less desirable since 1920. This negative relationship between brother-sister companionship in

2. As mentioned in the previous chapter concerning mothers' and fathers' roles in child-care, it was found that fathers were about twice as likely to be shown playing (a form of child-care) with sons as opposed to daughters. Mothers on the other hand, are just as likely to be found playing with children of either sex.

Figure 20. Proportion Depicting Brother-Sister Companionship in Recreation, by Family Life Cycle.

recreation and the passage of time is significantly less noticable for those portrayed in families at stage three, that is, when some children are under six years of age and others are over (Figure 20).

An analysis of the sex of the older sibling in these situations indicated that males were more likely to be the older sibling. What we may be seeing here is an emphasis on the big-brother/little-sister syndrome, where the older sibling is looked upon as a source of companionship as well as protection. This is not to suggest that brothers and sisters at either stages two or four cannot differ in age, but rather that the distinguishing characteristic between siblings at stage three is more a matter of one child having entered school (a major rite of passage) and the other not having done so. In other words, it is the fact that one sibling is somehow more "worldly" than the other and is looked up to which may explain the greater likelihood of cross-sexed companionship in recreation being portrayed at this stage of the family life cycle.

A counter argument to this might be that cross-sexed siblings, both of whom are at either stage two or four, might have more in common and therefore be more likely to share recreation. In terms of stage four it may well be the ever-increasing sex differentiated activities of male and female siblings which explain the decrease in cross-sexed sibling companionship in recreation. As to why an essentially identical decrease occurs for cross-sexed

Illustration 5. Lack of Family Companionship in Household Tasks.

HOW A CASE OF THE SNIFFLES SET MRS. FRENCH FREE!

How to enjoy 52 workless washdays a year...

Forget the old-fashioned idea that washing should be done at home. Times have changed—today you couldn't begin to be the washing specialist that your laundry is.

The laundry industry has spent millions on research in the last five years. They've studied the effects of different types of soap and different water temperatures on all types of fabrics, all colors. They've spent a king's ransom on modern equipment.

Today the laundry takes as good care of your things as you would. And many women admit that they can't match the laundry when it comes to beautiful finishing of blankets, curtains and shirts. So take a vacation from washday... call your laundry today. There's a service and price to fit your needs.

IN 1940

LET FREEDOM RING

Why struggle with home-washing...
DO YOU KNOW...

That while you may divide your wash 3 ways; white clothes, colored clothes and fine fabrics; today's laundry makes up to 15 classifications... each of which gets separate treatment?

That even the water used for rinsing clothes is softened scientifically?

That while you may use 2 or 3 changes of water, standard practice today calls for up to 13 changes for each wash?

Illustration 6. Family Companionship in Household Tasks.

Scott, 8; Mr. Cygan; Rick, 11; Doug, 6; Mrs. Cygan.

"My new dishwasher just had to be a Maytag," writes Mrs. Cygan.

"How could I pick anything else?"

"After all, my other Maytags have gone 11 rugged years with only one repair."

"My husband and I didn't have to think twice about what kind of dishwasher to get," says Mrs. Mary Cygan of Mundelein, Illinois. "Not after the way our dependable Maytag Washer and Dryer have performed."

"This Maytag Dishwasher of mine is such a work-saver," continues Mrs. Cygan. "I don't rinse even the heavily-soiled dishes. I scrape off the big scraps, and in they go. You should see how clean they come out."

There's a reason a Maytag gets dishes cleaner without pre-rinsing, Mrs. Cygan. Maytag's exclusive Micro-Mesh™ Filter keeps the water cleaner through the whole cycle. And only Maytag has a full-size spray arm on top, as well as one below. More water action, from more sides, means more cleaning power!

Another nice Maytag convenience is huge capacity. A Maytag can do dinner dishes for a big family in one load. (For a small family, this means you only have to wash dishes once a day.)

Maytag gives you a choice of built-in or portable dishwashers in a variety of contemporary colors. The built-in also comes in stainless steel and with a Trim Kit that lets you decorate the front panel with your own fabric, wallpaper, or wood paneling. See them soon at your Maytag Dealer's. He's in the Yellow Pages.

Naturally, we don't say all Maytags will equal the record Mrs. Cygan wrote about. But dependability is what we try to build into every Maytag.

Mrs. Cygan chose a built-in dishwasher, but Maytags come in portable models, too.

MAYTAG
THE DEPENDABILITY PEOPLE

(Life, 1970, Vol. 68, Feb. 13, p. 47)

siblings at stage two seems to be explained by the fact that often one of the children portrayed at this stage is still an infant and therefore the possibility of shared recreation is limited.

Summary

As shown in Illustrations 5 and 6, the present findings support the often made contention that companionship has emerged as a more important aspect of family life. This increase in the importance of companionship among family members was reflected by several of the ways that companionship is depicted in magazine advertisements.

In terms of husband-wife companionship, it was found that increased emphasis was placed on companionship in household task performance since 1920, particularly for families at the earlier stages of the life cycle. Companionship in the "play" aspects of child-care was also found to increase since 1920, particularly for families at stages three and four of the family life cycle. Companionship in recreation also increased since 1920, particularly during the pre- and post-parental stages.

When it came to parent-child companionship, recreation was the activity overwhelmingly emphasized. The slogan "the family which prays together, stays together," can be rephrased for magazine advertising as the family that plays together, stays together. In fact, this has been increasingly emphasized since 1920, particularly for families at stage three of the family life cycle.

Finally, same-sexed sibling companionship in recreation was found to be the preferred pattern and has not changed significantly since 1920 or over the family life cycle. However, cross-sexed sibling companionship in recreation was found to have become increasingly less popular over time.

In conclusion, the cultural values reflected in magazine advertising suggest that family companionship has become increasingly important, particularly companionship in recreational activities. As Orthner (1975:101) says,

The ability of leisure to influence the family may be increasing and if the family is moving toward companionship as a source of marital solidarity, then the leisure factor is of critical importance.

CHAPTER VI

FAMILY INTIMACY

Intimacy between family members is something which contemporary Americans tend to take for granted, although as Shorter (1975) and others have made clear, intimacy as a characteristic of family life may be of relatively recent origin. In addition, intimacy has been viewed as having become increasingly characteristic of family relations. For example, Burgess, Locke, and Thomes (1945) speak of the family evolving from institution to companionship.

The point of their discussion is that increasingly family behavior has become a function of "mutual affection and consensus of its members" rather than "mores, public opinion, and law." (Kerckhoff, 1972:22).

The literature on family intimacy suffers from a lack of conceptual clarity. For example, the terms companionship and intimacy have at times been used interchangeably. This would be less of a problem if at least the concept, whatever one chooses to call it, were operationalized in a consistent fashion. One finds however, that some of the measurement techniques used tend to combine aspects of both companionship and intimacy under the same summary score and then refer to it as an index of either companionship or intimacy.*1.

*1. See Straus and Brown (1978) for a source of techniques which measure family intimacy and companionship. In particular, J. L. Hawkins' "Marital Companionship Scale" and R. G. Tharp's "Marriage Role Dimensions" seem to suffer from this problem.

What exactly is family intimacy and how does it differ from companionship? It is this author's contention, and drawing on Webster's 'New Collegiate Dictionary' (1975), that companionship refers to the act of "keeping company or associating with" another through some shared activity. Intimacy, on the other hand, refers to the degree of "closeness, contact, or familiarity" between two people regardless of whether or not they are sharing an activity. Therefore, the fact that family members are sharing activities does not necessarily imply that they are on intimate terms with each other. In other words, it does not necessarily imply that there is a strong bond between them, that they care deeply for each other, or that they self-disclose to each other, all of which are indicators of intimacy between family members.

Of course, in the present analysis, such indicators of family intimacy are unavailable and therefore the physical distance between family members in the advertisements was used as an indicator of family intimacy.*2 To illustrate the difference between companionship and intimacy, and to illustrate the use of physical distance as a measure of intimacy the previously used example is offered again. Family members can share the activity of watching television together (companionship) either by sitting in separate

2. See the discussion of Levinger and Gunner's (1967) "Interpersonal Grid" on page 36 for an explanation of such a measure of family intimacy.

Figure 21. Mean Husband-Wife Intimacy Score by Year.

chairs (less intimate) or by holding each other closely on the couch (more intimate). Similarly, family members can engage in separate activities, for example, the husband reading and the wife writing letters (lack of companionship) either by sitting in separate chairs (less intimate) or by sitting closely together on the couch (more intimate).

Husband-Wife Intimacy

Some, such as Smith (1973) suggest and provide evidence that as a result of industrialization males became increasingly less dependent on the necessity to inherit land from their fathers in order to support themselves. In addition, industrialization provided females with an increasing potential to support themselves. As a result of these alternative sources of economic rewards, mate selection become increasingly based on romantic motives. Also, as Chudacoff and Hareven (1979) point out, contrary to the experience of 19th century families, most 20th century families experience an "empty nest" stage where husband-wife intimacy takes on a new importance. Added to this is the fact that the state increasingly took over some of the instrumental functions which the family had previously been responsible for, the expressive dimension of husband-wife relationships increased in importance.

The present findings are consistent with this notion of increased intimacy between husbands and wives. As can be seen in Figure 21, husband-wife intimacy increased significantly in advertisements published between 1920 and

Figure 22. Mean Husband-Wife Intimacy Score by Family Life Cycle.

F = 11.999 Sign. = .0000 N = 325 Maximum Score = 3.0

1978. Overall, there was a consistent increase, except for the period 1940 to 1955. One might readily understand the decrease after 1940 being the result of the fact that many husbands were overseas fighting in the Second World War. However, why the downward trend continues beyond 1945 is not readily apparent. One possibility which suggests itself is that somehow the baby boom is involved. After all, the increased responsibilities for child-care might have a negative effect on husband-wife intimacy. In other words, it is possible that the cultural values reflected in magazine advertising during the period 1945 to 1955 emphasized parent-child intimacy more than husband-wife intimacy.

Support for such a contention is provided by the analysis of the relationship between husband-wife intimacy and the family life cycle. In the present analysis a significant curvilinear relationship was found between these two variables, with the pre- and post-parental stages evidencing the highest levels of husband-wife intimacy (Figure 22). Although there was also a significant negative relationship between the number of children depicted and husband-wife intimacy, it appears that the age of the children plays a part in the explanation. Husband-wife intimacy is greater at stage four, that is, when all the children are over six years of age, as opposed to stage three, that is, when some of the children are still pre-school aged which it is believed interferes with

husband-wife intimacy.

The dramatic increase in the depiction of husband-wife intimacy at the post-parental stage (higher than even the pre-parental stage) is consistent with Stinnett, Carter, and Montgomery's (1972:66) analysis of senior citizens' perceptions of their marriage. They found that "being able to express true feelings to each other" (an aspect of intimacy) was one of the most rewarding aspects of their respondents present marriage relationships. Similar results were obtained by Lipman's (1961) research "in which it was found that the expressive qualities...were seen by older couples as the most important things a couple could give each other in the latter years of marriage" (Stinnett, Carter, and Montgomery, 1972:669).

Finally, analysis of variance indicated that the increase in husband-wife intimacy since 1920 was found for advertisements portraying families at all life cycle stages (2-way interactions, $F = 1.177$, $p = .218$).

Parent-Child Intimacy

Given the fact that the portrayal of husband-wife intimacy has increased significantly since 1920, and given the fact that husband-wife intimacy decreased in the parental stages of the family life cycle, two questions come to mind. First, does the evolution of the family from institution to companionship (Burgess, Locke, and Thomas, 1945) also apply to parent-child relationships? Secondly, how is parent-child intimacy affected by the family life

Figure 23. Mean Mother-Son Intimacy Score by Family Life Cycle.

F = 9.564 Sign. = .0023 N = 180 Maximum Score = 3.0

cycle?

Parent-son intimacy. According to Martel's (1968:51) analysis of American magazine fiction published between 1890 and 1955, there has been a shift away from cross-sexed attachments towards same-sexed attachments within the family.

In 1890 close attachments are portrayed most frequently between mother-son, father-daughter, brother-sister and even uncles and nieces. By 1955, however, the shoe is on the other foot...

Such a finding suggests that a similar pattern might apply to mother-son versus father-son intimacy in advertisements. In the present study it was found that neither mother-son intimacy nor father-son intimacy changed significantly since 1920 (Tables E3 and E4). However, the results, although not significant, do corroborate Martel's (1968) findings. It was found that there was a fairly consistent, although not significant, decrease in mother-son intimacy between 1936 and 1955. At the same time, father-son intimacy remained essentially the same between 1931 and 1950, followed by a dramatic increase in 1955. It is precisely in 1955 that a dramatic fifteen year increase is noted in father-son intimacy, while mother-son intimacy remained essentially unchanged over the same time period.

Looking more closely at the mother-son relationship since 1920, it was found that there has been a consistently significant decrease in intimacy over the parental stages of the family life cycle (Figure 23). In terms of father-son intimacy a significant decrease was noted over the family

Figure 24. Mean Father-Son Intimacy Score by Family Life Cycle.

F = 3.436 Sign. = .0349 N = 144 Maximum Score = 3.0

life cycle (Figure 24). This is probably a result of the belief that as children grow older they extend their range of intimate relationships beyond the parent-child relationship. In this case, sons are no longer exclusively intimate with mothers and fathers, but now include friends and siblings into their circle of intimate contacts. Analysis of variance indicated that this decrease in mother-son intimacy (2-way interactions, $F = .799$, $p = .734$) and the lack of change in father-son intimacy over the family life cycle (2-way interactions, $F = 1.052$, $p = .410$) held for all years under investigation.

Due to the dearth of advertisements depicting adult-child/parent interaction, it is difficult to come to any conclusions concerning intimacy between adult sons and parents. Of course this lack of emphasis on parent-adult children interaction says something about the importance of intimacy between adult sons and their parents. However, such a conclusion is inconsistent with Cumming and Henry's (1961) finding that people between 50 and 80 years of age felt closer to their children than to siblings or spouses, and must therefore be accepted cautiously.

Parent-daughter intimacy. Similar to the findings concerning mother-son intimacy, there has been no significant change in mother-daughter intimacy as depicted in magazine advertising since 1920 (Table E5). While the findings concerning father-son intimacy somewhat supported Martel's (1968) results concerning the shift toward same

Figure 25. Mean Mother-Daughter Intimacy Score by Family Life Cycle.

F = 13.627 Sign. = .0003 N = 190 Maximum Score = 3.0

sexed family attachments, the present findings are somewhat contradictory. Similar to Martel's (1968) findings, there was an increase in mother-daughter intimacy between 1931 and 1950. At the same time, there was a general decrease in father-daughter intimacy over the same time period. However, while father-son intimacy continued to increase after 1955, mother-daughter intimacy decreased rather dramatically and fairly consistently after 1950. Therefore, the shift toward same-sexed family attachments which Martel (1968) found in his analysis of magazine fiction published between 1890 and 1955 seems to have continued only for father-son intimacy and not for mother-daughter intimacy, at least as depicted in magazine advertising.

As illustrated in Figure 25, there is a significant decrease in mother-daughter intimacy throughout the parental stages of the family life cycle. Analysis of variance indicated that there was a significant interaction effect ($F = 2.297$, $p = .001$) between family life cycle and historical time with the decrease over the family life cycle being stronger after 1950. Again, because of the dearth of advertisements portraying parent-adult children interaction it is impossible to make any judgment as to whether the cultural values support an increase in mother-adult daughter intimacy. The research of Adams (1968) suggests that there might. For example, he found that the motherer-adult daughter bond is strong (in fact stronger than the motherer-adult son bond) and is characterized by "role

Figure 26. Mean Father-Daughter Intimacy Score by Year.

F = 1.953 Sign. = .0400 N = 124 Maximum Score = 3.0

convergence," since now both mother and daughter have their housewife role in common.

The results concerning father-daughter intimacy are most interesting, although not readily explainable. As can be seen in Figure 26, there is a significant ten year cyclical pattern in father-daughter intimacy between 1920 and 1950, with 1920, 1931, and 1940 being the high points.*3 After 1950 the cyclical pattern appears to continue, but now in a fifteen year cycle. One wonders if somehow this pattern isn't a result of the taboo against fathers becoming "too close" to their daughters. Since the measurement of intimacy in the present analysis is based on physical distance such a possibility seems particularly plausible. That is, the cultural values reflected in magazine advertisements alternate between fathers being intimate with their daughters only to swing back again when fathers are perceived as being portrayed as "too close" to daughters. It would be interesting to compare father-daughter intimacy in magazine advertisements over the period 1920-1978 with advice concerning the father-daughter relationship in child-rearing manuals over the same time period. Even more interesting would be to compare father-daughter intimacy in magazine advertisements between 1920 and 1978 with public

3. The significance of the cyclical pattern between 1920 and 1950 is supported by spectral analysis which produced an auto correlation of $-.51$ for adjacent scores and an autocorrelation of $.83$ for alternate scores.

concern over incest, possibly measured through an analysis of newspaper coverage. At any rate, father-daughter intimacy was not found to change significantly over the family life cycle and the cyclical pattern over time was found to be consistent for families at all stages of the life cycle (2-way interactions, $F = .740$, $p = .768$).

Since parent-child intimacy was found to decrease significantly over the parental stages of the family life cycle, except for the father-daughter relationship (Table E6) and even this was in a decreasing direction, one might hypothesize that the portrayal of sibling intimacy might be replacing parent-child intimacy. It was found that parent-child intimacy did decrease significantly as the number of children increased regardless of their sex (Table E1). However, as will be seen in the next section, changes in sibling intimacy over the family life cycle apparently do not play a significant part in explaining the decrease in parent-child intimacy as depicted in magazine advertising.

Sibling Intimacy

Although research has found the parent-child relationship to be the closest, intimacy between siblings has been found to run a close second, particularly during certain stages of the family life cycle (Cumming and Schneider, 1961:499). Three questions concerning sibling intimacy were dealt with in the present study. First, have certain sibling combinations been portrayed as more intimate than others? Secondly, has the value on sibling intimacy

Figure 27. Mean Sister-Brother Intimacy Score by Year.

F = 4.262 Sign. = .0413 N = 125 Maximum Score = 3.0

always been with us? Finally, do values concerning sibling intimacy change over the family life cycle?

Several studies have found that the sister-sister relationship is closer than the brother-brother or sister-brother relationship, and that this bond, if anything, grows stronger later in life (Cumming and Schneider, 1961:499; and Adams, 1968). In the present study, magazine advertisements reflected the cultural value that all of the above sibling combinations ought to be equally close, although the sister-brother relationship was depicted as slightly closer than the other two. This cultural value did not change significantly since 1920 (Tables E7 and E9), except for the sister-brother relationship where a significant increase was found to have occurred, particularly since 1936 (Figure 27). This may be explained by the fact that as the desired number of children approached two, and preferably one of each sex, the cultural values increasingly supported cross-sexed sibling intimacy.

Those studies which have investigated sibling relationships have tended to concentrate on either sibling rivalry or on adult sibling relationships. Because of the "sterilized" viewpoint of family life which one gets in advertised families, the present study cannot speak to the issue of sibling rivalry except to say that it is not depicted. However, in terms of sibling intimacy throughout the family life cycle, results from the present study indicate that there was no significant change in

Figure 28. Mean Brother-Brother Intimacy Score by Family Life Cycle.

$F = 4.442$ $\text{Sign.} = .0419$ $N = 40$ Maximum Score = 3.0

sister-sister (Table E8) or sister-brother (Table E10) intimacy over the parental stages, and, if anything, there is a slight but consistent decrease for the sister-sister relationship. Possibly, and consistent with the research of Cumming and Schneider (1961) and Adams (1968), the sister-sister and sister-brother bond would have been portrayed as closer after adulthood if there had been more advertisements portraying adult sibling interaction. Yet, one wonders why, if adult sibling relationships are perceived as so important, they aren't emphasized more in magazine advertisements.

Figure 28 illustrates the fact that in terms of the brother-brother relationship a significant decrease in intimacy was found over the parental stages of the family life cycle. Again, the lack of advertisements portraying adult-sibling interaction makes it impossible to say much concerning the intimacy between adult brothers. In this case, however, the lack of emphasis is consistent with Adams' (1968) finding that the adult brother-brother relationship is less intimate than the adult sister-sister relationship because of males' concern with their occupations and their families of procreation.

Overall, the increasing number of siblings was found to decrease sibling intimacy, and significantly for sister-sister and brother-brother relationships (Table E2). Looking more closely at the sex of siblings, it was found, not surprisingly, that increases in the number of female

siblings heightened (although not significantly) sister-sister intimacy, ($r = .04$, $p = .410$), while increases in the number of male siblings significantly decreased sister-sister intimacy ($r = -.39$, $p = .0170$). Similarly, increases in the number of female siblings significantly decreased brother-brother intimacy ($r = -.36$, $p = .0123$), whereas increases in the number of male siblings significantly increased brother-brother intimacy ($r = .26$, $p = .0497$). Finally, cross-sexed sibling intimacy was found to decrease, although not significantly, as the number of siblings increased, regardless of their sex.

Summary

Over the period 1920 to 1978 intimacy between husbands and wives and between sisters and brothers was found to have increased significantly, at least as depicted in magazine advertising. The portrayal of intimacy between mothers and sons and between fathers and sons, although not changing significantly, did support the shift toward same-sexed family attachments which Martel (1968) found. Contrary to Martel's (1968) findings, mother-daughter intimacy, although increasing between 1920 and 1950, decreased thereafter. Father-daughter intimacy evidenced a cyclical pattern. Finally, sister-sister and brother-brother intimacy was found to have remained fairly constant over the time period covered.

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These consist of pages:

Newspaper advertisements

on pages 135, 136, 146,
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In terms of changes in family intimacy over the family life cycle, a curvilinear relationship was found for husband-wife intimacy, the high points occurring during the pre- and post-parental stages. Parent-child intimacy evidenced a decrease during the parental stages. Finally, no significant change in either sister-sister or sister-brother intimacy was noted, although a significant decrease was found in brother-brother intimacy over the family life cycle.

Overall, the evidence from the present chapter supports the contention that intimacy has increased as an important dynamic of family relations (see Illustrations 7 and 8), particularly for certain family relationships at certain stages of the family life cycle.

CHAPTER VII

FAMILY FORMALITY

Family formality refers to the "reserve," "stiffness," or "stuffiness" in family life. This is not a topic which has received much attention in family sociology. To the best of this author's knowledge this topic has not been dealt with empirically before, especially in an historical and family life cycle perspective. It is however, an aspect of family life which is interesting in and of itself, but also interesting because of its relationship to family companionship.

As was discussed in Chapter III, this variable was measured by tabulating the number of items indicative of formality in an advertisement and then dividing by the number of family members depicted. Such items included suits and ties for males and gowns and ornate hairstyles for women. There is a potential problem with such a measure of family formality in that the definition of such items as "formal" may be relative to particular historical periods. For example, men wearing ascots may appear to be a sign of formality now, but may not have been at some other time in history. A much more historically consistent indication of formality between family members would have involved an analysis of facial expressions and body postures. Such a procedure, however, was not amenable to use with magazine

Figure 29. Mean Family Formality Score by Year.

F = 40.124 Sign. = .0000 N = 521

Figure 30. Mean Family Formality Score by Family Life Cycle.

F = 13.425 Sign. = .0000 N = 521

advertising. This was particularly a problem earlier in the century when most advertisements were drawings rather than photographs. When one looked at the facial expressions of family members in these advertisements, one noticed a remarkable similarity across family members. Why? Because that was how that particular artists drew faces. In this case the variable wasn't varying. Another problem common to advertisements at all time periods was that often facial expressions were not discernable because only a portion of the face was shown or family members were turned away entirely. In terms of body postures, the problem was one of how to code family members whose entire torso was not shown. Because of these problems it was decided to rely entirely on the indicators of family formality discussed previously. The reader should, however, be aware of the potential problem of historical relativity discussed previously. Given these possible limitations the following findings are presented.

Family Formality Since 1920 and Over the Family Life Cycle

The data from the present analysis indicate that family formality has decreased dramatically, significantly, and consistently since 1920 (Figure 29). In other other words, family life has become more informal, at least as portrayed in magazine advertising.

The family life cycle, as can be seen in Figure 30, appears to affect family formality in a significantly curvilinear fashion with the parental stages being portrayed

Figure 31. Mean Family Formality Score by the Number of Children.

$F = 32.878$ $\text{Sign.} = .0000$ $N = 521$

as the most informal, particularly stages two and three when pre-school children are involved.

One must, however, be careful in drawing final conclusions concerning this relationship between family life cycle and family formality because of the measurement technique used. Since the number of "formal items" per advertisement was divided by the number of family members portrayed, there is the possibility that simply having more family members present will in and of itself decrease the formality score. For example, if you take a formal husband and wife and compute a formality score at either the pre- or post-parental stages, they score higher on formality as compared to the same husband and wife at the parental stages because of the additional family members now divided into the number of formality indicators. At the same time, these additional family members could have just as easily been depicted in a formal way thereby contributing to the total number of formal items. The problem here is that by using a summary family formality score, detail is lost concerning which family members are formal and which are not.

Further support for this argument is provided by the fact that as the number of children increased family formality decreased significantly (Figure 31). As convincing as this argument may seem, the analysis of variance results indicate that the stage of the family life cycle has an independent effect of its own on family formality. When the effects of the number of children is

controlled for, the curvilinear relationship between family formality and family life cycle remains significant ($F = 2.566$, $p = .037$). At the same time when the effects of the family life cycle are controlled, the inverse relationship between the number of children and family formality is no longer significant ($F = 1.511$, $p = .198$). Apparently then, it is the mere presence of children which contributes to a more informal atmosphere in family life as depicted in magazine advertising.

Finally, analysis of variance indicated that there was a significant interaction effect ($F = 1.488$, $p = .023$) between historical time and family life cycle and their effects on family formality. The decrease in family formality since 1920 was most noticeable among advertisements which depicted families at the parental stages of the family life cycle. A major part of the explanation for the decrease in family formality since 1920 has to do with the relationship between family companionship and family formality.

Family Formality and Family Companionship

As companionship has emerged as a more important component of family life, there has been a concomitant decrease in family formality. This increased emphasis on sharing in family life is very much tied up with the increased informality of family life. On the surface one might at first assume that it is simply easier to portray companionship between family members who are more informal.

This, however, is not the case since advertisements can and do portray family members sharing formal activities.

What relaly explains the relationship between family formality and family companionship is the fact that the recreational activities which family members share simply have changed from the more formal types such as visiting, dancing, and theatre-going, to the less formal types such as camping, tennis, and biking. The increasing equality between all family members is indicated by the increased companionship, and among equals informality is the rule.

Although no significant increase in mother-child or father-child companionship in recreation was noted as the level of family formality decreased, both brother-sister and husband-wife companionship in recreation increased significantly as family formality decreased (Table F1). Along with this notion of increased equality between family members as a clue to explaining the increased informality in family life, it is interesting to note that it is the parent-child companionships mentioned above which did not evidence a significant relationship with family formality. On the other hand, both brother-sister and husband-wife companionship did.

It seems quite plausible to suggest that those family relationships which have experienced the greatest movement toward equality, that is, brother-sister and husband-wife, both concerned with sexual equality, would be the ones most likely to be associated with family formality. Parent-child

relationships, on the other hand, involve not so much an issue of sexual equality but rather an issue of equality between those of discrepant ages. Although one hears much talk about children's rights, the notion of children being subserviant to their parents is still fairly well entrenched in our culture. This explains, in part, the lack of a significant relationship between parent-child companionship in recreation and family formality.*1

SUMMARY

Overall, the portrayal of family formality has decreased significantly since 1920 (see Illustrations 9 and 10) with the parental stages of the family life cycle evidencing the most informal portryal. A major part of the explanation for the increasingly informal picture of family life painted by magazine advertisers has to do with the increased sexual equality between similarly aged family members.

1. It was hypothesized that the increase in family intimacy since 1920 might also be involved in explaining the decrease in family formality over the same time period. After all, intimacy and formality seem to be antithetical components of family life. Such however, was not the case in terms of advertised family life. No significant relationships were found between family intimacy and family formality, except for a significantly curvilinear relationship ($F = 5.967$, $p = .0001$) between husband-wife intimacy and family formality. Here, husband-wife intimacy was found to be very high in either ads depicting very informal or very formal family scenes.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary of the Study

During the past 15 years, the study of family roles has taken on a new importance due in part to the growth of the feminist movement. Along with this emphasis on family roles, there has been much discussion among the general populace and social scientists concerning "how things used to be" and "how much things have changed." Yet, only recently have we begun to investigate such family related issues in an historical perspective. However, it is not only from a lack of historical evidence that the previous research on family roles suffers, but also from a disregard for family role change throughout the family life cycle, as well as an overemphasis on certain family members (in particular, the wife), and aspects of family life (in particular, household chores, child-rearing, and economic provision). The purpose of the present study was to analyze images of family life in magazine advertising and, in so doing, deal with these deficiencies.

Advertising in general interest magazines published between 1920 and 1978 served as the data source. Both the verbal and non-verbal components of the advertisements were used in the analysis. Advertising is considered a good

source of historical data on family life values because advertisers, in their efforts to sell a product, try to attract as many potential customers as possible. In order to do so, they must allow as many people as possible to "see themselves" in the advertisement. Also, advertisers have been involved in marketing research since around 1910 and, therefore, have been fairly sophisticated in their analysis and portrayal of basic American values. Finally, certain aspects of family life may be either too personal, too threatening, or simply unknown for more obtrusive measurement techniques to deal with effectively. However, as Goffman (1976:91) points out, "in advertised world we can look in on almost everything."

Each of the dependent variables was measured both qualitatively and quantitatively and was analyzed in terms of historical change since 1920 and family life cycle change. In addition, through the use of two-way analysis of variance, the present study was able to investigate the separate effects of historical time while holding family life cycle stage constant, and visa versa.

Briefly, the present analysis of family life values found that some aspects of family life have changed more than others, at least as depicted in magazine advertising.*1 The so-called movement toward more

1. The reader is referred to the individual summaries at the end of chapters IV through VII for a more indepth summary.

egalitarian norms concerning family life has certainly occurred, but the changes have not been undimensional. Values concerning certain aspects of family life were found to change at a different pace than those for other aspects of family life. Some changes were found to have occurred for certain family members but not for others. Also, some changes were found to be more pronounced for families at particular stages of the family life cycle. Finally, the change did take place was not necessarily linear. If one assumes that a more egalitarian form of family life (involving equal sharing of responsibilities and privileges, along with an increase in companionship, intimacy, and informality) is an ideal to strive for, then during certain periods since 1920 our value system, at least as depicted in advertising, has "slipped backwards."

Overall though, the movement toward such an egalitarian ideal in our cultural norms has been fairly substantial, particularly in terms of family companionship, intimacy, and formality. The area of family roles still appears to be a major stumbling block. To summarize the findings of this study in one sentence: one could say that the cultural values reflected in magazine advertising increasingly have supported the notion of family members as more companionate, intimate, and informal, although they continue to perform their traditional roles almost unchanged.

Limitations of the Study

Although this study was proposed to compensate for some of the limitations of previous research, it has several limitations of its own.

The first limitation is that analysis of magazine advertising gives one a reflection of values concerning the family,, but not a reflection of family behavior. Cultural norms act as a set of guidelines which usually are flexible enough to permit a fairly wide range of interpretation. Therefore, the present study tells us nothing about how family members actually behaved but does tell us what the cultural values were concerning family behavior.

One must also realize that only middle class cultural values are reflected. All of the general interest magazines analysed are middle-class publications, and therefore, this study tells us nothing about the family values of the lower or upper classes.

The remaining limitations all are concerned with the measurement techniques used in the present study. For example, even though the coding scheme was pre-tested and inter-rater reliability was tested, there is always the danger that some unconscious bias may have occurred on the part of the author, who was the sole coder. Value free sociology is a myth, but a myth which one ought to strive for. Possibly, a team of coders would have controlled better for any unconscious bias and, therefore, brought this study closer to being value free.

Another limitation is that the coding of child-care did not make it possible statistically to separate out the "physical care" versus "play" aspects. Luckily, play between parents and children was coded under the separate category of recreation, thus making it possible to deal statistically with the play aspects of child-care. When it came to discussing the quantitative changes in the physical care aspects of parenthood, one was left only with child-care scores which combined both the physical care and play aspects. In this case, a qualitative analysis of the data permitted distinction between these two aspects. Since this distinction proved to be so integral, future research should separate these aspects in a quantitative fashion.

The measurement of family intimacy, although theoretically sound, could have been improved by standardizing the measure of distance between family members. This is not to suggest that the subjective evaluation used was grossly unstable. In fact, the coding of distance into three major categories of intimacy undoubtedly compensated for any discrepancies in measurement across advertisements. The reason for not using a standardized technique such as actual measured inches was not only that different scales were used in individual advertisements, but also because of the problems brought about by having three-dimensional objects on a two-dimensional medium. Because the method used was thought to be more than adequate, such difficulties were avoided in

the present study. However, with the increased use and popularity of visual sociology, such methodological issues need to be addressed.

The final limitation discussed here involves the measurement of family formality. The first problem here is the possible "historical relativity" of the formality indicators. The issue is whether or not the indicators were valid during all time periods. Future research using visual data will need to deal with this potential problem. Work should be done to establish formality indicators which are not only amenable to visual data but also conceptually equivalent across historical time periods. Secondly, a summary family formality score does not allow a quantitative analysis of which family members became more or less formal. Rather, all that could be dealt with statistically were the changes in cultural norms concerning family formality in general.

Contributions of the Study

In spite of the limitations just discussed, the present study has made several contributions. First, in response to the lack of historical and family life cycle data on the aspects of family life analysed here, the present study serves as a data base of cultural values concerning family life.

Beyond simply serving as a data base, the present study has contributed to the development of sociological theory in terms of the functions which Merton (1948) discusses in his

classic article.

The serendipity pattern. This "refers to the fairly common experience of observing an unanticipated, anomalous and strategic datum which becomes the occasion for developing a new theory or for extending an existing theory" (Merton, 1948:506). In the present study several unanticipated, surprising and significant results were obtained. For example, the fact that father-daughter intimacy showed such a consistently significant cyclical pattern since 1920 begs for explanation and, therefore, may lead to the development of a new theory. Or, the fact that fathers were portrayed significantly less in child-care activities since 1920, may bring into question the notion that fatherhood has emerged as a more important role for men and, therefore, contribute to the revision of existing theory.

The recasting of theory. Here "it is not that the data are anomalous or unexpected or incompatible with existing theory; it is merely that they have not been considered pertinent" (Merton, 1948:509). The inclusion of a family life cycle approach in conjunction with an historical perspective in the present analysis is a contribution to the existing literature and, therefore, may potentially lead to the recasting of theory. For example, it was found that the portrayal of husband-wife intimacy has increased significantly since 1920, but, and here is where the recasting comes in, this was most noticable for the pre-and

post-parental stages of the family life cycle.

The re-focusing of theoretic interest. "This occurs chiefly through the invention of research procedures which tend to shift the foci of theoretic interest (Merton, 1948:511). In other words, research questions previously "unaskable" with existing techniques now become askable. Although neither the use of content analysis nor advertising as a data source is new, it is believed that the present study has contributed to the re-focusing of theoretic interest in particular by the use of the family intimacy index. The technique used in the present study is seen as a way of extending the potential use of Levinger and Gunner's Interpersonal Grid (1967) to historical materials. For example, now one might be able to analyse the degree of intimacy between family members in earlier historical periods possibly through the use of such a technique on paintings.

The clarification of concepts. "Empirical research exerts pressure for clear concepts" (Merton 1948:513). The present study has definitely made a contribution to the clarification of concepts. For example, the distinction between companionship and intimacy in the present study, although possibly not resolving the conceptual confusion concerning these terms in family sociology, has at least brought the issue to the fore and hopefully has contributed somewhat to this endeavor.

The unserendipity pattern. Although Merton (1948) does not discuss this function of empirical research on the development of sociological theory, it plays an important part. This refers to results which are anticipated, unsurprising, and significant. This can contribute to the development of sociological theory either by validating pre-existing "common sense knowledge" or by validating previous empirical findings (through the use of triangulation) which have played integral parts in existing theory. In other words, by obtaining results which are consistent with existing theory, one is contributing to the development of sociological theory by increasing our confidence in existing theory. For example, in the present study the fact that children were portrayed almost exclusively in recreational activities increases our confidence in the contention that this has been the century of the child.

Conclusions

To the extent that advertisements are a reflection of societal values, this study dealt with a number of areas of family life, which until now have been largely ignored or which have required further analysis. For example, this study goes beyond the usual emphasis on women's roles and looks at historical and life cycle changes in the contribution of all family members to family life. In addition, questions concerning such areas of family life as companionship, intimacy, and formality, not extensively

dealt with before in an historical or family life cycle perspective, were investigated. Also, measuring the separate effects of historical time and family life cycle on the above mentioned issues was possible through the use of two-way analysis of variance. Each of these procedures revealed important information and illustrate what family sociologists have learned--often the hard way--that widely-held assumptions about family life in the past need to be tested.

**APPENDIX B: ADVERTISING CODING SHEET AND
TABLES FOR CHAPTER III**

<u>Var. #</u>	<u>Variable Name and Code</u>	<u>Var.</u>	<u>Abbrev.</u>
1	Publication Year	- -	PYR
2	Advertisement Number	- -	AD
2A	Number of Male Children	- -	MC
2B	Number of Female Children	- -	FC
3	Family Life Cycle Stage	- -	FLCS
4	Magazine	- -	MAG
<u>Family Positions and Roles (Var. 5-18)</u>			
5	Wife	- -	W
6	Husband	- -	H
7	Mother	- -	M
8	Father	- -	F
9	Sister 1	- -	S1
10	Sister 2	- -	S2
11	Brother 1	- -	B1
12	Brother 2	- -	B2
13	Daughter 1	- -	D1
14	Daughter 2	- -	D2
15	Son 1	- -	S01
16	Son 2	- -	S02
17	Grandmother	- -	GM
18	Grandfather	- -	GF
<u>Companionship (Var. 19-25)</u>			
19	Economic Provision	- -	EP
20	Household Tasks	- -	HT
21	Child Care	- -	CC
22	Recreation	- -	R
23	Therapeutic	- -	T
24	Buying	- -	B
25	Gift Giving	- -	GG
<u>Intimacy (Var. 26-53)</u>			
26	Husband-Wife	- -	HW
27	Mother-Son1	- -	MS1
28	Mother-Son2	- -	MS2
29	Father-Son1	- -	FS1
30	Father-Son2	- -	FS2
31	Mother-Daughter1	- -	MD1
32	Mother-Daughter2	- -	MD2
33	Father-Daughter1	- -	FD1
34	Father-Daughter2	- -	FD2
35	Sister1-Sister2	- -	S1S2
36	Brother1-Brother2	- -	B1B2
37	Sister1-Brother1	- -	S1B1
38	Sister1-Brother2	- -	S1B2
39	Sister2-Brother1	- -	S2B1
40	Sister2-Brother2	- -	S2B2
41	Grandmo-Grandfa	- -	GMGF
42	Grandmo-Mother	- -	GMH

43	Grandmo-Father	-	GMP
44	Grandfa-Mother	-	GFM
45	Grandfa-Father	-	GFP
46	Grandmo-(grand) Son1	-	GHS1
47	Grandmo-(grand) Son2	-	GHS2
48	Grandmo-(grand) Daughter1	-	GMD1
49	Grandmo-(grand) Daughter2	-	GMD2
50	Grandfa-(grand) Son1	-	GFS1
51	Grandfa-(grand) Son2	-	GFS2
52	Grandfa-(grand) Daughter1	-	GFD1
53	Grandfa-(grand) Daughter2	-	GFD2
55	Formality Score	- -	FS

Table B1. Frequency and Percentage of Advertisements by Magazine

Magazine	Absolute Frequency	Percentage
American	173	33.2
Life	137	26.3
Time	120	23.0
Saturday Evening Post	46	8.8
Newsweek	45	8.6
Total	521	99.9

Table B2. Frequency and Percentage of Advertisement by Year

<u>Year</u>	<u>Absolute Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1920	40	7.7
1925	49	9.4
1931	39	7.5
1936	39	7.5
1940	34	6.5
1945	39	7.5
1950	45	8.6
1955	42	8.1
1960	50	9.6
1965	45	8.6
1970	37	7.1
1975	28	5.4
1977	34	6.5
Total	<u>521</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Table B3. Frequency and Percentage of Advertisements by Family Life Cycle

<u>Life Cycle Stage</u>	<u>Absolute Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1	130	25.0
2	121	23.2
3	94	18.0
4	131	25.1
5	<u>45</u>	<u>8.6</u>
Total	521	99.9

APPENDIX C: TABLES FOR CHAPTER IV

Table C1. Frequency and Percentage of Advertisements
 Depicting Wife and Husband Roles in Recreation by
 the Number of Children

Number of Children	Wives		Husbands	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
0	91	49.7	88	51.2
1	46	25.1	41	23.8
2	36	19.7	36	20.9
3	7	3.8	6	3.5
4	3	1.6	1	0.6
Total	183	99.9	172	100.3

Table C2. Percentage of Advertisements Depicting Mother and Father Roles in Child Care by the Number of Children

Number of Children										
	Male			Female			Combined			
	0	1	2	0	1	2	1	2	3	4
Mother (N=55)	34.5	54.5	10.9	38.2	54.5	7.3	63.6	29.1	5.5	1.8
Father (N=14)	21.4	71.4	7.1	64.3	35.7	0.0	85.7	7.1	7.1	0.0

Table C3. Frequency and Percentage of Advertisements
 Depicting Father-Son and Father-Daughter
 Companionship in Recreation by Year

Year	Father-Son		Father-Daughter	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
1920	1	2.50	2	5.00
1925	1	2.04	1	2.04
1931	1	2.56	0	0.00
1936	2	5.13	0	0.00
1940	0	0.00	1	2.94
1945	1	2.56	0	0.00
1950	1	2.22	1	2.22
1955	3	7.14	1	2.38
1960	2	4.00	1	2.00
1965	2	4.44	0	0.00
1970	3	8.11	1	2.70
1975	1	3.57	0	0.00
1977	0	0.00	0	0.00

N=521

Table C4. Frequency and Mean Household Task Score for Wives
by Family Life Cycle

<u>Life Cycle Stage</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Mean (Max = 1.0)</u>
1	129	.19
2	47	.11
3	45	.13
4	68	.10
5	<u>43</u>	<u>.07</u>
Total	332	.14
F = 1.541		
Sign. = .19		

Table C5. Frequency and Mean Recreation Score for Wives by Family Life Cycle

<u>Life Cycle Stage</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Mean (Max = 1.0)</u>
1	129	.50
2	47	.51
3	45	.49
4	68	.68
5	43	.63
Total	332	.55
F = 2.002		
Sign. = .09		

Table C6. Frequency and Mean Household Task Score for Husbands by Year

<u>Year</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Mean (Max = 1.0)</u>
1920	22	.05
1925	30	.07
1931	19	.00
1936	20	.00
1940	19	.00
1945	20	.05
1950	28	.07
1955	28	.07
1960	38	.13
1965	36	.03
1970	24	.04
1975	22	.05
1977	26	.00
Total	332	.05

F = .933

Sign. = .51

Table C7. Frequency and Mean Household Task Score for Husbands by Family Life Cycle

<u>Life Cycle Stage</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Mean (Max = 1.0)</u>
1	129	.05
2	49	.04
3	45	.07
4	66	.06
5	<u>43</u>	<u>.02</u>
Total	332	.05
F = .298		
Sign. = .8792		

Table C8. Frequency and Mean Recreation Score for Husbands
by Family Life Cycle

<u>Life Cycle Stage</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Mean (Max = 1.0)</u>
1	129	.52
2	49	.45
3	45	.49
4	66	.61
5	<u>43</u>	<u>.49</u>
Total	332	.52
F = .818		
Sign. = .5143		

Table C9. Frequency and Mean Child Care Score for Fathers
by Family Life Cycle

<u>Life Cycle Stage</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Mean (Max = 1.0)</u>
2	63	.10
3	51	.02
4	<u>86</u>	<u>.08</u>
Total	200	.07
F = .950		
Sign. = .4177		

Table C10. Frequency and Mean Recreation Score for Fathers
by Family Life Cycle

Life Cycle Stage Frequency Mean (Max = 1.0)

2 63 .37

3 51 .41

4 86 .51

 Total 200 .43

F = 1.394

Sign. = .2460

Table C11. Frequency and Mean Recreation Score For Brothers
by Year

Year	Frequency	Mean (Max = 1.0)
1920	9	.45
1925	11	.82
1931	9	.78
1936	9	.78
1940	8	.88
1945	10	.80
1950	17	.76
1955	14	.86
1960	14	.64
1965	18	.94
1970	9	.89
1975	9	1.00
1977	<u>12</u>	<u>.92</u>
Total	149	.81
F = 1.435		
Sign. = .1571		

Table C12. Frequency and Mean Recreation Score for Brothers
by Family Life Cycle

<u>Life Cycle Stage</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Mean (Max = 1.0)</u>
2	12	.83
3	90	.81
4	<u>47</u>	<u>.81</u>
Total	149	.81
F = .020		
Sign. = .9806		

Table C13. Frequency and Mean Recreation Score for Sons by Year

<u>Year</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Mean (Max = 1.0)</u>
1920	14	.57
1925	16	.69
1931	17	.65
1936	20	.75
1940	13	.77
1945	17	.82
1950	24	.83
1955	15	.93
1960	26	.69
1965	24	.88
1970	15	.93
1975	14	.79
1977	<u>15</u>	<u>.87</u>
Total	230	.78
F = 1.181		
Sign. = .2977		

Table C14. Frequency and Mean Recreation Score for Sons by Family Life Cycle

<u>Life Cycle Stage</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Mean (Max = 1.0)</u>
2	62	.77
3	78	.79
4	85	.80
5	<u>5</u>	<u>.40</u>
Total	230	.78
F = 1.520		
Sign. = .2102		

Table C15. Frequency and Mean Recreation Score for Sisters
by Year

<u>Year</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Mean (Max = 1.0)</u>
1920	9	.56
1925	13	.69
1931	8	.88
1936	7	.71
1940	6	.83
1945	11	.64
1950	17	.76
1955	15	.80
1960	13	.62
1965	16	1.00
1970	8	.75
1975	10	1.00
1977	12	.92
Total	145	.79
F = 1.397		
Sign. = .1750		

Table C16. Frequency and Mean Recreation Score for Sisters
by Family Life Cycle

<u>Life Cycle Stage</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Mean (Max = 1.0)</u>
2	10	.90
3	87	.78
4	<u>48</u>	<u>.77</u>
Total	145	.79
F = .418		
Sign. = .6591		

Table C17. Frequency and Mean Recreation Score for Daughters
by Year

Year	Frequency	Mean (Max = 1.0)
1920	19	.63
1925	20	.65
1931	17	.76
1936	11	.81
1940	14	.71
1945	19	.57
1950	17	.76
1955	22	.82
1960	19	.68
1965	20	.95
1970	15	.80
1975	10	1.00
1977	15	.93
Total	218	.77
F = 1.521		
Sign. = .1187		

Table C18. Frequency and Mean Recreation Score for Daughters
by Family Life Cycle

<u>Life Cycle Stage</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Mean (Max = 1.0)</u>
2	67	.81
3	75	.79
4	76	.71
Total	218	.77
F = 1.036		
Sign. = .3566		

APPENDIX D: TABLES FOR CHAPTER V

Table D1. Percentage of Advertisements Depicting Husband-Wife Companionship in Household Tasks and Recreation by the Number of Children

Companionship in	Number of Children										
	Male			Female			Combined				
	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	2	3	4
Household Tasks (N=133)	70.6	11.8	17.6	64.7	17.6	17.6	64.7	5.9	11.8	0.0	17.6
Recreation (N=418)	97.4	2.6	0.0	96.5	3.5	0.0	95.7	2.6	1.7	0.0	0.0

Table D2. Frequency and Mean Husband-Wife Companionship in
Child-Care Score by Year

<u>Year</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Mean (Max = 1.0)</u>
1920	21	.10
1925	16	.00
1931	18	.06
1936	16	.19
1940	12	.08
1945	15	.07
1950	17	.00
1955	13	.00
1960	18	.17
1965	11	.00
1970	10	.30
1975	4	.25
1977	<u>7</u>	<u>.14</u>
Total	178	.09
F = 1.363		
Sign. = .1885		

Table D3. Frequency and Mean Husband-Wife Companionship in
Child Care Score by Family Life Cycle

<u>Life Cycle Stage</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Mean (Max = 1.0)</u>
2	76	.09
3	49	.02
4	49	.14
5	<u>4</u>	<u>.25</u>
Total	178	.09
F = 1.964		
Sign. = .1212		

APPENDIX E: TABLES FOR CHAPTER VI

Table E1. Correlation Between Parent-Child Intimacy and Number of Children

Intimacy Relationship	Correlation Coefficient	Significance Level
Mother-Son	-.29	.0000
Father-Son	-.27	.0004
Mother-Daughter	-.15	.0170
Father-Daughter	-.24	.0035

Table E2. Correlation Between Sibling Intimacy and the Number of Children

Intimacy Relationship	Correlation Coefficient	Significance Level
Sister-Sister	-.39	.0177
Brother-Brother	-.43	.0025
Sister-Brother	-.04	.3482

Table E3. Frequency and Mean Father-Son Intimacy Score by Year

<u>Year</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Mean (Max = 3.0)</u>
1920	8	2.3750
1925	7	1.8571
1931	6	2.1667
1936	8	2.1250
1940	7	2.0000
1945	9	2.1111
1950	13	2.0769
1955	11	1.7273
1960	20	1.9000
1965	19	2.2105
1970	13	2.4615
1975	11	2.2727
1977	<u>12</u>	<u>2.0833</u>
Total	144	2.1042
P = .342		
Sign. = .5595		

Table E4. Frequency and Mean Mother-Son Intimacy Score by Year

<u>Year</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Mean (Max = 3.0)</u>
1920	12	2.2500
1925	13	2.0000
1931	12	1.9167
1936	15	2.4000
1940	10	2.1000
1945	12	2.2500
1950	22	2.0909
1955	14	2.0000
1960	20	2.0500
1965	17	2.0588
1970	11	2.0909
1975	11	2.4545
1977	<u>11</u>	<u>2.1818</u>
Total	180	2.1333
F = .067		
Sign. = .7955		

Table E5. Frequency and Mean Mother-Daughter Intimacy Score by Year

<u>Year</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Mean (Max = 3.0)</u>
1920	18	2.3889
1925	21	2.0476
1931	12	1.9167
1936	10	2.1000
1940	10	2.1000
1945	15	2.2000
1950	16	2.3750
1955	20	2.1000
1960	16	2.0625
1965	17	2.1765
1970	12	2.1667
1975	9	1.8889
1977	14	1.9286
Total	190	2.1263
F = .937		
Sign. = .3344		

Table E6. Frequency and Mean Father-Daughter Intimacy Score
by Family Life Cycle

<u>Life Cycle Stage</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Mean (Max = 3.0)</u>
2	29	2.2759
3	43	1.9302
4	<u>52</u>	<u>1.9808</u>
Total	124	2.0323
F = 3.146		
Sign. = .0786		

Table E7. Frequency and Mean Sister-Sister Intimacy Score
by Year

Year	Frequency	Mean (Max = 3.0)
1920	1	2.0000
1925	4	1.7500
1936	3	2.6667
1945	2	1.5000
1950	2	2.5000
1955	3	2.0000
1960	2	1.5000
1965	6	1.5000
1970	4	1.7500
1975	1	1.0000
1977	<u>1</u>	<u>2.0000</u>
Total	29	1.8276
F = 1.385		
Sign. = .2546		

Table E8. Frequency and Mean Sister-Sister Intimacy Score
by Family Life Cycle

<u>Life Cycle Stage</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Mean (Max = 3.0)</u>
2	1	2.0000
3	18	1.8889
4	<u>10</u>	<u>1.7000</u>
Total	29	1.8276
F = .419		
Sign. = .5234		

Table E9. Frequency and Mean Brother-Brother Intimacy Score by Year

<u>Year</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Mean (Max = 3.0)</u>
1920	3	1.6667
1925	1	2.0000
1931	2	2.0000
1936	5	2.4000
1940	3	2.0000
1945	3	2.3333
1950	1	2.0000
1955	2	2.0000
1960	5	1.6000
1965	7	1.8571
1970	3	2.0000
1975	1	2.0000
1977	4	2.0000
Total	40	1.9750
F = .270		
Sign. = .6075		

Table E10. Frequency and Mean Sister-Brother Intimacy Score
by Family Life Cycle

<u>Life Cycle Stage</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Mean (Max = 3.0)</u>
2	10	2.0000
3	73	2.0822
4	<u>42</u>	<u>2.0238</u>
Total	125	2.0560
F = .048		
Sign. = .8272		

APPENDIX F: TABLES FOR CHAPTER VII

Table F1. Relationships Between Companionship in Recreation and Family Formality

Companionship Relationship	F Value	Significance Level
Mother-Daughter	.610	.6924
Father-Son	.985	.3215
Mother-Father-Son-Daughter	2.329	1.277
Brother-Sister	5.840	.0161
Husband-Wife	23.631	.0000

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