

THE GIVER OF AMERICAN CHRISTMAS GIFT  
GIVING IN A FAMILY RELATION

By

TOSHIKO MATSUTANI

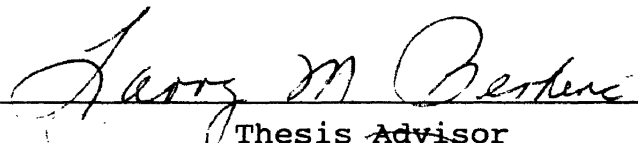
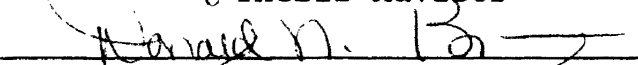
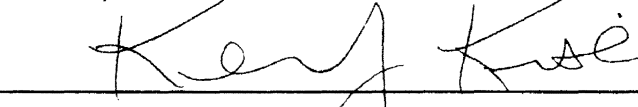

Bachelor of Arts  
Aoyama Gakuin University  
Tokyo, Japan  
1973

Master of Arts  
Waseda University  
Tokyo, Japan  
1980

Submitted to the Faculty of the  
Graduate College of the  
Oklahoma State University  
in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for  
the Degree of  
MASTER OF SCIENCE  
May, 1993

THE GIVER OF AMERICAN CHRISTMAS GIFT  
GIVING IN A FAMILY RELATION

Thesis Approved:

  
Thesis Advisor  
  
  
  
Dean of the Graduate College

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author is deeply grateful to Dr. Larry Perkins, Dr. Donald Brown and Dr. Ken Kiser for support, encouragement, and untiring willingness to be of assistance and guidance whenever called upon. Without their kindness and professional experience, this study could not had been completed. From Dr. Perkins, I received the guidance of the thesis and the survey from the outline to the details. From Dr. Brown, I learned about the aspect of materialism in American Christmas and the anthropological approach of gift giving. From Dr. Kiser, I received the very important advice on research questions and the contemporary role situations.

Recognition and appreciation are also extended to Dr. Larry Hynson and Dr. Lee Maril for their advice.

The author would also like to express her appreciation to 77 subjects of the survey whose cooperation made this thesis possible.

Finally, I am greatly indebted to my parents and elder sister for my support through my staying in the United States.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
Background Introduction . . . . .	1
Problem Statement . . . . .	3
Purpose of the Study . . . . .	4
The Significance of the Study . . . . .	5
Research Questions . . . . .	6
The Limitation of this Study . . . . .	9
II. LITERATURE REVIEW. . . . .	10
The Theory of Gift Giving . . . . .	10
Collectivistic Theory. . . . .	12
Individualistic Theory . . . . .	17
Previous Studies on Several Aspects of American Christmas . . . . .	21
Giver. . . . .	21
The Type of Gift . . . . .	24
Institutionalization of a Holiday.	25
Power Relation of Gift in a Family	28
III. METHODOLOGY . . . . .	30
IV. RESULT AND FINDINGS. . . . .	32
Two Incomes and Gender of Giver . . . . .	32
The Type of Giver. . . . .	32
The Type of Giver and Contributor. to Household Income. . . . .	34
The Type of Household and Pressure . . . . .	37
Child Care and the Giver . . . . .	39
Child Care and the Household . . . . .	39
The Influence of Child Care and Child on Christmas Celebration . . . . .	44

Chapter	Page
The Household Shopping and a Giver. . .	46
Christmas Shopping and	
Everyday Shopping. . . . .	46
Grocery Items and Other Items in	
Everyday Life. . . . .	48
The Changing Attitude to	
Shopping by both Genders . . . .	48
V.    CONCLUSION . . . . .	53
BIBLIOGRAPHY. . . . .	59
APPENDIXES. . . . .	62
APPENDIX A - SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE . . .	63
APPENDIX B - OTHER RESEARCHES . . . . .	69

## LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
I. Causes of Christmas Malaise . . . . .	26
II. Distribution of All Gifts Reported by Sex . . .	33
III. Distribution of Types of Givers by Household. .	35
IV. Relationship between Main Contributor to Household Income and Type of Giver of Household . . . . .	36
V. Distribution of Pressure by Sex . . . . .	37
VI. Distribution of Pressure by Household Type. . .	37
VII. Reasons of Pressure . . . . .	38
VIII. Distribution of Types of Giver by Household and Child Care . . . . .	40
IX. Relationship between Gift Selection and Information . . . . .	41
X. Description of Subjects in Child Care Role. . .	43
XI. Distribution of Child's Influence . . . . .	45
XII. Distribution of Types of Giver by Household and Purchasing. . . . .	47
XIII. When Did You Start Shopping?. . . . .	49
XIV. How Much Did You Enjoy Christmas Shopping?. . .	49
XV. What did You Enjoy Most? . . . . .	50
XVI. Do You Think Shopping Devalues Masculinity? . .	52
XVII. Distribution of All Gifts Reported by Sex of Givers and Receivers . . . . .	70
XVIII. Standard Regressions for Models for Men and Women . . . . .	73

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### Background Information

Regardless of technological achievement, gift giving is a universal behavior. People in a primitive society give gifts such as necklaces, armshells, fish and vegetables. People in an advanced society give gifts of either mass-produced objects or hand-made-products.

Cheal states:

The stability of the gift as a symbol of relationship, and thus as a symbol of identity as a significant other, is a fact of some importance (1987:154).

As Cheal says, gift giving can be the powerful means to either generate or maintain human relations. This is true beyond the difference of economic stages, whether primitive or advanced. The diverse correlation between positive human relation and the types or the frequencies of gift giving can be significant in analyzing social phenomenon.

The research on gift giving has been done by two social science disciplines. One type of analysis is conducted by anthropologists, who focus on primitive societies. The most prominent is Mauss.

Blau says about Mauss's contribution:

"Total prestation," as Mauss called any form of exchange, "not only carries with it the obligation to repay gifts received, but it implies two others equally important: the obligation to give presents and the obligation to receive them... To refuse to give, or to fail to invite, is --- like refusing to accept --- the equivalent of declaration of war; it is a refusal of friendship and intercourse (1964:107)."

Mauss thinks that to give and to receive as well as to repay are important, and calls these three dimensions moral. The moral concept gives impetus to social cohesion as well as cohesion of two individuals.

The other social scientists who study gift giving are sociologists. Within that discipline, exchange theorists regard gift giving as a sort of exchange. The theoretical bases for gift giving are the economic utilities found in the market economy and the concept of reciprocity. Exchange theorists believe the reciprocity that regulates exchange process and the exchange relation is supposed to terminate if the exchange is imbalanced reciprocity. Blau, however, who distinguishes social exchange from economic exchange says (1964:94):

Processes of social exchange, which may originate in pure self-interest, generate trust in social relations through their recurrent and gradually expanding character.

There are two kinds of gift giving chances. One is the institutionalized gift giving chance like Christmas and Easter, in which both sides exchange material things. The other is the spontaneous gift giving chance in which one side transmits a material thing to the other side in return for a received help. In this thesis, the writer focuses on



Christmas among institutionalized gift giving chances.

Caplow (1982:383) says that Christmas gift giving is a major feature of American culture that involves nearly the entire population, accounts for an appreciable fraction of all consumer spending, and engages a vast amount of human effort.

Levi-Strauss (1969:56) says that the exchange of gift at Christmas in North America is, as it were, a gigantic potlatch, implicating millions of individuals.

Fischer et al. (1989:141) say that their research illustrates the sacred and secular bipolar structure of Christmas gift giving; as Belk (1987) has argued, there is a selfish side to gift giving during Christmas festivities, and as Caplow (1982) has proposed, there is also evidence that gift giving can signify love and interpersonal bonding.

So, Christmas is worth scrutinizing not only in its large scale, but also in its complex meanings (communal value vs. materialistic value).

### Problem Statement

Gouldner says:

Except, in friendship, kinship, and neighborly relation, a norm of reciprocity is not imposed on Americans by the "dominant cultural profile"(1960:171).

In America, the network of gift exchange doesn't go beyond friends, kinmen, and neighbors. In Christmas, gift giving in kinship is the most dominant among these three.

Barnett (1954:60) says that among several folk festivals

of the year, Christmas provides a body of traditional imagery that is family centered. If Christmas has a family orientation and children receive the greatest advantage as Christmas in an Apartment Hotel indicated (1959:239), it leads to the tacit assumption that the givers of the Christmas gifts are females because females have the primary responsibility for familial matters.

All research results tell us females are dominant as givers, and a variable used is gender. This generalization, however, is a little stereotyped when we think about the social change since the 1970s.

Fischer Eileen et al. (1990:333-345) try to go beyond gender and refer to the degree of internalization of role by an individual, not gender. So, a variable is the degree of internalization of the traditional gender role: egalitarian orientation vs. traditional orientation. This research focuses on personal choice in gift giving.

#### Purpose of the Study

Most research on Christmas gift giving has been classified according to gender (male vs. female), but that focus is stereotyped.

Recent research on gift givers uses internalization or orientation of traditional role (egalitarian vs. traditional) as a factor influencing the point of view of individual choice.

The latter research has some strong points in that it

uses a number of variables. Its major shortcoming is that it does not acknowledge the role that social need plays in gift giving. It is true that orientation to roles belongs to personal choice, but at the same time, it is socially and economically prescribed.

In my thesis, I want to enrich the latter study further by adding three discussions in terms of social changes since the 1970s. The first discussion is on the relationship between the number of household providers in a family (one income vs. two incomes) and the gender of a giver in the family. The second discussion is on the relationship between the child care responsibility and the gender of a giver. And the third discussion is on the relationship between the shopping responsibility in a household or the general perception of the shopping and the gender of a giver.

How do these three discussions have an effect on the gift giver in the future family? What trend can we expect? Conclusions we have reached from previous researches must be modified if the family has undergone change.

### The Significance of the Study

The significance of this study lies in its social analysis. Christmas is celebrated in the context of people's lives. So, the changes in Christmas celebration mirror the changes in American society. As Barnett suggested, Christmas is responsive to changes in American life (1954:146).

Since the writer shall cover the social changes such as

economic and family change, this research inevitably contains some historical analysis. So, this thesis is significant in that the writer aims at both the historical analysis and the speculative prediction of the future.

### Research Questions

Females have been the key persons in the holiday celebrations and also enjoyed their role, but at the same time females have been stressed because of the weight of having to carry the burden of organizing them (Samuelson, 1983:126 and 208). Focusing on the working mother in the 1970s, Samuelson says (1983:193):

The working mother no longer had the time to select all of the right gifts and bake hundreds of cookies and decorate the house and plan an elaborate party.

According to The Gallup Poll on Most Americans Enjoy Preparing For the Hectic Holidays (December, 1989:2), women (20%) are twice as likely as men (10%) to feel a great deal of pressure, and parents feel great pressure more often than those without children (19% vs.13%).

Ladies-Home-Journal has been dealing with articles such as cooking, decorating, gift giving, wrapping, and the way to avoid holiday hassles in relation to the Christmas celebration. Some of the traditional roles may be changing.

My research study is designed to find out if the husband is assuming more of the holiday roles formally held by women. First, demographically the writer thinks the increase of two income families could exert influence on the gender of gift

giving. Male givers might become more active in gift giving. Secondly and more specifically, the way in which the roles of both child care and purchasing in a household affects the gender of a gift giver is considered, because two-incomes in a family lead to the de-differentiation of roles. The writer presents three research questions.

1. When a family has two incomes, will males engage in more gift giving in the relationship between parents and children?

In this research question, the writer wants to shed some light on the relationship between the economic change and the family change or the role interchange. The U.S. economy has experienced at least three stages of transformations (agriculture-manufacture-service). Since the 1970s, more than half of married females are working. The world portrayed in "The Donna Reed Show" is extant, but it is not the whole picture of American families. Maybe, we can expect the egalitarian consideration to outweigh the traditional orientation in both genders in the future.

Caplow says:

The role of men is to bear the larger share of the cost, to admire and applaud the women's performances and to lend unskilled assistance when it is needed. This pattern seems to persist without much change in those families in the sample where both husband and wife have full-time, permanent jobs, although closer observation of these cases would probably detect some tendency toward equalization of roles (1982:388).

This research question aims at detecting some tendency toward equalization of roles in the holiday celebration, more

specifically in gift giving, which seems to be related to the role changes inside a family since the 1970s.

2. When child care and socialization roles become less gender specific, will males engage in more gift giving?

Belk breaks down the behavior of gift giving in the following (1976:156):

- a) To what extent and under what conditions is gift selection based on giver's perception of recipient traits and preferences?
- b) To what extent and under what conditions is gift selection based on giver's traits and preferences?
- c) To what extent and under what conditions is gift selection based on both of the above considerations?

To read the child recipient's traits or preference is the important factor for the giver in gift giving. If husbands share the child care role of their children at the level of everyday life, it will be easier for them to succeed in the guess work of what their children want.

Hochschild (1989:276) makes the task of the shift fall into three categories, and explains:

- a) house-working (75% is done by wife)
- b) child care
- c) management of domestic life (80% is done by wife)

She concluded from her research that though women took more physical care of the children, husband and wives reported doing almost equal amounts of educating and socializing.

3. When the household shopping becomes less gender

specific, will males engage in more gift shopping?

Because male shoppers are considered popular in American culture, the behavior of shopping does not devalue males. If males engage in more household shopping, they can understand the material necessity inside the family and get accustomed to the market. The take-it-for-granted images of female shoppers is only due to restricting that chore to women and is the product of a bygone economic stage.

Hochschild says that in the two income age, sharing improves a marriage (1989:211). Scanlon also says that achievement-oriented women must necessarily change the structure of marriage from its basis of role-specialization to role-interchangeability (1982:163). The writer thinks of the changing pattern of the gender of the gift giver in terms of the roles of child care and shopping in a household.

#### The Limitation of this Research

If there is one limitation of the research, it lies in the sampling method of the survey research which is conducted as a method. In identifying potential respondents, a non-probability sampling was used. Non-probability sampling such as the reliance on available subjects has less reliability than probability sampling.

## CHAPTER II

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### The Theory of Gift Giving

The collectivistic view makes us aware of the fact that the sphere of gift giving has been neglected in contemporary sociology.

Cheal introduces Goffman's comments that the social importance of interpersonal rituals such as gift giving is often underestimated (1987:151). Goffman doesn't refer to gift giving itself, but tries to take advantage of Durkheim's legacy in the context of our contemporary life. According to him, we are so influenced by Durkheim's analysis on religion that we tend to associate rituals with extensive or supernatural ceremonial agenda. But he persuades us that there are brief rituals in the secular world:

What remains are brief rituals one individual performs for and another, attesting to civility and good will on the performer's part and the recipient's possession of a small patrimony of sacredness (1971:63).

He named this brief ritual "interpersonal ritual," and more specifically called the type of ritual sustaining social relations a supportive ritual or a positive ritual. He says a positive ritual consists of the way in which homage can be



paid through offerings of various kinds, these involving the doer coming close in some way to the recipient (1971:63). And by homage, he means disinterested concern displayed through the various acts of identificatory sympathy, which is similar to what a parent exhibits in regard to a child (1971:66). Goffman points out:

These acts have been surprisingly little studied - certainly hardly at all in our Western society, in spite of the fact that it would be hard to imagine a more obvious contemporary application of the analysis recommended by Durkheim and Radcliffe-Brown (1971:65).

Moschetti also points out that contemporary sociologists' scant attention to the reflective symbol system, which captured the attention of Durkheim and Mauss in primitive societies, is due to their finding such systems less significant in the epistemological structure of modern "rational" societies (1979:6). Moschetti says, regarding reciprocity as a moral:

It follows that gift exchanges are between persons in their roles as agents of the collectivity or collectivities involved and not between individuals in their positions as constituent bodies to the collectivity. In keeping with this general collectivistic perspective, it may also follow that such exchange can be viewed as reflective of certain aspects of collectivity's consitutional structure or morphology (1979:1).

Finally, he presents the following four hypotheses (1979:1).

1. The absence or presence of institutionalized gift exchange in a special interaction network may be indicative of the extent to which the network operates as a collectivity or as a non-collective aggregate.
2. The network of gift exchange may be useful in defining the boundaries of a collective unit, whether, for example, the family is nuclear or extended.

3. The frequency and intensity of gift exchange in the collective unit may vary with its bondedness or collective unity.
4. Certain differentiated patterns of gift exchange within a collectivity may vary isomorphically with its constitutional structure.

Following Moschetti's analysis on giver and collectivity and Swanson's analysis on the type of collectivity, we can say the following:

1. Collectivistic View (Anthropological Analysis)

Giver= agent body to the collectivity

Type of collectivity= Functional analysis:

The collectivity is conceived as expressive of that common interest and participants in the collectivity are treated in their status as agents of the collective relationship: as its supporters and maintainers (Swanson, 1971:619).

2. Individualistic View (Exchange Theory)

Giver= constituent body to the collectivity

Type of collectivity= Interactional analysis:

The collectivity is conceived as a network of social relations that is created by constituent bodies to enable them to exchange utilities with one another (Swanson, 1971:619).

In order to understand the theory of gift giving, it is useful to make both views stand in contrast, referring to each component.

### Collectivistic Theory

First, in order for social exchange to occur, two parties will be needed. Two parties are individuals, groups, or nations as a level of actors. Anthropological studies tend to concentrate on group exchange (clans or tribes) and exchange theory tends to concentrate on individual exchange.

Why do human beings exchange? According to Hearn (1976:19), the exchange enables both participants to be better off than they would have been without it. Human beings can benefit each other by the attraction within social relations. Human beings exchange goods and service. Such exchanged items can be thought of as rewards.

Next, two parties need a context in which exchanges take place, in other words, the interaction network. In the broad sense, the interaction network is mainly prescribed by its economic system which is the allocation of goods and service. The collectivistic view corresponds to a substantive economy in a primitive society and the individualistic view to a market economy in an industrialized society.

In a primitive society, Weber suggests the moral consensus for group members is different from that for outsiders. Outsiders could be friends or foes.

Levi-Strauss introduces one example (1969:67).

The small nomadic bands of the Nambikwara Indians of western Brazil are in constant fear of each other and avoid each other. But at the same time they desire contact, because it is the only way in which they are able to exchange, and thus to obtain products or article that they lack. There is a link, a continuity, between hostile relations and the provision of reciprocal prestations. Exchanges are peacefully resolved wars, and wars are the result of unsuccessful transactions. This feature is clearly witnessed to by the fact that the transition from war to peace, or at least from hostility to cordiality, is accomplished by the intermediary of ritual gestures, a veritable 'reconciliation inspection'.

So, gift exchange symbolizes and also visualizes the peaceful relationship in the oscillation between war and

peace.

Levi-Strauss and Mauss emphasize friendship and power relation in gift giving.

Levi-Strauss says that the reciprocal goods are different from individual production or acquisition in that these gifts are not offered principally or essentially with the idea of receiving a profit or advantage of an economic nature (1969:53). At the same time, Levi-Strauss comments on the destruction of wealth, to get the supreme prestige (1969:55):

The best proof of the supra-economic nature of these exchange is that in the potlach there is no hesitation in sometimes destroying considerable wealth by breaking a 'copper' or by throwing it into the sea, and that greater prestige results from the destruction of wealth than its distribution, because however liberal it may be distribution always requires a similar return.

Mauss goes so far as to say that to make a gift of something to someone is to make a present of some part of oneself (1950:12). But, at the same time, he says the obligation to reciprocate worthily is imperative and one loses face forever if one does not reciprocate (1950:42). Mauss summarizes that the institution of 'total' services carries the obligation to give and to receive as well as the obligation to reciprocate and calls this three dimensions moral (1950:13).

Ekeh says:

We have said that Mauss's chief contribution to social exchange theory lies in his recognition that social exchange processes yield for the larger society a moral code of behavior which acquires an independent existence outside the social exchange situation and which informs all social, economic and political interpersonal

relationship in society (1974:58).

Ekeh explains that while moral operates outside social exchange, reciprocity operates inside social exchange situations.

It is true that Mauss starts with the efficacy of generosity (Thompson, 1987:46) and emphasizes the moral aspect such as the willingness to give and to receive, however, at the same time, he sees the motivation behind giving as the desire "to surpass a rival in generosity" (Blau, 1964:108).

Thompson (1987:42) says there is a double-edged phenomenon in societies Mauss studies:

The symbolism of exchange could refer to contests for status and power within a larger equilibrium, as well as to the ties that bound the contestants together.

Blau also says Mauss's perspective contains at once order and differentiation of status (1964:89):

The institutionalized form that exchange of gifts frequently assumes in simpler societies highlights the two general functions of social, as distinct from strictly economic exchange, namely, to establish bonds of friendship and to establish superordination over others.

In order to understand his book, The Gift, it is necessary for us to understand the social milieu of the epoch. At that time, sociologists like Durkheim and anthropologists like Mauss were facing the problem of the declining strength of the collective morality in the modern world, and they found that people were in danger of a pathological loosening of moral bonds.

Mauss wanted to know how to reconcile free-will and

obligation, self-interest and generosity, and self-interest and the other's interest. Mauss's strategy was a moral, not reciprocity. Reciprocity was not enough for him.

Mauss says:

The system that we propose to call the system of 'total service' from clan to clan - the system in which individuals and groups exchange everything with one another - constitutes the most ancient system of economy and law that we can find or of which we can conceive. It forms the base from which the morality of the exchange-through-gift has flowed (1950:70).

To give and to receive as well as to repay are important. To be more specific, moral reflects giving, receiving and repaying, whereas reciprocity means only repaying. Mauss thinks that gift giving leads to social solidarity and in turn brings about moral, or moral cohesiveness. The prototype of the moral is the exchange in a primitive society.

Hearth (1976:145) says that if we accept Mauss's dictum that gifts are voluntarily and spontaneously given by disinterested people, we lose the sociological sophistication to suspect that gift or service exchange is in practice obligatory and interested. But this comment is not appropriate, because Mauss also referred to reciprocation.

Thompson points out that one of the crucial achievements of Mauss is to show the dynamic equilibrium of order and differentiation without abolishing all conflict and quotes Sahlins's comment that "it is accomplished by sublimating conflict and by conjugating the opposed parties through reciprocal ties that at once dramatize differences and

symbolize unity." (1987:52)

Mauss insists that his analysis should offer modern societies certain lessons on the management of rivalry and conflict which the market economy has been producing (Thompson, 1987:16). Mauss's pathos lies in the voluntary and the bond of friendship, but that doesn't mean he failed to analyze the aspect of obligation and subordination. His panacea was the paradox of being in embroilment as well as being indebted.

### Individualistic Theory

Individualistic theory presupposes the market economy where the sense of individuality is established and most items like land, labor and capital are defined by money.

Willer (1985:139) introduces an example of social exchange in the economic market:

An economist, upon retirement, moves to a new city and finds it is difficult to find new friend. Upon complaining to an acquaintance, the economist receives this reply: "Why don't you buy a friend?"

As the economic market expands, economic exchange tends to overwhelm social exchange. In the end, only economic exchange remains. All social exchanges like kin relationship and friendship relations take on the characteristics of the tit-for-tat reciprocities of economic exchange (Willer, 1985:139).

Where does this image of utilities of exchange relation come from? It comes from three prevailing postulates of social exchange theory (Hinger and Willer, 1979:170):

1. Universal exchange that effectively subsumes all social relationships
2. Universal balanced reciprocity that all social exchanges are balanced by norms of reciprocity
3. Universal commensurability, the idea that all exchange are of items which are measured by a common standard by those engaged in the relationship

These three postulates compensate each other and tend to define the operant social actor. Hinger and Willer say that operant social actors are typically seen as avoiding punishments, calculating losses and gains, and maintaining certain types of balances and Homans has done much theorizing on this exchange relation (1979:183).

Using behavioral psychology and elementary economics which envisage human behavior as a function of its pay-off, Homans made clear the basic concepts of social behavior as operant behavior (1961:13). He also introduced the concept of fair exchange, or distributive justice. Each actor tries to minimize cost and maximize reward as much as possible. But, between two persons, this can be problematic. The principle of distributive justice is: the more the cost, the more the reward. If the distributive justice is not fair, one side feels anger.

In Homans's comment (1961:318), the exchange of the goods in modern societies is more impersonal than in primitive ones, but it always has implications for personal ties. But, interpreting Mauss's gift giving, Homans (1961:319) says the important point is this: just as failure to accept a gift implies hostility, so taking the gift and making a fair return implies friendship. Homans implicitly



emphasizes that making a fair return implies friendship.

As the end result, it is the market that mobilizes actors in industrialized society.

He says:

With the primitives as with us, an exchange of rewards between two men leads to their friendship and further interaction. But, the primitives have gone further than we have in turning what happens into a set of rules about what ought to happen. Where we have institutionalized the market, they have institutionalized the gift (1961:319).

The gift giving which Homans depicts has a utility orientation based on self-interest, and the interchange network is a tool for the social actor.

Blau is more elaborate in distinguishing economic exchange from social exchange.

Blau says:

Social exchange, then, is an intermediate case between pure calculation of advantage and pure expression of love (1964:112).

Blau thinks that social exchange produces the bond of social solidarity because social exchange needs trust, while economic exchange does not need trust. He says (1964:99) that special mechanisms exist to perpetuate obligations and strengthen bonds of indebtedness and trust. The time delay factor is important in exchange relationship. As examples, he (1964:99) points out that in the Kula expeditions, the ceremonial gifts received cannot be returned until the next expedition many months later, or that the custom of giving Christmas gifts prevents us from reciprocating for an unexpected Christmas present until a year later.

Blau says:

Social bonds are fortified by remaining obligated to others as well as by trusting them to discharge their obligations for considerable periods (1964:99).

The writer wants to call this mechanism time-proof.

Ekeh ( 1974:174) pays attention to the aspect of slow process or self-generating fashion of Blau's social exchange. Both sides start with minor transactions in which little trust is required, because little risk is involved, and engage in major transactions if they could prove trustworthiness in the previous and minor transaction. Social exchange needs some time to fortify trust.

At the same time, actors pursue social rewards in their associations. Blau says:

The only assumption made is that human beings choose between alternative potential associates or courses of action by evaluating the experiences or expected experiences with each in terms of a preference ranking and then selecting the best alternative (1964:18).

Economic motives are the salient factors which constitute the social exchange process. By economic motives, we should imagine Weber's concept, zweckrational, which means rational consideration between aims and means. So, the inevitable result is that social exchange comes close to economic exchange and there is the room for wertrational (Ekeh, 1974:203). According to Blau, it is the reciprocity that regulates exchange process. And Ekeh (1974:85) places the origin of Blau's norm of reciprocity within individual need while collectivists' norm of reciprocity originates within social needs.

Blau (1964:95) says that the major concern of participants in social exchange is the exchange of underlying mutual support, but a persistent imbalance in the manifestation of good will raise questions about the reciprocity in the underlying orientation of support and congeniality.

For Blau as well as Homans, if the exchange is imbalanced reciprocity and one actor can't expect profit, the social exchange is supposed to terminate, or the differentiation of power will arise. Hinger and Willer refer to Sahlins's discussion about whether the exchanges are predicted on the relationship or the relationship is predicted on the exchanges (1979:177). In the exchange theory by Homans and Blau, relationship is not predicted on the exchanges and the exchanges are predicted on the relationship.

#### Previous Studies on Several Aspects of American Christmas

##### Giver

Barnett (1954:64) said the following: Folk celebration was centered in the family and controlled by women. Though it did not accord with their power position in American society, it might reflect their special function at Christmas, and women bought and prepared most of the gifts.

In the research of Christmas in an Apartment Hotel, Benny et al. (1959:235) reported that many of the females

residents spent much time over the previous weeks shopping for gifts or cards, with an anxious, almost mystical, concern for the "appropriateness" of these purchases. Twenty percent of male subjects regarded Christmas gifts as being important, compared to 37% of female subjects.

Samuelson (1983:198) referred to the relationship between malaise and the women's movement in the 1970s and said that the working mother no longer had time to select all the right gifts.

Four research studies speak of gift giving (See Appendix B for the details of these studies).

1. The Christmas Gift Giving in Middletown by Caplow

This research concluded the following: Females were disproportionately active as givers. Alone or jointly, they gave 84% of all the gifts and received only 61%. Male givers without female collaborators accounted for only 16%, and most of these gifts were given to females. Females gave more gifts in their names than males did, and they purchased and wrapped most of the gifts that were given jointly by couples or other male/female combinations (1982:387,388).

2. The Gallup Poll on Celebrating the Holidays (1989, December 4)

From this nation-wide research, it was concluded that women liked Christmas shopping more than did men and men, particularly 18-to-29-years-olds, were more likely to postpone their shopping until the last minute (1989:1).

3. The Winnipeg Ritual Cycle Study by Cheal

In this study, Cheal defines gift giving as showing love to others or the labor of care in the narrow range. So, females are main givers because it is females that are the providers of personal care in the family. In the end result, this research covers the problem of gender roles.

Its conclusion was that women in Winnipeg still had the major responsibility for purchasing and transferring gifts on behalf of the domestic groups (1987:153).

4. Gender Roles and Christmas Gift Shopping by Fischer and Arnold

This research was projected, having an objection to research No.3, The Winnipeg Ritual Cycle Study, and went down to the orientations or the perception of roles of each individual, not a gender. Its conclusion was: females were more involved in gift giving than men. There is some support for Cheal's argument that Christmas gift shopping is a "labor of love." Because people with more feminine gender identities were somewhat more involved in the gift giving. It appears that the activity is also classified as women's work. This was apparent in part, because individuals (male or female) who believed that it was appropriate for them to do women's work tended to be more involved. But, that did not necessarily mean they were females. More egalitarian men gave gifts to more recipients and spent more time shopping per recipient (1990:343).

### The Type of Gift

Belk regards Santa Claus as God of materialism in American culture and says (1987:87):

Santa Claus is a bringer of numerous and substantial gifts, not merely the fruits, nuts and simple homemade toys of the traditional European Christmas figure. Careful research by Barnett suggests that this change took place after 1850 as the American Santa (enacted by parents) began a still continuing escalation in largeness.

From Belk's critical view to materialistic value, Santa is a plague with which the popularity of Santa and the shift from handmade goods to manufactured goods are overlapped.

Using trade journals in addition to general periodicals, Wait (1978:39) analyzed how the appearance of large quantities of varied, manufactured gift items in America after 1870 affected the Christmas gift giving custom. The shift from handmade gifts to manufactured gifts occurred gradually between 1880 and 1920 (1978:44). Furthermore, it shifted with the level of productivity (1978:103); from gimcrack such as gaudy figurines, cheap paintings and poor quality jewelry (from 1900), to useful gift items such as toasters, and carpet sweepers (1910-1925) and to expensive gift items such as silverware, fine perfume and a wide variety of sophisticated expensive toys (1925-1940).

Caplow (1982:39) said that fewer than two percent of the gifts recorded were handmade and most of those were produced by young children for their parents or grandparents.

Cheal (1987:157) reasoned that the overwhelming majority of gifts were purchased because quality and utility of market

produced goods were superior to family created items. He concluded that the construction of intimacy within personal relationships is clearly not immune to the pressures of an hegemonic economic system (1987:166).

### Institutionalization of a Holiday

Barnett said the legal recognition of Christmas Day by State and Territories was from 1836 to 1890 (1950:20). By the latter part of the 19 century (1850-1900), the folk-secular aspects of Christmas were taking precedence over religious ones (1950:23), and by 1900 Santa Claus had changed into a gift bringer for children (1950:30). So, we can say that from 1900 to 1940 Christmas gained popularity.

Caplow (1982:383) indicated that the celebration of Christmas had become less a civic festival and more a family festival between the 1920s and the 1970s and that the scales of Christmas gift giving had greatly increased in that same interval.

Samuelson (1983:171) who studied causes of Christmas malaise through the content analysis of Ladies Home Journal produced a table.

TABLE I  
CAUSES OF CHRISTMAS MALAISE (LHJ ARTICLES)

	Practical	Social	Psycho- logical	Philo- sophical	Multiple
1884- 1890	3	0	0	0	1
1891- 1900	10	4	5	1	5
1901- 1910	4	1	6	2	2
1911- 1920	4	7	1	1	2

Samuelson reported that Christmas was still in the process of establishing itself as a major holiday in 1884-1890 because three articles dealt with gift selection. In 1891-1900, articles began to vary from practical to social and psychological. Publications reflected that the late 19th century was a period of great elaboration in Christmas celebration (1983:172).

Finally, the popular images of Santa Claus must be factored into the gift giving analysis. For example, Santa portrayed in cartoons by Nast helped to secularize the image of Santa (Belk, 1987:87).

Coca-Cola featured its first Santa surrounded by awe-struck children in the department store in 1930. From 1931 until 1966, the Santa of the graphic artist Sundblom premiered on posters and in magazines. Sandblom used his own image after his first model passed away. Standing in front



of a mirror, he forgot to reverse the mirror image, and he painted Santa's belt buckle in a position that would never have held up his pants (Carlile, 1992.12:34-39).

Coca-cola received all sorts of letters noting that Santa's pants were in a precarious position - the public let it be known how much they studied and loved the Sundblom Santa (Carlile, 1992.12:36).

In the 1932 magazine advertisement, Sundblom put a bottle of Coca-Cola on the mantelpiece with the message, "Dear Santa, Please Pause Here - Jimmy." Santa who came down the chimney was supposed to have been entertained by a glass of milk. Coca-Cola's key word had been "a refreshment" since its foundation. Santa refreshing himself with cold Coca Cola, not milk, did the trick as an ad, because Santa, who was a saint, drank Coca-Cola, and needless to say, ladies and gentlemen were encouraged to do the same. At the same time, Santa definitely took human form. The implication was important because what makes Santa Claus in his American aspect so different from all other mythical Christmas figures is that the Saint appears in person (Sereno, 1951:388).

How about the fault to violate the sacredness of Christmas?:

Sundblom showed Santa refreshing himself in a variety of settings, none of which ever inspired a single letter complaining that he had "commercialized" Christmas. Instead, the company received requests for magazine reprints (Carlile, 1992.12:38).

Furthermore, Sundblom's Santa rarely charmed his audience alone. He was often supported by likable partners like children and animals (Carlile, 1992.12:38). This point made a great contribution to the popularity of American

Christmas as a family festival. Sundblom's Santa enjoying his duty in the 1930s definitely overgrew Nast's Santa in Harper's Weekly from 1863 to 1886 enjoying the pleasures of life in the consumption culture.

### Power Relation of Gift in a Family

Moschetti (1979:3) presupposed that gift exchanges in a family are asymmetric with children receiving more than they give because Christmas has a child-centered character, but that exchanges between parents or grand parents and children who have attained adulthood tend to be symmetric.

Caplow (1984:1313) said the husband may place a higher value on gifts than the wife, or the parent may set a higher value on gifts than the child. He (1984:1316) concluded that the reciprocity rule does not require reciprocated gifts to be of equal value between husband and wife or parents and children. This imbalance is central to the entire Christmas ritual in a family. The role of children in the gift giving ceremony is essentially passive. This can be observed when they hang up empty stockings (1980:226).

Sereno (1951:388) referred to the contractual nature of Christmas since the child must pledge good behavior in the exchange for presents. However, rather than a contract, this custom is an exploitation. Schwartz said parents exploit the power of surveillance and ability to grant and withhold benefits as instruments of control over their children (1967:4). In relation to this point, Hagstram said that

while Santa is used as a child control device, however, empirically, Santa's rewards are not contingent upon good behavior (1966:251).

## CHAPTER III

### METHOD

The present research study is designed to find out if the husband is assuming more of the holiday roles. And more specifically, the researcher hopes to examine if husbands are accepting more of the responsibility related to gift giving.

One research method is used in this study.

#### 1. Survey

The research was conducted over a two-month period (February and March) in 1993. This date was calculated to reduce the recall problems of Christmas and the holiday season, which often are created by fatigue and boredom. It increased the chances for reliability. Subjects remember well who was the gift giver in a relationship two months after Christmas.

The key variable in the questionnaire survey was the gender of the giver as the unit of analysis. The consolidated data were designed to validate the research questions. For example, the responses to questions about the gift giver in a specific relationship gave first hand information about research question No.1. Or, the correlation between the giver and the degree of share of

domestic duties such as child care or household purchase in everyday life will reveal the changing pattern of a giver in the family relation.

Subjects for the study were selected on the basis of gender, age and social class placement. The subject pool was not randomly selected. Since the study is explanatory in nature, the data are examined for trends rather than support for a hypothesis.

## CHAPTER IV

### RESULTS AND FINDINGS

#### The Two Incomes and Gender of a Giver

The social background of the 77 subjects in the survey were as follows: 40 females, and 37 males. Sixty-two subjects were married (two income=54, one income=8). Divorced subjects were 7 (female=4, male=3), and single subjects were 8 (female=2, male=6). The procedure to analyze the data was the following: The first stage was from the individual level, and the second stage was from the household level. At the second stage, the survey was intended to show the difference between two-income families and one-income families or the difference in a wife's job type between full time and part time. But, it was impossible because there were 54 two-income families, and 48 wives were in full time jobs. As an alternative, the writer broke down all families into three sub-groups and mainly looked at the variation inside two-income families.

#### The Type of Giver

Caplow refers to the complexity of givers. The subject becomes even more complex when we consider that nearly half

of all recorded gift (45%) were given by more than one person (1982:385). This complexity also characterized my survey.

TABLE II  
DISTRIBUTION OF ALL GIFTS  
REPORTED BY SEX

Giver	Joint Giver			Wife Giver			Husband Giver		
Reporter	Female	Male		Female	Male		Female	Male	
Receiver									
Son	10	10	(20)	12	8	(20)	0	2	(2)
Daughter	9	12	(21)	11	4	(15)	0	1	(1)
Wife's Parents	6	9	(15)	24	12	(36)	0	2	(2)
Husband's Parents	9	10	(19)	11	4	(15)	4	8	(12)
Wife's Siblings	3	5	(8)	21	17	(38)	0	0	(0)
Husband's Siblings	6	7	(13)	13	7	(20)	1	5	(6)
Wife's other Relatives	1	4	(5)	10	14	(24)	0	0	(0)
Husband's Relatives	2	7	(9)	9	7	(16)	1	3	(4)
Sub Total	46	64		111	73		6	21	
Total=321	110			184			27		
	34.3%			57.3%			8.4%		

1. Male givers were only 8.4% and their receivers were mainly husband's parents (12), siblings (6) and other relatives (4). We can assume husbands know better about their kinship relations than wives. Male givers appeared mainly in two-income families (female subjects reported 5 cases and male subjects 12

cases). One female in one-income reported one case. Needless to say, divorced male subjects reported 9 cases.

2. Though wife givers were 57.3%, wives strongly gave gifts to wives' kinfolk. A wife was a giver to her parents (36), to her siblings (38), and to her other relatives (24).
3. Though joint decisions were 34.3%, the gifts for sons (20) and daughters (21) were rather more. Fifty-two% of gifts from parents to children were by joint givers. 44% were by wives. 4% were by males.
4. Since a close family life results in sharing, the closeness of the relationships affects the likelihood that the husband will be a giver. A husband has relatively a close relationship with children, so he can be a joint giver to his children. Males were relatively active as joint givers along with wives, purchasing gifts for their children.

#### The Type of Giver and Contributor to House Income

In order to increase the reader's understanding, it is convenient to code three types of givers by household. Joint Decision Type refers to the household in which all gifts were jointly purchased. Wife Type refers to the household in which all gifts were purchased by the wife. Mix Type refers to the household in which some gifts were purchased either by the wife or by the husband, and other gifts were jointly purchased.



TABLE III  
DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES OF GIVER  
BY HOUSEHOLD

	Female Subject's Household			Male Subject's Household		
	Two Incomes	One Income		Two Incomes	One Income	
Joint Type	7	1	(8)	6	2	(8)
Wife Type	13	1	(14)	4	0	(4)
Mix Type	10	1	(11)	13	2	(15)
Total	30	3	(33)	23	4	(27)

Furthermore, how is the contribution to the household income related to the distribution of all gifts?

TABLE IV  
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MAIN CONTRIBUTOR  
TO HOUSEHOLD INCOME AND TYPE OF  
GIVER OF HOUSEHOLD

Female Subject			Male Subject		
Two-Income Family					
Joint Type (7)	1.Husband	3	Joint Type (6)	1.Husband	1
	2.Wife	3		2.Wife	4
	3.Both	0		3.Both	1
Wife Type (13)	1.Husband	7	Wife Type (4)	1.Husband	3
	2.Wife	3		2.Wife	0
	3.Both	3		3.Both	1
Mix Type (10)	1.Husband	6	Mix Type (13)	1.Husband	9
	2.Wife	3		2.Wife	2
	3.Both	2		3.Both	2
One-Income Family					
Joint Type (1)	1.Husband	0	Mix Type (1)	1.Husband	1
	2.Wife	1		2.Wife	0
	3.Both	0		3.Both	0
Total	1.Husband	16		1.Husband	15
	2.Wife	11		2.Wife	6
	3.Both	5		3.Both	4

1. In two-income families, about one-half of the wives were the main contributors to the house income. Wives were the main contributors in 5 out of 6 Joint Type households in male subjects' families. Husbands were the main contributors in 3 out of 4 Wife Type households in male subjects' families.
2. The role de-differentiation was more clear in the Joint Type. When wives were the main contributors to a household income, joint giving became more prevalent. That 58.5% of wives were in the work force in 1991, affected the gender of givers through the changes of role situations.

### The Type of Household and Pressure

The writer wants to refer to the relationship between household type and the pressure, or stress, felt by males and females during the Christmas season.

TABLE V  
DISTRIBUTION OF PRESSURE  
BY SEX

	Female	Male
Yes	26/40=(65%)	15/37=(41%)
No	14/40=(35%)	22/37=(59%)

TABLE VI  
DISTRIBUTION OF PRESSURE  
BY HOUSEHOLD TYPE

	% of Yes (Female Subject)	(Male Subject)
Two Incomes Family		
Joint Type	4/7 =(57%)	0/6=(0%)
Wife Type	10/13=(77%)	3/4=(75%)
Mix Type	6/10=(60%)	5/13=(38.5%)
One Income Family		
Joint Type	1/1=(100%)	2/2=(100%)
Wife Type	1/1=(100%)	1/2=(50%)
Mix Type	1/1=(100%)	
Divorced	2/4=(50%)	2/3=(67%)
Single	1/2=(50%)	2/6=(33%)

1. Sixty-five% of females felt the pressure, compared to 41% of males at Christmas time.
2. In two-income families of female subjects, 77% of wives in Wife Type households felt the pressure. Sixty% of the wives in Mix Type households felt the pressure, and the percentage dropped to 57% for Joint Type households.
3. Table VI indicates the relationship between the 58.5% of wives' participation of the work force and the pressure at Christmas time.

In conclusion, females felt pressure more than males, because females were expected to organize the Christmas celebration. Wives in the Wife Type in two-income families felt the most pressure, because they have all the responsibility at home as well as a job.

Next, the writer wants to analyze the reasons of pressure.

TABLE VII  
REASONS OF PRESSURE

Reasons	Female	Male
No Time (No Help, Tired)	15	5 =(20)
Financial	7	1 =(8)
Commercialism	2	2 =(4)
Gift (Equal, Expensive)	3	3 =(6)
Visiting Families	3	0 =(3)
Shopping	1	0 =(1)
Social Norm	0	3 =(3)
(pressure from neighbor and family, sentiment about being with family, and Christmas over-obligation)		

1. The main reason was no time for both genders.
2. Seven females pointed out financial reasons, though Census data tells us 58.5% of wives were in the work force in 1991, many of whom had full-time jobs. This indicates wage discrimination between male and female workers.
3. Three males pointed out the pressure from the social norm.
4. Financial pressure was listed seven times for frequently by females than males.

In conclusion, a lack of time was the major reason given by both genders in two-income families for holiday pressure. That the second reason for females was financial indicates the economic changes (58.5% of wives' participation in the cash market) and its reality (the discrimination of wages). The combination of no time and not enough money made working mothers, particularly in the Wife Type in two-income families (77%) more stressed.

#### Child Care and the Giver

##### Child Care and the Household

To see the relationship between the giver and the role of child care more clearly, we want to see to what degree the role of child care is shared in two-income families with children.

TABLE VIII  
DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES OF GIVER BY  
HOUSEHOLD AND CHILD CARE

	Main Giver of Child Care		Wife Understands about Children	
(Female Subject's Household)				
Joint Type (7)	1.Husband	0	1. More than Husband	3
	2.Wife	0	2. Less than Husband	0
	3.Both	6	3. as Well as	3
Wife Type (10)	1.Husband	0	1. More than Husband	8
	2.Wife	7	2. Less than Husband	0
	3.Both	3	3. as Well as	2
Mix Type (7)	1.Husband	0	1. More than Husband	3
	2.Wife	3	2. Less than Husband	0
	3.Both	4	3. as Well as	4
(Male Subject's Household)				
Joint Type (3)	1.Husband	0	1. More than Husband	0
	2.Wife	0	2. Less than Husband	0
	3.Both	3	3. as Well as	3
Wife Type (3)	1.Husband	0	1. More than Husband	1
	2.Wife	0	2. Less than Husband	0
	3.Both	2	3. as Well as	2
Mix Type (11)	1.Husband	0	1. More than Husband	6
	2.Wife	6	2. Less than Husband	0
	3 Both	5	3. as Well as	5

1. In Joint Type female subjects' households, child care was equally shared, and 3 wives felt they understood about children as well as husbands.
2. In Wife Type female subjects' households, 7 wives out of 10 did the child care, and 8 wives understood more about children than husbands.
3. In Mix Type female subjects's households, half the parents shared the role of child care and half of the wives understood about children as well as husbands.

TABLE IX  
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GIFT SELECTION  
AND INFORMATION

	Female			Male			
	Joint Type (7)	Wife Type (10)	Mix Type (7)	Joint Type (3)	Wife Type (3)	Mix Type (11)	
Television	1	4	2	1	0	3	=11
Magazine	1	2	2	1	1	3	=10
Conversations with children	6	10	7	3	3	9	=38
Others	2	4	1	1	1	1	=10

1. The role of child care creates the relationship with children. Conversation with children was the most popular information source to gift selection. In particular, parents in Joint Type households depended on the conversation with children.
2. The role of child care was shared in the following order: Joint Type, Mix Type and Wife Type.

Next, though the shared role of child care and the degree of equal understanding of children are correlated, the writer wants to look at data from an individual level from the broad perspective. According to Max Weber's ideal type concept, the writer broke down subjects with children in two-income families into four groups. In A-Group, subjects gave gifts to children jointly, shared the child care role with the spouse and had an understanding of the children equal to that of the spouse. This is the egalitarian model. A'-Group differed from A-Group in that the wife in A'-Group had a

better understanding about the children than the husband did. In B-Group, subjects gave gifts selected by the wife to the children, and the wife did the child care, and had a better understanding of the children than the husband. This is the traditional model. B'-Group differed from B-Group in that the wife in B'-Group had an understanding of the children equal to that of the husband.



TABLE X  
 DESCRIPTIONS OF SUBJECTS  
 IN CHILD CARE ROLE

Age Range	Sex	Giver Type	Child Care Role	Understanding of Children	Contributor to Income	
A	20	F	Joint Type	Both	as Well as	Husband
	40	F				Both
	50	F				Both
	30	F				Wife
	30	F	}the Same	}the Same	}the Same	Husband
	20	M				Wife
	30	M				Husband
	30	M				Wife
	30	M				Husband
	40	M				Both
-----						
A'	30	F	Joint	Both	More	Husband
	40	F				
	40	F	}the Same	}the Same	}the Same	}the Same
	40	M				
-----						
B	30	F	Wife	Wife	More	Husband
	30	F				Both
	40	F				Wife
	40	F				Both
	40	F	}the Same	}the Same	}the Same	Husband
	40	F				
	50	F				}the Same
	40	F				
-----						
B'	40	F	Wife	Wife	as Well as	Husband
	40	F	Wife	Wife	as Well as	Husband

1. A-Group typically showed the egalitarian orientation. The subjects tended to be in their 30s, and 6 wives out of 10 were the main contributors to the household income.
2. A'-Group appeared often. The subjects tended to be their 40s, and husbands were the main contributors to the household income.
3. B-Group typically showed the traditional orientation. The subjects were in their 40s and three wives out of 8 were the main contributors.

4. B'-Group was not so often. If the wife assumed the child care, she had the better understanding of the children.

In conclusion, it was the child care role which determined whether giving would be a joint project or not, and the generation or the gender of a contributor to two-incomes seems to affect the relationship.

#### The Influence of Child Care and Child on Christmas Celebration

Here, the writer wants to refer to the influence of child care and children on participants in Christmas celebration. Subjects were married with children or no children and divorced with children. Four sub-groups were the following: A-Group was subjects with children under 6. B-Group was subjects with children from 7 to 18. C-Group was subjects with children over 19. D-Group was subjects with no children. When each group started Christmas shopping and how each one enjoyed it tell us children's influence on participants.

TABLE XI  
DISTRIBUTION OF CHILD'S INFLUENCE

	Female Subject				Male Subject			
	A(8)	B(13)	C(10)	D(7)	A(13)	B(7)	C(4)	D(6)
Mid Oct.	1	5	4	4	5	1	1	0
Late Oct.	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Nov. before Thanksgiving	1	6	1	1	1	1	1	3
-----								
Nov. after Thanksgiving	2	1	1	0	4	3	1	1
First Two Week of Dec.	2	1	3	1	1	0	1	2
Week Right before Christmas	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
-----								
	Female Subject				Male Subject			
	A(8)	B(13)	C(10)	D(7)	A(13)	B(7)	C(4)	D(6)
A Great Deal	2	2	5	2	4	1	0	2
A Fair Amount	2	6	4	3	5	2	2	1
Some	2	5	1	2	2	4	1	3
-----								
Not Too Much	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Not At All	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0

A(8) is 8 subjects belong to A group.

1. In A-Group, 4 mothers started shopping after December 1, and 2 mothers enjoyed it not too much. Being busy, mothers started shopping later and found it pleasant or not.
2. In B-Group, all of the mothers started shopping before Thanksgiving and enjoyed it. Mothers had more time, because the children's range of age was from 7 to 18.
3. In C-Group, mothers started shopping early or late and enjoyed it very much because children were over 19 years old, and independent.
4. In D-Group, 4 females started shopping in mid Oct, and enjoyed it while males started shopping later and enjoyed. Some females started shopping early

even if they didn't have any children.

In conclusion, mothers with children below 7 years started shopping late and three-fourths of them enjoyed it. That indicates the child care role is difficult for working mothers. Christmas is centered on children. Whether or not the subject was highly involved with child care significantly affected her participation in Christmas preparations. In two-income families, mothers seemed to feel more relaxed when their children reached the seven-year age. Whether a subject had any children or not affected the husbands or males, more than the wives or females. Among male subjects, fathers with young children were the most active in Christmas gift giving. They showed different attitudes from husbands with no children, the divorced with no children, and singles.

#### Household Shopping and the Giver

##### Christmas Shopping and Everyday Shopping

In order to understand the relationship between giver and the role of shopping, it is good to see to what degree the role of shopping is shared in two-income families.

TABLE XII  
DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES OF GIVER BY  
HOUSEHOLD AND PURCHASING

	Main Shopper At Christmas		Everyday Grocery Shopper		Other Items Shopper Everyday	
(Female Subject's Family)						
Joint Type (7)	1.Husband	0	1.Husband	1	1.Husband	1
	2.Wife	2	2.Wife	0	2.Wife	1
	3.Both	5	3.Both	7	3.Both	6
Wife Type (13)	1.Husband	0	1.Husband	0	1.Husband	0
	2.Wife	13	2.Wife	6	2.Wife	5
	3.Both	0	3.Both	7	3.Both	8
Mix Type (10)	1.Husband	0	1.Husband	0	1.Husband	0
	2.Wife	7	2.Wife	5	2.Wife	3
	3.Both	3	3.Both	5	3.Both	7
(Male Subject's Family)						
Joint Type (6)	1.Husband	0	1.Husband	0	1.Husband	0
	2.Wife	2	2.Wife	1	2.Wife	0
	3.Both	4	3.Both	5	3.Both	6
Wife Type (4)	1.Husband	0	1.Husband	1	1.Husband	0
	2.Wife	4	2.Wife	2	2.Wife	1
	3.Both	0	3.Both	1	3.Both	3
Mix Type (13)	1.Husband	0	1.Husband	3	1.Husband	3
	2.Wife	10	2.Wife	5	2.Wife	4
	3.Both	3	3.Both	5	3.Both	6

1. In Joint Type, both genders did the Christmas shopping. Also, in everyday life, the role of shopping was shared.
2. In Wife Type, the shoppers at Christmas were wives. But, in everyday life, the role of shopping was shared in more than half the households.
3. In Mix type, the shopping at Christmas time was shared in one-third of households. In everyday life, the role of shopping was shared in more than half the households.

In conclusion, the role of purchasing at Christmas time was shared in the following order: in Joint Type, Mix Type and Wife Type. The unique quality about Joint Type was consistency between shopping at Christmas time and daily shopping. The equality of role of shopping was fixed. In Mix Type and Wife Type, the wives became the main shoppers at Christmas time though half of them shared the shopping in everyday life. And we see the Christmas celebration took on feminine characteristics.

#### Grocery Items and Other Items in Everyday Life

When we compare grocery items with other items, we can point out the following.

1. In all types, other items were slightly more jointly purchased. We tend to speculate grocery items are more jointly purchased than other items because grocery items are the more imperative demand.
2. One male subject said, "he feels reluctant when he buys the grocery items."
3. This contradiction indicates male shoppers also have grown accustomed to the wide variety of market situations. It also leads to joint giving because main gift items from parents to children are not foods.

#### The Changing Attitude to Shopping by Both Genders

As the following tables indicate, females were more active in shopping though Christmas gift giving was the most popular activity at Christmas for both genders.

TABLE XIII  
WHEN DID YOU START SHOPPING?

	Female Subject	Male Subject
Mid Oct.	14	7
Late Oct.	0 =(24)} 60%	1 =(14)} 46%
Nov. before Thanksgiving	10	6
-----		
Nov. after Thanksgiving	4	10
First Two Week of Dec.	8 =(15)} 37.5%	8 =(20)} 54%
Week Right before Christmas	3	2
	39	34
Other Answers	Bargain (Always)	July Before Oct. Soon after Christmas
	40	37

TABLE XIV  
HOW MUCH DID YOU ENJOY  
CHRISTMAS SHOPPING?

	Female Subject	Male Subject
A Great Deal	13	7
A Fair Amount	15 =(37)} 92%	11 =(29)} 78%
Some	9	11
-----		
Not Too Much	2	3
Not At All	1	5
	40	37

TABLE XV  
WHAT DID YOU ENJOY MOST?

	Female Subject	Male Subject
Baking Christmas Cookies	25	14 =(39)
Decorating a Tree and Wreath	37	30 =(67)
Doing a Yard Decoration	15	18 =(33)
Preparing a Special Dinner	32	19 =(51)
Shopping for Christmas Gift	38	30 =(68)
Others	5	5 =(10)

Others was visiting families, traveling and wrapping gifts.

1. Sixty% of females started Christmas shopping before Thanksgiving, compared to 46% of male subjects.
2. Ninety-two% of females enjoyed Christmas shopping to various degrees, compared to 78% of male subjects.
3. Females were more active in Christmas shopping than males.

One female subject (30-39, married, husband was the main contributor in two-incomes, no child) said, "Shopping is considered a task to keep the family stocked with the necessary and desired items in order to continue to function smoothly. Generally I believe that women enjoy shopping more than men do and will volunteer more readily. However men will shop when necessary to help the family. Men tend to shop with the 'attack and kill syndrome' (not enjoyable style for women) and men tend to buy more bulk than women."

One male respondent (50-59, equal contributor in two-incomes, no child) said, "Most of shopping is 'genderless' and unexciting. It's sticks in mad." Both opinions show



popular attitudes to shopping by both genders.

But the following shows the new attitudes toward shopping from the female side. "With more women in the work force, more men are sharing in the shopping." This from a 30-39 year-old main contributor to a two-income family with no child.

"Everyone should shop for whatever their needs are." (30-39, husband was the main contributor of two incomes, 1 child).

"Whoever has the most time should go shopping." (40-49, husband was the contributor in two-incomes, 2 children).

The following were males' opinions: "It is kind of fun to be able to spend time shopping with a family." (29<, wife is the main contributor in two incomes, 1 child).

"I like shopping as much as my wife does. The difference is, I spend less time. I quickly get it and leave." (40-49, equal contributor in two incomes, 3 children).

When Americans regarded shopping as a chore, males used to see shopping as a necessity with short shopping times, while females used to find shopping a kind of pleasure with long shopping times. Now, Americans regard shopping as a task all the more. Males are beginning to regard shopping as a kind of fun, but the shopping time is still short. Females are beginning to regard shopping as only a necessity and the shopping time is shorter than before. The difference between the genders' attitudes to shopping is decreasing.

TABLE XVI  
DO YOU THINK SHOPPING DEVALUES  
MASCULINITY?

	Female	Male	
No	34	34	=(68)
Yes	1	0	=(1)
It Depends	2	1	=(3)
No Answer	3	2	=(5)
	40	37	=77

1. 68 of the 77 subjects said the behavior of purchasing does not devalue masculinity. The general perception of purchasing in an American society doesn't confine consumption to married females.

In conclusion, the changing attitude to shopping by both genders seems to lead to joint male and female giving as a new pattern of gift consumption.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION

A number of published studies provided this writer the background for the present study. One was The Winnipeg Ritual Cycle Study by Cheal. Mentioned in Chapter II, this research defined gift giving as "showing love" and a labor of love, and the main gift giver was a mother and wife. The cornerstone of this survey was gender role. But Cheal's study relied on a particular interpretation pattern. He presupposed the distinction between the public and the private worlds, and regarded gift giving as a private phenomenon. How can we associate females only with the private world? Why is gift giving only a private phenomenon? On the contrary, the reasons for the stress on both genders at Christmas time reflected some discrimination in the wages and what the holiday celebration was like in this decade of two-income families. So, his way of looking at gender was static. Cheal admitted the sample was heavily skewed, with two-thirds of the informants being female. Female subjects provided much information in depth interviews, compared to males subjects. This skew of sampling tends to give the picture of females as major gift givers in spite of changes

of gender role.

Another study, More than a Labor of Love: Gender Roles and Christmas Gift Giving by Fisher and Arnold provided additional information. As the title shows, this research was skeptical of two points in Cheal's research. In the first place, Fisher and Arnold pointed out that we have no idea if gift giving is a labor of love. In the second place, they said, if it is, individuals who hold strong communal values will be active gift givers (1987:334). Even if gift giving is a task of females, individuals who believe that it is appropriate to do women's work tend to be more involved in gift giving. The cornerstone of this research was orientation, or an individual's role perception.

The research in the present study supported Fisher and Arnold's view that orientation should be considered. The writer had access to the view point of orientation by asking to what degree the roles of child care and shopping in the household were shared. By doing so, the writer was able to connect personal choices with social level, because roles reflect the social structure.

From the survey data, the writer makes the following conclusion: Individuals who are willing to think of the receiver's taste tend to be more involved in gift giving. If a gift giver can have a close relationship with a gift receiver, any one can be a gift giver.

Most research demonstrated that a high percentage of females started Christmas shopping earlier and enjoyed it

more than males. It is true that females are more active in gift giving. But it was often that the percentage of males was diluted with two categories of subjects like divorced and single males. They didn't exhibit the males' positive stances in holiday celebration which is family centered, because male giving pattern was more influenced by a marriage situation or the existence of children than females. So, the superficial percentage often hid the fact that some males with communal values were also active in gift giving. One male (30-39, whose wife was a main contributor of their two-incomes, father of a 4 year-old child) started Christmas shopping before October. One male (40-49, equal contributor in two-incomes, with 14, 16, and 20 year-old children) started after Christmas. Another male (30-39, contributor of one-income family, with a 3 year-old child) started in July or August. On this point, my survey accorded with Fisher and Arnold's research.

Joint giver accounted for 47.2% in Caplow's research and 57% in Cheal's research of all givers. Cheal asserted that females and males were not equal participants in joint giving. If we look only at gifts from parents to children, husbands were not being led by wives one-sidedly. Economic changes have affected the female role more than the male role. But, males are beginning to meet necessary conditions which gift giving needs: to know about receiver's desires, and to express his own desire to a receiver or to shop with enthusiasm. The writer assumed males with communal values

tend to be fathers with young children in two-income families, and in their 20s and 30s.

Gallup Poll data suggested that parents of young children began shopping earlier than anyone else. Nearly half (49%) of those with a child under six years old had already begun Christmas shopping by mid-October. Thirty-four percent of them enjoyed the Christmas shopping a great deal. This result did not accord with my survey. Six mothers out of 8 started the Christmas shopping after Thanksgiving, and two mothers enjoyed it a great deal. We can say that the early shoppers began the Christmas shopping by mid-October because they were busy, and not because they were free. I wonder if the mothers with children under six in my survey were both busier and more financially pressed than the mothers polled nationally.

In conclusion, the results of the survey were suggestive, but not conclusive. It would be premature to predict more male givers even in the gift giving from parents to children category, and instead, the joint male and female giver is the trend. The following four points are offered for the reader's consideration:

1. When we analyzed the data at the individual subject level, joint givers were more involved in parent-to-child giving. The giver varied from relationship to relationship. For example, the wife was the main giver to her relatives, as she had the close relationship with her side of the family. The wife was not exclusively the giver in all relationships.

The fact that the joint male and female givers were more involved in gifts from parents to children indicated husbands have a closer relationship with children in the contemporary American family than in the past.

(Gift Giver and the Relationship with a Receiver)

2. When we analyzed the data in terms of household, the distribution of types of givers by household was 16 Joint Type, 18 Wife Type, and 26 Mix Type. Next, when we analyzed to what degree roles of both child care and shopping were shared in households, we found the following: Both roles were shared in the following order of Joint Type, Mix Type and Wife Type. Assuming a role in child care enables husbands to have a closer relationship with their children. Similarly, assuming a role in the shopping for the household gives males a more access to the market. Social relationships between family members were influenced by the roles situations engaged in by the couple.

(Giver's Relationship with a Receiver and Roles)

3. When we analyzed relationship between the main contributor to a household income and household type, we found the following: Wives were main contributors in a half the families, and particularly in the Joint Type household. Two-income families fostered the role de-differentiation. This fact explains why half of the gifts to children were from a joint male and female giver.

(Roles and Two-Income Families)

4. The increase in two-income families at the macro

level affects the role situations directly, and the relationships among family members indirectly. Finally, this economic change leads to an increase in joint male and female giving. (Economic Factor and the Gender of a Giver)

Gouldner's comment that a norm of reciprocity is not imposed on Americans by "dominant cultural profile" beyond friendship, kinship and neighborly relationship was significant for this author. This comment led me to assume that the American network of gift giving would be smaller than the Japanese one and that instead more of the gift exchange would take place inside the family due to the prevalence of the nuclear family in America. In Japan, gifts flow in all directions and the gift exchange inside the family is less frequent due to the extended family found in Japan. This prediction proved true and also accorded with Hagstram's comment that the Christmas celebration is more popular in areas where the nuclear family is the dominant family pattern, because it needs the artificial gift exchange opportunity.

The writer was impressed by the important role which American Christmas gift giving plays in the family. Fathers are keen on giving gifts to children as the writer expected. In the future, we can expect this tendency of joint gift shopping to increase.



#### SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Barnett H. James. ( 1954 ) The American Christmas: a Study on National Culture. The Macmillan Company.
- Belk, Russell W. ( 1976 ) "It's the Thought that Counts: A Signed Digraph Analysis of Gift Giving." Journal of Consumer Research, Dec, Vol 3 p.155-p.161.
- Belk, Russell W. ( 1987 ) "A Child's Christmas in America: Santa Claus as Deity, Consumption as Religion." Journal of American Culture, 10 (Spring),87-100.
- Benney Mark, Weiss Robert, Meyersohn Rolf and Riesman David. ( 1959 ) " Christmas in An Apartment Hotel." The American Journal of Sociology, November, 1959 p.233-p.240.
- Blau, Peter M. ( 1964 ) Exchange & Power. Transaction Publishers New Brunswick.
- Carlile Kristy. ( 1992 ) Today's Santa Claus An Image and Inspiration. Santa Claus 1992, 12 p.34-p.39.
- Caplow, Theodore and Williamson Holmes Margaret. (1980) "Decoding Middletown's Easter bunny: A study in American Iconography." Semiotica, 32 3/4, 1980
- Caplow, Theodore. ( 1982 ) "Christmas Gifts and Kin Networks." American Sociological Review January, Vol 47 p.383-p.392.
- Caplow, Theodore. ( 1984 ) "Rule Enforcement without Visible Means : Christmas Gift Giving in Middletown." American Journal of Sociology, May, Vol 89 p.1306-p.1323.
- Cheal, David. ( 1987 ) " Showing them you love them;: Gift Giving and the Dialectic of Intimacy." The Sociological Review February Volume 35 No.1 p.150-p.169.
- Ekeh, Peter P. ( 1974 ) Social Exchange Theory. Harvard University Press.
- Fisher, Eileen and Arnold, Stephen J. ( 1990 ) "More than a Labor of love: Gender roles and Christmas Gift Shopping." Journal of Consumer Research, Dec, Vol 17

p.334-p.345.

Goffman, Erving. ( 1971 ) Relation in Public. Basic Book, Inc, Publisher.

Gouldner, Alvin W. ( 1960 ) "The Norm of Reciprocity." American Sociological Review 25. p.161-p.178.

Hagstrom O. Warren. ( 1966 ) "What is the meaning of Santa Claus?" The American Sociologist, November 1966.

Hearth, Anthony. ( 1976 ) The Rational Choice & Social Exchange. Cambridge University Press.

Hinger R.H. and Willer David. ( 1979 ) "Prevailing Postulates of Social Exchange Theory." Theoretical Perspectives in Sociology. p.169-p.186. St. Martin's Press.

Hochschild and Anna Machung ( 1989 ) The Second Shift.

Homans, George C. ( 1961 ) Social Behavior - Its Elementary Form. Harcourt, Brace & world, Inc.

Levi-Strauss. ( 1949 ) The Elementary Structure of Kinship Beacon Press. 1969.

Mauss Marcel. ( 1925 ) The Gift. The Free Press. 1954.

Moschetti, Jregory J., ( 1979 ) "The Christmas Potlatch: A Refinement on the Sociological Interpretation of Gift Exchange." Sociological focus, Vol, 12,1, Janu. p.1-p.7.

Samuelson Camill Susan. ( 1983 ) Festive Malaise And Festive Participation. A Case Study of Christmas Celebration in America. A Dissertation in Folklore and Folklife. University of Pennsylvania.

Scanzoni John. ( 1982 ) Sexual Bargaining. The University of Chicago Press.

Schwartz Barry. ( 1967 ) "The Social Psychology of the Gift." The American Journal of sociology, Vol July 1967 p.1-p.11.

Sereno Renzo. ( 1951 ) "Some Observations on the Santa Claus Custom." Psychiatry, 14 1951, p.387-p396.

Swanson E. Gay. ( 1971 ) "An Organizational Analysis of Collectivities." American Sociological Review 1971, Aug Vol 30. No 4 p.607-p.624.

Thompson, Bruce A. ( 1987 ) The Archaic Thought of Marcel Mauss and his Successors. Stanford University.

Wait B. William. ( 1978 ) The Many-Faced Custom: Christmas Gift-Giving in America 1900-1940. Ph.D dissertation, Rutger University.

Willer David. ( 1971 ) "Property And Social Exchange."  
Advances in Group Processes. p.123-p.141. JAIPRESS INC

## APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A  
SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

I am a graduate student in the Department of Sociology at Oklahoma State University doing research on gender decisions related to gift giving during the holiday season. The data I gather will be used for my thesis leading toward a master degree.

As a Japanese student I have been interested in the differences and similarities in gift giving between our two countries. The information you provide me will be held in the strictest confidence. No personal names are used, and the questionnaire will be sealed in an envelope, if necessary. I understand that participation is voluntary, and that there is no penalty for refusal to participate. If you have questions and would like further clarification, please contact my major advisor, Dr. Larry Perkins, Department of Sociology, phone # 744-6129.

This research is officially acknowledged by OSU IRB.

### Gender Decisions in Gift Giving

Instruction: Please answer all questions that relate to you.  
If you would rather not answer certain questions, feel free to skip the item.

1. What is your gender?
  - 1: Male [ ]
  - 2: Female [ ]
2. What is your age range?
  - 1: 29 < [ ]
  - 2: 30-39 [ ]
  - 3: 40-49 [ ]
  - 4: 50-59 [ ]
  - 5: 60-69 [ ]
  - 6: 70-79 [ ]
3. What is your marital status?
  - 1: Married [ ]
  - 2: Single [ ]
  - 3: Divorced [ ]
  - 4: Separated [ ]
  - 5: Single Parent [ ]
  - 6: Widowed [ ]
4. Do you have any children?
  - 1: Yes [ ]
  - 2: No [ ]
5. If Yes in 4, how many children do you have and what are children's genders and ages?
 

\_\_\_\_\_ children

  - 1: first son [ ] = \_\_\_\_\_ age
  - 2: second son [ ] = \_\_\_\_\_ age
  - 3: third son [ ] = \_\_\_\_\_ age
  - 4: fourth son [ ] = \_\_\_\_\_ age
  - 1: first daughter [ ] = \_\_\_\_\_ age
  - 2: second daughter [ ] = \_\_\_\_\_ age
  - 3: third daughter [ ] = \_\_\_\_\_ age
  - 4: fourth daughter [ ] = \_\_\_\_\_ age
6. Is your family one income or two incomes?
  - 1: One income [ ]
  - 2: Two incomes [ ]
7. If two incomes in 6, who contributes mainly to the house income?
  - 1: Husband [ ]
  - 2: Wife [ ]





13. In your family, what degree do you think the wife knows more about the children's wishes and desire compared with the husband?

- 1: Wife knows about the children more than husband. [ ]
- 2: Wife knows about the children less than husband. [ ]
- 3: Wife knows about the children as well as husband. [ ]
- 4: No comparison in single, divorced, separated, single parent, or widowed [ ]

14. Who did most of the Christmas shopping?

- 1: Husband [ ]
- 2: Wife [ ]
- 3: Both (equally) [ ]

15. When did you start your Christmas shopping?

- 1: In the Mid October [ ]
- 2: In the Late October [ ]
- 3: In the November, before Thanksgiving [ ]
- 4: In the November, after Thanksgiving [ ]
- 5: In first two week of December [ ]
- 6: In the week right before Christmas [ ]

16. How much did you enjoy shopping for Christmas gifts?

- 1: A great deal [ ]
- 2: A fair amount [ ]
- 3: Some [ ]
- 4: Not too much [ ]
- 5: Not at all [ ]

17. In your family, who does the shopping for each item in everyday life?

- A. Groceries=
- 1: Husband [ ]
  - 2: Wife [ ]
  - 3: Both [ ]

- B. Personal and Household items other than groceries=
- 1: Husband [ ]
  - 2: Wife [ ]
  - 3: Both [ ]

18. Do you think the behavior of shopping in a general meanings devalues the masculinity in the American culture?

- 1: Yes [ ]
- 2: No [ ]
- 3: It depends [ ]

19. Please explain your response in 18.

---

20. Which of the following type of holiday activities in Christmas did you participate most? Please rank.

- |  |     |
|--|-----|
| 1: Baking Christmas cookies                            | [ ] |
| 2: Decorating a Christmas tree and wreath              | [ ] |
| 3: Doing a yard decoration                             | [ ] |
| 4: Preparing a special dinner for Christmas Eve or Day | [ ] |
| 5: Shopping for Christmas gift                         | [ ] |
| 6: Other   | [ ] |
- 

21. Did you feel pressured from all things you had to do to get ready for Christmas?

- |        |     |
|--------|-----|
| 1: Yes | [ ] |
| 2: No  | [ ] |

22. If Yes in 21, what type of pressure it was?

---

Thank you very much.

**APPENDIX B**  
**OTHER RESEARCHES**

1. The Christmas Gift Giving in Middletown by Caplow

Date= from February 1979 to May 1979

Place= Middletown (Muncie, Ind)

Method= interview by three experienced female interviewers

Sample= 110 member samples were drawn from the city directory by random numbers, alternating male and female respondents

Topic= A description of all the gift given and received by the respondent, the relationship of givers and receivers to the respondent

TABLE XVII

DISTRIBUTION OF ALL GIFTS REPORTED BY  
SEX OF GIVERS AND RECEIVERS

Givers	% of All gifts Receivers			
	Males	Females	Male & Female	Totals
Male	4.2%	11.1%	0.9%	16.2%
Female	17.0%	17.4%	2.2%	36.6%
Male & Female	18%	23.1%	6.1%	47.2%
Totals	39.2	51.6	9.2	100.0

2. The Gallup Poll on Celebrating the Holidays (1989,  
December 4)

Date= from October 12 to 15 in 1989

Place= East, Mid-west, South and West in  
United States

Method= Telephone interview

Sample= 1227 adults over 18 years, randomly selected

Question: How much do you enjoy shopping for Christmas gifts based on those who celebrate Christmas?

How Much	Sex	
	Male	Female
A Great Deal	18.7%	40.5%
A Fair Amount	24.9%	26.8%
Some	18.0%	10.1%
Not Too Much	16.4%	11.5%
Not At All	20.7%	9.4%
Don't Know	1.4%	1.7%

Question: When do you expect to start your Christmas shopping based on those who celebrate Christmas?

When	Sex	
	Male	Female
Mid-Oct	32.5%	40.4%
Late Oct	4.6%	9.7%
Before Thanksgiving in Nov	14.0%	16.0%
After Thanksgiving in Nov	16.7%	15.4%
In First Two Week of Dec	16.6%	9.2%
In The Week Right Before Christmas	13.1%	4.8%
Don't Know	2.4%	4.5%

Question: For how many people, if any, do you plan to buy Christmas gifts this year based on those who celebrate Christmas?

How Many	Sex	
	Male	Female
None	1.9%	1.4%
1 - 5	15.4%	7.6%
6 - 10	35.4%	28.6%
11 - 15	24.0%	26.2%
16 - 20	14.2%	16.1%
21 - 25	3.1%	7.4%
More than 25	4.6%	11.3%
Don't Know	1.3%	1.3%

3. The Winnipeg Ritual Cycle Study by Cheal

Date= November and December 1982, and  
January and February 1983  
Place= Winnipeg, Canada  
Method= Depth interview, including a variety of  
questions at two stages  
Subject= 72 informants out of 77 gave information,  
and two-thirds were female  
Topic= Motives for gift giving and all gift  
transactions which were held on ritual  
occasions during 1982  
Finding= A clear majority (57%) of all gift giving  
involved the joint action of men and women.  
Men and women were not equal participants.  
81% of the gifts that men gave were given  
along women. On the other hand, 49% of the  
gifts that women gave were given with men.  
And men were less likely to feel that being  
interviewed about gift behavior was  
worthwhile and husbands usually relied upon  
their wives being present to supply many of  
the details because they couldn't remember  
(1987:152, 153).

4. Gender Roles and Christmas Gift Shopping by Fischer  
and Arnold

Date: Weekends of the four weeks following Christmas  
1987  
Place: A metropolitan area in Canada  
Method: Structured questionnaire during in-home  
personal interview  
Subject: 299 men and women over 18, multistage  
cluster sampling.  
Topic: Gift giving shopping was analyzed in terms of  
three dimensions: Sex, gender-role attitude,  
and gender identity. Though this research  
admitted that females were more active in gift  
giving than males, it tried to go beyond the  
stereotyped discussion.  
Sex: Biological sex influences the  
socialization a person is likely to  
experience, and is classified as  
Male vs. Female  
Gender-role attitude: reflects the extent to  
which a person agrees or disagrees with  
norms regarding appropriate behaviors for  
men women, and is classified as  
Egalitarian vs. Traditional  
It is measured with items like  
traditional wives' or husbands' role,  
developed by Scanzoni.

Gender identity: reflects a person's degree of identification with feminine traits like compassion and masculine traits like aggression, and is classified as Feminine vs. Masculine. It is measured with the Ben Sex Role Inventory, which contains 60 items describing abstract traits.

TABLE XVIII  
STANDARD REGRESSIONS FOR MODELS  
FOR MEN AND WOMEN

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables		
	No. of Gift Recipients	Hours Shopped Recipients	Dollars Spent Recipient
Egalitarian Gender-Role Attitude:			
Men	.21	.16	-.03
Women	-.04	-.29	.18
Femininity of Gender Identity:			
Men	.05	.13	.05
Women	.05	.19	.02

VITA

Toshiko Matsutani

Candidate for the Degree of  
Master of Science

Thesis: THE GIVER OF AMERICAN CHRISTMAS GIFT GIVING  
IN A FAMILY RELATION

Major Field: Sociology

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Tokyo, Japan in 1950, the  
daughter of Keishiro and Hisako Matsutani.

Education: Graduated from Bunkyo Girls Senior High  
school, Tokyo, in March, 1968; received Bachelor  
of Arts degree in English Education from Aoyama  
Gakuin University, Tokyo in March, 1973; received  
Master of Arts in Sociology from Waseda University  
Tokyo in March, 1980; completed requirements for  
the Master of Science degree at Oklahoma State  
University in May, 1993.

Professional Experience: work for Komatzu  
Seisakushiyo, the department of the production  
control, the head office, Tokyo, 1973-1974; an  
English teacher at Iria Gakuen, Tokyo, 1980-  
1984, at Kibougaoka High School, Kanagawa, 1984-  
1987, at Chigasaki Hokuriou High School, Kanagawa,  
1987-1989.