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Who's Doing the Dirty Work? Development and Preliminary Validation of a Measure of Housework

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Who's Doing the Dirty Work?

Development and Preliminary Validation of a Measure of Housework

A Dissertation

Presented to

the Faculty of Social Sciences

The University of Denver

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

by

Jocelyn N. Petrella

August 2011

Advisors: Howard J. Markman, Ph.D. and Scott M. Stanley, Ph.D.

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Title: WHO'S DOING THE DIRTY WORK? DEVELOPMENT AND PRELIMINARY VALIDATION OF A MEASURE OF HOUSEWORK

Advisors: Howard J. Markman, Ph.D. and Scott M. Stanley, Ph.D.

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ABSTRACT

The present study developed a new instrument for measuring couples' attitudes and behaviors regarding housework. This study was conducted in two phases. The first phase focused on developing reliable subscales that would reflect various dimensions of housework. Phase one consisted of 199 individual participants in committed relationships who were working at least 20 hours per week and shared a single home address with their partner. Participants answered questions related to housework through an online survey. An exploratory factors analysis (EFA) revealed eight dominant factors from the housework questionnaire, labeled as: 1) Fairness, 2) Value of Housework, 3) Gender Role Attitudes, 4) Hiring Outside Help, 5) Showing Appreciation, 6) Conflict over Housework, 7) Enjoyment of Housework, and 8) Personal Standards of Housework. The second phase examined the validity of the new measure by testing a set of hypotheses while also exploring gender differences related to various dimensions of housework. Phase two consisted of 103 couple participants in which both partners were working at least 20 hours per week and shared a single home address. Participants completed an online survey, which consisted of the newly developed housework measure, as well as other questionnaires aimed at assessing overall relationship quality. Several important themes emerged from the findings. First, females' perceptions about housework are more informative about overall relationship quality than males' perceptions. Second, perceived fairness matters more than housework equality in terms of predicting overall satisfaction

with housework. Furthermore, for women, housework satisfaction matters more than fairness in predicting overall relationship satisfaction; for men, both fairness and satisfaction with the division of housework were important in predicting overall relationship quality. Third, relative resources predict housework allocations such that when the male earns more, the female does more of the housework and when the female earns more, the male does more of the housework; furthermore, partners with relatively equal earnings share the housework equally. Finally, traditional patterns are still very apparent, especially once couples have children. Implications and contributions of the present study are discussed, as well as areas for future research related to housework.

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Specific Aims

The main goal of the current study was to develop a new instrument for measuring couples' attitudes and behaviors regarding housework. In addition, I wanted to begin assessing the reliability and validity of this instrument and explore the role of gender as it relates to various dimensions of housework. In his decade-long review of the literature on housework, Coltrane (2000) explained that the most important emerging theme from his research on household labor studies is that housework is embedded in complex and shifting patterns of social relations. Thus far, studies have focused on only a few aspects of these patterns, perhaps because there are not adequate measures to capture all of the complexities. Coltrane argues that housework cannot be understood without investigating "how it is related to gender, household structure, family interaction, and the operation of both formal and informal market economies" (p. 1209). Research on housework allocation has shown it to be a major issue for couples, linking it to marital quality, interpersonal power, fairness evaluation, gender ideology and display, provider role identification, and the scheduling and performance of paid labor (Coltrane, 2000). Therefore, the way in which a couple divides household labor, as well as individual attitudes toward this division, are important considerations when investigating a couple's risk and protective factors for marriage success and happiness. However, thus far, there does not seem to be a high quality measure of housework in the field. Instead, many studies have had to rely on the availability of questions regarding time spent on

household labor in national and regional phone, mail, and in-person interview surveys. Some researchers have devised new instruments to investigate a single aspect of housework, such as who is doing what (Cowan & Cowan, 1990), fairness (Hawkins, Marshall, & Allen, 1998), task management (Mederer, 1993), or maternal gatekeeping (Allen & Hawkins, 1999), but it would be ideal to have an instrument that could investigate several aspects of housework, including some that have not been investigated before. I believe that there are various dimensions of housework that are important to investigate and it would be desirable to have these dimensions measured using the same scale in order to be able to directly compare them to each other. Thus, the aims of the current study were as follows:

- 1) To develop a conceptually and empirically derived instrument that would encompass the following dimensions related to housework:
 - a) Personal standards of how the housework should be carried out (e.g., cleanliness, timely fashion).
 - b) Gender role attitudes related to housework.
 - c) Perceived fairness related to the division of housework.
 - d) Showing and receiving appreciation for contributions to housework.
 - e) Attitudes toward hiring outside help.
 - f) Enjoyment of housework.
 - g) One's perception of the value of housework.
 - h) Conflict over housework.
 - i) Current division of housework and childcare, as well as satisfaction with that division.

- 2) To begin assessing the validity of this measure and the underlying constructs outlined above by testing a set of hypotheses using couple participants in a cross-sectional design.
- 3) To explore the role of gender as it relates to the dimensions of housework measured by the scale developed in this study.

Background and Significance

As a result of the increase of women entering the workforce over the last several decades, men's and women's roles have undergone a major transformation (Apparala, Reifman, & Munsch, 2003). The traditional single-earner family, in which the husband works and the wife stays home to attend to the home and children, is slowly diminishing. Today, the dual-earner couple is prominent in American society; according to Coontz (2005), working wives and mothers are here to stay. In 2007, the U.S. Labor Department reported that dual-earner couples made up more than half of married couples in the United States. The increase of women in the workforce is creating challenges for couples with respect to the division of household chores. Individuals who have families and who work report higher levels of stress balancing work and family life than they did 25 years ago (Coontz, 2005). This increased level of stress is believed to boost the potential for conflict between partners. For example, as women enter the workforce, their economic resources begin to increase, which in turn, calls for more negotiating between couples about roles and responsibilities (Hood, 1983).

The fact that housework is entrenched in complex and changing patterns of social relations has increased the amount of attention given to the topic. Until the 1970s, social science research on household labor was fairly nonexistent (Huber & Spitze, 1983); however, since then, research related to household labor has increased dramatically. Studying housework is important because it provides a lens to investigate marriage,

gender, and culture. Furthermore, the way in which couples manage housework is an excellent barometer of how they may handle everyday conflicts, as well as deeper issues, like fairness, equality, respect, and power. However, despite this increase in attention given to housework, research on the subject suffers because housework is measured in a variety of ways, which, according to Shelton and John (1996), both complicates any assessment of the literature and indicates a need for development of reliable measures of housework. This study developed such a measure, but before discussing it, I will illustrate the ways in which housework has been measured thus far, as well as provide a review on the housework literature.

Methods of Measurement

Time diaries. One method used to gather information about housework is the time diary, where individuals are asked to complete logs accounting for time spent on various activities related to housework, usually for a 24-hour period, with results collected via phone, mail, or in person (Harvey, 1993; Marini & Shelton, 1993; Robinson & Godbey, 1997). Time diary studies differ in many ways, including whether respondents are asked to report activities during the day for which data are being collected or retrospectively on the next day. Research has shown that daily activity collected on the next day is very similar to activity collected on the same day, and accurate data regarding weekends can be obtained up to a week later (Robinson & Godbey, 1997). Generally, time diaries are considered to generate the most accurate estimates of time spent on various activities. However, time diaries can also be problematic. Simultaneous activities are sometimes ignored or underestimated (Nichols, 1980; Warner, 1986) and the diary day may not be representative of the general pattern of

activities during a day (Niemi, 1993; Robinson & Godbey, 1997). Most studies tackle this latter problem by ensuring that different days of the week are represented (Robinson, 1977; Sanik, 1981; Walker & Woods, 1976) and, in some cases, that data are collected during different seasons within the year (Hill, 1985). Harvey (1993) argues that the time diary method is relatively robust with respect to minor variations in format, but others have found that the questionnaire format of time diary studies has an effect on responses (Geurts & De Ree, 1993). Furthermore, Coltrane (personal communication, August 10, 2008) believes that the time diary methods are more precise, but also acknowledges that this technique takes more time and demands more from respondents. Given the fact that my primary goal was to develop a measure and I did not want to burden participants with an additional component of my study, I chose to not include time diaries in my study.

Survey questions. Direct questions regarding time spent on housework have been asked in many national and some regional phone, mail, and in-person interview surveys. Respondents have been asked to estimate their usual time spent on a list of household activities. For example, in the National Survey of Families and Households, respondents were asked about how many hours they spend on the following household activities per week: 1) preparing meals, 2) washing dishes and cleaning up after meals, 3) cleaning house, 4) outdoor and other household maintenance tasks such as lawn and yard work, household repair, or painting, 5) shopping for groceries and other household goods, 6) washing, ironing, and mending clothing, 7) paying bills and keeping financial records, 8) automobile maintenance and repair, 9) driving other household members to work, school, or other activities. In other surveys, respondents have been asked to indicate how much time they usually spend on “housework” (Panel Study of Income Dynamics, 1976;

Quality of Employer Survey, 1977). Results from studies that have compared time diaries to direct-question surveys show that the two methods yield results that are highly correlated with one another (Robinson, 1985). However, direct-question surveys produce estimates of time spent that are often 25-50 percent higher, especially for activities that are performed frequently (Juster & Stafford, 1991; Marini & Shelton, 1993; Press & Townsley, 1998). For activities that are performed infrequently, direct-question surveys produce lower estimates, especially if the period for recall is long (Hill, 1985; Marini & Shelton, 1993; Shelton & John, 1996). When asked in a direct-question survey, both men and women tend to overestimate the time they spend on housework, as well as double-count the time they spend in simultaneous activities (Coltrane, 2000). Sullivan (1997) found that proportional estimates of a spouse's time spent on housework are approximately equal whether diaries or surveys are employed, but while they may be both reliable and valid, proportional measures are difficult to interpret for the following reasons: they cannot be used for all households, they do not measure how much time is spent on housework, and they do not reflect whether shifts result from wives doing less housework or husbands doing more (Marini & Shelton, 1993). Generally speaking, researchers have moved away from asking proportional questions (who does more) in favor of collecting hourly estimates of housework performance because more narrowly defined tasks produce more accurate estimates of housework (Shelton & John, 1996). The current study collected hourly estimates of housework performance on various tasks, but it extended previous measurements of housework by going beyond time estimation and examining such aspects as personal standards of how the housework should be carried

out, gender role attitudes, enjoyment of housework, and perceptions regarding fairness, to name a few.

Other methods. In addition to time diaries and direct-question surveys, many studies use observational and less structured interview techniques to generate qualitative data, describe social processes, and construct ideal types (Coltrane, 2000). Examples of such qualitative methods are illustrated in Hochschild's *The Second Shift* (1989) and *The Time Bind* (1997), both of which shed new light on the topic of housework. *The Second Shift* is based on a series of interviews with 50 working families in the San Francisco Bay area, extending over several years, and the author illustrates the tensions that arose in dual-earner households when working women carry most of the burden for housework and childcare. *The Time Bind* is a report of the findings of a 3-year qualitative study of a Fortune 500 company's 'family-friendly' practices. Hochschild interviewed people in all tiers of the organization, conducted surveys, followed employees, and observed participants to try to understand how the company's family-friendly practices were being implemented. She found that, although every mother and nearly every father said "family comes first," few of these working parents questioned their long hours or took the company up on chances for flextime, paternity leave, or other "family friendly" policies. Hochschild concluded that the roles of home and work had reversed: work was offering stimulation, guidance, and a sense of belonging, whereas home had become the stressful place in which there was too much to do in too little time. In addition to the aforementioned qualitative studies, a few researchers have also explicitly adopted discourse analysis to understand how housework, gender, and family are constructed

through the process of narratives (Blain, 1994; DeVault, 1990; West & Fenstermaker, 1993).

Conceptions of Housework

According to the American Heritage Dictionary, housework is defined as “the tasks, such as cleaning and cooking, that are performed in housekeeping.” Most researchers agree that household labor can be defined as the unpaid work that contributes to the well-being of family members and to the maintenance of their home (Shelton & John, 1996). Based on the results of several large-sample national surveys conducted in the United States, the five most time-consuming major household tasks are: “1) meal preparation or cooking, 2) housecleaning, 3) shopping for groceries and household goods, 4) washing dishes or cleaning up after meals, and 5) laundry, including washing, ironing, and mending clothes” (Coltrane, 2000, p. 1210). In the current study, these five tasks will be referred to as “The Big 5.” These household tasks are distinguishable from others in that they are the most time-consuming and they are not as easy to postpone as other household tasks, such as gardening or house maintenance. Furthermore, these tasks have been labeled “mundane,” “repetitive,” “nondiscretionary,” “onerous,” “unrelenting,” and “boring” (Blair & Lichter, 1991; Thompson & Walker, 1989). Not surprisingly, most men and women report that they do not like housework (DeVault, 1991; Robinson & Milkie, 1998). The literature has defined residual tasks, such as repairs around the house, yard work, or paying the bills, as “occasional” or “other” household labor (Coltrane, 2000). Research has found that these residual tasks are more time flexible, more discretionary, and more enjoyable than the aforementioned household tasks (Coltrane, 1998). Many studies have been conducted on the gender typing of household tasks, and

the results have led researchers to refer to the five major routine housework chores (i.e., cooking, cleaning, shopping, washing dishes, and laundry) as “female” in nature (Presser, 1994; Blair & Lichter, 1991; Sanchez & Kane, 1996; Starrels, 1994). On the other hand, the less frequent residual tasks (e.g., household repairs, yard work, and bill paying) have been labeled as “male” in nature (Blair & Lichter, 1991; Shelton, 1992). It is interesting to note that the routine and most time-consuming housework chores have fallen into the woman’s realm of responsibility, whereas men tend to be in charge of the less frequent residual tasks. Furthermore, as mentioned, the five major routine “female” housework chores have been labeled as mundane or boring, whereas the residual “male” tasks are often considered to be more enjoyable. By incorporating items that assessed one’s enjoyment of housework in my measure, I was able to explore whether there were gender differences in overall enjoyment of housework, as well as whether enjoyment predicted satisfaction with housework and/or overall relationship quality. In addition, the assessment of enjoyment provides a new perspective on the impact of the division of household labor on a relationship.

Even though the concept of housework can include childcare, as well as emotional labor, most household labor researchers have excluded these types of work from their studies (Ferree, 1990). In fact, few, if any, studies have investigated both housework and childcare (Coltrane, 2004); typically, studies focus on one or the other, but not on both simultaneously. Perhaps researchers have thought of housework and childcare as separate entities and not affecting each other. However, the fact that research has not examined both housework *and* childcare in the same studies is problematic because we lack an understanding of how they are related. For example, one might

imagine that shifts in the division of housework are likely to occur around the birth of a child because becoming a parent is associated with a host of major life changes. Consequently, divisions of household labor will have to likely be renegotiated. If these divisions are not renegotiated, couples risk “sliding” into roles regarding housework versus “deciding” about these roles. Research has shown that couples do best when they make decisions about important things in life rather than sliding through life without thinking carefully (Stanley, Kline, & Markman, 2006). As a result of the need for researchers to examine housework and childcare together, I included items that assessed time devoted to childcare responsibilities in my housework measure.

Problems in Conceptualizing Housework

VanEvery (1997) argues that the concepts used in the research on housework are inadequate for understanding the links between division of housework and inequalities. As she points out, most studies use an operational definition of housework by providing a list of tasks generated by the researcher(s) and asking who does them. Increasingly complicated lists have been developed throughout the literature to try to encompass “housework.” In time diary studies on housework, these lists are often generated at the (post) coding stage and may therefore be a more accurate reflection of the actual housework that gets done across a variety of households (VanEvery, 1997). However, as mentioned previously, diary studies are a considerable burden on respondents.

VanEvery (1997) also explains that another problem for the researcher is that he/she must decide which tasks are work and which tasks are leisure. The issue with this sort of either/or categorization becomes particularly evident in the attempt to categorize certain childcare tasks. For example, is putting the children to bed and reading them a

story work or leisure? Thus, there should be acknowledgement that some household work, particularly childcare, but also activities such as cooking, may be enjoyable and be an avenue for an individual to express his/her love toward family members (DeVault, 1987). Furthermore, certain activities may provide an outlet for creative expressions (Kemmer, 2000), and these activities differ greatly from others within the housework task list. Berk's (1985) study avoided this work/leisure problem by asking participants whether they considered particular tasks to be work, leisure, both, or neither. Pinpointing which activities were "work" and which activities were "leisure" was beyond the scope of the current study, but I was able to assess one's enjoyment of housework.

In addition to the general problems of defining housework with a list of tasks generated by the researcher, there is considerable variation in the comprehensiveness of the lists used in various research projects. There are numerous reasons for this variability, most of which have to do with the general aims of the individual studies, but regardless, it leads to problems of comparison and explanation. In particular, the assumption that certain tasks (e.g., indoor tasks) are indicative of the overall division of housework is problematic (VanEvery, 1997). According to Frank Stafford, an economist at the University of Michigan, when outdoor household tasks are excluded, men's overall contributions to housework decrease (Napoli, 2008). Thus, it is difficult to generalize about the division of housework as a whole based on information collected regarding specific tasks, especially given what we know about the variation of men's participation in housework by type of task. The measure developed here was primarily designed to assess indoor household chores, given that these chores are the most routine and time-consuming chores, but for the purposes of the study, information regarding time spent on

outdoor household tasks, as well as indoor maintenance and bill paying, was also obtained.

Discrepancies over Who Does What

Given that the methods of measurement and current conceptions of housework (and ensuing problems) have been discussed, it is important to turn our attention to why the division of housework is often problematic for couples. Both the division of tasks and fairness of the division will be elaborated upon in this section.

Divisions of tasks. It appears that the most notable characteristic of the current division of labor in the United States is that women continue to do the majority of housework, whether they are employed or not (Claffey & Mickelson, 2009; Greenstein, 2009; Knudsen & Waerness, 2008; Brines, 1993; Marini & Shelton, 1993; Robinson, 1988). In his extensive review of over 200 scholarly articles and books on how roles and responsibilities are divided for couples in American society, Coltrane (2000) found that, on average, women perform two or three times as much housework as men. However, these trends have been changing. Recent research has shown that men are increasing their hourly contributions to housework whereas women are decreasing their contributions. American men are doing approximately 13 hours of housework a week, up from 6 hours in 1976. On the other hand, the weekly housework hours of American women have declined sharply from 26 hours in 1976 to 17 hours in 2005 (Stafford, 2008). However, it is important to note that in Stafford's study, he is only including what he calls "core housework" (i.e., "The Big 5") in his hourly totals. He defines core housework primarily as the indoor household chores, which does not include the residual tasks of mowing the lawn, fixing the car, and home projects. If he had included these other chores, men's

contributions to housework would have undoubtedly increased. Stafford explains that he left these other activities out of his definition of housework because he believes that most people enjoy gardening and yard work, whereas most people do not enjoy doing the dishes and other mundane indoor housework (Napoli, 2008). However, to my knowledge, general enjoyment of housework activities has not been measured in the field. It seems as though there are assumptions on which tasks may or may not be enjoyable (i.e., that indoor household tasks are boring, whereas outdoor household tasks are more pleasurable), but these assumptions have not been tested. In my measure, I assessed enjoyment of housework, focusing primarily on indoor chores, which enabled me to investigate whether some view housework to be an enjoyable activity.

Similar trends in the arena of housework have been found for married fathers and married mothers. In the year 2000, married fathers were spending 9.6 hours a week on housework, up from 4.4 hours in 1965, whereas married mothers were spending 19.4 hours a week on housework, down from 34.5 hours in 1965 (Bianchi, Robinson, & Milkie, 2006). In fact, the most dramatic increase in men's contributions has been to childcare, which has not been typically measured in housework studies. Between 1965 and 2003, men tripled the amount of time they spent performing childcare, reporting almost 7 hours per week of childcare (Bianchi et al., 2006). Fathers in two-parent households now spend more time with their children than at any time since large-scale longitudinally comparable data were collected (Coltrane, 2004; Pleck & Masciadrelli, 2003). During this period, women also increased their time spent performing childcare and interacting with their children, doubling it over the period from 1965 to 2003. This mutual increase in childcare appears to be related to higher standards for both mothers

and fathers about spending time with their children. Whereas many studies investigate housework without considering childcare, the current study builds upon and extends previous findings by including a childcare component.

Despite the sharp decrease in the number of hours women spend doing housework, they are still doing more than men. Furthermore, women are doing more housework than men in other countries as well. For example, in their study of housework in 22 countries (e.g., United States, Canada, Israel, New Zealand, Italy, Norway, Ireland, Czech Republic, Bulgaria, Poland, and Japan), Batalova and Cohen (2002) found that women performed more routine housework than men in all countries. However, it should be noted that men's contributions to housework vary substantially from country to country. Using data collected in the United States, Japan, Russia, Sweden, Canada, Finland, and Hungary, Juster, Ono, and Stafford (2003) found that Swedish men do substantially more housework (24 hours per week) than men in the other countries examined, whereas Japanese men do much less housework (4 hours per week). Thus, according to these results, it appears that Americans are less gender egalitarian in housework than the Swedes but more egalitarian than the Japanese. While exploring cross-cultural differences was beyond the scope of this study, it is important to note for context of the study that the tendency for women to do more housework than men is a global trend.

Those couples who endorse a greater belief in gender equality and more equal sharing of housework tasks have a greater likelihood of having more equal and open negotiations about who does what in families (Sullivan, 2006). These open negotiations most likely result in positive outcomes for the families involved, since research shows

that when men do more of the housework, women's perceptions of fairness and marital satisfaction increase, women's depression decreases, and the couple experiences less marital conflict (Coltrane, 2000). It is interesting to note that, for men, divisions of housework do not impact their personal well-being or marital satisfaction (Coltrane, 2000). Furthermore, Cooke (2006) found that couples in the United States who have more equal divisions of labor are less likely to divorce than couples where one partner specializes in breadwinning and the other partner specializes in family work. Cooke's finding further supports the general association between sharing housework and healthier marriages. By investigating gender role attitudes toward housework, the current study was able to explore associations between gender related factors, divisions of housework, and overall relationship satisfaction.

Issues of fairness. Regardless of the fact that women are doing more housework than their husbands, most men and women in the United States deem their divisions of labor to be "fair" (Coltrane, 2000). Consequently, researchers have focused their attention on understanding the nature of "fairness" in the allocation of household tasks. Importantly, it appears that couples do not use a simple, 50-50 division as the benchmark of fairness. For example, in one study, women rated the division to be fair when they contributed 66 percent of the time to housework, whereas men found the division to be fair when they contributed 36 percent of the total (Lennon & Rosenfeld, 1994).

Another dimension in the complex nature of how housework divisions work for men and women is the tendency for women to feel more responsible for the well-being of their family than men, evidenced by behaviors such as women being more likely than their husbands to rearrange their schedules to accommodate others (Sanchez & Thomson,

1997). Married women are expected to manage the home and family (Coltrane, 1996), and employed women have less leisure time and experience more stress than their husbands do (Milkie & Petola, 1999). Even though most men and women deem the division of household labor to be fair, not all do. For example, in one study, among married women, 40 percent indicate that they wish their partners would do more housework (Robinson & Godbey, 1997), which can be a source of conflict for couples. Lye and Biblarz (1993) found that the amount of time women spent performing household labor is positively associated with both women's and men's reports of disagreements. Thus far, the literature has indicated that many of these disagreements are a result of one member of the couple, usually the woman, feeling as though the division of housework is not fair. The current study builds upon existing research in the field by investigating other factors in addition to fairness that may contribute to disagreements, such as feeling as though one's contribution to housework is not being recognized and appreciated.

Models of Household Labor

In attempting to understand the aforementioned discrepancies in who is doing what around the house, it is helpful to consider the various models of household labor. Sociological research on household labor over the past 20 years has been guided by three perspectives: 1) resource-power perspective, 2) socialization and gender role attitudes, and 3) time availability hypothesis (South & Spitze, 1994). The resource-power perspective originated in Blood and Wolfe's (1960) classic study and it focuses on the economic and social contexts in which husbands and wives decide who should do which household chores based on their individual resources. This perspective is based on the

idea that an individual's external resources (e.g., income and education) grant decision-making power (Mannino & Deutsch, 2007). It is important to note that an underlying assumption of the resource-power perspective is that most people do not enjoy doing housework and would prefer to avoid it (Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010). The resource-power perspective suggests that the person with the most resources has the most power, and as a result, should be able to bargain his/her way out of routine housework (Knudsen & Waerness, 2008). Since 1960, this resource-power theory has been modified and now focuses on determining which resources are important and the conditions under which they are useful for bargaining.

The socialization and gender role attitudes perspective suggests that husbands and wives perform household labor in different amounts depending upon what they have learned from their parents, as well as their own personal beliefs about the appropriate behavior for men and women (Goldscheider & Waite, 1991). Given my inclusion of items that assessed gender role attitudes, I was able to explore how these attitudes affect allocations of housework, housework satisfaction, conflict over housework, and overall relationship quality.

Finally, the time availability hypothesis suggests that husbands and wives perform household tasks in amounts relative to the time left over after paid work time is subtracted. The demand response capability hypothesis is a variation of the time availability hypothesis in that it is somewhat broader and includes factors that increase the total amount of work to be done and each spouses' flexibility in being available to do it. For example, if one member of the household has a comparative advantage (e.g., higher earnings) in the labor market, he/she should specialize in labor market production

and the other member should specialize in household production (Becker, 1981). Therefore, a so-called “rational household” does not have incentive to allocate a member’s time to housework if that member has a comparative advantage in the labor market. In the present study, I included a demographic section that collected information from participants regarding number of hours worked per week, as well as individual income. By collecting this information, it was possible to examine whether the demand response capability hypothesis held true in the current sample.

Gender as a Social Construction

Despite the importance of the three aforementioned perspectives, some have argued that more discrepancy in the division of household labor is explained by gender than by any of the other factors in these models (Ferree, 1991; Thompson & Walker, 1989). In the early 1990s, researchers began to study why women were still responsible for the majority of housework (Brines, 1994; Ferree, 1990). Studies have shown that even women who earn more money than their husbands often do a disproportionate share of the housework. Some have suggested that women may do this in order to prevent their earnings from threatening their husband’s self-esteem (Thompson & Walker, 1989). Research has shown that the amount of time that partners spend in paid employment does affect the amount of time they spend performing household tasks (Goldscheider & Waite, 1991). Thompson and Walker (1989) argued for a gendered explanation of the division of household labor. Therefore, a “gender perspective” was introduced to the field, which has its roots in West and Zimmerman’s (1987) concept of “doing gender.”

The gender approach identifies gender as a construction that is created and recreated in social interaction with others (West & Zimmerman, 1987) and, therefore,

provides a way to understand the prevailing significance of gender in determining the amount of time spent on household labor by conceptualizing housework as a resource through which women and men display or produce gender (Brines, 1994). Berk (1985) applied the theory of “doing gender” to household labor as well, arguing that housework “produces” gender through the everyday enactment of dominance, submission, and other gender-type behaviors. Performing specific household tasks can serve as an opportunity to prove to oneself, as well as to others, that one is a competent member of a sex category with not only the capacity, but also the desire, to act in a gender appropriate manner (Berk, 1985). I thought it would be interesting to compare gender stereo-typical attitudes between partners, as well as how these attitudes affect the division of housework. Unlike in other studies in which only one partner was questioned regarding the division of household labor, the current study assessed the perspective of both partners and, thus, was able to better investigate gender-type attitudes and behaviors at the couple level.

Predictors of Who Does What

Before outlining the hypotheses for the current study, it would be useful to consider some of the predictors for how couples divide household labor tasks. In contrast to research conducted in earlier decades, the studies in the 1990s began finding more consistent predictors for how men and women are dividing tasks related to household labor. Findings have indicated that men’s share of housework has several consistent predictors, such as their wives’ employment patterns, egalitarian gender ideology, and earnings, followed by men’s employment hours and egalitarian gender ideology (Coltrane, 2000). Furthermore, age, life-course issues, marital status, and children, have been found to predict men’s relative share of housework and influence how much

housework they perform (Coltrane, 2000). A few studies have focused on measuring the management of family work and have found that women almost invariably assume a manager role, with men sporadically serving as their helpers (e.g., Coltrane, 1996; Blain, 1994). Typically, the common division of tasks by traditional gender roles is accredited to men's unwillingness to assume responsibility; however, some studies have suggested that perhaps women are reluctant to relinquish their control over the work related to the family (Allen & Hawkins, 1999; Ferree, 1991). Some researchers (e.g., Bonney & Reinach, 1993; Doucet, 1995; Sullivan, 1997) have advocated studying bread-winner-homemaker families separately from dual-earner families, or dividing samples according to family structure or life stage, because the same predictors do not necessarily hold across all people or even to the same person under different circumstances (Gerson, 1993). Following this recommendation, I only recruited dual-earner couples for participation, where "dual-earner" is defined as both members of a couple working outside the home (or inside the home) for pay at least 20 hours per week.

Women's employment hours have had the strongest and most consistent associations with women's absolute levels of housework and men's share of housework. Robinson and Godbey (1997) reported that employed women do one third less family work (i.e., housework and childcare) than nonemployed women. Thus, it should not be surprising that dual-earner couples share more family work than male-only breadwinner couples (Sullivan, 1997). On the other hand, men's commitment to employment is a weaker and less consistent predictor of household labor than it is for women. Researchers have typically found that men who are employed fewer hours do a greater share of housework, childcare, or both (Baxter, 1993; Brines, 1993). However, other research has

found no relationship between men's employment hours and their contributions to housework (John & Shelton, 1997; Sullivan, 1997). Additionally, research has suggested that partners with relative equal earnings enjoy more egalitarian divisions of housework (Baxter, 1993; Blair & Lichter, 1991; Sanchez & Thomson, 1997). As mentioned, the present study only recruited dual earner couples so I was not able to compare this sample to male-only breadwinner couples. However, I did investigate whether relative equal earnings between partners predicted more egalitarian divisions of housework.

Research also suggests that women who have more education do less housework (Bergen, 1991; South & Spitze, 1994), and partners with similar views on egalitarianism are likely to put those views into practice (Greenstein, 1996); in other words, more congruent egalitarians share more housework whereas more congruent traditionalists share less. Furthermore, younger women generally share more of the housework with their husbands than do older women (Shelton & John, 1993), and the larger the age gap between partners, the less the couple shares the housework (Presser, 1994). Marital status has also been found to be a predictor of the division of housework. Single and cohabiting women perform less housework than do married women, but single and cohabiting men perform more housework than do married men (Baxter, 2005; Shelton & John, 1993; South & Spitze, 1994; Davis, Greenstein, & Gerteisen Marks, 2007). Given that the current study recruited both cohabitating and married participants, I was able to explore differences in housework contributions between the two groups.

Research on the association between religiosity and the division of housework has not revealed consistent findings. For example, Amato, Booth, Johnson, and Rogers (2007) found that more conservatively religious couples are the group most likely to

adopt a traditional role division in responsibilities, which seems intuitive. However, other recent studies show that the association between religiosity and division of role responsibilities (and orientation toward them) has become increasingly hard to predict from stereotypes about religious beliefs and practices. For example, Wilcox (2004) found that actively religious men are more, not less, likely to take on household responsibilities, with religion generally domesticating men in ways that make them attentive to the ideals and aspirations of their wives and children. However, he also found that the more conservatively religious are, indeed, more likely to *endorse* more traditional role orientation, but with this added nuance that they seem to be just as likely, if not more, to be *doing* housework. Further, the wives of the more conservatively religious men also report the greatest level of appreciation for their husband's efforts in the home. A more specific finding related to the questions directly testable here is that of Steve Nock and colleagues, who, in following a longitudinal sample of 640 couples found that higher levels of religiosity are associated with more, not less, sharing of housework (S. Nock, personal communication, April 20, 2007). This sample is the most recent of all reported here, and suggests that the intuitive, traditional view of how religiosity affects division of household tasks may have been changing a great deal in the past 20 years or so. Therefore, in my study, I chose to measure religiosity and examine its effect on the way in which couples manage the division of housework in hopes of providing more clarity as to the association between religiosity and divisions of labor.

Finally, as mentioned previously, studies have shown that the transition to parenthood is associated with a trend toward less sharing of family work between partners (Cowan & Cowan, 1992). More specifically, women may feel more obliged to

perform housework when they transition to parenthood, just as when they transitioned into marriage (Wharton, 1994). Despite the fact that women have been found to do disproportionately more housework than their husbands across the life course, this disparity seems to be particularly salient in the early child-rearing years and least salient in the preparental and postparental years (Brubaker & Hennon, 1982; Cowan et al., 1985). Research has shown that when couples have children, women tend to work fewer hours on the job and spend more hours taking care of the house; men, on the other hand, tend to work more hours at paid jobs, but do not necessarily contribute more to the housework (Sanchez & Thomson, 1997; Shelton, 1992; Baxter, Hewitt, & Haynes, 2008). Many women most likely experience such shifts as unfair, especially given that research has shown that wives are happier when their husbands share the housework and childcare responsibilities (Amato, Johnson, Booth, & Rogers, 2003; Wilkie, Ferree, & Ratcliff, 1998). One of the realities that couples face in the transition to parenthood is the biological press in favor of the woman taking on more of the childcare responsibilities. It is the woman's body that has undergone the massive changes during pregnancy that affect her normal activities. Further, it is the woman's body that is flooded with oxytocin during labor and birth, ramping up the emotional bond between mother and child (Pedersen, 1997). These biologically driven forces may press couples toward specialization along traditional gender lines, at least for a time. These more complex dynamics concerning specialization—and how couples cope with them affecting role responsibilities in such areas as housework and childcare—were beyond the scope of the current study. However, the current study was able to explore whether couples with children experience more conflict over housework than couples without children.

Significance

Despite the fact that the roles of women in the workforce have changed dramatically in the last several decades, beliefs about who should do what as it relates to household labor have changed much more slowly (Coltrane, 2000). As a result, the division of household labor has become a source of conflict for many couples (Kluwer, Heesink, & Van de Vliert, 2000; Wilkie et al., 1998). It has been well documented that husbands do less housework than their wives (e.g., Brines, 1993; Marini & Shelton, 1993; Robinson, 1988; Juster et al., 2003), but less is known about complex and shifting patterns of social relations that impacts the division of housework. Thus, the major goal of the present study was to investigate important contributors to the way in which housework is divided by developing a new measure of housework. In an attempt to expand the ways in which housework is currently measured (i.e., with time or proportional estimates), this newly developed measure examined the following: personal standards of how the housework should be carried out, gender role attitudes, perceived fairness related to the division of housework, showing and receiving appreciation for contributions to housework, attitudes toward hiring outside help, enjoyment of housework, one's perception of the value of housework, conflict over housework, and the current division of housework and childcare, as well as satisfaction with that division.

This study underscores the importance of an area that has somewhat recently become a source of conflict for couples: who should do what around the house. Fifty years ago, there was a model to follow--the man was the breadwinner and the woman was the homemaker. However, once women entered the workforce, couples did not have models to follow. Instead, they were forced to renegotiate their roles within their family

and these negotiations continue to persist today. Thus, there is a need for more research in this area in order to understand the factors that contribute to conflict about housework. The findings from this study have direct implications for the prevention and treatment of relationship distress as it relates to the division of household labor.

Specific Primary Hypotheses to be Tested

The present study sought to both assess the psychometric properties of the new scale as well as contribute to the literature by testing the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Partners with greater discrepancies in reported time spent on housework will have lower levels of global satisfaction with the current division compared to those with more equal divisions of housework.

Hypothesis 2: Partners who have similar personal standards of how the housework should be carried out will experience less conflict over housework than partners who have dissimilar personal standards of how the housework should be carried out.

Hypothesis 3: Satisfaction with the division of housework will be positively related to overall relationship quality and positively related to perceived fairness related to the division of housework.

Hypothesis 4: Perceived fairness about the division of housework will be positively related to overall relationship quality.

Hypothesis 5: Global satisfaction with the division of housework will mediate the relationship between perceptions of fairness regarding housework and overall relationship satisfaction, such that higher perceived fairness will lead to higher reports of

global satisfaction with the division of housework, which will be positively related to overall relationship satisfaction.

Hypothesis 6: Individuals who report receiving a lot of appreciation for their housework contributions will report lower levels of conflict over housework than individuals who report not receiving much appreciation for their housework contributions.

Hypothesis 7: Couples who hire outside help will report lower levels of conflict over housework than couples who do not hire outside help.

Hypothesis 8: Couples with large discrepancies in how partners value housework will experience more conflict over housework than couples with small discrepancies in how partners value housework.

Hypothesis 9: Couples with children will experience more conflict over housework and have lower global satisfaction with housework than couples without children.

Hypothesis 10: Partners with relative equal earnings will have more egalitarian divisions of housework compared to partners with relative unequal earnings.

Hypothesis 11: Cohabiting couples will have more egalitarian divisions of housework compared to married couples, where the prediction is that wives will contribute more to housework than their husbands.

Hypothesis 12: Couples with more conservative religious views will tend to be more traditional, and thus, less likely to share the housework equally than couples with more liberal religious views.

Research Design and Methods

Design Overview

This study was conducted in two phases. In phase one, Likert scale items were written for each of the first eight dimensions I wanted to investigate in this study. In order to assess the ninth dimension (i.e., the current division of labor, as well as satisfaction with the division), a simple hours estimation question was administered to participants, as well as a Likert scale item to assess current satisfaction levels related to the division of labor. After the measure was administered to individual participants, the final pool of items was selected via exploratory factors analysis (EFA) and then assessed for internal item-consistency. In phase two, this measure, along with other measures selected for the purposes of the present study, were completed by a new sample of couple participants. Thus, the goal of phase one was to develop reliable subscales that would reflect the dimensions of housework as previously outlined. The goal of phase two was to begin examining the validity of the new measure by testing the aforementioned hypotheses while also exploring gender differences related to various dimensions of housework.

Participants

Phase one. To be eligible for phase one of the study, respondents had to meet the following criteria: 1) be married or be in a committed relationship of at least 1 year, 2) currently live with their partner and share a single home address, and 3) be employed and working at least 20 hours per week. Data were initially collected from 299 individual

participants in phase one of the study. However, four participants were excluded from the final sample because they did not complete any questions beyond the consent form. Another six participants were excluded because they were not currently living together and nine more participants were excluded due to the fact that they were not currently employed and working at least 20 hours per week. Finally, 81 participants were excluded due to the fact that they exited the survey early, before finishing the questions on the various dimensions of housework. As a result of these exclusions, participants in the final sample of phase one were 199 individuals.

Within the final sample of 199 individuals, 52 (26.1%) were male, 135 (67.8%) were female, and 12 (6.0%) declined to indicate their gender. The ethnic breakdown in the final sample was as follows: 74.4% White, European, or European-American, 6.5% Asian, Pacific Islander, or Asian-American, 5.0% Latino/Latina or Latin American (Hispanic), 3.5% African or African American, 1.5% Biracial, and 9.0% declined to indicate their race/ethnicity. Women in the sample ranged in age from 18 to 69 years ($M = 35.62$, $SD = 10.45$) with a median education level of 16 years, and a median personal income level of \$40,000-49,999 annually; men ranged from 22 to 68 years of age ($M = 35.67$, $SD = 10.10$), with a median education level of 16 years, and a median personal income level of \$60,000-69,999 annually. In terms of relationship status, 70.9% of the sample reported being married, 5.0% were engaged, and 24.1% were in a committed, dating relationship. Participants reported living in 27 different states, as well as Alberta, New Brunswick, Switzerland, Holland, England, and Australia.

Phase two. To be eligible for phase two of the study, the respondent, as well as his/her partner, had to meet the following criteria: 1) be married or be in a committed

relationship of at least 1 year, 2) currently live with their partner and share a single home address, and 3) be employed and working at least 20 hours per week. Data was initially collected from 517 individuals, but after matching partners, the data consisted of 106 couples. However, 3 couples were deleted due to the fact that they were gay/lesbian couples. Given the nature of the study and its focus on gender roles, there was a strong reason to only include heterosexual couples in the final sample. As a result of these exclusions, the final sample consisted of 103 couple participants.

Within the final sample of 103 couples, 67.6% were married, 8.8% were engaged, and 23.6% were in a committed, dating relationship. Nearly half of the sample of married couples (40.1%) and 24.2% of cohabiting couples had children, which comprised 35.6% of the total sample. The women in the sample were 77.7% White, 7.8% Black/African American, 5.8% Hispanic/Latina, 4.9% Asian, and 3.9% Biracial. Women in the sample ranged in age from 22 to 64 years ($M = 34.50$, $SD = 10.18$) with a median education level of 16 years, and a median personal income level of \$40,000-49,999 annually. The men in the sample were 79.6% White, 7.8 % Black/African American, 6.8% Hispanic/Latino, 1.0% Asian, 1.0% American Indian/Alaska Native, and 1.0% declined to report their ethnicity. The men ranged from 23 to 63 years of age ($M = 35.74$, $SD = 10.64$), with a median education level of 16 years, and a median personal income level of \$50,000-59,999 annually. Couples reported living in 29 different states, as well as Ontario, British Columbia, and Indonesia.

Procedure

Recruitment for phase one of the study began in June of 2010. For ease and efficiency of data collection, the questionnaire was set up to be completed online through

Survey Monkey. In addition, skip patterns were set up in Survey Monkey so that participants would skip sections that were not applicable to them (e.g., sections related to children, hired help). Participants were recruited through Craigslist, AdsInUSA, social networking sites (e.g., Facebook, My Space, AskMen, The Knot, and The Nest), and various listservs (i.e., those related to graduate school, sports and recreation, career-networking, etc.). The recruitment announcement was in the form of a brief description of the study, which contained a link to the consent form and questionnaire, and was then emailed or posted on the aforementioned online announcement boards (see Appendix B for a copy of the recruitment announcement used in phase one). This recruitment announcement also contained information regarding the criteria for inclusion, as well as information regarding the lottery drawing that was used for incentive. The online questionnaire for phase one included the following: a study information/consent to participate page, a demographic information form, the housework questionnaire developed in this study, and shortened versions of the Couples Satisfaction Index, the Dedication Scale, the Confidence Scale, and the Danger Signs Scale. The consent form explained that the data was being collected anonymously and participants were instructed to complete the questionnaire independently.

Recruitment for phase two of the study began in December of 2010. Again, the questionnaire was set up to be completed online through Survey Monkey and participants were recruited via the same means as used in phase one (see Appendix C for a copy of the recruitment announcement used in phase two). In addition, participants were encouraged to send the recruitment announcement to their partner as the aim of phase two was to collect data from couple participants. The online questionnaire for phase two

included the following: a study information/consent to participate page, a demographic information form, the shortened housework questionnaire developed in this study, and shortened versions of the Couples Satisfaction Index, the Dedication Scale, the Confidence Scale, the Positive Bonding Scale, the Danger Signs Scale, and the Who Does What questionnaire. Participants completed the Who Does What Questionnaire so that I could determine whether the subscales from the housework measure that were developed in this study show systematic correlations with other researchers' measures of housework. As in phase one, the data for phase two was collected anonymously. Participants were asked to provide their birthdate, along with their partner's birthdate, and this information, as well as other significant dates (e.g., anniversary or wedding date, planned wedding date for engaged partners, date partners moved in together, etc.) was used to match partners within a couple for the data analyses.

As compensation, participants who completed the questionnaire in either phase of the study had the opportunity to enter their email address for a chance at winning a gift card to either Target or iTunes. In phase one, six \$50 gift cards were raffled off for incentive and the odds of winning (based on 180 lottery entries) were 1 in 30. In phase two, seven \$100 gift cards were used for incentive and the odds of winning (based on 487 lottery entries) were 1 in 70. Winners were notified by email and had the option of receiving their gift card by mail or email.

Measures

Means, standard deviations, and internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha) for phase two of the study are reported for all measures of relationship functioning in Table 1. In this study, abbreviated measures were often used to minimize the burden on participants;

however, internal consistency remained adequate and relationship measures converged together in theoretically consistent ways.

Demographic information. A demographics questionnaire gathered descriptive information about the sample (e.g., age, ethnicity, income level, education level, relationship status, presence of children and their ages, etc.) in each phase of the study. The demographic questionnaires in both phases of the study were similar, although in phase one, information was also collected about participants' partners. Due to the feedback received in the "questions/comments" section of phase one about the lengthiness of the questionnaire, the demographic section for phase two was reduced and simplified. The demographic information forms used in phases one and two of the study are presented in Appendices D and E, respectively.

Assessment of religiosity. Information regarding the religious affiliation of both partners was gathered, as well as how often participants attend religious services with their partner. Additionally, religiosity was measured by the simple question, "All things considered, how religious would you say that you are?" This question tends to yield similar information to more complex measures (e.g., Stanley & Markman, 1992).

Relationship satisfaction. The Couples Satisfaction Index (Funk & Rogge, 2007) is a measure of relationship satisfaction that has been shown to offer increased precision and power in assessing relationship satisfaction over some of the most widely used existing measures, namely the Marital Adjustment Test (MAT; Locke & Wallace, 1959) and the Dyadic Adjustment Scale (DAS; Spanier, 1976). Funk and Rogge developed 32-, 16-, and four-item versions of the Couples Satisfaction Index; the four-item version was used in the current study. Items tapped the following:

- participants' overall happiness in their relationship, rated on a 0 (*extremely unhappy*) to 6 (*perfect*) scale
- participants' feeling of warmth and comfortableness in their relationship, rated on a 0 (*not at all true*) to 6 (*completely true*)
- participants' ratings of how rewarding their relationship is with their partner, rated on a 0 (*not at all*) to 5 (*completely*)
- participants' feelings of satisfaction in their relationship, rated on a 0 (*not at all*) to 5 (*completely*)

This shortened, four-item version has demonstrated very high internal consistency, with a Cronbach's alpha of .94 and has demonstrated strong convergent validity with other measures of relationship satisfaction (Funk & Rogge, 2007).

Dedication. A shortened version of the Dedication Scale (Stanley & Markman, 1992) from the revised Commitment Inventory was used to measure dedication. The Dedication Scale has shown acceptable levels of internal consistency across a range of samples and various forms of this measure (i.e., shorter and longer) have demonstrated theoretically consistent findings in a variety of studies (e.g., Adams & Jones, 1997; Stanley, Amato, Johnson, & Markman, 2006; Stanley & Markman, 1992; Whitton, Stanley, & Markman, 2002). Each item was rated on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*) scale. The four items used in this study were:

- My relationship with my partner is more important to me than almost anything else in my life.
- I may not want to be with my partner a few years from now. (reverse scored)

- I like to think of my partner and me more in terms of "us" and "we" than "me" and "him/her."
- I want this relationship to stay strong no matter what rough times we may encounter.

This shortened, four-item version has demonstrated adequate reliability (coefficient alpha of .72) (Stanley, Markman, & Whitton, 2002), and there are numerous studies supporting the validity of the measure (e.g., Stanley et al., 2002; Cui & Fincham, 2010).

Confidence in the relationship. Five items from the 10-item Confidence Scale (CS) (Stanley, Hoyer, & Trathen, 1994) were selected to assess participants' level of confidence in the future of their relationship. Individuals rated their level of agreement with the 4 items (e.g., "I believe we can handle whatever conflicts will arise in the future" and "I am very confident when I think of our future together") on a 5-point scale. The larger scale has demonstrated good concurrent validity (e.g., Whitton et al., 2008), internal consistency, and evidence of construct validity (e.g. Kline et al., 2004; Stanley et al., 2001; Whitton et al., 2007). The items used in this study are representative of the larger scale and this shortened 5-item version has demonstrated adequate reliability (coefficient alpha of .91 for husbands and .92 for wives) (Allen, Rhoades, Stanley, & Markman, 2010).

Positive connections. A shortened version of the nine-item Positive Bonding Scale, which was adapted from the Couple Activities Scale (Markman, 2000), was used to assess the ways that couples are maintaining positive aspects of the relationship.

Questions assess the friendship, fun, felt support, and sensual/sexual relationship of the

couple, answered on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). The four items used in this study were:

- We have a lot of fun together.
- We have a satisfying sensual or sexual relationship.
- We regularly have great conversations where we just talk as good friends.
- We go out on enough “dates” for me to feel like our relationship is a priority.

The larger scale has demonstrated adequate reliability (coefficient alpha of .86 for husbands and .89 for wives) (Allen et al., 2010). The items used in this study are representative of the larger scale.

Negative communication. The four-item version of the Communication Danger Signs Scale (Stanley & Markman, 1997) was used to assess problematic communication patterns (i.e., “danger signs”—behaviors/cognitions predictive of relationship distress and dissolution). Items reflect escalation (“Little arguments escalate into ugly fights with accusations, criticisms, name calling, or bringing up past hurts.”), invalidation (“My partner criticizes or belittles my opinions, feelings or desires.”), negative interpretation (“My partner seems to view my words or actions more negatively than I mean them to be.”), and withdrawal (“When we argue, one of us withdraws...that is, does not want to talk about it anymore, or leaves the scene.”). Forms of this measure have demonstrated convergence with other theoretically related constructs (Stanley et al., 2002) and predicted changes subsequent to communication skill interventions (e.g., Stanley et al., 2005). The longer version of this measure has demonstrated reliability (coefficient alpha of .84) and validity (Stanley & Markman, 1997). In addition, the four-item version of this

measure has demonstrated adequate reliability (coefficient alpha of .74 for husbands and wives) (Allen et al., 2010).

Household contributions. The Who Does What measure (Cowan & Cowan, 1990) assesses partners' perceptions of their relative responsibility for household contributions and satisfaction with the current arrangements. The scale was designed to measure household contributions, family decision-making, and child rearing responsibilities, but in this study, only the household contributions scale was administered to participants. This scale consists of 13 descriptors, for which each partner indicates who does what currently on a scale ranging from 1 (*I do it all*) to 9 (*my partner does it all*). The midpoint (5) is labeled "we both do this equally." In this study's sample of 103 couples, the coefficient alpha was .41 for males and .55 for females. For each item, participants also rate "how I would like it to be" on the same 1 to 9 scale. Thus, there are two subscale scores: one representing the current division of labor and one for the desired division. An additional item asked respondents to rate their general level of satisfaction with the division of household labor. Reported reliability estimates have been substantial, ranging from .92-.99 (Touliatos, Perlmutter, & Straus, 2001).

The Who Does What was designed to include 11 descriptors that tapped traditionally-defined household labor (e.g., cleaning house, paying bills, doing repairs around the house, and taking out the garbage) and two descriptors that refer to the division of household labor outside the home: "Providing income for our family" and "Working outside the family." Given that "working outside the family" is a vague item and can be construed to mean many different types of work, this item was not included in the current study. However, "providing income for our family" was included in the

present study. Thus, the division of household labor refers to both household tasks and well as providing family income, though the measure is strongly slanted toward assessing who does what within the household.

Several additional scores were calculated from the Who Does What measure and used in the present analyses. First, in order to arrive at an *equality score*, the absolute difference from 5 was calculated for each of the 12 descriptors. In the current study, the inequality in the division of household labor will be defined such that higher scores mean the division is more unequal and lower scores mean the division is less unequal. The coefficient alpha for the equality score was .56 for males and .53 for females. Second, an index of the *absolute desire for change in the division of household labor* was calculated from the subscale scores by taking the absolute difference between the subscale score for the current division of housework and for the desired division. In this study's sample, the coefficient alpha for the desire for the absolute change index was .77 for males and .74 for females. Third, an index for the *difference between the ideal (i.e., "how I would like it to be") and equality* was calculated by taking the absolute difference between the ideal division and the midpoint (i.e., 5) for each of the 12 subscale scores. In this study's sample, the coefficient alpha for the difference between the ideal and equality was .62 for males and .54 for females. Finally, an index for the *desire for change in the division of household labor* was calculated by taking the difference between the subscale score for the current division of household labor and for the desired division for each of the 12 subscales (thus, this score takes into account the direction of the desire for change). The coefficient alpha for the directional change index was .66 for males and .67 for females.

In summary, the Who Does What measure yields a number of self-reported variables. They include:

1. A rating of who does more of what (me or my partner), with higher scores meaning that the respondent thinks his/her partner does more and lower scores meaning the respondent does more (labeled “how housework is now”).
2. A rating of how the respondent would like things to be, compared to the rating of how he/she perceives it to be, using the same scaling as the variable noted just above (labeled “how I want housework to be”).
3. A global rating of satisfaction with the division of household tasks. Higher scores indicate greater satisfaction with the division of labor (labeled “housework satisfaction”).
4. A score reflecting the degree to which the respondent’s rating of who does what for each of the rated tasks differs from the center point of the scale, which reflects equal sharing of the task. The average of the sum across the dimensions rated make up the total score for this variable (labeled “housework inequality”). The higher the score, the more the current division deviates from equality.
5. A calculated score of the average of the sums of the absolute differences between the respondent’s ratings of how things are done in the various tasks (who does more of what) and how the

respondent would like things to be done. A higher score means the respondent would like things to be done more differently from how they are presently done (labeled “desired housework absolute change”).

6. A calculated score of the average of the sums of the absolute differences between the respondent’s ratings of how he/she would like things to be done in the various tasks (who does more of what) and the midpoint of the scale. A higher score means the respondent’s ideal in terms of the division of labor is further away from equal sharing of tasks (labeled “ideal/equality absolute difference”).
7. A calculated score of the average of the sums of the differences between the respondent’s rating of how things are done in the various tasks (who does more of what) and how the respondent would like things to be done. A negative score indicates that the respondent would like his/her partner to do more as it relates to housework and a positive score indicates that the respondent would like to do more as it relates to housework (labeled “desired housework change”).

Scale Development

Several procedures were used for construction of the items for the housework scale developed in this study. Procedures were divided into the following: 1) development of operational definitions/scale content, 2) item writing and scale format, 3) item review, 4) phase one (preliminary item tryouts), and 5) item selection for phase two (DeVellis, 1991).

Operational Definitions/Scale Content

Operational definitions of the construct of housework were drawn from the literature review. In addition, the subconstructs of housework were discussed in detail with research associates (i.e., faculty advisors, graduate and undergraduate students, and research assistants) involved in this project or other projects aimed at studying the nature of relationships. As a result of these discussions, I identified and explored the following housework dimensions in the newly developed scale: 1) personal standards of how the housework should be carried out (e.g., cleanliness, timely fashion), 2) gender role attitudes, 3) perceived fairness related to housework, 4) showing and receiving appreciation for contributions to housework, 5) attitudes toward hiring outside help, 6) enjoyment of housework, 7) one's perception of the value of housework, 8) conflict over housework, and 9) the current division of housework and childcare, as well as satisfaction with that division. Items were designed to reflect each of the nine dimensions and categorized accordingly.

Item Writing and Scale Format

A collection of 111 statements reflecting each of the first eight dimensions were written using a Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree). In order to obtain a roughly equal representation of items tapping the proposed factors, each item had a primary focus on one of the categories of the eight dimensions.

The final dimension, which measured the current division of housework and childcare (when applicable), as well as satisfaction with that division, was assessed using two separate measures, one for household chores and the other for child rearing. These two domains were assessed separately because previous research suggests that housework and childcare are conceptually distinct activities (Ishii-Kuntz & Coltrane, 1992).

Participants were presented with a list of common household and childcare activities, and for each domain (i.e., housework and when applicable, childcare), they were asked to indicate the number of hours per week that they participate in each activity. Thus, the structure of the housework and childcare scales were the same. Both indoor tasks (e.g., meal preparation or cooking, housecleaning, washing dishes or cleaning up after meals, etc.), which need to be carried out daily, as well as outdoor tasks (e.g., lawn care, gardening), which are less frequent chores, were assessed. Childcare items were written to reflect a range in ages, from infant/toddler (e.g., feeding child(ren), dressing child(ren), changing diapers) to teenager (e.g., disciplining child(ren), attending extracurricular events for our child(ren), etc.). Sixteen items were written to assess time spent doing housework and 16 items were written to assess time spent attending to children. In addition to the time estimation questions for housework and childcare responsibilities, Likert scale questions were written to assess overall satisfaction related to the following:

1) the division of labor, and 2) the effort made by one's partner in the domain of housework (and childcare, when applicable). The complete housework measure administered in phase one can be found in Appendix F.

Item Review

Item review was carried out prior to phase one. During this review process, items were carefully examined with my faculty advisors, both of whom are experts in measurement and test construction. Together, we evaluated the initial pool of items for accuracy, wording, grammar, appearance of bias, ambiguity, and other flaws. We paid careful attention the following in our review meetings: 1) each item's relevance to the defined construct of housework, and 2) each item's clarity and conciseness. Furthermore, we considered other ways of tapping the nine dimensions of housework that I did not include, which helped to maximize the content validity of my scale (DeVellis, 1991). Based on the feedback, certain items were eliminated or reworded for clarity.

Phase One (Preliminary Item Tryouts)

After the initial item pool was developed and reviewed, it was pilot-tested with a sample of 199 participants representative of the population of interest. These participants responded to each item and also had an opportunity to provide a narrative critique at the end of the survey.

Item Selection for Phase Two

An exploratory factors analysis (EFA) was used to determine the final selection of the Likert scale items (i.e., those items tapping the first eight dimensions of the scale). Furthermore, given that a major source of measurement error is the sampling of content (Nunnally, 1978), final selection was also based on the item's contribution to the internal

item-consistency of the scale. The variables were examined for normality, inter-item correlations, and item-scale correlations before conducting the EFA. In conducting the EFA, I used the principle components extraction method with a Varimax rotation and suppressed coefficients with an absolute value below .40. The EFA revealed the underlying factors of the scales and the relative strength of the loadings of the scales' items to these factors. A factor structure matrix was used to assess the correlations between the variables and the factors. A first quick estimate of the number of dominant factors, those that accounted for the most variance from the principal factors matrix (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1989), was ascertained according to the eigenvalue rule (Kaiser, 1960), which states that factors with eigenvalues less than 1.0 should not be retained. Using this quick estimate, it appeared that 21 factors should be retained. However, it is important to note that there were 10 factors that had eigenvalues over 2 and eight factors that had eigenvalues over 3. I then conducted a scree plot analysis as a second estimate of the most dominant factors. Eight dominant factors emerged from this scree plot analysis and served as the basis for the number of subscales developed in the measure. These factors included items that related to: 1) perceived fairness related to housework (e.g., "I do more than I should have to around our home"), 2) one's perception of the value of housework (e.g., "Having a clean home isn't important to me at all"), 3) gender role attitudes related to housework (e.g., "Even if both partners have similar work schedules, the woman should still be responsible for most of the housework"), 4) attitudes toward hiring outside help ("I think hiring someone to help with the housework is a waste of money"), 5) showing appreciation for the housework completed by one's partner (e.g., "When I know that my partner did something around our home, I always make sure to

thank him/her”), 6) conflict over housework (e.g., “My partner and I fight a lot about housework”), 7) enjoyment of housework (e.g., “I find cleaning our home for a couple of hours to be a relaxing activity”), and 8) personal standards of how the housework should be carried out (e.g., “It’s important that the housework be done right”). I then examined the dominant factors for potential scale items to comprise a 40-item scale (i.e., five items per subscale). Final items were selected from each factor based on the strength of each item on that factor, as well as the content of each item. Again, I carefully reviewed the potential items with my faculty advisors before choosing the items that would comprise the final scale. When deciding on the compositions of the subscales, I chose factor loadings that were above .40 when the EFA was constricted to produce only eight factors (although most of the items chosen had loadings above .60). In addition, I did not choose any items that cross-loaded onto other factors when the factor loadings were suppressed to include only those with an absolute value at or above .40.

The items selected via the EFA were assessed for scale reliability. An estimate of the scale’s internal item-consistency was obtained with the coefficient alpha (Cronbach, 1951), and each item’s contribution to the internal reliability of the scale was assessed using this procedure. This procedure of determining internal reliability is the best-estimated determinant for scale reliability (Nunnally, 1978). Each of the eight subscales scores was calculated by taking the average of the sum of the five individual subscale items. The subscales were labeled as follows: 1) Fairness, 2) Value of Housework, 3) Gender Role Attitudes, 4) Hiring Outside Help, 5) Showing Appreciation, 6) Conflict over Housework, 7) Enjoyment of Housework, and 8) Personal Standards of Housework. Table 2 displays the coefficient alphas, as well as the correlations between each subscale

and the total scale, for the eight, five-item subscales selected from the initial pool of 111 items. As can be seen, the subscales demonstrated good internal consistency reliability (Cronbach's alpha was greater than or equal to .80). The final 40-item measure developed for phase two can be found in Appendix G, which contains the rest of the questionnaires administered in phase two (other than the demographic questionnaire, which can be found in Appendix E). The order of the 40 items in this scale was determined randomly.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Normality of data. Before running the primary analyses for phase two, I conducted preliminary analyses to better understand the data and its limitations. Descriptive statistics and plots of data were examined to evaluate normality of data. Results indicated that most of the data were generally normally distributed. However, the overall confidence in the relationship variable (which was computed by averaging the individual confidence items) was problematic according to Kline's (1998) cut-offs, which state that a skewness above 3.0 and a kurtosis above 10 indicates serious departures from normality in a distribution. The overall confidence variable had a skewness of -3.10 and a kurtosis of 11.97. As a result, I computed the square transformation by multiplying the value of the variable by itself, which produced a skewness of -2.17 and a kurtosis of 5.17. This transformed confidence variable was used in the present analyses.

Housework measure subscale correlations. Before testing my main hypotheses, I conducted several correlations to investigate the relationships among the eight subscales in my newly developed housework measure. The subscales were labeled as follows: 1) Fairness, 2) Value, 3) Gender Attitudes, 4) Hiring Help, 5) Appreciation 6) Conflict, 7) Enjoyment, and 8) Personal Standards. It is also important to note that the higher the scores on the Gender Attitudes subscale, the more egalitarian participants were in their gender ideology. For males and females, the Fairness subscale was positively correlated

with the Appreciation subscale and negatively correlated with the Conflict subscale, the Value subscale was positively correlated with the Enjoyment and Personal Standards subscales, the Hiring Help subscale was negatively correlated with the Personal Standards subscale, the Appreciation subscale was negatively correlated with Conflict subscale, and the Enjoyment subscale was positively correlated with the Personal Standards subscale. It is perhaps more interesting to note the differences between males and females on the subscale correlations. For males, the Gender Attitudes subscale was positively correlated with the Appreciation and Enjoyment subscales and negatively correlated with the Conflict and Personal Standards subscales, the Hiring Help subscale was also negatively correlated with the Conflict subscale, and the Appreciation subscale was also positively correlated with the Enjoyment subscales. For females, the Gender Attitudes subscale was positively correlated with the Hiring Help subscale and the Hiring Help subscale was also negatively correlated with the Enjoyment subscale. Please refer to Tables 3 and 4 for correlations among the subscales, conducted separately for males and females.

In addition, I conducted paired samples correlations among the subscales to account for the dependency between partners. Results revealed that the following subscales were significantly correlated between males and females: 1) the Fairness subscale ($r = .34, p = .001$), 2) the Gender Attitudes subscale ($r = .56, p < .001$), 3) the Conflict subscale ($r = .66, p < .001$), 4) the Hiring Help subscale ($r = .38, p < .001$), and 5) the Appreciation subscale ($r = .41, p < .001$). This suggests that partners' scores are significantly associated with each other on the aforementioned variables, but not

associated with each other for the Value, Enjoyment, or Personal Standards subscales. Please refer to Table 5 for these paired samples correlations.

Finally, I conducted bivariate correlations between the housework measure subscales and the relationship quality variables (i.e., relationship satisfaction, dedication, confidence, positive connections, and negative communication). Please refer to Tables 6 and 7 for a summary of these correlations, conducted separately for males and females.

Housework measure profile analysis. After investigating the correlations among the subscales, I conducted a profile analysis using SPSS GLM on the eight subscales of my newly developed measure of housework. A profile analysis is a special application of multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) to a situation where there are several dependent variables measured on the same scale. A profile analysis enabled me to use plots of data to compare males and females across the subscales. The grouping variable was gender. Nine males and 13 females from the original sample had missing data on one or more subscales, reducing the sample size to 184 individuals (94 males and 90 females). No univariate or multivariate outliers were detected among these participants. After deletion of cases with missing data, assumptions regarding normality of sampling distributions, linearity, and multicollinearity were met. However, there was a violation of sphericity as Mauchly's test was significant ($p < .001$), which is not surprising because this test is overly sensitive. As a result, I used the Greenhouse-Geisser (G-G) significance test (which is adjusted for the violation of the sphericity assumption) in looking at the results of the flatness and parallelism tests. The profiles deviated significantly from flatness, $F(4.45, 809.66) = 134.84, p < .001, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .43$, meaning that the subscales did not elicit the same average response. The profiles also deviated significantly from

parallelism, $F(4.45, 809.66) = 2.54, p = .03$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$, meaning that there was a significant gender x subscale interaction effect. Finally, the tests of between subject effects showed that there was a significant difference between males and females across the eight subscales, $F(1, 182) = 5.04, p = .03$, partial $\eta^2 = .03$. In other words, males and females differed in their overall means across the eight subscales. The profiles for males and females are depicted in Figure 1. In general, females' mean scores were somewhat higher than males' mean scores across the eight subscales.

Given the profiles for males and females were somewhat different, I conducted paired-samples t-tests to determine if the means of the various subscales significantly differed by gender. Results revealed a significant difference between males and females on the Hiring Housework subscale, $t(99) = -3.73, p < .001$ (males: $M = 2.81, SD = 1.33$; females: $M = 3.35, SD = 1.27$) and on the Appreciation subscale, $t(101) = -2.11, p = .04$ (males: $M = 3.88, SD = .89$; females: $M = 4.08, SD = .89$). These results suggest that females were more open to the idea of hiring outside help than males and that females reported showing more appreciation than males for the housework completed by their partner. Results also revealed a marginally significant difference between males and females on the Gender Attitudes subscale, $t(101) = -1.96, p = .05$ (males: $M = 4.21, SD = .86$; females: $M = 4.36, SD = .79$) and on the Conflict subscale, $t(94) = 1.75, p = .08$ (males: $M = 2.14, SD = .98$; females: $M = 2.00, SD = .94$). In other words, there was a trend such that females reported having more gender egalitarian attitudes towards housework than males, and they reported less conflict over housework than males. The means of the other subscales did not significantly differ by gender.

Primary Analyses

Hypothesis 1: Partners with greater discrepancies in reported time spent on housework will have lower levels of global satisfaction with the current division compared to those with more equal divisions of housework.

Before testing this hypothesis, I gathered more descriptive data on time spent on housework. First, I wanted to examine whether there were any differences in male versus female time spent on housework. I conducted a paired-samples t-test and results revealed there were no significant differences between male and female reported housework hours, $t(55) = -1.40, p = .17$ (males: $M = 17.38, SD = 11.56$; females: $M = 20.34, SD = 10.95$). I also conducted bivariate correlations with the male/female reported housework hours variable and the subscales from the housework measure developed in this study. Results revealed that female reports of time spent on housework were related to both male gender role attitudes ($r = -.37, p = .001$) and female gender role attitudes ($r = -.28, p = .02$). In other words, the more time females spent doing housework, the lower both male and female scores were for attitudes regarding gender equality (i.e., the more traditional they were in terms of housework). However, male reports of time spent on housework were not related to any of the subscales. Finally, I conducted bivariate correlations with male/female reported housework hours and the relationship quality variables in the study (i.e., relationship satisfaction, dedication, confidence, positive connections, and negative communication). I ran these correlations separately for men and women, and results revealed that female reports of time spent on housework were related to female global relationship satisfaction ($r = -.23, p = .045$); in other words, the more time females spent doing housework, the lower their global relationship satisfaction. Male reports of time

spent on housework were not related to male global relationship satisfaction ($r = .07, p = .52$), or to any of the other relationship outcome measures. I then performed Fisher's r to z transformation in order to determine whether the coefficients for men and women were significantly different from each other. The results revealed that the coefficients were significantly different from each other ($z = 1.88, p = .03$, one-tailed test).

Given that this is the first of several hypotheses examining overall satisfaction with the division of housework, I also wanted to determine whether there were any differences between male and female reports of satisfaction with housework. I performed a paired-samples t -test, which revealed a marginally significant difference between male and female reports of satisfaction with the division of housework, $t(102) = 1.99, p = .05$ (males: $M = 4.13, SD = .90$; females: $M = 3.88, SD = 1.12$). Thus, there is a trend such that males are more satisfied with the division of housework than their partners. The results thus far provide support for traditional patterns in relationships.

After I finished gathering descriptive data, I conducted a linear regression analysis to test hypothesis one. First, absolute differences between partners' reported housework hours were calculated and recorded as "couple housework difference" scores (i.e., housework equality scores). Therefore, the lower the score, the more equal partners are in their contributions to housework, and the higher the score, the more unequal partners are in their contributions to housework. Second, I entered these housework equality scores (independent variable, IV) into a regression analysis to predict global housework satisfaction (dependent variable, DV) as measured by the housework satisfaction item from the scale developed in this study. I ran the regression two ways, with and without controlling for global relationship satisfaction as measured by the Couples Satisfaction

Index. I wanted to control for global relationship satisfaction in assessing the discrepancy between male and female housework reports because overall satisfaction with one's relationship may affect the DV (i.e., global housework satisfaction). Hierarchical regression results for housework equality scores predicting global satisfaction with housework, controlling for global relationship satisfaction, were not statistically significant from the males' perceptions ($\beta = .15, p = .22$), nor from the females' perceptions ($\beta = .14, p = .27$). In other words, housework equality scores do not appear to predict global housework satisfaction after controlling for global relationship satisfaction. Thus, the difference in reported housework hours between partners was not related to individual reports of overall satisfaction with the way in which the housework is divided.

When I ran the regression without controlling for global relationship satisfaction, results for housework equality scores predicting global satisfaction with housework were, again, not statistically significant from the males' perceptions ($\beta = .05, p = .70$), nor from the females' perceptions ($\beta = -.02, p = .91$). In other words, housework equality scores (as measured by the difference between male and female reported time spent on housework) do not appear to be related to global housework satisfaction.

Hypothesis 2: Partners who have similar personal standards of how the housework should be carried out will experience less conflict over housework than partners who have dissimilar personal standards of how the housework should be carried out.

Before testing this hypothesis, I gathered more descriptive data on personal standards related to housework. First, I wanted to examine whether there were any differences in male versus female personal standards. I conducted a paired-samples t-test

and results revealed there were no significant differences between male and female personal standards related to housework, $t(98) = -1.16, p = .25$ (males: $M = 3.49, SD = .75$; females: $M = 3.62, SD = .82$). I also conducted bivariate correlations with male/female personal standards and the subscales from the housework measure developed in this study. These correlations were run separately for males and females and are presented in Tables 3 and 4, respectively. To briefly summarize, for both males and females, personal standards were significantly associated with the Value, Hiring Help, and Enjoyment subscales. In addition, male personal standards were also significantly associated with the Gender Attitudes subscale such that the higher their personal standards, the more traditional their beliefs were in terms of gender roles. Finally, I conducted bivariate correlation with male/female personal standards and the relationship quality variables in the study (i.e., relationship satisfaction, dedication, confidence, positive connections, and negative communication), which failed to yield any significant associations (see Tables 6 and 7).

Given that this is the first of several hypotheses examining the Conflict subscale, I also wanted to determine whether there were any differences between male and female reports of conflict over housework. I performed a paired-samples t-test, which revealed a marginally significant difference between male and female reports of conflict over housework, $t(94) = 1.75, p = .08$ (males: $M = 2.14, SD = .98$; females: $M = 2.00, SD = .94$). Thus, there appears to be a trend such that males report more conflict over housework than their partners, which is illustrated in Figure 1.

After I finished gathering descriptive data, I tested hypothesis two with two different analyses: first with a linear regression analysis using absolute difference scores

between male and female personal standards of housework and then with a repeated measures ANOVA using a categorical variable to group couples by who (i.e., male partner vs. female partner vs. equal) has higher standards. Before running the regression analysis, the absolute difference between partners' reports of personal standards (as measured by the Personal Standards subscale developed in this study) was calculated and recorded as "couple standards difference" scores. Therefore, the lower the score, the more similar partners are in their personal standards of how the housework should be carried out, and the higher the score, the more dissimilar partners are in their personal standards of how the housework should be carried out. Second, I entered these "couple standards difference" scores (independent variable, IV) into a regression analysis to predict global conflict over housework (dependent variable, DV), as measured by the housework conflict scale developed in this study.

I ran these regressions two ways, with and without controlling for negative communication in the relationship, as measured by the Danger Signs Scale. I wanted to control for negative communication in assessing the discrepancy between male and female personal standards because negative communication may affect the DV (i.e., global conflict over housework). Results for discrepancies in personal standards predicting global conflict over housework, controlling for negative communication, were not statistically significant from the males' perceptions ($\beta = -.11, p = .20$), nor from the females' perceptions ($\beta = -.02, p = .86$). In other words, differences in personal standards do not appear to predict global conflict over housework, after controlling for negative communication in the relationship. Thus, differences in personal standards of how the

housework should be carried out were not related to reports of overall conflict over housework.

When I ran the regression without controlling for negative communication in the relationship, results for differences in personal standards predicting global conflict over housework were, again, not statistically significant from the males' perceptions ($\beta = -.03$, $p = .80$), nor from the females' perceptions ($\beta = -.08$, $p = .43$). In other words, discrepancies in personal standards (as measured by the difference between male and female reported personal standards) do not appear to be related to global conflict over housework.

However, the aforementioned regression analyses fail to take into account the direction of the difference in personal standards scores (i.e. whether the male or female partner has higher standards). Thus, in order to take into account the direction of the difference, I created a variable that reflected who has higher standards: 1) male has higher standards, 2) female has higher standards, or 3) male and female have equal standards (couples fell into this category as long as partner standard scores did not differ more than .20). I then ran a 2 (gender: male or female) x 3 (standards: male has higher standards, female has higher standards, or male and female have equal standards) repeated measures ANOVA comparing the following groups of couples: 1) couples in which the male has higher standards, 2) couples in which the female has higher standards, and 3) couples in which partners have equal standards. The dependent variable was reported conflict over housework. Gender was treated as a within-subjects factor, whereas the personal standards variable was treated as a between-subjects factor. Treating gender as a within-subjects factor accounted for the dependency of the data. The

test revealed that there was not a significant main effect for gender, $F(1, 88) = 2.68, p = .11$, partial $\eta^2 = .032$, nor a significant main effect for personal standards of housework, $F(2, 88) = .09, p = .92$, partial $\eta^2 = .002$. Furthermore, there was not a significant interaction between gender and standards, $F(2, 88) = .18, p = .84$, partial $\eta^2 = .004$, which confirms the findings from the first set of analyses testing this hypothesis (i.e., there does not appear to be a relationship between partners' personal standards of housework and the amount of conflict they experience over housework). Furthermore, controlling for negative communication in the relationship did not substantially change the results of my ANOVA. However, after controlling for negative communication, there was a marginally significant main effect for gender, $F(1, 84) = 3.02, p = .09$, partial $\eta^2 = .035$, which fits with the findings from my paired-samples t-test (i.e., there is a trend such that males report more conflict over housework than females).

Hypothesis 3: Satisfaction with the division of housework will be positively related to overall relationship quality and positively related to perceived fairness about the division of housework.

Hypothesis 4: Perceived fairness about the division of housework will be positively related to overall relationship quality.

I conducted correlational analyses to test hypotheses three and four. First, a bivariate correlation was run to examine the association between reported satisfaction with the division of housework and overall relationship quality (i.e., relationship satisfaction, dedication, confidence, positive connections, and negative communication). This analysis showed that the correlations were all significant at the $p < .01$ level (with the exception of the correlation between satisfaction with the division of housework and

positive connections for females, which was significant at the $p < .05$ level), and in the expected directions, for both males and females. Second, a bivariate correlation was run to examine the association between reported satisfaction with the division of housework and perceived fairness about the division of housework; this correlation was also significant at the $p < .01$ level and in the expected direction, for both males and females. Finally, a bivariate correlation was run to examine the association between perceived fairness about the division of housework and relationship quality (i.e., relationship satisfaction, dedication, confidence, positive connections, and negative communication). This analysis showed that most of the correlations were significant at the $p < .01$ level, and in the expected directions, for both males and females. However, the correlation between perceived fairness about the division of housework and positive connections was not significant for females ($r = .18, p = .08$). I then performed Fisher's r to z transformation in order to determine whether the coefficients for the correlation between perceived fairness and positive connections for men and women were significantly different from each other. The results revealed that the coefficients were significantly different from each other ($z = 2.34, p = .01$, one-tailed test). The means, standard deviations, and correlations among these variables for men and women are presented in Tables 8 and 9, respectively.

Hypothesis 5: Global satisfaction with the division of housework will mediate the relationship between perceptions of fairness regarding housework and overall relationship satisfaction, such that higher reports of fairness will lead to higher reports of global satisfaction with the division of housework, which will be positively related to overall relationship satisfaction.

The three variables of particular interest here were global satisfaction with division of housework, perceptions of fairness regarding housework, and overall relationship satisfaction as measured by the Couples Satisfaction Index. Correlations among these variables for males and females are presented in Tables 8 and 9, respectively. For both males and females, global satisfaction with the division of housework, perceptions of fairness regarding housework, and overall relationship satisfaction were significantly correlated, and in expected directions. The analyses I now present further test the nature of these associations.

I conducted a path analysis using a series of multiple regressions in SPSS. It was expected that global satisfaction with the division of housework would mediate the effect of perceptions of fairness regarding housework on the overall relationship satisfaction of couples. According to Baron and Kenny (1986), four conditions must be satisfied for a variable to be considered a mediator. First, the independent variable (IV) must predict the dependent variable (DV) (referred to as path c). To test for this condition, I conducted a regression in which the IV (perceptions of fairness) was entered to predict the DV (overall relationship satisfaction, as measured by the Couples Satisfaction Index). Results showed that perceptions of fairness significantly predicted overall relationship satisfaction for males ($\beta = .47, p < .001$) and for females ($\beta = .30, p < .01$). Second, the IV must predict the mediating variable (MV) (referred to as path a). To test for this condition, a second regression was conducted in which the IV (perceptions of fairness) was entered to predict the MV (global satisfaction with housework). Results showed that perceptions of fairness significantly predicted global satisfaction with housework for males ($\beta = .70, p < .001$) and for females ($\beta = .72, p < .001$). Third, the MV must predict

the DV after controlling for the IV (referred to as path b). To test for this condition, a third regression was conducted in which the MV (global satisfaction with housework) was entered to predict the DV (overall relationship satisfaction) after controlling for the IV (perceptions of fairness). Results showed that global satisfaction with housework significantly predicted overall relationship satisfaction, after controlling for perceptions of fairness, for males ($\beta = .37, p < .01$) and for females ($\beta = .35, p < .05$). Fourth, after controlling for the association between the MV and the DV, the relation between the IV and the DV should be reduced (referred to as path c'). If it is reduced to zero (i.e., is no longer significantly different from zero), then there is evidence for a full mediation. For males and females, the relationship between perceptions of fairness and overall relationship satisfaction was reduced after controlling for the association between global satisfaction with housework and overall relationship satisfaction (males: $\beta = .21, p = .08$; females: $\beta = .04, p = .76$). However, for males, the coefficient for the association between fairness and relationship satisfaction remained marginally different from zero, whereas for females, the coefficient reduced to non-significance. Thus, there is evidence to suggest partial mediation for males and full mediation for females. The results of the four Baron and Kenny steps are summarized for males and females in Tables 10 and 11, respectively. The mediation models for males and females are presented in Figures 2 and 3, respectively.

I then conducted the Sobel test to determine whether the indirect path from perceptions of fairness to overall relationship satisfaction was significantly different from zero. For males, the Sobel test ($z = 3.00, p < .01$) revealed that the indirect effect of perceptions of fairness on overall relationship satisfaction through reports of global

satisfaction with the division of housework was statistically significant. For females, the Sobel test ($z = 2.52, p < .05$) also revealed that the indirect effect of perceptions of fairness on overall relationship satisfaction through reports of global satisfaction with the division of housework was statistically significant. Thus, my mediation hypothesis was supported for both males and females. However, for males, housework satisfaction partially mediated the relationship between fairness and overall relationship satisfaction, whereas for females, housework satisfaction fully mediated the relationship between fairness and overall relationship satisfaction. In other words, global satisfaction with the division of housework accounts for all of the relationship between fairness and overall marital satisfaction for females. On the other hand, men's overall relationship satisfaction was affected directly by their perceptions of fairness. For both males and females, higher reports of fairness led to higher reports of global satisfaction with the current division of housework, which was positively related to overall relationship satisfaction.

Hypothesis 6: Individuals who report showing a lot of appreciation for their partner's housework contributions will report lower levels of conflict over housework than individuals who report not showing much appreciation for their partner's housework contributions.

I conducted a multiple linear regression analysis to test hypothesis six. I entered reported appreciation for partner's housework contributions (independent variable, IV), as measured by the Appreciation subscale from the housework measure developed in this study, into a regression analysis to predict global levels of conflict over housework (dependent variable, DV), as measured by the Conflict subscale. I ran the regression controlling for overall relationship quality, as measured by the Couples Satisfaction Index

and Danger Signs Scale. I wanted to control for global relationship quality in assessing the relationship between appreciation scores and reports of conflict because overall relationship quality may affect the DV (i.e., global levels of conflict over housework). Results for appreciation scores predicting conflict over housework, controlling for overall relationship quality, were statistically significant from the males' perceptions ($\beta = -.24, p = .01$), as well as from the females' perceptions ($\beta = -.42, p < .001$).

For males, overall relationship quality (as measured by the Couples Satisfaction Index and Danger Signs Scale) explained a significant proportion of the variance of conflict over housework, $R^2 = .41, F(2, 93) = 32.22, p < .001$. However, in the final model for males (the model with appreciation as a predictor), the R^2 increased to .453 (or 45.3% of the variance), which was a statistically significant increase, $R^2 = .45, F(3, 92) = 25.44, p = .01$. In other words, appreciation accounted for an additional 4.4% of the variance. It is important to note that in the final model, both negative communication ($\beta = .42, p < .001$) and appreciation ($\beta = -.24, p = .01$) were significant predictors of conflict over housework, but relationship satisfaction was only a marginally significant predictor of conflict over housework ($\beta = -.19, p = .08$).

Similarly, for females, overall relationship quality explained a significant proportion of the variance of conflict over housework, $R^2 = .21, F(2, 95) = 12.39, p < .001$. However, in the final model for females (the model with appreciation as a predictor), the R^2 increased to .362 (or 36.2% of the variance), which was a statistically significant increase, $R^2 = .36, F(3, 94) = 17.80, p < .001$. In other words, appreciation accounted for an additional 15.5% of the variance. Again, it is important to note that in the final model, both negative communication ($\beta = .37, p = .001$) and appreciation ($\beta = -$

.42, $p < .001$) were significant predictors of conflict over housework, but relationship satisfaction was not a significant predictor of conflict over housework ($\beta = .38, p = .71$). To summarize, for both males and females, even after controlling for overall relationship satisfaction and negative communication, appreciation scores predicted conflict over housework. Thus, the more individuals showed appreciation for their partner's housework contributions, the less conflict over housework they experienced.

Hypothesis 7: Couples who hire outside help will report lower levels of conflict over housework than couples who do not hire outside help.

A two-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to determine whether couples who hire outside help differed from couples who do not hire outside help in terms of reported levels of conflict over housework. More specifically, I ran a 2 (gender: male or female) x 2 (hired help: yes or no) repeated measures ANOVA comparing couples who hired outside help to couples who did not hire outside help. The dependent variable was reported conflict over housework. The test revealed that there was not a significant main effect for gender, $F(1, 93) = .41, p = .52$, partial $\eta^2 = .004$, but there was a significant main effect for hired help, $F(1, 93) = 5.01, p = .03$, partial $\eta^2 = .051$.

Couples who hired outside help reported less conflict over housework (males: $M = 1.57, SD = .58$; females: $M = 1.58, SD = .65$) than couples who did not hire outside help (males: $M = 2.23, SD = 1.00$; females: $M = 2.07, SD = .96$). There was not a significant interaction between gender and hired help, $F(1, 93) = .41, p = .52$, partial $\eta^2 = .006$.

These results suggest that hiring outside help does have an effect on reported conflict levels over housework. Specifically, those couples who hired outside help reported less

conflict over housework, from both the males' and females' perspective, than couples who did not hire outside help.

I then conducted the analysis again, but this time, I controlled for male and female income and education levels. After controlling for these variables, the test again revealed that there was not a main effect for gender, $F(1, 75) = .01, p = .91$, but neither was there a main effect for hired help, $F(1, 75) = 1.39, p = .24$. Thus, after controlling for income and education levels, the effect of hiring help on reported conflict over housework was no longer significant. Furthermore, there was not a significant interaction between gender and hired help, $F(1, 75) = .20, p = .65$.

Hypothesis 8: Couples with large discrepancies in how partners value housework will experience more conflict over housework than couples with small discrepancies in how partners value housework.

I tested hypothesis eight two ways: first with a linear regression analysis using absolute difference scores between how much partners value housework and then with a repeated measures ANOVA using a categorical variable to group couples by who (i.e., male partner vs. female partner vs. equal) values housework more. Before running the regression analysis, I calculated the absolute difference between partners' reports of how much they value housework and recorded them as "couple value difference" scores. Therefore, the lower the score, the more similar partners are in how much they value housework, and the higher the score, the more dissimilar partners are in how much they value housework. Second, these absolute value difference scores (independent variable, IV) were entered into a regression analysis to predict overall conflict over housework (dependent variable, DV), which was calculated by summing male partner reported

conflict with female partner reported conflict. Results for value difference scores predicting overall conflict over housework were not statistically significant, ($\beta = .001, p = .99$). In other words, couples with large discrepancies in how partners value housework did not experience more conflict over housework compared to couples with small discrepancies in how partner value housework. The regression analysis was also conducted with male reported conflict over housework as the DV and then female reported conflict over housework as the DV; these regressions yielded similar results (males: $\beta = .01, p = .92$; females: $\beta = -.02, p = .88$). Thus, there does not appear to be a relationship between how much partners value housework and the amount of conflict couples experience over housework.

However, the aforementioned regression analysis fails to take into account the direction of the difference in value scores (i.e. whether the male or female partner values housework more). Thus, in order to take into account the direction of the difference, I created a variable that reflected who values the housework more: 1) male values it more, 2) female values it more, or 3) male and female value it equally (couples fell into this category as long as partner value scores did not differ more than .20). I then ran a 2 (gender: male or female) x 3 (value: male values it more, female values it more, or male and female value it equally) repeated measures ANOVA comparing the following groups of couples: 1) couples in which the male values housework more, 2) couples in which the female values housework more, and 3) couples in which partners value housework equally. The dependent variable was reported conflict over housework. The test revealed that there was a marginally significant main effect for gender, $F(1, 91) = 2.99, p = .09$, partial $\eta^2 = .032$; thus, there was a trend such that males reported more conflict over

housework ($M = 2.13$, $SD = .97$) than females ($M = 1.98$, $SD = .92$). However, there was not a significant main effect for valuing housework, $F(2, 91) = 1.61$, $p = .21$, partial $\eta^2 = .034$, and there was not a significant interaction between gender and value, $F(2, 93) = .66$, $p = .52$, partial $\eta^2 = .014$, which confirms the findings from the first analysis testing this hypothesis (i.e., there does not appear to be a relationship between how much partners value housework and the amount of conflict they experience over housework).

Hypothesis 9: Couples with children will experience more conflict over housework and have lower global satisfaction with housework than couples without children.

A two-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to determine whether couples who have children differed from couples who do not have children in terms of reported levels of conflict over housework, as well as reported global satisfaction with housework. More specifically, I ran a 2 (gender: male or female) x 2 (children: yes or no) repeated measures ANOVA comparing couples who have children to couples who do not have children. The dependent variable in the first ANOVA was reported conflict over housework. This test revealed that there was not a main effect for gender, $F(1, 92) = 2.75$, $p = .10$, partial $\eta^2 = .029$, but there was a significant main effect for children, $F(1, 92) = 9.02$, $p = .003$, partial $\eta^2 = .089$. Couples with children reported more conflict over housework (males: $M = 2.47$, $SD = 1.14$; females: $M = 2.36$, $SD = 1.02$) than couples without children (males: $M = 1.96$, $SD = .81$; females: $M = 1.80$, $SD = .83$). There was not a significant interaction between gender and children, $F(1, 92) = .09$, $p = .76$, partial $\eta^2 = .001$. These results suggest that having children does have an effect on reported conflict levels over housework. Specifically, those couples with children reported more

conflict over housework, from both the males' and females' perspective, than couples without children. I ran the ANOVA again, but controlled for number of children in the home, as it would seem plausible that those couples with more children would have more conflict over housework than those couples with fewer children. Even after controlling for number of children in the home, there was still a main effect for children, $F(1, 89) = 5.18, p = .03, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .055$, on reported levels of conflict over housework.

I then conducted the 2 (gender: male or female) x 2 (children: yes or no) repeated measures ANOVA again, but this time, my dependent variable was global satisfaction with housework. This test revealed that there was a marginally significant main effect for gender, $F(1, 100) = 3.61, p = .06, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .035$, and there was a marginally significant main effect for children, $F(1, 100) = 3.94, p = .05, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .038$. In other words, there was a trend such that males reported more satisfaction with the division of housework than their partners (males: $M = 4.12, SD = .90$; females: $M = 3.89, SD = 1.12$), and couples with children reported less housework satisfaction (males: $M = 3.94, SD = .86$; females: $M = 3.64, SD = 1.20$) than couples without children (males: $M = 4.21, SD = .92$; females: $M = 4.03, SD = 1.07$). There was not a significant interaction between gender and children, $F(1, 100) = .23, p = .63, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .002$. These results suggest that having children does have an effect on reported satisfaction with housework. Specifically, those couples with children reported less satisfaction with housework, from both the males' and females' perspective, than couples without children. I ran the ANOVA again, but controlled for number of children in the home as I did in the previous ANOVA analysis. Results showed that there was still a marginally significant main effect for gender, $F(1, 97) = 3.75, p = .06, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .037$, but there was no longer a main effect for children,

$F(1, 97) = 1.68, p = .20, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .017$, on reported housework satisfaction.

Furthermore, there was not a significant interaction between gender and children, $F(1, 97) = 1.99, p = .16, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .020$. Thus, controlling for the number of children in the home negates the main effect found above for children on reported levels of satisfaction with housework.

Hypothesis 10: Partners with relative equal earnings will have more egalitarian divisions of housework compared to partners with relative unequal earnings.

I tested hypothesis ten two ways: first with a linear regression analysis using absolute difference scores between partners' reported individual incomes and then with a repeated measures ANOVA using a categorical variable to group couples by income (i.e., male earns more, female earns more, partners have relatively equal earnings) in order to capture the direction of the difference in income. Before running the regression analysis, I calculated the absolute differences between partners' reported individual incomes and recorded them as "couple income difference" scores. Therefore, the lower the score, the more equal partners are in their earnings, and the higher the score, the more unequal partners are in their earnings. I used the "couple housework difference" scores, which were calculated for hypothesis one, to assess housework equality. I entered the "couple income difference" scores (independent variable, IV) into a regression analysis to predict housework equality (dependent variable, DV). Results for income predicting housework equality were statistically significant ($\beta = .41, p = .002$). Income also explained a significant proportion of the variance in housework equality, $R^2 = .17, F(1, 53) = 10.46, p = .002$. In other words, those couples with more equal earnings had more egalitarian divisions of housework compared to those with less equal earnings. I then ran a

hierarchical regression, controlling for both hours worked per week and dedication, as it seems likely that these variables would affect housework equality. More specifically, the time availability hypothesis suggests that whichever member of the couple spends less time in paid labor would spend more time doing housework compared to his/her partner. In terms of dedication, it is generally believed that the least committed member of a couple generally has the most power (Stanley, 2005; Waller, 1938), which may affect how tasks are divided in the home. Results for income predicting housework equality, after controlling for hours worked per week and male and female dedication, were still marginally significant ($\beta = .37, p = .06$). There is also a statistically significant improvement when income was added as a predictor to the model, R^2 Change = .12, $F(5, 39) = 2.35, p = .02$. Thus, even after controlling for hours worked per week and dedication, those couples with more equal earnings tended to have more egalitarian divisions of housework compared to those with less equal earnings. Given these results, there does appear to be a relationship between the difference in partners' income and housework equality.

I then conducted a 2 (gender: male or female) x 3 (income: male earns more, female earns more, or partners have relatively equal earnings) repeated measures ANOVA to examine whether income predicted housework equality, which enabled me to determine whether the direction of the difference in income mattered. The dependent variable was reported housework hours. The test revealed that there was not a significant main effect for gender, $F(1, 53) = .08, p = .79$, partial $\eta^2 = .001$, nor for income, $F(2, 53) = .92, p = .41$, partial $\eta^2 = .033$. However, there was a significant interaction between gender and income, $F(2, 53) = 6.91, p = .002$, partial $\eta^2 = .207$. This interaction indicates

that when the male earns more, his female partner does more of the housework (males: $M = 14.53$, $SD = 5.75$; females: $M = 23.11$, $SD = 13.34$) and when the female earns more, her male partner does more of the housework (males: $M = 24.63$, $SD = 18.79$; females: $M = 16.63$, $SD = 4.24$); furthermore, partners with relatively equal earnings share the housework equally (males: $M = 15.44$, $SD = 6.05$; females: $M = 16.67$, $SD = 5.61$) (see Figure 4 for a depiction of this interaction). A Tukey-corrected post-hoc test revealed that there were no significant group (i.e., male earns more vs. female earns more, male earns more vs. relatively equal earnings, etc.) differences among the couples. I ran the analysis again, controlling for hours worked per week and dedication as I did with the regression analysis, and the gender x income interaction effect was still marginally significant, $F(2, 38) = 3.09$, $p = .06$, partial $\eta^2 = .140$.

Hypothesis 11: Cohabiting couples will have more egalitarian divisions of housework compared to married couples. Furthermore, for married couples, the prediction is that wives will contribute more to housework than their husbands.

An independent-samples t-test was conducted to determine whether cohabiting couples have more egalitarian divisions of housework compared to married couples. I used the “couple housework difference” scores that I calculated in hypothesis one to test this hypothesis. It is important to remember that the lower the score, the more equal partners are in their contributions to housework, and the higher the score, the more unequal partners are in their contributions to housework. Results showed that there was a significant difference in “couple housework difference” scores between cohabiting couples ($M = 6.33$, $SD = 4.52$) and married couples ($M = 12.26$, $SD = 13.58$), $t(53) = 2.43$, $p = .02$. These results suggest that marriage does have an effect on the division of

housework. Specifically, those couples who were married had less egalitarian divisions of housework than couples who were in cohabiting relationships.

I next examined if this difference between married and cohabiting couples was related to whether or not the couples had children. I conducted independent t-tests for married and cohabiting couples with children and married and cohabiting couples without children. Results revealed that for couples with children, there was not a significant difference in “couple housework difference” scores between cohabiting couples ($M = 7.00$, $SD = 5.12$) and married couples ($M = 18.50$, $SD = 16.62$), $t(21) = 1.35$, $p = .19$. Similarly, results revealed that for couples without children, there was not a significant difference in “couple housework difference” scores between cohabiting couples ($M = 6.09$, $SD = 4.53$) and married couples ($M = 6.62$, $SD = 6.37$), $t(30) = .24$, $p = .81$. Thus, the difference in housework equality I found above between married and cohabiting couples does not appear to be related to having children but appears to be a difference based on marital status.

I then performed a paired-samples t-test to determine whether married women contributed more to housework than married men. I found that there was a trend toward a significant difference in reported housework contributions between married women ($M = 21.65$, $SD = 11.84$) and married men ($M = 16.94$, $SD = 8.77$), $t(40) = -1.97$, $p = .06$, such that married women reported contributing more to housework than married men. I also performed a paired-samples t-test to determine if there was a difference in reported housework contribution between males and females in cohabiting relationships. Results showed that males and females in cohabiting relationships did not differ in their reported housework contributions (males: $M = 14.60$, $SD = 6.88$; females: $M = 17.00$, $SD = 7.96$),

$t(40) = -1.23, p = .24$. Thus, it appears that married couples tend to be more traditional than cohabiting couples in terms of housework contributions.

Hypothesis 12: Couples with more conservative religious views will tend to be more traditional, and thus, less likely to share the housework equally than couples with more liberal religious views.

I conducted a linear regression analysis to test exploratory hypothesis four. Two questions were used to assess religiosity: 1) All things considered, how religious would you say you are? (i.e., religiosity) and 2) How often do you attend religious services with your partner? (i.e., religious attendance frequency). I used the “couple housework difference” scores, which were calculated for hypothesis one, to assess housework equality. I first entered male and female religiosity scores (independent variable, IV) into a regression analysis to predict housework equality (dependent variable, DV). Results showed that religiosity scores did not predict housework equality for males ($\beta = -.11, p = .53$), or for females ($\beta = .24, p = .18$). In other words, those who were more religious did not report that they had less egalitarian divisions of housework than those who were less religious.

To further test this hypothesis, I entered male and female religious attendance frequency scores (IV) into another regression analysis to predict housework equality (DV). Results for religious attendance frequency scores predicting housework equality was not statistically significant for males ($\beta = .44, p = .19$), or for females ($\beta = -.50, p = .14$). In other words, those who attended religious services more frequently did not report that they had less egalitarian divisions of housework than those who attended religious

services less frequently. Thus, given these results, there does not appear to be a relationship between religiosity and housework equality.

Exploratory Analyses

Tests with the Who Does What measure. In addition to the analyses that directly tested my main hypotheses, I was also interested in examining my data from the Who Does What measure and its associations with data collected from the measure developed in this study. A summary of the various scores from the Who Does What measure used in these analyses is presented below.

1. A score reflecting the degree to which the respondent's rating of who does what for each of the rated tasks differs from the center point of the scale, which reflects equal sharing of the task. The average of the sum across the dimensions rated make up the total score for this variable (labeled "housework inequality"). The higher the score, the more the current division deviates from equality.
2. A calculated score of the average of the sums of the absolute differences between the respondent's ratings of how things are done in the various tasks (who does more of what) and how the respondent would like things to be done. A higher score means the respondent would like things to be done more differently from how they are presently done (labeled "desired housework absolute change").

3. A calculated score of the average of the sums of the absolute differences between the respondent's ratings of how he/she would like things to be done in the various tasks (who does more of what) and the midpoint of the scale. A higher score means the respondent's ideal in terms of the division of labor is further away from equal sharing of tasks (labeled "ideal/equality absolute difference").
4. A calculated score of the average of the sums of the differences between the respondent's rating of how things are done in the various tasks (who does more of what) and how the respondent would like things to be done. A negative score indicates that the respondent would like his/her partner to do more as it relates to housework and a positive score indicates that the respondent would like to do more as it relates to housework (labeled "desired housework change").

First, I wanted to determine whether the housework satisfaction item in the Who Does What measure was correlated with the housework satisfaction item from the housework measure developed in this study. I ran bivariate correlations between the housework satisfaction items and results revealed that the items were significantly associated with one another for both males and females (males: $r = .60, p < .001$; females: $r = .73, p < .001$).

Second, I wanted to examine the housework inequality calculated score from the Who Does What measure and the overall fairness score from the housework measure

developed in this study. Basically, I was interested in answering the following question: Does equality or fairness matter most in terms of satisfaction with the way the housework is divided? To answer this question, I first examined the correlations, conducted separately for males and females, among housework inequality, fairness, and the housework satisfaction score from the measure developed in this study. These variables were all significantly correlated for females, but for males, only fairness was significantly correlated with housework inequality and housework satisfaction; for males, housework inequality was not correlated with housework satisfaction. Thus, for males, there does not appear to be a relationship between housework inequality and housework satisfaction, but for females, this relationship does exist such that the higher their reports of housework inequality, the lower their reported housework satisfaction. Please refer to Tables 12 and 13 for a summary of these correlations, conducted separately for males and females.

After examining these correlations, I conducted a multiple regression, entering housework inequality and fairness (independent variables, IVs) into a regression analysis to predict global housework satisfaction (dependent variable, DV), as measured by the housework satisfaction item from the scale developed in this study. For males, the multiple regression model with both predictors produced $R^2 = .58$, $F(2, 95) = 64.54$, $p < .001$. More specifically, fairness significantly predicted housework satisfaction, after controlling for housework inequality, ($\beta = .78$, $p < .001$), but housework inequality did not significantly predict housework satisfaction, after controlling for fairness, ($\beta = .06$, $p = .39$). For females, the multiple regression model produced $R^2 = .55$, $F(2, 94) = 57.23$, $p < .001$. More specifically, fairness significantly predicted housework satisfaction, after controlling for housework inequality ($\beta = .68$, $p < .001$), and housework inequality also

significantly predicted housework satisfaction, after controlling for fairness ($\beta = -.18, p = .01$). In other words, for males, higher reports of fairness predicted higher levels of global satisfaction with housework, whereas for females, higher reports of fairness and lower reports of housework inequality predicted higher levels of global satisfaction with housework. However, given the correlations and beta weights, fairness appeared to be a better predictor of housework satisfaction compared to housework inequality. In other words, fairness really trumps equality for males, but for females, it appears as though fairness and equality are both important predictors of housework satisfaction.

Third, I examined the correlations among the calculated scores from the Who Does What measure. Results revealed that male and female reports of housework inequality were related to desired housework absolute change (males: $r = .41, p < .001$; females: $r = .47, p < .001$) and ideal/equality absolute difference (males: $r = .67, p < .001$; females: $r = .56, p < .001$). Thus, greater reported housework inequality was associated with more desire for housework change and more discrepancy between one's housework ideal and equality. Furthermore, male and female reports of desired housework absolute change were related to desired housework change (males: $r = .23, p = .02$; females: $r = -.70, p < .001$). For males, greater desired housework absolute change was associated with greater desired housework change, such that they would like to contribute more to housework. For females, greater desired housework absolute change was associated with greater desired housework change, such that they would like their partners to contribute more to housework. Thus, there was a slight tendency for males who desired change to desire it in the direction of them doing more while there was a very strong tendency for females who desired change to desire it in the direction of their male partners doing more.

Only female reports of housework inequality were related to desired housework change ($r = -.35, p < .001$). Thus, for females, greater reported housework inequality was associated with a greater desire for their partners to contribute more to housework. Please refer to Tables 14 and 15 for a summary of these correlations, conducted separately for males and females.

Fourth, I examined the correlations among the calculated scores from the Who Does What measure and some of the key subscales of the housework measure I developed in this study (i.e., fairness, appreciation, conflict, and personal standards). Results revealed that male reports of housework inequality were related to fairness ($r = -.26, p = .01$), conflict ($r = .22, p = .03$), and personal standards ($r = .27, p = .01$). Female reports of housework inequality were related to fairness ($r = -.21, p = .04$) and conflict ($r = .28, p = .006$). Male and female reports of desired housework absolute change were related to fairness (males: $r = -.40, p < .001$; females: $r = -.48, p < .001$), appreciation (males: $r = -.32, p = .002$; females: $r = -.33, p = .001$), and conflict (males: $r = .57, p < .001$; females: $r = .45, p < .001$). Male and female reports of the absolute difference between their ideal and equality were related to personal standards (males: $r = .26, p = .012$; females: $r = -.25, p = .001$). Male reports of desired housework change were only related to fairness ($r = .34, p = .001$), whereas female reports of desired housework change were related to fairness ($r = .49, p < .001$), conflict ($r = -.44, p < .001$), personal standards ($r = -.20, p = .049$), and appreciation ($r = .37, p < .001$). Please refer to Tables 16 and 17 for a summary of these correlations, conducted separately for males and females.

Finally, I examined the correlations among the calculated scores from the Who Does What measure and the overall relationship quality variables in my study (i.e., relationship satisfaction, dedication, confidence, positive connections, and negative communication). Results revealed that that male reports of housework inequality were related to relationship satisfaction ($r = -.32, p = .002$) and negative communication ($r = .24, p = .02$) and male reports of desired housework absolute change were related to relationship satisfaction ($r = -.58, p < .001$), confidence ($r = -.45, p < .001$), positive connections ($r = -.28, p = .007$), and negative communication ($r = .50, p < .001$). Results revealed that female reports of housework inequality were related to relationship satisfaction ($r = -.33, p = .001$), confidence ($r = -.34, p = .001$), positive connections ($r = -.34, p = .001$), and negative communication ($r = .30, p = .002$). Female reports of desired housework absolute change were related to relationship satisfaction ($r = -.57, p < .001$), dedication ($r = -.43, p < .001$), confidence ($r = -.54, p < .001$), positive connections ($r = -.49, p < .001$), and negative communication ($r = .51, p < .001$). Female reports of the absolute difference between their ideal and equality were related to dedication ($r = .26, p = .01$). Finally, female reports of desired housework change were related to relationship satisfaction ($r = .53, p < .001$), dedication ($r = .45, p < .001$), confidence ($r = .51, p < .001$), positive connections ($r = .52, p < .001$), and negative communication ($r = -.50, p < .001$). In general, these results suggest that housework is more associated with overall relationship quality for females compared to males. Please refer to Tables 18 and 19 for a summary of these correlations, conducted separately for males and females.

Tests with other subscales from the housework measure. I was also interested in investigating some of the other subscales from the housework measure developed in

this study, namely the Enjoyment and Gender Attitudes subscales. I first conducted bivariate correlations, run separately for males and females, among enjoyment of housework, housework satisfaction, and the relationship quality variables (i.e., relationship satisfaction, dedication, confidence, positive connections, and negative communication). Please refer to Tables 23 and 24 for a summary of these correlations, conducted separately for males and females. For males, enjoyment of housework was significantly and positively correlated with housework satisfaction, overall relationship satisfaction, dedication, and confidence. However, for females, enjoyment of housework was not associated with housework satisfaction or any of the relationship quality variables.

I then explored whether enjoyment of housework predicted global ratings of conflict over housework in a multiple regression analysis. I entered enjoyment (independent variable, IV) into a regression analysis to predict global levels of housework conflict (dependent variable, DV), as measured by the scale developed in this study. I ran the regression controlling for overall relationship quality, as measured by the Couples Satisfaction Index and Danger Signs Scale. I wanted to control for global relationship quality in assessing the relationship between enjoyment and conflict over housework because overall relationship quality may affect the DV (i.e., global levels of conflict over housework). Results showed that enjoyment scores did not predict conflict over housework from the males' perceptions ($\beta = .01, p = .91$), nor from the females' perceptions ($\beta = -.10, p = .28$).

For males, overall relationship quality explained a significant proportion of the variance of conflict over housework, $R^2 = .41, F(2, 94) = 31.30, p < .001$. However, in

the final model for males (the model with enjoyment as a predictor), the R^2 did not increase at all. Thus, enjoyment did not help to explain any of the variance in conflict over housework for males. For females, overall relationship quality also explained a significant proportion of the variance of conflict over housework, $R^2 = .22$, $F(2, 95) = 13.10$, $p < .001$. However, in the final model for females (the model with enjoyment as a predictor), the R^2 only increased to .23, which was not a significant increase, $R^2 = .23$, $F(3, 95) = 9.14$, $p = .28$. In other words, enjoyment did not account for a significant proportion of variance in conflict over housework for females.

In addition to investigating the Enjoyment subscale, I also wanted to explore whether scores on the Gender Attitudes subscale predicted any housework and/or relationship outcomes. First, absolute differences between partners' reported gender role attitudes were calculated and recorded as "gender attitude difference" scores. Therefore, the lower the score, the more similar partners are in their gender role ideology, and the higher the score, the more different partners are in their gender role ideology. Second, I entered these gender attitude difference scores (independent variable, IV) into a regression analysis to predict global housework satisfaction (dependent variable, DV), as measured by the housework satisfaction item from the scale developed in this study. I ran the regression controlling for overall relationship quality, as measured by the Couples Satisfaction Index and Danger Signs Scale. Like in the previous analysis, I wanted to control for global relationship quality in assessing the relationship between gender role attitudes and housework satisfaction because overall relationship quality may affect the DV (i.e., global levels of housework satisfaction). Results showed that differences in

gender role attitudes did not predict satisfaction with housework from the males' perceptions ($\beta = .14, p = .14$), nor from the females' perceptions ($\beta = -.11, p = .27$).

I then ran the multiple regression analysis again, but this time, I entered reported conflict over housework as the DV. I again controlled for overall relationship quality, as measured by the Couples Satisfaction Index and Danger Signs Scale. Results showed that differences in gender role attitudes did not predict conflict over housework from the males' perceptions, ($\beta = -.09, p = .28$), nor from the females' perception ($\beta = .01, p = .96$).

Finally, I ran a linear regression analysis with gender attitude difference scores (IV) predicting overall relationship satisfaction (DV), as measured by the Couples Satisfaction Index. Results revealed that differences in gender role attitudes did not predict overall relationship satisfaction from the males' perceptions ($\beta = -.09, p = .28$). However, from the females' perception, a marginally significant relationship between the IV and DV was found ($\beta = -.18, p = .07$). In other words, for females, the more they differed from their partner in terms of gender role attitudes, the lower their overall satisfaction in the relationship. However, after controlling for female reported housework hours, this finding was no longer significant ($\beta = -.09, p = .46$).

Tests related to childcare. Given my study included a small childcare component, I wanted to examine these data as well. First, I wanted to examine whether there were any differences in male versus female time spent on childcare. I conducted a paired-samples t-test and results revealed there were significant differences between male and female reported housework hours, $t(26) = 3.28, p = .003$ (males: $M = 16.93, SD = 12.64$; females: $M = 26.19, SD = 12.52$). Thus, females reported spending more time in

childcare activities than their partners. I performed paired-samples t-tests on the individual items within the childcare component of my study to determine whether males and females differed in their reported time spent in individual childcare activities. These tests revealed that males and females differed in time spent changing diapers, $t(33) = -2.95, p = .006$, bathing child(ren), $t(34) = -3.92, p < .001$, reading to child(ren), $t(33) = -3.74, p = .001$, playing with child(ren), $t(33) = -3.29, p = .002$, and getting child(ren) to/from school, work, or activities, $t(33) = -2.31, p = .03$. Females spent more time in each of these childcare activities than males. Please refer to Table 20 for means and standard deviations for time spent in childcare activities.

I also conducted bivariate correlations, run separately for males and females, among the following variables: 1) housework satisfaction, 2) satisfaction with partner's housework effort, 3) childcare satisfaction, and 4) satisfaction with partner's childcare effort. Results revealed that correlations among all of the variables were significant for both males and females (and in the expected directions), with the exception of the correlation between male reported childcare satisfaction and satisfaction with partner's housework effort ($r = .26, p = .12$). Hence, for males, there was not an association between how satisfied they were with the division of childcare and how satisfied they were with their partner's effort in terms of housework. Please refer to Tables 21 and 22 for a summary of these correlations, conducted separately for males and females.

I also wanted to know whether gender attitude difference scores, calculated from the Gender Attitudes subscale, predicted satisfaction with childcare or satisfaction with partner's effort in terms of childcare. I ran a linear regression analysis with gender attitude difference scores (IV) predicting overall childcare satisfaction (DV), as measured

by the scale developed in this study. Results revealed that differences in gender role attitudes did not predict overall childcare satisfaction from the males' perceptions ($\beta = .09, p = .59$), nor from the females' perceptions ($\beta = -.22, p = .19$). I ran the linear regression again, but with satisfaction with partner's effort in terms of childcare as the DV. Results revealed that differences in gender role attitudes did not predict overall satisfaction with partner's effort in terms of childcare for males ($\beta = -.04, p = .81$). However, for females, a relationship between the IV and DV did exist ($\beta = -.41, p = .01$), such that the larger the difference in gender role attitudes, the less satisfied females were with their partner's effort in terms of childcare.

Discussion

The present study had three main aims: 1) to develop a conceptually and empirically derived instrument for measuring couples' attitudes and behaviors regarding housework, 2) to begin assessing the validity of the measure and the underlying constructs by testing a set of hypotheses using couple participants in a cross-sectional design, and 3) to explore the role of gender as it relates to the dimensions of housework measured by the scale developed in this study. In this discussion section, the newly developed housework measure is discussed first. Then I examine the findings with regard to the major hypotheses, as well as exploratory hypotheses, and related implications and contributions. Finally, I present the limitations of the present study and suggest areas for future research in this area.

New Measure of Housework

Despite the increase in attention given to housework in recent years, research on the topic has suffered because there is not a gold standard instrument to measure the complexities of housework. Most research has relied on the availability of questions regarding time spent on household labor in large, national studies (Coltrane, 2000). However, as evidenced in my study, the issues surrounding housework go well beyond how much time partners spend doing it. Thus, the main goal of my study was to develop a new measure of housework that would enable researchers be able to investigate various dimensions of housework and how they are related to each other, thereby going beyond

simple hours estimates or proportional estimates (who does more of what). I would argue that I succeeded in developing a new measure of housework for the following reasons: 1) it demonstrated initial construct validity in its correlations with the Who Does What measure, 2) the resulting eight subscales of the 40-item measure demonstrated adequate internal consistency reliability, and 3) many of the findings I discuss in the following sections are in line with the findings from previous research. Still, while the initial findings here are promising, more research must be done to confirm the validity, as well as the reliability, of this newly developed measure of housework. In the sections that follow, I will elaborate on the details of developing this scale.

Scale development. Phase one of my study was focused on developing the housework measure that I used in phase two. Results of an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) using the data from phase one suggested the following eight distinct subscales: 1) perceived fairness related to housework, 2) one's perception of the value of housework, 3) gender role attitudes related to housework, 4) attitudes toward hiring outside help, 5) showing appreciation for the housework completed by one's partner, 6) conflict over housework, 7) enjoyment of housework, and 8) personal standards of how the housework should be carried out. Correlations among the subscales were moderate to low, suggesting separate, though somewhat related constructs.

I was surprised to some extent by the results of the EFA. In the housework measure written for phase one, I included items that assessed how much appreciation participants felt they received from their partners, but receiving appreciation did not emerge as a dominant factor; thus, these items were not included in phase two. In thinking about why this may have occurred, I realized that the receiving appreciation

items were different than the other items in that participants had to assess what their partners do or do not do (e.g., “My partner never thanks me for what I do around our home”) instead of what they do or what occurs in the context of their relationship (e.g., “I think the way my partner and I divide the housework is fair” and “I appreciate that my partner does housework when I’m not around”). As a result, the questions that tapped receiving appreciation may have been somewhat harder for participants to answer in a consistent fashion.

In addition, I was surprised that the Personal Standards and Value subscales emerged as separate factors. Many of the items seemed similar to each other so I had predicted that these factors would collapse into one factor. However, in looking at the items that comprise the Personal Standards subscale, I realized that the items have somewhat of an obsessive element to them (e.g., “It’s important that the housework be done right” and “When it comes to housework, I like things done a certain way”). Thus, it makes sense that two separate factors emerged from the items originally written to assess personal standards of how the housework should be carried out and one’s perception of the value of housework. By including measures that assess general mental health, future research could investigate whether the Personal Standards subscale from the measure developed in this study is associated with anxiety and/or obsessive compulsive disorders.

Future use of the measure. Data collected from the newly developed housework measure were used in the majority of the analyses presented, with data from some subscales (e.g., Fairness and Conflict subscales) being used more so than from others (e.g., Hiring Help, Gender Attitudes, and Enjoyment subscales). Hopefully, this measure will be used in future research so that more can be learned from the subscales that were

not the focus of the present study. For example, as hiring outside help becomes more common, the Hiring Help subscale could be instrumental in assessing the types of couples who seek out help. It would be interesting to know whether one partner is the driving force behind hiring outside help or whether partners tend to agree in this arena. It would also be interesting to know whether attitudes toward hiring outside help change over time. I can imagine that once couples have children or reach a certain level of financial stability, they may be more amenable to the idea of hiring outside help.

Furthermore, while the focus of the eight major subscales of the measure was on housework, it would be interesting to include a childcare subscale as well. My measure does include time estimates for childcare, as well as satisfaction items tapping how satisfied participants are in terms of the division of childcare. However, the 40-item measure developed as part of this study was solely focused on housework. Many of the subscales that comprise my measure of housework seem as though they would be applicable to childcare. I would hypothesize that participants' overall profiles for housework would look similar to their overall profiles for childcare. That is, if an individual feels as though the division of housework is not fair, I imagine that he or she may view the division of childcare as being unfair as well. At the same time, I wonder whether the profiles could look very different from each other. As mentioned in the literature review, indoor household tasks are often viewed as being "mundane" (Blair & Lichter, 1991; Thompson & Walker, 1989), whereas outdoor tasks are thought of as being more enjoyable (Coltrane, 1998). I think the same could hold true for housework and childcare responsibilities, where housework is viewed as boring and childcare is viewed as more enjoyable. If this were the case, I can imagine a couple in which one or

both partners feels as though there are several problematic areas (e.g., fairness, conflict) within the domain of housework, but no problematic areas within the domain of childcare. By including similar items that tap childcare, it would be possible to answer such questions.

Tests of Major Hypotheses

In this section, I will elaborate on the findings from the twelve major hypotheses tested in the present study. Implications of the findings, as well as how they relate to previous research, will be discussed.

Hypothesis 1: Housework hours and housework satisfaction. Hypothesis one stated that partners with greater discrepancies in reported time spent on housework would have lower levels of global satisfaction with the current division compared to those with more equal divisions of housework. Findings from the present study revealed that there were no significant differences between male and female reported housework hours, although there were nonsignificant mean differences such that women report doing 20.34 hours of housework per week, whereas men report doing 17.38 hours of housework per week. These results suggest that men's and women's housework hours have converged to the point where the difference is no longer significant. Over the past three decades, research has shown that men have been increasing their hourly contributions to housework whereas women are decreasing their contributions (Stafford, 2008). Still, despite the decrease in the time women spend doing housework, previous research has shown that they are still doing more than men (e.g., Claffey & Mickelson, 2009; Greenstein, 2009; Knudsen & Waerness, 2008; Brines, 1993; Marini & Shelton, 1993; Robinson, 1988). My results suggest this is no longer the case. Perhaps the discrepancy in

housework truly is shrinking, though my sample was comprised of couples in which both partners work outside the home, making it less likely that discrepancies would be found here. My results could also be due to the fact that it is difficult to estimate the amount of time one spends on housework over the course of a week. As noted in the literature review, direct-question surveys produce estimates of time spent that are often 25-50 percent higher, especially for activities that are performed frequently (Juster & Stafford, 1991; Marini & Shelton, 1993; Press & Townsley, 1998). Furthermore, it would seem highly plausible that those who actually do less would be more likely to inflate their hours at a higher percentage compared to their partner. This idea is in line with arguments in the spousal consensus literature that state that wives provide more accurate estimates of housework time because they do a disproportionate share of housework and therefore, have the best information (Fenstermaker Berk & Shih, 1980; Warner, 1986). Given that research has shown males lag behind females in terms of their contributions to housework, I might expect males to inflate their hours more so than females, especially given the current societal pressure for men to do more as it relates to divisions of labor at home (Press & Townsley, 1998). In fact, Press and Townsley (1998) found that when the total amount of time each partner spends in housework is taken into account, the relative overreport is 149 percent for husbands and 68 percent for wives. These gender differences in overreporting may help to explain why I did not find a significant difference between males and females in their reported housework hours.

Furthermore, I wanted to determine whether gender role attitudes were related to housework allocations in my sample. Results revealed that female reports of time spent on housework were significantly related to both male and female gender role attitudes

such that the more time females spend doing housework, the more traditional the members of the couple were in terms of housework. However, male reports of time spent on housework were not related to any of the subscales. Thus, females' time in housework may be more a function of gender ideology than a function of relative resources or time availability. On the contrary, males' time in housework may be more a function of relative resources and/or time availability versus a function of gender ideology. In other words, given my results, it is possible that females are spending time in housework because they, as well as their partners, feel as though males and females should adhere to certain gender roles. On the other hand, males' time spent in housework does not appear to be related to gender ideology; rather, males' time spent in housework may be better explained by looking at his resources (e.g., income, education) compared to his partner's resources, or by investigating his time left over after accounting for hours worked outside the home. Results also showed that female reports of time spent on housework were related to female global relationship satisfaction such that the more time they spent doing housework, the less happy they were in their overall relationship. However, for males, this association did not exist. Furthermore, the correlations for males and females were significantly different from each other. Perhaps females feel as though they are spending more time on housework than their partners, leading them to feel less satisfied overall in their relationship. Thus, maybe the association found for females boils down to issues related to fairness over the division of housework, and perhaps the division of housework represents just one area of the relationship that is not fair. It is also interesting that results showed a trend such that males were more satisfied with the division of housework than their partners. The results thus far provide support for traditional patterns in relationships.

Perhaps even more interesting is that females seem as though they are no longer content to live with these patterns. However, now that women's time in paid labor has increased, it is logical that women would no longer be happy with traditional patterns. They simply do not have enough time to do as much housework as they did in the past given they are working outside the home as well.

In terms of hypothesis one, contrary to predictions, there was no association between housework equality (as measured by the difference between male and female reported time spent on housework) and individual reports of overall satisfaction with the way in which the housework is divided. This finding somewhat contradicts prior research, which has shown that the more wives contribute to housework compared to their husbands, the less satisfied they were with the division of housework; for men, the discrepancy in reported housework hours did not impact their satisfaction with the division (Suitor, 1991). Again, the lack of an association in my sample may be more due to the fact that it is difficult to estimate the amount of time one spends on housework, leading to issues of overreporting, which research has shown differs by gender (Press & Townsley, 1998). Or perhaps equality is not an important predictor of overall housework satisfaction. In fact, according to Lennon and Rosenfeld (1994), couples do not use 50% as an equality point; in their study, equality was achieved when men contributed 36% of the time to household tasks and women contributed the rest of the time. Thus, according to their research, splitting the division equally (i.e., 50-50) is not what matters to couples and results of my study also suggest that equal divisions are not associated with housework satisfaction. Many factors account for the way in which partners divide housework and thus, I would tend to hypothesize that perceived equality (i.e., fairness)

matters more than actual equality (i.e., 50/50 sharing). In fact, research has shown that perceptions of fairness regarding housework are more predictive of marital happiness (Frisco & Williams, 2003) and marital satisfaction (Wilkie et al., 1998) than actual time spent performing household tasks. Some have argued that it is necessary to take into account gender construction theories to understand fairness evaluations (Coltrane, 2000). The argument is that women perceive both their own and their spouse's housework to carry emotional messages (i.e., love, caring, appreciation) (e.g., Blain, 1994; Blair & Johnson, 1992; Coltrane, 1996; Erickson, 1993). These emotional messages can lead women to consider their partner's expression of affection or positive intent as adequate, thereby lowering their expectations in terms of housework and deeming unbalanced divisions as fair.

Hypothesis 2: Personal standards and conflict over housework. Hypothesis two stated that partners who have similar personal standards of how the housework should be carried out would experience less conflict over housework than partners who have dissimilar personal standards of how the housework should be carried out. To my knowledge, research has not investigated whether differences in standards lead to more conflict over housework so I assessed this in my sample. Before doing so, I examined whether males and females differed in terms of their: 1) personal standards, and 2) reported levels of conflict. I found that there were no significant differences between male and female personal standards related to housework. This finding was interesting given that previous research has found that women have higher standards than men (Ferree, 1991; Hawkins, Marshall, & Meiners, 1995), or at least that there is variation in standards among spouses (Solheim, Kerpelman, & Pittman, 1996). Again, it is important

to note that I recruited dual-earner couples, making it less likely that I would find discrepancies between men and women in terms of their personal standards. Another possible explanation is that perhaps partners have adopted each other's standards in the past 15-20 years. It would be interesting to investigate personal standards with longitudinal data, beginning when couples first start living together. I might speculate that, through time, women impose their personal standards on their partners, which is what Ferree (1991) concluded from the findings of her study. It could also be the case that females come to adopt their partner's personal standards, or that partners both shift their standards to meet somewhere in the middle.

In terms of differences in reported levels of conflict, results revealed that there was a trend such that males reported more conflict over housework than their partners. Given that previous research has found that women usually assume a manager role in the division of household labor (e.g., Coltrane, 1996; Blain, 1994), perhaps males perceive their partner asking for help as "nagging," thereby leading them to report more conflict as it relates to housework.

Results for discrepancies in personal standards (as measured by the difference between male and female reported personal standards) predicting global conflict over housework were not significant, even when taking into account the direction of the difference in personal standards (i.e., whether the male has higher standards, the female has higher standards, or they have equal standards). Given the somewhat obsessive element to the items that make up the Personal Standards subscale (e.g., "It's important that the housework be done right" and "When it comes to housework, I like things done a certain way"), perhaps the partner with higher standards quietly fixes any "mistakes"

made by his/her partner in terms of housework. This “quiet approach” might be quite desirable if the partner has obsessive tendencies in other areas of his/her life. Thus, if this were the case, it seems reasonable that large discrepancies in how much partners’ value housework would not necessarily lead to more conflict over housework compared to couples with small discrepancies.

Hypotheses 3 and 4: Housework satisfaction, fairness, and relationship quality. Hypothesis three stated that that satisfaction with the division of housework would be positively related to overall relationship quality and positively related to perceived fairness about the division of housework. Hypothesis four stated that perceived fairness related to the division of housework would be positively related to overall relationship quality. Results from the present study showed that reported satisfaction with the division of housework and overall relationship satisfaction were positively associated with each other for both males and females. These findings are in line with previous research that has established a clear association between satisfaction with the allocation of housework and satisfaction with the relationship (Stevens, Kiger, & Mannon, 2005; Sutor, 1991; Erickson, 1993; Greenstein, 1996; MacDermid, Huston, & McHale, 1990; Saenz, Goudy, & Lorenz, 1989).

Less is known about the association between satisfaction with the division of housework and other measures of relationship quality (e.g., dedication, confidence, positive connections, and negative communication), although Rhoades, Petrella, Stanley, and Markman (2007) found that husbands’ dedication was associated with their own and their wives’ satisfaction with the division of household contributions. Thus, in an attempt to expand the literature, I wanted to investigate whether housework satisfaction was

linked to other measures of relationship quality. Findings revealed that housework satisfaction was related to dedication, confidence, positive connections, and negative communication, and in the expected directions, for both males and females. Thus, housework satisfaction is associated with a host of other relationship quality variables, which to my knowledge, have not been thoroughly explored in the literature. Exploring these relationships was beyond the scope of the present study, but in general, my findings suggest that housework satisfaction could be meaningful indicator of a couple's overall relationship quality.

Results also revealed a significant association between housework satisfaction and perceived fairness about the division of housework, such that the higher the levels of perceived fairness, the more satisfied partners were in terms of the division of housework. These results will be elaborated upon in the discussion of the following hypothesis. Finally, most of the correlations between perceived fairness about the division of housework and relationship quality (i.e., relationship satisfaction, dedication, confidence, positive connections, and negative communication) were significant for males and females, and in the expected directions. These findings fit with previous research that has found that perceived fairness contributes to marital satisfaction and marital quality (Blair, 1993; Dancer & Gilbert, 1993; Wilkie et al., 1988).

However, the correlation between perceived fairness about the division of housework and positive connections was not significant for females. So for females, perceived fairness is not related to positive connections, whereas for males, this association did exist. Thus, females' perceptions of fairness do not help or hinder their

ability to develop positive connections with their partner, nor do their positive connections with their partner influence their perceptions of fairness.

Hypothesis 5: Housework satisfaction as a mediator. Hypothesis five stated that global satisfaction with the division of housework would mediate the relationship between perceptions of fairness regarding housework and overall relationship satisfaction. Previous research has considered fairness as a mediating variable between the division of household labor and personal or marital well-being (e.g., Dancer & Gilbert, 1993; Kluwer, Hessinik, & Van De Vliert, 1996; Lennon & Rosenfield, 1994; Robinson & Spitze, 1992; Sutor, 1991; Wilkie et al., 1998). Previous research has also shown that perceived fairness contributes to marital satisfaction, especially for women (e.g., Blair, 1993; Dancer & Gilbert, 1993; Sutor, 1991), and wives' perceived unfairness is related to marital conflict (Kluwer et al., 1996; Perry-Jenkins & Folk, 1994), but little is known about the processes that underlie these associations. Furthermore, previous studies of fairness have been limited by available survey data from the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH), which has mainly focused on exploring fairness using a series of predictors ranging from objective measures (e.g., hours spent in housework, income) to more subjective measures (e.g., gender ideology) (Gager, 2008). Therefore, I wanted to include a Fairness subscale in my measure that would allow me to better investigate and tease apart issues related to fairness over the division of housework.

Specifically, I investigated whether housework satisfaction may help to explain the relationship between fairness and overall relationship satisfaction. Results from the present study found support for partial mediation for males and full mediation for females. More specifically, global satisfaction with the division of housework mediated

the relationship between fairness and overall marital satisfaction. Put another way, higher reports of fairness led to higher reports of global satisfaction with the current division of housework, which was positively related to overall relationship satisfaction. These findings are in line with previous research showing that perceived fairness contributes to marital satisfaction (e.g., Blair, 1993; Dancer & Gilbert, 1993; Suitor, 1991). However, it appears that for females, their overall relationship satisfaction was not affected directly by their ratings of fairness regarding the division of housework. Rather, it was their satisfaction with the division of housework that mediated this association. Here, perceptions of fairness are associated with overall relationship satisfaction through housework satisfaction. On the other hand, men's overall relationship satisfaction was directly affected by their perceptions of fairness regarding housework.

It is interesting, but not surprising, that the direct effect did not exist for women. It seems highly plausible that some women who deem the division of labor to be fair would be satisfied with their overall relationship, but it seems just as plausible that women who do not deem the division of labor to be fair would still be satisfied with their overall relationship. It is easiest to think about this theory in the context of division of labor across the life course. Research has shown that men's fairness ratings and satisfaction with housework show little variation across the life course, whereas women's ratings decline when children are present (i.e., when women do the most domestic work) (Suitor, 1991). Even though females may not feel that the division of labor is fair, they could still be satisfied with it because perhaps their partners are balancing out the scale in other domains (e.g., working more hours outside of the home). This theory could generalize to other life course events that may shift the division of labor to being more unfair (e.g., one

partner being in school or having to take care of a sick family member). In this case, it seems even more plausible that an unfair division could still be satisfactory in light of it being more temporary.

In general, it seems as though for women, perceived fairness was important in predicting overall relationship satisfaction to the extent that it impacted their satisfaction with the division of labor. Furthermore, while satisfaction with the division of housework may be influenced by perceived fairness, it is most likely influenced by other factors (i.e., current situation, gender ideology, feeling supported/appreciated, etc.). Thus, it appears for women that satisfaction with the division of housework matters more than perceptions of fairness in predicting overall relationship quality. For men, both fairness and satisfaction with the division of housework mattered in predicting overall relationship quality. Thus, when we think about where to intervene, it may be more at the level of satisfaction with the division and less at the level of perceived fairness. One can still be satisfied with the division, even if that division is not necessarily fair. In fact, based on his review of 200 scholarly articles and books on household labor, Coltrane (2000) came to a similar conclusion, stating that “dissatisfaction with the household division of labor may be a more important catalyst for change than perceptions of its unfairness” (p. 1225).

Hypothesis 6: Appreciation and conflict over housework. Hypothesis six stated that individuals who report showing a lot of appreciation for their partner’s housework contributions would report lower levels of conflict over housework than individuals who report not showing much appreciation for their partner’s housework contributions. This hypothesis was fueled by the lack of attention appreciation has received in the housework literature. In fact, according to Klumb, Hoppmann, and Staats (2006), housework studies

have rarely investigated the effect of appreciation. It is quite surprising that few studies have examined the interplay between appreciation and the various issues related to housework given that Hochschild (1989) hinted at the importance of appreciation over two decades ago by stating, “When couples struggle, it is seldom simply over who does what. Far more often, it is over the giving and receiving of gratitude” (p. 18).

Given the paucity of research on appreciation as it relates to housework, I wanted to examine appreciation in my study; therefore, I included an Appreciation subscale in my measure and investigated whether appreciation was associated with levels of conflict over housework. Findings revealed that reported appreciation significantly predicted conflict over housework for both males and females, even after controlling for overall relationship quality (as measured by relationship satisfaction and negative communication). More specifically, the more individuals showed appreciation for their partner’s housework contributions, the less conflict over housework they experienced. In addition, appreciation accounted for more of the variance in the female model (15.5%) compared to the male model (4.4%). Therefore, it appears as though perceived appreciation is more important to females than to males as it relates to conflict over housework. Previous research has shown that feelings of appreciation for women’s family work are strong predictors of their sense of fairness (Blair & Johnson, 1992; Hawkins, Marshall, & Meiners, 1995), which I would assume to be linked to lower levels of conflict. In fact, Lee and Waite (2010) argue that understanding the ways in which females feel appreciated may help to explain the relationship between the division of housework and both women’s subjective distress and relationship outcomes. Klumb et al. (2006) postulate that when males show appreciation, they are balancing the scale; in other

words, high appreciation may offset the negative effects of imbalanced inputs (i.e., doing less housework). While males in my sample reported that they are spending just as much time in housework as their partners, these time estimates were based on self-reports and thus, subject to the inflation problems as previously discussed. Therefore, it is difficult to really know if males are doing more, females are doing more, or males and females are contributing equally. If the males in my sample are not pulling their fair share of the housework, then Klumb et al.'s theory may help to explain why appreciation mattered more to females compared to males in my sample. It is also important to not lose sight of the fact that appreciation mattered to both males and females. From an intervention standpoint, this is valuable information as teaching partners the importance of appreciating each other's contributions to housework could be an easy way to invoke positive change.

Thus far, gender is explaining many of my findings, which supports the gendered explanation of housework. In my sample, gender role ideology predicted females' time spent in housework and females' time spent in housework was related to females' overall relationship satisfaction. Furthermore, females' housework satisfaction explained their overall relationship satisfaction. In general, my findings are revealing interesting patterns related to housework for females, but not for males.

Hypothesis 7: Hired help and conflict over housework. Hypothesis seven stated that couples who hire outside help would report lower levels of conflict over housework than couples who do not hire outside help. As balancing work with family life becomes increasingly difficult, some couples decide to hire help in the form of a housekeeper. To my knowledge, few, if any, published studies have investigated the

effects of hiring help on various aspects of relationship quality. As a result of paucity of literature on the topic of hired help, I wanted to investigate it in my study.

Results of the present study revealed that those couples who hired help reported less conflict over housework, from both the males' and females' perspective, than couples who did not hire outside help. However, after controlling for income and education levels, the effect of hiring help on reported conflict over housework was no longer significant. While income and education levels may affect overall conflict over housework such that those couples with more money and higher education have less reported conflict, I suspect my findings are more due to financial resources. By this, I mean that having hired help in the home is dependent at least in part on financial resources. Therefore, those couples in my sample with higher incomes are the couples with the ability to hire help. If I had a larger sample of couples who hired outside help, I suspect I would have found that even after controlling for income and education, these couples would report less conflict over housework compared to couples without outside help. Given that research has found that most people view housework as "mundane" (Blair & Lichter, 1991; Thompson & Walker, 1989) and do not like doing it (DeVault, 1991; Robinson & Milkie, 1998), it seems highly plausible that couples would be happier to outsource housework and enjoy more leisure time together.

According to Parker-Pope (2010), researchers at the University of Tennessee surveyed eighty-five men and women with advanced business degrees about their career and marital satisfaction. Findings revealed that paying for outside help predicted less marital happiness rather than more. The researchers offered two explanations for their findings. First, perhaps out-sourcing domestic chores adds more financial and emotional

stress to already existing stress. Second, couples may gain a sense of shared accomplishment and togetherness through performing their own domestic chores. Unlike the University of Tennessee researchers, I do not believe that couples gain a shared sense of accomplishment and togetherness by doing their own domestic labor. Instead, research has shown that issues surrounding housework can be a major source of couple conflict (Kluwer et al., 2000; Wilkie et al., 1998). By developing a subscale to measure attitudes toward hiring outside help, it will be possible for future research to use this scale to investigate partner discrepancies in hiring help attitudes, as well as whether these discrepancies predict conflict over housework. It will also be important for future studies to examine how conflicts over finances play out within the domain of outsourcing, as well as whether the type of help couples use (i.e., monthly service vs. twice weekly vs. live-in nanny) predicts relationship outcomes.

Hypothesis 8: Value and conflict over housework. Hypothesis eight stated that couples with large discrepancies in how partners value housework would experience more conflict over housework than couples with small discrepancies in how partners value housework. To my knowledge, previous research has not investigated the importance of the value of housework and its impact on relationship functioning. Some have speculated that a clean house may be less valued and standards less stringent than in the past (Robinson & Milkie, 1998), but they have based their arguments on time-diary research showing a reduction in the time women spend doing housework in the U.S. as well as in most other Western societies (Gershuny & Robinson, 1988). Until now, the field has been without a scale to assess how much individuals value housework. As a

result, researchers have not been able to investigate whether differences in how much partners value housework leads to problems in the relationship.

Results from the present study revealed that there does not appear to be a relationship between how much partners value housework and the amount of conflict they experience over housework. In looking more carefully at the data, it appears that partners are not that different in how they value housework (89.2% of couples consisted of partners who were within 1 point difference of each other on the Value subscale). Thus, it seems as though partners are relatively similar in how they value housework, which is interesting given that my findings showed that partners were also similar in terms of their personal standards of housework. Given that in the past, women were the primary caretakers of the home and placed a high value on housework, it appears that Robinson and Milkie (1998) were most likely correct in their speculations that there is a lower societal value given to housework today. More specifically, they postulated that the value placed on housework may be reflected in women's changing attitudes toward housework. Given my results, I would tend to speculate that over the decades, housework has become less important to women and that they have come to a similar level of valuing housework as men. Thus, as was the case with personal standards, the question is whether females or males are adopting the values of their partner, or whether partners are both shifting their values to meet somewhere in the middle. It would be interesting for future research to investigate whether couples talk through such changes or if they evolve over time, as well as whether partners are satisfied with the way in which housework is valued at the couple level.

Hypothesis 9: Children, conflict over housework, and housework satisfaction.

Hypothesis nine stated that couples with children would experience more conflict over housework and have lower global satisfaction with housework than couples without children. Findings from the present study indicate that having children does have an effect on reported conflict levels over housework such that those couples with children reported more conflict over housework, from both the males' and females' perspective, than couples without children (even after controlling for the number of children in the home). My findings make sense given what previous research has found related to having children and divisions of labor. As described in the literature review, after the birth of a child, there is a trend toward less sharing of family work between partners (Cowan & Cowan, 1992); in other words, couples become more traditional. More specifically, research has shown that when couples have children, women tend to work fewer hours on the job and spend more hours taking care of the house, whereas men tend to work more hours at paid jobs and do not necessarily contribute more to the housework (Sanchez & Thomson, 1997; Shelton, 1992, Baxter et al., 2008). Many women most likely experience such shifts as unfair, especially given that research has shown that wives are happier when their husbands share the housework and childcare responsibilities (Amato, Johnson, Booth, & Rogers, 2003; Wilkie et al., 1998). If women feel as though such shifts are unfair, it seems likely that they, as well as their partners, would experience more conflict over housework in their relationship. This theory was supported by the results of my study.

In terms of global satisfaction with housework, there was a trend such that couples with children reported less satisfaction than couples without children. However,

after controlling for the number of children in the home, there was no longer a significant difference in housework satisfaction levels between couples with children and couples without children. Thus, it appears that couples with children experience more conflict over housework than couples without children, but couples with children do not differ in their levels of housework satisfaction compared to couples without children. Perhaps couples with children experience more conflict over housework, but in the end, the conflict is helpful in terms of getting them to a point where both partners are satisfied with the division of housework. In fact, Mannino & Deutsch (2007) argue that assertiveness may be a key component of change, and Deutsch, Kokot, and Binder (2006) found that assertive women may be able to gain more egalitarian divisions of labor through negotiations with their partner. Thus, conflict, while often thought to be negative, could lead to higher levels of satisfaction with the division of labor if the conflict is constructive versus destructive.

In general, the results of my study are not surprising given the added demands and stress that children place on overall family life, especially related to divisions of labor. However, as previous research has suggested, the arrival of children need not necessarily lead to declines in relationship quality (Dew & Wilcox, 2011; Belsky & Rovine, 1990). Given the shifts that occur when a couple has children, Dew and Wilcox (2011) argue that husbands need to make more of an effort to spend time with their wives and to do their part when it comes to housework and childcare responsibilities. I suspect that males' effort, or lack thereof, in terms of housework and childcare responsibilities contributes to my finding that couples with children experience more conflict over housework than couples without children.

Hypothesis 10: Income and housework equality. Hypothesis ten stated that partners with relative equal earnings would have more egalitarian divisions of housework compared to partners with relative unequal earnings. This hypothesis was based on the resource-power perspective, which is the idea that an individual's external resources (e.g., income and education) grant decision-making power (Mannino & Deutsch, 2007). Thus, the idea is that the person with more resources (e.g., earnings) should be able to bargain his/her way out of housework responsibilities. Therefore, based on this perspective, when partners have relative equal earnings, we would assume that they contribute equally to housework.

As predicted, the results of the present study revealed that those couples with more equal earnings had more egalitarian divisions of housework compared to those with less equal earnings. Even after controlling for both hours worked per week and dedication, there was still a trend that those couples with more equal earnings shared the housework more. These results are in line with the findings from previous research that has found that smaller income differences between husbands and wives are associated with more equitable divisions of housework (Baxter, 1993; Blair & Lichter, 1991; Sanchez & Thomson, 1997).

I further tested this hypothesis to see whether the direction of the difference in income mattered. Results revealed a significant interaction between gender and income, which indicates that when the male earns more, his female partner does more of the housework and when the female earns more, her male partner does more of the housework; furthermore, partners with relatively equal earnings share the housework

equally. Even after controlling for hours worked per week and dedication, the gender x income interaction effect was still marginally significant.

Thus, it seems as though the resource-power perspective holds true in my sample, and therefore, challenges skeptics of the perspective (e.g., Evertsson & Nermo, 2007; Gupta, 2007). Evertsson and Nermo (2007) argue that the perspective does not help to explain the gendered division in housework because in their sample of Swedish couples, women still did most of the housework, even when their earnings were relatively equal to their partners. Regardless of the utility of the perspective, it is fascinating and very significant that in my sample, earnings predicted housework allocations. Twenty years ago, this was not the case. In fact, Thompson and Walker (1991) found that women who earned more than their husbands often did more housework than their husbands; these researchers wondered if this pattern occurred because women did not want their earnings to threaten their husband's self-esteem. Similarly, Mannino and Deutsch (2007) proposed that perhaps high-earning women choose not to use their resources to claim more power in their relationship because they want their husbands to stay in control so as to avoid any marital discord. Furthermore, they proposed that women may feel they need to live up to the normative standards of femininity. My findings suggest that things may be changing in the American household. Perhaps women have become better negotiators in the domestic domain or perhaps men are feeling as though it is time to step up to the plate and do their fair share. Regardless, in my sample, relative earnings seems to be a clear predictor of allocations of housework, which contradicts some of the previous research on the topic.

Hypothesis 11: Housework equality for cohabiting vs. married couples.

Hypothesis eleven stated that cohabiting couples would have more egalitarian divisions of housework compared to married couples. Results of the present study supported my hypothesis, showing that cohabiting couples had more egalitarian divisions of housework compared to married couples. These results are line with prior research, which has shown that cohabiting women spend less time doing housework compared to married women and cohabiting men spend more time doing housework compared to married men (Baxter, 2005; Shelton & John, 1993; South & Spitze, 1994; Davis et al., 2007).

I next examined if this difference between married and cohabiting couples was related to whether or not the couples had children. I conducted the analyses separately for married and cohabiting couples with children and married and cohabiting couples without children. Results revealed that for those couples with children, there were no differences in egalitarianism between married and cohabiting couples. The same was true for those without children. Thus, the difference in housework equality between married and cohabiting couples does not appear to be related to having children. However, it is important to note that my sample size for these two analyses was very small. If I had more power, I suspect I would have found a significant difference between married and cohabiting couples with children, such that married couples with children share the housework less than cohabiting couples with children. If this had been the case, then children would have helped to explain the difference in housework equality between married and cohabiting couples. Given that the transition to parenthood leads to increased traditionalization of family roles, where women spend more time in housework and childcare and men often increase their focus on work outside the home (Sanchez &

Thomson, 1997; Shelton, 1992, Baxter et al., 2008), it makes sense that children would explain the initial difference I found between married and cohabiting couples.

I also wanted to investigate whether there were gender differences in household contributions for married and cohabiting couples. Results revealed that there was a trend such that married women reported contributing more to housework than married men. However, results showed that males and females in cohabiting relationships did not differ in their reported housework contributions. Thus, it appears that married couples tend to be more traditional than cohabiting couples in terms of housework contributions, which fits with the findings of previous research (Baxter, 2005; Shelton & John, 1993; South & Spitze, 1994; Davis et al., 2007). This difference between married and cohabiting couples can be explained by comparative advantage (i.e., each partner specializing in the tasks they are most productive in). According to Brines and Joyner (1999), specialization is crucial for married couples. However, specialization is riskier with the uncertain commitment most cohabiting couples face. Instead, cohabiting couples are bound together by the equality principal, where they can maintain their individualism, allowing for more freedom in responding to the needs and desires of their partner. Baxter, Haynes, and Hewitt (2010) argue that it is this principal that allows partners in cohabiting relationships the freedom to negotiate more equal divisions of labor.

It would be interesting to know whether the cohabiting couples in my sample who eventually decide to get married will experience a shift toward being more traditional. Researchers have studied this topic and the findings have been mixed. Some research has found that those who cohabited before marriage experience more egalitarian arrangements after marriage (Batalova & Cohen, 2002; Baxter, 2005). Other research has

found that the transition from cohabitation to marriage does not significantly change the amount of time partners spend on housework (Baxter et al., 2008; Gupta, 1999).

Hypothesis 12: Religion and housework equality. Hypothesis twelve stated that couples with more conservative religious views would tend to be more traditional, and thus, less likely to share the housework equally than couples with more liberal religious views. Given that previous research on the association between religiosity and the division of housework has not revealed consistent findings, I wanted to explore this area in my study. Results revealed that neither religiosity scores, nor religious attendance frequency scores, predicted housework equality. In other words, those who were more religious or who attended religious services more frequently did not report that they had less egalitarian divisions of housework than those who were less religious or who attended religious services less frequently. Thus, there appears to be no relationship between religiosity and how equally couples share housework.

I offer two explanations as to why I failed to find an association between religiosity and housework equality. First, perhaps the selection of my sample (i.e., both members of the couple needed to be working at least 20 hours per week) restricted my range so that this hypothesis was not very testable. If I had included male breadwinner/female homemaker couples in my study, I most likely would have increased my chances of finding a significant association. Second, as mentioned in the literature review, the association between religiosity and the division of role responsibilities has become increasingly hard to predict from stereotypes about religious beliefs and practices. It seems as though some couples who view themselves as conservative tend to have more traditional roles and thus, have less equitable divisions, whereas other couples

who view themselves as conservative endorse traditional roles, but in practice, tend to have more equitable divisions. Thus, the intuitive, traditional view of how religiosity affects division of household tasks seems to have changed a great deal in the last couple of decades (S. Nock, personal communication, April 20, 2007) and is likely continuing to change, leaving researchers in a state of flux as we search for the relationship between religiosity and housework equality.

Exploratory Analyses

Who Does What measure. Given the Who Does What measure is used by many in the field to assess housework, I included it as part of my larger survey. However, it is important to note that the Who Does What measure and the housework measure I developed do not overlap in terms of competing for the same measurement space. I set out to capture some aspects of housework that other measures have not investigated yet (or at least investigated to the same degree that I did). As a result, I was limited in my ability to use the Who Does What measure as a validation tool. My measure's goal was to gather information about eight different aspects of housework, whereas the Who Does What measure is more focused on determining which partner does more of the housework. However, previous research suggests that actual time spent on housework is not as important as other factors (e.g., fairness) in predicting overall marital happiness (Frisco & Williams, 2003; Wilkie et al., 1998). Therefore, my measure set out to examine some of these "other factors." Still, while the Who Does What measure is conceptually different from my measure with its focus on assessing each partner's relative contributions to a list of household tasks, there are some similarities and parallels between the two measures, which will be the focus of this section.

The layout of the Who Does What measure is such that it asks partners to rate 13 descriptors in terms of “how it is now” and “how I would like it to be.” The measure includes 11 descriptors that tap traditionally-defined household labor (e.g., cleaning house, paying bills, doing repairs around the house, and taking out the garbage) and two descriptors that refer to the division of household labor outside the home: “Providing income for our family” and “Working outside the family.” I chose not to include “working outside the family” in the Who Does What measure in study due to its ambiguity. However, I did include “providing income for our family” in my survey. An additional item within the Who Does What measure asked respondents to rate their general level of satisfaction with the division of household labor, and this item immediately follows the descriptor ratings. Thus, the Who Does What measure’s satisfaction item primes participants by essentially defining what constitutes housework (including working outside the family and providing income) with the descriptors. In my newly developed housework measure, I also asked about global satisfaction and this question immediately followed the section where participants were asked to estimate their weekly hourly contributions to housework (i.e., meal preparation, housecleaning, shopping for groceries and household goods, washing dishes or cleaning up after meals, laundry, paying bills, and indoor maintenance and outdoor chores). Thus, I also primed participants with a definition of housework, but one that seems more true to the definition as agreed upon by researchers in the field (see Shelton & John, 1996). Therefore, I wanted to determine whether the housework satisfaction item in the Who Does What measure was associated with the housework satisfaction item in the present study. The items were significantly correlated with each other for both males and females. Even

though the Who Does What measure includes two items that are more related to contributions to the family, it is heavily slanted toward assessing global satisfaction with housework. Therefore, I am not surprised that the global satisfaction item from the Who Does What measure was correlated with my global satisfaction item (males: $r = .60, p < .001$; females: $r = .73, p < .001$). These correlations provide initial evidence of the construct validity of the housework measure developed in the present study. I would also argue that the manner in which I assessed global satisfaction with housework was better at tapping into what truly constitutes housework.

In addition to comparing the ratings of global satisfaction with housework, I also examined the housework inequality score from the Who Does What measure and the overall fairness score from the housework measure developed in the present study. My main question was: Does equality or fairness matter more in terms of satisfaction with the way the housework is divided? My results revealed that for females, housework inequality, fairness, and housework satisfaction (as measured by the scale developed in this study) were all significantly associated with each other. However, for males, only fairness was significantly associated with housework inequality and housework satisfaction. For males, housework inequality was not associated with housework satisfaction. Thus, for males, there does not appear to be a relationship between housework inequality and housework satisfaction. This was not the case for females, where both inequality and perceptions of fairness were related to their overall satisfaction with the division of labor. Regression analyses enabled me to further test the nature of these relationships. I found that for males, higher reports of fairness predicted higher levels of global satisfaction with housework, whereas for females, higher reports of

fairness and lower reports of housework inequality predicted higher levels of global satisfaction with housework. However, given the correlations and beta weights, fairness appeared to be a better predictor of housework satisfaction compared to housework inequality. In other words, fairness really trumps equality for males, but for females, it appears as though fairness and equality are both important predictors of housework satisfaction. I would tend to guess that for females, they are more impacted by housework inequality because they are doing more housework than their partners. Thus, it not only impacts their perceptions of fairness, but also their global housework satisfaction. Males, on the other hand, may feel as though the division is not fair, but since they are most likely benefitting from the current arrangement, there may be more ambiguity in terms of their global housework satisfaction levels. Some men, I can imagine, would not be satisfied, feeling as though they should do more, whereas other men are pretty content to let their partners do more housework. Furthermore, given that previous research has suggested that couples do not use a 50-50 division as the benchmark of fairness (Lennon & Rosenfeld, 1994), unequal divisions have been accepted as normal. These findings have helped to explain why studies in the past have failed to find associations between actual divisions of labor and perceptions of fairness (Coltrane, 2000). However, given that I did find an association between the division of labor and perceptions of fairness for both males and females, my results suggest that couples are no longer finding unequal divisions to be as fair as they did in the past.

Enjoyment and gender attitudes subscales. Investigating all of the subscales of the newly developed housework measure as part of my main analyses was beyond the scope of the current project. Given my main analyses did not involve the Enjoyment or

Gender Attitudes subscales, I wanted to investigate them in a more exploratory nature. I first wanted to see whether enjoyment of housework was related to housework satisfaction and/or the relationship quality variables (i.e., relationship satisfaction, dedication, confidence, positive connections, and negative communication). Findings revealed that for males, enjoyment of housework was significantly and positively correlated with housework satisfaction, overall relationship satisfaction, dedication, and confidence. However, for females, enjoyment of housework was not associated with housework satisfaction or any of the relationship quality variables. Perhaps, for females, they have come to expect that doing housework is part of their “job” in a relationship. While some women may enjoy housework and others may not, they all feel as though it is something that needs to get done and is separate from other aspects of their relationship. Males, on the other hand, have not been as socialized as females to do housework. Thus, if they enjoy it, chances are they are doing more housework, which in turn would most likely lead to higher levels of housework satisfaction and positive correlations to various relationship quality variables. Again, my findings seem to lend support to the gendered explanation of housework. However, up until now, my findings have primarily revealed interesting patterns related to housework for females (e.g., gender role ideology predicted females’ time spent in housework, females’ time spent in housework was related to females’ overall relationship satisfaction, females’ housework satisfaction explained their overall relationship satisfaction, appreciation mattered more to females than to males), but not for males. The findings related to enjoyment of housework are finally providing a lens as to what predicts housework satisfaction, and more broadly overall relationship quality, for males.

In addition to investigating the Enjoyment subscale, I also explored whether scores on the Gender Attitudes subscale predicted any housework and/or relationship outcomes. Results showed that differences in gender role attitudes between partners did not predict satisfaction with housework or conflict over housework from either males' or females' perceptions. Perhaps gender role ideology is just not that important as a predictor of either housework satisfaction or conflict over housework. Instead, the big predictor seems to be more related to the amount of housework people are doing. Furthermore, results revealed that differences in gender role attitudes did not predict overall relationship satisfaction from the males' perceptions, but there was a trend such that the relationship was significant from the females' perceptions. In other words, for females, the more they differed from their partner's gender role ideology, the lower their overall relationship satisfaction. However, after controlling for female reported housework hours, this finding was no longer significant, which leads me to believe that gender ideology is really only affecting how much housework partners are doing. Thus, as alluded to before, reported housework hours may be a mediating variable between gender role ideology and relationship outcomes.

However, in looking more carefully at the data, it appears that partners are not that different in their gender role ideology (85.3% of couples consisted of partners who were within 1 point difference of each other on the Gender subscale). Thus, it seems as though partners are relatively similar in their gender ideology, which means any analyses investigating gender role ideology differences were not very testable in my sample. Given I only recruited dual-earner couples, I am not surprised that partners were fairly similar in their gender role ideology. If I had expanded my participation criteria so as not

to exclude those who were unemployed, I may have found that gender role ideology is a significant predictor of housework and relationship outcomes. Still, this effect may be more due to the time spent on housework and less about gender role ideology. Further analyses would be necessary to test the nature of these associations.

Childcare. I also examined data related to the childcare component of my survey. I first tested whether there were any differences in male versus female time spent on childcare. Results revealed that females reported spending more time in childcare activities than their partners. Specifically, females spent more time than their partners in the following childcare activities: changing diapers, bathing child(ren), reading to child(ren), playing with child(ren), and getting child(ren) to/from school, work, or activities. There were no significant differences between males and females on putting child(ren) to bed, attending extracurricular activities for children, and shopping for child(ren). These results are in line with previous research, which shows that even though fathers in two-income families have increased their involvement in childcare gradually over the years (Sandberg & Hofferth, 2001), they still lag behind their wives in time spent on childcare (Pleck & Masciadrelli, 2003). Due to these gender differences in time spent on childcare, I am not surprised that my earlier findings revealed that couples with children reported more conflict over housework than couples without children.

Given that most men in America value home/family over work (Coltrane, 2004), it will be interesting to see whether men will ever catch up to women in terms of how much time they invest in their families. Basically, the question is what does “value” mean to men? Does it mean spending more leisure time at home? Does it also include all of the work involved in parenting? These seem like important research questions for the future

as we continue to investigate the gender differences related to housework and childcare responsibilities.

Contributions of the Present Study

The current study adds to the literature in several ways. Perhaps the biggest contribution is a new measure of housework for the field. As mentioned, most studies have relied on the availability of questions regarding time spent on housework in large national data sets. While a few researchers have devised new instruments to investigate a single aspect of housework (e.g., Cowan & Cowan, 1990; Hawkins, Marshall, & Allen, 1998, Mederer, 1993; Allen & Hawkins, 1999), my instrument is preferred in that it investigates eight different aspects of housework, which can be compared to each other. While the validity and reliability of this new measure needs to be established with other samples, the results from preliminary validation of the measure in the current sample seem promising. Furthermore, the measure I developed in the present study gathers time estimates for housework and childcare, as well as satisfaction levels with the current divisions. Given my instrument's childcare component, it enables researchers to investigate housework and childcare simultaneously. As Coltrane (2010) points out, past studies of household labor tend to pull housework out from its natural contexts. He argues that parenting and childcare should be studied in the context of housework and my measure better enables researchers to do just that. Thus, the measure developed in this study will facilitate more careful explorations of issues related to housework, as well as how some of these issues are intertwined with childcare.

In addition to developing a new measure of housework, the present study contributes to an ever-growing body of literature on the division of housework and the

issues it raises for couples. Several important themes emerged from the findings I discussed above, which I would like to highlight here. First, it seems as though females' perceptions about housework are more informative about overall relationship quality than males' perceptions. For example, the more time females spent in housework, the less happy they were in their overall relationship, but for males, this association did not exist. Thus, housework appears to be a more salient issue for females versus males as it relates to overall relationship satisfaction, which is consistent with the female "barometer" theory. Past research has found that females often act at the "barometer" of a distressed relationship (e.g., Floyd & Markman, 1983; Barry, 1970); in other words, females' behaviors may be a sign of dysfunction in the relationship. Second, perceived fairness matters more than housework equality in terms of predicting overall satisfaction with housework. Furthermore, for women, housework satisfaction matters more than fairness in terms of predicting overall relationship satisfaction; for men, both fairness and satisfaction with the division of housework were important in predicting overall relationship quality. Thus, when we think about where to intervene, it may be more at the level of satisfaction with the division of labor and less at the level of perceived fairness. While perceptions of fairness are a key contributor to housework satisfaction, it is important to go beyond fairness and look at other possible contributors (i.e., current situation, gender ideology, feeling supported/appreciated, etc.). In terms of clinical implications, helping couples figure out what impacts their satisfaction with the division of labor would most likely be more beneficial than having them discuss why their current division is fair or unfair. Third, relative resources predict housework allocations such that when the male earns more, the female does more of the housework and when the female

earns more, the male does more of the housework; furthermore, partners with relatively equal earnings share the housework equally. These findings suggest a big shift has occurred in American households, perhaps because women have become better negotiators or perhaps because men feel as though they should do their fair share. Finally, despite this big shift, traditional patterns are still very apparent, especially once couples have children. Results revealed that females reported spending more time in childcare activities than their husbands, and there were significant differences between men and women in time spent in most childcare activities, with females contributing more than males. In general, my findings illustrate that gender differences help to explain many of the complexities related to housework.

Limitations and Future Directions

Despite its contributions, the present study also had several limitations, which could be addressed in the future. These limitations will be discussed below, as well as areas for future research.

Representativeness of the sample. Perhaps the biggest limitation of the present study is the representativeness of the sample. Given the study was set up to be completed online through Survey Monkey, my distribution was limited. On average, the samples for phases one and two consisted of middle- to upper-class, well-educated White individuals. This participation bias is inevitable when using online surveys for data collection as not all economic status groups in the United States have access to the Internet. If I had the time and financial resources, I could have also recruited participants by posting announcements/flyers and offered the option of paper and pencil surveys. This approach would have most likely yielded a more representative sample. Furthermore, data

collection via the Internet meant that I could not randomize my sample population, which may have resulted in reduced variation in data. Instead, I used self-directed sampling where I targeted particular participants and groups of respondents (e.g., those who use Craigslist, social networking sites, etc.). In addition to self-directed sampling, I used snowball sampling where participants referred their friends/partners to the study, which increased the homogeneity of the sample. Furthermore, in phase two, the couples in which both members participated may have looked different on certain characteristics than couples in which only one member participated. I would tend to guess that couples in which both members participated are more invested in their relationship, which could mean that my sample of couple participants had higher levels of relationship satisfaction, dedication, confidence, etc. Also, I only recruited dual-earner couples for the present study; it would be interesting to examine some of the hypotheses tested here using a sample of male breadwinner/female homemaker couples. Given the aforementioned issues regarding the representativeness of my sample, the associations tested here should be re-examined in a sample that is more generalizable with regard to race and ethnicity, income, and education. Future research should also examine the hypotheses tested here in cross-national studies, as these results may not generalize to other cultures.

Online methodology. In addition to issues related to the generalizability of my findings, there were also some limitations in the use of an online methodology for data collection. Researchers have found that web-based surveys have lower response rates than traditional mail surveys (Medin, Roy, & Ann, 1999; Nichols & Sedivi, 1998). Furthermore, many participants started my survey, but abandoned it when they were asked to provide weekly hours estimates. This is not surprising given that Crawford,

Couper, and Lamias (2001) found that the use of open-ended questions, particularly early in the survey, contributed to high abandonment rates. I did use a percentage bar so that participants could see how much of the survey they had completed, but due to skip patterns, this bar was not accurate. As a result, I added the following note to my phase one and two surveys: “Please note that the percent completed bar at the top of the page is based on the total number of survey pages and not on the total number of survey questions. Given that the survey pages vary in length, the percent completed estimates are not accurate. On average, the survey should take 20 minutes of your time.” Still, I lost participants and in phase two, where I was recruiting couples, this was especially detrimental and caused me to have to recruit for a much longer period of time than expected. Even then, I still only ended up with 103 couples, which is a fairly small sample.

Also, while participants most likely completed the survey privately, there is a chance they completed it with their partner. Partners may have shared their responses or asked for input from each other, thereby leading to attenuated responses. Future research could address such issues by having couples complete the questionnaires in a more controlled environment.

Self-report measures. Another limitation was the use of self-report measures, especially to gather data on estimates for time spent in housework and childcare activities. Method variance and inaccurate reporting can be a problem when data is collected with self-report measures. I most likely would have attained more accurate time estimates if I had employed the use of time diaries or observational methods in the home. It would have also been beneficial if I had used observational measures, perhaps in the

form of couples discussing issues related to housework. Qualitative data could have helped to provide more insight in explaining the results of the present study. Thus, future research should employ observational measures in the study of housework and childcare.

Cross-sectional design. Another limitation of the current study was its cross-sectional design. Future studies should examine the hypotheses tested here using longitudinal data. It would be particularly interesting to see whether there are changes over time in housework and childcare allocations, as well as whether major life events (e.g., the birth of a baby, new job) affects any of the constructs measured here (e.g., appreciation, fairness, conflict, etc.).

Power. The sample size of phase two of the present study was somewhat small ($N = 103$ couples), which limits statistical power. Low power may have obscured some important results and made other results unreliable. The repeated measures ANOVA tests were especially vulnerable to issues of power. Due to the small sample size, I conducted most of the analyses with the entire sample. Thus, with a larger sample, future studies should investigate various groups separately (e.g., married couples separately from cohabiting couples, couples with children separately from couples without children, etc.).

Conclusions

Despite these limitations, the findings of the present study document the importance of studying the factors that influence how couples divide the housework. These factors are important to understand because the division of such duties can be a major source of couple conflict (Kluwer et al., 2000; Wilkie et al., 1998). Conflict, when not dealt with in a healthy manner, can lead to lower overall marital satisfaction (Clements, Stanley, & Markman, 2004; Markman & Hahlweg, 1993; Stanley et al.,

2002). The housework measure developed in the present study aids researchers in their study of the various factors that impact divisions of housework. With regard to clinical practice, examining the way in which the division of household labor influences overall relationship satisfaction may help those involved in prevention or intervention efforts identify what is at the root of the problem for couples experiencing conflict over who does what around the house. As mentioned earlier in light of the findings regarding appreciation and conflict over housework, teaching partners the importance of appreciating each other's contributions to housework could be an easy way to invoke positive change. Furthermore, many couples simply need help in learning how to negotiate the demands of the household. Teaching couples how to communicate safely with respect to equitable divisions and prioritizing tasks may help to minimize conflict regarding the division of housework. It is certainly clear that merely encouraging partners to share, equally, in tasks would have little beneficial effect since equality was not an important predictor of any of the outcomes measured here. All of the major findings here are consistent with the idea that what is more critical is the degree to which partners feel the division is fair.

The present study underscores the importance of identifying the factors that influence how couples divide the housework and why certain couples experience conflict over such divisions. This is likely to be a fruitful area of research for decades to come as couples grapple with personal and societal expectations and opportunities in the domains of work in and outside of the home.

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Appendix A:
Tables and Figures

Table 1
Means and (Standard Deviations/Internal Consistency) for Relationship Quality Scales used in Current Study

Scale	Males, <i>M (SD/α)</i>	Females, <i>M (SD/α)</i>
Couples Satisfaction Index ^a	4.23 (.92/.93)	4.21 (1.05/.94)
Dedication Scale ^b	4.53 (.55/.58)	4.54 (.60/.76)
Confidence Scale ^b	4.66 (.61/.93)	4.66 (.65 /.94)
Positive Bonding Scale ^b	4.20 (.77/.79)	4.34 (.79/.82)
Danger Signs Scale ^c	1.56 (.44/.73)	1.52 (.45/.73)

Notes. Scores are the average of items on scale; higher scores equal higher levels of the construct. ^aResponses on a scale either from 1 (“unhappy”) to 7 (“perfect”) or 1 (“not at all”) to 6 (“completely”). ^bResponses on a scale from 1 (“strongly disagree”) to 5 (“strongly agree”). ^cResponses on a 3-point scale: 1 = never or almost never, 2 = once in a while, and 3 = frequently.

Table 2
Housework Questionnaire Subscales: Internal Consistency and Correlations

Subscale	<i>M</i>	SD	α	Average Correlation with the Total Scale
Fairness	3.43	1.08	.91	.373**
Value of housework	4.22	.71	.89	.539**
Gender role attitudes	4.12	.93	.89	.533**
Hiring outside help	3.37	1.11	.91	.232**
Showing appreciation	3.89	.90	.90	.457**
Conflict over housework	2.34	1.03	.86	-.065
Enjoyment of housework	2.70	1.01	.86	.236**
Personal standards of housework	3.76	.79	.80	.399**

Notes. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. N = 199 individuals.

Table 3
Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations among Housework Subscales for Males

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
Fairness	3.78	.65							
Value	4.29	.55	.05						
Gender Attitudes	4.22	.86	.16	.04					
Hiring Help	2.79	1.33	.13	-.17	.11				
Appreciation	3.89	.89	.25*	.07	.28**	-.02			
Conflict	2.13	.99	-.59**	-.02	-.27**	-.21*	-.45**		
Enjoyment	2.88	.94	.11	.33**	.20*	-.07	.26**	-.16	
Personal Standards	3.49	.75	-.14	.48**	-.33**	-.31**	-.03	.11	.26**

Notes. *Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed); **Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Table 4
Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations among Housework Subscales for Females

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
Fairness	3.74	.91							
Value	4.39	.61	-.05						
Gender Attitudes	4.36	.79	.05	-.13					
Hiring Help	3.36	1.27	.14	-.16	.34**				
Appreciation	4.08	.89	.44**	.10	.05	-.02			
Conflict	2.01	.92	-.67**	.15	-.17	-.05	-.52**		
Enjoyment	2.89	.98	-.02	.46**	-.19	-.40**	.08	-.06	
Personal Standards	3.62	.81	-.15	.69**	-.17	-.24*	.07	.15	.32**

Notes. *Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed); **Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Table 5
Paired Samples Correlations among Housework Subscales

	N	Correlation	<i>p</i>
Fairness	100	.34	.001
Value	102	.17	.096
Gender Attitudes	102	.56	<.001
Hiring Help	100	.38	<.001
Appreciation	102	.41	<.001
Conflict	95	.66	<.001
Enjoyment	99	.07	.498
Personal Standards	99	-.12	.228

Table 6
Correlations among Housework Subscales and Overall Relationship Quality Variables for Males

	Relationship Satisfaction	Dedication	Confidence	Positive Connections	Negative Communication
Fairness	.47**	.38**	.34**	.47**	-.42**
Value	.16	.13	.05	.03	-.13
Gender Attitudes	.35**	.25*	.30**	.21*	-.23*
Hiring Help	.16	-.04	.09	.01	-.06
Appreciation	.49**	.24*	.40**	.36**	-.23*
Conflict	-.57**	-.23*	-.48**	-.46**	.59**
Enjoyment	.31**	.31**	.26**	.13	-.17
Personal Standards	-.06	-.06	-.02	-.04	-.03

Notes. *Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed); **Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Table 7
Correlations among Housework Subscales and Overall Relationship Quality Variables for Females

	Relationship Satisfaction	Dedication	Confidence	Positive Connections	Negative Communication
Fairness	.30**	.39**	.28**	.18	-.37**
Value	.07	.03	.07	.03	.08
Gender Attitudes	.21*	.08	.26**	.17	-.15
Hiring Help	.03	.01	.12	-.09	-.08
Appreciation	.33**	.14	.17	.27**	-.28**
Conflict	-.35**	-.32**	-.29**	-.32**	.45**
Enjoyment	.09	.08	-.01	.16	.03
Personal Standards	-.05	-.10	-.07	-.10	.09

Notes. *Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed); **Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Table 8
Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations among Housework Satisfaction, Overall Relationship Quality Variables, and Perceived Fairness about the Division of Housework for Males

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
1. Housework Satisfaction	4.13	.90						
2. Relationship Satisfaction	16.93	3.68	.52**					
3. Dedication	4.53	.55	.32**	.35**				
4. Confidence	22.07	4.62	.43**	.63**	.61**			
5. Positive Connections	4.20	.77	.41**	.66**	.39**	.67**		
6. Negative Communication	1.56	.44	-.42**	-.60**	-.185	-.42**	-.53**	
7. Fairness	3.74	.65	.70**	.47**	.38**	.34**	.47**	-.42**

Notes. Descriptive statistics are presented for the transformed confidence variable; *Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed); **Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Table 9
Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations among Housework Satisfaction, Overall Relationship Quality Variables, and Perceived Fairness about the Division of Housework for Females

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
1. Housework Satisfaction	3.88	1.12						
2. Relationship Satisfaction	16.85	4.18	.36**					
3. Dedication	4.54	.60	.31**	.70**				
4. Confidence	22.14	4.86	.35**	.84**	.75**			
5. Positive Connections	4.34	.79	.25*	.83**	.61**	.71**		
6. Negative Communication	1.51	.45	-.30**	-.64**	-.50**	-.58**	-.63**	
7. Fairness	3.74	.91	.72**	.30**	.39**	.28**	.18	-.37**

Notes. Descriptive statistics are presented for the transformed confidence variable; *Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed); **Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Table 10
Baron and Kenny Steps for Mediation (Males)

Step	Path	B	Standard Error	Beta	<i>p</i>
1	c	2.66	.50	.47	<.001
2	a	.98	.10	.70	<.001
3	b	1.51	.48	.37	.002
4	c'	1.19	.67	.21	.08

Table 11
Baron and Kenny Steps for Mediation (Females)

Step	Path	B	Standard Error	Beta	<i>p</i>
1	c	1.37	.44	.30	.003
2	a	.88	.09	.72	<.001
3	b	1.33	.51	.35	.01
4	c'	.20	.62	.04	.76

Table 12
Correlations among Housework Inequality, Fairness, and Housework Satisfaction for Males

	1.	2.
1. Housework Inequality		
2. Fairness	-.26*	
3. Housework Satisfaction	-.14	.70**

*Notes. *Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed); **Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).*

Table 13

Correlations among Housework Inequality, Fairness, and Housework Satisfaction for Females

	1.	2.
1. Housework Inequality		
2. Fairness	-.21*	
3. Housework Satisfaction	-.31**	.72**

*Notes. *Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed); **Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).*

Table 14
Correlations among Who Does What Calculated Scores for Males

	1.	2.	3.
1. Housework Inequality			
2. Desired Housework Absolute Change	.41**		
3. Ideal/Equality Absolute Difference	.67**	.14	
4. Desired Housework Change	-.09	.23*	.18

*Notes. *Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed); **Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).*

Table 15
Correlations among Who Does What Calculated Scores for Females

	1.	2.	3.
1. Housework Inequality			
2. Desired Housework Absolute Change	.47**		
3. Ideal/Equality Absolute Difference	.56**	-.14	
4. Desired Housework Change	-.35**	-.70**	.06

*Notes. *Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed); **Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).*

Table 16
Correlations among Who Does What Calculated Scores and Key Subscales of the Housework Measure for Males

	Fairness	Appreciation	Conflict	Personal Standards
Housework Inequality	-.26*	-.12	.22**	-.27**
Desired Housework Absolute Change	-.40**	-.32**	.57**	.18
Ideal/Equality Absolute Difference	-.05	-.07	.03	.26*
Desired Housework Change	.34**	-.04	-.05	-.13

Notes. *Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed); **Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Table 17
Correlations among Who Does What Calculated Scores and Key Subscales of the Housework Measure for Females

	Fairness	Appreciation	Conflict	Personal Standards
Housework Inequality	-.21*	-.14	.28**	-.07
Desired Housework Absolute Change	-.48**	-.33**	.45**	.18
Ideal/Equality Absolute Difference	.11	.04	-.08	-.25*
Desired Housework Change	.49**	.37**	-.44**	-.20*

Notes. *Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed); **Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Table 18
Correlations among Who Does What Calculated Scores and Overall Relationship Quality Variables for Males

	Relationship Satisfaction	Dedication	Confidence	Positive Connections	Negative Communication
Housework Inequality	-.32**	.09	-.16	-.14	.24*
Desired Housework Absolute Change	-.58**	-.12	-.45**	-.28**	.50**
Ideal/Equality Absolute Difference	-.11	-.02	-.15	-.09	.15
Desired Housework Change	-.04	-.03	-.20	.17	.10

Notes. *Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed); **Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Table 19
Correlations among Who Does What Calculated Scores and Overall Relationship Quality Variables for Females

	Relationship Satisfaction	Dedication	Confidence	Positive Connections	Negative Communication
Housework Inequality	-.33**	-.16	-.34**	-.34**	.30**
Desired Housework Absolute Change	-.57**	-.43**	-.54**	-.49**	.51**
Ideal/Equality Absolute Difference	.10	.26*	.08	.05	.00
Desired Housework Change	.53**	.45**	.51**	.52**	-.50**

Notes. *Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed); **Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Table 20
*Means, Standard Deviations, and Paired Samples Comparisons for Time Spent in
 Childcare Activities*

Childcare Activity	Male <i>M (SD)</i>	Female <i>M (SD)</i>	<i>P</i>
Changing diapers	.72 (1.32)	1.65 (2.13)	.006
Bathing and dressing child(ren)	1.26 (1.61)	2.43 (2.28)	<.001
Putting child(ren) to bed	2.15 (2.60)	3.04 (3.12)	.117
Reading to child(ren)	1.16 (1.40)	2.38 (1.99)	.001
Playing or doing things with child(ren)	4.40 (3.49)	7.16 (3.60)	.002
Getting child(ren) to school, work, or other activities	2.35 (3.13)	4.09 (3.37)	.027
Attending extracurricular events	2.06 (3.10)	2.61 (3.10)	.402
Shopping for child(ren)	1.27 (2.04)	2.05 (1.52)	.106

Table 21
Correlations among Housework and Childcare Satisfaction Items for Males

	1.	2.	3.
1. Housework Satisfaction			
2. Satisfaction with Partner's Housework Effort	.71**		
3. Childcare Satisfaction	.41*	.26	
4. Satisfaction with Partner's Childcare Effort	.51**	.46**	.62**

*Notes. *Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed); **Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).*

Table 22
Correlations among Housework and Childcare Satisfaction Items for Females

	1.	2.	3.
1. Housework Satisfaction			
2. Satisfaction with Partner's Housework Effort	.85**		
3. Childcare Satisfaction	.56**	.53**	
4. Satisfaction with Partner's Childcare Effort	.64**	.63**	.80**

*Notes. *Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed); **Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).*

Table 23
Correlations among Enjoyment of Housework, Housework Satisfaction, and Overall Relationship Quality Variables for Males

	Enjoyment of Housework
Housework Satisfaction	.26**
Relationship Satisfaction	.31**
Dedication	.31**
Confidence	.26**
Positive Connections	.13
Negative Communication	-.17

Notes. Descriptive statistics are presented for the transformed confidence variable; *Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed); **Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Table 24
Correlations among Enjoyment of Housework, Housework Satisfaction, and Overall Relationship Quality Variables for Females

	Enjoyment of Housework
Housework Satisfaction	.11
Relationship Satisfaction	.09
Dedication	.08
Confidence	-.01
Positive Connections	.16
Negative Communication	.03

Notes. Descriptive statistics are presented for the transformed confidence variable;
 *Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed); **Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Figure 1
Profile Analysis of the 8 Subscales of the Housework Measure

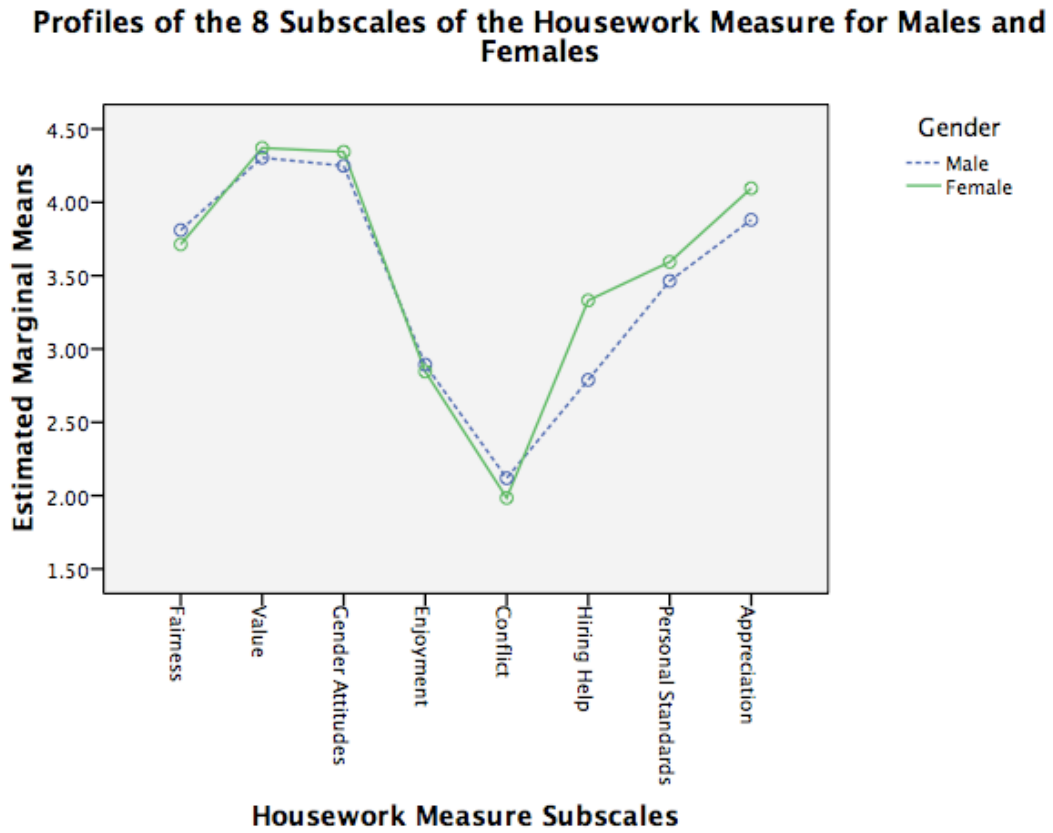
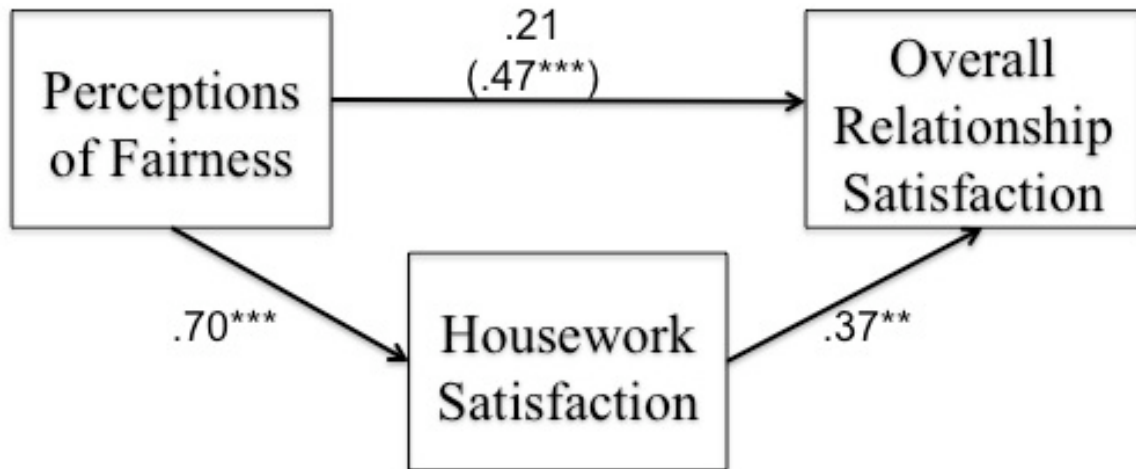
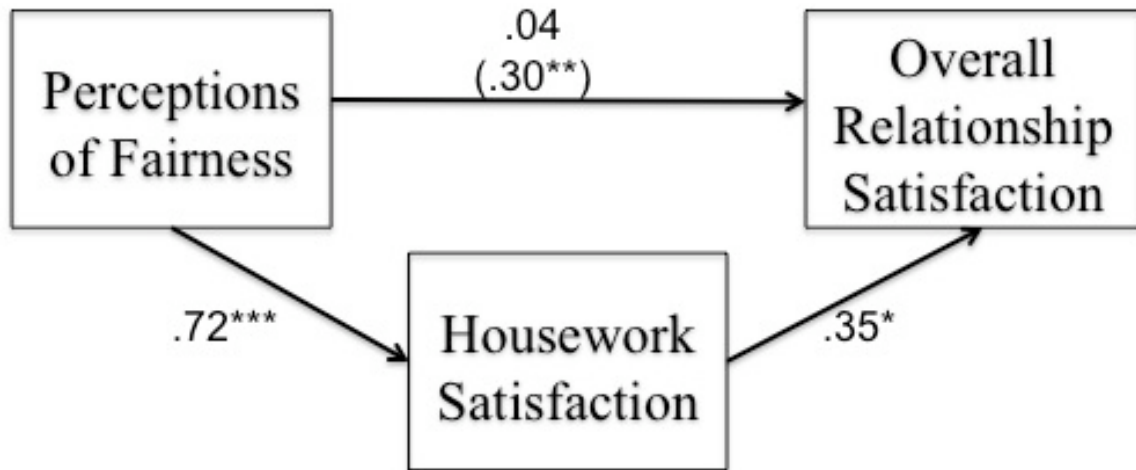


Figure 2
Mediation Model for Males



Notes. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. Beta coefficients are presented.

Figure 3
Mediation Model for Females



Notes. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. Beta coefficients are presented.

Figure 4
Gender by Income Interaction Effect



Appendix B:
Recruitment Advertisement for Phase One

You are invited to participate in a research study measuring couples' attitudes and behaviors regarding housework. The findings from this study will have direct implications for the prevention and treatment of relationship distress as it relates to the division of household labor. This study is being conducted by Jocelyn Petrella, M.A., under the supervision of Howard Markman, Ph.D.

To be eligible to participate in this study, **you must: (1) be married to your partner OR be in a committed relationship of at least 1 year; (2) currently live with your partner and share a single home address; and (3) be employed and working at least 20 hours per week.**

The survey should take about 20-30 minutes to complete and if you choose to enter your e-mail address at the end of the survey, you will be entered into a lottery for one of ten \$50 gift cards to your choice of either Target or iTunes. If you would like to participate in the study, please click on the link at the bottom of this page to enter the survey. This is a one-time commitment and you will not be asked for any further information once you have submitted your responses. Also, if you know people who might be interested in participating in this study, please forward this e-mail to them.

Here is a link to the study: www.surveymonkey.com/s/2JKWWVQ

I can be contacted at houseworkstudy@gmail.com or 303-907-4728 for further information. Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Jocelyn Petrella, M.A.

Doctoral Candidate
Child Clinical Psychology
The University of Denver

Appendix C:
Recruitment Advertisement for Phase Two

We would like to invite you and your partner to participate in a research study measuring various aspects of relationship functioning, including commitment, communication, and satisfaction, as well as the division of household labor. The findings from this study will have direct implications for the prevention and treatment of relationship distress. This study is being conducted by Jocelyn Petrella, M.A., under the supervision of Howard Markman, Ph.D.

To be eligible to participate in this study, **you and your partner must: (1) be married OR be in a committed relationship of at least 1 year; (2) currently live together and share a single home address; and (3) be employed and working at least 20 hours per week.**

The survey should take about 20 minutes to complete and if you choose to enter your e-mail address at the end of the survey, you will be entered into a lottery for one of five \$100 gift cards to your choice of either Target or iTunes. If you would like to participate in the study, please click on the link at the bottom of this page to enter the survey AND share the link with your partner. At the end of the survey, you will also have the option of providing your partner's e-mail address so that the link can be send directly to him/her. This is a one-time commitment and you will not be asked for any further information once you have submitted your responses. Also, if you know couples who might be interested in participating in this study, please forward this e-mail to them.

Here is a link to the study: www.surveymonkey.com/s/relationshipstudy2011

I can be contacted at relationshipstudy2011@gmail.com or 303-907-4728 for further information. Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Jocelyn Petrella, M.A.

Doctoral Candidate
Child Clinical Psychology
The University of Denver

Appendix D:
Demographic Information Form for Phase One

Instructions: Please answer the following questions as honestly as you can. All responses will remain completely anonymous. All questions pertain to you unless otherwise specified.

Date _____

Age _____ Birthdate _____

Gender: M F

Where do you currently reside? _____
state (if not in the U.S., province/country)

Are you and your partner living together? That is, do you share a single address without either of you having a separate place? Yes _____ No _____

When did you and your partner move in together (that is, when did you begin sharing a single home address)? _____/_____/_____
month day year

Which of the following did you and your partner do?

Moved into a new place together _____
Moved into my existing place _____
Moved into my partner's place _____
Other (please describe): _____

What was your living situation before moving in with your current partner?

Lived with my family _____
Lived alone _____
Lived with roommate(s) _____
Lived with a previous partner _____
Other (please describe): _____

Are you married? Yes _____ No _____

If yes, when did you get married? _____/_____/_____
month day year

If no, please answer the following questions below:

A. Have the two of you together made a specific commitment to marry?

- Yes, we are engaged
- Yes, we are planning marriage but we are not engaged
- No

B. Have you and your partner set a date for getting married?

- Yes, it is _____(mm/dd/yy)
- No _____

C. Do you want to marry your current partner?

- Yes, I am sure I want to marry my partner _____
- Not sure _____
- No, I do not want to marry my partner _____
- I haven't thought about it _____

If you and your partner lived together before marriage, please answer the following questions below:

A. What did you think about marrying your partner when you first moved in together?

- I was sure I wanted to marry my partner _____
- I was not sure _____
- I did not want to marry my partner _____
- I hadn't thought about it _____

B. Had the two of you made a specific commitment to marry when you first moved in together?

- Yes, we were engaged _____
- Yes, we were planning marriage, but were not engaged _____
- No _____

Sexual Orientation:

What is your sexual orientation?

- Heterosexual _____
- Gay Male _____
- Lesbian _____
- Bisexual _____
- Other (please specify): _____

What is your partner's sexual orientation?

Heterosexual _____
Gay Male _____
Lesbian _____
Bisexual _____
Other (please specify): _____

Education:

Personal Educational Background: (circle the highest level you obtained)

Grade School	High School	College	Graduate School
6 7 8	9 10 11 12	13 14 15 16	17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24

Degree You Obtained:

Associate/Technical Bachelors Masters/J.D. Doctorate/M.D.

Partner's Educational Background: (circle the highest level your partner obtained)

Grade School	High School	College	Graduate School
6 7 8	9 10 11 12	13 14 15 16	17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24

Degree Partner Obtained:

Associate/Technical Bachelors Masters/J.D. Doctorate/M.D.

Employment Information:

Are you presently employed? Yes____ No____

If yes, how many hours per week do you work? _____

Do you ever work from home? Yes____ No____

If yes, how many hours per week do you work from home? _____

What is your occupation? _____

Is your partner presently employed? Yes____ No____

If yes, how many hours per week does your partner work? _____

Does your partner ever work from home? Yes _____ No _____

If yes, how many hours per week does your partner work from home? _____

What is your partner's occupation? _____

Income:

Personal Income: (Please check only your own income. Do not include partner's income.)

- Under \$9,999 _____
- \$10,000-19,999 _____
- \$20,000-29,999 _____
- \$30,000-39,999 _____
- \$40,000-49,999 _____
- \$50,000-59,999 _____
- \$60,000-69,999 _____
- \$70,000-79,999 _____
- \$80,000-89,999 _____
- \$90,000-99,999 _____
- Over \$100,000 _____

Partner's Income: (Please estimate your partner's income. Do not include your income.)

- Under \$9,999 _____
- \$10,000-19,999 _____
- \$20,000-29,999 _____
- \$30,000-39,999 _____
- \$40,000-49,999 _____
- \$50,000-59,999 _____
- \$60,000-69,999 _____
- Over \$70,000 _____

How does your income compare to your partner's income?

- My income is equal to my partner's income _____
- My income is greater than my partner's income _____
- My income is less than my partner's income _____

Ethnicity:

What is your race/ethnicity? (Please mark all that apply)

- African or African-American
- Native American (American Indian or Alaskan Native)
- Asian, Pacific Islander, or Asian-American
- White, European, or European-American
- Latino/Latina or Latin American (Hispanic)
- Arab or Arab-American
- Other (please specify): _____

What is your partner's race/ethnicity? (Please mark all that apply)

- African or African-American
- Native American (American Indian or Alaskan Native)
- Asian, Pacific Islander, or Asian-American
- White, European, or European-American
- Latino/Latina or Latin American (Hispanic)
- Arab or Arab-American
- Other (please specify): _____

Religion:

What is your religious affiliation?

- Catholic
- Protestant
- Jewish
- New Age/Metaphysical
- Islamic
- None
- Other (please specify): _____

What is your partner's religious affiliation?

- Catholic
- Protestant
- Jewish
- New Age/Metaphysical
- Islamic
- None
- Other (please specify): _____

7. Age____ Gender: M F full-time part-time
8. Age____ Gender: M F full-time part-time
9. Age____ Gender: M F full-time part-time
10. Age____ Gender: M F full-time part-time

How did you find out about the study?

- Listserv post
- Craigslist ad
- Facebook
- My Space
- Friend
- Partner
- Other (please specify): _____

Appendix E:
Demographic Information Form for Phase Two

Instructions: Please answer the following questions as honestly as you can. All responses will remain completely anonymous. All questions pertain to you unless otherwise specified.

Age _____ Birthdate _____

Gender: M F

Where do you currently reside? _____
state (if not in the U.S., province/country)

Are you and your partner living together? That is, do you share a single address without either of you having a separate place? Yes _____ No _____

When did you and your partner move in together (that is, when did you begin sharing a single home address)? _____/_____/_____
month day year

Which of the following did you and your partner do?

Moved into a new place together _____
Moved into my existing place _____
Moved into my partner's place _____
Other (please describe): _____

Are you married? Yes _____ No _____

If yes, when did you get married? _____/_____/_____
month day year

If no, please answer the following questions below:

A. Have the two of you together made a specific commitment to marry?

____ Yes, we are engaged
____ Yes, we are planning marriage but we are not engaged
____ No

B. Have you and your partner set a date for getting married?

Yes, it is _____ (mm/dd/yy)
No _____

C. Do you want to marry your current partner?

Yes, I am sure I want to marry my partner _____

Not sure _____

No, I do not want to marry my partner _____

I haven't thought about it _____

What is your anniversary date? _____ / _____ / _____
month day year

Sexual Orientation:

What is your sexual orientation?

Heterosexual _____

Gay Male _____

Lesbian _____

Bisexual _____

Other (please specify): _____

Educational Background: (circle the highest level you obtained)

Grade School	High School	College	Graduate School
6 7 8	9 10 11 12	13 14 15 16	17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24

Degree Obtained:

Associate/Technical Bachelors Masters/J.D. Doctorate/M.D.

Employment Information:

Are you presently employed? Yes _____ No _____

If yes, how many hours per week do you work? _____

Do you ever work from home? Yes _____ No _____

If yes, how many hours per week do you work from home? _____

Personal Income: (Please check only your own income. Do not include partner's income.)

- Under \$9,999 _____
- \$10,000-19,999 _____
- \$20,000-29,999 _____
- \$30,000-39,999 _____
- \$40,000-49,999 _____
- \$50,000-59,999 _____
- \$60,000-69,999 _____
- Over \$70,000 _____

How does your income compare to your partner's income?

- My income is equal to my partner's income _____
- My income is greater than my partner's income _____
- My income is less than my partner's income _____
- Not sure _____

Ethnicity:

What is your race/ethnicity? (Please mark all that apply)

- _____ Black/African American
- _____ American Indian/Alaska Native
- _____ Asian
- _____ Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander
- _____ Hispanic/Latino(a)
- _____ White
- _____ Other (please specify): _____

Religion:

What is your religious affiliation?

- _____ Roman Catholic
- _____ Protestant
- _____ Jewish
- _____ Mormon
- _____ Orthodox (such as Greek or Russian Orthodox)
- _____ Muslim
- _____ Buddhist
- _____ Hindu
- _____ None
- _____ Other (please specify): _____

All things considered, how religious would you say you are?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Not at all Somewhat Very

How often do you attend religious services with your partner?

____ Never, or almost never
____ Occasionally, but less than once per month
____ One to three times per month
____ One or more times per week

Children:

How many total children are living in your household (at least part-time)? _____

For each child living at home (at least part-time), please list the child's age, gender, and whether he/she lives full-time or part-time in your home:

- | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------|---|---|-----------|-----------|
| 1. Age_____ | Gender: | M | F | full-time | part-time |
| 2. Age_____ | Gender: | M | F | full-time | part-time |
| 3. Age_____ | Gender: | M | F | full-time | part-time |
| 4. Age_____ | Gender: | M | F | full-time | part-time |
| 5. Age_____ | Gender: | M | F | full-time | part-time |
| 6. Age_____ | Gender: | M | F | full-time | part-time |
| 7. Age_____ | Gender: | M | F | full-time | part-time |
| 8. Age_____ | Gender: | M | F | full-time | part-time |
| 9. Age_____ | Gender: | M | F | full-time | part-time |
| 10. Age_____ | Gender: | M | F | full-time | part-time |

How did you find out about the study?

- Listserv post
- Craigslist ad
- Facebook
- My Space
- A Friend
- Partner
- Other (please specify): _____

Appendix F:
Housework Measure for Phase One

Housework Questionnaire

Please use the scale below to rate how much you agree with the following statements:

①	②	③	④	⑤
Strongly	Somewhat	Neither	Somewhat	Strongly
<u>Disagree</u>	Disagree	Agree Nor	Agree	Agree
		Disagree		

Personal standards of how the housework should be carried out

1. When it comes to housework, I like things done a certain way.
2. I think it's really important to keep our home clean.
3. It doesn't bother me if there is clutter in our home. (reverse scored)
4. It's important that our home be cleaned from top to bottom once a week.
5. If our home isn't dusted for a month, that's okay with me. (reverse scored)
6. I think it's important that the dishwasher be loaded in a certain fashion.
7. I can't stand it when the laundry piles up.
8. I am disgusted if the bathroom isn't cleaned on a regular basis.
9. I think the dishes should be cleaned up immediately following dinner.
10. If a family member tracks mud inside our home or spills something on the floor, it's important to me that it be cleaned up right away.
11. It's important that the housework be done right.
12. It really bothers me when stuff piles up in our home.
13. I like to live clutter free.
14. It doesn't bother me if our home isn't all that clean. (reverse scored)

Gender related factors

1. I generally think it's better for women to take care of the home. (reverse scored)
2. I think women should do all the cooking and cleaning and men should take care of outdoor tasks and home repair. (reverse scored)
3. When both partners work outside the home, it's best when they can share the housework equally.
4. I think it's important for children to learn how to help with all aspects of "keeping house," from cooking to cleaning to yard work.
5. Men are generally too busy to have to help with housework. (reverse scored)
6. Even if both partners have similar work schedules, the woman should still be responsible for most of the housework. (reverse scored)
7. Men are not as good as women at keeping the home clean. (reverse scored)
8. I think a man's job is to provide for his family and a woman's job is to take care of the home and children. (reverse scored)
9. I think girls should learn early on how to cook and clean so they will be prepared to care for their husbands some day. (reverse scored)
10. Men shouldn't have to help with housework. Housework should be taken care of by women. (reverse scored)
11. It's important to me that my partner and I share the housework equally.

Attitudes about fairness

1. I think the way my partner and I divide the housework is fair.

2. I wish my partner would do more housework so that I wouldn't have to do as much.
(reverse scored)
3. I feel like I get stuck doing the most mundane tasks around our home. (reverse scored)
4. It seems like I have to invest more time in managing the housework because my partner is content to let things go. (reverse scored)
5. My partner and I have worked out a good compromise in terms of housework.
6. My partner tells me that he/she doesn't have the energy to do housework at night so I get stuck doing it all. (reverse scored)
7. Compared to our friends, I think we have worked out a great system for who does what around our home.
8. I think we have arrived at a fair balance considering our current situation (e.g., schedule, work, etc.).
9. My partner and I are working hard to make the division of housework a fair division.
10. I do more than I should have to around our home. (reverse scored)
11. When it comes to housework, my partner gets to do the fun chores and I get stuck with the boring chores. (reverse scored)
12. Compared to my parents, I think we have worked out a great system for who does what around our home.
13. It really bothers me that I do more housework than my partner. (reverse scored)
14. I think my partner and I have worked out a fair division of housework.

Receiving appreciation

1. My partner tells me that he/she appreciates when I contribute to the housework.

2. I feel like my partner should appreciate my contributions to the housework more.
(reverse scored)
3. My partner never thanks me for what I do around our home. (reverse scored)
4. I don't know why I bother to do housework because it's never noticed. (reverse scored)
5. While my partner may not explicitly thank me for my contribution to housework, I know that he/she appreciates it.
6. I don't feel like anyone ever notices the housework I do. (reverse scored)
7. My partner is really appreciative when I do housework.
8. I wish my partner would thank me every once in awhile for all that I do around the house. (reverse scored)
9. My partner thanks me for doing even the smallest chores around our home.

Showing appreciation

1. I appreciate that my partner does housework when I'm not around.
2. When my partner does housework, I show him/her that I appreciate it by saying, "thank you."
3. I often notice that my partner does housework, but I don't say anything about it.
(reverse scored)
4. I shouldn't have to show appreciation when my partner does something around our home. (reverse scored)
5. I make sure to thank my partner for all that he/she does around our home.
6. I show appreciation when my partner does housework.

7. I'm terrible when it comes to thanking my partner when he/she does housework.

(reverse scored)

8. When I know that my partner did something around our home, I always make sure to thank him/her.

9. I'm too busy to notice when my partner does household tasks. (reverse scored)

10. The housework my partner does is minimal so I often don't thank him/her. (reverse scored)

11. I don't take the time to thank my partner for what he/she does around our home.

(reverse scored)

12. I don't really notice the housework my partner does when I'm not around. (reverse scored)

Hiring outside help

1. I think hiring someone to help with the housework is a waste of money. (reverse scored)

2. I don't like the thought of hiring someone to help with the housework because I don't like strangers in our home. (reverse scored)

3. I think it's silly to hire someone to help with the housework because we'd still need to pick up around our home before the help arrives. (reverse scored)

4. I don't think anyone can clean our home as well as I can so I would prefer to do it myself than to hire outside help. (reverse scored)

5. I think it's a great idea to hire someone else to come in to help with the housework.

6. If we had someone to help with the housework, I think my partner and I would be happier.
7. I don't think people should hire someone to help with the housework because I think children need to learn how to do household chores. (reverse scored)
8. I prefer that my partner and I do our own housework. (reverse scored)
9. I don't want someone outside our family to help with the housework. (reverse scored)
10. Having someone come in to help with the housework would make life easier.
11. I think it would be great to have someone come in to clean every once in awhile.

Enjoyment of housework

1. I generally like cleaning our home.
2. I like doing the dishes.
3. I enjoy cooking.
4. I hate cleaning the bathroom. (reverse scored)
5. Vacuuming is kind of fun.
6. I really don't like doing laundry. (reverse scored)
7. I find cleaning our home for a couple of hours to be a relaxing activity.
8. Cleaning helps to take my mind off stressful things in life.
9. I hate the thought of cleaning or working around our home during my free time.
(reverse scored)
10. I think that housework can provide a nice break in the middle of my day.
11. I think it's enjoyable to tidy up our home every once in awhile.
12. Cleaning is about the last thing I'd like to do on my weekends. (reverse scored)

13. I enjoy doing a number of household tasks.

Value of housework

1. I think it's important to come home to a clean living space.

2. Having a clean home is so important to me that I would sacrifice a couple of hours on the weekend to do housework.

3. Having a clean home isn't important to me at all. (reverse scored)

4. I'd rather enjoy my nights and weekends and come home to a messy home than spend time cleaning our home. (reverse scored)

5. I value a clean home, but my partner doesn't.

6. Housework is not at the top of my priority list...in fact, it doesn't even make the top 10. (reverse scored)

7. I could care less whether or not our home is clean. (reverse scored)

8. I think keeping our home in order is important.

9. I think housework is a waste of time. (reverse scored)

10. When life gets busy, it's not important to me that our home be kept clean. (reverse scored)

11. I don't see the point in spending time cleaning our home. (reverse scored)

12. In the grand scheme of life, housework doesn't matter. (reverse scored)

13. My partner values a clean home, but I don't. (reverse scored)

Conflict over housework

1. My partner and I fight a lot about housework.

2. I often feel like I am bugging my partner in order to get him/her to do more housework.
3. Housework isn't really an issue in our relationship like it is for some couples. (reverse scored)
4. My partner and I argue over who should do what around our home.
5. My partner and I argue about how things should be done in our home.
6. My partner doesn't do enough housework, which often leads to arguments.
7. My partner and I never fight about housework. (reverse scored)
8. Housework isn't really a problem in our relationship. (reverse scored)
9. My partner is constantly bothering me about the housework I didn't get done.
10. My partner and I fight about how frequently we need to clean our home.
11. When my partner leaves dirty dishes in the sink, it almost always leads to a fight.
12. One of the biggest problems in our relationship is who does what around our home.
13. I feel like my partner and I are always fighting about housework.
14. Housework is important to me, but not to my partner, which often leads to fights.

Housework

Please indicate how much time per week you spend in each of the following housework activities. You may use both the "hours" and "minutes" columns for your estimations. If the time spent is less than 1 hour, you may indicate this by leaving the "hours" column blank and completing the "minutes" column. Mark N/A for those tasks which are not applicable in your home or mark 0 if you do not spend any time in a certain activity (you can indicate N/A or 0 under the "hours" column). For seasonal activities (e.g., lawn care, gardening, shoveling the snow), please estimate how much time per week you spend on these activities when in season. Please do not leave any question blank.

Meal preparation or cooking _____

- Housecleaning _____
- Shopping for groceries and household goods _____
- Washing dishes or cleaning up after meals _____
- Laundry, including washing, ironing, and mending clothes _____
- Straightening up our home _____
- Maintenance and repairs in our home _____
- Automobile maintenance and repairs _____
- Lawn care _____
- Shoveling the snow _____
- Gardening _____
- Caring for pets _____
- Paying bills and keeping track of finances _____
- Taking out the garbage _____
- Sorting recycling _____
- Keeping technology (e.g., computer, Internet, TV, etc.) working in our home _____

Please answer the following questions using the scale below:

①	②	③	④	⑤
Very	Somewhat	Neutral	Somewhat	Very
Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied		Satisfied	Satisfied

In general, how satisfied are you with the way you and your partner divide up the housework?

① ② ③ ④ ⑤

How satisfied are you with the effort your partner makes in terms of housework?

① ② ③ ④ ⑤

Parenting Children and Adolescents

Please indicate how much time per week you spend in each of the following activities related to parenting children and adolescents. You may use both the "hours" and "minutes" columns for your estimations. If the time spent is less than 1 hour, you may indicate this by leaving the "hours" column blank and completing the "minutes" column. Mark N/A for those tasks which are not applicable in your home or mark 0 if you do not spend any time in a certain activity (you can indicate N/A or 0 under the "hours" column). Please do not leave any question blank.

Changing diapers _____

Bathing child(ren) _____

Dressing child(ren) _____

Feeding child(ren) _____

Putting child(ren) to bed _____

Reading to child(ren) _____

Playing or doing things with child(ren) _____

Helping child(ren) with homework _____

Talking to child(ren) _____

Disciplining child(ren) _____

Driving child(ren) to school, work, or other activities _____

Attending extracurricular events for our child(ren) (e.g., sports, theater, music) _____

Monitoring child(ren)'s activities and behavior (teens) _____

Attending medical appointments for our child(ren) _____

Attending school events for our child(ren) (e.g., conferences, socials, parties) _____

Shopping for child(ren) _____

Please answer the following questions using the scale below:

①	②	③	④	⑤
Very	Somewhat	Neutral	Somewhat	Very
Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied		Satisfied	Satisfied

In general, how satisfied are you with the way you and your partner divide up childcare?

① ② ③ ④ ⑤

How satisfied are you with the effort your partner makes in terms of childcare?

① ② ③ ④ ⑤

Please answer the following questions about hiring outside help.

1. Do you currently hire outside help with housework? Yes No

If “yes,” please answer the questions below.

2. How often do you have outside help?

- _____ Daily or almost every day
- _____ Once or twice a week
- _____ Once or twice a month
- _____ Less than once a month

3. What housework do you hire outside help for?

4. How many hours per month do you have outside help? _____

Appendix G:
Questionnaires for Phase Two

Housework Questionnaire

Please use the scale below to rate how much you agree with the following statements:

①	②	③	④	⑤
Strongly	Somewhat	Neither	Somewhat	Strongly
<u>Disagree</u>	Disagree	Agree Nor	Agree	Agree
		Disagree		

1. It's important that the housework be done right.
2. I think it's important to come home to a clean living space.
3. I do more than I should have to around our home. (reverse scored)
4. I think we have arrived at a fair balance considering our current situation (e.g., schedule, work, etc.).
5. Men are generally too busy to have to help with housework. (reverse scored)
6. My partner and I have worked out a good compromise in terms of housework.
7. I can't stand it when the laundry piles up.
8. I don't see the point in spending time cleaning our home. (reverse scored)
9. Even if both partners have similar work schedules, the woman should still be responsible for most of the housework. (reverse scored)
10. It really bothers me that I do more housework than my partner. (reverse scored)
11. I think women should do all the cooking and cleaning and men should take care of outdoor tasks and home repair. (reverse scored)
12. I find cleaning our home for a couple of hours to be a relaxing activity.
13. I make sure to thank my partner for all that he/she does around our home.

14. My partner and I fight a lot about housework.
15. I generally think it's better for women to take care of the home. (reverse scored)
16. I think hiring someone to help with the housework is a waste of money. (reverse scored)
17. I think the way my partner and I divide the housework is fair.
18. I think keeping our home in order is important.
19. It really bothers me when stuff piles up in our home.
20. I don't want someone outside our family to help with the housework. (reverse scored)
21. I think a man's job is to provide for his family and a woman's job is to take care of the home and children. (reverse scored)
22. I think it would be great to have someone come in to clean every once in awhile.
23. When I know that my partner did something around our home, I always make sure to thank him/her.
24. Having a clean home isn't important to me at all. (reverse scored)
25. I think housework is a waste of time. (reverse scored)
26. I often notice that my partner does housework, but I don't say anything about it. (reverse scored)
27. I think that housework can provide a nice break in the middle of my day.
28. My partner and I argue over who should do what around our home.
29. I show appreciation when my partner does housework.
30. My partner is constantly bothering me about the housework I didn't get done.
31. I prefer that my partner and I do our own housework (versus hiring outside help). (reverse scored)

32. Cleaning helps to take my mind off stressful things in life.
33. My partner and I never fight about housework. (reverse scored)
34. I don't take the time to thank my partner for what he/she does around our home.
(reverse scored)
35. I hate the thought of cleaning or working around our home during my free time.
(reverse scored)
36. My partner and I argue about how things should be done in our home.
37. I think the dishes should be cleaned up immediately following dinner.
38. Cleaning is about the last thing I'd like to do on my weekends. (reverse scored)
39. When it comes to housework, I like things done a certain way.
40. I think it's a great idea to hire someone else to come in to help with the housework.

Housework

Please indicate how much time per week you spend in each of the following housework activities. You may use both the "hours" and "minutes" columns for your estimations. If the time spent is less than 1 hour, you may indicate this by leaving the "hours" column blank and completing the "minutes" column. Mark N/A for those tasks which are not applicable in your home or mark 0 if you do not spend any time in a certain activity (you can indicate N/A or 0 under the "hours" column). Please do not leave any question blank.

Meal preparation or cooking _____

Housecleaning _____

Shopping for groceries and household goods _____

Washing dishes or cleaning up after meals _____

Laundry, including washing, ironing, and mending clothes _____

Paying bills and keeping track of finances _____

Indoor maintenance and outdoor chores _____

Please answer the following questions using the scale below:

①	②	③	④	⑤
Very	Somewhat	Neutral	Somewhat	Very
Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied		Satisfied	Satisfied

In general, how satisfied are you with the way you and your partner divide up the housework?

① ② ③ ④ ⑤

How satisfied are you with the effort your partner makes in terms of housework?

① ② ③ ④ ⑤

Parenting Children and Adolescents

Please indicate how much time per week you spend in each of the following activities related to parenting children and adolescents. You may use both the "hours" and "minutes" columns for your estimations. If the time spent is less than 1 hour, you may indicate this by leaving the "hours" column blank and completing the "minutes" column. Mark N/A for those tasks which are not applicable in your home or mark 0 if you do not spend any time in a certain activity (you can indicate N/A or 0 under the "hours" column). Please do not leave any question blank.

Changing diapers _____

Bathing and dressing child(ren) _____

Putting child(ren) to bed _____

Reading to child(ren) _____

Playing or doing things with child(ren) _____

Getting child(ren) to school, work, or other activities _____

Attending extracurricular events for our child(ren) (e.g., sports, theater, music) _____

Shopping for child(ren) _____

Please answer the following questions using the scale below:

①	②	③	④	⑤
Very	Somewhat	Neutral	Somewhat	Very
Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied		Satisfied	Satisfied

In general, how satisfied are you with the way you and your partner divide up childcare?

① ② ③ ④ ⑤

How satisfied are you with the effort your partner makes in terms of childcare?

① ② ③ ④ ⑤

Please answer the following questions about hiring outside help.

1. Do you currently hire outside help with housework? Yes No

If “yes,” please answer the questions below.

2. How often do you have outside help?

____ Daily or almost every day
____ Once or twice a week
____ Once or twice a month
____ Less than once a month

3. What housework do you hire outside help for?

4. How many hours per month do you have outside help? _____

Relationship Questionnaire

Please answer each question below by indicating how strongly you agree or disagree with the idea expressed related to your relationship. Please try to respond to each item.

- 1 = Strongly Disagree**
- 2 = Disagree**
- 3 = Neither Agree Nor Disagree**
- 4 = Agree**
- 5 = Strongly Agree**

- 1 2 3 4 5 I believe we can handle whatever conflicts will arise in the future.
- 1 2 3 4 5 I feel good about our prospects to make this relationship work for a lifetime.
- 1 2 3 4 5 We can handle just about anything that comes our way.
- 1 2 3 4 5 I am very confident when I think of our future together.
- 1 2 3 4 5 We have the skills a couple needs to make a marriage last.
- 1 2 3 4 5 My relationship with my partner is more important to me than almost anything else in my life.
- 1 2 3 4 5 I may not want to be with my partner a few years from now.
- 1 2 3 4 5 I like to think of my partner and me more in terms of "us" and "we" than "me" and "him/her."
- 1 2 3 4 5 I want this relationship to stay strong no matter what rough times we may encounter.
- 1 2 3 4 5 We have a lot of fun together.
- 1 2 3 4 5 We have a satisfying sensual or sexual relationship.
- 1 2 3 4 5 We regularly have great conversations where we just talk as good friends.

Please use the scales below to answer the following questions.

	Not At All True	A Little True	Somewhat True	Mostly True	Almost Completely True	Completely True
	0	1	2	3	4	5
I have a warm and comfortable relationship with my partner.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

	Not At All	A Little	Somewhat	Mostly	Almost Completely	Completely
	0	1	2	3	4	5
How rewarding is your relationship with your partner?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

In general, how satisfied are you with your relationship?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
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Who Does What Questionnaire

Please show how you and your partner divide the family tasks listed below. Rate “how it is now” and “how I would like it to be” using the scale below. Please mark N/A for any task that is not applicable in your home.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	I do it all				We both do this equally				S/he does it all
	“How it is now”				“How I would like it to be”				
	1. Planning and preparing meals								
	2. Cleaning up after meals								
	3. Repairs around the home								
	4. House cleaning								
	5. Taking out the garbage								
	6. Buying groceries, household needs								
	7. Paying bills								
	8. Laundry: washing, folding, ironing								
	9. Writing letters/making calls to family and friends								
	10. Taking care of the car								
	11. Providing income for our family								
	12. Caring for plants, garden, yard								

13. In general, how satisfied are you with the way you and your partner divide the family tasks?

- Very Dissatisfied
 Pretty Dissatisfied
 Neutral
 Somewhat Satisfied
 Very Satisfied