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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

**AMERICAN INDIAN WIVES' PERCEPTIONS
OF AGREEMENT CONSENSUS: A Study of Marital Power**

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

Nancy K. Sonleitner

Norman, Oklahoma

2001

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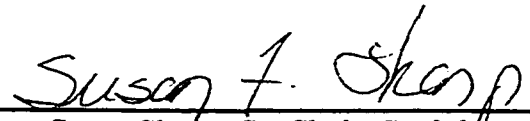
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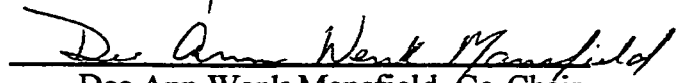
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A Dissertation APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

BY

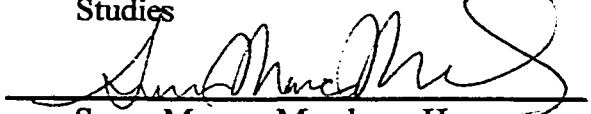

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ABSTRACT

AMERICAN INDIAN WIVES' PERCEPTIONS

OF AGREEMENT CONSENSUS: A Study Of Marital Power

Social scientists have traditionally based their study of marital power on western patriarchal notions of power. Concepts of power between wives and husbands have been measured by outcomes of decision making with economic and emotional resources within a marriage conditioning the relationship between gender and decision making. Feminist critiques of this research have argued that women have power in relationships that is unrecognized, devalued, or neglected by dominant research agendas. Additionally, the research on marital power ignores differences between racial/ethnic groups. Racial/ethnic theorists suggest that what is considered powerlessness in the dominant social structure may be a position of power within a racial/ethnic group. Using a sample of married American Indian women, this research explores women's perceptions of power within American Indian marriages. Quantitative analyses of gender role orientation, cooperative disagreement behavior, and feelings about their marriages suggests that the American Indian women in this sample appear to hold opinions and attitudes similar to European-based orientations toward gender roles and gendered division of labor. However, analysis of open-ended questions and wives' explanations of responses gives a different picture of marital power. This research not only contributes to closing the gap in investigating marital power relations in minority marriages, but will be useful in developing culturally sensitive programs and interventions targeted toward improving the health and wellbeing of American Indian families.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The idea of power invokes images that include the ability to rise to the top, to overcome obstacles, or to get one's way, and it implies superordinate and subordinate relationships. Concepts of power are derived in Western thinking by definitions of an omnipotent God with absolute power over his creation, the divine right of kings and their absolute power and authority over the lives and deaths of their subjects, and husbands' absolute authority and power over the lives of their wives and children.

Non-western societies possess concepts of power that are quite different. There is similarity in that power is from a supernatural entity, but there is where the similarity ends. In non-western societies power is available to all the people, and is not hoarded in one or a few individuals. Power is a manifestation of spiritual power and involves power to control one's life, one's decisions, and one's actions.

When examining power between men and women marital power is frequently the topic of inquiry, with decision making satisfaction or decision consensus the dependent variable (Safilios-Rothschild; 1970, McDonald, 1980). Patriarchal assumptions of marital power arrangements guided methodology and measurement development (Cook and Fonow, 1986). Theories developed within patriarchal ideology and objective positivist methods resulted in certain dimensions of marital power being overlooked. For example, subjective experiences of husbands and wives were omitted in early investigations (Safilios-Rothschild, 1970). As feminist theory developed measures of

subjective relationship were included, and feminist research methods began to be developed and utilized. Included among these methods was triangulation.

Triangulation is a strategy that uses more than one research technique simultaneously, and generally includes quantitative and qualitative data (Cook and Fonow, 1986). By combining methods simultaneously, this strategy makes it possible to access data that patriarchal biases of quantitative research methods exclude.

One aspect of power that is subject to patriarchal biases concerns women. Patriarchal assumptions of feminine inferiority and subordination have directed research agendas, precluding describing women's legitimate power, and overlooking contributions of women's power within families. However, research that has attempted to describe women's power within families contains assumptions of the universality of women's experience (Reid and Kelly, 1994).

The assumption that women's experiences are universal results in ignoring the experiences of women of color (Reid and Kelly, 1994). Universalizing women's experiences actually explains women's experiences from a white middle class perspective. Alternatively, research specifically looking at minority women's issues frequently treated minority women's experience as deficits and deviant from the norm of white middle class women, with very few studies identifying strengths (Reid and Kelly, 1994).

Minority women's experiences of sexism, racism and discrimination have created survival strategies and strengths. These strategies and strengths are located within families (Staples, 1994). Marital power research has typically focused on white, middle

class couples, even though differences in family relationships dealing with racism and discrimination have been described (Staples, 1994).

In order to obtain a greater understanding of marital power relationships within minority families, specifically American Indian families, the sample in this study consisted of married American Indian women. Although there are drawbacks to using one spouse in a study of marital power, the issue of marital power in minority families has not been well studied, and the sample in this study provides an important understanding of American Indian family relationships. The use of open-ended questions adds a valuable qualitative component that amplifies and complements the quantitative data.

Power within American Indian cultures is not based on European derived notions of power over others. Rather, on average, power is conceived as *power to*, or power over one's life, not over others. American Indian cultures have been described as valuing autonomy and interdependence (Klein and Ackerman, 1996). This concept seems contradictory to western logic. But, within the boundaries of American Indian values and culture it is a dynamic relationship of self in relation to others and the environment. Spirituality is vitally important to American Indians, and their relationships are an outgrowth of spiritual understandings of the importance of oneself and others. In many American Indian cultures all individuals are valued and possess power over their own lives. In many of these cultures women have a special relationship with spiritual power through their ability to bring forth new life, which is parallel with the Earth's ability to bring forth life. This awesome power generates great respect among many tribes even today.

In the feminist framework of this research, it is hoped that this project will not only contribute to filling the gap in marital power research, but that it will also be another tool in the movement toward societal change. The hope is for change that results in valuing all individuals, regardless of sex or gender, and that promotes fulfilling the potential of all humans.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Theoretical Progress

Stability, consensus, and equilibrium are emphasized by structural functionalists in discussing marital power. Marital relationships are defined as “adaptations of spouses in order to avoid or resolve conflicts” (Locke, 1968, found in Scanzoni, 1979, p. 296). Who adapts and how adaptation occurs is guided by spousal roles. Authority patterns both in the public and private spheres shape role definitions within families, thus the public roles of men give them authority in the private realm. Structural functionalists claim that men naturally perform the instrumental role of being involved in enterprises outside the home including employment, and that women naturally perform the affective role for the family, caring for the physical and emotional needs of husbands and children. For structural functionalists these sex roles justify the subordinate status of women in marriages and the power differentials of spouses (Scanzoni, 1979). Early structural functionalists did not explicitly mention power relationships in marriages and families, and functionalist theorists avoided overt discussion of marital power (Scanzoni, 1979). For example, Parsons (1959) discusses the problem of competition that arises between husbands and wives when wives enter the work force, explaining that career work is one of the chief means of obtaining self respect for men. When women are in the work force, husbands and wives are in competition for the same jobs, and those jobs filled by women deprive men of the opportunity for employment, thus eroding male authority and self-respect. Parsons did not directly address authority and self-respect for women.

Challenging the functionalist perspective of the distribution of family power by gender, Blood and Wolfe (1960) argue that the patriarchal model of structural functionalism does not explain variation in power allocation observed in different family structures. Blood and Wolfe (1960) use resource theory to model power relationships between husbands and wives, with economic resources having an effect on the power structure in the family. To test their theory they examined family decision making patterns. They asked wives to respond to questions concerning which spouse in the marriage was responsible for making various decisions affecting the family. The results of their research suggested that the spouse with the most economic resources has the most power in the marital relationship. Blood and Wolfe's (1960) book ignited a spark of family power research by sociologists over the next two decades.

Much of that research received criticism. A decade review of the family power literature cited a lack of consistent conceptualization of marital power as well as measurement problems (Safilios-Rothschild, 1970). The Weberian definition of power defines power as a person or group achieving their will even if resisted (Weber, 1947) and was used in much of the research. Safilios-Rothschild (1970) argued that family decision making research tapped only one dimension of power, and did not specifically address resistance to power.

In most research during the 1960s, wives reported decision making behavior for both spouses. In those few studies in which both husbands and wives responded, discrepancies between perceptions of spouses created more confusion about the nature of family power. To correct these methodological problems, Safilios-Rothschild (1970) suggested that future research include such improvements as the inclusion of both

spouses and that additional dimensions of power such as non-economic resources be included. One non-economic dimension of power is emotional attachment. The degree of emotional attachment affects decision making outcomes. Theoretically, the spouse who is the more emotionally attached of the two would have the least power (Waller, 1951), and therefore would acquiesce in a disagreement rather than risk losing the relationship. Assessing the degree of emotional attachment of one spouse for the other would aid in understanding how family power is allocated. Another non-economic dimension of power has to do with authority. Family members' perceptions of who has legitimate authority also affects the distribution of marital power. Inclusion of these perceptions would help answer questions about who designates decision making status, who makes which decisions, who decides what needs to be decided, and who delegates implementation of decisions (McDonald, 1980), and which decisions are important to which spouse.

Normative resource theory takes into account comparative wife-husband cultural and subcultural expectations about marital authority as well as comparative resources of the spouses (Rodman, 1972). In a study designed to test normative resource theory, Burr et.al., (1977) proposed that social norms regarding family authority, coupled with the spouses' relative economic resources, affected expectations of family power structure. In their study of Mormon college students Burr et.al., (1977) found that expectations about who is supposed to have power in the family, rather than who has more resources, explains much of the variance in students' perceptions of who should have power in marriages. Contrary to Rodman's proposition that the more egalitarian the marriage, the greater the association of power and resources, findings by Burr et. al. (1977) suggested

that the more patriarchal the marriage the closer the association of power and resources. They based this on their finding that power was curvilinear with normative expectations shaping the relationship between power and resources.

Building on exchange theory and the multifaceted aspects of marital power, Safilios-Rothschild (1976) proposed that power could be conceptualized in terms of orchestrative and implementative power. Orchestrative power refers to decision making and planning, whereas implementative power refers to carrying out those decisions and plans. Using data from Greece, the model employed love and need as resources to test the hypothesis that the one more in love would have more orchestrative power. The model also accounted for subjects who saw themselves in an equally loving relationship as sharing marital power.

Decision making is a process of marital power (Safilios-Rothschild, 1970, MacDonald, 1980). In an effort to include variables that were identified with process, Godwin and Scanzoni (1989) included measures of love and caring, past cooperativeness in negotiating differences and coming to decisions, commitment to the marriage, as well as measures of the effect of differences in economic contributions to the marriage and gender role preferences. They also developed an interview format that was formed into a measure of communication using control and coercion during decision making. One of the benefits of their research was that couples recalled for the interviewer recent decision making discussions involving spousal companionship, wife's own activities, household chores, money and childbearing. These discussions were recorded, transcribed, and coded for communication behavior. A measure of wives' and husbands' perceived consensus was combined to form the dependent variable: couple consensus in decision

making. Consensus refers to the satisfaction and perceived gain of each spouse in regards to a decision. Both spouses scoring high in satisfaction and perception of getting a lot of what they wanted indicated consensus. Godwin and Scanzoni (1989) found consensus was significantly related to husbands' past cooperativeness and commitment, low levels of coercion or control and high degree of commitment. Economic inequality in the marriage had a negative effect on consensus. In those marriages in which the husbands' income was proportionately greater than the wives' consensus was lower.

The mechanism that reproduces male power and female subordination operates within all social institutions, particularly the family and the economy (Chafetz, 1991). Linking macro- and micro-level male authority and power, Chafetz (1991) proposed a theory of the gendered division of family labor and its reproduction in the work place. Macro level factors include male dominated political and economic social structures, ideology about women's subordination and lesser value compared to men, and men's rightful place as heads of organizations and higher value in relation to women. Macro and micro factors are related to the ideology of female subordination that limits women's economic success while enhancing men's. These societal factors are also related to women's subordination in the private domain of the family, so that ideology and economic resources have been used as a basis for gender balance of power theory (Blumberg and Coleman, 1989). Male dominance assumes things associated with things feminine and female people are of less value and are subordinate to things associated with things masculine and male people. Domestic activities are devalued by their association with women and female activities. Because members of society locate women's realm in home and family, gender subordination is perpetuated by women's

family orientation as part of the social structure.

Power relations are reproduced through gender socialization, women's and men's personal relationships, and through norms dictating appropriate gender behavior. Outside the domestic realm male power is perceived as legitimate. Members of society unconsciously take it for granted that males hold more power and are of higher value than females, and thus do not consciously recognize that an aspect of male power is to act as gatekeepers to economic and occupational opportunity and political power (Smith, 1981). Members of society also consciously do not recognize that males control the admittance of very few women into positions of power.

Micro level factors include commitment of each partner to the relationship, physical attractiveness, adherence to gender attitudes about gender ideology, and the perception by husbands of their wives as economic co-providers. Commitment refers to what Waller (1951) termed the principle of least interest, where the partner with the lesser commitment to the relationship wields the greater power. Physical attractiveness operates as a resource in that the more attractive spouse has the greater power, while the less attractive one stays in the relationship because their perceived chances of forming a new marital relationship are small. Subscription to gender ideology refers to patriarchal perceptions of husband and wife roles.

Macro level ideology may be closely connected to micro level adherence to gender expectations. For example, where men are expected to be dominant, women's economic resources will be less, and women will have less power in relationships. Finally, if the husband regards the wife's income as co-providing, the wife will realize greater power in the marriage. Macro and micro factors work jointly to "affect women's

overall economic power” (Blumberg and Coleman), with intervening variables including stability or change in the relationship, and social class mediating the effects on the balance of power.

Resource theory assumes that the one who makes the largest economic contribution to the family is the spouse with the greatest power in the family. The theory also assumes that household labor is odious, tedious, and an activity to avoid. Therefore, the one with the most economic resources will perform less housework (Thompson and Walker, 1989). Research has shown, however that in marriages the wife performs the majority of housework regardless of her income relative to her husband’s. In fact, research comparing dual earner marriages with marriages made up of a single earner husband and a homemaker wife found that husbands in both marriage types perform equivalent amounts of household labor per week. Wives in dual earner marriages perform less household labor than full time homemakers, but still perform substantially more than their husbands (Thompson and Walker, 1989).

There are two reasons offered explaining the finding that women continue to perform the majority of household labor. One suggestion is that the domain of housework has symbolic content for couples. The judgment of a “good wife and mother” (Ferre, 1990, p. 876) is based on the quality of housework wives perform. Another explanation is that managing the household is a domain of power for women, and they resist sharing primary child care and house work (Polatnick, 1984). Weiss (1985), however, reported that husbands wanted to share in household decisions but they do not want to be involved in the actual work.

A theoretical approach that places females in focus is the idea that women have

power as primary child caregivers, thus indirectly affecting both the public and private realms within society. Mothers have primary responsibility for socializing children into the culture, thus shaping future generations by teaching boys and girls appropriate gender behavior, and their appropriate place in the authority structure (Kranichfeld, 1987). An aspect of family power that has been neglected by researchers is that women's power derives from a horizontal structure of kin and friendship relationship networks rather than the vertical structure of patriarchal family authority. The relationship connections of women as mothers and daughters span generations that precede as well as descend from their own generation. In this sense, husbands have less power because their relationships are primarily with their families of procreation (Kranichfeld, 1987)

Power in Minority Families

The proposition of resource theory that the spouse with the greatest resources has the greatest power in the marriage may not apply when looking at minority families, because surviving in a racist society is the paramount issue. The question of marital power proceeding from economic resources becomes unimportant, because men and women of color earn less on average than whites, and are located in lower occupational categories than whites.

Men and women of color struggle against experiences of racism, discrimination, and racial violence by speaking out against the treatment they experience within the dominant society. Families struggle together to combat negative images of their minority group, and console each other against the racist behaviors and institutional discrimination of dominant society. However, minority men adopt dominant society stereotypes of masculinity, especially where attitudes toward women are concerned (Staples, 1994) by

disregarding, discounting, and ignoring them (Almquist, 1995). Patriarchal family structures may be desired within minority homes (Staples, 1994), but economic disadvantages and lack of resources undercut marital inequality, thus creating a more egalitarian authority structure.

African American married couples adhere to traditional family authority structure. However, living within traditional family authority is difficult in some African American families because wives' higher earnings may undermine husbands' self-esteem, authority and self concept, creating disruption (Hampton, 1980). Nonetheless, research has found that African Americans identify their families as a primary source of satisfaction, and the African American family has been the historical location of resistance to the oppression found in the dominant society (Staples, 1994).

By studying relationships among intermarried couples it is possible to identify power within families, which also may be complicated. Minority women may be attracted to white males' power and wealth. However, images of women of color as sexual objects may contribute to white men's exploitation of minority women (Almquist, 1995). These women may experience discontent from men of their own group because the men see the women as having betrayed their own people by taking up with the oppressor. Women of color can be caught between improving their lives through the resources available in relationships with white men, yet be considered disloyal to their group for doing so (Almquist, 1995).

Intermarriage among Native Americans has not been studied as extensively as has intermarriage among other groups. One study consisted of a group of American Indian college students who watched videos of intermarried American Indian couples interacting

with each other and with the children in the family. After watching the video the students commented on the interactions they had witnessed. In families in which the wife was white and the husband American Indian, the students commented on the few words the husband had to say, but when he did speak it was usually something important to hear. When the wife was American Indian and the husband white the students commented that the husband seemed to be domineering, wanted to be in the leadership position within the family, and talked a greater amount than the mother. The students perceived that American Indian wives were expected to be listened to, not because they were demanding to be heard, but because the culture values women. What women have to say is not diminished or belittled. Some of the students in the study commented on the mother's expectation to be heard as "she had the power to do that" (Kawamoto, 1995). American Indian wives were described as confident, quiet, and respectful. In a vignette in which an American Indian mother was disciplining her teenaged daughter, the mother accomplished her chore by talking with the daughter, asking the daughter questions that led her daughter to see where she had failed in her responsibilities.

For minority women the issue is not about combating patriarchal oppression within marital relationships but rather it is about confronting racism, and cultivating a sense of unity and solidarity within the family and the racial ethnic group.

Feminist Perspectives

Racial/ethnic feminists and others criticize white middle class feminists' promotion of women's experiences as being universal. Women of color point out that white middle class feminists overlay their own values and world view upon relationships between women and men of color and suggest improvements between women and men in

minority cultures from a white middle class perspective (Collins, 1991; Jaimes, 1992; Sachs, 1996). White middle class feminists do not recognize that their values and interests are not necessarily identical with minority women and their cultures. Women of color claim that white feminists are racist themselves for not recognizing that women's experiences are not universally the same, nor that solutions will not be the same. Racial and ethnic women are urged to define themselves, rather than allow themselves to be defined by members of the dominant society, even if that means drawing apart from others who may attempt to define them. After self-identification is made, then it will be possible to come together with other women of color, and white women, to share experiences, noting similarities and differences of experience, facilitating communication and unity of purpose to benefit all people (Collins, 1991).

Along this line of thinking, Haraway (1991) argues that there are as many ways of understanding and experiencing reality as there are categories into which to place people. Women of different class, race and ethnicity, marital and motherhood status have different ways of interpreting and finding solutions for daily life. To overlay one's reality on another's in an attempt to understand the other results in distorted knowledge. One can gain knowledge by recognizing diversity of experiences and entering into an understanding of that diversity.

Taking this viewpoint of women's experience, it is possible to understand more fully the concepts of power, how power is used within marriages and families, and what power means to women and their families. In some societies, power is not based on economic resources.

Power in Other Societies

Tlingit society is a clan based society organized along matrilineal, matrilineal lines, with sisters living together in the same households, along with their husbands and children. Among the traditional Tlingit, the men hunted while the women were responsible for everything concerning the household and child care. Women held much power within the home and community. Women would speak up during discussions concerning decisions the group had to make and they would be listened to with respect. When whites began to trade with the Tlingit, both women and men interacted with the European tradesmen. Today, among the Tlingit of Hoonah, men and women both find employment in white owned local canning industries, with women being employed at higher rates than men during the winter months. The Tlingit of Hoonah have not lost their clan-based matrilineal, matrilineal social organization, and the women continue to hold positions of power within the home and in the Hoonah Tlingit community (Klein, 1975).

The Pohnpei of Micronesia are a highly hierarchical society, using language constructions that place individuals in the stratification system (Keating, 1998). In this society, males and females are ranked in superordinate positions. High ranking is inherited matrilineally, passed from mothers to sons and daughters. This fact translates into mothers and sisters of Pohnpei being held in high value in the society. Power is transmitted matrilineally in other Polynesian societies . In Samoa, sisters hold political power over their brothers who honor and serve their sisters. And, in Tonga, women were described as “conduits of sacred power, too close to the deities to be controllable by men.” (Keating, 1998).

In some hunting gathering societies, egalitarian power relations between men and women are not uncommon. For instance, among the !Kung, women are valued for their special knowledge about healing medicines, food gathering, and information about the location of large game (Renzetti and Curan, 1995). Equality of power between women and men is noted in horticultural societies as well. For example, among the people dwelling on a small island southeast of Papua New Guinea every adult, regardless of sex, has the opportunity to participate in activities that sustain the group, and thus gain power and prestige.

Unlike European-based ideas of gendered activities, complementarity is not always associated with hierarchical ranking of tasks and devaluation of types of work. In many tribes there are taboos that control the access of men and women to certain tasks. Among the people of the Northwest Coast, taboos historically existed concerning making and setting fishing traps. At the appropriate time of the year, the men set to work fashioning salmon weirs and setting them in the fishing spots. Taboos prohibited women from touching the weirs or being near the water where the weirs were set. But, the women were responsible for cleaning and preserving the catch. Likewise, there were taboos for men to avoid cooking areas when the women were preserving the foods they had gathered (Ackerman, 1995).

Within these societies, power is based on one's contribution to the well-being of the group. Studies of contemporary hunting and gathering and horticultural societies show us that the division of labor may be based on complementarity of tasks, with men hunting and women gathering or men hunting and women processing the catch (Renzetti

and Curran 1995). But, complementarity does not mean one sex has power over the other.

American Indian Women's Power

The Western European ethnocentric view of gender relations differentially values gendered division of labor, ascribes higher value to the labor of men, and assumes greater male power within complementary roles (Jaimes, 1992; Klein and Ackerman, 1996; Sharp, 1996). Historically, many traditional American Indian societies possessed complementary division of labor, yet findings in contemporary studies of hunting-gathering and horticultural societies show women and men both possess equivalent power within their societies and within their families (Bonvillain, 1989; Jaimes, 1982; Jaimes, 1992; Kidwell, 1994; Klein, 1975; LaFromboise and Heyle, 1990; McPherson, 1994; Parrillo, 1996; Spring, 1996).

Historically, among the traditional Iroquois of North America, families were matrilineal and matrilocal, with several sisters, their husbands and their children living within one household. Women owned the land that was tilled, as well as the produce of the fields, and they were responsible for economic decisions made by the group. Economic and political decisions included deciding with whom to trade, and when the group would go to war. Men were responsible for hunting and preparing the land for planting the crops. Today traditional members of the Iroquois nation struggle to maintain the culture of their ancestors, and they continue to practice matrilineal descent and appoint women to positions of political leadership (Jaimes, 1992).

American Indian tribes are diverse in their organization, gender relationships, and traditions. Nonetheless, attempts have been made to synthesize the Indian world view

(Jaimes, 1992), especially where women are concerned. In general, it can be said that American Indian women held power within their families and in some tribes within their communities, and that they continue to do so to this day. Depending upon the tribe, a woman's power is derived from her ability to fulfill her role as a woman and mother, spiritual abilities, warrior abilities, and/or trading activities.

Historically, and today, in most tribes older women held much power that was spiritual and knowledge based. Older women were the repositories of tribal knowledge, customs, traditions, rituals, and ceremonies. In most families, the grandmother was responsible for transmitting the culture to the next generation (Jaimes, 1992). Women were also spiritually powerful. This concept is difficult for the western, positivistic mind to comprehend, but can be explained through general sources of spiritual power. First, spiritual power was derived from being female. Then, as is still understood today, women were considered the human embodiment of the mother earth. The earth provides everything the people need to survive, including food, clothing, and shelter. The mother earth is regarded as life itself. Because women are bearers of new human life, they are seen as having the same attributes as mother earth. When a woman is menstruating, she contains more spiritual energy and thus has more spiritual power than at any other time. Because her spiritual power at that time is greater than either a man's or a non-menstruating woman, she has the capacity to interrupt the normal flow of spiritual energy and power. It is believed that at this time in their menstrual cycle women could interfere with the balance of spiritual power within the community. For this reason women have traditionally secluded themselves for a time of introspection, seeking to regain inner

balance, and to acknowledge the source of their power and their relationship within that source.

Women could attain further spiritual power through dreams and visions. Then, as is seen today in many American Indian cultures, great emphasis was placed on the ability to have personal contact and communication with the creator and creative forces.

Dreams and visions are direct communication with creative forces and they help the dreamer or visionary identify specific activities for the well-being of the community or tribe, or identifying individual vocations. A woman could identify herself as a shaman through her association with healing and discerning spirits (Klein, 1996).

Historically and today spiritual power increases with age. As women aged, they entered into greater and greater wisdom. Older women were consulted by tribal members for all concerns, complaints, and advice. Grandmothers were, and still are, especially regarded as sources of wisdom.

Writings about American Indian women show that contemporary culturally traditional American Indian women continue to practice gender relationships within their families and cultures that were described by early writers. Seventeenth century Jesuit missionaries who set out to convert indigenous peoples living around the Great Lakes region wrote comments about the assertive and dominating manner of the native women. They also noted women's expertise in trading, commenting on the power women had to enter trade negotiations and strike hard bargains. The missionaries considered native women's dominance a threat to the Christian social order, and attempted to destroy Indian cultural social organization. However, the women centered society was not destroyed, and women continue to be political leaders today (Jaimes, 1992). Further

evidence that Native American women held positions of power in and outside the home is found in comments about the “petticoat governments” of the Cherokee nation. Again, Europeans regarded women’s political and economic activities a threat to effective functioning of social organization and attempts were made to eradicate women as leaders. This was nearly accomplished in two ways. One was the refusal of the United States representatives to negotiate with women leaders (Spring, 1996). The second was through intermarriages of white men and Indian women. The fact that Indian women are elected to high tribal office and participate in tribal decisions is evidence that women’s political and economic power is still operating in native tribes.

Issues of Power

Autonomy has been an important element of life in Native North America. In western thinking autonomy is associated with individualism. Individualism is generally interpreted as standing out from others, or being interested in that which benefits the self above others. For Native Americans, autonomy means not being controlled by another. Interdependence and autonomy function to maintain group cohesion and the individual’s sense of uniqueness. Recognizing interdependence and personal autonomy means complementarity of labor is not hierarchical (Maltz and Archambault, 1995).

The literature suggests the presence of two issues of power. One is that power structures overlap in many American Indian cultures. This idea is presented in Laura Klein’s study of Tlinglit society. The Tlingit are born into one of two family groups, the Raven or Eagle. According to tradition, the two family groups are socially equal in prestige and power, as indicated by the saying, “The eagle flies higher, but the raven flies faster” (Klein, 1975). Marriage is always with an individual from the opposite family

group. Within the two family groups are family subgroups, or clans. The Tlingit trace their descent through the mother's clan. Each clan is ranked in prestige, as is each individual within the clan, so that a high ranking clan contains high ranking individuals. Males born into high ranking clans retain their prestige when they marry, as do females, and marriage partners are usually matched in prestige. Daughters and sons are assigned membership in their mother's clan, and family group. The father retains his clan and family identity, but his children are not identified with his clan and family group. So, if a father is high ranking, his children may not be if the wife's clan or the wife herself declines in prestige. Along with prestige obtained at birth, women and men are capable of increasing their prestige, and power, through wealth accumulation mainly by means of trading. From their childhood mothers teach their daughters how to increase their wealth through manufacturing goods and how to trade effectively. The wealth of an individual and clan is demonstrated in giving away their property and wealth. The more elaborate the give away gifts, the more the individual and clan increases in prestige and power (Klein, 1975). This contrasts with western society's power acquisition in which women gain prestige and a measure of power through marriage to high ranking men. Men gain power and prestige through accumulating wealth, but women do not gain equivalent power and prestige in this way.

The base of power is also different in American Indian societies compared to power structures in dominant American society. Jacobs (1996) work with the Tewa at San Juan Pueblo indicates that a person's power comes from how well one's work is performed. For example, in the complementary social structure of the Tewa, there is work women do and work men do. The diligent and competent performance of tasks

appropriate to each sex elevates individuals in community esteem and social power. This means that the work women do is not devalued as it is in western society. Unlike the western value of work based on accumulation of wealth, the Tewa at San Juan value work for maintenance of traditional ways. Traditionally, Tewa people have responsibilities to fulfill that are connected to being Tewa, and to being male or female.

Cultural practices are operant in Tewa women's labor force participation. Traditional work roles among the Tewa grouped women, separate from the work that grouped men together. In the labor market of dominant European American culture job segregation is based on assumptions about the work women perform in the domestic realm, attitudes about women's economic contributions supplementing household income, and patriarchal assumptions about the value of women's work. In the dominant society labor market, Tewa women work in lower paying gender segregated jobs. But, women reported they would work in higher paying men's jobs if their women relatives and friends were also in those occupations.

Traditional cultural practices within the Tewa home show that women are not dominated by men and that domestic work is not devalued. Both mothers and fathers are important in childrearing to ensure children grow up with the necessary balance the culture expects in all areas of life experience. Both women and men participate in childrearing, interacting cooperatively in cultural transmission (Jacobs, 1996). In homes where the wife/mother works full time, full year and the husband/father is employed part time, men contribute to household labor by doing laundry, meal preparation, including having a meal ready when the wife/mother returns from work, transporting children, and other family needs. When both husband and wife work full time, both participate in

household labor. When conflict arises, adults in the household continue to work together to keep the household functioning in harmony (Jacobs, 1996).

Who earns the highest income within a family is not a source of power as findings of resource theorists suggest. This is because all income is put into a family unit pool. The family unit may include those in the household, blood kin who do not live in the home, and affinal kin. Women decide how to spend the communal money. Even in households where men do the cooking, women purchase food.

If one does not look beyond physical and interactional similarities of Tewa work environments in the public sphere within dominant U.S. society, it appears Tewa women are in inferior social positions. Culturally traditional Tewa women and men interact at work and at home with reciprocal respect for attributes of each gender (Jacobs, 1996). An excellent example of this is given by Jacobs (1996) in recounting an exchange between herself and the tribal manager in the San Juan Tribal Office. The manager asked Jacobs who she thought would be good persons to have on a community advisory committee on land issues. Jacobs mentioned the qualifications of several men. After discussing the men, the tribal manager asked her which women they should ask. He taught Jacobs that the women “know the land in all its forms, and they know it fully. So we have to ask them which is the most important to fight for and how we should do this.” (Jacobs, 1996, p. 207).

In order to understand the power of women, the social position of both women and men must receive attention. In studying complementarity of labor, social science researchers look for a sex or gender basis for the division of labor, and the domination of women by men to support the assumption of the universal devaluation of women. By

looking for these patterns researchers overlook the mutual dependency of men and women (Jacobs, 1996). Implicit in this perspective is the assumption that men's work and work in the public sphere are more valued than women's work and work in the private, or domestic, sphere.

Asking women to speak about their marriages, families, and their gender relationships will provide light to otherwise hidden power, potentially revealing that marital power is considered egalitarian and complementary. If this is correct, it will give evidence to support a concept of family power different from that conceptualized in mainstream family power research.

Hypotheses

In this study I explore the structure of marital power in the marriages of American Indian women. The literature on marital power relationships and on American Indian relationships suggest the following hypotheses:

Based on findings in previous studies of marital power, the dependent variables *perception of consensus about money*, *perception of consensus about household labor*, and *perception of consensus about spousal companionship*, mediated by American Indian values,

1. American Indian values will have positive direct effects on the three dependent variables.
2. Gender role orientation will have positive direct effects on the three dependent variables.
3. Measures of cooperative disagreement behavior will have positive direct effects on the three dependent variables.
4. Measures of feeling of commitment to the marriage will have positive direct effects on the dependent variables.

Open-ended responses will be analyzed. Based on prior research, it is anticipated these will reveal egalitarian and complementary marital relationships.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

The Sample

Selecting the Sample

After obtaining Internal Review Board approval to conduct the research, identification of potential subjects, introductory contact and interviews occurred between November, 1997, and August, 1998. To qualify for inclusion in the study potential subjects had to be American Indian women of any tribal affiliation. American Indian identity was determined if the subjects considered themselves to be Indian. Indian identity cannot be ascertained by physical appearance. Alternatively, those persons whose physical characteristics are considered *American Indian*, do not practice Indian cultures nor adhere to historical American Indian values. For this reason it was determined best if subjects identified themselves as American Indian. A second criteria for inclusion in the study was that potential subjects had to be either married or cohabiting with a male in a common-law marital relationship. The sample of fifty-nine American Indian women subjects was obtained through a purposive snowball method. This method is appropriate for two reasons. First, as research progressed this method allowed the investigator to identify informants that met the qualification criteria. Additionally, purposive snowball sampling is useful when studying difficult to locate subjects. Oklahoma has the second largest American Indian population in the United States. Nonetheless, many are suspicious of researchers and their intentions, and many are not identifiable through physical characteristics (Trimble, 1981). Therefore, using

this sampling method facilitated locating subjects.

The Indian women who initially participated in the pretest were each asked to recommend three potential subjects. Those three subjects were then asked to participate in the study. At the end of each interview, subjects, were asked to recommend three Indian women who they thought would be interested in participating in the research. Some women were able to recommend three who would be interested, while others were unable to recommend more than one or two. Some of the women were observed to attempt to match their perceived interest I had in Indian marriages with Indian women who could provide traditional cultural perspectives. Professors and colleagues also recommended American Indian students and acquaintances.

Each potential subject was contacted by phone, and an interview was scheduled. Each subject was either sent or given a letter explaining the research, the possible benefits from the results of the research, the voluntary nature of the study, and assurances of confidentiality and anonymity. The letter is included in Appendix B. Although the wording of the letter could have biased the findings by indicating the anticipated outcomes, most subjects did not receive a copy of the letter prior to their participation.

In order to increase desirability of participation, the name of each woman who completed a survey was entered into a drawing for a Pendleton blanket. Of the women contacted for participation, only one refused, and one failed to keep the appointment. Interviews were conducted in the setting where the subject felt most comfortable, either their home, at their work place, the public library, or in a cafe or restaurant.

The interview consisted of two parts. In the first part, the subject completed a survey asking for demographic information including age, tribe, years of marriage,

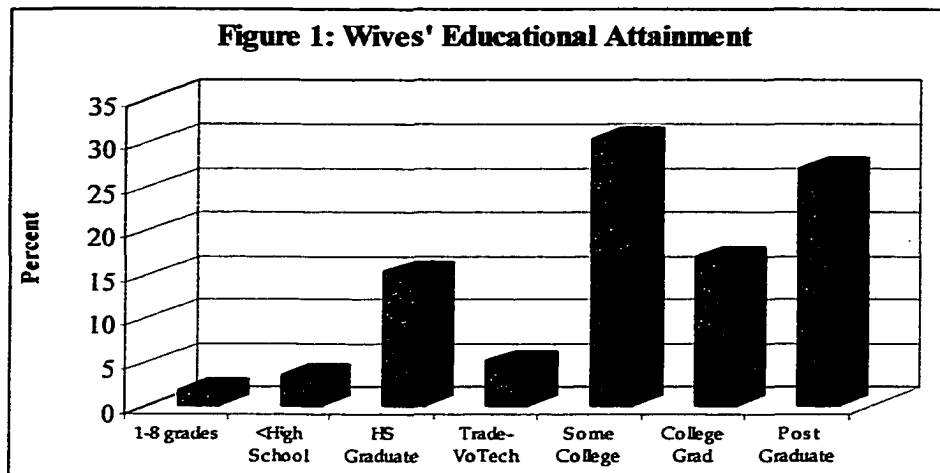
whether her husband was Indian, and if so, belonging to what tribe, the number and ages of her children. The subject was also asked if she had a job, the number of hours per week she worked, and both her income and her husband's income. The self administered portion of the survey includes items 1-71 and is presented in Appendix A. The self administered portion was followed by forty-five items measuring orientation toward Indian values.

The second part of the survey consisted of face-to-face interviews employing closed and open ended responses. These items are located in Appendix A and are identified as items 72-154c. Respondents were asked about their orientation toward gender roles, their husband's disagreement behavior, their commitment to the marriage, the locus of control within their marriage, and topics of disagreement they had recently experienced with their husbands. After each section subjects were asked if they had anything more to say about the topic we had just covered. In some cases the women wanted to clarify their responses to some choices they made, and many spoke at length about their roles as wives and mothers, and how they and their husbands negotiated disagreements.

At the conclusion of the interview the subject was given a small gift, a colorful scented candle in a small candleholder, in appreciation of her time. After sufficient interviews for analysis were completed, the drawing for the Pendleton blanket was held and the blanket was delivered within seven days.

Description of the Sample

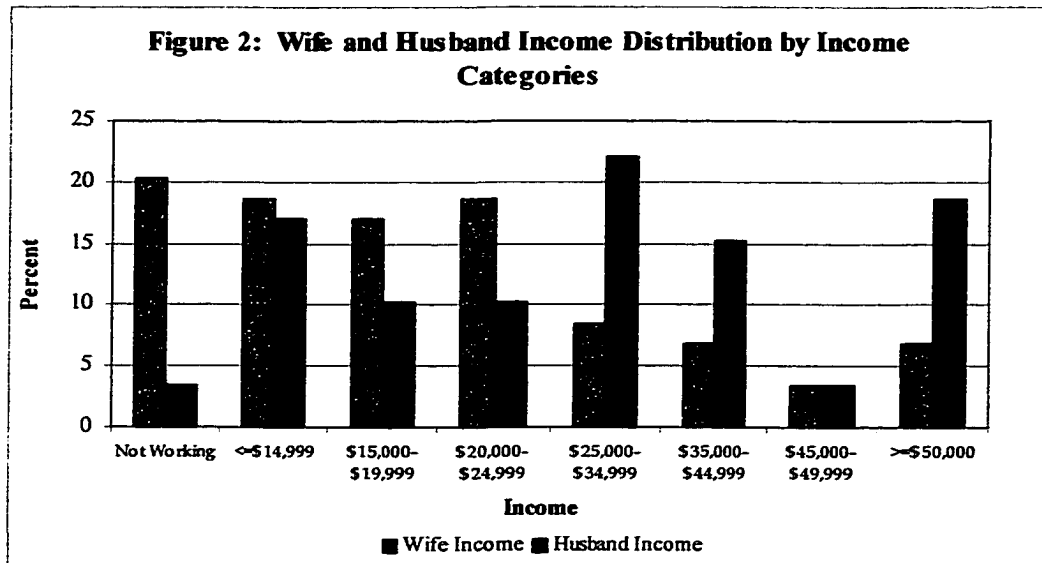
The women were asked about the area where they grew up. The majority grew up in rural, small town areas (68%). The mean age was 43 and the mean number of years married was 17. This sample is highly educated with approximately three-quarters having at least some college education. Nearly one third (30.5%) had attended college without obtaining a degree, and 16.9% had a bachelor degree. An additional 27.1% had



obtained a graduate degree. Approximately five percent had not graduated from high school, about fifteen percent reported they were high school graduates, and about five percent had attained vocational/technical training.

Income for both husbands and wives was measured by asking subjects to select an income range from a grouping of eight categories expressed monthly or annually, whichever was most convenient. For those who reported monthly income, monthly income was converted to annual income by multiplying the average monthly income range by twelve. Twelve subjects reported they were retired or had no income and two husbands were reported to be retired or have no income. Median annual income for the women reporting income was between \$20,000 and \$24,999, and the median annual

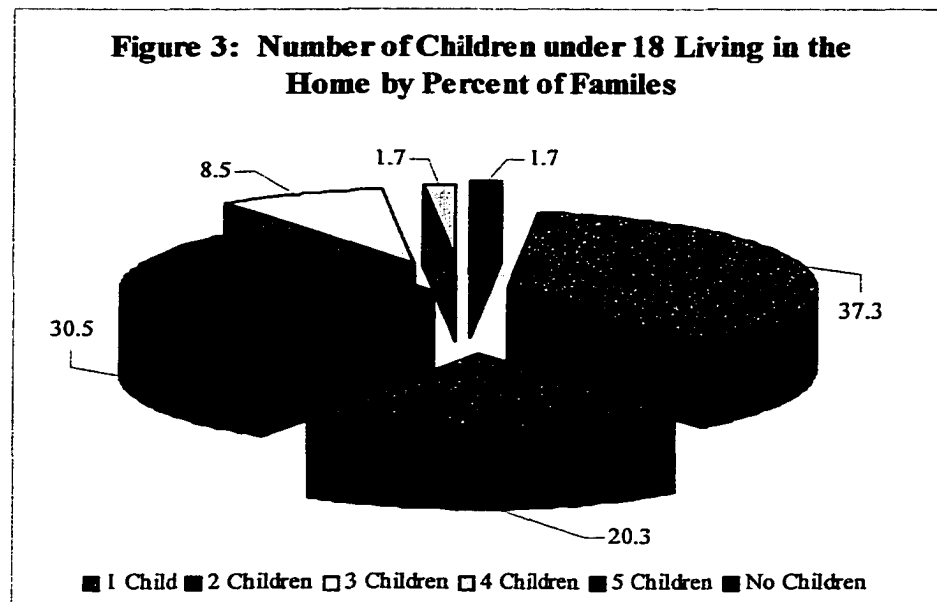
income for husbands was between \$25,000 and \$34,000.



The women were members of 17 tribes, with Cherokee being the most frequently represented (17%). Twenty-nine percent of husbands were not Indian. The most often given tribal representation for husbands was split between the Choctaw (12%) and Prairie Band of the Pottawatomie (12%).

Thirty-seven percent of women had no children under 18 living at home. The remaining women reported they had from 1 to 5 children living at home, with the mean response being two children (see Figure Three). The mean age of the children was six years.

Seventy-three percent of women were employed, with 10% reporting self-employment. The women reported working between 8 and 95 hours per week, with an average of 54 hours per week. The type of job held by the women varied widely including public school teaching, office administrative work, employment in Indian outreach, entrepreneur, and student.



The Measures

The study included three dependent variables measuring Perception of Agreement about Money, Perception of Agreement about Household Labor, and Perception of Agreement about Spousal Companionship. Additionally, there were two scales measuring gender role orientation, one measuring cooperative disagreement behavior, one measuring marital locus of control, one of love and caring for the husband, and one of commitment to the marriage.

Dependent Variables

Theoretically, differences in perception of agreement will vary depending on the topic to be decided. In order to assess varying degrees of magnitude of decision topics I used three topics found in Godwin and Scanzoni (1989): money; household labor; and spousal companionship. Subjects were asked to recall a recent discussion they had had about each of the three topics. They were then asked to answer to the question, "In thinking about the matter you and your husband discussed, where would you say you

both are with regard to this specific matter?” for each of the three topics. Responses were coded 1 to 7, with: 1 representing “We totally agree;” 2 representing “We are still thinking about it; 3 representing “We have agreed to disagree, and not talk about it for a while;”, 4 representing “I keep talking about it even though my husband doesn’t want to;” 5 representing “My husband keeps talking about it even though I don’t want to;” 6 representing “My husband doesn’t want to talk about it so I just keep quiet;”, and 7 representing “My husband keeps quiet because he knows I don’t want to talk about it.” Items were recoded so that a high score reflects perception of agreement. Table 1 presents the frequencies, percents, means, and standard deviations of the three dependent variables.

Gender Role Orientation

Gender role orientation refers to concepts of gendered division of labor regarding child rearing, income production, and household authority (Godwin and Scanzoni, 1989). Gender role orientation scales were taken from Godwin and Scanzoni (1989). One gender orientation scale measured attitudes about wife/mother roles; the second measured attitudes about husband/father roles. Factor analysis was performed on each scale separately, and then on all items in both scales combined into one measure of gender orientation.

For the scale measuring wife/mother roles, responses were coded from 1 (strongly agree) to 4 (strongly disagree). A high score indicated orientation toward European-based patriarchal gendered division of labor. This awkward description of gender role orientation is to differentiate American Indian gender concepts from mainstream American gender role concepts. While some tribes were patriarchal and others

Table 1: Frequencies of Perception of Consensus about Decision Making Topics						
	*Perception of Consensus about:					
Response Category	Money		Household Labor		Spousal Companionship	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
My husband keeps quiet because he knows I don't want to talk about it.	1	1.8	0	0.0	0	0.0
My husband doesn't want to talk about it, so I just keep quiet.	2	3.6	2	3.4	2	3.4
My husband keeps talking about it even though I don't want to.	3	5.4	2	3.4	0	0.0
I keep talking about it even though my husband doesn't want to.	3	5.4	8	13.8	3	5.2
We have agreed to disagree, and not talk about it for a while.	5	8.9	2	3.4	4	6.9
We are still talking about it.	9	16.1	11	19.0	12	20.7
We totally agree.	33	58.9	33	56.9	37	63.8
Missing	3		1		1	
Mean	6.00		6.02		6.33	
Standard deviation	1.56		1.43		1.18	

*Items were recoded so a high score indicates agreement

matriarchal, gender roles among Indians were not synonymous with those expected by European invaders. Thus, when referring to the variable *Gender Role Orientation* the concept is that imported from Europe and perpetuated in American social institutions. Only two items had factor loading scores below .40: “A mother should realize that her greatest rewards and satisfaction in life come through her children,” and “If being a mother isn’t satisfying enough, she should get a job.” These two statements are mutually contradictory and neither of them showed a significant relationship with other variables in the correlation matrix (not shown). In the interviews with the wives and mothers, many of them had comments about the importance of children in their families, yet they also saw nothing negative about getting a job if a mother isn’t satisfied with home life. Table 2 presents the item mean scores, factor loadings and eigenvalues 1.0 or higher for orientation to wives’ roles.

The second measure of gender role orientation consisted of twelve items measuring the women’s attitudes towards husband/father roles of breadwinner, childcare giver, discipliner, family rule maker, and authority over the family. The items were coded from 1(strongly agree) to 4 (strongly disagree), with a high score indicating European-based patriarchal orientation toward husband/father roles. Eight items produced factor loadings of .40 or higher. Those that loaded lower than .40 have to do with fathers’ involvement in home life and wives’ economic activity. Many of the women thought husbands should participate in child care and household labor, and many thought it was important for wives to participate in household income generation. Table 3 presents item mean responses, factor loadings and eigenvalues 1.0 or higher for the items.

Table 2: Factor Analysis of Gender Orientation toward Wives Roles (N=59)

Variable	Mean Responses	Factor Loading
*A wife should give up job when it inconveniences her husband	1.86	.756
*A wife's most important task in life should be taking care of her husband.	2.22	.639
*A mother of preschool children shouldn't work because it isn't good for the child.	2.29	.628
Having a job herself should be as important as encouraging her husband in his.	1.71	.620
*A mother of preschool children should work only if the family needs the money a whole lot.	2.85	.561
She should be able to make long range plans for her occupation in the same way her husband does for his.	1.76	.559
There should be more day cares so more mothers of preschool children could work.	2.15	.525
*A working mother should give up her job when it makes a hardship for her children.	2.88	.471
A mother with preschoolers should be able to work as many hours as their father.	2.47	.412
*A mother should realize that her greatest rewards and satisfaction in life come through her children.	3.29	7.320E-30
If being a mother isn't satisfying enough, she should get a job.	2.41	1.872E-02

Eigenvalues for the one factor solution are: 3.052, 1.753, 1.278, 1.172, 1.063

*Items were recoded to reflect orientation toward European-based patriarchal gender roles.

With all 23 items entered into factor analysis, fourteen variables produced factor loadings at .40 or higher. Of the nine items that loaded at .40 or higher in the wife/mother measures, seven loaded at that score or higher in the combination female/male roles factor analysis. And, of those eight items that loaded at .40 or higher in the husband/father measures, seven loaded at that value or higher in the combined analysis. The items that dropped out in the combined analysis were related to economic activity, specifically, "there should be more day care centers and nursery schools so that more mothers of preschool children could work", and "a mother with preschoolers should be able to work as many hours per week as their father," for the wife/mother role. The additional items that dropped out in husband/father roles were, "a married man's chief responsibility should be his job." Many of the women responded to this by stating that

the husband's chief responsibility was his family.

Table 3: Factor Analysis of Gender Orientation Towards Fathers Roles (N=59)

Variable	Mean Responses	Factor Loading
*The father has more responsibility than the mother to set an example to his sons about how to work hard and get ahead in the world.	2.69	.834
*The father should be the main financial support of his children.	2.39	.763
*The father has more of a responsibility than the mother to discipline the children.	2.15	.722
*The husband should be the head of the family.	2.66	.711
*The father has more of a responsibility than the mother to set an example to his sons about how to provide for their family.	2.78	.702
*The father has more of a responsibility than the mother to make and enforce rules for the children.	2.29	.668
If he wants to, the father should be able to quit working and be a full time parent.	2.44	.632
*A married man's chief responsibility should be his job.	2.15	.554
If his wife works, he should share equally in household chores such as cooking, cleaning and washing.	1.59	.330
The father should spend as much time as the mother in looking after the daily needs of his children.	1.73	.326
If his wife makes more money than he does, this should not bother him.	1.75	.253
If her job sometimes requires his wife to be away from home overnight, this should not bother him.	1.76	.213

Eigenvalues for the one factor solution are: 4.275, 1.761, 1.222

*Items were recoded so that a high score reflected orientation toward European-based patriarchal gender roles.

Scores could range from 14 to 56, with actual scores ranging from 17 to 52. The mean score was 32.68 and the standard deviation was 6.32. Reliability analysis was performed on the fourteen variables that loaded at .40 or higher in the factor analysis. Results produced a standardized alpha reliability coefficient of .89. Table 4 presents factor loadings and eigenvalues 1.0 or higher for the items. In subsequent analysis these items were combined into the additive scale variable, *Gender Role Orientation*.

Table 4: Factor Loadings and Eigenvalues for All Gender Role Measures

Variable	Factor Loading
*The father has more of a responsibility than the mother to set an example to his sons of how to work hard and get ahead in the world	.784
*The father should be the main financial support of his children.	.770
*A working wife should give up her job whenever it inconveniences her husband.	.745
*The father has more of a responsibility than the mother to discipline the children.	.690
*A wife's most important task in life should be taking care of her husband.	.677
*The husband should be the head of the family.	.672
*The father has more of a responsibility than the mother to set an example to his sons of how to provide for their family.	.667
*The father has more of a responsibility than the mother to make and enforce rules for the children.	.622
She should be able to make long range plans for her occupation in the same way that her husband does for his.	.611
Having a job herself should be just as important as encouraging her husband in his job.	.608
If he wants to, the father should be able to quit working and be a full time parent.	.527
*A mother of preschool children should work only if the family really needs the money a whole lot.	.454
A mother of preschool children shouldn't work because it isn't good for the child.	.453
*A working mother should give up her job whenever it makes a hardship for her children.	.420
*A married man's chief responsibility should be his job.	.372
If his wife works, he should share equally in household chores such as cooking, cleaning, and washing.	.364
The father should spend as much time as the mother in looking after the daily needs of his children.	.363
If his wife makes more money than he does, this should not bother him.	.336
If her job sometimes requires his wife to be away from home overnight, this should not bother him.	.327
There should be more day care centers and nursery schools so that more mothers of preschool children could work.	.293
A mother with preschoolers should be able to work as many hours per week as their father.	.212
If being a mother isn't satisfying enough, she should get a job.	.157
*A mother should realize that her greatest rewards and satisfaction in life come through her children.	8.281E-02

α coefficient=.8856

Eigenvalues for the one factor solution were: 6.376, 2.680, 2.000, 1.482, 1.358, 1.229, 1.135, 1.049

*Items were recoded so a high score reflects orientation toward European-based patriarchal gender roles.

Cooperative Disagreement Behavior Scale

Cooperative disagreement behavior facilitates decision making and decreases tension while in the process of reaching a solution. Uncooperative disagreement behavior can have an impact on how decisions are reached, with the aggressive one in the disagreement getting their way more often, and the non-aggressive one being left with feelings of hostility and/or a sense of non-resolution. To measure the wives' perceptions of their husband's cooperative disagreement behavior I used those found in Godwin and Scanzoni (1989). The measures consist of 15 statements which I read to the subjects. Response choices were never (1), rarely (2), sometimes (3), or most often (4) described their husband. Responses were coded so that a high score indicated cooperative disagreement behavior. Behaviors included among the fifteen were: saying things that hurt her feelings; getting really mad and yelling; being sarcastic; avoiding talking; trying to work things out; reasoning with her; listening to what she has to say and really trying to understand. Factor analysis resulted in one factor of thirteen items. Two items were omitted from analysis because factor loadings were less than .40: "He gets really mad and starts yelling;" and "He tries to smooth things over." The latter item seemed ambiguous, with some of the women considering "smoothing over" to be a positive behavior and others considering it to be negative. Possible scores ranged from 13 to 52 and actual scores ranged from 20 to 52 with a mean score of 38.47 and a standard deviation of 7.57. The standardized reliability coefficient was .87. Item means, factor loadings and eigenvalues 1.0 or higher are listed in Table 5. The variables were combined into the additive scale, *Cooperative Disagreement Behavior*.

Table 5: Factor Analysis of Wives Perceptions of Husbands' Cooperative Disagreement Behavior

Variable	Mean Response	Factor Loading
*He tries to avoid talking about it.	2.42	.818
*He clams up, holds in his feelings.	2.59	.736
He tries to reason with me.	3.29	.728
He comes right out and tells me how he is feeling.	2.75	.713
*He gets cool and distant, gives me the cold shoulder.	3.14	.712
He tries to work out a compromise.	3.24	.711
*He takes a long time to get over feeling mad.	3.14	.698
He listens to what I have to say and tries to understand how I feel.	3.47	.626
He does something to let me know he really loves me even if we disagree.	3.71	.570
*The more we talk, the madder he gets.	2.80	.490
*He says or does something to hurt my feelings.	2.58	.478
*He gets sarcastic.	2.46	.448
*He gets up and walks out.	2.90	.431
*He gets really mad and starts yelling.	2.86	.340
He tries to smooth things over.	3.19	.206

$\alpha=.8740$

Eigenvalues are 5.479, 1.923, 1.378, 1.078

*Items were recoded to reflect husband's cooperative disagreement behavior.

Love and Caring for Husband

Love and caring impacts decision making in that the one who is more involved in the marriage is the one more likely to acquiesce in a dispute and not push for their way in a decision for fear the other will cease their involvement in the relationship. To measure love and caring I used those found in Godwin and Scanzoni (1989). I asked the respondents to rank their feelings on a scale of 0 to 6, with 0 being not at all true, and 6 being definitely true in response to twelve statements. The statements concern an orientation toward their husband that reflects interest in his well being and welfare, emotional intimacy, companionship, and willingness to respond with love and care for their husbands. Two items were omitted from the final scale because their factor loadings were less than .40: "I would not worry if he knew of my faults," and "it would

be hard for me to get along without him.” For the first omitted item subjects were either confident their husbands knew their faults and it didn’t matter, or they were concerned if he did know of their faults. The second omitted item was generally responded to by the subjects in an economic sense. They admitted it would be difficult to support children, but they knew they could get along. The resulting scale has a possible scoring range from 0 to 60. Actual scores for this scale ranged from 8 to 60 with a mean of 54.32 and the standard deviation was 9.28. Item means, factor loadings and eigenvalues 1.0 or higher are listed in Table 6.

Table 6: Feelings of Love and Caring for the Husband

Variable	Mean Response	Factor Loadings
One of my primary concerns is his welfare.	5.56	0.924
I feel concerned for his well-being.	5.58	0.904
I want to feel that he is a part of me.	5.61	0.868
If I were lonely, my first thought would be to seek him out.	5.32	0.866
I would do almost anything for him.	5.36	0.858
I would greatly enjoy being confided in by him.	5.56	0.845
If I could never be with him, I would really miss him.	5.54	0.835
If he were feeling bad, I would really want to make him feel better.	5.47	0.797
I feel I can confide in him about virtually everything.	5.29	0.790
I feel I can tell him my innermost thoughts and fantasies.	5.03	0.745
I would not worry if he knew of my faults.	5.54	0.364
It would be hard for me to get along without him.	4.97	0.348

$\alpha = .9555$

Eigenvalues are: 7.389, 1.528

Commitment to the Marriage

To a point, feelings of commitment to the marriage contribute to disagreement resolution. However, extreme commitment to the marriage could result in acquiescence during disagreements because, theoretically, within a relationship, the one who is more committed to the relationship will fear loss of the relationship if they pursue their way. I used the measure of commitment to the marriage found in Godwin and Scanzoni (1989).

To measure commitment to the marriage, respondents were asked to choose the statement that best described their feelings about their marriages. Statements and coding include: “I want desperately for my marriage to succeed, and would go to almost any lengths to see that it does (1);” “I want very much for my marriage to succeed, and will do all I can to see that it does (2);” “I want very much for my marriage to succeed, and will do my fair share to see that it does (3);” “It would be nice if my marriage succeeded, but I can’t do much more than I am doing now to help it succeed (4);” “It would be nice

Table 7: *Feelings of Commitment to the Marriage (N=59)

Response	Number	Percent
My marriage can never succeed and there is no more that I can do to keep the relationship going.	0	0.0
It would be nice if it succeeded, but I refuse to do any more than I am doing now to keep the marriage going.	3	5.1
It would be nice if my marriage succeeded, but I can’t do much more than I am doing now to help it succeed.	4	6.8
I want very much for my marriage to succeed, and will do my fair share to see that it does.	13	22.0
I want very much for my marriage to succeed, and will do all I can to see that it does.	24	40.7
I want desperately for my marriage to succeed, and would go to almost any lengths to see that it does.	15	25.4

Mean= 4.75

*Items recoded so a high score reflects high commitment to the marriage

if it succeeded, but I refuse to do any more than I am doing now to keep the marriage going (5);” and “My marriage can never succeed and there is no more that I can do to keep the relationship going (6).” Items were recoded so a high score reflected high commitment to the marriage. The mean for this item was 4.75 and had a standard deviation of 1.08. Table 7 contains frequencies, and percents for this variable.

Marital Locus of Control

Godwin and Scanzoni (1989) provided the marital locus of control scale I used. Marital locus of control was measured using fourteen variables that concerned where subjects perceived control of their marriages was located, either in their husbands, themselves, or due to accidental happenings or luck. The fourteen items were on a response scale of 0 to 6, with zero being 'not at all true' and six being 'definitely true'.

Table 8: Means, Factor Scores and Eigenvalues for Marital Locus of Control Scale

Variable	Mean Response	Factor Loadings
*My marriage is chiefly controlled by my husband.	3.86	0.825
*I feel like what happens in my marriage is mostly determined by my husband.	3.44	0.807
*Getting what I want in my marriage requires pleasing my husband.	3.93	0.778
*Although I might have good ability, I do not get leadership responsibility in my marriage without appealing to my husband.	4.36	0.713
*When I get what I want in my marriage, it's usually because I'm lucky.	4.68	0.670
When I get what I want out of my marriage, it's usually because I worked hard for it.	3.88	0.599
*In order to have my plans work, I make sure that they fit in with the desires of my husband.	4.24	0.594
I can pretty much determine what will happen in my marriage.	4.10	0.461
When I make plans for how I want my marriage to be, I am almost certain to make them work.	4.24	0.442
*It's not always wise for me to plan too far ahead in my marriage, because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad luck.	4.37	0.414
*To a great extent my marriage is controlled by accidental happenings.	4.46	0.391
My happiness in my marriage is determined by my own actions.	4.46	0.342
*I have often found that in my marriage what is going to happen will happen.	2.29	0.268
I am usually able to protect my personal interests in my marriage.	4.98	3.84E-02

$\alpha = .6201$

Eigenvalues are: 4.530, 2.299, 1.460, 1.037

*Items coded so that a high score reflects internal locus of control.

Variables were recoded so that a high score reflected an internal locus of marital control. Items were entered into factor analysis and produced a one factor solution of ten items with factor loadings of .40 or higher. Reliability analysis of this scale produced a standardized alpha coefficient of .62. Scores for this scale could range from 0 to 84, with actual scores ranging from 15 to 52, and a standard deviation of 8.66. Means for each item, factor loadings, and eigenvalues 1.0 or higher are presented in Table 8. Items

were subsequently combined into the additive scale, *Marital Locus of Control*.

American Indian Values Scale

Trimble (1981) discusses the difficulty of identifying American Indian people when physical characteristics are not stereotypical. Additionally, there is a problem identifying American Indians when they are characteristically Indian in appearance, but do not practice Indian culture. In order to facilitate identification of American Indians, Trimble and colleagues developed items to measure eight areas of Indian cultural values. The areas include kindness, honesty, social responsibility, reciprocity, social skills, altruism, religion, and independence. The measures of kindness included four items, five items measured honesty, and nine items measured altruism. Social responsibility was measured by two items, social skills contained two items, and independence was made up of ten items. Reciprocity consisted of six items, and religion was measured by three items. Hobson (1994) further developed these measures to include family relationships and Indian political identity. Hobson also added one additional item to social responsibility, and an additional item to altruism. Hobson modified Trimble's three religious measures to reflect Indian spirituality in addition to Christian or other religious spirituality. Table 9 presents the thirty-seven items found in Trimble (1981) the three modified by Hobson (1994) and the eight developed by Hobson (1994). Items were coded so that a high value reflected an orientation toward traditional American Indian values.

Factor analysis of these variables resulted in a one factor solution of seventeen variables. All the Altruism value items failed to load at .40 or higher. This could be because the statements measuring Altruism are conditional, depending on the

circumstance, and other factors (see *Altruism* items in Table 9).

Kindness value items loaded at .40 or higher, and three of the six Honesty value items. Two of the Reciprocity value items loaded at .40 or higher, and one of the Political Identity value items. One Independence value item and one Importance of

Table 9: American Indian Value Scale Items developed by Trimble (1981) and Hobson (1994).

Value
<u><i>Kindness</i></u> T: Being kind to people even if they do things against one's own beliefs. T: Turning the other cheek and forgiving others when they harm you. T: Helping another person feel more secure, even if you don't like them. T: Helping another achieve their goals, even if it might interfere with your own.
<u><i>Honesty</i></u> T: Always telling the truth, even though it may hurt oneself or others. T: Never telling a lie, even though to do so would make the situation more comfortable. T: Helping a close friend get by a tight situation, even though you may have to stretch the truth a bit to do it. T: Telling a lie to spare someone's feelings. T: Never cheating or having anything to do with cheating situations, even for a friend.
<u><i>Social Responsibility</i></u> T: Borrowing money and not expecting to pay it back. T: Charging bills without knowing how to pay them. H: Cooperating with your friends or fellow workers.
<u><i>Reciprocity</i></u> T: Doing a favor for someone who has done one for you. T: Helping a person who has helped you. T: Sticking up for someone who once stuck up for you. T: Going out of your way to repay people for being kind.
<u><i>Social Skills</i></u> T: Being able to get along with all kinds of people, whether or not you think they are worthwhile. T: Being able to get people to cooperate with you.
<u><i>Religion</i></u> T&H: Being devoted to one's religious faith(T) or spiritual beliefs(H). T&H: Always attending religious services(T) or ceremonies(H) regularly. T&H: Living your religion(T) or spiritual beliefs(H) in your daily life.

**Table 9 : Value Items Developed by Trimble (1981) and Hobson (1994)
Continued**

Independence

T: Conforming to the requirements of any situation and doing what is expected of you.

T: Working and living in harmony with other people.

T: Being outspoken and frank in expressing one's likes and dislikes, even if it might hurt someone's feelings.

T: Being independent, original, non-conformist, different from other people.

T: Demanding freedom and independence above everything else.

T: Arguing with people who try to boss me around.

T: Becoming stubborn when others try to force me to do something.

T: Being completely free of the control of others.

T: Going my own way in spite of what others think.

T: Wanting to be my own boss and on my own.

Altruism

T: Hesitating to go out of my way to help someone in trouble.

T: Following the motto that one should "do unto others as you would have them do unto you."

T: Being sincerely concerned about the problems of others.

T: Stopping and helping a person who needs assistance.

T: Risking your life and limb to help someone else.

T: Taking advantage of an unselfish person.

T: Looking out only for yourself and not others.

H: Giving someone money even if it's your last dollar.

Indian Political Identity

H: Participating in American Indian organizations and activities more than non-Indian activities.

H: Giving support to other American Indians even when you may suffer the consequences.

H: Winning at all costs in personal or business affairs.

Importance of Relationships

H: Putting the concerns of your family above all other matters.

H: Missing work or school to help out a friend or relative.

H: Respecting the viewpoints of older people even when they differ from yours.

T=Trimble

H=Hobson

T&H=Hobson's modification to Trimble's item

Relationship item loaded at .40 or higher. All three of the Religious/Spiritual value items loaded at .40 or higher, as well as the two Social Skills items. It appears items concerning values of cooperation, religion and spirituality, concern for feelings and situations (Honesty and Reciprocity value items), and the value of respect for elders (value of Importance of Relationships) are uppermost in this sample. In a correlation matrix of the items that loaded at .40 or higher (not shown), the value of Independence item "being independent, original, non-conformist, different from other people" correlated negatively with other items in the seventeen that loaded. This item was coded so that a high score indicated this would be a negative thing to do. It had an item mean score of 2.19, which indicates that the sample may have interpreted the statement as a positive characteristic, and they valued independence, originality, and non-conformity.

One value of the Indian Political Identity items that did not load, "participating in American Indian organizations and activities more than non-Indian activities" was difficult for several subjects to respond to. Several asked what an American Indian organization was, and some interpreted this to mean organizations such as the American Indian Movement (AIM) which was not regarded positively.

Reliability analysis resulted in a standardized alpha coefficient of .82. The scores could range from 17 to 102, with actual scores ranging from 76 to 102. The scale mean score was 88.57, with a standard deviation of 6.44. Item mean scores, factor loadings and eigenvalues 1.0 or higher are presented in Table 10.

As a method of further identifying values the subjects considered important, after completing the self-completed section of the questionnaire subjects were asked the open-ended questions "As an American Indian woman what values do you think are important

Table 10: Factor Analysis of American Indian Values Scale

Variables	Item Means	Factor Loading
*Cooperating with your friends or fellow workers.	5.51	.628
*Being devoted to one's religious faith or spiritual beliefs.	5.74	.608
*Attending religious services or ceremonies regularly.	5.53	.580
*Being able to get people to cooperate with you.	5.14	.556
Being independent, original, non-conformist, and different from other people.	2.19	.532
*Helping another person feel more secure, even if you don't like them.	5.15	.527
*Never telling a lie, even though to do so would make the situation more comfortable.	4.53	.519
*Never cheating or having anything to do with cheating situations, even for a friend.	5.17	.483
*Being kind to people even when they do things that are opposite to your own beliefs.	5.44	.479
*Living your religion or spiritual beliefs in your daily life.	5.86	.474
*Helping a close friend get by a tight situation even though you may have to stretch the truth a bit to do it.	3.32	.473
*Being able to get along with all kinds of people, whether or not you think they are worthwhile.	5.47	.448
*Giving support to other American Indians even when you may suffer the consequences.	4.86	.447
*Helping a person who has helped you.	5.80	.442
*Respecting the viewpoints of older people even when they differ from yours.	5.66	.421
*Helping another achieve his/her goals, even if it might interfere with your own.	4.95	.412
*Sticking up for someone who once stuck up for you.	5.42	.410
*Forgiving others when they harm you.	5.24	.389
*Following the motto that one should "do unto others as you would have them do unto you."	5.37	.387
Hesitating to go out of your way to help someone in trouble.	3.66	.379
*Giving someone money even if it is your last dollar.	4.90	.357
*Missing work or school to help out a friend or relative.	4.36	.348
*Putting the concerns of your family above all other matters.	5.54	.342
*Stopping and helping a person who needs assistance.	5.53	.340
Borrowing money with no intention of paying it back.	5.69	.338
*Risking your life and limb to help someone else.	4.68	.330
*Becoming stubborn when others try to force you to do something.	4.02	.313
*Working and living in harmony with other people.	5.73	.309
*Telling a lie to spare someone's feelings.	3.26	.305
*Conforming to the requirements of any situation and doing what is expected of you.	4.61	.273
Looking out only for yourself and not others.	5.10	.270
*Being sincerely concerned about the problems of others.	5.25	.267
Taking advantage of an unselfish person.	5.64	.256
Being completely free of the control of others.	2.52	.252
*Always telling the truth even though it may hurt you or others.	4.80	.225
Demanding freedom and independence above everything else.	2.93	.221
*Going out of your way to repay people for being kind.	5.53	.189

Table 10 Factor Analysis of American Indian Values Scale, Continued

Variables	Item Means	Factor Loading
*Participating in American Indian organizations and activities more than non-Indian activities.	4.00	.169
*Doing a favor for someone who has done one for you.	5.49	.161
Being outspoken and frank in expressing one's likes and dislikes, even if it may hurt someone's feelings.	4.15	.145
Charging bills without knowing how to pay them.	5.20	.127
Going your own way in spite of what others think.	2.48	8.203E-02
Wanting to be your own boss and on your own.	2.22	4.080E-02
Winning at all costs in personal or business affairs.	4.47	3.902E-02
Arguing with people who try to boss you around.	3.71	3.680E-02

Eigenvalues for the items were: 6.283; 4.197; 3.380; 2.764; 2.522; 2.365; 2.074; 1.842; 1.650; 1.494; 1.395; 1.252; 1.230; 1.159; 1.056

Scale mean: 88.57; standard deviation: 6.44

*Items were recoded so a high value indicates orientation toward traditional American Indian values.

in guiding your life?" and "What values have helped you in difficult times?" Responses were recorded and transcribed. Following are selected responses from those questions.

Family and spiritual values were mentioned repeatedly. Women who did not have children cited their extended families as sources of strength and help in guiding their lives or in difficult times. For example, a 45 year old Sac & Fox wife stated how important her family was and how her family has helped her in difficult times,

I think family is important - plays a large role in my life. To the point that, perhaps I don't take extended vacations to go have pleasure, but vacation days to go take care of family needs or celebrations.

[in difficult times] I guess the family value again. In the sense when difficult times do arise I would say family and spiritual [help in difficult times]. They seem to kinda maybe have worked hand in hand while maybe I don't turn to the family for guidance, they're always there I guess, and they maybe have helped me work through some problems ... in the sense of they're your family, they're not going to go away. I - for me, an option to leave and never see, you know, them or deal with them again is not an option. And so perhaps it helps me sometimes work through things.

Other women stated their spirituality and their families were values that helped them,

...I think that you need to have a strong belief. I believe though that if you...if you go to church...if religious beliefs are going to church... then you should do that... But your family, I think comes next, and, that's very

important. I don't know what I'd do without my family. Kiowa age 44

In citing religious or spiritual values, the subjects mentioned a range of putting that value into action. Prayer, church, Christianity, and God were topics of religion or spirituality.

In guiding their lives, or in difficult times religion or spirituality helped them.

Some of the subjects talked about their traditional values and how those helped them. For example a 44 year old Cherokee wife discussed the values she had been taught and how to apply those values in difficult times,

My spiritual values, spirituality, and, the values I was taught as I was being raised. But, I have always been taught no matter what I do, no matter whether its part of work, or part of raising my children, or being with other people, that I am to respect people, no matter what race they are, what color skin they have, what religion they belong to, and respect them like I would want them to respect me as a person.

[In difficult times] To be honest, to speak what's in your heart, and show respect by, again, putting yourself in that other person's shoes, or that other situation, and trying to make it the most positive that it can be.

A 52 year old Sac & Fox woman brought up the value of respect,

[In difficult times] [Give] Respect to God, respect to the things He's made for us. To live in harmony in the universe, you know, give thanks for our trees, and our ground here, and our crops, and our water. Water is a very important thing to the American Indian people, and religion. We can go to any religion we want as long as we pray to ... God.

Correlations of Variables

Correlation analysis of the scales with the three dependent variables resulted in statistically significant correlations with *Feelings of Commitment to the Marriage*, *Gender Role Orientation*, and *Cooperative Disagreement Behavior*.

Table 11 presents the correlation matrix of the dependent variables and the

independent variables. Using two-tailed tests of significance, the correlation matrix revealed that the dependent variable *Perception of Agreement Consensus about Money* did not correlate significantly with any of the independent variables. However, the dependent variables *Perception of Agreement Consensus about Household Labor* and *Perception of Agreement Consensus about Spousal Companionship* did correlate significantly with several variables. The dependent variable *Perception of Agreement*

Table 11: Correlation of Dependent Variables and Scales

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1) Agreement Consensus about money	-							
2) Agreement Consensus about Household Labor	.250 (.063)	-						
3) Agreement Consensus about Companionship	.568 (.000)	.351 (.007)	-					
4) Marital Locus of Control	.082 (.547)	.054 (.689)	-.009 (.948)	-				
5) Love & Caring for Husband	.193 (.154)	.339 (.009)	.243 (.066)	.120 (.365)	-			
6) Cooperative Disagreement Behavior	.220 (.103)	.156 (.242)	.225 (.090)	.293 (.025)	.543 (.000)	-		
7) Gender Roles	.124 (.372)	.094 (.489)	.141 (.299)	-.359 (.006)	.209 (.119)	.053 (.693)	-	
8) Feelings about the Marriage	.242 (.072)	.278 (.035)	.335 (.010)	.111 (.403)	.559 (.000)	.428 (.001)	.123 (.361)	-
9) American Indian Values	.208 (.135)	.044 (.749)	.076 (.582)	.150 (.270)	.147 (.280)	.082 (.549)	.224 (.100)	.101 (.457)

Two-tailed tests of significance

Consensus about Household Labor correlated significantly with *Feelings of Commitment to the Marriage*, as well as *Love and Caring for the Husband*. The dependent variable *Perception of Agreement Consensus about Spousal Companionship* significantly correlated with *Feelings of Commitment to the Marriage*. Looking at the correlations among the scales, *Cooperative Disagreement Behavior*, and *Gender Role Orientation* correlated significantly with *Marital Locus of Control* (sig. = .025 and .006 respectively). The *Cooperative Disagreement Behavior* scale and *Feelings of Commitment to the Marriage* correlated significantly with *Love and Caring for the Husband* (sig.= .000 and

.000 respectively). *Feelings of Commitment to the Marriage* correlated significantly with the *Cooperative Disagreement Behavior* scale (.001).

Because the sample size is too small to analyze a large number of variables, further analyses were restricted to variables that produced significant correlation and regression coefficients. Thus, the scales measuring *Marital Locus of Control* and *Love and Caring for the Husband* were eliminated. Table 12 presents the final significant correlations among the variables in the analysis using one-tailed significance tests.

Table 12: Correlation of Selected Variables

	Consensus About Money	Consensus About Household Chores	Consensus About Companionship	Cooperative Disagreement	Gender Roles
Feelings about the Marriage (Significance)	0.242 (0.036)	0.278 (0.017)	0.335 (0.005)	0.428 (0.000)	
Cooperative Disagreement Scale (Significance)			0.225 (0.045)		
American Indian Values Scale (Significance)					0.224 (0.050)

One Tailed Tests of Significant

Interaction of Feelings about the Marriage and Disagreement Behavior.

The significant correlation seen between the independent variables *Feelings of Commitment to the Marriage* and *Cooperative Disagreement Behavior* suggested an interaction effect between the variables. Dichotomized and non-dichotomized versions of the interaction term were constructed using the *Cooperative Disagreement Behavior* and *American Indian Values Scale*. The non-dichotomized interaction term produced significant results in an equation testing the effects on the dependent variable *Feelings of Commitment to the Marriage*. However, because of difficulty in interpretation of non-dichotomized interaction variables, the dichotomous version was tested for effects on the dependent variable *Feelings of Commitment to the Marriage*. Using the dichotomized interaction term did not produce statistically significant coefficients. The small sample size hinders investigation of the possible interaction effects, and its interpretation. Future

research with a larger sample is needed to evaluate the possibility of interaction effects of American Indian Values and cooperative disagreement behavior.

The three dependent variables were each tested for effects of the variables *American Indian Values, Feelings of Commitment to the Marriage, Cooperative Disagreement Behavior, and Gender Role Orientation.*

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

Regression Analysis

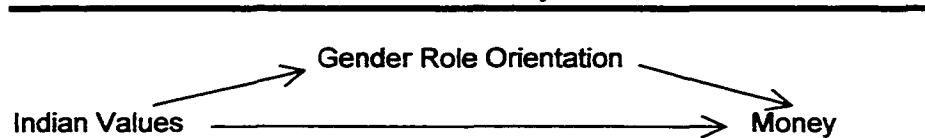
Because the size of the sample is a limiting factor in regression analysis, restricted numbers of variables were entered into regression equations. The three dependent variables *Perception of Agreement Consensus about Money*, *Perception of Agreement Consensus about Household Labor*, and *Perception of Agreement Consensus about Spousal Companionship* were entered into three separate equations. The independent variable *American Indian Values* was present in all equations, and the other independent variables, *Feelings of Commitment to the Marriage*, *Gender Role Orientation*, and *Husband's Cooperative Disagreement Behavior* were separately entered. Each dependent variable was analyzed using bivariate followed by multiple regression. Bivariate regression was employed to determine the degree of effect of the independent variables on the dependent variables.

Effects of Gender Role Orientation on Dependent Variables

The effects of *Gender Role Orientation* were first tested on the dependent variable of *Perception of Agreement Consensus about Money*, followed by *Perception of Agreement Consensus about Household Labor*, and finally *Perception of Agreement Consensus about Spousal Companionship*. The *American Indian Values* scale was included in each of the regression equations. The hypothesized models are presented below in Figures 4 through 6.

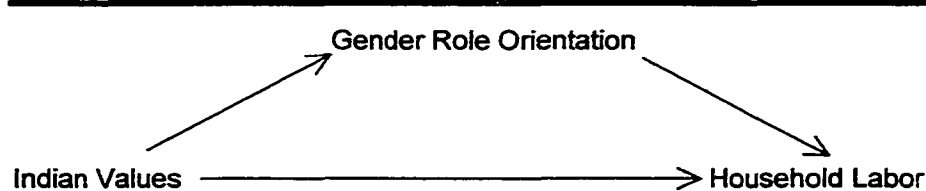
Statistically significant regression coefficients were not produced in the first equation (Figure 4). Nonetheless, the standardized regression coefficient for *American Indian Values* on *Perception of Agreement Consensus about Money* was .193 (sig. = .181) and for *Gender Role Orientation* on *Perception of Agreement Consensus about Money* was .097 (sig. = .501). The indirect effect of *American Indian Values* on *Perception of Agreement Consensus about Money* through *Gender Role Orientation* was .023.

Figure 4: Hypothesized Model of Effects of American Indian Values and Gender Role Orientation on Perception of Agreement about Money

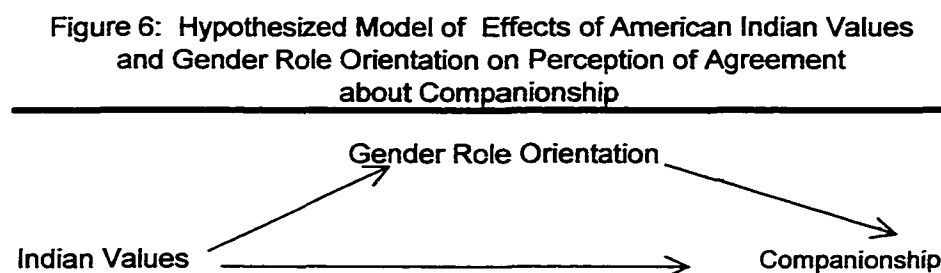


The effects of *American Indian Values* and *Gender Role Orientation* on *Perception of Agreement Consensus about Household Labor* were tested in the second equation (Figure 5). Statistically significant regression coefficients were not produced. The direct effect of *Gender Role Orientation* on *Perception of Agreement Consensus about Household Labor* was .081 (sig. = .572). The direct effect of *American Indian Values* on *Perception of Agreement Consensus about Household Labor* was .055, and the indirect effect of *American Indian Values* through *Gender Role Orientation* was .018.

Figure 5: Hypothesized Model of Effects of American Indian Values and Gender Role Orientation on Perception of Agreement about Household Labor



The third equation in this series examined the direct and indirect effects of *American Indian Values* and *Gender Role Orientation* on *Perception of Agreement Consensus about Spousal Companionship* (Figure 6). No statistically significant regression coefficient was produced in this equation. The direct effect of *Gender Role Orientation* on *Perception of Agreement Consensus about Spousal Companionship* was .151 (sig. = .290). The direct effect of *American Indian Values* was .067 (sig. = .635) and the indirect effect of *American Indian Values* through *Gender Role Orientation* was .034, but not significant.



Women's Comments about Gender Role Orientation

In order to understand more fully the subjects perspective on gender roles, and to clarify some of their forced response choices, after completing the quantitative portion of each gender role measure I asked if there was anything more they would like to say about wife/mother or husband/father roles. Some of the women clarified their choices on statements that were difficult to answer, some explained their relationships with their husbands and children, and some explained tribal gender expectations. The following are selected responses to the follow-up questions.

For several women, working wives/mothers was an issue. Some found it difficult to select a response and offered clarification for their responses to, "a mother of

preschool children shouldn't work because its not good for the child," and "a working mother should give up her job whenever it makes a hardship for her children." For some women the problem was that if a mother didn't work then her children could experience hardship,

I don't think a mother should give up working you know, just for a child... I think that she could combine both the working and the children if she does it right, you know. I think they're depriving their children sometimes if they do quit - you know, if it's a hardship case. I mean, like take for instance, if their family has nothing, and the working mother has to work... I think she's depriving that child if she does quit. And, I feel like, you know, in the long run, they can work to a point where they can get out of this hardship. But, she should still be able to be a mom and a wife, and whatever, and get them through this. Choctaw age 54

A 53 year old Seminole wife made this statement about problems not working can have on a family,

...sometimes you don't have the money - it causes problems in your relationship with your husband, it can cause all kinds - all kinds of problems. If the mother has to work and the children are in preschool, I think she should, cause if its gonna help in the [kids'] life, you know, and a part of your life, your husband - I think if she has to work, she needs to.

Whether or not to work should be a choice wives and mothers should have, as stated by a 33 year old Kickapoo wife,

I think they should be able to choose whether or not they work or stay home with their kids.... but, they should have a choice, it would make them happier and maybe less resentful of their children - if it were their choice...that they have as much choice in the situation...

For some the importance of having a career may be as important as having children,

[when]...they begin to have children I don't think that she ought to be expected to quit her job or her career because I think that needs to be a decision that - that somehow they can make together where she is, she still

feels like she can carry on her career, 'cause that may be just as important to her as being a mother is. I have never been made to feel like my job or my role as a mother or wife was any less important. Cherokee age 33

In clarifying the statement about day care, "there should be more day care centers and nursery schools so that more mothers of preschool children could work," along with the previous statements about working mothers, some responded they thought day care didn't provide consistency for the children,

I really think that the family should be more involved in raising their children, to the school age point. [in daycares] there's no consistency... Someone else is raising 'em. Kiowa, age 32

In speaking about family raising their children, a 53 year old Absentee Shawnee woman remarked,

The questions about the day care centers and um, more day care centers. Well, I think maybe if you have a place for 'em, a good grandparent, or a good - somebody that you know would take good care of your child. If you have a grandparent that's, you know, able to take care of it I'm for that.

However, a 52 year old Sac & Fox woman commented day care was good for teaching children about the greater social world,

I never regretted sending 'em [to day care] because it made 'em - easier to speak and make friends and kinda watch who their friends were gonna be, because you learn even in kindergarten about children who's gonna be rougher, and who's gonna hit you. And then when they get older they've already been exposed to it. Now, I would never hit my child or be rougher, so the exposure helps both ways.

If they both worked, then the husband was expected to contribute to keeping the home functioning, and not leave it all for the wife or mother.

...I think they should be able to treat their jobs as equal. In other words, [if] I needed to work 10 or 12 hours that day - then I expect a husband to take my job into consideration and go get the kids when its time to pick them up at

day care or school. I mean I need to finish my job up because I feel like its just as important as his job is. ...And that's just like if I'm late for supper I expect him to cook the supper and prepare the meal and get the kids [and him] fed while I'm working until I can get home. And, uh, that's worked out well in our relationship, I mean it's a give and take, when you're raising kids and you're both working. You both have to take responsibility, if one can't take 'em to the doctor, the other one needs to be able to take off and take 'em to the doctor. And, not just rely on the mother carrying that whole burden herself and still trying to do a job. Uh, because even though her job may not pay as much as the husband's its still important to her to do that job and do it well. So, why should she make all the sacrifices on her job, and risk losing it, versus him. Absentee Shawnee age 37

Many women felt parenting and spousal roles were equal. Some felt that in an ideal world responsibilities would be shared, but as it is responsibilities get shifted to one parent,

As a husband and a father I think that that's a responsibility that's shared by both parents. I don't think that one should have more even though its probably like [that] in the real world. One takes on more responsibility, one does the disciplining, one takes [on] a little more of the disciplining... but I just feel like it should be pretty much equal,...That, in my opinion, is just, I feel like it should be an equal process - both parents. Kiowa age 44

Parenting roles were like marriages, to be shared,

I think that it's like marriage itself, it's a joint effort. It takes two, and if you don't work together you're not gonna accomplish anything. It's equal. They have to equally discipline, taking care of, give the financial support. It has to be shared equally because one can't do it alone when both parents are there. It takes two. Chickasaw age 37

Husbands were to be just as capable of parenting and taking care of the home as the wife,

...they should be basically the same. Really, they should share the same responsibilities in the family. Be there for their children and that should be equally between the husband and wife, it's very important. They should be equally responsible for anything that comes up at home, you know. Like, the cooking, the cleaning, you know, that should be an equal thing. Absentee Shawnee age 45

To a 53 year old Absentee Shawnee wife, the husband was head of the family, but, in reality mothers were more responsible for the children than the father,

The part about the husband should be the head of the family. Its good, I guess, but sometimes you feel like the husband and the wife should be the head of the family...and important thing in the family life I think [is] the wife, mother. I think she has a lot to do with - she knows about more [the children] than the father because she's there and the father is off to work... and the child's talking to the mother, so she does a lot more of it than the father does, because she's right there. We let him be the head of the house if he wants to be.

Mothers roles were to develop the child socially and emotionally, take care of the family, and be supportive. One characteristic that came up repeatedly was that wives' and mothers' roles were interchangeable, in that if one was a wife, one was a mother, and if a mother, then a wife.

Mothers' roles were to develop their children's self esteem, and to support them,

Mother's role is to help the child develop good self esteem, to support the children for who they are... Kickapoo age 36

Also, mother roles were to teach children to be strong and successful,

And my role as a mother is to do everything I can to teach my daughters how to be strong successful women. Choctaw age 37

Mothers' roles were also to teach children to be good citizens,

A mother's role is to socialize her children so that they grow up to be good, functioning citizens who give something to the society, who give to the society and support the society and help it grow and help it continue. A mother's role is to develop adults, good citizens. Cherokee age 39

Mother's love was expressed as an important aspect of the role,

Well I think, to me, a mother's love is the most important thing there is in a home. A woman's love is a - its everything in the home. If a woman loves her children and her husband you usually have a happy home. Kickapoo age 71

A 35 year old Chickasaw mother also identified love as a primary characteristic of mothering,

Well, bein' a mother is to tend to your child, listen to 'em, be there as a confident, a friend, a partner, you know. Somebody for her to lean on, to teach. Husband same way. Learn to read em, you know, as well feel 'em. Overall caring, I guess. Chickasaw age 35

The role of mother was cited to be very important,

And as far as a mother, I think it's [a] very important, vital part of a child's life is the mother...importantly the mother...Because the mother is the teacher, its kinda like a serious...stronghold in the family. That the [mother] keeps things together and makes everything smooth - go smoothly - help the children in many different ways, ways that the father cannot. The mother is, again, the vital part of the family as far as caring around children and, developing them in every aspect of their lives, especially emotionally. Make it stable and - and spiritually - in every aspect. But I think that a mother and a wife are the most vital parts of the family. Navajo age 31

The wife role was seen as a companion for some,

"I think a wife's role is to be a companion to her mate." Sac & Fox age 45

For others the role of wife was to be a partner,

A wife, the role of a wife, is a partner. [It's someone who] supports their partner in the marriage. Choctaw age 37

Father roles were seen as role models, nurturer, breadwinner and head of the household.

The father was crucial for the family,

The father's role, it penetrates in some - many areas that it - you [are] not obviously aware of everything, but you know in the long run you look back and you see that - this is what happened because of ... how he stands, what he says, how he oversees his family... As far the father figure, I think that's the most important part in the family relationship with one another...what his beliefs are, what he stands for, how he disciplines, how he wants his family to be. I think he has the most important part over - over myself and my family - that's how I see it, 'cause he sets so many different standards. Navajo age 31

A 30 year old Sac & Fox wife and mother talked about her experiences watching her brothers and father,

I can say that from my experience of watching my brother and my father, its important that the father is in the household so the son can learn how to be - I guess if the father is affectionate, or if he's caring for his wife his son will learn that from watching.

Children need to see the differences between the way women and men are,

[In] the way their sons are brought up, I think it makes a big difference - the father needs to be there. Men and women are so - well they're different and children need to see those differences in their life day to day. A man brings a whole new dimension to it, but, not just to be there as a figurehead, but to be involved. Caddo age 52

A father's role is to set a good example,

Well, I think like a father's role needs to set a good example. Like teaching his children, especially the sons how to work... Seminole age 53

Fathers have the role of teaching their sons and daughters,

I think the work ethic for father to son is I think the more important. But, it's one of the things men teach - the work ethic. And men teach their daughters self esteem - well, in reality I've experienced it, I guess. But, the young girl, before she reaches the age [of] 6 needs her father in the household because that's her self esteem. She builds her self image there. You know, she's daddy's little princess, she's the apple of his eye. Cherokee age 40

Husbands and fathers should be the head of the household for some,

But I think its very important for the father to play a - you know, man of the household. Especially when he means well. Cause the kids are gonna go along with him. And, mother has a lot to do with it, too. But I think a father's more - I don't know how you would say it - he's not over the mother, I mean he's not greater than the mother, but, they just seem to respect their father's sayings maybe because he's stronger than the mother. Seminole age 53

But, others thought it wasn't necessary for husbands or fathers to be the head of the household,

I don't think the husband has to be head of the household, or should be the head of the household, because I know that I can do that. I think that a woman is perfectly capable of showing or setting an example for her sons, just as well as her daughters and I don't think it should be specific. I think that example was set forth, you know, in my family. My parents both did that. And, so I don't think that the father has more responsibility than a mother. Ponca age 38

Husbands and fathers should share responsibilities,

I think uh, a father- a husband [is] to share in the responsibilities of raising children both in discipline and teaching them, providing guidance to them. A husband, again, should be a companion for his mate, and sharing things in their relationship. Sac & Fox age 45

Part of the father's role is to spend time with his children,

But, a father needs to also...the father needs to turn around and he needs to put in his equal time with the kids so that they realize the father's concerned with them - whether its working with their homework, playing with them. You know, spending that quality time with them in the evening when they get home...the children, they value seeing their mother and father, both, during the day. They [children] have their equal times with them [the parents] during the day. Absentee Shawnee age 37

Or, husbands and fathers could stay home with children,

...the father being the better role model to bring up a son, I don't necessarily think that's true. If the father decided to stay at home or if the mother had a job that was equally important - as important and as much money as the father makes - I think that's going to show a son just as much... Cherokee age 33

The father's role is to be a role model for his children. In being a role model, fathers show their sons how the world works,

I think the father should guide both children, not just the son. But, I think at a certain point in a boy's life, the fact that [the] father is around and works

with [his son] and is there to - maybe not lead 'em or guide 'em, - but show the example of how the world works, is more their role than, you know, than just... bringing home a paycheck and...being the chief disciplinarian. Kiowa age 32

A father is a role model for both sons and daughters,

For sons, no matter what the father is a role model. For girls a father is a role model of who a man should be. The father has an important role for children growing up. Kickapoo age 36

Others stated that rather than fathers being a role model of the work ethic, they should be a model of knowing what's important,

I disagree a little bit with ...whether the father should be the main example of teaching their sons - I disagree in that area. Teaching your children and loving your children, giving them spiritually [rather] than worldly possessions. And, if the father, you know, takes [a] lesser job so he can be at home more, but still provide for his family, that is far more important than things- than worldly things. Kickapoo age 36

Both sons and daughters watch the mother and father, learning their respective gender roles as described by a 52 year old Sac & Fox woman,

...one of the things that all children, not just the sons, needs to look out, is that the father always got up and went to work, the father always rose early in the morning and the mother was always there to prepare breakfast...Yet its the father that is the strong person and the mother is the warm person. Because, a father can look at you and discipline you, and a mother will have to spank you. A mother looks at you too, but its not the same, because she's got that smile like, 'I don't even want to say this to you' but the father will say "its so" and he does not change. And I think those are very supportive roles to one another in a marriage.

But, then, some subjects thought both parents should be role models, as expressed by a 37 year old Absentee Shawnee woman,

Uh, but as far as being role models, I think we both have to be role models. The father a little more in the fact that the kids, whether it's both people

working, or just one, look to the father as the leader. But, he - the father needs to play a big role in the kids [lives] - teaching them how to, you know, adjust in this world. But, if a mother has had that same experience then she's been exposed to the working role. ...that goes to that one-to-one relationship that the mother and father has with each other in how to raise the kids and be equal in all areas of the marriage.

Subjects talked about the issues of rule making and enforcing, and discipline.

Some said making and enforcing rules was her job, others that they worked as a family unit to make and enforce rules. Enforcing, or disciplining, was carried out by the mother, or by both. If a mother was the primary discipliner, and the father was in the position of having to discipline, he would refer the problem to her, or she would direct his disciplining efforts,

I do most of the discipline. And, if he's not sure about it or something, he'll ask me. And if he doesn't ask, I'll go ahead and tell because he isn't here in the evening to see what goes on.... a lot of the discipline - I do most of it and its kinda what I say goes at home. And when he comes in it'll be [to the children's requests] "oh yeah go ahead" then I'll say 'no they're not because I've already told them no'... Creek age 42

Mothers were more frequently the discipliner because they knew the children better,

The mother is, has the - guides the children. Where it says something about the father discipline the children...I think the mother knows the children - knows the children really more than the father. The mother knows the children, their reactions, and the things they do because she spends more time with them... Kickapoo age 71

But, mothers and fathers have different approaches to discipline,

...like discipline. I think 'cause the sons are more afraid of their fathers than the mothers. I think its good for him to work with his children. Even the daughters, 'cause they listen - they seems to listen to their father more... I think they know that the mother is the softie. You know, like their dad tells 'em something, they come to me. But, I don't try to go against his word. 'Cause I want the respect. I want them to learn to respect. But, I think it'll come more from the dad. Seminole age 53

However, for some of the women both parents should participate in disciplining the children so there is equal treatment from both parents,

Well, I think - I always believe in equal marriage. I think the mother and the father should both participate in the discipline. It should be equally done so that they [the children] don't think that one is being, you know,- harder on 'em than the other. Absentee Shawnee age 37

It could be that mothers discipline the children because fathers don't want to be the 'bad guy',

[on discipline] sometimes I think the father doesn't want to be the 'bad guy'.... Like I say, the father's not around, he's at work. So the mother has to discipline at that time and the father comes in and its like, 'okay, you know you shouldn't a done that', but its the mother really that's doin' the discipline 'cause she's there. I think the role of the father is ...the strong one, but I think mothers have a lot to do with the sensitive side. And sometimes [for] fathers, it's hard for him to say things that you want to hear, and the mother she's just [say] 'I love you' . [It's] a lot easier for us [mothers] sometimes than the father. In mostly Native American communities it's kinda hard for them [men] sometimes to express their feelings. Absentee Shawnee age 53

Spousal and parenting roles in traditional American Indian families were talked about by some of the subjects. For example, a 49 year old Osage wife talked about recent changes in Indian husband and father roles, including the effect of boarding schools on ability to parent,

The husband's role is in - in Indian families - is to - it's no different than it is in non-Indian families. He's to be a provider, a protector. But, as a father there's, in the recent times, there's been a - well, what's come about is that fathers, I think, in Indian families now, are, important, very important, but they're not exercising their rights as a father, as far as teaching their children, especially sons, how to be strong young men, gentlemen. They still sense that they're not able to perform their role the way they should fully, you know, to the extent that they should or could in the past. So, I think that causes them a little apprehension. And, in my opinion, I can see that, in my own opinion. My husband he's a good man, he's a strong man, but I can see from his upbringing - he was sent to boarding schools. That didn't help at all.

He was sent to Indian boarding schools, and that has affected my perception of how he should relate to his sons.

In traditional Cherokee culture the wife/mother's uncles and brothers are second fathers to her children. A 44 year old Cherokee woman explained these roles,

In traditional Cherokee homes, and ours is a traditional Cherokee home, usually, what happens is my brothers have a responsibility and have that role [father role] because my children are of my clan, and in order to learn what that means it can't be taught from their father who is of a different clan - may not even have a clan. So, a lot of what European husbands and fathers might do is different, because my brothers and my uncles are the ones who will teach my children.

[They teach] how to provide for the family, what being of our clan means, what being Indian means, just the whole societal teachings that a male person will give to children would come from my brothers and my uncles. [And it applies to] sons and daughters both.

The father plays a role in teaching them everyday life. There's no difference there, there's no line there, because traditionally we are taught to be hard workers, we're taught to respect all people, no matter who they are, we're taught to tell the truth about things, we're taught to put families first, we're taught to just be overall positive people. So, its not in conflict in any way when my husband might play his role as a father to my children and my brothers and uncles play their role as second fathers to my children.

Traditional mother's roles were talked about as well. A 51 year old Comanche woman talked about what she was taught her about her role as mother,

[In] my tribe, and because I've only learned from my father who is Comanche, that as mothers we are teachers for our children and that we should be teaching them our culture and our traditional values and beliefs.

And, a 51 year old Absentee Shawnee woman talked about what is important for Indian mothers to do,

I think that it's important for a woman to - an Indian woman - to make sure that her family is fed, make sure that they ... go to the ceremonies, whatever is needed. You kinda ... guide em in that direction. You know, oh, be

supportive. And, I don't know, that you're just always there like the hub maybe.

Finally, a Cherokee woman, age 44, spoke about Cherokee wife and mother roles,

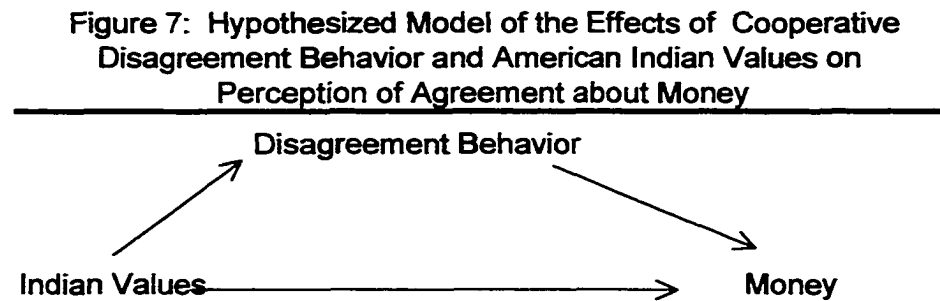
I think a mother's role is to provide guidance for her children, and even for her husband as a full blood Cherokee. Our roles are set to where we are the strong individual in the family. We lead, not by arguing and not by necessarily discipline, but we lead by example. And, to teach that spirituality, to teach that making decisions based on your spirituality and your feelings in your heart.

And as far as my role with my husband - is to be a partner and sometimes that's difficult in the outside society from our traditional society. I know that when I'm at work, my role as a wife is a little bit different. And, my role in our traditional society, I know where my place is with my husband - and that's definitely behind him. He makes the decision there, and will sometimes consult with me, you know. But, my role is to support him in those situations, and not necessarily to be his partner, but support him in his decision. So, it changes, depending on the situation and where we are. But, definitely, he and I have always been partners when it's one-on-one and we discuss family and children and personal situations. We have to be, have been partners, and I think that's critical to be a partner and to listen to each other.

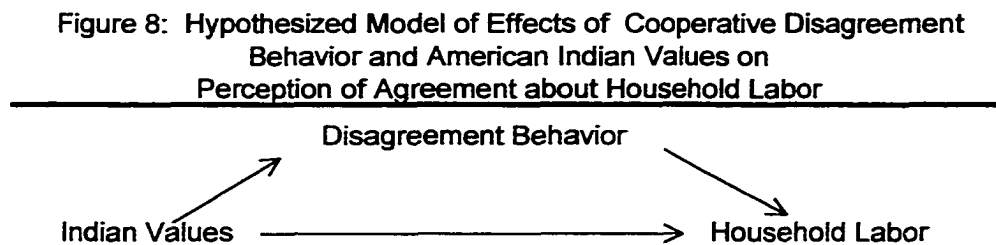
Effects of Cooperative Disagreement Behavior on the Dependent Variables

Cooperative Disagreement Behavior and *American Indian Values* were first entered into an equation with the dependent variable *Perception of Agreement Consensus about Money*, followed by *Perception of Agreement Consensus about Household Labor*, and finally *Perception of Agreement Consensus about Spousal Companionship*. The hypothesized models are presented in Figures 7-9. For the first equation no statistically significant regression coefficient was produced (Figure 7). The direct effect of *Cooperative Disagreement Behavior* on *Perception of Agreement Consensus about Money* was .248 (sig. = .070). The direct effect of *American Indian Values* on *Perception of Agreement Consensus about Money* was .222 (sig. = .104). The indirect effect of

American Indian Values through Cooperative Disagreement Behavior on Perception of Agreement Consensus about Money was -.020.

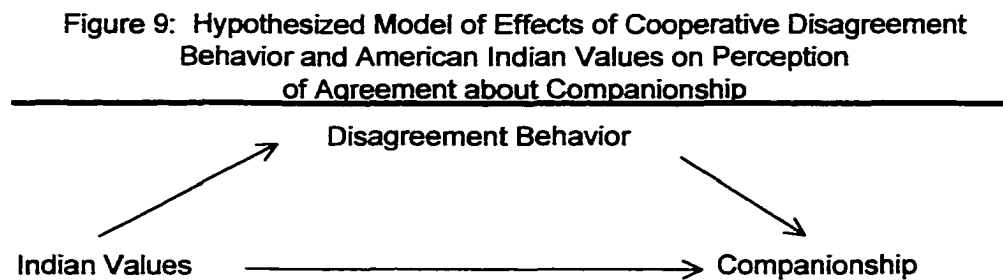


The second of the series of three regression equations tested the effects of *Cooperative Disagreement Behavior* and *American Indian Values* on *Perception of Agreement Consensus about Household Labor* (Figure 8). No statistically significant regression coefficients were produced in this equation. The direct effect of *Cooperative Disagreement Behavior* on *Perception of Agreement Consensus about Household Labor* was .162 (sig. = .241). The direct effect of *American Indian Values* on *Perception of Agreement Consensus about Household Labor* was .053 (sig. = .700). The indirect effect of *American Indian Values* on *Perception of Agreement Consensus about Household Labor* through *Cooperative Disagreement Behavior* was -.013.



The third equation in the series examined the direct and indirect effects of *Cooperative Disagreement Behavior* and *American Indian Values* on *Perception of Agreement Consensus about Spousal Companionship* (Figure 9). This equation did not

produce statistically significant regression coefficients. The direct effect of *Cooperative Disagreement Behavior* on *Perception of Agreement Consensus about Spousal Companionship* was .206 (sig. = .134). The direct effect of *American Indian Values* on *Perception of Agreement Consensus about Spousal Companionship* was .087 (sig. = .523). The indirect effect of *American Indian Values* through *Cooperative Disagreement Behavior* was -.017.



Women's Comments about Disagreements

The subjects were asked open-ended questions about their husband's disagreement behavior, their behavior and topics of disagreement. Specific questions were: "What is something your husband would disagree with you about that he would consider important;" "what do you do when disagreeing;" "what is something you would disagree about that you think is important;" and "is there anything more you want to say about when you and your husband disagree." The following are selected responses to these questions.

The women reported both they and their husbands consider the children an important topic that is disagreed about. When the children are considered an important topic to the wives, the women reported children's school performance. For example, a 42 year old Creek woman commented,

...Like if their grades go down or something and he says, "well you harp on it too much, your expectations are too high" and I say "well, they have to have high expectations" and then I go through my reasoning for that.

Also, differences in approaches to rearing a disabled child could be a source of disagreement. As a 38 year old Ponca wife related about her and her husband's disagreement,

We have a [disabled child]. And sometimes, because neither one of us are experts on how to raise a [disabled] child, he has a way and then I have a way. And so, sometimes that can be an area of disagreement.

Difficulty in agreeing about teaching their children about the wife's tribal culture was a problem for one wife. A 30 year old Sac & Fox wife reported,

Well, right now, the main thing has been me wanting to get back into my heritage and I wanted to start dancing....its real important to me right now, cause I want to teach my daughter. She's young enough now where she can learn very easy. I want to be the one to teach her. I feel like it's an obligation that I have to her so she won't loose it. So I want her to start dancing, and I want me to teach her and I want it to be something we can share together. And, maybe [her husband] feels left out, because a lot of [his tribal culture], they don't participate in powwows, and they don't dance, so maybe he feels like, you know, I'm leaving him out.

Discipline was frequently mentioned as an area that was important to both the women and their husbands as a topic of disagreement. One 51 year old Absentee Shawnee woman succinctly stated the problem with disagreement about disciplining the children,

I think a lot of it was disciplining our children. His way, my way, were two different things, you know. Although I usually came out on top, you know, it was disciplining the children.

Money was also a source of disagreement the women cited as important to them and to their husbands. Keeping retirement plans intact was a concern of a 43 year old

Comanche woman,

I think when we make money decisions, I mean he's very smart, I'm very pleased with that. Sometimes when I feel like we're getting in over our heads, I really give it a lot of thought and I try to talk with him on that. Especially if it depends on our retirement later on in the year, I'd want to make sure whatever we, whatever roads we go down, its not going to affect our retirement later in life, which I think is very important.

Also, when one person handles the money and the other has no involvement in it, other than spending, there can be a problem, as this 24 year old Cherokee wife related,

...I take care of all that [the finances], and he don't have, he really don't have a clue. He really never knows how much we have in the bank or anything like that. So, I'm the one who takes care of everything, takes care of all the bills, and sometimes, to me, he'll go and he'll do some - spend money or something like that, and don't say anything to me that that's what he's gonna do, and then I'm like 'well how can you do that when you don't have any clue of how much money we have'.

Another area identified as being important to the wives and wives reported was important to their husbands was time spent together versus time spent doing other things. For example, a 61 year old Otoe-Missouria woman stated about her husband's leisure activity,

Well, sometimes, the only thing that I ever say anything about, I think he plays too much golf. You know, I mean like if I want to do something and we have to wait until he gets home - say like if they play 36 holes, then I gotta wait until he gets home 6:30 - 7:00 o'clock, and by that time if I want to go out to eat, or anything that we want to do, its too late, you know. Then I have to end up fixin' dinner or something.

Not consulting with his wife about his planned activities was a source of disagreement,

... Him being able to go whenever he wants to and not think about - well he plans a year ahead of time [about hunting] - and not thinking of what I want - even though we've been married thirty seven years...he will tend to do his own planning without saying oh, coming to me first. And, I'm not gonna keep him from his hunting anyway, but I think it's the idea talking to me first, you know. Choctaw age 54

For one wife the double standard was a source of frustration,

... I think he feels like he should be able to go out and do whatever he wants to with his friends, whereas if it was me that wanted to do what he does at the time he does, on the spur of the moment, then it wouldn't work.
Kiowa age 44

Sometimes husbands' activities interfered with the importance of family involvement in tribal culture,

...like for instance, our bread dance is important to me. It could be on a weekend that he wants to play ball. I prefer him to come out there with me, cause that's my kids' heritage and their religion. I just want him out there, you know, to know what's goin' on and to be a part of it, you know, a part of our family. Uhm, I usually get my way, because its like 'you play every weekend, but our ceremony is twice a year' That's my reasoning with him, I can tell him, you know, 'what's more important?' and he's like 'well ball playin', you know, he's mad and wants to go play ball. And I'll say 'you play ball every weekend. No matter what you do, you can do it next weekend, but my ceremony comes twice a year' and he needs to take time to do it, you know, to go with me to my ceremony and participate and do all that with me and the kids. Usually, I will win if its something like that... Absentee Shawnee age 29

Areas of disagreement reported to be important to husbands, but not wives, included family members, his job, not being involved in making plans, and his reaction to her approach.

An example of disagreement about family members was expressed by a 29 year old Absentee Shawnee,

That's mainly one of the problems in our marriage, is his mother. And, cause he was her favorite - you know, that was her baby, even though he's the middle child, that was her favorite, she wants to control him and keep him there. Anything she says or whatever is the truth.... We can mainly work everything out, except when it comes to his mother, that's like a problem for us.

Getting in touch with elderly parents was reported to be an area of disagreement,

He has elderly parents and I try to get him to call them and let them know he's thinking about them, and he doesn't think that's real important, he thinks that they ought to know that he cares about 'em. Creek age 34

Husbands' jobs were reported to be an area of disagreement important to husbands.

For example, a 49 year old Osage wife felt that he neglected his family,

I think sometimes - something we've had a disagreement on has been his job. Because when he lets that take number one - that becomes the number one priority to him, and I feel that he sometimes neglects his family.

Sometimes the husband makes plans for the day and gets upset if she has other things she would like to do,

Well, my [husband] is strong about setting plans, or our plans, ...uh, like at the beginning of the day, he has in his mind what we're gonna do, and uh, if we're going, - if we're to go eat at the [local senior citizens center] and then go pay the bills and go then go to a movie. Well, I'll say, 'well, why don't we go to the mall and go to a movie and pay the bills another day', he kinda gets a little irritated cause he has in his mind what he wants done and we do it. That's the way it has to be done in his opinion ... but he will you know, change if he can tell if I'm really set on it or not. Kickapoo age 68

For another wife disagreement arose if she made plans on his days off,

When I plan something and he doesn't know about it. When I do something and uh, he doesn't have a clue what's gonna happen, what's happening. That's what makes him upset. He's the kind of man that when he's off work he wants to spend time with his family - and only his family. ...and so, I'm an active [sports] player and I go, I try to play [sports] on Sunday afternoons in a league and he really strongly, you know, disagrees with me leaving and going to do what I want to do then come back. Uh, he would [like] to just to go out to the lake and spend time with his babies...he doesn't see them all week - uh, he works nights and by time he goes to work its 3 o'clock and the kids are coming back [from school] and he just waves to them as they come home. And so on weekends he just wants to make the most of spending time with them and ...he just doesn't like planning without everyone being together I try to do things to help [my sister] out but that interferes with, you know, spending time with us - and only us... Navajo age 31

Another source of disagreement that would be important to the husbands concerns his reaction to her. For example, a Chickasaw wife, age 35, reported that the importance her husband places in her understanding him had caused disagreement,

He always wants me to listen to his opinion, wants me to understand why and how come he feels the way that he does. Uh, even though I have disagreement with him, or I don't feel he's right in an area, he still wants me to see his side of things...you know, it just depends on what we're fighting about or disagreeing about. Uh, just listening, mainly to him, you know and hear his side of the story. Don't shut him off or turn away, just be there to listen then, you know...

For a 42 year old Choctaw wife her reaction to things is an important source of disagreement for her husband,

I think it might be my attitude towards things....cause I tend to be the one to get rowdier, go further, and all that, so, um, usually it's probably my reaction to different things that causes him [to get upset].

When wives reported topics that were important to them, they cited household labor and communication. For example, household labor was an important area of disagreement because of the frustration with not getting the help at home she would like as expressed by a 48 year old Kickapoo wife,

I guess that being more helpful and thoughtful. He's not mean, he's just thoughtless. He doesn't think 'she worked all day, too, and when we get home I should think of what we're gonna eat for dinner or I should take something out'. He doesn't cook at all. I know this sounds petty, but it is important to me.

And this statement made by a 31 year old Navajo woman,

It's the little things that I disagree with him on. Um, him helping out with household chores, of course that's on of the main things...him not being lazy as far as helping out on household chores. Very simple things, simple things that he could, you know, think of doing but doesn't. That's what

disagreements are about a lot.

Because communication was an important area one couple decided early on in their relationship to talk about the issue until it was settled,

The thing that's probably most important to me is that we resolve the issue, or at least come to a compromise. You know, we both agreed in the beginning that we would communicate, even if what was said would hurt the other people's feelings, we, at least have expressed how we feel, and try to deal with that from there. Kiowa age 38

On the other hand, the husband's desire to talk about everything became a source of disagreement,

We've had a lack of communication the past several years - what I feel is communication. And, he, he's just now figuring it out. Which for a married couple we do pretty well, you know as far as my friends, we do very well. But we just don't talk that much, he as far as emotional things, opinions and stuff. And, he's figured this out. So now he wants to talk, and you know I work 40 hours a week, I go to school, I got these 2 small children, I am totally and completely overloaded, and he was doing just stupid stuff. You know I finally [told him] exactly how pressured I felt, about everything that was going on in my life and that he needed to just back up and [give me] time, and eventually he did. Choctaw age 37

Other wives reported the difficulty in getting their husbands to talk to them about things that were considered important,

I believe he should always keep me informed about what's goin' on with the business or his job, and anything he's feeling as far as, you know, the problems he has for the day. Come home and tell me about them. Let's talk about 'em, let's work 'em out together. Well, sometimes, he feels like, 'well, the company's not doin' that good, or I had a bad day - then, I'm not gonna tell her because she's had all day with the kids.' I mean, he - he's kinda courteous in that respect, but yet, I don't believe in that. I think he needs to tell me everything. And sometimes I feel like I have to pry that out of him. And that's something I don't like to do. So, I think bein' more open in the relationship and not holdin' things back, you know. It is the best thing. But, that's one thing we have trouble agreeing with sometimes. Absentee Shawnee age 37

The quantitative responses concerned the subjects' reports of husbands' disagreement behavior. In order to get a fuller understanding of how behavior affects disagreement outcomes, subjects were asked what were their behaviors during disagreements. Responses ranged from thinking through a disagreement before discussing it, stressing reasoning for her perspective, giving him the cold shoulder or pouting, to saying what's on her mind, standing her ground, and getting her way.

An example of thinking it through was given by a 45 year old Absentee Shawnee wife,

I normally will not push the issue and just kinda let [it] ride until things are thought over, and then, you know, think it through, you know, was I really right in the situation or was I, you know, let me think it through first before I approach him.

A 32 year old Kiowa woman described thinking about the issue before discussing it with her husband,

Usually I have to wait a while, I should. I'll think about it for a long time before I'll bring it up because I try to figure out what I want, [what] we can do to get around it, or, you know, to deal with it before I bring it up because I don't want to just say 'well, this is what I want' and have no way to get there.

At times the women must take a cautious approach to bringing up sensitive topics,

Uhm, try to talk to him first, and see, kinda like a sounding board, see how he reacts. And if I think its going to be a negative, then I'll work my way up to it, I'll ask him questions, kinda...and then I'll ask a question or we'll talk about it. 'Cause I pretty much know how he reacts and he sometimes can blowup. I just be real careful about how I word it. Kiowa age 44

Providing reason behind her feelings and arguments is a method used by some of the women. For example, according to a 42 year old Creek woman,

Well, I try to rationalize with him, ...when [its] something that is important to me, then I try to rationalize and tell him why its important, what the

consequences. But, that's what I do, I try to give him the reasons why.

A 36 year old Kickapoo wife talked about working out the logic of her ideas,

An issue like buying a car, I work out the argument first, then logically present it to him. If he doesn't agree then we may have an argument.

And a 37 year old Absentee Shawnee woman asks her husband what would change his mind about her feelings,

Well, I just stress to him how I feel about it, and how strongly it is important to me. And, make him give me reasons why he doesn't feel it's important to him, what would change his mind about how I feel about something, you know. Once he tells me those reasons, and I tell him my reasons why I feel so strongly about something, we look at both of them and we realize, 'oh, I see what she means'. Sometimes he'll come on over to my side and we'll agree on something.

Some of the women admitted to uncooperative disagreement behavior. For example, some admitted they are the ones to give the silent treatment,

I can sulk up you know, if I'm not happy with something. I'll just be quiet and get all steamed up... Kickapoo age 68

Some become quiet and leave the room,

I clam up and go to my room, and everybody knows there's something wrong. Osage age 34

And, some reported their husband understand their wife's silence,

I'm usually the one that will clam up and not talk afterwards, if I feel like I'm right. ...Cause I get mad right then and then carry it for a long time. But, he usually will let me cool off... Seminole age 50

However, sometimes the silent treatment plus very angry behavior are admitted to,

...I'm the totally opposite than him! I clam up at first, then I shout and am

angry, and then, oh, make him feel pretty bad about it. Cherokee age 40

A 31 year old Choctaw woman reported being vocal and silent,

...very vocal. Um, very vocal. And, of course I'll resort to pouting.

For one woman difficulty expressing feelings was the reason given for the silent treatment,

I will get my feelings hurt, and I will clam up. It's really hard for me to express my feelings. [Her husband and she] are a lot alike - we just [go in opposite directions]. When something comes up, we're just like that. ...I have a hard time without feeling like I'm just going to loose it every time. So, I just clam up. Caddo age 52

In contrast to those wives who give the cold shoulder, there are those who will say what's on their minds. For example,

I tell him. I'm very opinionated, I'm very frank - I say what I feel. So, when it's important to me he knows it. Chickasaw age 37
And another wife talked about being straight to the point,

I'm highstrung, straight to the point, very blunt, I don't beat around the bush. Chickasaw age 35.

A 31 year old Navajo wife said she wants her husband to know how strongly she feels,

I start voicing my opinion and getting his attention. I like to let him know, you know, just to make sure that he knows very well how strong I feel about certain situations, how he's reacting, how its making me mad, what he doesn't understand, and we hash it out.

Sometimes, a change in the relationship lead to her being able to speak up for what she wanted,

If I think I'm right in a situation I'm going to stand my ground...we had to come to an agreement that I had a mind and I had opinions, too. And so, we did. He accepts me for who I am. He doesn't try to change me anymore, because he knows that I'm not gonna change. Choctaw age 35

Standing her ground is a behavior reported by other wives,

I keep at it 'til we talk it out....I'm gonna keep at it 'til, you know, it comes through what I want to say. Absentee Shawnee age 53

And a 49 year old Choctaw woman said she would do the same if it was important,

“If it's real important to me I stand my ground.”

A 43 year old Comanche wife had this to say,

...I just don't let it go, if its something I really feel strong about. I'll just keep on until it's settled one way or the other.

But, other wives reported they got very upset and their disagreement behavior reflected their degree of upset,

“Yell and scream and get my way.” Cherokee age 33

Another admitted to childish behavior,

“Act like a kindergartner...” Kiowa age 38

And some admitted they get loud,

“I yell. I get loud, and I argue with him.” Cherokee age 39

Sometimes talking didn't get results, so other tactics were used,

I try to talk and then I finally get fed up because I know its not gonna go anywhere and nothings gonna happen. So, I just start saying all kinds of crazy stuff just to irritate him... Kickapoo age 33

However, some of the women would just do what they wanted to do,

“Make my own mind up and go on.” Sac & Fox age 45

Or as a 40 year old Cherokee wife reported,

“I usually do what I think I need to do.”

At times doing what she wants to do is because her husband doesn't argue with her,

I just have to make up my mind whatever I think is the right way, because my husband doesn't talk. He don't. He would say 'anything you want to do - whatever you think'. Kickapoo age 71

Or, if tribal culture is involved she will do what she wants,

I usually - if its something I want to do, I do it. Like for instance, our bread dance is important to me. I just want him out there, you know, to know what's goin on and to be a part of it, you know a part of our family. I usually get my way ...if it's something like that. Absentee Shawnee age 29

Other wives expressed they get their way over the course of the argument. For example, a 49 year old Osage wife reported explaining her position to her husband is what's needed,

"I usually can make him understand... and usually I will get my way."

A 68 year old Kickapoo wife described how she gets her way,

Well, I just let him know and he can tell whether it's very important then he'll consider it. If it's really important to me then he'll do it.

At times getting her way is a matter of her husband's willingness to try it her way,

[she says to him] 'Why don't you tell me what you think' and he'll say 'all right, we'll try it [your] way' and if it ends up being [not the thing to do] he'll say 'well, we tried it. We're together, we'll resolve it. Sac & Fox age 52

In order to have a clearer understanding of what happens when the couple disagree, I asked the subjects if there was anything more they could tell me about when they disagree. Some of the wives responded with more detail about the disagreement process, and some explained their behavior.

The process of disagreeing included talking it out. For some of the women it was going to be talked about, even if their husbands walked away. For example,

We are gonna discuss it. One way or another we're gonna discuss it. There was six of us [while growing up] and I always, we talked about it. That was just life with us. It will be discussed. When my daughter is out of the house we discuss it. One way or another we're gonna discuss it, even if I have to follow him to the bathroom. You can't not discuss something. Chickasaw age 37

Or, as was stated by a 51 year old Cherokee wife,

We usually, if its up to me, we usually resolve it, whether it takes a while or not. ... We do come to an agreement. If [its] my way, he does not walk out until we resolve the issue.

Talking at length about the issue and reaching a compromise or leaving the issue unresolved was described by a 51 year old Comanche woman,

We talk at length about it. And, I just believe that because we strongly believe in what we're talking about that sometimes it's hard to come up with a resolution, because he's such a strong willed person and so am I. So, sometimes it's hard for us to compromise. Usually we get it - when it's time [to stop] it's done. We discuss it and when we realize we're not going to get anywhere with it, so we just quit talking about it. We realize and we know that we're not going to resolve it.

Talking it through was described as an evolutionary process of settling disagreements,

I went through all the steps, I think in marriage. I've went through the part where we totally just get away from one another, we've put our hands on each other, we've run off from one another. He stayed gone for a day, I stayed gone for a day, we run home to our mommas, we have stayed in the same house but in separate rooms, we've throwed things at one another, have temper tantrums or whatever you call em. We've cried, we've bawled, we've laughed, we've joked, we've just about every possible option you can think, we've been through it.

We can pretty much talk. You know, we sit down and if its something real aggravating me I'll sit down - I'm real open, I don't have a problem with spitting out how I feel - you know, where he does. He won't come across real strong with me for fear its gonna cause even a worse problem or something. Sometimes, I have to dig it out of him. But, I usually know when something's bothering him, [and] vice versa. We've just learned to read each other a lot better through the years and learn to not be so hasty to jump and react so quickly because a lot of times you can sit down and listen and talk, and, you know, it works itself out. Chickasaw age 35

One strategy the women reported to get through a disagreement was to allow time

between the disagreement and resolution. This provided a cooling off period.

...we both, we won't face it right then. Or we may say something and then we'll go to our corners and time passes or whatever, and then it will be okay and it's all right. Caddo age 52

Letting time pass as a way to get her feelings in control was another strategy,

Usually, he'll bring up a subject that's bothersome, and if its something that's bothering him, I'll listen and if I can't talk about it right now because I've had, because the way I was raised I have to be very careful about anger and how I handle it, but, I will usually walk away, and he knows he has to leave me alone right then. And, then I'll come back and we'll talk about it. Choctaw age 37

Walking away was a signal that it's not time to talk about it yet,

When we disagree we usually try to give each other an opportunity to think about what's going on and not to just act on it, we try to, if we don't understand it and one of us walks away then that's okay because we know the other is gonna think about it and try to think of something we can both work out. Something we can come to an agreement on, you know. Creek age 34
If talking about it doesn't work, then taking some time to think about it is part of the process for some,

Well, usually, we hash it out...But, if its something we can't agree or come to a compromise on, we do kinda just step back, think about it. When we get together, whether it's a week later or the next day, or whatever, we do bring it up again. We let it go, we already voiced our opinion to each other. We sit back, kinda give ourselves time to think and absorb it. Absentee Shawnee age 37

However, for some a cooling off period was necessary before being able to talk about the problem calmly,

...both [of us] get it out of our system and probably don't talk about it for a while. When we disagree we let our immediate feelings out, and then its quiet for a few days. Kiowa age 39

According to a 30 year old Sac & Fox woman it could take days,

... just arguing, like I said. Lately, you know, we might argue and then won't talk about it for three or four days until we get over it. Well, when we were younger it used to be more arguing, because you know, we didn't know any better.

For some wives the disagreement is aired, then not brought up again, as if nothing happened,

If there's something that happens and we disagree we don't talk about it, its back there. We haven't talked about it. If you don't mention it nothing gets done, and there's no argument. You're not happy. Cherokee age 56

Some wives reported they do not argue because they have been together long enough to understand each other,

Well [my husband] doesn't hold a grudge or get mad. We'll have our few words...and he'll kinda get mad at me. We've been together so long. Long time ago I used to get mad and pack up and go home. I don't do that no more. So, just stay home and work it out. Because, we've been together 30 years, and at first, the beginning, we'd talk to each other for two or three days, you know. We'd get in an argument and be mad walking around there. He'd sleep on his side of the bed, I'd sleep on mine. But, it's not no more. Seminole age 53

A 53 year old Absentee Shawnee wife stated arguing was not part of their marriage,

When we disagree...well, we don't argue. I can only remember one time in our marriage that we've ever argued...We never argue that's just it. And he knows if there's something I have to say its usually, you know, something I've thought about and I know what's good or whatever. So, I'll tell him about it and he usually agrees.

A 52 year old Sac & Fox wife explained she and her husband do not argue because of her husband's attitude,

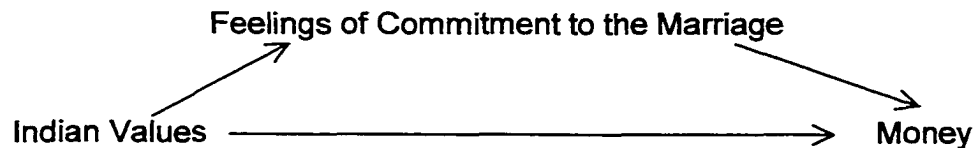
He says arguin' don't get you nowhere and he says 'we did what you wanted because it was what you think should be done, and most of the time it's right.' But, even if it's not right, it's a learning process. So, he doesn't - he goes along even if you make a mistake.

Effects of Feelings of Commitment to the Marriage on the Dependent Variables

The first equation in this series tested the effects of *Feelings of Commitment to the Marriage* and *American Indian Values* on the dependent variable *Perception of Agreement Consensus about Money*, followed by *Perception of Agreement Consensus about Household Labor*, and finally *Perception of Agreement Consensus about Spousal Companionship*. The hypothesized models are presented below in Figures 10-12.

The first equation produced a regression coefficient that was statistically significant at the .05 level (Figure 10). The direct effect of *Feelings of Commitment to the Marriage* on *Perception of Agreement Consensus about Money* was .267 (sig. = .053). The direct effect of *American Indian Values* on perception of agreement about money was .167 (sig. = .221). The indirect effect of *American Indian Values* through *Feelings of Commitment to the Marriage* was .027.

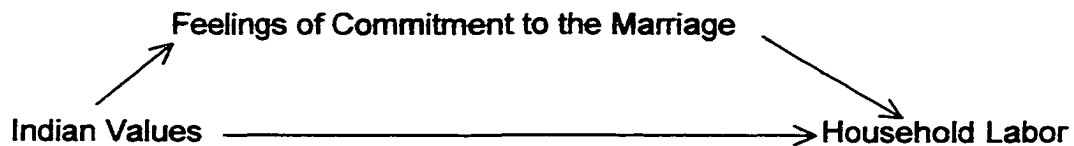
Figure 10: Hypothesized Model of Feelings of Commitment to the Marriage and American Indian Values on Perception of Agreement Consensus about Money



The second regression equation in this series examined the effects of *Feelings of Commitment to the Marriage* and *American Indian Values* on *Perception of Agreement Consensus about Household Labor* (Figure 11). This equation produced a statistically significant regression coefficient at the .05 level. The direct effect of *Feelings of Commitment to the Marriage* on *Perception of Agreement Consensus about Household Labor* was .269 (sig.=.051). The direct effect of *American Indian Values* was .006. The

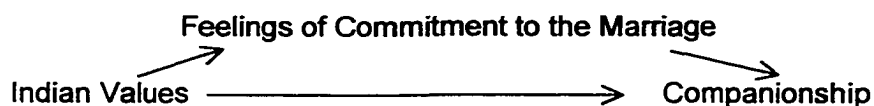
indirect effect of *American Indian Values* through *Feelings of Commitment to the Marriage* was .027.

Figure 11: Hypothesized Model of Effects of Feelings of Commitment to the Marriage and American Indian Values on Perception of Agreement about Household Labor



The final equation of this series of analyses examines the direct and indirect effects of *Feelings of Commitment to the Marriage* and *American Indian Values* on *Perception of Agreement Consensus about Spousal Companionship* (Figure 12). This equation produced a regression coefficient that was statistically significant at the .01 level. The direct effect of *Feelings of Commitment to the Marriage* on *Perception of Agreement Consensus about Spousal Companionship* was .338 (sig. = .013), and direct effect of *American Indian Values* was .028 (sig. = .834). The indirect effect *American Indian Values* through *Feelings of Commitment to the Marriage* was .034. Figure 12 contains the path diagram for this model.

Figure 12: Hypothesized Model of Effects of Feelings of Commitment to the Marriage and American Indian Values on Perception of Agreement about Companionship



Women's Comments about Their Marriages

After responding to close-ended questions about their feeling of commitment to their marriage, feelings toward their husbands (the Love and Caring Scale) and perception of placement of authority in their marriages (Marital Locus of Control Scale), subjects were asked if there was anything more they would like to say about their marriages. A few subjects had no further comments, but several wanted to say that their marriages were good and what has contributed to their good marriages, that being married is hard work and how that work is done, and some wanted to explain their responses to the Marital Locus of Control Questions.

A 36 year old Kickapoo wife expressed the mystery of being married and the action that brought her to know her husband loved her,

Even though I feel close to my husband I wake up and wonder "who is he", he is a strange man, a stranger. We have 2 kids and he knows everything about me. I knew he really loved me when [our child was born]... everything went wrong during labor and delivery. I lost [a lot of] blood, and I had to stay in the hospital [several days]. [One day] I had [some trouble]... I began to cry and he took [care of me]. I thought, "he really loves me to do this".

In talking about their marriages being good, a 32 year old Kiowa wife explained that compatibility was the reason,

Uh, I think I have a good marriage, we get along well. And its odd, because we dated a very short period of time, and then we got married just got married off the, you know, on the fly. But, its worked out, and we're from completely different places. But everything, to me, everything seems to go well. I mean, we work well together, and we've the same likes and dislikes. So, I think we have a good marriage.

Not only compatibility, but trust and support are also important. If compatibility, trust, support, and commitment are present, then marriage should not be work, according to a 45 year old Absentee Shawnee wife,

I don't plan to make my marriage work. I think it just works. Just happens....I feel like I don't have to work at my marriage. I mean, it's something that should just be, you know, it shouldn't be work. It's not an effort. It shouldn't be an effort. It should be, you know, two people, you know, married to each other. I mean, it should be something that they enjoy. We're very, I feel, in my own opinion, we're very compatible. You know, likes, dislikes, you know. We like things separately, you know. We support each other's things we do, other than together. We support each other. Like I say, a lot of people think it's trust. I trust him. Like I say, compatibility is, really comes into play. A lot of how I feel about marriage is how I grew up and what my parents, what I saw them doin', and how they were. Marriage is very important, children are really important in my family. So, I guess being happy with who you're with is - it really isn't an effort. You commit to a marriage, and you be comfortable, be happy with it.

Some contributed their good marriage to being older,

I think we have a good marriage. ... We've had rough times, real bad rough times, but now you know, the older we've got, everything's working out really good. Kickapoo age 48

Some recognized the trouble drinking was causing in their marriage. Giving up drinking contributed to a better marriage for a 49 year old Osage wife,

Well, all that I would comment about my marriage is that when we first were married and were together we drank a lot. So, um, it wasn't until after we stopped drinking that we really developed a good wholesome relationship. We'd always been close companionship wise, had the same interests and that type of thing, but I don't think we ever really appreciated each other for our real worth until we stopped drinking, and I think we have a very good marriage now.

Recognizing the destructive effects of alcoholism before marriage contributed to being able to develop a healthier marriage,

Uh, one thing that's important to understand is that my husband is a recovering alcoholic. And, before we married we went through the whole AA, Alanon thing...but neither one of us comes from [emotionally, physically, spiritually healthy] families. We have no concept of normal...a person has to kinda take that marriage and make it work. And that's what we've done. I'm very proud of us, that we've pulled it together for this long. And I can actually see a future with this man down the road... But marriage

is a day to day work of art - it truly is...but, you don't see the big picture most times. We're very, very good at looking at what we have. Choctaw age 37

Being married a long time made it possible for couples to change and grow together as they worked on their relationship. Working on the relationship has made it easier now, although it is still work,

Well, we've been married a long time. It's a lot easier now than it was in the beginning. We've been together so long now, we know pretty much what the other one wants. And so, I mean, its not hard. Its not as hard to make the relationship work now as it was many years ago. A lot more work then than it is now. Not that you don't still work on it now, but its not as much work as it was then. ...as long as you change and grow together and you're going toward a common goal. And I mean it takes, I think, people years to work, to kinda work that out. But after you do, then you've agreed on all the major things in life, and you've been through all the major things. And, if you make it through them, you know, I think it's a lot easier for you. Cherokee; 46

Couples stay together because of hard work. Sometimes, hard work needs a third, objective person to help,

...Nobody has a perfect relationship, there's no such thing... It takes hard work, and it takes a lot of give and take and compromise... I try to make him happy, he tries to make me happy. That's how we've been together for so long....we've done and worked out, you know, and discussed, and talked about things by ourselves. We've come to a point where we needed a little help. And, I think every marriage comes to that point. I think I want to see how other people do, try and get a grip on arguing. We gotta know when to stop. You gotta know when not to push his buttons, try to hold back on pushing his buttons. But, we really need, like a referee, now. Osage age 34

Marriage is hard, but giving up getting angry over little things and recognizing there's more involved than just the two in the marriage helps,

[I want to say] That marriage is very hard. It is very hard to be married... Its just a lot of hard work. It just isn't you, ... it just isn't you and family. And there's a lot of give. And I'm sure that he thinks he gives more than I do, and

I in turn think I give...I guess that's why we don't really fight anymore, because we, you know, we both want to be in this, and it doesn't serve any purpose. And then its hard. A lot of time those little things that, not the big things you know, [are] not worth getting angry over or whatever. Caddo age 52

Marriage works because spouses are complimentary to each other, they have learned to take the good with the bad, and divorce is not an option, as explained by a 42 year old Creek wife,

...our marriage is based on our opposites. Because where he's real strong, I'm weak at and our strengths and weaknesses kinda combine to where they work together especially with the kids...we argue just like everybody else. We have problems just like everybody else...And not sticking it out because that's what you have to do, but [because] its worth sticking it out. And it's worth probably more. And to give them [the children] that stability - because divorce is an option anymore. And, you know, knowing that when you commit to something or someone, that's a part of your life - that is your life. And, just because something is bad doesn't mean you just chunk it and go for the next or go for a new one... But, yeah, and I think that's what has made our marriage work, is because we both know that good comes with bad - bad comes with good. ...[the children] are the focus on our lives, as well as each other, and so together it has to work and it can.

In talking about the importance of her Indian family, a 45 year old Sac & Fox wife expressed disappointment that her husband didn't participate in Indian activities with her,

I do miss him not valuing or having a need to have family around, like I do in going to the Indian activities. I don't have to be at them all the time, or every weekend, but I do like to go and be around the Indians. Kinda very interesting back when we met ...there was a powwow I was going to, my tribal powwow where we camp... And, low and behold he showed up and found me in a crowd of about 5,000 people...and that kinda, in a sense, won my heart. But he hadn't been to many Indian activities after that.

Some of the statements in the Marital Locus of Control Scale were problematic for some of the subjects, and they wanted to clarify their responses. There appeared to be seven related statements that were problematic: "I feel like what happens in my marriage

is mostly determined by my husband.”; “My marriage is chiefly controlled by my husband.”; “Getting what I want in my marriage requires pleasing my husband.”; “When I make plans for how I want my marriage to be, I am almost certain to make them work.”; “To a great extent my marriage is controlled by accidental happenings.”; “When I get what I want in my marriage, it’s usually because I’m lucky.”; and “It’s not always wise for me to plan too far ahead in my marriage, because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad luck.” The problem for some was the idea of planning one’s marriage. For others the issue was with luck and accidental happenings.

For a 39 year old Cherokee wife marriage isn’t planned, it unfolds daily,

Your marriage is what you make it. Its not necessarily - you don't sit down and plan it - like 'I plan for this to happen and I plan for this to happen'. To me it’s a daily thing, and it unfolds. Everyday it unfolds. There is no future plan of where I'm going to be in 10 years, or 5 years or - everyday it unfolds, and it works and it functions how it functions - how it needs to go.

Understanding the statement that making plans for one’s marriage meant making personal plans and interpreting that to be selfish was a cause for disagreement by a 36 year old Kickapoo wife,

The plan I have for my life and my family aren't my own personal plans. My plans include my family and my husband's. And so, our plans would be the same, because we have an equal partnership in everything we do. And we discuss everything before we go forth. I don't plan it- [like in] I'm gonna go and buy a lot of clothes without him knowing about it. He knows about everything we do. Uh, so I would not undermine his plans for our family by trying to step my own personal agenda in with his. So therefore, my personal interests in my marriage are my husband my children. And so, I would not, I really don't have any personal selfish interests. They include my husband and my family. So I would not be selfish I suppose in my family or my relationship.

Both the husband and wife determine what happens in the marriage, and making her plans work by pleasing her husband was a problem of selfishness for a 31 year old

Navajo wife,

I feel that my marriage is controlled by the both of us. There are two parts in our relationship, that he - yes that is true [that he controls what happens in the marriage], but it is also true on my part...both of them have to um work together and make sure that my marriage succeeds, I don't think its virtually all his responsibility, it's also my responsibility also.

In regards to [Getting what I want in my marriage requires pleasing my husband.] - getting what I want in my marriage - um, to me that ... now I look at it as being selfish. Doing things to get what you want, being manipulative. To please your husband just in order to get something, to please someone, it all boils down to the fact that you're manipulating someone to get what you want. Uh, I'm not going to say that I don't do that because there are times when I do that... And he reminds me of that, and when he reminds me of that then I have to look back at what I did and see, well yes I did, or no that's not how I see it. But, I really believe that a person should not do that to get what he or she wants. You're either blessed with it or you work very hard to get that ...and there's a lot of statements or questions in that part [of the survey] that reflect back on me being selfish. No, that's not what I want to do, and no that's - I disagree with that."

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

Previous marital power research was criticized for not including interpersonal dynamics (Safilios-Rothschild, 1970; Szinovacz, 1987). To correct this omission Godwin and Scanzoni (1989) incorporated into their study measures of gender role orientation, cooperative disagreement behavior, love and caring for the husband, feelings of commitment to the marriage, and marital locus of control. The present research incorporated those measures, but also addressed the omission of cultural diversity in previous studies. However, several factors prevent comparison of this study with results found in Godwin and Scanzoni. First, this sample was obtained by purposive snowball method, rather than Godwin and Scanzoni's random sample of homeowners, limiting the applicability of analysis. Second, the sample's size restricted analysis to examination of only a few variables' effects on the dependent variables. Third, in this study only wives were interviewed, as opposed to Godwin and Scanzoni interviewing husband/wife pairs. Nonetheless, the study makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of marital relationships. Benefits of this study and of the methodology included restricting the sample to married or cohabiting American Indian women, and the opportunity these Indian women had to talk about their values, gender roles, disagreement behavior, and their marriages.

American Indian Values

American Indian writers and researchers of American Indian culture and behavior warn of the dangers of describing American Indians as a homogeneous group, with

similar beliefs and patterns of behavior. This includes generalizing about American Indian women (Colasura, 1997; Mann, 1997; Mihesua, 2000). In order to understand American Indian women's lives, researchers are advised to speak with the women themselves, and to remember that one woman does not speak for all members of her tribe, or Indians in general. In this study it was notable that the women were careful to tell me that what they were saying was their opinion, or the way things happen for them. Many of the quotes used in this study have phrases such as "in my opinion," or "to me." If they wanted to tell me something about their tribe, they were careful to point out they were now referencing their tribe, or Indian people. When talking about Indians, they would say such things as "to Indians," or "in my tribe," or "to Indian women."

Trimble (1981) has discussed the problem of identifying Indians. Because of forced European-based formal education and prejudice, Indian culture has been attacked and attempts made to assimilate Indian people into mainstream dominant American culture. Inter-racial marriage has also contributed to some Indians not only forgetting culture practices, but also to blending physical characteristics. The problem, then, is that some people who physically appear to be American Indian may not practice the culture or speak the language, and some people who appear to be white or other race/ethnicity may speak the language and practice the culture. I found this to be true in the current study.

As an aid in identifying American Indians, Trimble and a group of approximately twenty American Indians initially met to discuss American Indian values. The group differed by age category; geographical region; urban, rural, or reservation residence; and degree of acculturation to dominate American culture. Analysis of the discussion concerning American Indian values revealed common dimensions or value clusters. The

value sets were confirmed by random sample survey of just under 800 American Indians from across the United States. The sets of values include kindness, honesty, reciprocity, altruism, independence, religion, social skills, and social responsibility. In order to measure these values, from two to twelve items were developed for each of the value sets and coded so a low score indicated orientation toward that value set. An index was then created for the value sets by summing the scores for each set of values. Trimble's factor analysis of the items resulted in a two factor solution, one tapping values, while the other included the items in the value set of independence. Trimble did not suggest an explanation for this result (1981).

Hobson (1994) further modified the measures of American Indian values by adding two additional sets, American Indian political identity, and importance of relationships. The religious value set was also modified by including the concepts of spirituality and ceremonies. Hobson's additions allow for respect given to elders, the possibility that some American Indians are not Christian in their religious beliefs but practice their religions in ceremonies, and the significance of Indian identity. Hobson then scored responses into an index as suggested by Trimble.

Trimble suggested each value set is a unique construct and scores for each construct should be given priority over the index (private conversation, 1998). However, in order to obtain a single measure of orientation toward traditional American Indian values, all forty-five items were entered into factor analysis. In the current study, a total of seventeen items, or just over one third, loaded at .40 or higher. The twenty-eight items that did not load were measures of altruism, two measures of honesty, and a mix of independence and social responsibility. The altruism and honesty items are

predominately acted on situationally. Responses to these items would depend on several factors. For example, it would depend on circumstances under which one would give someone their last dollar, stop to help another, or risk one's life. Telling someone the truth even if it would hurt them, or telling a white lie is also situational. Responding to these items would be difficult because it would depend on how respondents considered the item in relation to the location, who is involved, and what the circumstances are. These items could produce contradictory responses. With a larger sample situational contingencies could be diminished. However, with a small sample this problem can be magnified.

The seventeen items that loaded at .40 or higher included concepts of kindness, honesty, social skills, religion, and a mix of reciprocity, identity, and importance of relationships. This indicated the sample was oriented toward cooperation, honesty, religion, and kindness. Although the resulting scale contains only seventeen out of forty-five items, these represent values that are typically present among American Indians.

The argument has been made that these value sets can be found among different cultures. For example, kindness and honesty are valued in mainstream, dominant American culture. Trimble acknowledged this, and explained that this is an intercultural values orientation inventory which can be administered to other cultural groups, but does indeed reflect unique pan-Indian values (private communication, 1998). Therefore, the American Indian values scale as it is developed in this study accurately reflects this sample's orientation toward American Indian values.

This was confirmed by the subjects' comments about values that have been important to them in guiding their lives. Subjects reported their values of family and

religion were the predominant values that guided them and helped them in difficult times. Subjects also mentioned honesty, forgiveness, and respect as values that guided their lives. Some subjects specifically mentioned that traditional tribal values transmitted to them by their elders were important to them. Traditional tribal values mentioned by the women include religion, respect for others, and honesty.

Because of the centrality of children in American Indian families, when subjects discussed their families they were talking about their children. Although the wives expected their husbands to be partners or companions, their children were their primary concern and they expected their husbands to consider the children primary also.

It appears for this sample that the American Indian values scale is a reliable measure of American Indian values of social skills, honesty, religion, and kindness. The open-ended responses confirm this as well as comments about the importance of traditional tribal values.

Gender Role Orientation

Marital power research has included gender roles as an explanatory variable. The reasoning for this is that the more European-based patriarchal gender orientation, the more likely husbands will be dominant within the marriage and will either make marital decisions or will get their way more often. Measures of gender role orientation used by Godwin and Scanzoni (1989) were incorporated into this study. There were eleven statements regarding wife/mother roles and twelve statements about husband/father roles that were combined into one comprehensive measure of gender role orientation. The items in this measure concerned wife/mother participation in economic activity, child care giving, and submission to the husband. Items concerning husband/father roles

included participation in household labor and childcare, household authority and sole responsibility for economic provision.

Results of quantitative analysis of the gender role orientation scale indicated the women in this study held European-based patriarchal attitudes toward gender role orientation. Their responses indicated husbands/fathers were expected to be the sole economic providers in the family, and that wives/mothers should not participate in economic activity if there were small children at home. However, analysis of the qualitative data revealed there is more to gender role orientation than the quantitative data reveal. For example, responses to statements regarding economic activity if there were small children in the home were disagreed with. Given the opportunity to discuss this, many of the subjects stated while it was best if the mother could stay home, there was no contradiction in stating that if the mother wanted to work that she should. Some of the subjects stated that wives and mothers should have the support at home from their husbands so they could succeed at work and at home. Other subjects suggested that their children could be put at a disadvantage if mothers didn't work. They stated that the mother's income would be the difference made in the family income that prevented hardship.

Regarding husbands/fathers roles, the subjects responded in agreement that husbands should be the main financial provider for the family, and that fathers should teach their sons how work hard and how to provide for the family. The subjects saw no contradiction in stating in the open-ended portion of the interview that wives could be the example to their sons and daughters of working hard and supporting the family. There was also no felt contradiction in their stating that husbands should be responsible for

household chores and childcare. The women stated that when needed, fathers contributed to meal preparation and other household duties.

These responses illustrate the importance of hearing the voices of subjects, as well as allowing women to tell their own stories (Mihesua, 2000) . Quantitative research is valuable in gaining insight into attitudes and behaviors. However, much information is lost in the forced response nature of the method. Asking subjects to describe behavior or events in their own words provides insight into the quantitative data. It is clear from this study that these American Indian women hold complex opinions which were not captured by the quantitative data. Contradictory responses are not sought by quantitative data, given the European-based logic used in this method of data collection. Indeed, they may often cancel each other out. Only by listening to the subjects can the apparent contradictions come to light. It is during analysis of the qualitative data that it can be understood that subjects did not consider their perspectives contradictory. Contradiction exists within the realm of scientific research. Within the realm of subjects' lives contradiction does not exist, rather it is a matter of individual choice and marital expectations. In other words, gender role orientation was not a matter of black or white to the women in the study. This suggests there is much more involved than the assumptions of researchers.

Complementary Roles

After responding to quantitative statements about feelings about their marriages, subjects were asked if they had anything more they wanted to say about their marriages. Several themes emerged. One of the themes was that their marriages were egalitarian, and another was that their marital roles were complementary. To describe their

egalitarian marriages subjects used words such as “equal” and “partnership.” Even though responses to the gender role orientation measures indicated subjects held European-based patriarchal attitudes toward their roles and their husbands, their words reveal they actually have different experiences of marriage.

European-based patriarchal marriages are hierarchical, giving husbands power and authority over wives and children. The marriages described by the American Indian women in this study suggest that there are roles expected of husbands that are not hierarchical in nature. This point is a weakness of quantitative research. Researchers’ assumptions about the nature of gender relationships and marriage derive from European-based patriarchal hierarchical power relationships. Non-western thinking and behavior patterns, however, do not require a hierarchy within relationships. Klein and Ackerman addressed this position in their introduction to Women and Power in Native North America (1996). They state that discussions of Native women’s power illustrates that complementary roles do not automatically translate to relationships of dominance and subordination, or of valuing one sex over another. Role complementarity and egalitarian social relationships resulted in harmonious relationships that were focused on the well being of the family, the tribe, and the society. The American Indian values of cooperation and mutual support result in different perceptions of familial roles. This research adds support to Klein and Ackerman (1996) discussion. As stated by subjects in Klein and Ackerman’s Women and Power in Native North America, the current subjects stated that the well being of children and family were the principle motives for negotiating disagreements, and for expectations of husband/father gender roles.

Disagreement Behavior

Resolution of disagreements generally depends on effective communication. Godwin and Scanzoni (1989) used measures of cooperative disagreement behavior as means of testing communication styles in couples' disagreement resolution. Those same measures were used in this study. Although not directly comparable, findings in this study did not contradict Godwin and Scanzoni, that husbands' cooperative disagreement behavior was found to be positively related to perceptions of agreement consensus. This study's path models for *Cooperative Disagreement Behavior* on the three dependent variables was positive, though not statistically significant, perhaps as a result of the small sample.

In their discussion Godwin and Scanzoni (1981) state that the greater the emotional involvement and the greater the cooperation during disagreements, the greater the likelihood that couples will perceive consensus in disagreement resolution. These findings are similar to those found in this study, especially in the qualitative analysis.

Subjects had the opportunity to discuss their experiences of disagreements with their husbands. When asked what further information they could provide about their disagreements, many mentioned the importance talking has in negotiating disagreements, the work toward compromise, and that they stayed with an issue until it was resolved one way or another. To some extent, this suggests the importance of cooperative interaction. However, something more can be inferred from these statements.

It can be inferred that resistance to resolution is overcome by willingness to maintain relationships to provide stability for children. This was stated by several of the wives when they commented that they do not argue in front of their children, or that it

was important they keep the family going for the sake of the children. Even when wives admitted their disagreement behavior was not cooperative, they expressed willingness to eventually reach resolution.

Regression Equations

Previous marital power research has suggested a relationship between feelings of commitment to the marriage and decision making consensus and between cooperative disagreement behavior and decision making consensus. In this study, the small sample precluded entering numerous variables into regression equations. Therefore, small numbers of variables were entered into equations testing direct and indirect effects of variables on the three dependent variables. The bivariate regression of *Perception of Agreement Consensus about Money* on *Feelings of Commitment to the Marriage* and the bivariate regression of *Perception of Agreement Consensus about Household Labor* on *Feelings of Commitment to the Marriage* were significant at the .05 or less level. When *Cooperative Disagreement Behavior* was entered into the equation, significance levels decreased for *Feelings of Commitment to the Marriage* in both equations. This suggests an interaction is taking place between *Feelings of Commitment to the Marriage* and *Cooperative Disagreement Behavior*. Feelings of commitment to marriages can be affected by perceptions of behavior during disagreements, and vice versa. It is unfortunate that limitations due to sample size prohibit further analysis of this interaction.

Nonetheless, in equations testing the effects of *American Indian Values* and *Feelings of Commitment to the Marriage*, all three of the regression equations show *Feelings of Commitment to the Marriage* had statistically significant positive effects on the dependent variables. Neither *Gender role orientation* nor *Cooperative Disagreement*

Behavior showed statistically significant effects on the dependent variables, although the coefficients were positive. This suggests that, for this sample, feelings of commitment to marriages may be the best predictor of decision making consensus. This was supported by the women's own words.

The results of this study illustrate the importance of informing quantitative analysis with qualitative data. Looking at the quantitative data alone gives a one-dimensional portrayal of this sample's attitudes and opinions about gender roles, disagreement behaviors, and feelings about their marriages. Inclusion of the qualitative data provided a more complex picture of the subjects' perceptions of gender, and the way disagreements are negotiated. Qualitative analysis has also supplied a more complete picture of marital power dynamics for this sample. Quantitative data is useful in providing objective views of human behavior, given the subjectivity of the researchers. But, allowing subjects expression of their experiences places the researcher's subjectivity aside, to some degree, and from that can emerge ideas, expectations, and behaviors that confirm or expand quantitative analysis. In this study, quantitative information about American Indian values, gender role orientation, cooperative disagreement behavior, and feelings about marriages was enhanced, while mainstream concepts of marital power were contradicted. The qualitative information in this study provided insight into the values held by the American Indian women who participated, as well as about their gender role orientation, cooperative disagreement behavior, disagreement negotiation, and their feelings and expectations about their marriages. Without the benefit of the words of the women themselves, there could be a danger of assuming these marriages resemble the male dominated marriages of the dominant culture. The women were able

to give voice to their experiences of egalitarian marital relationships, and the complementary and equal nature of their marriages. The women spoke of the processes of marital decision making that included their dynamic participation.

This study is further evidence for the importance of subjective participation in data collection by those being studied. Providing an arena for subjects to speak of their lives regarding the issues being studied reduces one-sided, one-dimensional portrayals of diverse cultural groups and attributing to them researchers' cultural biases.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Before the 1960s the concept of marital power was not a part of the family research vocabulary. Structural-functionalist theory, especially Parsons, was the established authority concerning the nature of marital relationships. The concept of questioning marital power relationships arose out of the influence of conflict and economic exchange theories during the 1960s. Studies of marital power generated criticism about lack of inclusion of classes of variables. Among those omitted variables were personal dynamics of marital relationships as well as institutionalized concepts of gender roles and power. These variables were subsequently employed in order to understand the distribution of power in marriages. Throughout these studies marital power was measured by marital decision making outcomes. In their study, Godwin and Scanzoni (1989) included multiple measures of interpersonal dynamics, and gender role orientation, as well as qualitative analysis of couples' disagreements and perception of agreement consensus.

However, one area that has remained neglected throughout the history of marital power research is the power relationship in minority couples' marriages. There have been very few studies of the marriages of African American, Hispanic, or Asian marital power, and virtually none of American Indian. This study attempts to fill that gap. Retaining the traditional outcome of decision making and using instruments from Godwin and Scanzoni (1989), Trimble, (1981) and Hobson (1994) a sample of fifty-nine married or cohabiting American Indian women were interviewed in face to face

interviews. Results suggest that the feeling of commitment to the marriage is the predominant factor associated with wives' perceptions of agreement about money, household labor, and companionship.

The sample was selected through a purposive snowball method in which subjects were asked to recommend others that met the criteria of the study. The criteria included that they be American Indian women and either married or cohabiting with a man. American Indian identity was determined by the subject considering herself to be American Indian. Only the direct effects of *Feelings of Commitment to the Marriage* were significantly associated with the dependent variables. The statistical analysis provided only limited information, however.

While this study is helpful and enlightening about the nature of marital power within American Indian marriages, there are problems that should be addressed in future research. One problem was that the sample size restricted the number of variables that could be used in regression analysis. This was regrettable because the amount of data collected could not be used to explain perceptions of agreement consensus.

Another problem concerned how subjects were identified as American Indians. American Indians are historically and contemporarily tribal people, and the tribe is the agent for identifying who is Indian. Tribal Indian identity can be based on several factors. One factor is blood quantum. Tribes vary in the amount of Indian blood required for being recognized as a member of the tribe with amounts ranging from one thirty-second to one-quarter Indian. Also, some tribes consider it possible to be a member of the tribe only when living in their tribal areas, participating in tribal ceremonies and speaking the language. Future studies should include tribal counsel input when selecting

the sample.

Inclusion of members of different tribes may have affected analytical results. American Indian values are generally similar across tribes, nonetheless, there is unique variation in values between tribes. Future research should either select a sample from one tribe, or sufficient numbers from two or more tribes in order to compare results by tribe.

Also, there was difficulty with the American Indian Values scale as a measure of “Indianness”. Trimble (1981) discussed the problem of identifying American Indians who may have physical characteristics of tribal people, but not practice the culture, or American Indians who may not have physical characteristics of tribal people, but practice the culture. The measures developed by Trimble (1981) and Hobson (1994) for measuring sets of values typically held by American Indians did not work well in the current study, with less than half of the items factoring together. The reduced numbers of items making up the scale could be a function of the small sample, again suggesting the need for replication in a larger sample. Or, it may be an artifact of the pan-Indian sample. A study limited to one tribe might have produced different results.

An additional problem may have resulted from the sample itself. Oklahoma has the second largest American Indian population the United States, and the largest number of federally recognized tribes. This large population of individuals and tribes has combined to create overlapping cultural practices. For example, some individuals whose tribal cultural practices do not include powwows will attend powwows, while others whose culture does include powwows, will attend stomp dances which are practiced by other tribal cultures. Social/ceremonial gatherings are not the only area where there is

overlap. Varying tribal spiritual beliefs are combined, as well as Christian beliefs and practices included in tribal spiritual beliefs.

Further, the sample was recruited from an area surrounding a mid-sized south-central university. The proximity of the university provides opportunities for furthering one's education. This was reflected in the study sample, which was highly educated. Education has the effect of altering one's worldview, and could affect one's value system as well. This unique, educated sample may have a confounding effect on measures of Indian values. Future research should address this issue by selecting subjects from one single tribe, or including sufficient numbers from different tribes to enable comparison across tribes.

The length of years married ranged between one and forty-eight years, and the mean number of years married was seventeen. Although many women reported they were currently in their second marriages, the fact that their marriages were successful for many years suggests that this sample may have had unique results than what might be found in a sample of women with fewer years of marriage.

An additional problem resulting from the design of the study was that only wives were interviewed. In order to obtain a fuller picture of American Indian marital power, husbands should be included in the interviews. Future research should include husband and wife couples. Ideally, interviews with married couples conducted simultaneously by female and male interviewers would be recommended. However, this recommendation might be difficult to accomplish because of funding, time and personnel constraints. Interviewing husbands only is a possible solution, but the intimate nature of the interview and some tribes' traditions could make it necessary to use male interviewers.

Finally, the wording of the letter of introduction that was given to each participant may have influenced the subjects. Few women were mailed a letter before the interview date, with the majority being given the letter at the same time as the informed consent form. Subjects were encouraged to read and sign the informed consent form and read the letter at their convenience at a later time. Nonetheless, the wording suggests expected findings, and may have focused subjects' responses toward those expectations.

Although there are problems concerning the sample, this study nonetheless contributes to filling the gap in research on marital power relations. There is a scarcity of marital power research among African American, Hispanic, and Asian couples. However, until this research, marital power research among American Indian couples was lacking.

There is no doubt that this study provides valuable information for those wishing to develop programs or interventions for American Indian families. As the twenty-first millennium commences, greater attention is being given to tribal sovereignty, the rights of indigenous peoples to practice their religion without interference, and to develop economic activities that will eliminate poverty and provide for tribal health and wellness. The United States Department of Health and Human Services has declared disparities in health and wellbeing among minorities be addressed and programs for improvement begun within the decade. Given the serious health and wellbeing issues of many tribes, programs and interventions need to be developed that include culturally sensitive formats. Information drawn from this study about the nature of American Indian marital relationships and parental standpoints is valuable for development of programs and interventions.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

AMERICAN INDIAN WIVES PERCEPTIONS OF DECISION MAKING CONSENSUS SURVEY INSTRUMENT

The following are to be self administered:

1. What is your birth date?

Month

Day

Year

Where did you grow up?

rural area _____

small town (less than 5,000) _____

small city (more than 5,000, less than 100,000) _____

large city (more than 100,000) _____

3a. Are you an enrolled member of a tribe? Yes _____ No _____

If yes, what tribe? _____

If no, what tribe do you identify with? _____

3b. What race is your husband?

American Indian _____

African American _____

White _____

Hispanic _____

Asian _____

4. (If American Indian) Is your husband an enrolled tribal member? Yes _____ No _____

If yes, what tribe? _____

If no, what tribe does he identify with?

5. How long have you been married or cohabiting?

Please fill in the number of years, or if you have been married or cohabiting less than a year
please put the number of months.

Years _____ Months _____

6. What is the last grade you finished in school—how far did you go in school?
(If you went to TRADE, BUSINESS, VOCATIONAL, or TECHNICAL school, please circle that too.)

Elementary	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
High School	9	10	11	12				
College	1	2	3	4	5 or more			
Trade, Business, Vocational or Technical	1	2	3	4				

7. Are you currently employed?
Please check one of the following:

Yes _____ (If you answered yes, please SKIP TO QUESTION 10)
No _____ (If you answered no, please CONTINUE)

8. Are you currently looking for a job?
Please check one of the following:

Yes _____ (If you answered yes, please CONTINUE)
No _____

(If you answered no, please SKIP TO QUESTION 13)

9. Do you want a full-time or part-time job?
Please check one of the following:

Full-time _____ Part-time _____

10. What kind of work do you do? What are the main things you do on your job?

11. Are you self-employed?

Yes _____ No _____

12. How many hours per week do you usually work at your present job?

Hours _____

13a. Following is a list of different incomes that people can earn before taxes and before other deductions either weekly or monthly. Please circle the letter that comes closest to your earnings. If it's easier for you to circle the weekly column - please do that. If it's easier to circle the monthly or yearly column - please do that.

	<u>Weekly</u>	<u>Monthly</u>	<u>Yearly</u>
a.	\$0 - 115	a. \$0 - 460	a. \$9,999 or less
b.	\$116 - 230	b. \$461 - 920	b. \$10,000 to \$14,999
c.	\$231 - 346	c. \$921 - 1,384	c. \$15,000 to \$19,999
d.	\$347 - 461	d. \$1,385 - 1,844	d. \$20,000 to \$24,999
e.	\$462 - 579	e. \$1,845 - 2,316	e. \$25,000 to \$34,999
f.	\$580 - 701	f. \$2,317 - 2,804	f. \$35,000 to \$44,999
g.	\$702 - 899	g. \$2,805 - 3,599	g. \$45,000 to \$49,999
h.	\$900 - 1,299	h. \$3,600 - 5,199	h. \$50,000 or more
i.	\$1,300 - 1,699	i. \$5,200 - 6,799	
j.	\$1,700 - 2,099	j. \$6,800 - 8,399	
k.	\$2,100 - 2,499	k. \$8,400 - 9,999	
l.	\$2,500 - 2,899	l. \$10,000 - 11,599	
m.	\$2,900 - 3,100 or more	m. \$11,600 - 12,400 or more	

13b. Please circle the letter that comes closest to your husband's earnings. If it's easier for you to circle the weekly column - please do that. If it's easier to circle the monthly or yearly column - please do that.

	<u>Weekly</u>	<u>Monthly</u>	<u>Yearly</u>
a.	\$0 - 115	a. \$0 - 460	a. \$9,999 or less
b.	\$116 - 230	b. \$461 - 920	b. \$10,000 to \$14,999
c.	\$231 - 346	c. \$921 - 1,384	c. \$15,000 to \$19,999
d.	\$347 - 461	d. \$1,385 - 1,844	d. \$20,000 to \$24,999
e.	\$462 - 579	e. \$1,845 - 2,316	e. \$25,000 to \$34,999
f.	\$580 - 701	f. \$2,317 - 2,804	f. \$35,000 to \$44,999
g.	\$702 - 899	g. \$2,805 - 3,599	g. \$45,000 to \$49,999
h.	\$900 - 1,299	h. \$3,600 - 5,199	h. \$50,000 or more
i.	\$1,300 - 1,699	i. \$5,200 - 6,799	
j.	\$1,700 - 2,099	j. \$6,800 - 8,399	
k.	\$2,100 - 2,499	k. \$8,400 - 9,999	
l.	\$2,500 - 2,899	l. \$10,000 - 11,599	
m.	\$2,900 - 3,100 or more	m. \$11,600 - 12,400 or more	

14. Are there any children 18 years of age or under currently living at home with you?

Yes _____ No _____

15. If YES to QUESTION 14: How many children 18 or under now live at home with you?

Number of children _____

16. Please write in the ages of each child living at home with you:

In this section I am interested in learning your opinion about American Indian culture.
Please circle the number that best indicates your degree of agreement or disagreement with the following statements.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
17. Attending powwows is an important part of the American Indian life-style.	1	2	3	4
18. American Indians should be knowledgeable about their heritage.	1	2	3	4
19. An American Indian should learn to speak his or her native tongue.	1	2	3	4
20. More Indians should make it a point to attend powwows.	1	2	3	4
21. It is important to belong to an Indian organization.	1	2	3	4
22. The medicine man continues to play an important role for the American Indian.	1	2	3	4
23. American Indian studies are an important part of every Indian student's college program.	1	2	3	4
24. American Indians should marry only other American Indians.	1	2	3	4
25. It is preferable for American Indians to live in all-Indian neighborhoods.	1	2	3	4
26. American Indian political groups should help only Indians.	1	2	3	4

In this section I am interested in learning what you think are the sorts of things you should do and what kinds of things you should not do.

Please decide if each statement is
a very good thing to do (VG)
a good thing to do (G)
a fairly good thing to do (FG)
a fairly bad thing to do (FB)
a bad thing to do (B)
a very bad thing to do (VB)

	VG	G	FG	FB	B	VB
27. Being kind to people even when they do things that are opposite to your own beliefs.	1	2	3	4	5	6
28. Looking out only for yourself and not others.	1	2	3	4	5	6
29. Helping another person feel more secure, even if you don't like them.	1	2	3	4	5	6
30. Participating in America Indian organizations and activities more than non-Indian activities.	1	2	3	4	5	6
31. Always telling the truth even though it may hurt you or others.	1	2	3	4	5	6
32. Going out of your way to repay people for being kind.	1	2	3	4	5	6
33. Never cheating or having anything to do with cheating situations, even for a friend.	1	2	3	4	5	6
34. Helping a close friend get by a tight situation even though you may have to stretch the truth a bit to do it.	1	2	3	4	5	6
35. Telling a lie to spare someone's feelings.	1	2	3	4	5	6
36. Borrowing money with no intention of paying it back.	1	2	3	4	5	6
37. Taking advantage of an unselfish person.	1	2	3	4	5	6
38. Being outspoken and frank in expressing one's likes and dislikes, even if it may hurt someone's feelings.	1	2	3	4	5	6
39. Helping a person who has helped you.	1	2	3	4	5	6

a very good thing to do (VG)
a good thing to do (G)
a fairly good thing to do (FG)
a fairly bad thing to do (FB)
a bad thing to do (B)
a very bad thing to do (VB)

	VG	G	FG	FB	B	VB
40. Living your religion or spiritual beliefs in your daily life.	1	2	3	4	5	6
41. Sticking up for someone who once stuck up for you.	1	2	3	4	5	6
42. Being able to get along with all kinds of people, whether or not you think they are worthwhile.	1	2	3	4	5	6
43. Giving support to other American Indians even when you may suffer the consequences.	1	2	3	4	5	6
44. Putting the concerns of your family above all other matters.	1	2	3	4	5	6
45. Helping another achieve his/her goals, even if it might interfere with your own.	1	2	3	4	5	6
46. Being devoted to one's religious faith or spiritual beliefs.	1	2	3	4	5	6
47. Stopping and helping a person who needs assistance.	1	2	3	4	5	6
48. Never telling a lie, even though to do so would make the situation more comfortable.	1	2	3	4	5	6
49. Conforming to the requirements of any situation and doing what is expected of you.	1	2	3	4	5	6
50. Working and living in harmony with other people.	1	2	3	4	5	6
51. Being independent, original, non-conformist, and different from other people.	1	2	3	4	5	6
52. Missing work or school to help out a friend or relative.	1	2	3	4	5	6
53. Demanding freedom and independence above everything else.	1	2	3	4	5	6

a very good thing to do (VG)
a good thing to do (G)
a fairly good thing to do (FG)
a fairly bad thing to do (FB)
a bad thing to do (B)
a very bad thing to do (VB)

	VG	G	FG	FB	B	VB
54. Arguing with people who try to boss you around.	1	2	3	4	5	6
55. Doing a favor for someone who has done one for you.	1	2	3	4	5	6
56. Being completely free of the control of others.	1	2	3	4	5	6
57. Winning at all costs in personal or business affairs.	1	2	3	4	5	6
58. Going your own way in spite of what others think.	1	2	3	4	5	6
59. Wanting to be your own boss and on your own.	1	2	3	4	5	6
60. Cooperating with your friends or fellow workers.	1	2	3	4	5	6
61. Hesitating to go out of your way to help someone in trouble.	1	2	3	4	5	6
62. Charging bills without knowing how to pay them.	1	2	3	4	5	6
63. Being sincerely concerned about the problems of others.	1	2	3	4	5	6
64. Becoming stubborn when others try to force you to do something.	1	2	3	4	5	6
65. Risking your life and limb to help someone else.	1	2	3	4	5	6
66. Being able to get people to cooperate with you.	1	2	3	4	5	6
67. Giving someone money even if it is your last dollar.	1	2	3	4	5	6
68. Attending religious services or ceremonies regularly.	1	2	3	4	5	6

a very good thing to do (VG)
a good thing to do (G)
a fairly good thing to do (FG)
a fairly bad thing to do (FB)
a bad thing to do (B)
a very bad thing to do (VB)

	VG	G	FG	FB	B	VB
69. Respecting the viewpoints of older people even when they differ from yours.	1	2	3	4	5	6
70. Forgiving others when they harm you.	1	2	3	4	5	6
71. Following the motto that one should "do unto others as you would have them do unto you".	1	2	3	4	5	6

With permission turn on the tape recorder

72. As an American Indian what values do you think are important in guiding your life?

73. Which of these values have helped you in difficult times?

After recording responses, and before continuing, turn off the tape recorder.

The following items are to be administered in face-to-face format:

I am interested in your opinion of what you think mothers and wives should do. Please answer whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the following statements.
HAND RESPONSE CARD TO SUBJECT

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
74. A mother should realize that her greatest rewards and satisfaction in life come through her children.	1	2	3	4
75. A mother of preschool children should work only if the family really needs the money a whole lot.	1	2	3	4
76. A working mother should give up her job whenever it makes a hardship for her children.	1	2	3	4
77. There should be more day care centers and nursery schools so that more mothers of preschool children could work.	1	2	3	4
78. If being a mother isn't satisfying enough, she should get a job.	1	2	3	4
79. A mother of preschool children shouldn't work because it isn't good for the child.	1	2	3	4
80. A mother with preschoolers should be able to work as many hours per week as their father.	1	2	3	4
81. A wife's most important task in life should be taking care of her husband.	1	2	3	4
82. A working wife should give up her job whenever it inconveniences her husband.	1	2	3	4
83. Having a job herself should be just as important as encouraging her husband in his job.	1	2	3	4
84. She should be able to make long-range plans for her occupation, in the same way that her husband does for his.	1	2	3	4

With permission of the subject, turn on the tape recorder

85. Is there anything you would like to add or say about what you think is a wife's/mother's role?

After subject has answered the question, and before continuing, turn off the tape recorder.
 With these next questions I am interested in your opinion about husbands and fathers. Please say whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the following statements.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
86. If her job sometimes requires his wife to be away from home overnight, this should not bother him.	1	2	3	4
87. If his wife makes more money than he does, this should not bother him.	1	2	3	4
88. If his wife works, he should share equally in household chores such as cooking, cleaning, and washing.	1	2	3	4
89. A married man's chief responsibility should be his job.	1	2	3	4
90. The husband should be the head of the family.	1	2	3	4
91. The father should be the <u>main</u> financial support of his children.	1	2	3	4
92. The father should spend as much time as the mother in looking after the daily needs of his children.	1	2	3	4
93. The father has more of a responsibility than the mother to discipline the children.	1	2	3	4
94. If he wants to, the father should be able to quit working and be a full time parent.	1	2	3	4
95. The father has more of a responsibility than the mother to set an example to his <u>sons</u> about how to provide for their family.	1	2	3	4
96. The father has more of a responsibility than the mother to set an example to his <u>sons</u> of how to work hard and get ahead in the world.	1	2	3	4
97. The father has more of a responsibility than the mother to make and enforce rules for the children.	1	2	3	4

With permission of the subject, turn on the tape recorder.

98. Is there anything you would like to add or say about what you think is a husband's/father's role?
After subject has answered the question, and before continuing, turn off the tape recorder.

Next, I am interested in how you experience your husband's behavior when you and he disagree about something that's important to him.

HAND RESPONSE CARD TO SUBJECT

On a scale of 1 to 4 tell me how much these statements describe your husband, with 1 meaning does not describe him at all to 4 describing him very well.

	Never Describes Him	Rarely Describes Him	Sometimes Describes Him	Most often Describes Him
99. He says or does something to hurt my feelings.	1	2	3	4
100. He gets really mad and starts yelling.	1	2	3	4
101. He gets sarcastic.	1	2	3	4
102. The more we talk the madder he gets.	1	2	3	4
103. He gets up and walks out.	1	2	3	4
104. He takes a long time to get over feeling mad.	1	2	3	4
105. He clams up, holds in his feelings.	1	2	3	4
106. He tries to avoid talking about it.	1	2	3	4
107. He comes right out and tells me how he is feeling.	1	2	3	4
108. He gets cool and distant, gives me the cold shoulder.	1	2	3	4
109. He tries to work out a compromise.	1	2	3	4
110. He tries to smooth things over.	1	2	3	4
111. He tries to reason with me.	1	2	3	4
112. He listens to what I have to say and tries to understand how I feel.	1	2	3	4
113. He does something to let me know he really loves me even if we disagree.	1	2	3	4

With permission of the subject, turn on the tape recorder.

114. What is an area that would be important to your husband?

115. When the disagreement is about something important to you, what do you do?

116. What is an area that would be important to you?

117. When you and your husband disagree can you tell me anything more about what happens?

After subject has answered the questions, and before continuing, turn off the tape recorder.

These next questions have to do with how you feel about your husband. Tell me if it is true on a scale of 0 to 6, with 0 meaning not at all true, and 6 meaning definitely true.

HAND RESPONSE CARD TO SUBJECT

	Not True At All						Definitely True	
118. If he were feeling bad, I would really want to make him feel better.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	
119. I would do almost anything for him.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	
120. One of my primary concerns is his welfare.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	
121. I feel concerned for his well-being.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	
122. I want to feel that he is a part of me.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	
123. If I could never be with him, I would really miss him.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	
124. If I were lonely, my first thought would be to seek him out.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	
125. It would be hard for me to get along without him.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	
126. I feel I can confide in him about virtually everything.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	
127. I would not worry if he knew of my faults.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	
128. I feel I can tell him my innermost thoughts and fantasies.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	
129. I would greatly enjoy being confided in by him.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	

Next, I would like to know which of the statements printed on the card best describes how you feel about the future of your relationship with your husband.

(HAND CARD TO SUBJECT WITH THESE 6 CHOICES PRINTED ON IT.)

Please circle the statement that best describes your feelings.

130. I want desperately for my marriage to succeed, and would go to almost any lengths to see that it does.

131. I want very much for my marriage to succeed, and will do all I can to see that it does.

132 I want very much for my marriage to succeed, and will do my fair share to see that it does.

133. It would be nice if my marriage succeeded, but I can't do much more than I am doing now to help it succeed.

134. It would be nice if it succeeded, but I refuse to do any more than I am doing now to keep the marriage going.

135. My marriage can never succeed and there is no more that I can do to keep the relationship going.

These next questions are about how you feel about your marriage. On a scale of 0 to 6, with 0 being not at all true, and 6 being definitely true, tell me how you feel about your marriage.

	Not True At All						Definitely True
136. I feel like what happens in my marriage is mostly determined by my husband.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
137. My marriage is chiefly controlled by my husband.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
138. Getting what I want in my marriage requires pleasing my husband.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
139. In order to have my plans work, I make sure that they fit in with the desires of my husband.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
140. Although I might have good ability, I do not get leadership responsibility in my marriage without appealing to my husband.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
141. I am usually able to protect my personal interests in my marriage.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
142. My happiness in my marriage is determined by my own actions.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

	Not True At All				Definitely True		
143. I can pretty much determine what will happen in my marriage.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
144. When I make plans for how I want my marriage to be, I am almost certain to make them work.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
145. When I get what I want out of my marriage, it's usually because I worked hard for it.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
146. To a great extent my marriage is controlled by accidental happenings.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
147. When I get what I want in my marriage, it's usually because I'm lucky.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
148. It's not always wise for me to plan too far ahead in my marriage, because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad luck.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
149. I have often found that in my marriage what is going to happen will happen.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

With permission of the subject, turn on the tape recorder.

Is there anything you would like to add or say about your feelings about your marriage?

After the subject has answered the question, turn off the tape recorder.

Think about a conversation you and your husband had about **household chores**. Think about what you and your husband said you wanted at the beginning of the discussion. HAND RESPONSE CARD TO SUBJECT

150b. Considering the way the discussion went, on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 meaning none of what you wanted and 10 being all of what you wanted, how much would you say you gained as a result of the discussion?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
None of what I wanted All of what I wanted

151b. Using the same scale, how much would you say your husband gained as a result of the discussion?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
None of what he wanted All of what he wanted

152b. How important was it to you that things went your way over the discussion?

Very important	4
Important	3
Somewhat important	2
Not at all important	1

153b. All things considered, how fair would you say the situation is right now as far as this specific matter is concerned?

Situation is

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Completely unfair Completely fair

154b. In thinking about the matter you and your husband discussed, where would you say you both are with regard to this specific matter?

(Mark one of the following)

1. We totally agree.
2. We are still talking about it.
3. We have agreed to disagree, and not talk about it for a while.
4. I keep talking about it even though my husband doesn't want to.
5. My husband keeps talking about it even though I don't want to.
6. My husband doesn't want to talk about it, so I just keep quiet.
7. My husband keeps quiet because he knows I don't want to talk about it.

APPENDIX B

Letter sent to Subjects

Dear _____ ,

Thank you for agreeing to participate in the research project I am conducting. I am interested in finding out how American Indian wives reach decisions with their husbands. This research comes out of my interest in power differences between women and men. In traditional American Indian societies women have much greater power in their families and communities than is found in European societies. Also, women in traditional American Indian societies are valued much higher than women in European societies. Because of these historical positions of American Indian women, I think marriage relationships will be found to be more equal in their division of responsibilities, and wives will have more say in their marriages than is found in white marriages, on average. If my ideas about American Indian husbands and wives are correct, and marital relationships are connected to the traditional position of American Indian women, then programs designed to help American Indian families can draw on the strengths of traditional marital unions.

The research interview will take about one hour. I will ask you about what you think is appropriate for wives and mothers and husbands and fathers, behavior during decision making, and feelings about the decision. Your participation and answers to questions will be completely confidential. If there are some questions you do not feel comfortable answering, we will skip those. Some answer choices may not always express what you have experienced. You will have the opportunity to talk about your personal experiences in your own words. With your permission, I would like to tape record those parts of the interview. By participating your name will be entered in a drawing for a beautiful Pendleton blanket.

I appreciate your agreement to participate in this exciting research. If you have any questions you can contact me or the Sociology Department at the University of Oklahoma. My home phone number is _____. The Sociology Department can be contacted at _____.

Sincerely,