

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH HAMILTON, ONTARIO WOMEN'S MARITAL
SURNAME CHANGE ATTITUDES

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH HAMILTON, ONTARIO WOMEN'S MARITAL
SURNAME CHANGE ATTITUDES

By

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A Thesis

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree

Master of Science

McMaster University

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MASTER OF SCIENCE (2009)

McMaster University

(Psychology)

Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: Factors Associated With Hamilton, Ontario Women's Marital Surname
Change Attitudes

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NUMBER OF PAGES: viii, 67

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Abstract

132 female, never-married, undergraduate psychology students were surveyed regarding attitudes concerning taking their husband's surname upon marriage. It was hypothesized that approval of such a surname change would be associated with their views on (1) resource transfer from, and involvement with, in-laws, and (2) the importance of high resource potential in a candidate husband. Lesser approval of taking husband's surname was significantly predicted under OLS regression by desire for in-laws to be uninvolved with the newlywed couple and their children. The importance of resource-holding potential in a candidate husband was a marginally significant predictor, moderated by the women's own mothers' taking of their fathers' surnames, as well as by how emotionally close these women were to their mothers.

Retaining or hyphenating one's pre-marital surname among brides marrying in Hawaii in 2006, was significantly correlated with average income of women and the average income of men in the bride's state of residence, with only that of women, however, being a marginally-significant predictor where both were used as regression predictors of retention or hyphenation. Older brides were more likely to hyphenate or retain their pre-marital surnames upon marriage in Hawaii in 2006.

Acknowledgements

I wish to acknowledge and thank my supervisors, Professors Margo Wilson and Martin Daly, for their expert help and guidance. I also wish to acknowledge and thank my other Committee Members, Professors Kevin Eva and Judy Shedden, for their expertise and assistance.

I acknowledge and thank my fellow members of the Daly-Wilson Laboratory, for their support. These members are Sarah Goodwin, Jenn Beneteau, Tonya Gora, Dr. Paulo Nadanovsky, Leo Cosentino, Adam Sparks and Jenn Bossio.

I acknowledge and thank Brian Horiuchi of the Hawaiian government for raw data he provided concerning 2006 marriages in his state.

I thank my spouse, Robert MacEacheron, for his support and encouragement.

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CHAPTER 1

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

In Canada, as in many other countries, it is customary for a woman who marries to change her surname to match that of her husband. The honorific “Mrs.” unequivocally indicates that the surname to follow is that of the woman’s husband, but even women who prefer to be addressed as “Ms.” commonly use their spouses’ names, too. And yet some married women continue to use their premarital surnames instead. These facts raise the questions that motivate this thesis. What does surname change or retention at marriage signal, and to whom? And what factors affect or predict this decision?

According to the ethnographic record, patrilineage is much more widely emphasized than is matrilineage, and a woman who marries is commonly transferred, in some sense, from her natal family to her new husband’s family (Murdock, 1949). These practices have characterized a majority of human societies, and an even larger majority of human individuals, since large nation states and colonial powers are patrilineal, while matrilineal societies are small. In patrilineal societies, children and wives are often labelled in ways that indicate the patriclan to which they belong, and contemporary marital naming has clearly arisen from such practices. Nevertheless, the use of patrilineal surnames in Europe is of quite recent origin.

Transmission of father’s surname to children began in France around the year 1000, and in England at about the time of the Norman conquest of 1066, but the practice did not become general in England until the reign of Edward II (1307-1327). Previously, patronymy (transmission of fathers’ first names to children, sometimes with a prefix or suffix indicating “son of” or the like) had been practiced among the “common” people of England (Camden & Philipot, 1637). Adoption of their husbands’ surnames by English women became widespread in the 11th and 12th centuries (Embleton & King, 1984). Although surname transmission from father to child is not universal (Murdock, 1949), a sampling of type of descent reckoning, world-over, has shown more than twice as many patrilineal (42%) as matrilineal (20%) societies (Murdock, 1949): assuming surname transmission down the male line is but one means of asserting and/or tracing patrilineality, the study of such surname transmission has relevance beyond those societies in which it is practiced.

With the rise of feminism in the 20th century, many women began to question laws and customs that implicitly or explicitly construed wives as property of their husbands: this included the custom of marital surname change. Nevertheless, a large majority of western women maintain the practice. For example, in a 1992 survey presented as representative of the U.S. population, just 1.4 % of 929 still-married respondents, who had been between 19 and 55 years of age and married in 1980, reported that the wife used a surname other than

her husband's or hyphenated the two (Johnson & Scheuble, 1995). One of each respondents' ever-married offspring 19 or older in 1992, who had dwelt with the respondent in 1980, were similarly surveyed (n=180): 4.6% reported that they (if women) or their wives (if men) used a surname other than the husband's, or hyphenated. Thus, premarital name retention had tripled in a generation, but remained rather rare.

Limited evidence suggests that this increase is not accelerating, and is perhaps not even continuing. In 1978, about 10 % of couples marrying in Hawaii, the only American state then requiring marriage licences to bear the intended last names of the spouses, stated that the bride would retain her pre-marital surname, either using it alone or combining it with that of her husband by hyphenation (Cherlin, 1978); thirty years later, this statistic has increased only to 16.7 % (personal communication, Brian Horiuchi, Hawaiian Government, 17 January 2008). And according to Goldin & Shim (2004), the percentage of college-educated, Massachusetts women electing to keep or hyphenate their surnames upon marriage may actually have been decreasing since the early 1990s.

Thus, despite increasing gender equity, the practice of changing one's surname at marriage remains strong, and this persistence is not peculiar to the United States. For example, Noack & Wiik (2008) report only small changes in the practice among Norwegian women in recent decades.

Recent North American Legal History

Only in the mid-1970s did it become legal for a married woman to retain her natal surname for all purposes, in all U.S. states (Twenge, 1997; and see discussion in Goldin & Shim, 2004). In Canada, all territories and provinces other than Québec note that a woman need not change her surname upon marriage¹, and that she may "assume"/"adopt" that of her husband (and, some explicitly state, common law husband) without having to undergo a legal name change. Under current Québec civil law, marriage is not enumerated as a ground for legal name change², though a wife may use her husband's name socially³. Automatic name change does not occur upon marriage in Canada or the U.S.: one assuming or legally changing a surname must usually send proof of marriage plus a name change request to all parties with which she deals under her name, and under which she has

¹ *i.e.*, these jurisdictions' Vital Statistics Offices and/or their website information or legislation on the topic note this.

² In general, applications for name changes in Québec, apart from those under court jurisdiction, must be made to the registrar of civil status, and only for "serious" reason (Civil Code of Québec, C.c.Q., 1991, c. 64, a. 58). Explicitly, per article 393 of the Civil Code of Québec, "In marriage, both spouses retain their respective name, and exercise their respective civil rights under those names."

³ Personal communications with Céline Therrien and Lise Leblanc, Centre de communications avec la clientèle, Ministère de la Justice du Québec, 20 November 2007 and 11 January 2008, respectively.

identifying documents, in order to be known under her new name⁴. By contrast, birth surname retention is automatic and effortless.

In Ontario, *legal* name changes due to marriage have ranged in number from 708 to 2079 yearly, between the years 2002 and 2006 (with an additional 77 in 2006 on the grounds of conjugal relationship in the absence of registered marriage). These represent a small proportion of marriages, which ranged in number from 61,648 to 63,484 over this time frame. Instead, most women who changed surname in recent years due to a marital or common law relationship simply assumed/adopted their partners' names, according to the Ontario government⁵. Legal name changes require more time and effort than assuming/adopting a spouse's name. In Ontario, a legal application must be made to effect this, whereas no such action is required to assume a spouse's name⁶.

A Canadian spouse who has assumed a new marital surname can make the change on her credit cards and driver's license, for example, simply by sending proof of marriage and a request for surname change to the credit card companies and the Ministry of Transportation, respectively⁷. According to Goldin & Shim (2004), the same is true for U.S. women. Those who have effected a legal name change must take such action *in addition to* effecting the legal name change. Such an assumption of marital surname is of special interest because, in contrast to a legal name change, the marital surname can be "unassumed" whenever desired (*e.g.*, upon separation). Thus, assuming/adopting a husband's or common law husband's surname rather than legally changing one's surname to his *may* represent a lesser commitment to a husband. Of course, assumption/adoption may be preferred by most women mainly because it saves time, money, and paperwork, but in a sense, these costs of legal name change make the latter decision all the more persuasive as a signal of commitment.

Of course, even in the absence of legal name change, taking one's husband's name constitutes a public declaration of the union, and may be viewed by witnesses as a sign of commitment to him and his family. If name change indexes such commitment, or is so construed, several hypotheses about attitudes to surname change follow. For example,

⁴ Various sources, including personal communication, Karen Kieley, Research and Statistical Officer, Vital Statistics, Service Nova Scotia and Municipal Relations, 19 November 2007; Legal Change of Name, www.servicealberta.gov.ab.ca/vs/name_change.cfm, September 2007; Frequently Asked Questions – Marriage, <http://www.vs.gov.bc.ca/questions-marriage.html>, 5 June 2008; Family Law in Manitoba – 2005 Edition, Chapter 14 – Change of Name, www.gov.mb.ca/justice/family/englishbooklet/chapter14.html, 5 June 2008; Changing Information on a Driver's Licence, <http://www.mto.gov.on.ca/english/dandy/driver/change.htm>, 5 June 2008; Goldin & Shim (2004) cite these actions as necessary for U.S. women in this circumstance.

⁵ Changing Your Name Due to a Relationship & Changing it Back, http://www.gov.on.ca/ont/portal/!ut/p/.cmd/cs/ce/7_0_A/s/7_0_252/s.7_0_A/7_0_252/!en?docid=119599, 5 June 2008.

⁶ *ibid*, footnote 5

⁷ *ibid*, footnote 5

women who especially value good relations with future in-laws and/or who especially need paternal or in-law investment in their children, may view surname change especially favourably.

Marital Surname Change or Retention: Predictors and Perceptions

U.S. women's surname change decisions and/or attitudes have been shown to vary in relation to age, religiosity, ethnic and cultural background, and educational, professional, and economic status (Blakemore, Lawton, & Vartanian, 2005; Boxer & Gritsenko, 2005; Goldin & Shim, 2004; Hoffnung, 2006; Intons-Peterson & Crawford, 1985; Johnson & Scheuble, 1995; Kline, Stafford & Miklosovic, 1996; Scheuble & Johnson, 1993, 2005; Twenge, 1997). Additional predictors of adopting the current husband's surname include prior marriage, the surname choice of the woman's own mother, region, cohabitation before marriage, and gender role traditionalism (Johnson & Scheuble, 1995). Various U.S. studies have also shown that the wealthier and more educated a woman, the less likely she is to take, or to express approval of taking, husband's surname (Goldin & Shim, 2004; Hoffnung, 2006; Johnson & Scheuble, 1995, 2005), and that women in positions to earn more money are less likely to take or approve of taking husbands' surnames (Scheuble & Johnson, 1993; Kline, Stafford & Miklosovic, 1996; Johnson & Scheuble, 1995; Goldin & Shim, 2004). Note, however, that one of these studies found an exception to the rule that the more educated the woman, the less likely she would be to take her husband's surname; this occurred where his family was more 'prominent' than hers (Goldin & Shim, 2004).

An interesting sex difference in the perception of women who retain their surnames was observed by Murray (1997): U.S. men, but not women, expressed the view that such women are less attractive and make worse mothers. As for women who hyphenate their birth surnames with those of their husbands, one study found that U.S. undergraduates perceived them as relatively "career oriented", with men scoring high on the "Hostile Sexism Scale"⁸ rating such women as relatively likely to violate sexual norms, including committing adultery (Stafford & Kline, 1996); another study showed that, in contradiction, *women* rated women who retain their natal surnames *less* likely to "violate sexual norms" than those who simply take their husbands' names (Forbes *et al.*, 2002). Finally, in a study of married, Catholic, U.S. women, any non-traditional marital surnaming practice was seen by some respondents as indicating intention to leave the marriage at some point, or self-centeredness (Suter, 2004).

There are only two published Canadian studies concerning the topic of attitudes to marital surname change (one also examining the use of "Ms."), neither of which justifies general conclusions. Embleton & King (1984) report data gathered by a young woman at a

⁸ developed by P. Glick and S.T. Fiske (Glick & Fiske, 1996)

campus pub and nearby strip club, who surveyed customers and staff as to their attitudes regarding women's marital name change; slightly more than half of the 43 respondents characterized surname keepers as "assertive" and "oriented toward a job rather than home or family". Atkinson (1987) asked participants in Ontario to rate women who used the title "Ms." and (separately) who kept their maiden names at marriage on various attributes. Oddly, such women were seen, by the surveyed men as compared to the surveyed women, as more "submissive" and less "career-oriented", which may reflect the fact that the male respondents were unclear about the definition of "submissive", as well as what "feminism" means, and whether they themselves were feminists. Be that as it may, there was a clear indication of greater male than female negativity toward such women: similar to Murray's (1997) U.S. finding that women retaining their premarital surnames were seen as less attractive (and as making worse mothers), the Canadian men of Atkinson's survey rated women who retained their premarital surnames as less attractive. Whether such attitudes persist 20 years later is an open question.

Matrilineal Biases in Affiliation and Investment

Notwithstanding the prevalence of patrilineal naming practices and descent reckoning, there is considerable evidence that actual interaction and nurturance exhibit a matrilineal bias when both patrilineal and matrilineal relatives are accessible. An early report was that of Young and Willmott (1957), who found that East London children spent more time with their maternal than with their paternal grandmothers. Jackson (1971) demonstrated a similar effect controlling for proximity: African-American grandparents saw their daughters' children more often than their sons' children, if both son and daughter lived in the same location as the grandparents *or* if both lived elsewhere. Similarly, Smith (1988a) reported that Canadian children visited their maternal grandparents more often than their paternal grandparents despite the fact that both sets of grandparents' homes were equidistant from those of the grandchildren. After divorce, the relationship between maternal grandparents and grandchildren in the U.S. often deepens, whereas the frequency of contact with paternal grandparents typically declines (Cherlin & Furstenberg, 1986).

Evolutionists, beginning with Smith (1988b), have interpreted these phenomena as a reflection of adaptive variation in grandparental solicitude. Because paternity is uncertain, maternal grandmothers are the only grandparents with complete certainty of relatedness to the children and should therefore be the most willing to invest. Paternal grandfathers are connected to the children by two uncertain links, and should therefore be least confident of relatedness and least solicitous, while maternal grandfathers and paternal grandmothers are each connected to the children by one certain and one uncertain link, and should therefore be intermediate in solicitude. Several studies have produced data that have been interpreted as supportive of this argument (Smith, 1988b; Euler & Weitzel, 1996; and see Shackelford,

Michalski & Schmitt, 2004; DeKay, 1995). Even grief following a grandchild's death has been reported to follow this trend (Littlefield & Rushton, 1986).

Social scientists lacking a Darwinian worldview have also noted the tendency for maternal grandmothers to surpass other grandparents in affection, contact, and investment, followed by maternal grandfathers and paternal grandmothers, and finally by paternal grandfathers (e.g. Hoffman, 1979-1980; Hartshorne & Manaster, 1982; Hodgson, 1992; Kahana & Kahana, 1970; Kennedy, 1990; Robins & Tomanec, 1962; and see Van Ranst, Verschueren & Marcoen, 1995; but see Roberto & Stroes, 1992: See also Hill & Hurtado, 1996, regarding grandmother presence and grandchild survival). These authors generally interpret the observed sequence as a consequence of close mother-daughter ties rather than of uncertain genetic links. Based only on sociological concepts of “affinity, opportunity structure, and functional exchange”, for example, Silverstein *et al.* (1997) predicted that adults would be closer to their mothers than to their fathers, and that women would be closer to their parents, especially their mothers, than would men; their findings were consistent with the first prediction, and women were indeed closer to their mothers than were men, but adults of both sexes were equally close to their fathers. Arguably, invoking “affinity”, *etc.*, to “predict” these patterns presupposes the differences of interest, but regardless of the interpretation, the phenomenon of matrilineal bias in contact, investment and affection is clearly robust in the modern west.

In strongly patrilineal and patrilocal societies, it cannot be the case that children have more contact with maternal than with paternal grandparents, since only the latter are accessible, and indeed Pashos (2000) has reported greater closeness of paternal than maternal grandparents among patrilocal Greeks. Nevertheless, even in patrilineal societies, matrilineal kin may be more solicitous. Among the hunter-gatherer Hadza of Tanzania, for example, Hawkes, O'Connell & Blurton Jones (1997) report that the presence of elderly maternal kin positively affects children's nutrition. Similarly, in a natural-fertility, natural-mortality society in rural Gambia, which was patrilocal but in which maternal relatives lived in a relatively-easily accessible neighbouring village, Sear, Mace & McGregor (2000) report that the only class of relatives other than the mother whose existence had a positive effect on the nutritional status of children was the maternal grandmother. Sear *et al.* (2002) additionally found that having living mothers, maternal grandmothers, and elder sisters were all associated with significant elevations of children's height, weight and survival, whereas there were no such positive impacts of living fathers, grandfathers, paternal grandmothers, or elder brothers.

Recruiting Investment from Patrilineal Kin

If, as the evidence reviewed above suggests, contributions from maternal relatives toward a child's well-being are more dependable than contributions from paternal

relatives, might patrilineal surnaming be interpreted as a tactic for recruiting patrilineal involvement and investment? Investment by paternal grandparents may increase when grandchildren carry their surname, and this could explain why even the parents of brides are likely to approve of their daughters changing their names at marriage, a fact that might otherwise be deemed puzzling. The importance of such effects is likely to vary in relation to inheritance practices, and to be especially strong where (wealthy) parents leave more resources to sons than to daughters (Smith, Kish, & Crawford, 1987; see also Chagnon, 1979, and Dickemann, 1979).

Women need not consciously ‘know’ that they can rely most strongly on their mothers’ assistance, less on that of their fathers and mothers-in-law, and least on their fathers-in-law. The proximal reason for women’s acting in accordance with such rules may simply be, for example, an evolved tendency for greater closeness between females (and, thus between mothers and daughters, but also between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law) and between people who know each other longer and/or are related. Based on feelings of closeness alone, a bride may ‘know’ that the grandparent least willing to help her children will be the paternal grandfather, and that by surnaming these children after their father-in-law, investment prospects will be improved. The quality of the relationship between daughter(-in-law) and parents(-in-law) has been shown to be positively related to the amount and frequency of grandparental involvement with grandchildren (Cherlin & Furstenberg, 1986).

Besides possible effects of surnaming on other patrilineal kin, there is evidence that fathers themselves care how their children are named. Besides the enormous prevalence of children actually receiving their fathers’ surnames over those of their mothers (Johnson & Scheuble, 2002), Cherlin (1978), found in a non-random survey of American couples who used different surnames and who had a new baby or were expecting one, that these couples often gave their child only the father’s surname. Cherlin explains this phenomenon as follows: “In most cases, [the mothers] say they didn’t care enough to buck their husbands’ strong feelings about using their names.” That acceding to husbands’ preferences in this regard actually influences their commitment and investment is harder to prove, but there is some evidence suggesting that it may. Furstenberg & Talvitie (1980) found that giving the father’s first or middle name to the children of unmarried, young, African-American women was associated with increased paternal contact and resource allocation; of course, the possibility that mothers named children after those fathers who were already more likely to have greater contact with and allocate more resources to their children, cannot be ruled out.

A shared name may affect helping tendencies and feelings of closeness, even where there is no other indication of relatedness. In a study of differential low-cost helping, Oates & Wilson (2002) found that people were most likely to help strangers who shared their first

and last names (12.3%), and least likely to help those who shared neither (2.0%), with help toward those who shared one name intermediate; for less common names, the impact of a shared surname was significantly greater than that of a shared first name. The authors suggest that “the effectiveness of nominal kinship cues in eliciting [help]... emerged from functionally nepotistic feelings towards a stranger who might have ancestors in common” (p. 108). Perhaps paternal surnamesaking influences some, especially those on the child’s father’s side of the family, to attribute paternity of the surnamesake to his or her putative father, and therefore infer relatedness to themselves, in a greater set of circumstances than would otherwise be the case. It is certainly the case that patrilineal names enhance the salience of patrilineage, such that strictly patrilineal ancestors are the ones most likely to be named when people recount their “family origins”. According to Schneider & Cottrell (1975), despite the fact that U.S. men actually see their mothers’ relatives more often than their fathers’ relatives, they are nevertheless able to name more distant relatives from their father’s side of the family than from their mother’s side. These authors also reported that “there is a tendency for distant kin to be linked more through father’s father than father’s mother on the father’s side for both male and female informants”. Perhaps this is due to a shared family name.

The vast majority of U.S. children carry their fathers’ surnames, but this is somewhat less often the case if the mother did not take her husband’s name at marriage (Johnson & Scheuble, 2002). Thus, taking a husband’s name may signal to him that any children of the marriage will also bear his name. (Children are rarely given surnames other than their fathers’ if mothers adopted fathers’ surnames for themselves; Johnson & Scheuble, 2002).

The above considerations suggest several hypotheses. Women may be relatively inclined to retain their birth names at marriage if they do not intend to have children. Moreover, their inclination to change their name to that of their husband is likely to be greatest when they are motivated to develop a strong relationship with and elicit grandparental investment from their in-laws, whether because the in-laws are nearer at hand than the women’s natal kin or have greater means.

The thesis will primarily attempt to demonstrate that young, single women’s attitudes to their future in-laws, if any, as well as the importance they place on high resource potential in mates, significantly predict their approval for marital surname change. The influence of the particular factors hypothesized to influence marital surname change attitude, controlling for those previously shown to affect this practice or attitudes thereto, was assessed by means of a survey of undergraduate women (see chapter 2). Differences in actual rates of surname change in one North American sample (putatively representative of a number of others), given age of bride, her geographic origin, and the average male and female incomes of these regions, are calculated in chapter 3. Chapter 4 will summarize

findings and unconfirmed hypotheses and discuss questions raised thereby, as well as discuss possible follow-up studies and the place of this study's findings in the literature.

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CHAPTER 2

ANALYSIS OF SURVEY: “Marriage: Hopes Plans and Attitudes”

Introduction:

In Chapter 1, I reviewed the evidence that women persist in taking their husbands' names at marriage, despite recent progress toward economic and social equality of the sexes, and despite the fact that the default, and easier, option is to retain one's natal surname. The persistence of marital name change demands explanation. It is my conjecture that a major piece of the puzzle resides in the fact that marriage is a special institution quite different from other economic and social partnerships. Marriage is to be understood as fundamentally a reproductive union (Daly & Wilson, 1988): it is the context in which children are raised, notwithstanding the tremendous historical and cross-cultural variability in the expectations and practices associated with marriage (Murdock, 1949).

Social scientists have identified a number of predictors of marital surname change and/or related attitudes, including professional, economic, and educational status, attendance at religious services, age, cultural/ethnic origin, one's mother's marital surname choice, and cohabitation before marriage (Blakemore, Lawton & Vartanian, 2005; Boxer & Gritsenko, 2005; Goldin & Shim, 2004; Hoffnung, 2006; Intons-Peterson & Crawford, 1985; Johnson & Scheuble, 1995; Kline, Stafford & Miklosovic, 1996; Noack & Wiik 2008; Scheuble & Johnson, 1993, 2005; Twenge, 1997). However, none of these authors has explicitly addressed the unique status of marriage as a reproductive partnership that creates bonds not only between a particular man and woman, but also between such man and woman and the natal families of each.

Marital names affect how children are named, and hence whether names persist over generations. In many countries including Canada and the United States, a large majority of children carry their fathers' surnames (Emens, 2007), and this majority approaches 100% in those cases in which the mother took the father's name at marriage (Johnson & Scheuble, 2002). Of course, women are not so naïve as to believe that taking a husband's name will guarantee that he will accept legal responsibility for future children (Intons-Peterson & Crawford, 1985), but it remains plausible that name-saking really does elicit investment (see, *e.g.*, Furstenberg & Talvitie, 1980; Cherlin & Furstenberg, 1986). Moreover, some survey evidence suggests that women who retain their premarital names risk being seen as likely to desert the marriage or to commit adultery (Stafford & Kline, 1996; Suter, 2004).

The aim of the present study is to test novel hypotheses about predictors of young women's attitudes toward surname retention or change at marriage. The central idea behind these hypotheses is that marital name change is a “signal” to the groom and/or to his kin that the bride is committed to the marital union and to becoming a member of her

husband's kin group, and that by sending such a signal, a bride can increase the likelihood that her husband and his relatives will invest in her well-being and in that of her future children.

From the proposition that soliciting investment in future children from the husband and his kin are functions of marital surname change, I derive Hypothesis 1: *Endorsement of the view that women should take the husband's surname at marriage will be predicted by the number of children desired.*

In contemporary times, women can achieve economic independence, especially if they are well educated (e.g., Subbarao & Raney, 1993, and see Maritime Provinces Higher Education Commission, 2004, for Canadian data). The research reported here is a study of the views of women pursuing a university education, many of whom may not expect or need to depend on future husbands' resources. Plans on the part of women to enter either of two broad occupational fields have previously been shown to predict birth surname retention (Golden & Shim, 2004). These two broad fields are (i) professions, and (ii) a creative occupation. I propose as Hypothesis 2: *Women with professional and creative career ambitions will be less likely to endorse marital surname change than those who do not have such ambitions.* I propose this, because where women might suffer a net decrease to their and their children's resources due to professional detriment caused by surname change, despite any extra resources they may receive from their husbands due to such change, the women will opt to retain their birth surnames. This hypothesis is advanced tentatively, however, since some previous research indicates that even professional women with high incomes continue to seek partners of higher status and wealth than themselves (e.g., Townsend, 1998).

There is abundant evidence that men's wealth and status are predictive of their success in attracting and keeping wives (e.g., review in Low, 1993; Borgerhoff Mulder, 1990). Buss (1989) asked men and women in 37 societies to rank certain traits with respect to their importance in a potential marriage partner; women everywhere ranked "good financial prospects", "social status", and "ambition and willingness to work hard" highly (and more highly than did men), and these, of course, are traits that are likely to make a man a good provider. But even if women are (virtually) unanimous in valuing such traits, there is variability in the extent to which women prioritize wealth and resource accrual potential in a future husband, as noted above. If taking the husband's surname functions to elicit material investment, as proposed above, and if a woman's felt need to elicit such investment affects her assessment of what is desirable in a man, we can derive Hypothesis 3: *The degree to which a woman values traits indicative of a potential partner's resource-accrual potential will positively predict the degree to which she endorses marital surname change.*

Grandparents sometimes make substantial contributions to the care and well-being of grandchildren, and there is considerable evidence, reviewed in Chapter 1, that maternal grandparents provide more affection and investment than paternal grandparents. This being the case, it behooves a woman to do what she can to increase the affection and involvement of her in-laws in the lives of her children, and if taking her husband's surname elicits feelings of solidarity or closeness in her in-laws, it may help achieve this end. (Even sharing a surname with a total stranger elevates willingness to do that stranger a small favour; Oates & Wilson 2002.) It follows that taking a husband's surname may serve a signalling function and thereby inspire greater investment in the new family and resulting grandchildren. Women need not be conscious of possible benefits of taking a husband's surname for this to be the case; the proximal reason may be based on an apprehension that taking the husband's name will please his relatives whereas relinquishing one's natal name is unlikely to damage a well-established relationship with one's own parents. Getting on the good side of one's in-laws feels like an important priority, and the quality of the relationship between daughter-in-law and parents-in-law has been shown to be positively related to the amount and frequency of grandparental involvement with grandchildren (Cherlin & Furstenberg, 1986). From the above considerations, I derive Hypothesis 4: *The degree to which a woman views contacts with in-laws positively will be predictive of the degree to which she endorses the practice of marital surname change. Furthermore, I predict that the degree to which she expects financial assistance from in-laws will likewise be predictive of the degree to which she endorses the practice of marital surname change.*

The expected economic value of in-laws depends in part on inheritance practices. In Canada, wealthy parents tend to leave more resources to sons than to daughters, whereas the reverse is true of poorer parents (Smith, Kish, & Crawford, 1987). It has been proposed that this tendency is cross-culturally widespread, and stems from the potential "rates of return" on investment in sons versus daughters: wealthy males are often more able than females to convert additional resources into additional offspring because of the possibility of polygyny (Trivers & Willard, 1973; Chagnon, 1979; Dickemann, 1979). In any event, wealthy in-laws are of value to a bride and her future children, especially if the economic resources that she can derive from her own family are modest, and if we again assume that taking the husband's name recruits investment from him and his kin, we can derive Hypothesis 5: *The greater the wealth of the husband and his family, relative to the resources that the prospective bride and her natal family command, the greater her endorsement of marital surname change.*

The economic importance of in-laws may also vary as a function of the quality of a woman's relationship with her natal kin, and hence their dependability as sources of support. Of course, a woman who is close to her natal family may feel that giving up her surname shows disrespect for her kin and her cultural identity, and if she perceives her natal family as a dependable source of support, she may in any case be less strongly

motivated to elicit the support of her new affinal kin. From these considerations, I derive Hypothesis 6: *Women who are emotionally close to their parents are less likely to want to give up their natal surname and therefore less likely to accept marital surname change.* (It is, however, conceivable that one might see precisely the opposite pattern, on the grounds that women who are *least* close to their parents may feel the need to display solidarity with those natal parents in order to maintain parental investment that they perceive to be less than dependable.)

One variable that has been proposed to affect the dependability of support from one's parents is birth position: parental investment is more reliable for first- and lastborns than for middleborns (Sulloway, 1996; Kidwell, 1981; Kennedy, 1989). Presumably as a result of lesser reliable parental investment and a greater need to fend for themselves, middleborn Canadians exhibit relatively weak ties to their parents and to their surnames (Salmon & Daly, 1998), and when they have children in their turn, middleborn Canadians of both sexes take their own children to see their parents (the children's grandparents) less often than do first- or lastborn parents (Salmon, 1998b). While some middleborns would wish to symbolically separate themselves from their natal families (by changing surname at marriage), others might not wish to be associated with *any* family, including their husbands' (which name change might represent). Another possibility is that some middleborns, because they may value *reciprocal* relationships such as friendship (Salmon, 1998a), do not wish to take on husbands' surnames, since unilaterally taking their husbands' surnames is, on its face, not reciprocal, and/or because what taking surname change represents to these women is not reciprocal. Based on these considerations, I derive Hypothesis 7: *Middleborn women will be significantly more accepting of marital surname change than first- or lastborns.*

METHODS

Research Participants

132 female first-year McMaster introductory psychology students (average age 18.75 \pm 1.09 years) participated in this study in exchange for course credit. In groups of 20 or fewer, the volunteer participants were given a brief verbal introduction to the study, read and signed a consent form (Appendix B), and then completed a survey entitled "Marriage: Hopes Plans and Attitudes" (Appendix A), which was presented in the form of a questionnaire booklet.

Participants completed the survey at their own pace, and when finished, deposited it in a large box to assure anonymity. As she departed the room, each woman was given a

debriefing letter (Appendix C) and a receipt for course credit (whether she completed the survey or not).

Dependent Variable

In the analyses that follow, the principal dependent variable is attitude toward marital surname retention (and, by implication, marital surname change), which was assessed with a 6-point Likert-scale item: “In general, women should retain their birth names” with anchors of “strongly disagree” (1) and “strongly agree” (6).

Predictor Variables

Demographic and family variables.

A number of questionnaire items pertained to the respondent’s romantic relationship status, marital and childbearing plans, career plans, natal family background and economic means, siblings and birth order, closeness to parents, mother’s employment status, and whether her mother had taken her father’s surname at marriage (Tables 2.1 and 2.2). In addition, if the woman had a current romantic partner, she was asked about his parents’ occupations to ascertain their economic means (Table 2.1).

The respondents’ intended careers were categorized as professional or non-professional occupations, based on the designation as such by the Ontario Ministry of Labour⁹. In addition, from among a list of 22 occupations those obviously in the creative arts were included in the categorization “professional and creative careers”. One argument for retaining a bride’s surname, especially for those in professional and creative occupations, is the “brand identity” value of the surname (Golden & Shim, 2004). I had 10 independent student judges rate each of the occupations indicated by the survey respondents with respect to “How important/unimportant would it be to ... (the) success (of a woman) in that occupation, that she not change her name, at least for professional purposes, when she gets married”. The average of these ratings for the respondents’ intended occupation was used as a predictor of the dependent variable.

For each occupation, typical hourly wages were estimated for each participant, as well as for each of her parents, her partner (if any, and if his/her occupation was specified), and her partner’s parents (if occupations were specified for both of them). Each of these hourly estimates was based on the current dollar value of the average hourly earnings for

⁹ See “Professionals”, as listed at http://www.labour.gov.on.ca/english/es/guide/guide_22.html, *Guide to the Employment Standards Act*, 3 December 2008). See also occupations exempt (*Employment Standards Act, 2000*, O.Reg. 285/01, ss. 2(1)(a) and (b)), from Parts VII to XI of the *Employment Standards Act, 2000*, S.O. 2000, c. 41.

the same occupation¹⁰, for Hamilton, Ontario (or for the Ontario location nearest to Hamilton for which data were available). For an occupation such as “tradesperson”, in which there are many types, the overall average was used.

In the case of subjects who were currently involved in a romantic relationship, I computed a derived variable that was intended to represent the financial standing of her potential affines relative to that of the respondent herself and her natal family. This variable was computed as the sum of her partner’s hourly wage estimate and those of his parents, minus the sum of the respondent’s hourly wage estimate and those of her parents.

Attitude and preference variables.

In addition to the focal dependent variable, 14 other items addressed attitudes toward marital surname change or retention (see Table 2.4). Like the dependent variable, each of these was answered on a 6-point Likert scale with anchors “strongly disagree” (1) and “strongly agree” (6). Analysis of response to these items focuses on what a participant’s approval of marital surname change (the study’s principal dependent variable; see above) implies about other attitudes and beliefs that she may hold on the subject.

Seventeen items addressed participants’ preferred characteristics in a marital partner (Table 2.1). Each item was rated according to its importance to the participant, using a 6-point Likert scale with anchors “not at all important” (1) and “extremely important” (6). These items were assessed for bivariate correlation with the dependent and certain other variables, and were subjected to a Principal Components analysis that yielded a measure of the emphasis that the participant placed on the desirability of resource accrual potential in a male partner, which was used in testing Hypothesis 3. See Results for further details.

Five items addressed attitudes toward in-laws (Table 2.2); each was a Likert scale item with anchors “strongly disagree” (1) and “strongly agree” (6). These items were assessed for bivariate correlation with the dependent and certain other variables, and were subjected to a Principal Components analysis that yielded two measures, one indicative of desire for her in-laws *not* to be involved with her future children and antipathy toward them, the other indicative of the extent to which she desires her in-laws to be involved with her future children and her expectation that her in-laws transfer resources to her children and to she and her partner (hence of relevance to Hypothesis 5). See Results for further details.

¹⁰ www.labourmarketinformation.ca

Statistical Methods

Statistical analyses were conducted using SPSS 16.0 and 17.0. The six-point Likert scales that were used to assess attitudes, preferences and beliefs were treated as interval scales (see Floyd & Widaman, 1995).

Exploratory Principle Component Analyses of the items from each section of the survey concerned with attitudes or preferences (see Predictor Variables, above) were performed, in order to produce measures relevant to the hypotheses, as detailed in the Results section. Both unrotated and Varimax (orthogonal rotation) solutions were evaluated, with the aim of achieving simple structure and low factorial complexity (*i.e.*, no item loading on two components with same-sign weights greater than 0.34); only items with weights of 0.34 or higher were considered to load on a given component, based on number of subjects and a desired 5% level of significance (Norman & Streiner, 2008). The bases for choosing components for further examination were visual examination of Scree plots (Norman & Streiner, 2008), and whether the component possessed an Eigenvalue in excess of 1.50. The maximum number of variables subjected to a Principle Component Analysis never exceeded 17, and with 132 subjects there were therefore at least 7.8 subjects per predictor variable (see Norman & Streiner, 2008, at p. 208).

Certain component scores and individual survey items were subjected to ordinary least squares regression analyses, in order to test hypotheses while controlling for other variables that might be associated with the focal predictor variable. Each regression was tested to ensure that the standard assumptions justifying the use of linear regression had been met.

RESULTS

Hypothesis 1: Endorsement of the view that women should take the husband's surname at marriage will be predicted by the number of children desired.

The mean (\pm SD) number of children desired by respondents was 2.6 ± 1.0 . Under the hypothesis, this number and responses to the main dependent variable (“In general, women should retain their birth names”) should be negatively correlated. The correlation was indeed negative, but of negligible magnitude ($r = -.02$). Thus, Hypothesis 1 was not supported.

Hypothesis 2: Women with professional and creative career ambitions will be less likely to endorse marital surname change than those who do not have such ambitions.

Respondents' intended occupations were categorized as professional or creative ($n = 93$) or other ($n = 34$). Mean surname retention approval among the former was 3.1 ± 1.2 and among the latter 3.3 ± 1.2 , a non-significant difference ($t_{(125)} = -.63$, $p = ns$) in a direction opposite to that hypothesized. Thus, Hypothesis 2 was not supported.

The failure of this hypothesis cannot be attributed to a failure to categorize professions appropriately with respect to expected income. As expected, for women who wished to pursue a professional or creative career, the estimated hourly wage was significantly greater ($\$53.90 \pm 1.9$, $N = 93$) than for women who did not ($\$26.80 \pm 8.1$, $N = 34$; $F_{(1,125)} = 23.9$, $p < .001$). As one might anticipate, the estimated hourly wage for the respondent's chosen career was positively associated with approval of surname change, but not significantly so ($r = .08$, $n = 127$, ns).

Hypothesis 3: The degree to which a woman values traits indicative of a potential partner's resource-accrual potential will positively predict the degree to which she endorses marital surname change.

Respondents rated 17 traits with respect to their importance in a potential marriage partner, 6 of which were significantly correlated with attitude to surname retention. The traits, their mean ratings, and the extent to which their rated importance was associated with the principal dependent variable are portrayed in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1. Ratings of the importance of various traits in a potential partner (ordered by rated importance), and their bivariate correlations with the dependent variable. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Partner Trait	Rated Importance (Mean±SD)	Correlation with "In general, women should retain their birth names"
Mutual Attraction - Love	5.9±0.4	
Ambition & willingness to work hard	5.4±0.7	
Dependability	5.4±1.0	
Intelligence	5.1±0.8	
Pleasant disposition	5.1±0.8	
Desire for Children	5.1±1.1	
Health	4.7±1.0	.18 *
Financial prospects	4.7±1.0	
Sociable & likes lots of friends	4.6±1.1	
Appearance	4.3±0.9	
Athletic & Recreation interests	4.2±1.2	.21 *
Similar educational background to mine	4.0±1.5	.18 *
Height relative to mine	4.0±1.4	
Same religious background as me	3.8±1.8	
Social Status	3.8±1.4	.27 **
Similar cultural/ethnic background to mine	3.6±1.7	.20 *
Similar political views to mine	2.9±1.3	.23 **

The trait whose rating was most strongly predictive of attitude to surname change was "social status". The positive relationship indicates that women who most valued social status in a prospective husband were the ones most in favour of surname *retention*, in contradiction to the relationship that was anticipated. The average rating given to all 17 items by a given participant was also significantly correlated with the dependent variable ($r = .22$, $p < .05$), perhaps implying that women who approve of surname retention express higher thresholds of partner acceptability.

The 17 partner trait items were also subjected to Principal Components Analysis (Cronbach's α for all 17 = .72). Varimax rotation produced two discrete and potentially interpretable components. For Component 1 (Cronbach's $\alpha = .70$, Eigenvalue = 2.19), high positive loadings were observed for health (.83), financial prospects (.62), intelligence (.69), and social status (.55), suggesting that Component 1 could be considered a measure of the emphasis placed on male resource accrual potential. For Component 2 (Cronbach's $\alpha = .59$, Eigenvalue = 1.70), high factor loadings were observed for height relative to that of the respondent (.76), similar cultural/ethnic background (.66), and similar religious

background (.57). The correlation between respondents' Component 1 scores and the dependent variable was positive ($r = .14$, $N = 129$, $p = .11$), which again contradicts Hypothesis 3 by indicating that valuing resource accrual potential in a potential partner was associated with approval of surname retention rather than surname change. Interestingly, Component 1 scores were positively correlated with the estimate of the woman's own expected future hourly wage ($r = .17$, $N = 124$, $p = .07$), and among the 54 women who were actually involved in a romantic partnership (steady boyfriend or fiancé), this correlation was significant ($r = .31$, $p = .03$).

Thus, Hypothesis 3 was not supported, and indeed was explicitly contradicted by associations in a direction opposite to that which I had predicted. The hypothesis was also contradicted by an analysis of the responses of the subset of respondents who actually had a current male partner (see also analyses under Hypothesis 5, below).

Hypothesis 4: The degree to which a woman views contacts with in-laws positively, and the degree to which she expects financial assistance from in-laws, will be predictive of the degree to which she endorses the practice of marital surname change.

Items assessing attitudes and expectations concerning in-laws are listed in Table 2.2. Two of the five were significantly associated with the dependent variable. Its negative association with "I want my in-laws to be involved with my children" and positive association with "Marriages work best if you don't live too close to your in-laws" are both as predicted: the more positive the respondent's view of interactions with in-laws, the more she approved of adopting her husband's surname. However, the items concerning expectations of resource transfer from in-laws were unrelated to the dependent variable. Thus, the first element of Hypothesis 4 was supported, but the second element was not.

Table 2.2. Agreement with various statements about in-laws (ordered by mean level of agreement), and their bivariate correlations with the dependent variable. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Items concerning in-laws	Level of Agreement (Mean±SD)	Correlation with "In general, women should retain their birth names"
I want my in-laws to be involved with my children	5.3±1.1	-.22 *
I would expect my in-laws to include my children in their wills	4.5±1.3	
I would expect my in-laws to help me and my partner financially, if needed	4.2±1.3	
Marriages work best if you don't live too close to your in-laws	3.6±1.5	.28 **
In-laws are a big reason why the divorce rate is so high	3.2±1.3	

The first three items in Table 2.2 express positive views of in-law relationships, and were negatively correlated with the other two items. A non-rotated principal component analysis did not result in conceptually coherent factors, but a Varimax rotation produced two discrete and potentially interpretable components. For Component 1 (Cronbach's $\alpha = .58$, Eigenvalue = 1.64), high positive loadings were observed for "Marriages work best if you don't live too close to your in-laws" (.80), for "In-laws are a big reason why the divorce rate is so high" (.77), and for "I want my in-laws to be involved with my children" (-.63), suggesting that Component 1 could be considered a measure of a negative attitude toward interactions with future in-laws. For Component 2 (Cronbach's $\alpha = .55$, Eigenvalue = 1.57), high factor loadings (.82 and .85) were obtained only for the two expectation of investment items.

The correlation between respondents' Component 1 scores (henceforth termed "In-law avoidance") and the dependent variable was positive ($r = .25$, $n = 132$, $p = .003$), which again supports Hypothesis 4 by indicating that anticipated distaste for interactions with in-laws was associated with approval of surname retention, and a positive attitude towards in-laws with approval of surname change. However, the bivariate correlation of Component 2 and the dependent variable was not significant ($r = .08$, $n = 132$, $p = ns$), failing to support the resource transfer component of my hypothesis. In light of the potential value of in-laws for the benefit of grandchildren, I also assessed whether these measures were associated with the number of children desired and found no association with either Component 1 ($r = .11$, $n = 130$, $p = ns$) or Component 2 scores ($r = -.02$, $n = 130$, $p = ns$).

Hypothesis 5: The greater the wealth of the husband and his family, relative to the resources that the prospective bride and her natal family command, the greater her endorsement of marital surname change.

Only 54 participants indicated that they were currently involved in a romantic relationship, and 48 of these women provided information about the occupation choice of the partner and the occupations of both of the partner's parents, plus her own occupation choice and that of her parents, providing limited data for testing Hypothesis 5. The dependent variable was not significantly related to the difference between the prospective husband's family's earnings and the respondent's family's earnings ($r = -.23$, $p = ns$), nor was it related to the prospective husband's family's earnings considered alone ($r = -.12$, $p = ns$). Thus, Hypothesis 5 was not supported.

In this subsample of women with current male partners, the determinants of attitudes toward marital surname change were also explored by multiple regression, with "In general, women should retain their birth names" as the dependent variable, and five potential predictors: the importance of a partner's resource-accrual potential (Component 1 scores from the PCA described under Hypothesis 3, above) to the respondent; the

difference between the partner's and the respondent's family's earnings; desired number of children; preferred age at marriage; and "in-law avoidance" (Component 1 scores from the PCA described under Hypothesis 5, above). The only statistically significant predictor was the importance that the respondent placed on a partner's resource-accrual potential (standardized $\beta = .327$, $t = 2.11$, $p < .05$). Again, the direction of this effect was contrary to Hypothesis 3: in this subsample of women with actual male partners, as in the sample as a whole, greater emphasis on a partner's resource-accrual potential was associated with greater approval of birth surname retention at marriage.

I also conducted the analysis with the difference between (1) the participant's projected wages plus those of her parents, and (2) those of her partner and his/her parents treated as a three-level ordinal variable (with the family incomes considered equivalent if they differed by less than \$15,000) rather than as a continuous variable. The results of the analysis were unchanged by this transformation.

Hypothesis 6: Women who are emotionally close to their parents are less likely to want to give up their natal surname and therefore less likely to accept marital surname change.

As expected, respondents indicated that they were closer to their mothers (5.4 ± 0.9) than to their fathers (4.6 ± 1.5), and this difference was significant (paired $t_{1,126} = 5.9$, $p < .001$). However, neither closeness to mother nor closeness to father was significantly correlated with approval of surname retention at marriage ($r = -.019$, $n = 130$ and $r = .103$, $n = 128$, mother and father respectively). Thus, Hypothesis 6 was not supported.

Hypothesis 7: Middleborn women will be significantly more accepting of marital surname change than first- or lastborns.

The mean (\pm S.D.) level of agreement with "In general, women should retain their birth names" by the 23 middleborn respondents (*i.e.*, women with at least one older and at least one younger sibling) was 3.4 ± 1.5 . Contradicting the expected pattern of results, agreement with this proposition was lower, not higher, among both firstborn (3.1 ± 1.1 , $n = 58$) and lastborn (3.1 ± 1.1 , $n = 50$) respondents. However, these differences were not significant ($F_{1,128} = 0.7$, $p = ns$). Thus, Hypothesis 7 was not supported.

It should perhaps be noted that Hypothesis 7 rested on an expectation that birth order would be associated with closeness to one's parents, as has been found in previous research with McMaster undergraduates (Salmon & Daly, 1998) and internationally (Rohde *et al.*, 2003). However, in the present sample, there were no birth order differences in mean closeness to either the respondent's mother (firstborns 5.4 ± 1.1 ; middleborns $5.4 \pm$

0.8; lastborns 5.4 ± 0.6 ; $F_{2,123} = 0.05$) or father (firstborns 4.6 ± 1.7 ; middleborns 4.5 ± 1.4 ; lastborns 4.7 ± 1.3 ; $F_{2,123} = 0.15$).

Other predictors of attitudes toward surname retention at marriage

Significant prediction of the study's primary dependent variable ("In general, women should retain their birth names") was provided by certain measures other than those discussed under Hypotheses 1-7.

In general, natal family variables (number of siblings, sex of siblings, birth order, and closeness to mother and to father) were unrelated to the dependent variable, but certain attributes of the respondent's mother were predictors. Women whose mothers had not taken their husbands' names ($n = 16$) supported surname retention in general (mean \pm SD = 4.0 ± 1.5) more than those whose mothers had not ($n = 114$; mean \pm SD = 3.0 ± 1.1 ; $t_{(1,128)} = 3.25$, $p < .001$). Also, those whose mothers were not employed ($n = 26$) supported surname retention (mean \pm SD = 3.6 ± 1.2) more than those whose mothers were employed ($N=99$; 3.0 ± 1.1 ; $t_{(1,123)} = 2.21$, $p = .029$).

105 respondents stated a preferred age at marriage, and this, too, proved to be a significant predictor: the older this preferred age (overall mean \pm SD = 25.9 ± 2.0), the more the respondent tended to endorse surname retention ($r = .27$, $p < .01$). However, there was no significant difference in attitudes to surname retention between the 54 women who reported having current romantic partners (mean \pm SD = 3.0 ± 1.1) and the 62 who reported that they did not (mean \pm SD = 3.2 ± 1.2). Only one respondent declared a preference for a commonlaw union over a registered marriage, precluding comparisons with respect to this variable.

Multivariate analysis of predictors of agreement with statement "*In general, women should retain their birth names*"

In order to simultaneously assess hypothesized predictors of attitudes to surname retention at marriage, multiple regression analyses tested three models (Table 3.3). In model 1, the predictors include the measure of "importance of male resource-accrual potential" (Component 1 from the analysis of Hypothesis 3, above), the measure of "in-law avoidance" (Component 1 from the analysis of Hypothesis 4), and three other possible predictors: the number of children desired, the age at which the participant would like to marry, and the estimate of her expected hourly wage for her planned career. Model 2 adds two further potential predictors: the participant's rating of "how close, emotionally" she is to her mother, and the yes/no response to "did your mother take your father's surname as

her own?” Model 3 adds as a final possible predictor the participant’s ratings of “how close, emotionally” she is to her father.

Table 3.3 portrays standardized beta (β) values and significance levels for these three multiple regression analyses. Approval of surname retention at marriage was significantly predicted by (1) the in-law avoidance measure ($p < .001$), (2) the importance of male resource-accrual potential measure ($p = .03$), and (3) the preferred age at marriage ($p = .04$). These results echo the bivariate analyses presented earlier: Hypothesis 4 (that enthusiasm for surname retention would be associated with in-law avoidance) was supported, Hypothesis 3 (that enthusiasm for surname change would be associated with the importance placed on the resource-accrual potential of a future partner) was explicitly contradicted, and women who preferred to marry later were more approving of surname retention.

In Model 2, one of the two new potential predictors, namely whether the respondent’s mother had retained her surname at marriage, approached significance ($p = .06$), lending some support to a relationship reported in prior literature (Johnson & Scheuble, 1995), but the “importance of male resource-accrual potential” ceased to be a significant predictor. Finally, when emotional closeness to father was added in Model 3, that variable approached significance ($p = .07$) in the anticipated direction (*i.e.*, women who were closer to their fathers were more in favour of surname retention), but preferred age at marriage ceased to be a significant predictor. One result was consistent in all models, namely the substantial and highly significant impact of the “in-law avoidance” measure.

Table 2.3. Predictors of agreement with view that “In general, women should retain their birth names” addressing three multiple regression models. The standardized beta (β), Student’s t value (t), and probability (p) are portrayed.

Predictor Variables	Model One			Model Two			Model Three		
	β	t	P	β	t	p	β	t	p
In-law avoidance	.395	4.308	.000	.388	4.084	.000	.404	4.103	.000
No. Children Desired	.026	.262	.794	.009	.086	.931	-.047	-.439	.662
Importance of male resource-accrual potential	.201	2.178	.032	.174	1.845	.068	.140	1.433	.156
Preferred age at marriage	.207	2.105	.038	.206	2.057	.043	.185	1.774	.080
Her future hourly wage	.011	.121	.904	-.060	-.635	.527	-.054	-.550	.583
Mother Did Not Take Father’s Surname				.187	1.934	.056	.150	1.524	.131
Emotional Closeness to Mother				.024	.259	.796	-.045	-.449	.654
Emotional Closeness to Father							.197	1.840	.069

How other attitudes about surnames relate to approval of surname retention at marriage

The predictors of attitudes toward surname retention presented above are unlikely to match the women's expressed rationales for their views. The novel predictor of in-law avoidance, for example, has not previously been mentioned in the literature on women's surname choice at marriage. However, women may also have explicit views about names that can be useful in understanding why they then choose to retain or change their surnames. Table 2.4 lists the survey items on the topic of surnames after marriage, their average ratings, and their correlation with the focal dependent variable, "In general, women should retain their birth names". Ratings on this focal item were significantly and positively correlated with agreement that (1) "The equality of marriage partners is symbolized and displayed to others by the wife's retaining her birth name"; (2) "It is best for children if both parents keep their surnames"; (3) "Hyphenating the wife's birth name and her husband's surname is a good solution to the problem"; (4) "Simply keeping her birth name is a better solution for a professional woman than hyphenation"; (5) "A woman who changes her name to that of a spouse should be able to change back at any time"; and (6) "Loss of a portion of one's personal identity occurs with surname change". The other eight items were not significantly correlated with approval of surname retention at marriage.

Even though only 6 of these 14 items concerning surname were significantly correlated with approval of retaining one's birth name upon marriage, the 15 items did have a respectable Cronbach alpha of 0.63. A Principal Component Analysis of all 15 items revealed that the first and second components had Eigenvalues of 2.94 and 2.29 (with Cronbach alpha values of .64 and .65), respectively. Items weighting most heavily on Component 1 were "Loss of cultural/ethnic identity occurs with surname change" (.69), "The equality of marriage partners is symbolized and displayed to others by [surname retention]" (.68), "Women should retain their birth surnames" at marriage (.64), and "Loss of a portion of one's personal identity occurs with surname change" (.63). Thus, Component 1 reflects a perception that something is lost with marital surname change. Items weighting most heavily on Component 2 were "A wife who changes her name to that of her husband should stick to that change (unless she gets divorced)" (.69), "A married couple's unity is symbolized and displayed to others by a shared last name" (.68), "It's better for children if their parents use the same last name" (.67), and "The 'hyphenation solution' is less suitable for couples who plan to have children than for those who do not" (.54). Thus, Component 2 seems to reflect a perception that something is gained with marital surname change.

Table 2.4. Average (\pm SD) responses (6 point Likert scale from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree”) to various statements about surname retention or change, and their correlations with responses to “In general, women should retain their birth names”. ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Statement	Mean \pm SD	Significant Pearson r
In general, women should retain their birth names.	3.1 \pm 1.2	
The equality of marriage partners is symbolized and displayed to others by the wife's retaining her birth name.	2.7 \pm 1.1	.46***
It is best for children if both parents keep their surnames.	2.4 \pm 1.2	.39***
If the “hyphenation solution” is adopted, both the man and the woman should use the hyphenated name.	3.5 \pm 1.7	.37***
Simply keeping her birth name is a better solution for a professional woman than hyphenation.	3.3 \pm 1.5	.27**
A woman who changes her name to that of a spouse should be able to change back at any time.	4.0 \pm 1.7	.26**
Loss of a portion of one's personal identity occurs with surname change.	2.8 \pm 1.5	.24**
If a woman has been married before and her last name is that of her former partner, it is best if she takes her new partner's surname.	5.1 \pm 0.9	
A wife who changes her name to that of her husband should stick to that change (unless she gets divorced).	4.8 \pm 1.3	
It's better for children if their parents use the same last name.	4.4 \pm 1.5	
Hyphenating the wife's birth name and her husband's surname is a good solution to the problem.	4.0 \pm 1.6	
A married couples unity is symbolized and displayed to others by a shared last name.	3.9 \pm 1.5	
I feel it's OK for a common-law wife to use her partner's last name socially, but not for legal purposes.	3.6 \pm 1.4	
The “hyphenation solution” is less suitable for couples who plan to have children than for those who do not.	2.9 \pm 1.4	
Loss of cultural/ethnic identity occurs with surname change.	2.5 \pm 1.3	

DISCUSSION

Maternal relatives are more dependable contributors to a child's well-being than paternal relatives. That being so, I hypothesized that patrilineal surnaming might be interpreted as a tactic for recruiting patrilineal involvement and investment. I therefore anticipated that a positive attitude toward surname change at marriage might reflect, in part, one's desire for in-law involvement in the lives of one's future children. To assess this and other hypotheses, I surveyed the “hopes, plans and attitudes” of undergraduates because the great majority of American (and, presumably, Canadian) women do change their names at marriage and it is only among the highly educated that I was likely to find a substantial minority who would intend to retain their natal surnames instead (Golden & Shim, 2004).

The survey data supported the above hypothesis: the women who endorsed surname change at marriage were those who most desired in-law involvement, whereas those who endorsed natal surname retention favoured in-law avoidance.

University students are of course more likely than others to pursue professional and creative careers in which the surname serves as an identity or “brand” of economic and reputational value (Golden & Shim, 2004). It therefore seemed likely that the career plans of the surveyed women might be confounded with their attitude toward in-laws. However, in a multiple regression analysis, desire for a professional or creative career was not a significant predictor of attitudes toward surname retention and did not alter the impact of in-law avoidance. (When other students judged the importance of retaining one’s surname for professional reasons according to one’s intended career, they indeed gave higher ratings for the “professional and creative careers” than for others, but only marginally significantly higher; $p=.07$.) An estimate of one’s expected future hourly wage also failed to predict attitudes to surname retention. The desired age at marriage might be interpreted as indicating the degree of a woman’s commitment to career development, and it was a marginally significant ($p=.08$) predictor of approval of surname retention, but it too did not alter the significance of the in-law avoidance predictor. It would seem that none of these career-related predictors greatly influenced attitudes to surname retention/change, nor did they modulate the relevance of in-law avoidance. However, university freshmen are unlikely to know their eventual careers, and it would be interesting to assess whether their attitudes to surname retention are in any way related to their eventual career choices.

Another predictor that one might expect to be correlated with attitudes toward in-laws and the degree to which their involvement with grandchildren is desired is the number of children the respondent wishes or intends to have. However, the number of children desired was not significantly correlated with the in-law avoidance index, nor was it a significant predictor of attitudes to surname retention in either the bivariate or the multiple regression analysis. The number of children desired ranged from 0 to 6, which should have afforded sufficient variability to detect any meaningful correlation.

The second novel hypothesis I entertained in this thesis concerned the robust finding that women rate as important in a potential husband those traits that are likely to bespeak the man’s resource-accrual potential and thus his capacity to be a good provider. These traits include “good financial prospects”, “social status”, and “ambition and willingness to work hard” (Buss 1989; see also Buss & Schmitt, 1993). Even though most women rate these traits as highly important, there is variability among women in the extent to which they prioritize resource accrual potential in a future husband, and because I have argued that women may wish to take their husband’s surname as evidence of a commitment and a signal of future fidelity, the extent to which women value male resource-accrual potential would predict their willingness to adopt the man’s surname. This line of thought was

reinforced by the consideration that a shared surname can evoke a willingness to do a small favour even for a stranger (Oates & Wilson, 2002), and by the fact that men are more likely to invest in their putative non-resident children if the children were named after them (Furstenberg & Talvitie, 1980). However, a measure of the importance that my respondents placed on resource-accrual potential in a potential mate (indexed by his health, financial prospects, intelligence, and social status) was in general associated with approval of surname retention, not surname change. Hence, this particular novel hypothesis was not supported by the survey data.

What might account for the failure of my prediction about valuing a husband's resource-accruing potential? One possibility is that approval of surname change and the importance attached to a high-status mate were both positively related to the women's own ambitions for a professional or high-status career. There is evidence that economically independent women, rather than selecting men on other criteria, still desire a husband whose status and income potential match or exceed their own (Townsend, 1998). Moreover, it is a general finding that men and women who marry tend to share many characteristics besides religious preferences, ethnicity and cultural background, and political attitudes, and in analyses of surname retention of women from an elite university, Golden & Shim (2004) found that they married men with comparable education and careers, and when married were more likely to retain their surname than women in the population-at-large. In my survey, the respondents with professional and creative career ambitions did indeed rate the importance of resource-accrual potential in a mate somewhat higher than did other women, but the difference fell short of significance ($p=.09$); similarly, the respondent's estimated future hourly wage was positively related to the importance of resource-accrual potential in a mate, but again only marginally ($p=.07$). Only 54 of the 132 women surveyed reported having a steady boyfriend or fiancé, so the majority of the participants' ratings of what traits are important in an ideal mate may have indicated their ideals without the kinds of compromises and re-evaluations that are likely to take place when they "fall in love" (note that mutual attraction - love received the highest rating). Interestingly, among the 54 women with an actual partner, there was a significant positive correlation ($p = .025$) between the rated importance of resource-accrual potential in a mate and the estimated hourly wage for the actual partner's chosen career.

Participants were young women aged 18-23. Since the average age at first registered marriage for Canadian women was approximately 28 in 2003 (estimated by Statistics Canada, 2005-2006) and may have risen since then, and since only one of the subjects was engaged and none were married, separated or divorced, the views of the subjects in this survey are those of women who have not yet had to negotiate a marital union or (with one exception) even an engagement, and who may not see themselves as likely to marry soon. As such, the subjects' expressed wishes and attitudes concerning marriage may represent young women's "pure" attitudes, untainted by real negotiation

with a partner. Thus, on the one hand, these wishes and attitudes may have evolutionary psychological relevance as regards women's interests; on the other hand, they may have little ecological validity as regards what women would actually choose, given male influence on their choices. How these wishes and attitudes are modified by time and actual marriage/common law partnership may represent a compromise position which takes into account partners' ideals regarding what *they* want in such a relationship. One means of reducing the above-noted lack of ecological validity would be repeating the survey on women about to marry.

These undergraduate survey participants were at a life stage when dating and courtship play a major role in one's social life. It is a robust finding that men rate physical attractiveness as highly important in a romantic partner (Buss 1989; Li *et al.*, 2008), and women undoubtedly know this. It would be interesting to temporarily alter women's perceptions of their own attractiveness or mate value and see if attitudes toward surname retention are affected. Attitude survey research has shown that men rate women who retain their surnames at marriage less attractive than women who adopt the husband's surname (Murray, 1997; and see Atkinson, 1987). In order to test whether women are sensitive to such views on the part of men, one could have women view pictures of either very attractive women or less attractive women in a between-groups experimental design to see if exposure to attractive women would result in an increased approval of adopting a husband's surname over pre-exposure ratings (within subjects comparison). Exposure to attractive women reduces women's self-esteem (Brown *et al.*, 1992; Thornton & Moore, 1993) and perceptions of their own attractiveness (Little & Mannion, 2006). In the subtle negotiations of courtship and marital commitments it is possible that a man is likely to perceive a woman who endorses adopting his surname as more attractive and more desirable (see Chapter 4 for further discussion).

Among the 54 survey respondents who professed to be involved with a romantic partner (steady boyfriend or fiancé), 48 provided information about his career goals and about the occupations of his parents. It was therefore possible to address my hypothesis that the economic status of the partner and his parents, relative to that of the respondent and her parents, would affect attitudes toward surname retention/change. More specifically, I hypothesized that surname change would be more approved of when the patrilineal relatives were more affluent than the matrilineal relatives. However, neither the estimated total hourly wages of the male partner and his parents nor the difference between that sum and the corresponding sum for the respondent and her parents proved to be a predictor of responses to the questions about surname change.

Finally, I considered the possibility that close attachment to their natal families may make women reluctant to give up their maiden names and therefore endorse the view that women should retain their birth name upon marriage. Each survey participant rated how

emotionally close she was to her mother and to her father. Neither closeness rating was significantly correlated with approval of surname retention, but in the multiple regression analysis, closeness to father did emerge as a marginally significant predictor ($p=.07$) in the expected direction. Birth order has been shown to affect closeness to one's natal family for students from McMaster University (Salmon 1998; Salmon & Daly 1998), but in my survey there were no differences in rated closeness to mother or father as a function of birth order, and birth order was unrelated to attitudes to surname change.

The most robust predictor of a preference for surname retention at marriage in this empirical study was the novel measure, derived from a Principal Components Analysis, of the respondent's in-law avoidance motivation.

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CHAPTER 3
HAWAIIAN DATA CONCERNING WOMEN'S MARITAL SURNAME CHANGE
BY BRIDE'S AGE AND JURISDICTION OF RESIDENCE

Introduction

Unlike any jurisdiction in Canada or any other state in the USA, the state of Hawaii requires a bride to specify on marriage registration documents whether she will take her husband's surname, retain her premarital surname, or hyphenate the two. In 1978, about 10% of brides marrying in Hawaii indicated they would retain their pre-marital surnames or hyphenate (Cherlin, 1978). Hawaii also requires brides to record their date of birth and current place of residence, and because it is now popular to marry at holiday resort destinations such as Hawaii, these marriage records include many in which the newlyweds reside elsewhere, affording a unique research opportunity. These data enable one to test hypotheses about brides' surname choice in relation to age and economic variables associated with women and men in their residential locales.

In a U.S. telephone survey of 929 married people and 180 of their married adult children, purportedly a representative sample of married individuals in the nation, the prevalence of women taking their husbands' surnames varied regionally: women in the North Central region were most likely to retain their surnames, followed by women in the South, then the Northeast, and finally the West (Johnson & Scheuble, 1995; note that the (primarily Southern) tradition of women retaining their birth surnames as middle names counted as birth surname retention in this study). Therefore, the likelihood that a woman marrying in Hawaii will take her husband's surname should be partly determined by her state of residence.

It is also plausible that surname intentions may vary systematically with the bride's income and professional status, as discussed in Chapters 1 and 2. US states vary with respect to economic equality of men and women¹¹ and this may be correlated with the intentions of brides marrying in Hawaii. Of course, those mainland residents who marry in Hawaii are likely to be relatively affluent, but average income levels in one's home state might still predict attitudes insofar as attitudes reflect local culture. American women (or their families) traditionally pay for most of the expenses associated with marrying (Lenderman, c2000). If brides from differentially affluent states differ in their attitudes, this may reflect the wealth of the brides' natal families.

¹¹ State Personal Income 2006, IPUMS 1% sample, US Bureau of Economic Analysis 2008; University of Minnesota, IPUMS.org.

The Hawaiian marriage registration data are available in aggregate form, so any correlations with economic indicators are limited to state-level analyses. I here examine the association between retaining or hyphenating surnames and the average personal income of women and men from those states from which more than 400 brides married in Hawaii in 2006. My hypothesis is that *the proportion of women retaining their surname upon marriage will be positively correlated with state-level estimates of women's income, and that this correlation will exceed that for men's income.* If surname retention is better predicted by women's income than men's, one might surmise that visiting brides are economically and professionally independent from their husbands-to-be, where these brides opt to keep or hyphenate their birth surnames.

The data are also available according to age categories, permitting a test of the hypothesis that *women marrying at older ages will be more likely to retain their premarital surnames.* Previous studies of surname change or retention at marriage have found such a pattern (Noack & Wiik 2008; Johnson & Scheuble, 1995; Goldin & Shim, 2004; Hoffnung, 2006; and see Scheuble & Johnson, 1993, 2005), for which there may be several reasons. Women who marry at later ages are relatively more likely to be well-educated professionals, for whom name change would have financial and professional costs (see generally Goldin & Shim, 2004), and an older bride is also relatively likely to have been married previously and to have children from a former union. If a woman already has children, she may be reluctant to take a surname that is different from theirs, especially if they are dependents. On the other hand, if the former husband is not supporting their dependent children there could be benefits to taking a new husband's surname. The likelihood that stepfathers invest in a woman's children increases as a function of his valuing of his relationship with the children's mother (Anderson, Kaplan & Lancaster, 1999; Anderson *et al.*, 1999). Stepfathers do sometimes adopt their wives' children, and this would seem to be much more likely if the mother takes the husband's surname. In the case of older brides, they are more likely to have independent adult children and so taking the new husband's surname may not have the same appeal. Unfortunately, the data are not simultaneously disaggregated by state and age of bride, nor are data available on whether the bride was married previously or has dependent children. (The bride's profession, marital status immediately preceding marriage, and number of children are *not* recorded in Hawaii upon marriage registration.)

METHODS

Data Description

Data on surname choices of women marrying in Hawaii in 2006 were made available to me by Brian Horiuchi, Hawaiian Government (personal communication of 17 January 2008). The numbers of brides selecting each of the three options were provided

according to age categories (Table 3.1), and residential jurisdictions (Table 3.2), as long as more than 400 women from that jurisdiction were married in Hawaii in 2006. The latter criterion included 12 states of the U.S., plus Canada and Japan.

Personal income data from 2006 for the 12 states (State Personal Income 2006, IPUMS 1% sample, US Bureau of Economic Analysis 2008; University of Minnesota, IPUMS.org) were used to compute state-level average annual incomes of females and males over 17 years of age. (Individual incomes equal to or in excess of U.S. \$1,000,000 are top-coded in these data as U.S. \$999,998.)

Statistical analysis

For purposes of analysis, the numbers of brides who either kept their premarital surnames or hyphenated were summed, and compared with the number who took the husband's surname. Chi-square tests were used to compare these practices between Hawaiian residents and those who traveled to Hawaii to marry, as well as between other groups. A Chi-square test for linear trend was used to assess whether the percentage of brides retaining or hyphenating their surname increased significantly with brides' age category (StatsDirect software, http://www.statsdirect.com/help/chi_square_tests/2k.htm).

Data from the 12 residential states with more than 400 brides marrying in Hawaii in 2006 were used to correlate the percent retaining or hyphenating their surname with the average personal income of women and of men from those states. A linear regression analysis (OLS) was performed to test whether the percentage of brides from these 12 states who retained or hyphenated their surname was better predicted by the average state-level personal income of women or men (SPSS version 17).

RESULTS

Overall, 16.7 % of women marrying in Hawaii in 2006 opted for either surname retention (11.7 %) or hyphenation (5.1 %). The percentage of brides who kept or hyphenated their surnames (Table 1 and Figure 1) was greater the older the bride (Chi square total = 20.67, $df=6$, $p<.0001$; Chi-square for linear trend = 19.99, $df=1$, $p<.0001$). The percentage increased with each age category, except that brides less than 20 years of age had a greater rate of retention/hyphenation than did either brides aged 20-24 or 25-29 years of age.

Table 3.1. Percentage of Brides Changing, Hyphenating, or Keeping Last Name at Marriage in Hawaii in 2006, according to the Bride’s Age. (Bride’s age missing for one of the 28,680 records)

<i>Age</i>	<i>Changed</i>	<i>Hyphenated</i>	<i>Kept</i>	<i>Total</i>
Under 20	671 (86.25%)	30 (3.86%)	77 (9.90%)	778
20-24	3968 (89.55%)	145 (3.27%)	318 (7.18%)	4431
25-29	6639 (86.62%)	325 (4.24%)	700 (9.13%)	7664
30-34	4582 (82.34%)	281 (5.05%)	702 (12.61%)	5565
35-39	3065 (80.70%)	242 (6.37%)	491 (12.93%)	3798
40-44	1898 (79.71%)	172 (7.22%)	311 (13.06%)	2381
45+	3055 (75.21%)	261 (6.42%)	746 (18.36%)	4062
TOTAL	23878 (83.26%)	1456 (5.08%)	3345 (11.66%)	28679

Brides' Age Range by Number and Percentage of Brides Hyphenating or Keeping Last Name at Marriage in Hawaii, for Originating Jurisdictions from which more than 400 Brides were Resident, Calendar Year 2006

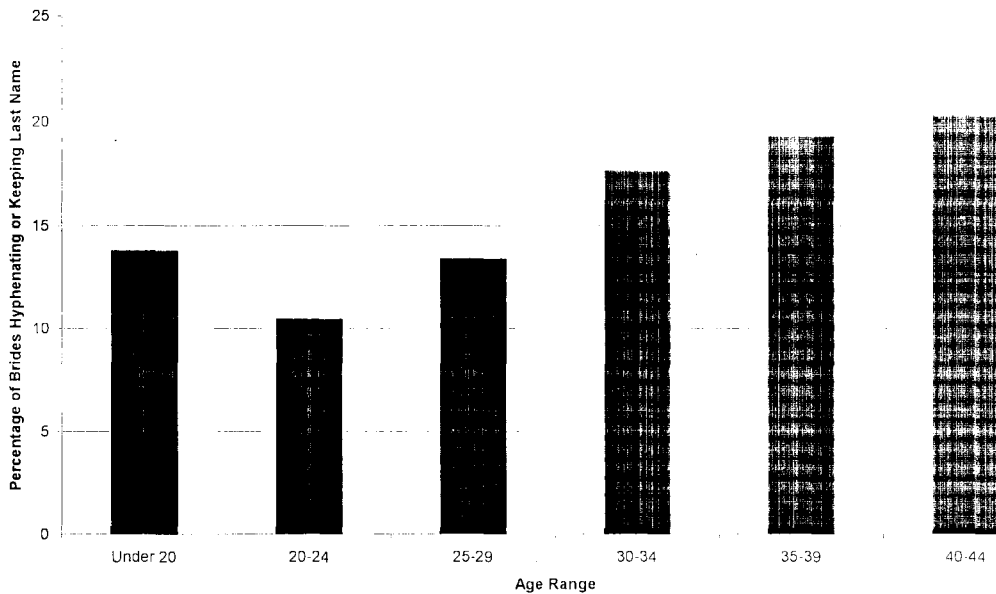


Fig. 3.1. Brides’ Age Range by Number and Percentage of Brides Hyphenating or Keeping Last Name at Marriage in Hawaii, for Originating Jurisdiction from which more than 400 Brides were Resident, Calendar Year 2006

There was substantial variation in naming practices according to residential jurisdiction. For example, 25.2% of Canadian women marrying in Hawaii kept their premarital name or hyphenated, compared to just 10.0% of Japanese women. 18.3% of 8573 brides from Hawaii (who had their marriages performed within their 'home state') kept or hyphenated their surnames, while 16.1% of 11,519 brides from the mainland states (Table 2) chose one of these options; this was a significant difference ($\chi^2 = 15.6$, $df = 1$, $p < .0001$).

Within the US, the number of brides who intended to retain or hyphenate their surname varied by state, from a low of 10.2% for women from Ohio to a high of 27.9% for those from New York. This variation was not in accord with the regional variations reported by Johnson & Scheubel (1995), but it was significantly correlated with the state-level average personal income for women ($r = .72$, $N = 12$, $p < .01$) and for men ($r = .59$, $N = 12$, $p < .05$) for the same year (Figure 2). Moreover, a regression analysis using both income predictors reveals that the state-level average income of women was a marginally significant predictor of percentage of brides retaining or hyphenating their surname (regression $F_{(2,9)} = 5.09$, $p = .033$; standardized $\beta = .847$, $t = 1.88$, $p = .09$), but men's income was not significant (standardized $\beta = -.14$, $t = -.31$, $p > .10$). The difference between men's and women's average incomes was not significantly associated with surname choice ($r = .16$, $N = 12$, $p > .05$).

Table 3.2. Percentage of Brides Changing, Hyphenating, or Keeping Last Name at Marriage in Hawaii in 2006 according to the state or country of Bride's Residence

<i>State/Country</i>	<i>Changed</i>	<i>Hyphenated</i>	<i>Kept</i>	<i>Total</i>
Hawaii- Island of Hawaii	814 (82.30%)	89 (9.00%)	86 (8.70%)	989
Hawaii- Honolulu	5113 (81.44%)	339 (5.40%)	826 (13.16%)	6278
Hawaii- Kauai	293 (88.79%)	19 (5.76%)	18 (5.45%)	330
Hawaii- Maui	787 (80.64%)	65 (6.66%)	124 (12.70%)	976
California	4044 (81.63%)	295 (5.95%)	615 (12.41%)	4954
Washington	1034 (85.17%)	51 (4.20%)	129 (10.63%)	1214
Texas	973 (89.27%)	49 (4.50%)	68 (6.24%)	1090
Arizona	667 (87.19%)	36 (4.70%)	62 (8.10%)	765
Illinois	525 (83.86%)	30 (4.79%)	71 (11.34%)	626
Oregon	502 (85.37%)	28 (4.76%)	58 (9.86%)	588
Colorado	422 (85.08%)	27 (5.44%)	47 (9.48%)	496
Florida	407 (83.23%)	25 (5.11%)	57 (11.66%)	489
Ohio	420 (89.74%)	18 (3.85%)	30 (6.41%)	468
New York	302 (72.08%)	22 (5.25%)	95 (22.67%)	419
Minnesota	363 (88.54%)	12 (2.93%)	35 (8.54%)	410
Canada	721 (74.79%)	49 (5.08%)	194 (20.12%)	964
Japan	388 (90.02%)	6 (1.39%)	37 (8.58%)	431
Rest of States/Countries	6104 (84.86%)	296 (4.12%)	793 (11.02%)	7193
TOTAL	23879 (83.26%)	1456 (5.08%)	3345 (11.66%)	28680

Table 3.3. Mean personal income (US dollars) in 2006 for men and women over 17 years of age, and percent of brides retaining or hyphenating surname according to the state of their residence.

	Male	Female	Percentage of Brides retaining or hyphenating premarital surname
Ohio	43240.15	23769.62	10.26
Texas	45261.27	23577.08	10.73
Minnesota	46978.80	27263.25	11.46
Arizona	46512.10	26104.33	12.81
Oregon	43347.46	24542.67	14.63
Washington	49593.51	26821.38	14.83
Colorado	51562.58	28510.18	14.92
Illinois	49897.87	26889.25	16.13
Florida	46629.47	26016.10	16.77
Hawaii	47193.70	28469.05	18.27
California	51553.38	29589.89	18.37
New York	50930.86	29565.15	27.92

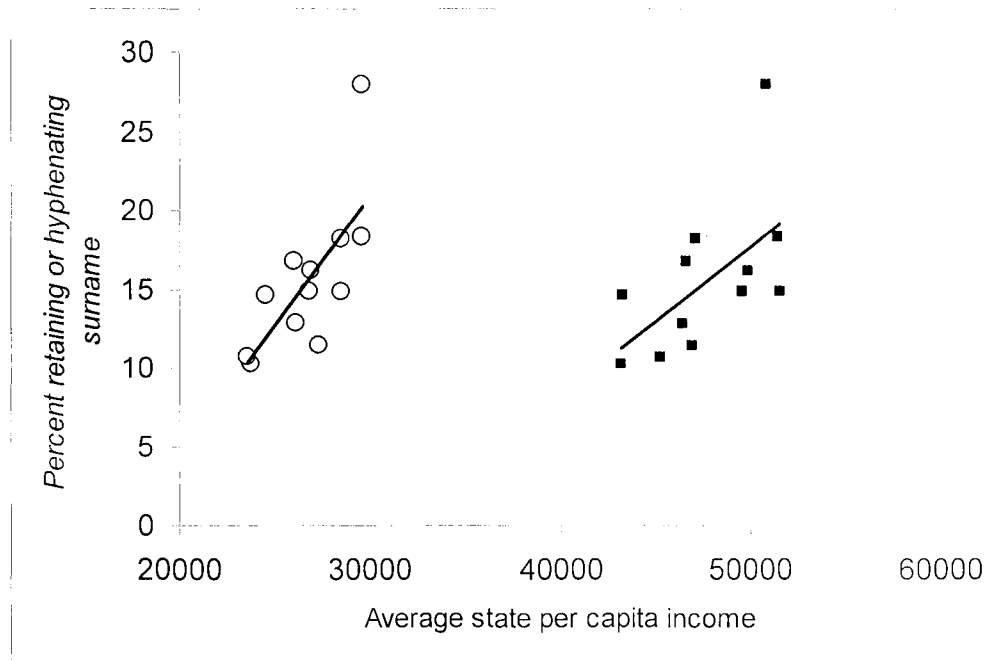


Figure 3.2. Percentage of brides marrying in Hawaii in 2006 who either hyphenated or kept their surnames is significantly correlated with average personal income of women in 2006 in their state of residence ($r=.72$) and the corresponding average income for men ($r=.59$). Average income of women O and of men ■.

DISCUSSION

The Hawaiian marriage data provide information about the numbers of brides who retained or hyphenated surnames rather than taking the new husband's surname. Among those marrying in Hawaii in 1978, approximately 10% of brides retained or hyphenated surnames. The present analysis reveals that almost 17% of brides marrying in Hawaii in 2006 – some 28 years later – stated that they would retain or hyphenate surnames. Unless there has been a selection bias in who chooses to marry in Hawaii over this time period (such as more of these brides being older), it would appear that the prevalence of retaining one's surname has almost doubled, but it is still a minority practice. The Hawaiian data are unique in that all brides provide information about age, state of residence, and intentions regarding their surnames upon marrying.

There was substantial variation in the percentage of brides retaining or hyphenating their surnames in relation to the state of residence, with Ohio women the least likely and those from New York the most likely. This decision was significantly correlated with

state-level average income for women and for men for the same year, but in a regression analysis with both predictors only the state-level average income for women was a marginally significant predictor. Of course, with only 12 states in the analysis, there was limited statistical power. In a recent Norwegian analysis of wives' surnames, those residing in large urban centers were more likely to have retained their own surnames than those residing in rural areas (Noack & Wiik, 2008). The brides marrying in Hawaii but normally residing in other states may have been disproportionately from urban centres such as New York City or Los Angeles. (These are the two largest U.S. cities and also happen to be in the two states with the highest percentages of surname retention or hyphenation, other than Hawaii itself.)

The strongest finding was that older brides were more likely to retain or hyphenate their surnames than were younger brides. There are several obvious candidate explanations for this significant linear trend including the woman's professional and economic status, a prior marriage, and her parental status. Moreover, the groom's prior marital and parental status may also be relevant. Both older brides and their grooms are likely to have commitments to children and other relatives such that signalling, by name change, an intention either to form a new family or to acquire entitlements to husband's and his family's status and resources would not be welcomed.

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CHAPTER 4 CONCLUSIONS

This thesis began with the following question: why do women continue to take their husband's surnames at marriage, despite the fact that keeping one's premarital surname is the default, and easier, course of action, and has been so at least since the 1970s?

Prior studies have identified a number of predictors of retaining one's surname rather than adopting the husband's. The main predictors have been women's age, educational and professional status, and correlates of traditionalism such as religiosity and cultural background (Blakemore et al. 2005; Boxer & Gritsenko 2005; Goldin & Shim 2004; Hoffnung 2006; Intons-Peterson & Crawford 1985; Johnson & Scheuble 1995; Kline et al. 1996; Scheuble & Johnson 1993, 2005; Twenge 1997). No prior author has considered the special status of marriage as a reproductive partnership involving the raising of children and the acquisition of a set of affinal relatives (in-laws), and if one views marriage in this way, some novel hypotheses as to why women take the husband's surname upon marriage arise.

I have reviewed the evidence that grandparental investment and involvement with grandchildren differ for maternal versus paternal grandparents. There is a robust tendency for maternal grandparents to be the more reliable source of support for grandchildren. In light of this fact - as well as the number of uncertain paternity links through the putative paternal line, some evidence that name-saking is associated with greater paternal investment in putative children (Furstenberg & Talvitie, 1980) and that a common surname can elicit a small act of altruism by strangers (Oates & Wilson, 2002) - I hypothesized that taking the husband's surname may serve to recruit investment in grandchildren from patrilineal kin, and hence that attitudes toward surname change or retention would be associated with attitudes and aims concerning in-laws. My survey of undergraduate women supported this hypothesis, finding that women who endorsed retaining one's maiden name also expressed some negative expectations about in-laws and some inclination to avoid them, whereas women who approved of surname change wanted future in-law involvement and had a positive regard for future in-laws. The underlying assumption behind this novel hypothesis is that taking a husband's surname is effective in signalling one's commitment to the man and his close kin and is effective in recruiting patrilineal investment. Tests of these assumptions were not part of this thesis; however, they are compelling topics for future research given the finding that there's a significant effect of views of in-laws on opinions about marital surname change among unmarried university women, net of other likely predictors of their opinions.

I would suggest the following research projects to assess how adopting a husband's surname affects a man's feelings about his wife's commitment to the union and how

adopting the patrilineal name affects patrilineal grandparental investment. In general, an honest signal of commitment needs to be costly to be credible or reliable (Nesse, 2001). Giving up one's maiden name, which undoubtedly serves as a lineage and cultural identifier and a symbolic link to one's natal family, is costly if the birth surname is an important symbol to the bride and her kin. It would be interesting to examine whether there are differences in the perceptions and feelings of husbands and patrilineal grandparents toward wives who have retained their own names versus taken patrilineal surnames upon marriage. Variation in the symbolic value of the bride's maiden name is likely to reflect cultural identity, brand identity for professional and creative career women, and social status of the natal family. Thus, the greater the symbolic value the greater the value of taking the patrilineal surname as an act of commitment. I would also suggest that a study of material and time investment in children by putative fathers and paternal grandparents, as a function of whether the mother had retained her own name or adopted that of the patriclan, might shed light on the effectiveness of marital surnamesaking in recruiting investment from fathers and paternal grandparents.

Does surnaming a baby after a man who is not the father *actually* fool the man's relatives into thinking the baby is his? At least for these participants, there would seem to be evidence in favour of the proposition that women give up their birth surnames in the hopes of currying favour with their in-laws. The question remains as to why in-law support would depend on such name change: are in-laws being manipulated by the name change into thinking that children produced by their daughter-in-law are their son's genetic offspring, in a greater set of circumstances than they otherwise would. Or are they perhaps receiving a status benefit from having their daughter-in-law and the children she produces bear their surname? A possible test of the former reason, would consist of showing photos of (actual) genetic children and parents, while manipulating across conditions the parents' surnames: in condition (I)(a) the 'father' would have a different surname from the mother and child, in condition (I)(b) the individuals in the same pictures would have the same name: these manipulations would be repeated in condition (II)(a) (different name condition) and (II)(b) (same name condition), except that children's pictures would not be paired with those of their genetic fathers. Subjects would then be asked to pair pictures of fathers or putative fathers with their children: If subjects judge fewer children to have as their genetic fathers those presented in (II)(a) than in (I)(b), this would constitute *some* evidence that subjects tend to associate paternity with same surname.

The survey of undergraduate women's views about marriage and marital surname may be criticized for not reflecting the views of women actually marrying. However, undergraduates are at that lifestage when courtship and thoughts of marriage are prominent, and university educated women are more likely to retain their birth names than other women (Goldin & Shim, 2004; Hoffnung, 2006; see also Johnson & Scheuble,

1995, 2005). Repeating my survey with actual brides-to-be, or at least with women closer to the average age at which women marry, would help show whether the process of negotiating an actual marriage changes women's stated attitudes towards surname change. Any differences in attitude could represent the influence of male desires concerning surname change. Whether attitudes of women are related to their fiancés' resource potential would shed (further) light on whether this is a 'true' factor in women's marital surname change decisions. While the current survey may tap what women ideally want, because it asks for attitudes unlikely to yet be affected by 'interference' from male partners, a further study as just described may tap what women want when actually faced with marriage and/or what women would give up in terms of birth surname in order to marry men of different levels of resource potential. Such repetition of the survey would also allow for testing of the hypothesis that women opposing resumption of birth surnames at will by married women (due to the 'dilution' of the signalling power of semi-irrevocable (*e.g.*, legal) marital surname change) should show greater approval of marital surname change: women who have actually considered name options at marriage may simply be the only group aware that the choice to either legally change surname or to adopt/assume (and then be able to 'unadopt'/'unassume', at will) exists. To my knowledge, there is no evidence that women are aware (or unaware) of these options available to them by law before they actually face the decision at marriage.

My acquisition and analyses of the Hawaiian marriage registration data provided a complementary opportunity to discover the incidence and predictors of actual surname change at marriage. To my knowledge, Hawaii is the only U.S. or Canadian jurisdiction which requires brides to state their future surname at the time of marriage. The brides in this data set were older than the undergraduates I had surveyed, and were therefore likely to have established careers and even, in some cases, children from prior unions; unfortunately information regarding such bride traits was not available. I had anticipated that older brides would be more likely to retain their surnames, and indeed there was a significant linear trend with age, replicating prior studies (Goldin & Shim, 2004; Hoffnung, 2006; Johnson & Scheuble, 1995; see also Scheuble & Johnson, 1993, 2005; Stafford & Kline, 1996).

Hawaii is one of a growing number of marriage ceremony destinations for people from the U.S. mainland, Canada and elsewhere. I anticipated that brides from various U.S. states would vary in the incidence of surname retention because of variations in women's economic status, urban versus rural residence, and regional traditions. Information on these matters was limited in the Hawaiian registries, but I was able to test whether the state-level average income of women and men predicted surname choice, and found that average female income was a positive and significant predictor of surname retention. Although there was a marked difference in the average income of men and women for these states, the difference was not a significant predictor. It would be ideal if marriage registration for

Hawaii and elsewhere included information about the material and family circumstances of brides and grooms.

The principal novel finding in this research concerns the relevance of attitudes toward (future) in-laws in the determination of attitudes toward marital surname change or retention.

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APPENDICES

**APPENDIX A:
SURVEY ENTITLED “Marriage: Hopes Plans and Attitudes”**

Marriage: Hopes, Plans and Attitudes

This is a survey of people’s thoughts and wishes about forming marital and marital-like (“commonlaw”) relationships. But first, please answer a few questions about yourself.

Your age (in years): _____

Number of older sisters: _____

Number of older brothers: _____

Number of younger sisters: _____

Number of younger brothers: _____

Your current relationship status (tick all that apply):

- married & co-residing
- living with a fiancé
- separated
- engaged, not co-residing
- dating, but not exclusively
- other (please explain: _____)
- living with a commonlaw union partner
- living with boyfriend / girlfriend
- divorced
- dating one person exclusively
- not dating

Where were you born? (country) _____

If you have a romantic partner, where was he/she born? (country) _____

What would you say is your ethnic affiliation/ethnicity? _____

What is your religious affiliation? _____

How often do you attend religious services? (tick one)

- weekly or more often
- monthly
- once or twice a year
- never or almost never

Do you plan on pursuing further education after your Bachelor’s degree? (circle one)

Yes No

If yes, please indicate what these further studies will be: _____

(questions about yourself, continued on next)

What career do you desire? (place a tick to indicate choice)

And if you have a romantic partner, what is his or her career choice?

Career:	Your choice?	Partner's choice?
Clinical Psychologist		
Counselor / Therapist		
Medical Doctor		
Dentist		
Nurse		
OT / PT		
Other Health Care		
Homemaker / Stay-at-home Parent		
Human Resources		
Journalist		
Skilled Labourer		
Social Work		
Clergy		
Teacher		
Professor / Researcher		
Tradesperson		
IT Professional		
Law		
Salesperson		
Accountant		
Artist / Designer		
Hair Stylist / Makeup Artist		
Other (please specify)		

SECTION 1:

Please answer the following questions about your hopes and plans with respect to marriage or commonlaw union, if you plan to enter one (if not, please skip this section, and go on to SECTION 2, beginning of next page). If you are already married or living commonlaw, please answer with respect to what you *actually* did.

Which would you prefer (tick one): a registered marriage a commonlaw union

If you prefer a registered marriage (if not, please skip to next question):

Where would you like the wedding to take place? (e.g. a church, home, etc.)

How many guests would you like to invite for the ceremony and associated celebration? _____

Would you prefer that the wedding be (tick one): formal informal

Would you prefer that the wedding be (tick one): traditional non-traditional

If you prefer a commonlaw marriage (if not, please skip to next question), do you want a special ceremony to celebrate the relationship?

(Please indicate your agreement or disagreement with this statement by circling one number on the 6-point scale, where 1 indicates “definitely not” and 6 indicates “definitely yes”)

Definitely not 1 2 3 4 5 6 Definitely yes

At what age would you like to marry or form a commonlaw union? _____ (years)

Where would you like to live? (tick one)

<input type="checkbox"/> same city / town as my parents	city / town of my partner's parents
<input type="checkbox"/> wherever my partner is employed	wherever I am employed
<input type="checkbox"/> in a different city/town	other specify: _____)

Do you have any children? (circle one) **Yes** **No**

If yes, please list them by age and sex _____

Ideally, how many children do you want to have? (enter a number for each)

_____ **sons** and _____ **daughters**

If you have no children now but want / intend to, at what age would you like to have your first? _____ years (enter a number)

SECTION 2:**In-laws and Parents****General Issues**

Please indicate your agreement or disagreement with each of the following statements by circling one number on the 6-point scale, where 1 indicates “strongly disagree” and 6 indicates “strongly agree”.

	Strongly disagree				Strongly agree	
Marriage is forever.	1	2	3	4	5	6
A woman should have the right to decide whether to terminate her pregnancy.	1	2	3	4	5	6
A man should have the right to a paternity test before he's obliged to pay child support.	1	2	3	4	5	6
It is best for a newborn child if its mother takes a long maternity leave from work.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Marriages tend to work best when the man earns more money than his wife.	1	2	3	4	5	6
It is better to have had sexual experience with one or more other partners before one marries.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I would leave my partner if he / she hit me.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I would leave my partner if he / she had sex with someone else while married to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Preferred characteristics of your marital partner

Please indicate how important you would consider each of the following characteristics in choosing the person that you would marry or form a commonlaw union with, by circling one number on the 6-point scale, where 1 indicates “not at all important” and 6 indicates “extremely important”.

	Not at all important				Extremely important	
Pleasant disposition	1	2	3	4	5	6
Sociable & likes lots of friends	1	2	3	4	5	6
Similar educational background to mine	1	2	3	4	5	6
Height relative to mine	1	2	3	4	5	6

Financial prospects	1	2	3	4	5	6
Similar cultural/ethnic background to mine	1	2	3	4	5	6
Dependability	1	2	3	4	5	6
Desire for children	1	2	3	4	5	6
Social status	1	2	3	4	5	6
Appearance	1	2	3	4	5	6
Same religious background as me	1	2	3	4	5	6
Ambition & willingness to work hard	1	2	3	4	5	6
Similar political views to mine	1	2	3	4	5	6
Mutual attraction - love	1	2	3	4	5	6
Health	1	2	3	4	5	6
Intelligence	1	2	3	4	5	6
Athletic and recreation interests	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all important			Extremely important		

Surnames After Marriage

One issue on which opinions vary is whether a woman should take her husband's or commonlaw partner's last name (surname). Please indicate your agreement or disagreement with each of the following statements by circling one number on the 6-point scale, where 1 indicates "strongly disagree" and 6 indicates "strongly agree".

	Strongly disagree				Strongly agree	
A wife who changes her name to that of her husband should stick to that change (unless she gets divorced).	1	2	3	4	5	6
In general, women should retain their birth names.	1	2	3	4	5	6
It's better for children if their parents use the same last name.	1	2	3	4	5	6
A married couple's unity is symbolized and displayed to others by a shared last name.	1	2	3	4	5	6

The equality of marriage partners is symbolized and displayed to others by the wife’s retaining her birth name.	1	2	3	4	5	6
If a woman has been married before and her last name is that of her former partner, it is best if she takes her new partner’s surname.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Loss of a portion of one’s personal Identity occurs with surname change.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I feel it’s OK for a commonlaw wife to use her partner’s last name socially, but not for legal purposes.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Loss of cultural/ethnic identity occurs with surname change.	1	2	3	4	5	6
It is best for children if both parents keep their surnames.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Hyphenating the wife’s birth name and her husband’s surname is a good solution to the problem.	1	2	3	4	5	6
If the “hyphenation solution” is adopted, both the man and the woman should use the hyphenated name.	1	2	3	4	5	6
The “hyphenation solution” is less suitable for couples who plan to have children than for those who do not.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Simply keeping her birth name is a better solution for a professional woman than hyphenation.	1	2	3	4	5	6
A woman who changes her name to that of a spouse should be able to change back at any time.	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Strongly disagree					Strongly agree

In-laws

Another aspect of marriage that is often overlooked is your relationship with your new relatives (your in-laws). Please indicate your agreement or disagreement with each of the following statements by circling one number on the 6-point scale, where 1 indicates “strongly disagree” and 6 indicates “strongly agree”.

	Strongly disagree					Strongly agree
In-laws are a big reason why the divorce rate is so high.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I want my in-laws to be involved with my children.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I would expect my in-laws to include my children in their wills.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I would expect my in-laws to help me and my partner financially, if needed.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Marriages typically work best if you don't live too close to your in-laws.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Your parents

Their countries of birth:

- Mother's Country of Birth: _____
- Mother's Mother's Country of Birth: _____
- Mother's Father's Country of Birth: _____
- Father's Country of Birth: _____
- Father's Mother's Country of Birth: _____
- Father's Father's Country of Birth: _____

For how many years, from birth until now, have you lived in the same home with:

- your birth mother _____ (years) your birth father _____ (years)
- a stepmother _____ (years) a stepfather _____ (years)
- adoptive parent(s) _____ (years)
- other (please specify relationship) _____ for _____ years

How close, emotionally, are you to the following people? Please indicate how close, by circling one number on the 6-point scale, where 1 indicates “not at all close”, 6 indicates “very close”, and X indicates “not applicable”.

	Not at all close						Very close	not applicable
Mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	
Father	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	
Stepmother	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	
Stepfather	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	
Adoptive mother	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	
Adoptive father	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	

Are your parents both alive? (circle one) **Yes No**

If so, are they marriage or commonlaw partners today? (circle one) **Yes No**

Does or did your mother take your father’s surname as her own? (circle one) **Yes No**

If not, did she sometimes use his surname? (circle one) **Yes No**

If yes, under what circumstances? (tick any that apply)

in family contexts

in social contexts with close friends

when meeting teachers, doctors or others concerned with her child(ren)

when meeting his work colleagues

in any legal context like driver’s licence, health card, etc.

other (please specify) _____

Is your mother employed? (please tick) Yes No Not applicable or don’t know

Is your father employed? (please tick) Yes No Not applicable or don’t know

How many years of formal education has your mother? ____ (years) father? __ (years)

Do you generally agree with your mother on religious issues? (circle one) **Yes No**
with your father? (circle one) **Yes No**

Do you generally agree with your mother on marriage issues? (circle one) **Yes No**
with your father? (circle one) **Yes No**

Please place a tick beside the occupational areas of your mother & father. If you have a romantic partner, please also indicate his or her parents' occupational areas.

Career:	Your Mother	Your Father	Partner's Mother	Partner's Father
Clinical Psychologist				
Counselor / Therapist				
Medical Doctor				
Dentist				
Nurse				
OT / PT				
Other Health Care				
Homemaker / Stay-at-home Parent				
Human Resources				
Journalist				
Skilled Labourer				
Social Work				
Clergy				
Teacher				
Professor / Researcher				
Tradesperson				
IT Professional				
Law				
Salesperson				
Accountant				
Artist / Designer				
Hair Stylist / Makeup Artist				
Other (please specify)				

How often do you see or talk to your parent(s)? (Please tick the closest approximation for each parent.)

	Mother	Father
Daily or almost every day		
Weekly		
Monthly		
Less frequently, but at holidays, birthdays, etc.		
Rarely		
Less than once a year		
Not applicable (e.g. because parent is deceased)		

Thank you for participating in my research!

**APPENDIX B:
CONSENT FORM**



Department of Psychology, Neuroscience & Behaviour

1280 Main St. W., Hamilton, ON L8S 4K1
Phone: 905-525-9140, Ext. 23000
Fax: 905-529-6225
E-mail: psych@mcmaster.ca
<http://www.mcmaster.ca/psychology>

Document Version date: 29 February 2008

Letter of Information and Consent Form in respect of a research study

Title of Study: "Marriage: Hopes Plans and Attitudes"

Investigator: Melanie MacEacheron, Psychology Building Room 423, ext. 24867.

Principal Investigators/Supervisors:

Dr. Margo Wilson, Dr. Martin Daly
Department of Psychology, Neuroscience & Behaviour
McMaster University
905-525-9140 ext. 23033 and 23018 (respectively)
wilson@mcmaster.ca

Purpose of the Study

There are many considerations involved in getting married or forming a commonlaw union. (Here, we'll say that a commonlaw union happens when you and your romantic partner live together as marital-like partners.) Some considerations are whether to have a special ceremony, whom to invite, and where to live. The purpose of this study is to discover the variation in people's hopes, plans and attitudes about marriage.

Procedures involved in the Research

In this experiment, you will be completing a 45-minute survey concerning hopes, plans and attitudes you may have surrounding marriage. It is a confidential survey for female participants about your views on a range of issues to do with relationships and marriage, including in-laws, types of ceremonies, and children, as well as your family background and career hopes. It should take about 45 minutes to complete. You would be seated in a classroom, well-spaced from your nearest neighbour.

You will be asked to rate how important some choices about marriage/commonlaw union are to you as well as some questions about yourself (for example, the number of brothers and sisters you have) and about your family (for example, how close you are to parents).

This survey will be done as a confidential “paper-and-pencil” questionnaire. Completing the survey should be straightforward with instructions of what to do throughout the questionnaire, but if you have any questions please feel free to ask the researcher. There are no right or wrong answers.

Potential Harms, Risks or Discomforts:

The survey may raise issues that are a sore point for you and may therefore cause some anxiety. You may also worry about how others will react to your responses. Keep in mind, however, that your participation would be confidential and that you are free to both skip questions you would prefer not to answer or withdraw from the study entirely if you so wish. The risk of anxiety and worry is minor, and similar to that experienced in everyday life. Any negative feelings you may have should be no greater than what you would feel when anyone asked you similar questions that are frequent topics of conversation.

Payment or Reimbursement:

In exchange for participating you would receive one course credit toward Psychology IAA3.

Potential Benefits

The research would not benefit you directly, except that participating in a survey may teach you about surveys. The research will benefit the scientific community by increasing our understanding about people’s views regarding a number of issues related to marriage and relationships.

Confidentiality:

Your responses will be treated confidentially. Survey sessions will consist of a small number of participants in a classroom designed to hold many more students: no one should be able to see how your questions were answered. You would not place your name or student number anywhere on the survey. As you left, you would place the surveys in a large box with others. The findings will only be available as summary statistics: no individual survey information will be available to anyone. Surveys will be stored securely in a locked filing cabinet in a locked room in the Psychology Building. This room is situated behind a security door to the area. Once the data have been transferred to a password-protected computer file the data will be stored on a CD in a locked file drawer. Within two years of completing the study, I will shred completed surveys.

Participation:

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You are free to withdraw at any point without consequence. In cases of withdrawal, any data you have provided will be

destroyed unless you indicate otherwise. If you decide to stop participating, there will be no consequences to you. If you do not want to answer some of the questions you do not have to, but you can still be in the study.

Information About the Study Results:

All data will be summarized and available to you at the end of this term. Please contact me then if you would like to receive it.

Information about Participating as a Study Subject:

If you have questions or require more information about the study itself, please contact me, or Dr. Margo Wilson or Dr. Martin Daly. When you leave, the researcher will give you a credit slip and a debriefing letter. I will make sure that you receive full credit for participating, but if you have any concerns about your credit please contact Ann Hollingshead, Academic Advisor (hollings@mcmaster.ca).

This study has been reviewed and approved by the McMaster Research Ethics Board. If you have concerns or questions about your rights as a participant or about the way the study is conducted, you may contact:

McMaster Research Ethics Board Secretariat
 Telephone: (905) 525-9140 ext. 23142
 c/o Office of Research Services
 E-mail: ethicsoffice@mcmaster.ca

CONSENT

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by Melanie MacEacheron, of McMaster University. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about my involvement in this study, and to receive any additional details I wanted to know about the study. I understand that I may withdraw from the study at any time, if I choose to do so, and I agree to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

Name of Participant

Date

**APPENDIX C:
DEBRIEFING LETTER**



Department of Psychology, Neuroscience & Behaviour

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Debriefing information

Title of Study: “Marriage: Hopes Plans and Attitudes”

Researcher: Melanie MacEacheron, ext. 24867.

You have just participated in a survey of people’s hopes, plans and attitudes about marriage. There have been many studies of people’s preferences for a partner, but very few studies about some other aspects of marriage including a woman taking her husband’s name, and the imagined relationships with one’s new in-laws. The information from my survey will provide insights about variations in women’s views on these two issues. This is a correlational study: answers from the survey will be analyzed to see if there are patterns in the correlations.

Some would say that women sever a significant symbol of their link with their natal families by assuming their partner's name at marriage. It is thought that factors such as age, professional status, and closeness to one’s natal family may play roles in the decision to assume, or not assume, a partner’s name.

If you would like to find out the summary findings of this survey, please call me after April 2008. If you would like more information about some of the themes in the survey, I suggest the following references:

Blakemore, J.E.O., Lawton, C.A., & Vartanian, L.R. (2005). I Can’t Wait to Get Married: Gender Differences in Drive to Marry. *Sex Roles*, 53, 327-335.

Boxer, D. & Gritsenko E. (2005) Women and surnames across cultures: reconstituting identity in marriage. *Women and Language*, 28 (2), 1 September 2005.

Thank you very much for your participation!

Melanie MacEacheron, MSc. candidate