Gender role attitudes and expectations for marriage

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Journal of Research on Women and Gender Volume 5, 71-82 © The Author(s) 2014, 2015

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Abstract

Changing gender roles are impacting how employment and household/childcare responsibilities are shared within a marriage. With evolving gender roles, the potential benefits and disadvantages of marriage, related to marital quality/satisfaction, may be changing for both women and men (Amato, Johnson, Booth, & Rogers, 2003; Kurdek, 2005). To further explore the issue of gender roles and changing perspectives on marriage, students (106 females, 38 males) at a public university in Texas participated in an online Qualtrics survey assessing attitudes towards egalitarian/traditional marriage (adapted from Deutsch, Kokot, & Binder, 2007), child-rearing responsibilities (adapted from Gere and Helwig, 2012), traditional/transcendent gender roles (Baber & Tucker, 2006), and hostile/benevolent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 2001).

Participants rated an egalitarian marriage as most likely; 51% of participants rated both spouses working full-time/dividing childcare equally as "likely"/"very likely." Although men, compared to women, were more likely to agree with working full-time while their partner assumed primary childcare/household responsibilities (χ^2 =19.01, p<.00l), 27% of the men rated this "very unlikely." For the companion item, women were more likely than men to agree with taking time off work for childcare while their partner worked full-time, (χ^2 =15.86, p<.002), with 15% of the women rating this "very unlikely" (although 16% rated it "very likely"). Females agreed more than males (t=-2.03, t<-0.05) with traditional childcare attitudes; traditional childcare attitudes correlated positively with both hostile (t=.37, t<-0.01) and benevolent (t=.39, t<-0.01) sexism but negatively with gender transcendence (t=-.29, t=.001). As the institution of marriage changes in the U.S., moving away from "his" and "hers" marriages to more egalitarian marriages, the gender discrepancy in marital satisfaction is likely to continue decreasing, with more flexibility in marital styles and options continuing to increase.

Keywords

gender, gender roles, marriage, childcare, attitudes, expectations

raditional marriage, with the man as breadwinner and the woman as housework and childcare provider, has been changing as gender roles evolve (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; Rogers & Amato, 2000). These changing gender and marital roles may impact the quality of and satisfaction with marriage. As reviewed below,

men's greater participation in housework and childcare may be related to higher marital satisfaction, at least for women.

Gender comparisons related to marital attitudes are important to consider. Women have been found to hold more egalitarian, less sexist attitudes than men (Baber & Tucker, 2006; Glick & Fiske, 2001). How-

ever, Blakemore, Lawton, and Vartanian (2005) found that although women in their Midwestern college student sample had more feminist attitudes than men, they still desired marriage more than did men. The Blakemore et al. research, though, did not examine attitudes towards traditional versus egalitarian marriages.

Attitudes towards gendered martial roles are likely tied to broader gender role attitudes. Among women in the Blakemore et al. (2005) sample, those with more conservative attitudes were more likely to indicate that they would change their last name and use the "Mrs." title. Hartwell, Erchull, and Liss (2014), in two studies with women only, reported that feminist women, compared to women who identified as non-feminists, were less likely to desire marriage and children.

The purpose here is to consider changing gender roles and marriage. Previous research is considered related to evolving employment and household/childcare responsibilities within marriage as well as how these roles affect marital quality and satisfaction. In addition, the relation among sexism and gender role measures and college women's and men's expectations for future types of marriage is examined in a sample of Central Texas college students.

Literature Review

Gender Roles: Employment and Housework/Childcare Performance

Performance of housework is complex and is tied to many factors including number of hours of employment per week by each spouse. Based on 2012 statistics from the Bureau of Labor Statistics (2013a), 64.4% of men over 16 were employed com-

pared to 53.1% of women. In terms of hours per week worked, the average hours worked for men was 40.8, and 43.7 for those usually working full-time; comparable hours for women were 35.8 and 40.9, respectively (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2013b).

These differences in hours employed may be partially due to traditional role expectations that men are more responsible for the family income while women are more responsible for housework and childcare. Negative consequences for women include "second shift" responsibilities (Hochschild, 1989), being employed full-time and still coming home to primary childcare/house-hold responsibilities, and a "wage gap" or "wage penalty" (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010) in which women's median full-time salary was 81% of men's 2010 median salary (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2012).

In their review of work/family research in the first decade of this century, Bianchi and Milkie (2010) reported that overall the gender gap related to housework and child-care was decreasing. For housework, the gap narrowed because women decreased their hours while men increased their hours of housework. For childcare, the lesser differential between men and women was primarily due to men's increased involvement with their children. Even so, mothers' childcare involvement remained substantially longer than fathers', perhaps partially due to mothers' unwillingness to relinquish control in the childcare area.

Often gendered expectations in marriage can be very subtle, as Walzer (1996) points out in her qualitative research related to mothers' and fathers' planning for, worry about, and assuming responsibility for labor management related to the baby. Among the couples she interviewed, Walzer found that women were more involved in invisible mental work such as planning activities

like reading "what to expect" books during pregnancy, and in worrying, not only about the baby's well-being but also about being a good mother. Also, women tended to feel ultimately responsible for the baby's well-being. A father may assume that the mother is responsible unless she specifically asks for help and is appreciated for giving that help; the father does not have to ask for help nor for permission to spend time outside of the house because the mother is primarily responsible.

Gender Roles and Marital Well-being

Older research (Bernard, 1982; Fowers, 1991) implied that in the U.S. men benefitted more from marriage than women. More recent research suggests that marital quality/satisfaction as a function of gender is changing (Amato, Johnson, Booth, & Rogers, 2003; Kurdek, 2005). Comparing a 1980 national sample to a 2000 sample, Amato et al. (2003) reported that husbands' greater participation in housework was related to wives' increased marital quality but to a decline in husbands' marital quality. Although women in the 2000 sample still reported more divorce proneness and less happiness than men, the gender difference had decreased compared to the earlier sample. Similarly, Stevens and colleagues (Stevens, Kiger, & Riley, 2001), based on a sample of 156 dual-earning couples (married and cohabitating), found that for women their partner's housework was related to housework satisfaction which, in turn, predicted marital satisfaction. For men, though, their own housework hours negatively predicted housework arrangement satisfaction which then was related to marital satisfaction.

The well-being of married men and women is also related to the context of marriage within a society. Hopcroft and McLaughlin (2012) reported that in societies with high gender equity, children increase women's depression, whereas children may decrease women's depression in societies with lower gender equity and fewer employment opportunities for women. Others (Vanassche, Swicegood, & Matthijs, 2013) have also reported that the effect of marriage and children on well-being varies depending on the cultural context of the marital and family roles. For example, how having a young child affects men's happiness was related to the degree of appreciation of parenthood in the society. On the other hand, the presence of older children was associated with decreased happiness for men as well as women, regardless of the society's appreciation of parenting.

Present Study: Gender Roles and Marital Attitudes

How do college students today perceive desirable roles in marriage? Deutsch, Kokot, and Binder (2007) asked women attending a selective New England college to indicate the likelihood of different kinds of egalitarian and non-egalitarian families in their future lives. These women rated two of the three egalitarian scenarios as most likely.

The current study was designed to replicate and extend this research, using a sample that included both women and men who were from a Central Texas public university, rather than from a selective liberal arts college in New England. In addition, frequently used assessments of sexism and gender role attitudes were given to see how they related to specific preferences for family type. Also, the Deutsch et al. (2007) research did not include options for being single, with and without children, so these options were included as well. Current attitudes were pre-

dicted to reflect both traditional and egalitarian views related to marriage, with gendered attitudes towards marriage and childcare related to broader measures of sexism and traditional gender role attitudes.

Method

Participants

A convenience sample of Texas State students (106 females, 38 males) from a teaching theater section of Psychology of Human Sexuality class completed an online Qualtrics survey as an extra credit option during the Fall 2013 semester. Over 90% of the sample was 25 years of age or younger (92%) and indicated that their socioeconomic status was lower-middle, middle, or upper-middle class (95%). Regarding ethnicity, 35% were Hispanic, 50% Caucasian, 10% Black/African-American, and 1% Asian, with 4% identifying with a different ethnicity.

Materials and Procedure

Participants completed an online Qualtrics survey at their leisure. The survey contained demographic items, nine items assessing attitudes toward egalitarian/traditional marriage (adapted from Deutsch et al., 2007), nine items assessing gendered attitudes related to childrearing responsibilities (adapted from Gere & Helwig, 2012), the 13-item Social Roles Questionnaire (Baber & Tucker, 2006), and the 22-item Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 2001). For consistency, all items except the attitudes toward egalitarian/traditional marriage were rated using a five-point scale that ranged from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree"; the marriage option items used end points of "very unlikely" to "very likely."

The section of the questionnaire measuring attitudes towards egalitarian/traditional marriage contained items from Deutsch, et al. (2007) assessing likelihood of a home-centered egalitarian scenario ("My partner and I will both scale back on our work [e.g., work part-time, take time off] while raising children. We will equally divide household tasks and childcare."), a balanced egalitarian scenario (both work full-time, both involved in housework/childcare), a career/job-centered egalitarian scenario (relying on outside help with housework/childcare), and three unequal division of labor scenarios. In addition, three items were added for the possibilities of marrying but not having children, having children and not marrying, and neither marrying nor having children.

Four of the nine items assessing childrearing responsibilities were taken from Gere and Helwig (2012); three were added to operationalize Walzer's (1996) mental labor and worry about the child ("It is just natural for a mother to worry more about children than a father."); and two more were added related to jobs/financial responsibility ("Whichever parent has the least income should quit his or her job to stay home with infants and young children."). Six of these nine items assessed egalitarian attitudes ("If the mother and father both work full-time, the father should be as responsible as the mother for scheduling babysitters and making doctor's appointments"; Cronbach's alpha = .63) while three items assessed traditional childrearing values ("The wife should have primary responsibility for taking care of the home and children"; Cronbach's alpha = .64).

The Social Roles Questionnaire (Baber & Tucker, 2006) contains five items measuring gender transcendent attitudes ("People should be treated the same regardless of their sex"; Cronbach's alpha = .71), and

eight items assessing gender-linked or traditional attitudes ("Girls should be protected and watched over more than boys"; Cronbach's alpha = .78). The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 2001) measures both hostile ("Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.") and benevolent ("In a disaster, women ought to be rescued before men.") sexism; Cronbach's alphas were .91 and .88, respectively.

Results

Table 1 shows frequencies of likelihood of future types of marriage/role sharing options by sex and for all participants. Participants rated the balanced egalitarian marriage as most likely; 51% of participants rated both spouses working full-time/dividing childcare equally as "likely"/"very likely." The two items considered most unlikely were the items involving not marrying/having a partner with or without children; three quarters of the sample rated these options as "very unlikely," with approximately ten percent additionally rating these items as "unlikely."

Although women were more likely than men to agree with taking time off or working part-time when children were young while their partner worked full-time ($\chi^2=11.22$, p<.0l), 33% of the women rated this "very unlikely" or "unlikely" (although 42% rated it "very likely" or "likely"). For the companion item, men, compared to women, were more likely to agree with working full-time while their partner assumed primary childcare/household responsibilities ($\chi^2=13.36$, p<.00l); however, 46% of the men (and 76% of the women) rated this item as "very unlikely" or "unlikely." Figures 1 and 2 illustrate these results. No significant gender comparisons were found on the frequencies for any of the other marriage options.

Males and females were compared on benevolent sexism, hostile sexism, gender transcendent attitudes, gender linked attitudes, traditional childcare attitudes, and egalitarian childcare attitudes. Only one of the six t-tests were significant; females agreed more than males, t (140) = -2.03, p<.05, Cohen's d = -0.39, with traditional childcare attitudes. Correlation coefficients were computed among these six variables as well and are shown in Table 2.

Forward regressions were also performed on the nine ratings of likelihood of future marriage/role sharing options with six dependent variables (benevolent sexism, hostile sexism, gender transcendent attitudes, gender linked attitudes, traditional childrearing attitudes, and egalitarian childrearing attitudes). Six of these nine models had significant predictors. Related statistics are shown in Table 3.

Discussion

Clearly the majority of the students in the present survey intend to marry or have a partner, with approximately 85% indicating that the options without marrying/having a partner were "unlikely" or "very unlikely." Similarly, Copen, Daniels, Vespa, and Mosher (2012), based on 2006-2010 data from the National Survey of Family Growth, reported that 84% of their sample of women (78% of men) had experienced a first marriage by age 44. Although more people were cohabitating and marrying later compared to 1982 data, the clear majority had married at least once by 44 years of age.

Even though marriage is still important to many, the nature of marriage is changing, becoming more inclusive with less specified gender roles. Slightly over half of the sample indicated that a balanced egalitarian mar-

Table 1 Frequency of Participants' Likelihood for Future Marriage/Role Sharing Items

		Freq	uency of Ratings (%)	χ^2
Marriage Items	Participants	Very Unlikely/ Unlikely	Neutral	Very Likely/ Likely	
My partner and I will both scale back	Women	39 (37%)	31 (30%)	35 (33%)	1.25
on our work (e.g., work part-time, take time off) while raising children. We	Men	10 (27%)	13 (35%)	14 (38%)	
will equally divide household tasks and childcare.	Both	49 (35%)	44 (31%)	49 (35%)	
My partner and I will work full-time	Women	21 (20%)	28 (27%)	56 (53%)	1.26
while raising children. We will try to arrange our schedules to allow us to	Men	10 (27%)	11 (30%)	16 (43%)	
balance work with household tasks and childcare, which we will divide equally.	Both	31 (22%)	39 (28%)	72 (51%)	
My partner and I will work full-time while raising children; we will rely on hired outside help for household tasks and childcare. My partner and I will equally divide the remaining household tasks and childcare.	Women	69 (66%)	14 (14%)	21 (20%)	1.83
	Men	24 (65%)	8 (22%)	5 (14%)	
	Both	93 (66%)	22 (16%)	26 (18%)	
My partner and I will work full-time while raising children, but I will likely assume the majority of household tasks and childcare.	Women	44 (43%)	24 (23%)	35 (34%)	2.13
	Men	20 (54%)	9 (24%)	8 (22%)	
	Both	64 (46%)	33 (24%)	43 (31%)	
will take time off from work or work part- ime (while my partner works full-time)	Women	35 (33%)	26 (25%)	44 (42%)	11.22*
vhen my children are young; I will assume	Men	23 (64%)	7 (19%)	6 (17%)	
the majority of household responsibilities.	Both	58 (41%)	33 (23%)	50 (36%)	
I will work full-time while raising children, while my partner assumes the majority of household tasks and childcare.	Women	80 (76%)	18 (17%)	7 (7%)	13. 36**
	Men	17 (46%)	11 (30%)	9 (24%)	
	Both	97 (68%)	29 (20%)	16 (11%)	
will marry/have a partner, but I will not nave children.	Women	79 (76%)	15 (14%)	10 (10%)	3.56
avo omitiron.	Men	24 (65%)	5 (14%)	8 (22%)	
	Both	103 (73%)	20 (14%)	18 (13%)	

	I will have children but will not marry/have a partner	Women	87 (85%)	12 (12%)	4 (4%)	1.28
	a partifol	Men	33 (89%)	2 (5%)	2 (5%)	
		Both	120 (86%)	14 (10%)	6 (4%)	
	I will not marry/have a partner or have children.	Women	93 (89%)	8 (8%)	4 (4%)	4.40
		Men	29 (78%)	3 (8%)	5 (14%)	
		Both	122 (86%)	11 (8%)	9 (6%)	

Note: Because of small cell sizes in chi square analyses, the "very unlikely" and "unlikely" categories were combined as were the "likely" and "very likely" categories.

riage, involving both individuals employed full-time and sharing housework/childcare, was likely or very likely for them. Deutsch et al. (2007) also reported that their sample of women from an elite school rated two of the egalitarian options as more likely than other scenarios. These data considered together suggest that college women from diverse samples are moving toward a more egalitarian perspective.

However, over 40% of the women indicated it was likely or very likely that they work part-time or take time off work when children were young. Since 46% of the men rated working full-time while their partner assumed household responsibilities as very unlikely or unlikely, one might wonder about the potential for marital conflict related to some women planning to take time off and, in some cases, men being unwilling to assume full wage-earning responsibility.

Regardless, clearly some strong remnants of traditional values are present in this sample. Traditional assumptions about childcare predicted the likelihood of the second shift (working full-time and still assuming childcare responsibilities) and taking time off or working part-time when children were

young. Gender transcendence negatively predicted the option of working full-time while one's partner held primary household responsibilities. Additionally, benevolent sexism was negatively related to marrying but not having children and positively related to traditional childcare attitudes as well as to the gender linked traditional role items. These results are in accord with Deutsch et al.'s (2007) finding that priority given to children's needs over career requirements was negatively related to several egalitarian scenarios in their sample of women from a selective college.

Although one impression from such results could be that career-oriented women do not value children as highly as less career-oriented women, we do not typically make such assumptions about men and their careers. Furthermore, in the current sample egalitarian childcare attitudes predicted the likelihood of the child-centered egalitarian option, both parents cutting back on work and rearing children, suggesting that caring for children can be incorporated into either traditional or egalitarian childcare attitudes.

The choices college students make as they move into the adulthood roles of wage

^{*} $p \le .01$.

^{**} $p \le .001$.

Figure 1 Percentage of male/female responses on the item "I will take time off from work or work part-time) when my children are young; I will assume the majority of household responsibilities."

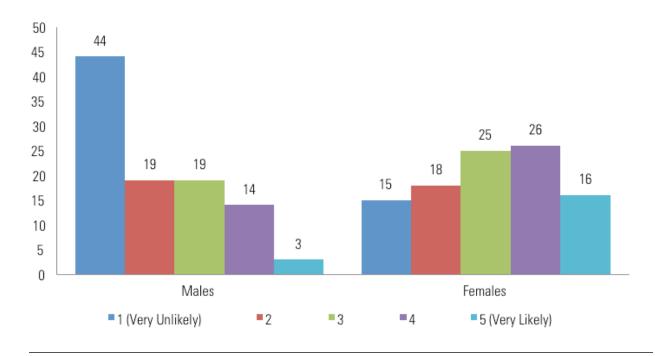


Figure 2 Percentage of male/female responses on the item "I will work full-time while raising children while my partner assumes the majority of household tasks."

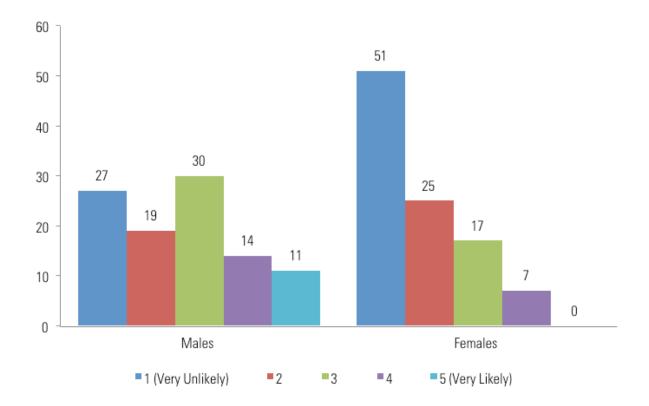


Table 2Pearson Correlations among Measures of Sexism, General Gender Role Attitudes, and Childcare Attitudes

Scale	BEN	HOS	GT	GL	TCC
Benevolent Sexism (BEN)					
Hostile Sexism (HOS)	.34***				
Gender Transcendence (GT)	28**	26**			
Gender Linked (GL)	.53***	.62***	40***		
Traditional Childcare (TCC)	.39***	.37***	29**	.52***	
Egalitarian Childcare (ECC)	12	23**	.65***	- 29**	- 17*

earners, spouses, and parents may ultimately impact their happiness. Wilkie, Ferree, and Ratcliff (1998) found that marital satisfaction was related to perceptions of fairness in the division of household labor. Moreover, one's gender roles and perceptions of equity intersect in complex ways related to re-

lationship satisfaction (Donaghue & Fallon, 2003). Particularly for those low in gender role stereotyping, perceived equity in the relationship predicted relationship satisfaction.

As gender roles change, the power distribution within a marriage may change. In the

Table 3Forward Regression Statistics for Predicting Likelihood of Six Marriage Attitude Items

Attitude Item	Adjusted r ²	Model F(df)	Predictor(s), β
Both work full-time but I assume majority of housework, childcare	.05	7.29** (1,120)	Traditional care, .24
Both scale back while raising children	.03	5.22* (1,121)	Egalitarian care, .20
Take time off or part-time, partner full-time	.15	11.42*** (2,120)	Participant sex, .31 Traditional care, .21
Work full-time, partner assumes majority of childcare	.17	13.57*** (2, 120)	Participant sex,39 Gender transcendence,21
Marry/have partner, no children	.05	7.24** (1,121)	Benevolent sexism,24
Not marry/have partner, no children $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$.04	5.42* (1,121)	Participant sex,21

past, men's earning money meant that they also had control over it (Tichenor, 2005). With women entering the labor force in greater numbers and earning higher comparative salaries, they may gain more power within relationships. However, Tichenor, based on interviews with 22 nontraditional couples in which women earned a minimum of 50% more than their husbands, noted that couples used a variety of subtle techniques to preserve men's power and breadwinner identity in the relationship.

Other societal changes may also impact gender roles within marriage. Examples include changing attitudes toward religion and increasing levels of education. Religion may impact the perceived role of women in the family and society in a variety of ways (Marshall, 2010). Also, religious beliefs and educational levels may be related to beliefs about biologically-based or divinely sanctioned gender roles; if one spouse holds beliefs related to innate gender roles, this may impact the partner and the relationship (Mirowsky & Ross, 1987). As some religious views become more liberal and as educational levels increase, men and women may move towards more egalitarian relationships. How educational levels impact marriage can be complex, though. For example, Kalmijn (2013), in a study of 25 countries in Europe, reported that in more traditional countries women with more education were less likely to be married whereas the reverse was true in more egalitarian countries.

As women and men address issues of fairness in their individual and shared family roles, discussion of disparate levels of cleanliness (how important to each is dusting, folding clothes a certain way, leaving dirty dishes in the sink) may become more common. Should the person with higher standards of cleanliness do more of it? Also, what about how much a person likes/dislikes

housecleaning? Some research (Dempsey, 2001; Kroska, 2003; Ogletree, Worthen, Turner, & Vickers, 2006; Spitze & Loscocco, 2000) has found that men like housecleaning more than do women. Should the person who has a greater liking of housecleaning do more of it? Another gender-related factor is the "wage gap" (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010). Should the person who makes more money have fewer household responsibilities, even if both are working 40-hour weeks?

These complex questions, as well as their related gendered expectations, will likely be addressed by future families. Helping individuals and couples become more aware of subtle gendered socialization influences may also be important. Even commercials portraying men's ineptitude in performance of household chores may subtlety convey the attitude that only women can correctly do these tasks (Scharrer, Kim, Lin, & Liu, 2006). Considering Walzer's (1996) mental labor, including women's greater worrying, planning, and feelings of ultimate responsibility for the baby, may also be important in helping partners address feelings of inequality related to childcare.

Limitations of the research here should be noted. The sample only included a small number of men. In addition, since the sample was a convenience sample, it may not be representative of college students at the university or in the state of Texas. Additional samples with more male representation and from additional populations that include more diversity in age and education are needed to confirm the marriage-related preferences and correlates observed here.

The data here suggest that indeed marriages are changing, and in general this is good news for women. Rather than "his" and "hers" marriages related to gendered expectations, marriages are becoming more egalitarian. Not only are these changes reflected

in the responses of students in this sample, but also in other attitudinal data as well as data regarding the roles of women and men in marriage. Although women's roles have expanded faster than men's roles, resulting in the second shift for many women as they came home after work to additional household responsibilities unequally shared, this is changing now. Communication that includes partners discussing expectations related to employment and household chores, questioning traditional assumptions, and thinking "outside the box" when problem solving may become increasingly important for the well-being of men and women in marriages of the future ■

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