

GENDER DIVISION IN AMERICAN BAPTIST FAMILIES
SECOND AND THIRD SHIFTS

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ABSTRACT

Janice Sue McCloud

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The division of labor in households is an important topic in marital relationships. Families are not static; they are in a constant state of change. Employment, individual family members' schedules, and religious beliefs can impact how couples divide household tasks. This particular study draws on in-depth interviews of four married couples from American Baptist churches to explore how couples within this type of church divide household tasks. The interviews focused on the management of second- and third-shift household tasks, as well as childcare. The purpose of obtaining this information was to see if the way American Baptist couples handle second-, third-shift duties, and childcare is more consistent with general population couples or more consistent with Evangelical/Conservative couples. Husbands and wives were interviewed separately to obtain individual thoughts and opinions. The interviews revealed that when it comes to second-shift tasks and child care, American Baptist couples are more in line with general population couples. As far as third-shift duties, Evangelical, general population, and American Baptist couples are all currently handling in very similar ways with the female performing the majority of third-shift tasks.

Patricia Wittberg, Ph.D, chair

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

A few years ago a young- to middle-aged American Baptist minister was speaking at a sister church that was well attended by couples and singles of all ages. I do not recall the title of his sermon, but there is one statement in particular that I remember and most likely impacted others attending church that day. He said, “I never saw my kids with a dirty face or runny nose.” This no doubt was meant as a compliment to his wife, but as soon as it was out of his mouth my first thought was that either his children must never get sick or dirty, or (which is most likely the case) he is/was never an active caregiver to his children. His statement led me to believe that his wife must be the primary one to provide care to their children. I do not have knowledge of this family’s labor force status beyond the point that the husband was an American Baptist minister. Chances are probably pretty good that this minister’s wife is not included in the 70 percent of mothers that work outside the home. It appears that this family adheres to a traditional family model where the woman is primarily responsible for hearth and home, whereas the man’s primary responsibility is breadwinner.

The goal of this project is to pursue this subject further to see if the scenario above is typical of other American Baptist families. Therefore the scope of this paper will focus on most responsibilities required to maintain a household, as well as childcare. For the purpose of this study “second shift” duties refer to meal preparation, laundry, straightening, ironing, outside maintenance, and cleaning of individual rooms, while “third shift” duties refer to household management (finances), planning, buying presents, planning parties, scheduling appointments, caring for others outside the home, and

emotional labor. My specific aim is to examine the gender division of household duties among members of the American Baptist denomination to see if the division of household duties among this group of individuals is similar to the general population, or if it is comparable to the practices of religious conservative/evangelical families. This study complements other research that has been done on the division of household labor by providing information about a group that has been overlooked in prior research.

There have been many studies conducted on evangelical or conservative Protestants pertaining to their gender roles within the home, and these studies found that the gender divide does exist. However, few studies on this topic focus on mainline Protestants. W. Bradford Wilcox (2004 and 2006) is one researcher that has conducted a comparison of gender attitudes between mainline Protestants and Evangelicals. I believe this group has not been as heavily studied because researchers have simply assumed that mainline Protestants would resemble the general population. A number of denominations are considered to be mainline Protestant, so there is a large group within our society that have been excluded from previous research. Therefore, this group will be the focus of this study. To conduct this research I interviewed four married couples between the ages of 20 and 45 that are currently attending an American Baptist church.

Before we can effectively examine how American Baptist gender beliefs align with other groups within our society, it is important to take a look at how gender views have changed throughout history within the general population as well as among Evangelical religious populations. Once the historical aspect of these two groups has been examined we can then begin to examine current practices pertaining to second-

third-shift duties, and childcare among the general and conservative/religious populations, which will then be used to compare to this study's findings.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF CHURCHES AND THEIR VIEWS ABOUT FAMILY

Historical Overview of Church Development and Change

Throughout history, new churches have emerged. This usually happened when members of a previous church disagreed over how much it should adapt to the larger society, and the church would divide to accommodate the different views of its members. Liberal members' views tended to be more parallel with the outside society than conservative views. Women were affected when views collided and these divisions took place. The impact on women depended on whether they found themselves part of a liberal or conservative congregation. Women belonging to liberal congregations were encouraged to behave as women within the general population which, in the nineteenth century, most likely upheld Victorian gender ideals or traditional family views where the man is the breadwinner and the woman takes care of house and home. Nineteenth century conservative congregations required the opposite from their female participants because they wanted to be different from the general population, which often meant that they rejected Victorian gender ideals. Their desire to be different allowed conservative women freedoms that were not offered to women in more moderate churches (Bartkowski 1998).

In the twentieth century, however, the role of women in mainstream society moved away from the nineteenth century Victorian model and became more egalitarian. "Roles in the home began to lose much of their moral and social significance" for women in the general population (Bartkowski 1998:109). When this happened, the roles of women in conservative churches changed as well. Evangelical women were now

expected to take a “subordinate position in the family” (Bartkowski 1998:110). As can be seen, change would take place for women depending on whether a church or sect was trying to be more like the World or less like the World.

Religious institutions, like most things, evolve and change overtime. There are two kinds of religious organizations, churches and sects. Churches maintain a “low state of tension within their environment,” whereas sects are “religious bodies in a high state of tension within their environment” (Finke and Stark 1992:40-41). These two types of organizations “differ in their ability to satisfy different human needs . . . New religious bodies nearly always begin as sects and, if they are successful in attracting a substantial following, they will, over time, almost inevitably be gradually transformed into churches” (Finke and Stark 1992:42). Most colonial American faiths began as sects. The more powerful and successful members eventually rose to prominence within these groups. As these members became wealthier, they desired to have access to the pleasures offered by the world, so a gradual secularization began within the early sects as the nineteenth century progressed. Their tension with the larger society decreased and the sects became churches or denominations.

Throughout the nineteenth century, revivals or Great Awakenings occurred in response to this secularization. There were two sects, the Baptists and Methodists, which were particularly successful in fighting secularization through revivals. By 1860, Baptist congregations were increasing while other congregations were decreasing.

However, as time progressed differences began to develop between the Baptists located in the south and those located in the north. There were two major issues that arose, the education of ministers and the affluence of their churches. The Southern

Baptists managed to fend off secularization whereas the Northern Baptist began to accept the ways of the world (Finke and Stark 1992:170). Basically, the theological climate began to vary from one section of the country to another (Hudson and Corrigan 1999:266). Like other faiths, Baptists did not escape change. By the end of the nineteenth century, all northern Baptist seminaries were considered to be firmly in the liberal camp (Hudson 1981:280). It is not that the Southern Baptist Seminary had not tried to incorporate liberal ideas in their curriculum, because they had a few faculty who put their career with the Seminary on the line with their freethinking ideas. But Baptist leaders and Trustees of the Southern Seminary were successful in keeping liberal training to a minimum. Those within their organization who stood up for their liberal views were forced to resign.

As a result of the inclusion of liberal thought, Northern Baptist ministers were more prosperous than Southern Baptist ministers. “As they [Northern Baptists] entered the twentieth century their clergy were well-trained and well-paid professionals, their theology was becoming compatible with ‘modern thought,’ and their members tended to be affluent” (Finke and Stark 1992:173). It is apparent that tensions with the larger society were decreasing within the Northern Baptist organization. A movement from sect to church was taking place (Finke and Stark 1992). The teachings of ministers educated in northern Baptist seminaries were more likely to encourage members of their congregations to maintain a family structure similar to the general population.

Since early nineteenth century Baptist and Methodist ministers were not as educated as other ministers, this could benefit their women members. In most cases, ministers began as a member of the congregation, so they were not seen as being any

more educated in the Word of God than were women. “Neither the Baptists nor the Methodists set forth their confessions in complex theological writing that required extensive instruction or teaching . . . both denominations stressed spiritual confession and a strong individual responsibility to God” (Finke and Stark 1992:85). Men and women alike practiced this commitment to God. “Religious organizations provide social settings and support that encourage women’s participation and even allow for considerable leadership opportunities” (Sherkat and Ellison 1999:37). This is not to say, however, that gender inequality did not exist in conservative churches at this time. Men still occupied key decision making roles: “Women’s numerical dominance in the churches did not mean that men did not meet to share a ritual life or moral vision. The nineteenth century incubated a host of religious and parareligious organizations for men. Men attended church services, served as church officials, were active in missionary societies, denominational social-reform organizations, broad-based labor activism, and similar enterprises carried out under the umbrellas of the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish faiths” (Hudson and Corrigan 1999:288).

The Northern Baptists continued to change in the twentieth century. In 1950 they changed their name to the American Baptist Convention. Then in 1972 they changed their name again to American Baptist Churches USA. Currently in the United States there are two separate Baptist organizations, the Southern Baptist and the American Baptist (American Baptist Churches USA). As the Northern/American Baptists continued to resemble other mainline churches, they would be expected to adapt to the changes in family roles that were occurring in the larger society. It is to these changes that we now turn.

Changes in Family Roles

Change for American families is also a continuing phenomenon. Men and women have transitioned from producing everything for themselves on the farm to working for others to provide for their families. This last transition, which took place in the United States in the early nineteenth-century, brought about “The general structure of the ‘traditional’ American family, in which the husband-father is the provider and the wife-mother the housewife” (Bernard 1981:1). The traditional family may have been the ideal, but many women may not have been content with this role alone. To diminish this dissatisfaction among women, or maybe more specifically to keep women in their place, books were published for the purpose of “Reconstructing the home and elevating women’s place within it.” This was at the heart of these authors’ proposed remedy for women’s dissatisfaction (Griffith 2000:41). “This structure, which was viewed as a perfect family arrangement, lasted about 150 years, from 1830 to 1980” (Bernard 1981:1).

As sects such as the Baptists and Methodists secularized and assimilated to changes in the mainstream culture, they also adopted mainstream culture’s changing models of the ideal family. If a goal of the church was to be like the general population it was expected that women would behave as women in the general population. If nineteenth century society supported a traditional family then liberal churches would support traditional family values and encourage women to be homemakers. If twentieth century society supported the equality of women, then mainstream churches would support that. Wilcox (2004:24-26) shares that, “Mainline Protestantism has adopted a largely accommodationist stance toward family modernization while conservative

Protestantism has generally resisted it . . . The tradition of mainline Protestantism is marked by a posture of openness to the world . . .”

History of Gender Roles in Evangelical Churches

According to Bartkowski (1998:112), “. . . American evangelicalism attempts to take a critical stance toward that which it perceives to be ‘worldly’ (i.e., devoid of ‘Christian’ values) . . . evangelicals seek to stand outside of mainstream American culture which is believed to have been corrupted by secular, materialistic, and humanistic values.” Major “historical shifts in evangelical gender roles” have taken place throughout the last two centuries. During the pre-revolutionary era Evangelicals held an egalitarian view, which gave religious power to women. “. . . cultural discourses of femininity were simultaneously challenged and affirmed in these early evangelical churches” (Bartkowski 1998:98).

By the mid-nineteenth century, however, “the egalitarian impulse within evangelicalism gave way, in large part, to a patriarchal family structure . . . The cultural accommodation of evangelicalism in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries led to the gradual convergence of evangelical and Victorian gender ideals” where women were not in the public sphere (Bartkowski 1998:99-102). Victorians maintained “a notion of active masculinity and passive femininity, that consisted of a patriarchal household structure and the ideology of separate spheres” (Bartkowski 1998:105).

In the twentieth century, the larger culture shifted away from Victorian gender ideals to a model that encouraged women to be involved in things outside the home. The “rise of the fundamentalist family” in the twentieth century was in response to this economic and gender shift. “Fundamentalism began as a faith designed to stir lethargic

church goes [Evangelical/conservative] into action. It sought to keep all that was best about the ‘old-time religion’ (Bendroth 1999:37). This movement attempted to restore familial order by reasserting their own brand of Victorian general roles. Fundamentalists “sought to reassert the importance of essential gender differences . . . a patriarchal family model . . . urged women to return to their ‘proper’ God-ordained role as supportive wife and self-sacrificing mother” (Bartkowski 1998:31). This was part of fundamentalism’s larger revivalist tradition that “militantly opposed modernist theology and the cultural change associated with it” (Marsden 1977:215).

But these cultural changes in family structure and gender attitudes did not subside; they continued after World War II. To this point in time faith played a major role in dictating gender attitudes and ideals. As society moved into the middle of the twentieth-century, the number of women seeking outside employment began to increase, and a major shift began to take place. By 1960, 30 percent of married women were in the labor force. By 2005, 60 percent of married women were in the labor force, which is an increase of 30 percentage points. Men, on the other hand, experienced a downward trend for this same time period. In 1960, 90 percent of married men were in the labor force. By 2005 the percentage of married men in the workforce dropped to 78 percent (Cromartie 2007). This movement (women joining the workforce) may not have been entirely sanctioned by the church, but became a necessity for families economically.

Historical Inference

As can be seen, religious ideologies of the role of women in family life have evolved through the years. Not only have we seen women’s roles change from one extreme to the other (many times), but we have also seen that secularization has had an

impact and has been an instrumental force in creating the separation that took place within the Baptist faith. In the less-secularized Southern Baptist Church, women's prescribed roles continued to reflect the nineteenth century family division of labor. In this study I am interested in understanding whether the more secularized American Baptist Church has adopted a more egalitarian view of gender roles that is prevalent in the larger society. For the purpose of this paper I am interested in whether gender roles within American Baptist families are influenced by secularization in the general population or if they cling to a more conservative belief surrounding the division of household labor. The next section is a review of literature on the division of household labor among the general and conservative religious population. Then I will thoroughly compare the American Baptist population to these two groups.

CHAPTER 2

DIVISION OF HOUSEHOLD LABOR

In the General Population

As can be seen from the above historical outline, women's roles have not remained stagnant. An in-depth review of gender roles within the general population will follow, so the data collected from the American Baptist couples that were interviewed can be compared to what has been discovered from other studies conducted about the division of household tasks among the general population couples to see if there are differences and/or similarities in how they handle household tasks.

Whether the reason for women leaving the home is by choice or by necessity, the fact remains that the number of women in the workforce increased substantially through the years. Even though the number of households having two working adults has increased, chores within the home have not been eliminated. Therefore, it is good news that within the general population, "Gender differences in paid (monetary compensation) and unpaid (no monetary compensation) work time narrowed substantially between 1965 and 1998" (Sayer 2005:296). Although paid work is important, unpaid work or more specifically second-shift (meal preparation, laundry, straightening, ironing, outside maintenance, and cleaning of individual rooms), third-shift (household management-finances, planning, buying presents, planning parties, scheduling appointments, caring for others outside the home, and emotional labor) duties, and childcare will be my focus.

There have been many studies on the household division of labor in American families. Coltrane (2000) lists over 200 scholarly articles and books published in a ten-year period. Wilson (2005) states that the area has been vastly studied. While there may

have been numerous studies conducted, not all agree on whether or not there has been a change in gender roles. Some support the idea that men's work in the home is increasing overall; other research says the opposite. Greenstein (1996:585) states that, "Even though married mothers are more than twice as likely to be employed full-time today as in 1970, the division of household labor seems to have changed hardly at all: Married men still do relatively little domestic labor." Still other research suggests that men are spending more time on certain tasks but not on others (Sullivan and Coltrane 2008).

Findings: The Second Shift

Those conducting research in this area may use different phrases (unpaid work, domestic duties, household tasks, etc.) for this type of work and the activities that they measure may be slightly different, but no matter the term they are all referring to what has become known as second-shift duties (Perkins and DeMeis 1996). For the purposes of this paper second-shift tasks will include the following household duties: meal preparation, laundry, straightening, ironing, outside maintenance; cleaning of individual rooms. Within the general public, "Men have substantially increased time in core [second- shift] household activities such as cooking [and] cleaning . . ." (Sayer 2005:285). Men's time may have increased, but women continue to spend more time on household tasks than men. A random sample study which was based on time-diary studies for 1965 to 1985 has been reviewed by many researchers and indicates that women are spending less time today than they did before, about one-third, on household duties and that men's time in this area for the same time period doubled. Other research shows that time spent by women on household tasks have decreased by almost half and that men's time has only increased slightly since the 1960s (Bianchi, Milkie, Sayer, and

Robinson 2000; Coltrane 2000; Sayer 2005; Whitehead 2008). The estimated decrease of time spent on household tasks by women may sound like a lot, but it is important to keep in mind that the percent of time women spend on household tasks is still considerably more than that of men, and that both genders are doing less housework overall. Bianchi and et al. (2000:196) have discovered that “men had made some increases in housework, and women had further declines, but that women remained at a disadvantage, with more overall work (paid plus unpaid) and less leisure.” Wilcox (2004:5) on the other hand found that, “. . . married men have increased their weekly hours of household labor more than 100 percent, from 4.7 hours in 1965 to 10.4 hours in 1995,” so it appears that men have truly increased the time they spend in this area and that the increase is not based on a decrease of total hours spent by a couple on household tasks.

Findings: Childcare

When it comes to childcare, Sullivan and Coltrane (2008) found that men’s contribution to childcare has increased. They point out that, “Between 1965 and 2003, men tripled the amount of time they spent in childcare” (Sullivan and Coltrane 2008:2). Daly, Ashbourne, and Hawkins (2008:253) through their research discovered that in “heterosexual families, where women are employed, fathers’ share of ‘total parental involvement’ is greater.” Social expectations surrounding childcare have changed through the years. Society expects fathers to be more than economic providers; they are expected to be involved in the day-to-day care of children. Even though fathers have increased the time they spend on childcare it remains a fact that mothers still contribute more to childcare (Yeung, Sandberg, Davis-Kean, and Hofferth 2001). A highly involved father creates positive outcomes for the child, such as increased cognitive competence

and a more internal locus of control, higher sociability, and positive academic outcomes (attitudes towards school, attendance, and higher achievement) (Daly, Ashbourne, and Hawkins 2008).

Findings: The Third Shift

In recent years a new term has surfaced, which many refer to as the third shift (Gerstel 2000). Third-shift tasks will include household management (finances), planning, buying presents, planning parties, scheduling appointments, caring for others outside the home, emotional labor, etc. There has been little research done into this area of gender inequality. I am not sure why these tasks were overlooked in previous research, but the important part is that researchers are now beginning to take them into consideration. Pamela Smock and Mary Noonan (2005:346) explain that, “Two specific types of such work have been termed emotion work and kin work.” Smock and Noonan (2005:346) state that, “Conventional measures of housework are arguably missing some important domains of domestic labor that qualitative studies suggest are more commonly performed by women. For example, the behind-the scenes responsibility for household management usually appears to be performed by women.”

Time negotiations have become a priority for couples. Research shows that activities devoted to orchestration and planning take on added importance in light of more complex schedules. These negotiations require communication between the couples (Daly 2002). Even though time negotiation is an important aspect, there remains a gender divide. Daly (2002:339) found that, “Women were responsible for monitoring, initiation, and coordinating their joint action as a couple. Men were communication partners in

carrying out these temporal negotiations, but women took the lead by establishing the agenda and devising strategies to ensure its success.”

Another third-shift task that we do not want to ignore is elder care. Many individuals and couples find themselves in what is being called the “sandwich generation.” This implies that they have children at home that require care and also have the added responsibility of caring for parents. Naomi Gerstel (2000:472) conducted a study on gender and care outside the home and found that, “there is a startling difference in the amount of time women and men spend giving informal care or care to relatives and friends. Women provide an average of fifty hours a month giving informal care outside the home, men an average of twenty.”

In the Evangelical Population

Extensive research has been conducted comparing how men and women within religious Evangelical faiths and the general public divide household duties today. Bartkowski (1998:95) states that, “Evangelical Protestants have long been a source of fascination to scholars of religion, the family, and gender. The last decade, in particular, has witnessed the growth of a substantial scholarly literature concerning the dynamics of contemporary evangelical gender and family relations.” Civettini and Glass (2008) believe that gender ideology governing conservatives in the United States is a critical topic for scholars. Ellison and Bartkowski (2002), on the other hand, believe that there has not been a lot of research into how conservative religion has shaped the division of housework.

Findings: The Second Shift

As with studies pertaining to the division of labor among couples within the general population, there are differing opinions among researchers on changes within this group of individuals. Some authors, such as Civettini and Glass (2008) in their study using the National Survey of Families and Households for 1988 and 1993, found that being associated with a conservative religious denomination did not impact the number of hours men spent on household tasks. Other research indicates that when it comes to second-shift duties, Evangelical men – unlike their secular counterparts – are *not* sharing more of the household tasks. “Evangelical Protestant husbands do an hour less housework per week than other American husbands . . .” (Wilcox 2006:42). Evangelical women, on the other hand, spend four to five more hours per week on household tasks than other women (Ellison and Bartkowski 2002). Wilcox” (2004:92) determined that, “Among active conservative Protestants, 58 percent of married men with children believe that it is ‘much better for everyone if the man earns the main living and the woman takes care of the home and family,’ compared to only 44 percent of active mainline Protestant men and 37 percent of unaffiliated men who are married with children.”

A study of four Evangelical couples conducted by Bartkowski (2001) clearly shows support for traditional roles within American families. In all four cases the couples interviewed held a traditional belief that the husband should be the breadwinner and the wife should be his helpmate. In every interview it is clear that they [the couples] are following teachings of the church (Bartkowski 2001). “Dan articulates his agreement with the views he has heard expressed at the church: ‘Materially, that it’s I would think clearly the man’s role to be the primary breadwinner through life’ . . . Dan invokes themes

from the dominant evangelical discourse of wifely domesticity. He says that the church teaches, and he agrees, that a wife should be ‘a helpmate to her husband . . . Her primary role would be to be a support and encouragement to her husband’” (Bartkowski 2001:137).

Findings: Childcare

With regard to childcare, the same disagreement exists. Civettini and Glass (2008) did not find enough evidence to support their hypothesis that Evangelical fathers spend more time on childcare. King (2003), on the other hand, found that religious fathers are more involved with their children. Wilcox (2006:43) found that, “As fathers, religious men spend more time in one-on-one activities like reading to their children, hug and praise their kids more often, and keep tabs on the children more than unaffiliated fathers do. For instance, churchgoing [mainline Protestant] fathers spend 2.9 hours each week with their children in youth activities, churchgoing evangelical fathers spend 3.2 hours each week on these types of activities, whereas non-churchgoing fathers spend 1.6 hours each week in youth activities. It is clear that, “Conservative Protestant married men with children are consistently more active and expressive with their children than unaffiliated men and are often more engaged with their children than mainline Protestant fathers” (Wilcox 2004:13). Wilcox (2006) points out that churches are concerned about where families are headed, so they encourage fathers to spend more time with their families. However, this time does not equate to household duties because churches support gender inequality when it comes to household tasks.

Findings: The Third Shift

As with studies pertaining to the general population, not a lot of research has been conducted on how Evangelical couples manage third-shift tasks. *Christianity Today* (a magazine with a largely Evangelical readership), however, published an article outlining a survey they conducted which included a third-shift task. The gender roles survey went to 1,250 of its subscribers with 750 subscribers responding. The results of this survey originally appeared in the magazine July 16, 1990. It was reprinted on March 1, 2002, which would lead me to believe that they feel their findings are still fairly correct. One of the tasks being explored was the coordination of children's schedules. A large portion of the parents responding indicated that it is mainly the mother that handles the children's schedules. The survey revealed that, while "74 percent of dads . . . said they 'should share child-care chores equally with the mother,' only 13 percent do so" (Balswick and Balswick 2002:2). *Christianity Today* used many questionnaire statements that were also part of a Roper national poll. When the *Christianity Today* survey was compared with the Roper national opinion poll it was discovered that respondents from both were in general agreement that women's roles in society will continue to change, that there are more advantages in being a man than a woman, that women's movements helped more than hurt the working woman, and that men find a self-sufficient woman more appealing than a dependent woman" (Balswick and Balswick 2002:6). Unfortunately, children's schedules were not one of the items being compared.

We are at a time in history where women within the general population have made and continue to make progress toward gender equality. If my analysis is correct and the American Baptists are not in a high state of tension with the environment, I would

have to conclude that couples within the American Baptist organization hold gender beliefs similar to the general population regarding the gender division of household labor.

CHAPTER 3

SPECIFIC AIMS/METHOD

This research uses a qualitative methods approach to assess how American Baptist families manage household tasks. A comparison was done to determine if their [American Baptist] division of household labor is similar to the general population or comparable to religious conservative/evangelical families. To make these determinations, married couples that are members of American Baptist churches were interviewed on the distribution of second-shift duties, third-shift duties, and childcare within their own families. These interviews were used to address the following: Research has indicated that more women are joining the workforce, but do married men of the American Baptist faith maintain a traditional family and gender ideology similar to conservative Protestants or have they adopted an accommodating stance similar to the general population in the amount of time they spend on non-paid labor? Since no specific research currently exists that examines how American Baptist couples share the division of household labor the information collected from these interviews will be used to see if the way they handle such tasks are more consistent with general population couples or with Evangelical couples.

The research has the following specific aim:

- To determine if the division of second-, third-shift duties, and childcare between husbands and wives in American Baptist families are more consistent with the general population or with conservative Evangelical families.

Research into how mainline Protestant families divide these targeted tasks will provide insight into a group of people that have been excluded from previous gender

inequality research. Therefore, this research will be a starting point for providing research into a group of families previously overlooked.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Methodological Perspective

To fulfill this aim, I utilize a qualitative methods approach that is guided by an interpretive social science paradigm which explores gender differences pertaining to household duties within American Baptist families. Therefore, this study aims to answer the following research question: Is the division of household labor among American Baptist families more consistent with what research has showed for Evangelical religious families or with families within the general population?

Issues of Reflexivity

With any research there are biases and try as we might to be unbiased our own preconceptions about the subject matter impact the research being conducted. It is important to remember that researchers are not immune to social influence. In a lot of circumstances the researcher is not deeply immersed with the subjects being studied, but that is not the case with this study. I have been a member and a practicing American Baptist for many years. My children were raised in an American Baptist Church. This is beneficial to a degree because I am very familiar with terminology used within this faith, as well as teachings surrounding family management and values. On the flipside, my knowledge and participation could have a direct impact on the research being conducted. It may be hard for me to recognize that the younger generation has experienced change within this field of study. Therefore, it is important that I dismiss any preconceptions that

I may have and not share any personal beliefs pertaining to gender inequality. Basically, I do not want to assume that I know the answer to the questions being presented.

Sample and Recruitment

The study consisted of in-depth interviews with four married couples active in American Baptist Churches. American Baptist ministers at 16 (Appendix I) churches in and around Bedford, Bloomington, and Mitchell, Indiana received a flyer (Appendix II) that contained all the pertinent information about the study. These ministers received these flyers in January and February of 2011. Ministers were asked to help with recruitment by announcing that participants were needed for this study during a morning and an evening worship service. The flyer specified that participants need to be married, between 20 and 45 years of age, and have at least one child living at home under age 18. Ministers were also asked to post the flyer on the church bulletin board for a two week period. Ministers were not responsible for obtaining names of possible participants, the flyer instructed interested couples to call me directly.

After this study was announced by ministers I received five inquiries. One inquiry was made on behalf of three couples. Unfortunately, these couples did not qualify since they were not of the American Baptist faith. Their involvement is with a non-denominational church. The other four inquiries proved to meet all requirements outlined for the study.

The Survey and Interview Process

IRB approval was obtained before the ministers were contacted and flyers were distributed. Qualifications were reviewed with those interested in participating to ensure they met the criteria outlined. As outlined above, participants were informed that they

must be between 20 and 45 years of age, active in an American Baptist Church, married with a child under 18 years of age living at home, and both husband and wife must be willing to participate in individual interviews. At the initial contact, participants were informed that the interview would be recorded and that each interview would take approximately 60 minutes. Interviews were then scheduled to take place at a local church or at a location convenient for couples. Couples were provided with a Study Information Sheet (Appendix III) in advance of the interview for their review. Husbands and wives were interviewed sequentially, but not at the same time, with each interview being recorded. This was handled this way so they did not have an opportunity to discuss the interview with one another before both interviews were complete. It was also important to handle the interview in this fashion so each would be more forthcoming with their answers. Each participant was offered an individual gift certificate for \$20 to a restaurant or venue of their choosing, but each couple opted for a \$40 gift certificate instead of two \$20 gift certificates. Each couple received the \$40 gift certificate before interviewing began.

Participants were asked to complete a short Household Task Questionnaire (Appendix IV) before the interview. This questionnaire was used for two purposes: 1) to insure that all participants' questions are based on the same tasks and 2) percentages provided assisted with data evaluation and review. The interview (Appendix V) consisted of 13 main questions. A majority of the questions included sub-questions to act as a prompt to insure that needed data was covered and collected.

Quality Issues

The project's quality was improved by interviewing both in the relationship. This provided a more balanced overview of how couples within this faith manage second-, third-shift tasks, and childcare.

To "validate my qualitative interpretation I used external validation by asking for feedback from peers and my instructor" (Warren and Karner 2005:216). Pat Wittberg, a sociology faculty member and my thesis chair reviewed and advised me throughout the process (Murphy and Dingwall 2003).

Study Limitations

The small sample size of the study may not be a good representation of all American Baptist families. The couples may have been uncomfortable discussing how their family manages such tasks with a stranger. There is also a possibility that they portrayed a family structure different than what is being practiced within their home because they may want to present what they see as a structure ordained by God.

HUMAN SUBJECTS

Participants of this study could consider their answers private and sensitive. Therefore, the risk of the information being released or shared could create embarrassment or anxiety for those completing the interview. The thought of their spouse, peers, or community having access to their answers could deter participation. Because of this, participants may have felt uncomfortable answering questions pertaining to their personal/private lives. It was particularly important that couples not be aware of one another's comments. As a researcher it was my responsibility to insure that this research does not create any tension between those participating. Every effort was made

to keep all answers private. Participants being interviewed and anyone that the participants may have mentioned during the interview were given fictitious names during writing and no one will have knowledge of how those fictitious names connect to the real person but me and Dr. Wittberg, since she will have access to the transcripts. The list that connects fictitious names to the real person will be kept in a locked cabinet at my home and will be destroyed when the thesis is accepted. All recordings of the interviews were deleted once they were transcribed. All notes from the interviews and surveys have been placed in a locked cabinet. Transcribed documents have been placed on a password protected computer.

CHAPTER 4

STUDY FINDINGS

Couples Qualifications

The four couples interviewed met all requirements to participate in the study. Individuals were between 20 and 45 years of age, married and living in the same household with each other, they have two to four children living at home, and are involved with an American Baptist church on a regular basis.

Background of Families

All four men have full-time employment outside the home. Of the four women interviewed, two of them work outside the home and two are not employed outside the home. Since their individual family situations (work schedules, number of children, ages of children) vary a description of each family follows:

Family One

Matt works a regular daytime shift (8 a.m. until 5 or 6 p.m.). His wife, Michelle, is employed 24 hours a week outside the home. She also babysits a baby all day on one of the days she does not work. They have one child together, Emma. Blake is Michelle's son, but Matt feels like he is his son. Blake is seven years old and Emma is two and a half.

Family Two

Neil is self-employed and the season and weather dictates the number of hours he works weekly, but he basically works 40 plus day-time hours a week. His wife, Sherry, is a stay-at-home mom that babysits Friday evening until Saturday evening each week for a mother that works a 24 hour shift. Sherry, along with the entire family, also cleans their

church weekly, which is a paid position. They have four sons who are home schooled by Sherry, Toby age 14, Tommy age 12, John age 10, and Mike who is age five.

Family Three

Scott works nights from 10 p.m. until approximately 6 a.m. His days off vary from week-to-week. Melissa, the wife and mother of this family, is employed full-time (35-40 hours a week). This couple has three sons, Shane age 11, Seth age nine, and Mark who is age five. This couple also cleans their church weekly. They take their children with them, but the children are not actively involved in the cleaning.

Family Four

Brad works 12 hours a day, seven days one week (Sunday-Saturday) and then is off the following week (Sunday-Saturday). Penny, the wife and mother, does not work outside the home. There are four children in this family, Allison, age 13, Joey, age ten, Abby, age six, and Sarah who is four months old. The oldest child is being home schooled by Penny and the two middle children attend public school.

Division of Household Labor

The goal of this research is to determine if the division of household labor among American Baptist couples is more consistent with the general population or with Evangelical/Conservative Christians. Therefore, the above-mentioned couples were asked to complete a household task questionnaire (Appendix IV) and a personal interview consisting of 13 major questions (Appendix V). These eight interviews were conducted in February and March of 2011. These questions were designed to determine how American Baptist families manage second-shift duties (meal preparation, laundry, straightening, ironing, outside maintenance, cleaning of individual rooms, child care), childcare, and

third-shift duties (household management, including finances; planning; buying presents; planning parties; scheduling appointments; caring for others outside the home; emotional labor, etc.). It should be noted that all of these tasks may not have been covered during interviews with couples, but every effort was made to encourage participants to discuss the things they believe important to their individual families.

Second-Shift Duties

As these couples discussed the tasks included in second-shift duties it became clear that how these couples divide these duties is as diverse as their family make-up. Among these couples women handle most of the housework, but the level of the men's participation varies.

Housecleaning

When it comes to basic cleaning like dusting and vacuuming the women in these families handle the majority of these tasks. All but one couple (couple two) accounted for or came close to accounting for 100 percent of this task. Matt (couple one) states that, Michelle "does most housecleaning." Couple two assigns children daily chores. The father of this family, Neil, shares that, "Toby does the vacuuming [and] that's his chore. The dusting she'll [Sherry] do some of that or she may have Toby do a little bit of dusting. Sherry states that, "I kind of am the manager that goes around and fixes the messes that they leave behind that, you know they do their chore and may not get . . . may change the litter and not get it all swept up so I'll sweep the floors." The woman in couple three (Melissa) says, "Well, I do mainly the cleaning stuff." When the woman in couple four (Penny) was asked to describe in detail any duties she performed around the

house she states that she does the “dusting, vacuuming, sweep and mopping, wash dishes. I don’t have a dishwasher either. Make beds.”

On the Household Task Questionnaire (Appendix IV) couples were asked “what percent of the following duties you perform.” As can be seen from the following percentages the way these couples address housecleaning on the Household Task Questionnaire is fairly consistent with the previous evaluation, that the females spend more time on these types of tasks than the men.

Couple	Women’s Reported Share	Men’s Reported Share
Couple 1	99%	10%
Couple 2	65%	10%
Couple 3	90%	10%
Couple 4	95%	2%
Average	87%	8%

Table 1: Reported Share of Household Tasks: Housecleaning

Shopping for Groceries/Household Goods

Of the couples interviewed, this task is handled by three of the four women. Michelle (couple one) does not like to shop for groceries, so Matt does all the grocery shopping. Scott (couple three) would not mind doing more of the shopping, but he does not handle this task because Melissa would rather do the shopping herself. As can be seen from the percentages provided by the couples (iTable 2), only couple four appears to have a noticeable discrepancy on how often each estimates that he/she performs this task. To make a sound determination on why couple four has a 25% difference in their respective estimates, they would need to be questioned further, but it could very well be something as simple as Brad stops and picks something up on his way home from work.

Such a task may seem like it happens often to him, whereas Penny may not realize how often it does happen. Hawkins and et al. (1994:218) state that, “. . . wives generally credited their husband with lower levels of involvement in domestic labor than husbands claim to do.”

Couple	Women's Reported Share	Men's Reported Share
Couple 1	30%	80%
Couple 2	90%	5%
Couple 3	90%	10%
Couple 4	95%	30%
Average	76%	31%

Table 2: Reported Share of Household Tasks: Grocery Shopping

Meal Preparation and Cleaning up After Meals

Busy schedules can certainly impact how a family handles mealtime. The four couples interviewed, like most, have very busy schedules which often mean that this particular task has to be done as quickly as possible. There may not be a lot of time devoted to meal preparation, but it does appear that this task is somewhat shared by three of these couples. Matt (couple one) states that,

Then its dinner time, you know, and then we'll, me or Michelle, whoever cooks dinner, typically I think it is usually me, but you know it's kind of a split, but anyway we'll cook dinner and we'll do the cleanup. After we've ate at the dinner table, clean all that up . . . typically one of us is rinsing off dishes and putting them in the dishwasher while the other one is cleaning off the table and dumping leftovers or whatever wasn't eaten in the trash and you know putting the plates in the sink and then we'll go back and wipe down the table and you know kind of wipe Emma's hands and face off . . .

Sherry (couple two) states that, “We usually eat lunch at home, which he [Neil] probably tells you that we eat with his mom because we don't have our own kitchen so we eat

dinner, our big meals, we eat with her.” Sherry explains their lunch and breakfast this way, “. . . my older boys make their own meal, make their own lunch and breakfast [which] is usually like [a] pop tart, cereal, or something simple . . . I’ll get meals for the younger two, breakfast and lunch most of the time, just because [Neil] is not there . . . for the most part I’d say I do the breakfast and lunch with the kids . . . Hot dog in microwave, chips, that kind of thing.” Even though family two may have big meals (Sunday lunch and evening meals) with Neil’s mother, the following was shared during the interview with the female, “He [Neil] will go up and help his mom if he comes home and she’s cooking dinner, sometimes he’ll go up and touch base with her to see if she needs help. We all like a lot of times she cooks and then he and I will cleanup or we’ll all work together.” Melissa of family three offers this concerning meals, “And that’s just like I fixed dinner tonight . . . I usually fix dinner but we don’t have [a three course meal] . . . and then if there is something where I’m like you need to get this started or something then he’ll do it, or . . . if there’s something he wants to fix [and] it will take too long then he can get it started before I get home.” Melissa (couple three) shares that, “. . . she takes care of a majority of the meals . . .” It appears that most meals are prepared by Penny in family four. Penny shares that, “I’m big on having good food and stuff.” Brad (family four) states that, “Um, back in the day I used to cook quite a bit. I really enjoy it but I think as the kids have gotten more active and you know things at the office and this and that. The inside domestic stuff has gone more to Penny.”

As can be seen from table three all participants feel that they contribute to some degree, but the men in couples one and four think they contribute more than the women

of these couples do. The percentages provided resembles what they indicated during their interviews.

Couple	Women's Reported Share	Men's Reported Share
Couple 1	50%	80%
Couple 2	60%	25%
Couple 3	80%	20%
Couple 4	95%	10%
Average	71%	34%

Table 3: Reported Share of Household Tasks: Meal Preparation

Couple	Women's Reported Share	Men's Reported Share
Couple 1	75%	40%
Couple 2	50%	50%
Couple 3	50%	50%
Couple 4	100%	2%
Average	69%	36%

Table 4: Reported Share of Household Tasks: Clean-up after Meals

Laundry

I found laundry to be a very interesting topic. All but one couple seemed to have numerous comments about laundry. The interviews pretty much showed that two of the men completely take care of washing, drying, and folding and putting clothes away. Ironing was also mentioned by Sherry (couple two) and her comments pertaining to this task will be shared later. Within family one Michelle likes to take care of the laundry. “I usually do all the laundry. I usually put it all up. . . I would, really, rather do my own laundry.” Neil (couple two) states that,

. . . generally I do the laundry, I do most of it. Now it may be one of those things that I start a load and in the washer in the morning before I go and then get home put it in the dryer or if it's not been done and fold it call the boys in here's your clothes put it away you know. I put hers [Sherry's] away I put mine away. Put Mike's away, he's just not old enough to do that. That's the biggest thing on that.

Sherry (couple two) shares the following,

Clothing has to be washed, but laundry is a much bigger thing with him than it is with me. I mean like if there's laundry out there sitting in the washer or dryer he makes sure I know he's got laundry in here. You know. He does most of the laundry because it's just one of those things that just grates him and it doesn't, and I mean yeah I know it has to be washed okay I'll do a couple of loads here, well he wants it all done and wants the baskets empty and all that . . . you know it bothers him more.

Of the eight interviewed Sherry was the only one that mentioned ironing and she said,

“. . . when we used to have to wear dress clothes all the time because we were in the ministry work. He was the one who did most of the ironing because he could iron ten times better than me. He learned in the military . . .” Like family two, Scott (family three) takes care of the laundry. Melissa offers the following, “He does all the laundry. I don't do any laundry. He folds it, puts it away, he does laundry.” Scott confirms this fact, “And then I usually wake up about 2 o'clock. Start laundry.” Penny takes care of all the laundry for family four. She states, “I'm doing laundry and dishes every day of the week.” Brad (family four) offers this comment concerning laundry and other duties, “she does it all. Everything from dishes to laundry to, you know cleaning up after the kids to homework, getting baths. You know if it's inside its pretty much, it's pretty much Penny.” When Penny was asked to rank her top five most important duties she stated this, “Two would probably be laundry, let that go and it piles up really quick.” As can be seen from the table five the percentages provided by the participants is very reflective of what they shared during their interviews.

Couple	Women's Reported Share	Men's Reported Share
Couple 1	99%	2%
Couple 2	15%	85%
Couple 3	10%	90%
Couple 4	100%	1%
Average	56%	45%

Table 5: Reported Share of Household Tasks: Laundry

Outside Maintenance (yard work, maintaining auto)

The men interviewed handle the majority of the yard work. The men in all families but one take the lead on maintaining the auto. Michelle (couple one) says the following concerning yard work,

The other day I raked the yard. We have a lot of, I don't think there really acorns, I think they're more like hazel nuts or something, but we have those in the front yard so we get nuts all in our yard. I rake the yard, picked up sticks, when comes to any kind of the flowers I do all that. I have mowed the yard, but last year I ran over a snake so that kind of scared me. I don't care to do that. I'll weed eat sometimes . . . Matt will mow, just because he knows how to get the lawnmower started . . .

Matt confirms, "Yard is a 90/10 split with me doing most of that." Family two live close to his mother, so the two of them (Neil and his mother) share this chore. Neil (family two) offers the following comment concerning his mother, "She would rather mow herself. If you come out to help, she's going to give you the riding mower; she'd rather do the weed eating and push." Sherry confirms that Neil helps his mother with this task, "Well, he definitely helps his mom with the mowing if he's around." Melissa (family three) shares that, "He takes care of the yard work. The mowing and all that stuff." Penny (couple four) shares that, "He [Brad] does the mowing."

Not all of the couples provided comments concerning automobile maintenance. I did receive the following from Sherry (couple two), “He takes care of like getting the car greased and that kind of stuff.” Scott (couple three) states, “Neither of us really maintains the automobile because neither of us knows how to fix. We don’t know how to fix anything on auto.” I did learn, however, that Melissa takes the car in for an oil change when she is doing errands. Penny (family four) shares, “Besides oil change on my own vehicle that’s about all I do. Of course, keep it clean and whatever.”

As with the other tasks reviewed the percentages provided by participants match what they shared during the interview. As can be seen from the table six and seven, the men do handle the majority of these two tasks.

Couple	Women’s Reported Share	Men’s Reported Share
Couple 1	15%	97%
Couple 2	15%	75%
Couple 3	0%	90%
Couple 4	5%	100%
Average	9%	91%

Table 6: Reported Share of Household Tasks: Yard Work

Couple	Women’s Reported Share	Men’s Reported Share
Couple 1	20%	100%
Couple 2	10%	80%
Couple 3	70%	0%
Couple 4	5%	100%
Average	26%	70%

Table 7: Reported Share of Household Tasks: Auto Maintenance

Caring for Children including Extracurricular Activities

As we all know, there are a lot of things that can be considered when discussing what goes into caring for children. Some of these things may have been covered in other areas, like meal preparation. For this particular section I will focus first on the general care of children (bathing, dressing, watching, etc.), homework, and then move into children's extracurricular activities (types of activities, parents' involvement, etc.).

As has been mentioned, family one has two children, Blake who is school age and Emma who is not. Michelle's mother comes to their home and is there with Emma all day and is there to get Blake off the bus on the days Michelle works. When it comes to the general care of this family I would have to say that the majority of these tasks fall to Michelle, but that Matt does provide help. As can be seen from the following statements, Michelle cares for the children while Matt fulfills other commitments. "I [Michelle] give the kids a bath. He doesn't give the kids a bath very often. He will if I ask him to, but he doesn't volunteer usually." Matt shared that,

It's pretty much straight to the bath tub and then at that point and time, it's either, it is mainly Michelle gives them a bath, sometimes I give um . . . a lot of time she'll give one of them a bath at a time and I'm keeping the other one entertained. But, then typically she gives Blake a bath first. Then when Emma's ready, I'll take Blake and like blow dry his hair and kind of get him you know ready for bed type of thing. And then once Emma's done then I do the same thing, blow dry her hair, get her ready for bed then, Michelle taking their clothes and towels and stuff and putting them out in the laundry.

When asked if they read to the children before bedtime Michelle states the following, "Matt usually reads. They've got a little Bible and they read Bible stories usually, a couple, two or three a night."

Like family one, family two seems to work together to accomplish these tasks, but when it comes to bedtime it appears that mom handles more often than dad. Neil (family two) offers the following,

Now going to bed sometimes, I just like, if I'm wore out, it's like you're going to have to take care of them. A lot of times, she'll do the, get them down more often. It's a shared; it's kind of a back and forth. It just kind of depends on what's goin on or if she's got like a cat club meeting while then I've got the other kids at the house, so I try to get them bathed and into jamas and settlin' down.

When Neil was asked about reading to the children before bedtime, he stated the following, "No, not usually. Every once in a while I try to sit down and pick a family movie to watch; you know that's a big thing. They don't want to watch TV in the living room they'll watch TV in our bedroom. 'We want to sit on your bed' so, doesn't work with six people, so the young ones particularly 'oh yeah let's watch a movie in mom and dad's room', so they would all rather do that, so we try to do that."

When it comes to family three, the father leaves for work before the children are put to bed. Melissa states that, "Scott usually has to leave before then because he has to go to work. And then I get the kids ready for bed and then sit down about 10 o'clock." The father does see that the two school aged children get on the bus, but the mother calls to make sure everyone is up after she has left for work. "Um, then if uh she calls to make sure we're up at about 7:30, 7:45 and then I get the kids up, make sure they get dressed, get breakfast, and make sure they're on the bus with their stuff." Scott does watch the youngest on his days off since he may have days off during the week because of his nightshift schedule.

Penny basically handles general childcare for family four. Penny states that, "Well I'm usually up at like 6:30 and gotta get all the kids ready for school and she's

[four month old baby] usually screamin at the same time, so I'm trying to take care of her and get them ready and then I get them off to school.”

Seeing that homework is done or helping when needed pretty much falls to the mothers of these families. Michelle (couple one) states that,

When he gets home we'd have to do homework or before and since I won't be there mom (Michelle's mother) doesn't feel comfortable doing his homework, so it'll have to be after 8 o'clock. And then, I mean, usually it doesn't take him too long but on Thursday is his, that's when he has his most homework is on Thursdays. So, you know it probably doesn't take us any longer than a half hour to do it.

Family two homeschools their children, so Sherry sees that children have completed all school activities before Neil arrives home from work. Sherry states the following concerning school, “We're usually done with school, hopefully, by 4.” Couple three handles homework in this way, “as soon as I (Melissa) get home if the boys haven't started homework we start homework” and Scott states that, “When the boys get off the bus and I usually ask them if they have homework and if they say ‘no’ then I usually let it go at that. Melissa when she gets home she'll check their backpacks every night and see.” When Penny (family four) was asked if the children had a specific time that they did homework she says, “No, we just do it as we can.” When Brad was questioned about helping children with homework he stated the following, “The kids don't enjoy it when I help with homework.”

Extracurricular activities for children are something that all four couples place emphasis on. These couples have their children involved in activities that take them out of the house one day/evening a week to seven days/evenings a week, depending on the time of year. Couple one has Blake currently involved in Tae Kwon Do, breakdancing, and guitar lessons. Blake also plays baseball during baseball season. Michelle states the

following concerning Emma, “When she turns three I would like to get her in dance.”

Couple two have their four boys involved in 4-H (rabbits and cats), they also show the rabbits in arenas other than 4-H. Couple three has their three boys involved in several sports (basketball, football, baseball, and wrestling) and a youth program at church.

Couple four’s son, Joey, was in a school play spring of 2011 and also attends cub scouts.

Three of the four fathers participate regularly in children’s activities. Matt (couple one), for example, provides transportation the majority of the time to all Blake’s activities. He also takes guitar lessons with Blake. When asked about who accompanies Blake to his activities Michelle states that, “Matt usually takes him. The only time Matt can’t is if he’s like on call and he’s called out or something, like that, then I would have to take him.” Both Neil and Sherry (couple two) are involved along with their children with the rabbits. Sherry handles all of the paperwork that needs to be done to keep track of the rabbits and entrance applications to show rabbits. Neil takes care of seeing that the rabbits are feed and watered, he also takes care of their housing. The entire family goes to rabbit shows. Scott and Melissa (couple three) both accompany sons to sporting events. Penny (couple four) probably handles most of transporting to activities, Brad offers the following,

Now that I’m on this shift my weeks off I’ll take Joey to boy scouts . . . but other things that the kids have done, especially when, when Allison was younger, uh, she was in girl scouts and I did a lot there, we would travel and do some things like that. Um, but usually it comes down to Penny taking kids the majority of places and then if I’m home if she takes one the rest of them stay home with me. Um, sometimes they don’t like to do that because I’ve always got something to do and they know they’re going to be outside.

Family four is also very involved in horse breeding. Brad involves his children in some aspects of this endeavor, but the children are unable to attend races because they are too

young and those participating have to have a particular license. I did not get the impression that this activity was initiated for the children, but was more of Brad’s hobby.

The interviews basically showed that the men of these families are certainly contributing to the care of the children (personal care, homework, transportation). However, when you compare the percentages provided by each participant it appears that the men and women in all couples, except for couple two, both believe they are providing more care than what the other believes. This is what Dutsch, Lozy, and Saxon (1993:421 and 432) would call “a credit-taking bias,” which means a person gives “more credit to oneself for contributions to a joint product than one is given by other contributors.” I am wondering if this discrepancy is due to how this item was interpreted by the participants. Maybe the men took involvement in children’s activities into consideration and the women do not consider extracurricular activity involvement to be part of caring for children or as Hawkins and et al. (1994) point out that, husbands and wives do not always agree on the amount of time each spend on tasks.

Couple	Women’s Reported Share	Men’s Reported Share
Couple 1	80%	50%
Couple 2	75%	25%
Couple 3	70%	50%
Couple 4	95%	40%
Average	80%	41%

Table 8: Reported Tasks: Caring for Children

Third-Shift Duties

For the purpose of this study, finances, managing family activities, and tasks outside the home (caring for aging parents, volunteering, etc.) will be examined under

third-shift duties. As has been mentioned these types of duties have not always been taken into consideration when examining how men and women divide non-paid labor, but researchers are beginning to put more emphasis on these types of tasks. In my opinion family schedules have definitely increased through the years, which is probably one of the reasons it is important to take third-shift tasks into consideration.

Finances

Some may consider finances a second-shift task, but since it requires more mental labor than physical labor I am including it with third-shift chores. Out of the four couples interviewed, all of the women but one handle the finances. Matt (couple one) is responsible for family finances. Michelle shared the following, “He [Matt] writes out all the bills . . . We have an account together, but I still have a separate account and so I have you know Kohl’s card and stuff like that that I will handle, but he will pay through our account too so.” Sherry (couple two) has the following to say about finances, “I do the finances because I enjoy money and that takes something off him.” When Melissa was asked about finances she shared that, “I handle all finances.” Scott when questioned stated that, “She [Melissa] takes care of pretty much all the finance aspects of it.” When Penny was asked who handles the finances for their family she stated that, “I do.”

I would say that the figures in table nine are pretty reflective of how couples one and three handle finances, but it appears that couples two and four may not be viewing this task in the same way. When Neil (couple 2) was asked to select five most important tasks and then rank he offered the following concerning finances, “Well, say probably taking care of the finances. Because we end up in discussions what can we do to make stretch further or something. What we can do to make sure the kids are taken care of or . .

.,” so it would appear that he is viewing his input as part of handling this task. Brad (couple four) does rank finances as number one, but he did not offer any information that would help justify his 50% contribution. The discrepancy that is seen with couples two and four is most likely due to how the men and women of these couples are interpreting what fulfills contributing to the task. If the women discuss the household finances with the men, the men may consider this contributing whereas the women may not. Or, it is possible that we may be seeing a “credit-taking bias” in this area as well.

Couple	Women’s Reported Share	Men’s Reported Share
Couple 1	10%	100%
Couple 2	90%	30%
Couple 3	100%	5%
Couple 4	100%	50%
Average	75%	46%

Table 9: Reported Tasks: Finances

Managing Family Activities

Matt (couple one) does rank this task as number four, so he must consider it important but he did not elaborate on this activity during his interview. He did say, however, that, “Michelle is the glue that holds the family together,” which leads me to believe that she is the one that manages family activities. Family activities does make Neil’s list of important tasks, he ranks it as the second most important, but he does not elaborate on who might handle the duties involved in this task. Melissa (couple three), like Matt (couple one) ranks family activities as being the fourth important. Melissa’s husband, Scott, states that, “. . . managing family activities, she [Melissa] does a lot of that with keepin it in the calendar.” Brad of couple four does consider family activities important since he ranked its importance at number three.

The percentages supplied by the participants show that couples one and two share this particular task. The percentages provided by couple three are in line with what Scott provided during his interview, that his wife takes care of the family’s calendar of activities. It is hard to say how couple four arrived at the percentages they provided since they did not discuss how they managed this particular task during their interviews. This particular task did not make Penny’s top five list, but it did rank number three on Brad’s top five list, which could mean that he is taking into consideration the care and time involved with horse breeding. The inconsistency that is seen with couples three and four could be due to their interpretation of what is considered to be a family activity, or “credit-taking bias” may be at play here as well.

Couple	Women’s Reported Share	Men’s Reported Share
Couple 1	50%	30%
Couple 2	60%	50%
Couple 3	90%	25%
Couple 4	95%	70%
Average	74%	44%

Table 10: Reported Tasks: Managing Family Activities

Tasks outside the Home (caring for aging parents, volunteering, etc.)

Participants did not discuss this particular topic during interviews. It was only mentioned by Scott (couple three) during his interview and when questioned further it became clear that he was referring to attending sports activities. What I did discover during the interviews is that some of the participants do have church responsibilities that take them outside the home other than for regular church services. Matt for example is youth minister (not sure if this is a paid position or not), he also serves on the missions

committee; his wife, Michelle, is on the church decorating committee and helps with Baptisms. Couple two is extremely involved with their church. They serve on several committees. Neil is a deacon and trustee and Sherry is on the Board of Christian Education committee. They also help with the church sound system. Couple three cleans their church (not sure if this is a paid position) and Melissa helps out with the children's program on Wednesday evenings. Penny (couple four) does attend a women's Bible study group and Brad sings in the church choir occasionally and he plans to organize a finance workshop for church members later this year. It does not appear that any of the couples have responsibility caring for parents. As a matter of fact, two of the couples (one and two) receive some sort of help with family duties from their parents.

I believe the percentages provided by the couples could very well be representative of the responsibilities they have with their churches. However, couple three may be taking into consideration sporting events. Scott (couple three) working nights may account for the discrepancy within their percentages. Melissa (couple three) may feel that she is responsible for a bit more since Scott works some weekends and nights. When it comes to couple four I have to wonder if they might be referring to work outside, such as yard work, the home rather than tasks away from home. During the interview they were both very clear about the fact that Brad took care of the outside work.

Couple	Women's Reported Share	Men's Reported Share
Couple 1	30%	80%
Couple 2	30%	50%
Couple 3	60%	50%
Couple 4	0%	90%
Average	30%	73%

Table 11: Reported Tasks: Outside the Home

As can be seen from table 11 findings, families stay very busy. A lot of time is devoted to running a household with a major portion of time devoted to taking care of children and children's activities. A couple may not always agree on the amount of time each devotes to a certain task, but it is very clear from table 12, which is listed in the order of the task receiving the highest to lowest rank, that the couples interviewed believe that caring for children ranks very high among all the tasks that they perform. Five of the participants believe caring for children to be number one, two of the participants believe it ranks number two, and one participant ranked this particular task at number three. These couples also believe taking care of finances is important to their family's goals. Six of the participants ranked taking care of finances at one or two. Meal preparation also made the top five with four of the participants. Activities outside the home are also included in the top five with three of the participants naming it as one of the five important tasks. When considering the activities that these couples have their children involved in it is easy to see why it made the top five list. Laundry may not have been ranked one or two, but as I mentioned earlier laundry appears to be a concern with these couples, which is certainly reflected in the table 12 since five of the couples placed laundry on their top five list.

Task	Ranked One	Ranked Two	Ranked Three	Ranked Four	Ranked Five	Total
Caring for Children	5	2	1	0	0	8
Women	3	1	0	0	0	4
Men	2	1	1	0	0	4
Finances	3	3	0	0	2	8
Women	2	2	0	0	1	5
Men	1	1	0	0	1	3
Laundry	0	0	3	1	1	5
Women	0	0	2	1	1	4
Men	0	0	1	0	0	1
Meal Preparation	0	1	2	1	0	4
Women	0	1	1	1	0	3
Men	0	0	1	0	0	1
Manage Family Activities	0	1	0	1	1	3
Women	0	0	0	1	0	1
Men	0	1	0	0	1	2
Activities Outside Home	0	1	0	1	1	3
Women	0	0	0	0	0	0
Men	0	1	0	1	1	3
Shopping for Groceries	0	0	1	1	1	3
Women	0	0	1	0	1	2
Men	0	0	0	1	0	1
Housecleaning	0	0	0	1	1	2
Women	0	0	0	1	1	2
Men	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yard Work	0	0	0	1	0	1
Women	0	0	0	0	0	0
Men	0	0	0	1	0	1
Maintain Auto	0	0	0	0	1	1
Women	0	0	0	0	0	0
Men	0	0	0	0	1	1
Tasks outside Home	0	0	0	0	1	1
Women	0	0	0	0	0	0
Men	0	0	0	0	1	1

Table 12: Top Five Important Tasks Reported by Couples

Meaning of a Traditional Family

Couples were also asked to share their views on the meaning of a traditional family and whether or not their family structure resembled this type of arrangement.

Michelle (couple one) offers the following pertaining to the meaning of a traditional family, “The man works and the woman stays at home and takes care of household and the kids.” Her husband, Matt, offers that a traditional family is a family with “no divorce, no blended family, goes to church, eats dinner together, spends time together, has two kids and pets.” As can be seen from the table 13 they are in agreement that they do not have a traditional family, but for entirely different reasons. Michelle believes their situation is not traditional because she works outside the home; whereas, Matt believes that they should not be considered traditional because they have a blended family. Neil (couple two) explains that a traditional family “is something like a husband, wife, and kids . . . working together as a unit.” Sherry believes a traditional family to be “A mom and a dad and a few kids . . . a pet or two.” Neil and Sherry basically describe a traditional family in the same way, so it is clear to see why they believe (see Table 13) they have a traditional family since their family is made up of a mom, dad, children, and pets. Melissa (couple three) believes women of traditional families “do a lot more than” she typically does, but when asked if a traditional family was important to her she said, “Well, I think, I guess . . . I want my kids raised in a Christian home with parents who are married and devoted to each other and them [children].” Scott describes a traditional family as one where he sees the dad “outside mowin the grass and tillin up a garden . . . and the mom inside cookin dinner,” but is not sure how important it is to have a traditional family. He believes, “Having any kind of structure, just a structure in general, doesn’t have to be traditional. It can be anything both Melissa and I have the same ideas.” Scott and Melissa take an entirely different view when describing a traditional family, but I felt like they were agreeing that they do have a traditional family. Melissa focuses more

on the participants, whereas Scott focuses on the division of tasks to describe a traditional family. Penny (couple four) describes a traditional family “Like Leave it to Beaver or something where everybody’s all happy and everything runs smoothly and the house is always clean and everybody gets along.” Brad on the other hand describes a traditional family as a “husband and wife, children, grandparents.” This couple has differing opinions on whether their family is traditional. Penny states that they are not a traditional family because they “. . . definitely don’t have any kind of set schedule or anything, it’s just kind of come as you go and the house is usually never clean and things aren’t planned very well.” Brad believes their family is traditional because “there’s not a big thing in divorce.” Of the couples interviewed couple four is the only couple that disagreed about whether or not they have a traditional family, which is most likely due to their interpretation of a traditional family.

Couple	Women’s Response	Men’s Response
Couple 1	No	No
Couple 2	Yes	Yes
Couple 3	Yes	Yes
Couple 4	No	Yes

Table 13: Is Your Family a Traditional Family?

Impact of Religious Affiliation

As was mentioned earlier, Bartkowski (2001) points out that interviews with Evangelicals indicate that couples do follow teachings of the church on such matters as how to manage your household. Therefore, it was felt that it was important to question participants of this study about how or if their religious affiliation impacts the way they handle household tasks. A table of their answers is not being included simply because their answers were more complicated than a yes or no. Michelle (couple one) basically

believes that their religious affiliation does influence their family structure. When asked if their religious affiliation impacts their family structure Michelle offers,

Maybe in some way, I think Matt makes the final decisions on things, or he would like to think he does. I think he needs to feel like he does and I mean I think it's better, the man does feel like he's responsible for the family, so I would say, I guess kind of but I don't think that just because the woman can't speak up or anything like that. I don't think it's like that, I mean, he lets me voice my opinion on everything, but I do think when it comes right down to it I think he makes the final decisions.

Matt did not offer a lengthy response, but he did indicate that household tasks should be equal, that his relationship with his wife and children should be a priority, and that the family should have financial discipline. Couple two indicated that their religious affiliation does not impact their division of household labor. When asked if their religious affiliation impacted their views on this matter Neil states, "Not really, I mean we just, we work together on it, I mean." Sherry offers the following response,

Just the fact that we're Baptist, no. Now, like I have a friend who thinks that her husband should provide for her and she needs to be at home with the kids and I'm not of that, I understand that it's just not going to be that way necessarily. You know it has been and I've been blessed for it to be that way but I'm also open enough to the idea that things have to change so I'd say not necessarily, no.

Couple three's opinions seem to differ. Melissa responds to the question with, "I guess, I mean, I don't, well we just, we both want to work together [and] we both have the same attitude as far as you know in our marriage we just know what works. It's not something that's going to be an issue for us not something we're going to fight over. I mean it's a little thing to us." Whereas, Scott responds with, "I don't think, I don't think it has because all the churches that we've, just this church [Little Union Baptist] and New Prospect [Baptist] are the only two churches I've ever attended and both of those are very, I mean have women involved in a lot of the activities throughout the church . . ."

Penny offers the following concerning this matter, “Well, I think you know religiously a lot of it, a lot of the household stuff usually goes to the woman. I read a book, *Created to be His Help Meet*, and she goes on and on about women have to pretty much do everything.” Penny’s husband Brad offers a rather in-depth response,

I would say to a degree. You know I grew up old school. I grew up Brethren and Mennonite, so it was very much, you had, there was always a division of labor from everything from my grandparents and you know they were old school so it was men outside, women inside. I mean domestic versus and even in my immediate family it was always done that way. I was thinking just the other day, I mean I remember my sister always with my mom doing stuff so I think that it’s we did it that way and I think we’ve just because biblically that’s how we kind of think about it to, I mean you know that the men do one thing while the women do another . . . I would say that brethren and being American Baptist that we view biblically as the man as the head of the household and you know it kind of steams down like that and I think it’s just part of how we believe. I think that some of that, I know in Penny’s view needs to change as far as how we divide stuff. Um, but I think that a good Christian family and growing up with the values that we do, Brethren and American Baptist are very similar. Um, that there will always be that little bit of separation.

DISCUSSION

The data collected for this study certainly gives some insight into the beliefs of American Baptist and how they as couples coordinate and manage their lives. This research was concerned with answering the following question,

1) If American Baptist couples have experienced or are experiencing a more equal division of household labor, is the division equal to or dramatically different than what we see happening in the general population or is the division of labor more consistent with Evangelical families?

According to the literature review above, men within the general population have increased the time they spend on second-shift tasks such as cooking, cleaning, and child care (Bianchi, Milkie, Sawyer, and Robinson 2000; Coltrane 2000; Sayer 2005;

Whitehead 2008). Although these researchers may agree that men's time performing these duties has increased they are not necessarily in agreement about the percentage of the increase in time. It does seem, however, that the time spent on childcare has increased at a greater rate than the time spent on other household tasks (Sullivan and Coltrane 2008). When it comes to third-shift tasks Daly (2002) believes women manage the bulk of these duties that men become a helpmate with these tasks, but women carry the majority of the responsibility.

In contrast, Ellison and Bartkowski (2002) found that Evangelical women spend more time on second-shift tasks than women within the general population, whereas, Civettini and Glass (2008) discovered that there is no difference between the time Evangelical women spend on second-shift tasks and the time those in the general population spend on the same tasks. As with household tasks, researchers also disagree on the time Evangelical fathers spend on childcare. Civettini and Glass' (2008) research in this area was inconclusive. King's (2003) research, however, showed that Evangelical fathers spend more time with their children. When it comes to how Evangelicals handles third-shift tasks it appears that mothers are the ones that coordinate tasks in this area (Balswick and Balswick 2002).

To conduct a thorough comparison we need to also take into consideration what the past reveals. As you will recall, the examination into the history of Baptist religion indicated that tensions with the larger society were decreasing within the Northern Baptist (now considered American Baptist) organization in the twentieth century, which means that those involved with the Northern/American Baptist organization were becoming more secular.

Analysis

The following analysis considers the division of household labor (second- and third-shift duties), childcare, the meaning of a traditional family, and whether their religious affiliation plays a role in how they manage the tasks being discussed.

Division of Household Labor

Evaluation of the data obtained from the four couples interviewed indicates that when it came to general household tasks American Baptists align with the general population. As has been mentioned, research shows that fathers within the general population and Evangelical fathers are spending more time with their children. There is some disagreement between researchers, though, on whether or not Evangelical fathers' time has increased at a higher rate than that of the fathers within the general population. The interviews conducted for this study indicate that fathers in these families are spending time with their children, but to thoroughly compare American Baptist couples to the other groups, a time diary would need to be conducted for a period of time to determine the number of hours fathers spend in caring for children as well as other involvement with children.

At this particular time, research does not indicate that there is a gap between the general population and Evangelical couples when it comes to third-shift duties. As has been mentioned, third-shift tasks have not been widely explored by researchers, but as researchers perform more in-depth studies of third-shift duties, they will find out if the divide between the genders in the general population is as great as within the Evangelical population. Once more research in this area is available and if American Baptist is not

included, studies comparing American Baptist couples with the general population and the Evangelical population could be conducted.

To explore this topic further an examination follows as to how the couples interviewed divide household tasks (second- and third-shift duties) and childcare, what they had to say about the questions surrounding traditional families, as well as how their religious affiliation plays a role.

Second-Shift Tasks

This research indicates that the majority of the general housecleaning and grocery shopping is being completed by women. A limitation of the data collected is that it does not allow for an evaluation of how American Baptist men's time has changed over the years. When it comes to meal preparation and cleanup it looks as if the men are taking an active role, but the majority of this task still is handled by women. I believe we are seeing a shift in this area because of the complex schedules families are leading with children's activities. I was most surprised with how these couples handle laundry. The four couples interviewed indicate that two of the men handle the majority of the laundry and two of the men do very little, if any, laundry. It was very clear that Michelle (couple one) prefers taking care of the laundry because she wants to make sure it is done properly. Neil (couple two), on the other hand, prefers handling because it is important to him that laundry is done promptly. I believe Scott (couple three) is in charge of laundry simply because he is home during the day and can keep the laundry done up on a daily basis especially since this family has very busy evening schedules. When it comes to couple four, it appears that Penny is responsible for this task simply because she is a stay-at-home mom and that Brad feels like his work schedule hinders him from helping with

such activities. When it comes to outside work, this task is pretty much gender specific, with men doing the majority of the yard work. The data obtained from these four couples thus suggest that some duties, at least, are becoming less gendered. The laundry, for example, is being handled by two of the men in the study. One accepts responsibility for the laundry because he is home during the day and has the time to do daily. The other man accepts the responsibility because he is more concerned about the laundry being done on a regular basis. I believe the data collected may also suggest that cleaning up after meals may also be one of those duties that may be becoming less gendered. Anyway, the data from the survey indicates that three of the couples interviewed share this task.

When considering second-shift tasks, American Baptist men may align more with the general population. As has been mentioned, Sayer (2005) indicates that men within the general population have substantially increased their time in second-shift duties, while other researchers seem to believe that the time men have spent on these types of tasks have decreased slightly. “Women still perform most routine cooking and cleaning tasks, and although fewer men confine their efforts to the occasional outside chore, husbands rarely take full responsibility for a wide range of household tasks . . . when men perform more of the routine housework, employed women feel that the division of labor is fairer . . .” (Coltrane 2000:1226). Greenstein (1996:591) using data from the National Survey of Families and Households conducted in 1987 and 1988 states that within the general population, “Wives contribute about 63% of the hours spent on all household labor; husbands, about 31%. The remaining 6% was accounted for by children and others.” Since American Baptists have not previously been included in such research we

cannot assume that men within this faith or those interviewed have increased their time substantially, but the interviews show that men are taking somewhat of an active role in such activities, which could indicate that they are spending more time in this area. When percentages provided from the participants of this study were compiled and evaluated the numbers reveal that the average time the four wives spend on household labor (meal preparation, housecleaning, grocery shopping, washing dishes/cleaning up, and laundry) is equivalent to 72% and the average time of the four husbands is equal to 31%. We see an overage of three percentage point here, which may be due to task interpretation or “credit-taking bias.” Even though, the time these couples spend on the mentioned tasks is very much in line with what the 1987 and 1988 surveys revealed. The interviews show that at least three of the men involved, at least consciously, believe that they should help with household duties. They do not ascribe to the belief that the man is the breadwinner and the woman is to take care of things at home.

Childcare

As has been mentioned, the majority of general care for children falls to the mothers, but like with meal preparation the fathers are probably doing some tasks in this area. This may be due, once again, to the complex schedules that families have. It takes both parents to accomplish general childcare since families spend so much time out of the house with children’s activities. The couples interviewed seemed to place a lot of emphasis on children’s activities. We have seen that extracurricular activities take children and at least one parent out of the home several nights a week. I believe both parents in families two and three are very involved in children’s activities. I would say that with family one the mother is very supportive of the children being involved in

outside activities, but currently the father is the one participating with the son. This will probably even out with the mother being more involved in such activities once the daughter is old enough to participate in extracurricular activities since it will probably take both of them to get the children to their different destinations. When it comes to couple four, both parents approve of children’s involvement in extracurricular activities, but Penny probably has the majority of the responsibility when it comes to seeing that the children are transported.

When it comes to childcare, the questions covered during the interviews and on the Task Questionnaire allowed for couples to estimate percent of time spent on childcare, but did not specifically request number of hours spent on this task. We could, however; attempt to do a comparison using the hours that father’s spend with children that are offered by Wilcox. As you will remember Wilcox (2006:43) provides the following three figures pertaining to the amount of time fathers spend in youth activities with children:

Group of Fathers	Hours per Week
Churchgoing	2.9
Churchgoing: Evangelical	3.2
Non-churchgoing	1.6
Average	2.57

Table 14: Hours Fathers Spend with Children in Youth Activities (Wilcox 2006:43)

Estimated time fathers of study spend with children in youth activities (Table 15) was prepared by estimating the time that the fathers interviewed spend in youth activities with their children. It should be noted that the estimates may not be a true representation of the

actual time that father's spend in activities with children since some of the participants were very specific about father's involvement and other participants were not as specific.

Father	Activity	Hours per Week
Matt (couple 1)	Tae Kwon Do, Breakdancing, Guitar, Youth Group	3
Neil (couple 2)	Rabbits/4-H	2
Scott (couple 3)	Numerous Sports	8
Brad (couple 4)	Cub Scouts, Play	1
Average		3.5

Table 15: Estimated Time Fathers of Study Spend with Children in Youth Activities

At a glance, when considering the average, it appears that American Baptist fathers are comparable to Evangelical fathers, but I believe that couple three's involvement in so many sports skews the figures especially since there are so few participants. Until a time diary can be completed by American Baptist fathers the percentages provided by the participants are probably more reliable at this time. The percentages provided for childcare indicate that fathers provide somewhere between 20 and 41 percent of care for children with the women indicating that they provide an average of 80% to care of children (leaving men with an average of 20%) and men indicating that they provide an average of 41% of children's care (see Estimated Time Fathers of Study Spend with Children in Youth Activities, Table 15). There could be two reasons for this discrepancy, 1) participants may be considering different types of tasks to calculate their individual estimate, or 2) "credit-taking bias" may be at play. Due to such a discrepancy further research needs to be conducted to determine whether the actual hours align with Evangelical or the General Population.

Third-Shift Tasks

The interviews conducted indicate that women basically handle the responsibility for third-shift tasks. The majority of the women interviewed handle the finances and they seem to be responsible for the planning that goes in to the activities that children are involved with. The one activity that one might consider to be 50-50 is outside commitments; most of those interviewed are involved in some way with their churches. As has been mentioned, none of the couples interviewed are considered to be part of the sandwich generation, so it would be interesting to see how these couples handle this type of situation if or when it becomes necessary. When it comes to schedules and time, Daly (2002) believes there remains a gender divide within the general population, where the women are mostly responsible for this chore. It was also reported in the March 1, 2002 issue *Christianity Today* that mothers of Evangelical families are also mainly responsible for orchestrating schedules. It looks like women, whether they are part of the general population or involved with an Evangelical faith; take the lead in planning and schedules.

In summary, when it comes to general household duties the data collected indicates that American Baptist couples division of household labor aligns closer to how general population couples divide such tasks. When it comes to childcare it appears that American Baptist couples also align with the general population, but a time study needs to be completed before one can say for sure. I believe the data collected indicates that American Baptist couples are currently maintaining a low-state of tension with society. The four couples interviewed seem to handle third-shift tasks similar to other families within the general population and Evangelical faiths, but as I mentioned further research may begin to show that a gap actually can be seen between general population couples

and Evangelical couples. When considering third-shift tasks I believe more research will need to be collected before any definite decision can be made.

Meaning of a Traditional Family

As you will recall, Bernard (1981) basically describes a traditional family as one where the man provides economically for the family and the woman is responsible for caring for the children and home. Other terms may also be used for a traditional family, such as “The Family” or “The Nuclear Family.” Bernardes (1999:22) offers that, “The idea of ‘The Family’ or ‘The Nuclear Family’ is an idea with remarkable strength and power. It is something which just about any member of society can offer a definition . . .”

Segal (1983:13) provides a very concise definition of what a family is:

Our traditional family model of the married heterosexual couple with children—based on sexual division of labour where the husband as breadwinner provides economic support for his dependent wife and children, while the wife cares for both husband and children—remains central to all family ideology.

When questioned about the meaning of a traditional family participants offered some part of the definition provided by Segal (1983) even though three of the four couples do not adhere strictly to traditional family gender roles. Michelle’s (couple one) definition is very simple, but comes the closest to Segal’s definition. Neil and Sherry (couple two), Matt (couple one), and Brad’s (couple three) definitions are closely related to the first part of Segal’s definition since they place some focus on members of the family. Scott and Melissa’s (couple three) definitions place an emphasis on the division of labor, but their definitions do not focus on the “husband as the provider.” It is not clear if Penny’s (couple four) definition can be applied to Segal’s and Bernardes’ definitions. She does mention “Leave it to Beaver,” which implies that she is referring to a traditional

family description, but she then goes on to discuss things pertaining to organization and interaction among family members.

I believe it is clear from the descriptions offered by those interviewed that the participants have not escaped social influence since they place emphasis on a portion, if not all, of how researchers describe a traditional family. Three of the participants offered reasons for why their family is not traditional. These reasons include: having a blended family, the woman works, or not having a clean house and not getting along. Of these reasons there is only one that would qualify as a reason; and that is that the woman works outside the home. When considering the definition offered by Segal (1983) and Bernardes (1999), in my opinion, couple four could be considered to have a traditional family even though they disagree as to whether their family could be classified as traditional. I do not feel the other three couples fit the definition since the women of couples one and three work outside the home and the male of couple two (Neil) is very active with activities inside the home.

Impact of Religious Affiliation

The participants' comments certainly vary on this matter. Michelle (couple one) does not mention any scripture in particular, but her comment seems to be referring to Ephesians 5:23, "For the husband is the head of the wife as Christ is the head of the church, his body, of which he is the Savior" (New International Version). I believe she feels that they work together to make decisions, but ultimately the final decision is Matt's. She could also be taking into consideration the last part of Ephesians 5:33, "... the wife must respect her husband." Matt (couple one) made it clear that his wife and his

family were very important to him. The fact that he wanted to make this point leads me to believe that he certainly attempts to apply Ephesians 5:28 to his life, which is, “In this same way, husbands ought to love their wives as their own bodies. He who loves his wife loves himself.” Neil and Sherry (couple two) were pretty straight forward with their answer to whether or not their religious affiliation impacted how they managed household tasks. They both agreed that their involvement with the church did not influence this part of their life. Melissa (couple three) seems a little unsure about her answer, but did want me to know that they work together and that a Christian home environment was important. When Scott (couple three) addressed this topic he seems to be focusing more on women having leadership positions in the church, which he does not seem to be opposed to because he has been involved with congregations that encourage women’s involvement. It appears that he is addressing what the Bible has to say about women speaking out in the church. “Women should remain silent in the churches. They are not allowed to speak, but must be in submission, as the law says” (1 Corinthians 14:34). I believe he is stating that he and Melissa do not adhere to strict religious rules and that this is just one example of where they and the churches they have been part of deviate from God’s instruction. It appears that Penny (couple four) is seeking to be the wife that God wants her to be. The book she refers to, which was published by No Greater Joy Ministries (Created to Be His Help Meet, 2009) in 2004, has the following overview:

Somewhere over the passing years and changing culture, women have lost their way. This book is written to lead them back home. Regardless of how you began your marriage or how dark and lonely the path that has brought you to where you are now, I want you to know that it is possible today to have a marriage so good and so fulfilling that it can only be explained as a miracle.

Brad (couple four) makes it clear that his faith does play a role when he suggests that his involvement with church has reinforced the idea that the man is to be the head of the household. Like Michelle (couple one), it appears that his response is based on what Ephesians 5:23 says about the man being the head.

I believe it is important to note that the comparison to scripture is based solely on my interpretation of what was provided by the participants since none of them referenced scripture when they were asked if their religious affiliation effect how they divided second-shift tasks, childcare, and third-shift tasks. I do believe that the women interviewed do want to maintain their individuality while also being the person that they believe God wants them to be. Their main goal is to have a home with Christian values for their children. In order to accomplish this goal the couples have chosen to work together to maintain a positive structure that works for their individual families. The way they divide the duties being discussed will probably go through changes to accommodate such things as children getting older, possible career changes or opportunities, increase or decrease in extracurricular activities and other commitments. Basically, these families and others like them will adjust as life requires and the gap that currently exists between the time women (63%) and the time men (31%) spend on household labor may begin to narrow. However, at this point when one considers the percentages it is apparent that even though the men in this study may feel that they are contributing a fair share to household tasks a gender divide does exist.

Married men of the American Baptist faith have increased the amount of time they spend on non-paid labor to accommodate for their wives joining the workforce.

The division of labor is similar to what we see happening in the general population. Even though Men's time has increased on second-shift tasks there still remains a gender divide with the wives being responsible for a majority of these tasks. It is, however, important to note that those interviewed take involvement with their children very seriously and consider it a priority. They also realize that a gender divide does exist within their families when it comes to household duties. When it comes to third-shift tasks the answer is a little more complicated. It is clear that the tasks are currently very gender specific, with women handling some tasks almost totally and almost totally assigning others to men. This can especially be seen with tasks associated with caring for children. Men appear to be willing to take a more active role in these areas while leaving the other household tasks to the women. We may be seeing this because as Wilcox (2006) points out churches are placing emphasis on fathers spending more time with family and children. At this point in time it appears that no difference exists between general population couples and Evangelical couples. If the data contained from this study is any indication future research will begin to show that the gender divide is not as great among general population couples as with Evangelical couples and that American Baptist will align more closely with the general population.

This study shows that American Baptist couples align with the general population when it comes to second-shift tasks and childcare. Since this is the case it gives us reason to believe that the American Baptist denomination is in a state of low-tension with society. This makes them appear to blend with society, but that does not necessarily mean that they do not maintain their religious beliefs and believe differently than many without a religious base, especially when it comes to family and children. This could be seen by

those that participated in this study. I believe it was apparent from the participants that they wanted to be a part of society while maintaining a God centered family structure. The importance of faith and the role it plays in constructing the family should not be considered insignificant. A time diary may actually show that American Baptist couples place more emphasis on family and children than this study has revealed. American Baptist and other mainline Protestant faiths may be charting a course that eventually finds them somewhere in the middle of general population couples and Evangelical couples.

This study added a dimension to previous research that has not been overly explored. It includes a group that believes it is important to maintain a presence in the World while maintaining a God centered family structure. Future researchers in this area should certainly consider studying three groups rather the two that has been the main focus of most researchers.

CONCLUSION

This study used qualitative in-depth interviews along with a short questionnaire to explore if American Baptist couples' division of non-paid tasks is more consistent with the general population in the United States or more similar with Evangelical Conservative Christians. Limitations exist with this research project. First, the small sample means of my findings will not generalize to the American Baptist population at large. Second, the eight interviewed were made up of four couples, which could have impacted the data because of prior discussions they may have had pertaining to the subject matter. A larger qualitative study may be needed to see whether these findings hold true for other American Baptist couples.

When evaluating any family I do not believe you will find any two couples that handle things exactly the same. There are a lot of factors that determine how couples share non-paid tasks, like; how they were raised, how their peers coordinate tasks, their work schedules (as Brad points out), and their faith.

As I have mentioned, I believe American Baptist couples' division of second-shift tasks (including everything but childcare) are more in line with general population couples. Fathers may not be devoting as much time as mothers to general childcare, but it appears that fathers in all groups (General Population, Evangelical, and American Baptist) are spending time with their children, which is good news. When it comes to third-shift tasks there is no reported difference between the families within the general population and Evangelical families. As with the general population families and Evangelical families the American Baptist women are handling the bulk of third-shift tasks, with the exception of the involvement they have with their individual churches.

As a reminder, there has not been a lot of research dedicated to American Baptist families and the four couples that participated in this study may not give a good representation of the entire American Baptist faith, so before a sound determination can be made on how they compare with other groups a larger study should be completed. This study does set the stage for a more in-depth investigation into how American Baptist couples divide second- and third-shift duties and whether or not they are more consistent with general population families or with Evangelical families. It is my hope that researchers will at least consider including three different groups in future research, general population couples, Evangelical couples, and American Baptist couples.

In conclusion, such studies as this one give insight into what role social institutions, such as churches, play in individual family structure, as well as whether church attendance can strengthen the family unit. Such research can show whether a family's environment is positively impacted by if they attend church or not, as well as, whether the type of church they attend impacts the organization of a family. Data collected from future research would show how tasks continue to change. A comparison of families belonging to these groups can be used to determine if certain population groups are submitting to religious influence or are being influenced more by the greater society. Such research not only has the potential to improve public policy and enhance public services as families adjust to societal changes, but this type of research can also be useful to religious organizations as they advise families and create programs for families within their congregations.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Churches that Received the American Baptist Study Flyer

Baptist Church of Heltonville
285 Shawswick Station Road
Bedford, IN 47421
(812) 275-4912

Bedford 1st Baptist Church
1515 20th St.
Bedford, IN 47421
(812) 275-5991

First Baptist Church of Orleans
751 E. Washington
Orleans, IN 47452
(812) 856-3713

First United Church
2420 E. 3rd Street
Bloomington, IN 47401
(812) 332-4439

Gulletts Creek Baptist Church
1518 Trogdon Lane
Bedford, IN 47421
(812) 279-8723

Huron Baptist Church
P.O. Box 97
Huron, IN 47437
(812) 849-4211

Liberty Baptist Church
RR 4
Mitchell, IN 47446
(812) 849-5775

Little Union Baptist Church
5511 N. Brummetts Creek Road
Bloomington, IN 47408
(812) 332-0172

McDoel Baptist Church
1008 S. Rogers Street
Bloomington, IN 47403
(812) 336-6979

Mitchell 1st Baptist Church
301 S. Seventh Street
Mitchell, IN 47446
(812) 849-4764

Mt. Horeb Baptist Church
2208 West County Road 800 North
Orleans, IN 47452
(812) 865-2890

Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church
396 N. County Road 200 E
Orleans, IN 47452
(812) 856-2031

New Prospect Baptist Church
6055 N. Old State Road 37
Bloomington, IN 47408
(812) 333-1575

New Unionville Baptist Church
6020 E. State Road 45
Bloomington, IN 47408
(812) 332-2255

Silverville Baptist Church
RR 1
Williams, IN 47470
(812) 388-6585

Spice Valley Baptist Church
Porter Burton Road
Mitchell, IN 47446
(812) 849-3441

APPENDIX II

Research Conducted by:
Janice McCloud, IUPUI Master's Student, mccloud@indiana.edu, (xxx) xxx-xxxx
Management of Household Tasks among Married American Baptist Couples Study
IUPUI/Clarion, IRB Approval #xxxxxxxxxx

MARRIED AMERICAN BAPTIST COUPLES NEEDED FOR AN INTERVIEW STUDY!

Are you a Married American Baptist? If so

- Are you and your spouse regular members of an American Baptist Church?
 - Are you and your spouse between the ages of 20 and 45?
 - Do you have at least one child under 18 living at home?
-

If you can answer yes to these questions, I would like to hear what you have to say! I am a graduate student at Indiana University Purdue University Indianapolis and am interested in learning how you manage every day household tasks. I want to learn more about how couples organize work, family, and other outside commitments.

Taking part in this study is easy!

- Both the husband and wife need to be available for an interview during January 2011
 - Involves one private interview separately with each partner lasting roughly 1 hour each
 - You will receive a \$20 gift card for participating
 - Your participation is voluntary
-

Confidentiality is a top priority! Your name will not appear in any transcript or report of study findings

Day, Time and Location will be arranged at your convenience

If interested, call Janice McCloud at: (xxx) xxx-xxxx

Email: mccloud@indiana.edu

APPENDIX III

IRB Study # xxxxxxxxxx

INDIANA UNIVERSITY BLOOMINGTON

STUDY INFORMATION SHEET

Gender Division in American Baptist Families Qualitative Interview Study

You are invited to participate in a research study to explore how American Baptist couples manage household tasks. You were selected as a possible subject because you identified yourself as being an American Baptist, married, between 20 and 45 years of age, with at least one child under 18 years of age living at home. We ask that you read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to be in the study.

The study is being conducted by Janice McCloud to fulfill thesis requirements for a graduate program of studies in Sociology at Indiana University Purdue University Indianapolis (IUPUI).

STUDY PURPOSE

The purpose of this study is to examine the gender division of household duties among members of the American Baptist denomination to see if the division of household duties among this group of individuals is similar to the general population or comparable to religious conservative/evangelical families.

NUMBER OF PEOPLE TAKING PART IN THE STUDY:

If you and your spouse agree to participate, you will be one of four (4) to six (6) couples who will be participating in this research.

PROCEDURES FOR THE STUDY:

If you agree to be in the study, you will do the following things:

Participants will be interviewed in private by me, Janice McCloud, an IUPUI graduate student in Sociology. I would like to talk to you and audio record our conversation about how you manage household tasks. The interview will last about an hour and will take place during January 2011. I will ask you questions pertaining to how you and your spouse handles household duties. These interviews are confidential and your name will not be revealed to anyone.

RISKS OF TAKING PART IN THE STUDY:

This study involves minimal risks. By taking part in the study, you are revealing how you and your family manage non-paid labor. By participating you may also feel some emotional or mental discomfort in discussing personal experiences that may have been an area of disagreement with you and your spouse.

PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION IN THE STUDY

There is no cost for being in this study. As compensation for volunteering to participate in this study, however, you will be given a \$20 gift card during the scheduled interview time at the start of the interview.

BENEFITS OF TAKING PART IN THE STUDY:

You may feel satisfaction by sharing your experiences with someone who is interested in what you have to say. It may feel good to talk about how household tasks are distributed within your family. The information you provide may help with future research in this area of study.

ALTERNATIVES TO TAKING PART IN THE STUDY:

You may voluntarily choose to participate in this study without any negative results. You may end the interview at any time or skip any question you do not wish to answer. You will still be given a \$20 gift card even if you do not answer all of the questions.

PERMISSION FOR CONTACT INFORMATION

I will also ask for your permission to have contact information for follow up questions if I have any after the interview. These questions will address experiences that may have been unclear or to verify specific information that you told me. Giving contact information is voluntary and your decision. You may still take part in this study if you do not give contact information.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Keeping your name and information confidential is very important to me. This means that I will take safety measures to protect each participant's name and privacy throughout all aspects of the research study. I, Janice McCloud, will be the only person to hear the audio-recorded interviews. The audio recordings will be erased after the interviews are transcribed. Following transcription, my thesis chair, might review the transcripts, but participants' names will not be tied to these transcripts in any way.

Your name will never be used in any reports from this study and specific information may be changed to ensure no one can identify you in reports. All information from this study will be kept in locked offices and secure password protected computers.

The only organization that may look at and/or copy your research records for quality assurance and data analysis is the IUPUI/Clarian Institutional Review Board. The U.S. Office for Human Research Protections (OHRP) may also review study records.

VOLUNTARY NATURE OF STUDY

Being in this study is completely voluntary. You can choose to not be in the study, without any penalty. You have the right to withdraw your consent or to discontinue your participation at any time.

CONTACTS FOR QUESTIONS OR PROBLEMS

If you have any questions or concerns for me, please feel free to call me at (xxx) xxx-xxxx or e-mail me at mccloud@indiana.edu. You may also contact my thesis chair, Dr. Pat Wittberg, at (xxx) xxx-xxxx or pwittber@iupui.edu. Also, for questions about your rights as a research participant or to discuss problems, complaints, or concerns about this research study, or to obtain information, or to offer input, please contact the IUPUI/Clarian Research Compliance Administration office at (xxx) xxx-xxxx.

Form date: 11/08/2010

APPENDIX IV

Household Task Questionnaire

What percent of the following household duties do you perform?

Percent (0% - 100%)

Task

Meal preparation or cooking

Housecleaning

Shopping for groceries and household goods

Washing dishes and cleaning up after meals

Laundry (washing, ironing and mending)

Yard work

Taking care of finances

Caring for children

Managing family activities

Maintaining Auto

Tasks outside the home (caring for aging parents,
volunteering, etc.)

APPENDIX V

Division of Household Labor Interview

First of all I want to thank you for agreeing to participate in this study and to show my appreciation I would like to present you with a gift certificate from _____ . Before we begin I would like to confirm that you received the Study Information Sheet that I sent to you on _____. Do you have any questions about anything on the Study Information Sheet? (Answer any questions that the participant may have.) Before beginning the interview I have a short questionnaire that I would like for you to complete.

- 1) Are you employed and if so how many hours a week do you work?
- 2) How many children under the age of 18 do you have living at home and what are their ages?
 - a. Are they involved in any extracurricular activities? If so, what are they?
 - b. Do these extracurricular activities involve any duties on your part? If so, what are they?
- 3) Walk me through a typical week day at your house.
- 4) Walk me through a typical weekend day at your house.
 - a. Saturday
 - b. Sunday
 - i. Church attendance
 - ii. Any involvement in church other than attending, hold office, teach, etc.
- 5) Have you and your husband/wife discussed who has responsibility for household tasks? If so, what was concluded?
 - a. How often has a conversation surrounding household tasks taken place?
- 6) Describe in detail any duties you perform around the home.
Prompts: [show questionnaire answers]
 - a. How has the amount devoted to these duties changed over the years?
- 7) When considering all tasks how would you rank these tasks? With the most important being number 1.
- 8) Describe in detail any duties your husband/wife performs around the home.
 - a. How much time do you believe your husband/wife devotes to each of these duties?
 - b. How has the amount of time spent on such tasks changed for your husband/wife?

- c. Is the time division fair and equitable? Explain.
- 9) How would you like to see the division of household labor divided?
- a. Does your faith play a role in how you think tasks that are being discussed should be divided?
- 10) How would you describe the term “Traditional Family”? Do you consider your family to be a “Traditional Family”? If so, in what ways? If not, how is your family different from a “Traditional Family”?
- 11) Is having a “Traditional Family” structure something that is important to you? If so, why?
- 12) Describe the ways your religious affiliation impacts your views on the division of household labor?
- a. Does your household structure reflect these views?
- 13) Do you have anything you would like to add or any questions before we conclude the interview?

If you have any questions later pertaining to the interview or the research study the Study Information Sheet you received at the beginning of this interview has my phone number, my thesis chair’s phone number, as well as a phone number for Indiana University’s Human Subjects Office. Thank you again for taking the time to help me with this project.

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CURRICULUM VITAE

Janice Sue McCloud

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	M.A., Sociology Thesis: Gender Division in American Families: Second and Third Shifts Concentration: Family/Gender	
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