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Informed by Peplau's (1983) theory of roles, this study examined the complex interplay between spouses' gender role attitudes and wives' employment status as a predictor of Mexican-origin husbands' marital satisfaction. Dissonance between spouses' gender role attitudes about how marital roles should be and the actual behavior enacted within the couple was hypothesized to be inversely related to husbands' marital satisfaction. Data were gathered during in-home interviews with 120 Mexican-origin, legally married and "living as married" couples living in North Carolina in 2007-2008. Hierarchical regression analyses revealed (a) a negative association between wives' employment and husbands' marital satisfaction, (b) that wives' sex-typed gender role attitudes were negatively related to husbands' marital satisfaction *only* in marriages in which husbands were more sex-typed, and (c) that the negative association between wives' sex-typed gender role attitudes and husbands' marital satisfaction was stronger for employed wives than non-employed wives. These findings were further qualified by a three-way interaction between wives' employment and spouses' gender role attitudes, indicating that in couples with non-employed wives, wives' more sex-typed gender role attitudes were more negatively associated with the marital satisfaction of husbands with more sex-typed attitudes than husbands with less sex-typed attitudes. Specifically, the three-way interaction showed that for couples with *non-employed* wives, husbands' marital satisfaction was lowest in marital contexts in which both spouses endorsed more sex-typed gender role attitudes.

SPOUSES' GENDER ROLE ATTITUDES, WIVES' EMPLOYMENT STATUS, AND
MEXICAN-ORIGIN HUSBANDS' MARITAL SATISFACTION

by

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Approved by

Committee Chair

To the families of the world for whom each day is a struggle:

Your resilience in the face of hardship is an inspiration.

APPROVAL PAGE

This thesis written by NATALIE HENGSTEBECK has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of The Graduate School at The University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Though the limited research on Mexican couples has expanded in recent years (e.g., Helms, Supple, & Proulx, 2011), there remains little research focusing specifically on the marital experiences and satisfaction of Mexican *husbands* following their immigration to the United States. Previous research on marital relationships has identified spouses' gender role attitudes (i.e., level of agreement with sex-typed notions regarding marital roles) as important predictors of husbands' marital satisfaction (Falconier, 2013; Minnotte, Minnotte, Pedersen, Mannon, & Kiger, 2010). Husbands' and wives' gender role attitudes vary in the extent to which they are congruent and may or may not align with actual role behavior (e.g., wives' employment; Peplau, 1983). The interaction of these factors and their association with husbands' marital satisfaction has been deemed particularly important to consider in studies addressing the marital satisfaction of Mexican immigrant husbands (Updegraff, Crouter, Umaña-Taylor, & Cansler, 2007). For example, although Mexican origin women are less likely to be employed and report a lower preference for employment than American women (Gonzales, 2008), following immigration, Mexican-origin women are likely to work out of economic necessity regardless of their own and their husbands' attitudes about women's employment (Baker, 2004). Among men who hold more sex-typed gender role

attitudes, the challenges of immigration and their wives' necessary transition into the workplace could be particularly challenging to their marital satisfaction (Falconier, 2013). The present study is specifically concerned with this complex interplay between spouses' gender role attitudes, wives' employment status, and husbands' marital satisfaction in a sample of Mexican-origin couples. In the following sections, I (a) introduce the reader to the study, (b) explicate this study's application of Peplau's (1983) theoretical perspective of roles, (c) provide a targeted review of the literature, (d) justify the goals and hypotheses, (e) discuss the methodology, and (f) discuss this study's findings and implications.

Previous research has explored the association between spouses' gender role attitudes and marital satisfaction and quality (e.g., Amato & Booth, 1995; Falconier, 2013; Loscocco & Spitze, 2007; McHale & Crouter, 1992); however, much of the research in this area has been conducted with White, middle-class couples. In addition, very few studies (e.g., Minnotte et al., 2010; Sayer & Bianchi, 2000) have explored how husbands' and wives' attitudes might interact to be related to marital satisfaction, though other studies have mentioned its importance (e.g., Updegraff, Crouter, Umaña-Taylor, & Cansler, 2007). A separate body of research has explored gender roles and gender role attitudes among Mexican-origin couples (e.g., Baca Zinn, 1980; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1992), but has only rarely examined these constructs in the context of marital satisfaction (e.g., Falconier, 2013). Much of the early research on gender roles in samples of Mexican families focused exclusively on samples of women (e.g., Chavira-Prado, 1992), with little attention paid to the roles and marital satisfaction of men in Mexican-origin

families. The limited studies of Mexican men have typically problematized them, labeling them as highly traditional or sex-typed (e.g., Penalosa, 1968) and even aggressive or abusive (Firestone, Harris, & Vega, 2003). Though research on gender role attitudes has expanded dramatically in recent decades, the focus has often been centered on how *women's* roles and attitudes are changing, with little discussion of how the uprooting of men's own "traditional" role expectations as the sole earner in the family might uniquely affect men's own marital satisfaction (Perry-Jenkins & Crouter, 1990). Similarly, because gender role attitudes are expressed in the context of wives' employment status, it is important to incorporate the literature on wives' employment into this discussion of intersecting gender role attitudes and husbands' marital satisfaction. Consideration of wives' employment status may be particularly salient among immigrant couples of Mexican-origin, many of whom experience financial hardship that necessitates wives' employment (Cauce & Domenech-Rodriguez, 2002). In sum, though there is empirical support for relationships between various combinations of the factors, an interaction between husbands' and wives' gender role attitudes and wives' employment status have yet to be studied in the context of Mexican-origin men's marital satisfaction.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A Theoretical Model of Gender Roles in Marriage

An expansion on previous role theories, Peplau's (1983) framework provides a useful lens through which to explore spouses' gender role attitudes, wives' employment, and husbands' marital satisfaction in the present study. Peplau defines a role as "a consistent pattern of individual activity that is directly or indirectly interdependent with the partner" (p. 222). Roles are made up of behavioral, cognitive, and affective components; this study is focused on behavioral (i.e., wives' employment) and cognitive (i.e., spouses' gender role attitudes) components of roles. In her discussion of the cluster of activities that comprise marital roles specifically, Peplau argues that wives' paid employment is a defining and central behavioral domain of role behavior within marriage. Within her framework, the consistent activity patterns that comprise marital roles (e.g. financial provision for the family) are shaped in part by causal conditions that include spouses' individual attitudes and expectations regarding marital role behavior. Although marital role activity is expected to be shaped in part by spouses' attitudes, Peplau underscores that at any given point in time the enactment of roles may not be consistent with spouses' attitudes about how roles *should* be enacted (i.e., cognitions about marital roles). Also, just as discrepancies between role-related attitudes and behaviors are

possible, within-couple discrepancies may also exist and reflect variation in the degree to which spouses endorse particular role-related attitudes. When discrepancies exist between actual role behavior and spouses' attitudes about how marital roles should be enacted, role-related stress may result and lead to declines in spouses' marital satisfaction. Peplau suggested that such discrepancies are more strongly linked to husbands' marital satisfaction than to wives' marital satisfaction, particularly when the role behavior under consideration is wives' employment. Although not always achieved, Peplau and others have suggested that consistency between role ideals and behavior, as well as within-couple consensus about roles, is optimal for marital satisfaction (Helms, Walls, Crouter, & McHale, 2010).

Using Peplau's (1983) framework, this study explored the interaction between cognitive and behavioral aspects of roles – spouses' gender role attitudes and wives' employment status – and their associations with Mexican origin husbands' marital satisfaction. Aligning with Peplau's focus on marital roles specifically, this study examined gender role attitudes toward marital roles, or the degree to which individuals agree or disagree with gendered stereotypes about husbands and wives in marital relationships (Hoffman & Kloska, 1995). Gender role attitudes toward marital roles range from a preference for a specialized homemaker-wife and breadwinner-husband roles to egalitarian shared roles in marriage. As Peplau emphasized, spouses may or may not espouse similar attitudes about marital roles. In addition, the possibility of dissonance between ideals and reality is underscored within the current study of Mexican immigrant couples, given the non-normative nature of employment among low income

women in Mexico (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2007). Specifically, it is possible that one or both spouses' gender role attitudes may conflict with the necessity of immigrant wives' employment in the United States; wives' employment may lead husbands to feel that they are inadequate providers, which may be related to husbands' lower marital satisfaction. In sum, in the context of marriage among Mexican origin couples, the patterning of spouses' gender role attitudes specific to marriage is likely to share a complex relationship with a potentially conflicting behavior pattern (i.e., wives' employment status); the interaction of these factors is likely then to be associated with husband's marital satisfaction.

Why Study Husbands' Marital Satisfaction in Mexican-Origin Families?

When compared to their wives, White and Mexican husbands have been found to be less psychologically distressed (Ross, Mirowsky, & Ulbrich, 1983) and White husbands in particular have been found to be more satisfied (Fowers, 1991); yet husbands' marital satisfaction appears more vulnerable to incongruent attitudes and behavior. Studies have addressed the negative effect of husbands' gender role conflict (i.e., their level of dissonance between their own gender role attitudes and behavior) on husbands' marital satisfaction (e.g., Campbell & Snow, 1992). The unique challenges of obligatory maternal employment and financial hardship faced specifically by Mexican immigrant men make them a particularly important group to study. One qualitative study suggested that, following immigration, Mexican immigrant men who hold more sex-typed attitudes may be especially likely to experience frustration with changing role behavior demands and gender role attitudes conflicts, to struggle with the necessity of wives' employment,

to feel poorly about provider abilities, and to feel that they have less personal worth in their families when wives are employed (Grzywacz, Rao, Gentry, Marin, & Arcury 2009). In the context of the present study, the extent to which husbands and wives endorse sex-typed gender role attitudes and how these attitudes about marital roles interact with wives' (potentially contradictory) employment status is expected to be related to Mexican origin husbands' marital satisfaction.

Husbands' and Wives' Gender Role Attitudes and Husbands' Marital Satisfaction

Gender role attitudes are a critical component of Peplau's (1983) framework, which, in the context of marriage, refer to the cognitive beliefs about husbands' and wives' primary responsibilities within and outside the home (Hoffman & Kloska, 1995). Individuals' gender role attitudes vary from "traditional" or sex-typed (i.e., specialized homemaker-wife and breadwinner-husband roles) to egalitarian (i.e., less specialized shared roles). Much research in recent decades has explored gender role attitudes in marital relationships, although most studies have been limited to samples of primarily White and middle class couples (Baca-Zinn, 1980; Baker, 2004). Findings from these studies suggest that husbands tend to be more satisfied when husbands endorse less sex-typed gender-role attitudes than when they endorse more sex-typed attitudes (Amato & Booth, 1995; Falconier, 2013), and when partners have matched gender role attitudes (McHale & Crouter, 1992; Minnotte et al., 2010).

The limited research on Latino couples has historically depicted Mexican-origin couples as endorsing sex-typed gender role attitudes and behavior in marriage (Baca Zinn, 1980; Cauce & Domenech-Rodriguez, 2002). These studies (e.g., Mosher & Sirkin,

1984; Penalosa, 1968) typically invoke the concept of “machismo,” or hypermasculinity (i.e., callous sex attitudes toward women, violence as manly, and danger as exciting) as characteristic of Mexican families. More contemporary empirical research has found little support for this stereotype of Mexican-origin men as highly sex-typed with inflexible gender role attitudes (Baca Zinn, 1980; Gutmann, 1997). Instead, research findings comparing the gender role attitudes of Mexican couples living in Mexico and Mexican couples living in the United States have produced somewhat contradictory results and challenge the assumption of a universally endorsed “machismo” ideal. For example, Mexican immigrant couples living in the US have been found to both espouse more egalitarian attitudes than similar couples in Mexico (Baca Zinn, 1980) and more sex-typed attitudes than couples in Mexico (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2007; Parrado & Flippen, 2005). Regardless of the degree to which spouses’ own gender role attitudes reflect an underlying cultural endorsement of role-related norms, the consideration of gender role attitudes and their potential impact on the marriages of ethnic minority men is important. More specifically, it has been argued that gender role attitudes may play a unique role for men of color because gender role attitudes may be the only or most prominent aspect of husbands’ identity that grants them dominant status (Baca Zinn, 1980).

Recent research supports the assertion that spouses’ gender role attitudes may be uniquely related to husbands’ marital satisfaction. For example, Minnotte et al. (2010) found the interaction between husbands’ and wives’ gender ideologies to be related to husbands’ marital satisfaction, but not wives’ marital satisfaction. Specifically, though

there were no main effects for either husbands' or wives' gender role attitudes on husbands' marital satisfaction, there was a positive association between the similarity of spouses' gender role ideologies (i.e., the interaction of spouses' attitudes) and husbands' marital satisfaction. The association between the interaction of spouses' attitudes and wives' marital satisfaction was not significant. Similarly, Peplau (1983) suggested that the interaction of spouses' attitudes is likely a stronger predictor of husbands' marital satisfaction than wives' marital satisfaction. Falconier (2013) found that the extent to which (a) men held more sex-typed attitudes and (b) that there was discrepancy between husbands' own gender role attitudes and the attitudes of their wives predicted Mexican-origin husbands' marital satisfaction. Among more sex-typed husbands, when attitudinal ideals cannot be enacted and men consider their provider "territory" to be threatened by their wives' employment, it follows that men who hold more sex-typed attitudes would be less satisfied in their marriages. In accordance with Peplau's discussion of the interdependence marital partners and interactions, this study focused not on the independent effects of a single partner's gender role attitudes, but on the *interaction of both* spouses' attitudes on husbands' marital satisfaction.

Wives' Employment Status and Husbands' Marital Satisfaction

Within Peplau's (1983) framework, wives' employment status represents the behavioral component of roles, which may or may not match the gender role attitudes that spouses hold. Following immigration to the United States, husbands' inability to make sufficient wages often necessitates wives' employment (Chavira-Prado, 1992; Fernandez Kelly, 1992; Menjivar, 1999). Given that a majority (59%) of Hispanic

women in the United States are employed (Gonzales, 2008) and that there may be discrepancy between employment behavior and one or both spouses' attitudes, husbands' marital satisfaction is likely to be uniquely associated with the interaction of these factors.

As women have increased their presence in the workforce in recent decades, many researchers began to explore how wives' employment might be related to couples' marriages. Research has found mixed findings of the association between wives' employment status and marital satisfaction. Studies based on samples of White couples suggest that husbands tend to be less happy when their wives are employed than when their wives are not employed (e.g., Booth, Johnson, White, & Edwards, 1984). A more recent study with a nationally representative sample found wives' employment to be unrelated to husbands' marital happiness (Schoen, Rogers, & Amato, 2006). The limited research on employment among Mexican immigrants has found Mexican husbands married to employed wives to be less satisfied in their marriages than Mexican husbands whose wives were not employed (Bean, Curtis, & Marcum, 1977; Ross et al., 1983). However, given that these studies were conducted over three decades ago, it is possible that the findings are not characteristic of contemporary Mexican immigrant husbands.

Though there have been increases in recent years, Mexican-origin women in the US retain lower labor force participation rates than White and Black women (Montez, Angel, & Angel, 2009), particularly among those who are less educated (Greenlees & Saenz, 1999). One representative sample found that aversion to women working was lower in later generations than more recent Mexican immigrants (Valentine & Mosley, 2000). It is nevertheless important to acknowledge that women's employment has

typically been discouraged among Mexicans not to subordinate women, but because motherhood is valued so highly in Mexican culture (Esteinou, 2007). In the context of immigration, however, motherhood is often redefined to include wives' employment (Baker, 2004). The attitudes spouses hold regarding appropriate roles for husbands and wives in relation to paid employment and the care of children (i.e., gender role attitudes specific to marital roles) in the context of Mexican immigrant wives' labor force participation may therefore be related to husbands' marital satisfaction.

The Interaction Between Spouses' Gender Role Attitudes, Wives' Employment Status, and Husbands' Marital Satisfaction

Contemporary researchers underscore within-group variation in Mexican-origin spouses' gender role attitudes and women's employment and suggest their link with marital satisfaction is complex (Helms et al. 2011; Parrado & Flippen, 2005; Lam, McHale, & Updegraff, 2012; Updegraff et al., 2007). To date, no studies have explicitly tested this link. In a sample of 452 White married couples, one study examined husbands' attitudes and wives' perceptions of husbands' attitudes and how they each interacted with wives' employment status, but no three-way interaction was tested (i.e., Vannoy & Philliber, 1992). Results from this study did find that wives' employment interacted with husbands' attitudes in such a way that when wives were not employed, the more sex-typed husbands' attitudes were, the higher their marital quality ($\beta = .13$); in contrast, when wives were employed, the more sex-typed husbands' attitudes were, the lower husbands' marital quality ($\beta = -.17$). Though the authors did not test the three-way interaction tested in this study, this finding supports the notion that incongruence between

husbands' attitudes and wives' behavior may be negatively related to husbands' marital satisfaction (Vannoy & Philliber, 1992). Although the empirical literature is limited, several scholars have argued for the theoretical importance of further examining the association between husbands' marital satisfaction and the interaction of spouses' gender role attitudes and wives' employment status both among White couples (Vannoy & Philliber, 1992) and Latino couples (Falconier, 2013; Updegraff et al., 2007).

Gender role attitudes and behaviors are enacted and interpreted within the context of daily experiences and social conditions (Chavira-Prado, 1992). Regarding Mexican immigrants specifically, scholars underscore that husbands' marital satisfaction and the interaction between gender role attitudes and wives' paid employment is nested within the context of migration (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1992). It has been argued that many families who move to the United States encounter a system that favors a sex-typed gender role ideology, but demands contradicting behaviors from women (Baker, 2004; Chavira-Prado, 1992; Parrado, Flippen, & McQuiston, 2005). Macro social forces in the US (e.g., a lack of sufficient jobs for men) lead women to violate sex-typed behavioral role expectations that discourage wives' employment, but because women violate norms primarily for the well-being of their husbands and children, sex-typed values are challenged and reinforced simultaneously (Baker, 2004). Acknowledging the potential for diversity of experience and beliefs within Mexican families' in the context of migration informs the study of Mexican immigrant husbands' marital satisfaction and its association with the interaction between spouses' gender role attitudes and wives' employment status (Baca Zinn, 1980; Fraga, Garcia, Hero, Jones-Correa, Martinez-Ebers,

& Segura, 2012; Ybarra, 1982). Finally, Updegraff et al. (2007) advocates for the value of research that explores the interaction between wives' employment and both spouses' gender role attitudes as an important step in understanding culturally relevant predictors of marital quality among Mexican-origin couples.

The Present Study

The current study examined Mexican-origin husbands' marital satisfaction as predicted by the three-way interaction between wives' employment status, husbands' and wives' gender role attitudes, beyond the effects of dispositional and structural factors that have been empirically or theoretically linked to marital satisfaction: couples' legal marital status, husbands' years in the US, age of firstborn child, and additional adults living in the home (Casas & Ortiz, 1985; Cleary & Mechanic, 1983; Helms et al., 2011; Kurdek & Schmitt, 1986; Markides, Roberts-Jolly, Ray, Hoppe, & Rudkin, 1999; Rhyne, 1981). Informed by Peplau's framework and the extant literature on marital satisfaction, wives' employment status, and gender role attitudes, I hypothesized that husbands' marital satisfaction would be predicted by the interaction between spouses' gender role attitudes and wives' employment status. Given the limitations of the previous research and mixed findings, formulating specific hypotheses regarding the nature of the three-way interaction was premature. The limited existing research, however, would lead one to expect that when wives were employed, husbands would be less happy than when wives were not employed. Among husbands married to employed wives, husbands were expected to be most satisfied when they and their wives endorse less sex-typed gender role attitudes. Among husbands married to non-employed wives, husbands in marriages

in which both partners endorse more sex-typed gender role attitudes would be expected to be the most satisfied. In contrast, when there is dissonance between attitudes and behavior (e.g., when wives are employed in marriages in which both spouses have more sex-typed attitudes or when wives are not employed and both spouses have less sex-typed attitudes), husbands would be expected to be less satisfied in their marriages. When spouses' attitudes are mismatched, the association between husbands' marital satisfaction and the interaction of spouses' gender role attitudes and wives' employment status is less clear. This study offers the first test exploring the interaction of spouses' attitudes and wives' employment status and marital satisfaction among Mexican immigrant husbands.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Participants and Procedures

The current study is based on data collected in 2007-2008 as a part of a larger study on marriage and contextual stress among Mexican immigrant couples with children living in North Carolina. One hundred and twenty first-generation Mexican-origin couples who were (a) living together at the time of the study, (b) parents of their biological children, and (c) were legally married or were “living as married” in consensual unions were eligible for and participated in the larger study. Given the high prevalence of common law marriages in Latin American countries and that the many undocumented immigrant couples cannot legally marry in the United States, the inclusion of “living as married” couples is important to a more comprehensive definition of marriage among this population (De Vos, 1999; Helms et al., 2011; Wheeler, Updegraff, & Thayer, 2010). In addition, to be eligible for the study, at least one spouse had to be of Mexican origin, and both spouses had to be of Latin American origin. For the majority of couples (89%), both spouses were from Mexico. One hundred and nine husbands were born in Mexico.

Cultural insiders and snowball sampling methods were used to recruit couples within predetermined census tracts with high concentrations of Latino households.

Latina project staff, social service workers, and community contacts made initial contacts with families either in families' homes or at social service agencies that served the Latino community. During these initial contacts, families were informed of the goals of the research study, the nature of the prospective interview, and the eligibility criteria. Interested couples received a flyer with the project's contact information. With the exception of one couple that withdrew prior to their interview, all couples that met eligibility criteria and were willing to participate were interviewed.

Data for both husbands and wives were collected during two- to three-hour individual in-home interviews conducted by bilingual Latina project staff. Husbands and wives responded to questions about their background, marital satisfaction, gender role attitudes, and employment status. To account for variations in literacy the interviewers read each survey question aloud and participants indicated their response by pointing to numbers on a response card for each scale. Interviewers then recorded participants' responses on optical answer sheets. All but one interview was conducted in Spanish. Participating families received a \$50 gift card.

Of the 120 participating couples, 83 (69%) were legally married and 37 (31%) were living as married. See Table 1 for sample descriptives. Average ages for husbands and wives were 30 and 28 years old, respectively, and couples had been married or living as married for an average of seven years. Fifty-six percent of couples had other adults living in the home, most often reporting one or two additional household members. Couples in the sample had two children, on average, and the mean firstborn age was six years old. Wives and husbands averaged ten and nine years of formal schooling,

respectively. Husbands' average length of time in the United States was eleven years, whereas wives' was eight years. Ninety-eight percent of husbands were employed, and 54% of wives were employed. Participating couples resided in small towns (55%), cities (26%), and rural areas (19%). According to 2008 Census data, 95% of couples lived in neighborhoods characterized by high poverty (i.e., ranging from a poverty rate of 19% - 32%). Forty-nine percent of couples lived in neighborhoods classified as 50% Hispanic, 29% percent of couples lived in neighborhoods ranging from 10-25% Hispanic, and 21% resided in neighborhoods classified as less than 10% Hispanic.

Measures

All measures in the study were available in both Spanish and English and had been applied in prior research with Latino populations. Staff trained in translation with local Mexican immigrant populations at the Center for New North Carolinians verified that the measures were appropriate for use with the present sample.

Husbands' Marital Satisfaction. The dependent variable in the study, husbands' marital satisfaction, was measured using a 16-item adapted version of Huston, McHale, and Crouter's (1986) Domains of Satisfaction Scale, which was revised specifically for measuring marital satisfaction of Mexican-origin couples (Wheeler et al., 2010).

Husbands were asked to rate their satisfaction in the last year from 1 (extremely dissatisfied) to 9 (extremely satisfied) across 16 domains of marriage (e.g., satisfaction with marital communication, the division of household work, family decision-making, involvement with relatives and shared cultural practices). Participants' scores were averaged across the 16 domains to calculate the scale score; higher scores were indicative

of higher marital satisfaction. The alpha for husbands' marital satisfaction was .90. The sample size for all analyses including husbands' reports of marital satisfaction was decreased by one because of a single interviewer error, in which the measure for husbands' marital satisfaction was skipped.

Spouses' Gender Role Attitudes. The six-item marital roles subscale from Hoffman and Kloska's (1995) Gender Role Attitudes Scale measured husbands' and wives' gendered attitudes toward marital roles. Participants were asked on a five-point scale the extent to which they strongly disagreed to strongly agreed with statements such as "For a woman, taking care of the children is the main thing but for a man, his job is" and "It isn't always possible, but ideally the wife should do the cooking and housekeeping and the husband should provide the family with money." Participants' scores were averaged across the 6 items to calculate the scale score; higher scores indicated more sex-typed gender role attitudes. Cronbach's alphas were .72 for wives' gender role attitudes and .81 for husbands' gender role attitudes. Husbands endorsed more sex-typed gender role attitudes ($M = 2.73$, $SD = 1.02$) than their wives ($M = 2.48$, $SD = 0.92$), $t(119) = -2.44$, $p = .02$.

Wives' Employment Status. Wives were asked to indicate whether or not they were currently employed at the time of the interview (coded as 0 = non-employed, 1 = employed). Fifty-four percent of wives were employed.

Structural and Dispositional Factors. Wives' reports of age of firstborn child (measured continuously), legal marital status (coded 0 = "living as married", 1 = legally married), and additional adults living in the home (coded 0 = no additional adults, 1 =

additional adults), and husbands' reports of number of years in the US (measured continuously) were treated as control variables in the analyses.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Preliminary Findings

For descriptive purposes, see Table 2 for bivariate correlations among the study variables and corresponding means and standard deviations. Husbands' and wives' sex-typed gender role attitudes, wives' employment, and the additional adults living in the home were associated with husbands' marital satisfaction. More specifically, the more strongly husbands endorsed sex-typed attitudes about marital roles, the lower their marital satisfaction; lower levels of husbands' marital satisfaction were also associated with wives' employment and the presence of additional adults in the home. The presence of additional adults in the home was less likely when couples were legally married and the longer husbands lived in the US. Husbands' and wives' reports of gender role attitudes were correlated.

Spouses' Gender Role Attitudes, Wives' Employment Status, and Husbands'

Marital Satisfaction

A hierarchical regression analysis was conducted to examine the hypothesized interaction between husbands' and wives' gender role attitudes and wives' employment status, and the association with Mexican-origin husbands' marital satisfaction beyond that explained by the control variables (i.e., couples' legal marital status, husbands' years

in the US, age of firstborn child, and additional adults living in the home). For the hierarchical multiple regression analysis, the four control variables were entered first, followed by the three independent variables, then all possible two-way interactions of the independent variables, and finally, the three-way interaction term. Adding the variables to the model in these four blocks made it possible to see how the variables and their interactions, and notably the three-way interaction, were related to husbands' marital satisfaction beyond what could be explained by the variables added in previous blocks (i.e., control variables, independent variables, and lower-order interactions).

A residualized centering approach was used to reduce multicollinearity in the interaction terms. This technique involves computing the interaction terms based on the variables' original metrics, regressing each interaction term onto the variables from which it was created, and saving the residual to use as the interaction term in the regression analyses (Little, Bovaird, & Widaman, 2006). This approach is superior to more common mean-centering approaches in that orthogonalizing ensures complete independence between the main effects and interaction terms. See Table 3 for the results of the hierarchical multiple regression analysis. Given the *a priori* hypothesis for the three-way interaction term, significance tests for this product term were one-tailed. Significant two-way and three-way interactions containing continuous variables were further explained using a probing strategy by which husbands' marital satisfaction was regressed onto high (i.e., one standard deviation above the mean) and low (i.e., one standard deviation below the mean) levels of the independent variables (Aiken & West, 1991), taking the control variables into account. When interactions included

dichotomous variables, husbands' marital satisfaction was regressed onto the two groups inherent to the dichotomous variable, rather than dividing into high and low groups.

Block 1 of the regression contained the four control variables and explained 10% of the variance in husbands' marital satisfaction. The addition of the three independent variables (i.e., husbands' and wives' gender role attitudes and wives' employment status) in Block 2 resulted in a significant change in R^2 ($\Delta R^2 = .09$, F -change = 4.21, $p = .01$). The three two-way interactions created by all combinations of the independent variables were added to the regression equation in Block 3. The addition of the two-way interaction terms did not result in a significant change in R^2 ($\Delta R^2 = .03$, F -change = 1.35, $p = .26$). The addition of the three-way interaction between wives' employment status and husbands' and wives' gender role attitudes in Block 4 resulted in a significant change in R^2 ($\Delta R^2 = .03$, F -change = 3.79, $p = .03$).

Although the focus of this study is the three-way interaction, I will briefly discuss the main effect and lower-order findings. First, husbands reported lower marital satisfaction when additional adults were living in the home than when there were no additional adults living in the home. Second, a main effect for wives' employment status showed that husbands reported lower marital satisfaction when wives were employed than when their wives were not employed. Third, the significant two-way interaction between husbands' and wives' gender role attitudes indicated that the negative link between wives' gender role attitudes and husbands' marital satisfaction was stronger when husbands reported more sex-typed gender role attitudes ($\beta = -.42$) than when husbands reported less sex-typed gender role attitudes ($\beta = -.04$). More precisely, in

marriages in which husbands reported *more* sex-typed gender role attitudes, the more sex-typed wives' gender role attitudes were, the less satisfaction husbands reported with their marriage. By contrast, in marriages in which husbands held *less* sex-typed gender role attitudes, wives' gender role attitudes were unrelated to husbands' marital satisfaction. Fourth, the significant two-way interaction between wives' employment status and wives' gender role attitudes indicated that the negative relationship between wives' more sex-typed gender role attitudes and husbands' marital satisfaction was stronger when wives were employed ($\beta = -.26$) than when wives were not employed ($\beta = -.24$). Specifically, in marriages in which wives were employed, the more sex-typed wives' gender role attitudes were, the less satisfaction husbands reported with their marriage. In marriages in which wives were not employed, wives' more sex-typed gender role attitudes were less strongly related to husbands' marital satisfaction. All main effect and two-way interactions were further qualified by a significant three-way interaction between husbands' and wives' gender role attitudes and wives' employment status.

To probe the significant three-way interaction, the sample was first divided into two groups by wives' employment status: employed and non-employed. Wives' employment status and any interaction terms that included wives' employment status were removed, reducing the regression equation to a three-block model (preserving the control variables, both spouses' gender role attitudes, and the interaction of both spouses' gender role attitudes). The regression analysis was then repeated separately for both the employed and non-employed subsets of the sample. Findings from this follow-up

analysis revealed that the association between the interaction of husbands' and wives' attitudes and husbands' marital satisfaction was stronger when wives were not employed ($\beta = -.37$) than when wives were employed ($\beta = .03$). Given the small magnitude of the latter coefficient, this initial step suggested that the combination of *both* spouses' attitudes was salient only when wives were not employed. Therefore, the consecutive follow-up analyses included *only* couples in which wives were not employed. Although this study did not explore typologies, it is important to note that no couples were categorized by more (one standard deviation above the mean) sex-typed husbands married to less (one standard deviation below the mean) sex-typed, employed wives. The next step to deconstructing the three-way interaction was to further divide the couples in which wives were employed by husbands' more (i.e., one standard deviation above the mean) and less (i.e., one standard deviation below the mean) sex-typed gender role attitudes. Wives' employment status, husbands' gender role attitudes, and any interaction terms that contained either were removed, reducing this follow-up regression equation to a two-block model (preserving the control variables and wives' gender role attitudes). Husbands' marital satisfaction was then regressed onto wives' gender role attitudes once for each of the four subsets of the sample (i.e., more sex-typed husbands with non-employed wives and less sex-typed husbands with non-employed wives). Among couples in which wives were not employed, the negative association between wives' more sex-typed attitudes and husbands' marital satisfaction was stronger among more sex-typed husbands ($\beta = -.57$) than less sex-typed husbands ($\beta = -.22$). Thus, the least

satisfied husbands were those who endorsed highly sex-typed attitudes and were married to non-employed wives who also endorsed highly sex-typed attitudes.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The present study explored wives' employment status and husbands' and wives' gender role attitudes as dyadic contexts within which Mexican-origin husbands' marital satisfaction is situated. Following recommendations to explore complexities between culturally relevant predictors of marital satisfaction among Mexican-origin couples (Falconier, 2013; Updegraff et al., 2007), this study is the first test of the interaction of both spouses' gender role attitudes and wives' employment status as a predictor of marital satisfaction among Mexican-origin husbands. Incorporation of Peplau's (1983) theory of roles supported the inclusion of *both* spouses' gender role attitudes, wives' reported employment status, and husbands' reported marital satisfaction, and enabled a more complete understanding of the complexity of interactions between spouses' attitudes about how marital roles *should* be enacted (i.e., gender role attitudes) and the *reality* of actual behavior (wives' employment status) both within individuals and within couples. Although this study did find support for the complex interaction between Mexican-origin spouses' gender role attitudes and wives' employment status on husbands' marital satisfaction, the nature of the interaction was contrary to findings from previous research (based primarily on White couples) and what was theoretically proposed.

Based on Peplau's model, it was hypothesized that the most satisfied husbands would be either (a) less sex-typed and married to less sex-typed employed wives or (b)

more sex-typed and married to more sex-typed non-employed wives. Husbands were expected to be less satisfied with their marriages when there was dissonance between either spouses' gender role attitudes and/or wives' employment status (e.g., when wives are employed and in marriages in which both spouses have more sex-typed attitudes, or expected to be less satisfied with their marriages when there was dissonance between either spouses' gender role attitudes and/or wives' employment status (e.g., when wives are employed and in marriages in which both spouses have more sex-typed attitudes, or when wives are not employed and both spouses have less sex-typed attitudes). In contrast to theoretical predictions, although there was no statistically significant difference in marital satisfaction between more sex-typed husbands ($M = 7.17$, $SD = 0.90$) and less sex-typed husbands ($M = 7.88$, $SD = 1.23$) in the multivariate model, the *lowest* marital satisfaction was reported by husbands in marriages in which *both* spouses held more sex-typed gender role attitudes and wives were not employed (i.e., consistency between spouses, attitudes, and behavior). Mexican immigrant husbands were happiest in their marriages when (a) they themselves were less sex-typed (and presumably more accepting of their wives' employment, which is often necessary part of immigration) and (b) they were married to employed wives who were more sex-typed.

Previous research suggested that husbands are more satisfied with their marriages when they hold less sex-typed gender role attitudes and when they are married to non-employed wives (Amato & Booth, 1995; Bean et al., 1977; Booth et al., 1984; Ross et al., 1983). The present study found no support for the main effect association between husbands' gender role attitudes and husbands' marital satisfaction; however, it is

important to note that no previous research examined this predictor in combination with wives' employment status and gender role attitudes within the context of immigration. Consistent with earlier work on wives' employment, this study found support for the finding that husbands were less satisfied when their wives were employed than when their wives were not employed. This finding, however, was qualified by the three-way interaction between wives' employment status and spouses' gender role attitudes, which suggested that wives' employment does not have a universally negative relationship with marital satisfaction across all configurations of spouses' gender role attitudes.

It is interesting to note that several of the variables that combined to form the significant interactions were not found to individually predict husbands' marital satisfaction. For example, there was no independent effect of husbands' gender role attitudes on husbands' marital satisfaction at any step of the regression analysis. In addition, the main effect for wives' gender role attitudes on husbands' marital satisfaction dropped out with the addition of the three-way interaction term. Thus, in the final model, even though main effects for both husbands' and wives' gender role attitudes individually were not present, these variables were nevertheless important when considered in the context of wives' employment and spouses' gender role attitudes. In sum, the three-way interaction between spouses' attitudes and wives' employment explained significantly more variance in husbands' marital satisfaction than the individual variables and two-way interactions entered in previous steps, which suggests that, in support of the hypotheses, the combination of the three variables is important to a better understanding of husbands' marital satisfaction.

Spouses' Individual Characteristics and Husbands' Marital Satisfaction

Micro-level attitudes and behaviors of individuals and couples may uniquely affect Mexican-origin husbands' marital satisfaction (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1992).

Previous research explored the two-way links between the interactions of husbands' and wives' gender role attitudes and marital satisfaction (Falconier, 2013; McHale & Crouter, 1992; Minnotte et al., 2010). In the present study, the interaction between both spouses' gender role attitudes was associated with husbands' marital satisfaction, but congruence across spouses' gender role attitudes was less important for marital satisfaction than previous research would suggest (e.g., McHale & Crouter, 1992; Minnotte et al., 2010). In fact, the present study found that when both spouses held more sex-typed gender role attitudes, husbands' marital satisfaction was lower than when both spouses held less sex-typed gender role attitudes or other possible mismatches. This finding, however, was qualified by the higher order three-way interaction, which highlighted the importance of wives' employment status in understanding the interaction of spouses' gender role attitudes and marital satisfaction.

Despite the main effect finding indicating that wives' employment was negatively related to husbands' marital satisfaction, the three-way interaction suggests that wives' employment may actually be protective of husbands' marital satisfaction in the context of particular combinations of spouses' gender role attitudes. In fact, the three configurations in which husbands were most satisfied were characterized by attitude-behavior dissonance within couples: less sex-typed husbands married to employed, more sex-typed wives (discrepancy between wives' own attitudes and behavior); less sex-typed husbands

married to non-employed, less sex-typed wives (discrepancy between husbands' attitudes and wives' behavior); and more sex-typed husbands married to non-employed, less sex-typed wives (discrepancy between wives' own attitudes and behavior). Taken together with the finding that the least happy husbands were in marriages consistent across spouses' attitudes and wives' employment status, dissonance between spouses' gender role attitudes and wives' employment may actually be protective of Mexican-origin husbands' marital satisfaction in the context of immigration. This finding may be further explained by the meaning spouses ascribe to wives' employment—a factor not examined in the current study. The perceived necessity of wives' employment, husbands' support of wives' employment, spouses' decision-making strategies about wives' employment, spouses' internalized provider-role ideologies, and husbands' attitudinal flexibility to manage changing role behavior demands (Bean et al., 1977; Chavira-Prado, 1992; Fernandez Kelly, 1992; Grzywacz et al., 2009; Helms et al., 2010; Menjivar, 1999) may be particularly important in understanding Mexican-origin husbands' marital satisfaction in the context of both spouses' gender role attitudes and wives' employment.

Immigration and Husbands' Marital Satisfaction: Considering Individuals and Couples in Sociocultural Context

Though spouses' gender role attitudes and wives' employment may reflect individual preferences, they are nevertheless situated in the larger sociocultural context of couples' immigration to the United States. In contrast to research on middle-class White couples that emphasized consistency across spouses' attitudes and behavior as preferable for marital satisfaction (e.g., McHale & Crouter, 1992; Minnotte et al., 2010; Peplau,

1983), the contextual stressors of immigration might challenge consistency across spouses' attitudes and behavior. Among Mexican-origin couples, within-couple dissonance between attitudes and behavior may be better described as flexibility, which may be more adaptive upon arrival in the United States than both spouses rigidly conforming to sex-typed gender role attitudes and behavior. It may be that husbands do not experience all combinations of attitude-behavior dissonance in the same way (e.g., Antill, Cotton, & Tindale, 1983; Li & Caldwell, 1987). For example, given that Mexican-origin women tend to hold less sex-typed gender role attitudes than Mexican-origin men (Falconier, 2013) and that immigration often redefines women's role expectations to include wives' employment (Baker, 2004; Esteinou, 2007), dissonance between wives' gender role attitudes and wives' employment may be normative and correspondingly less harmful to husbands' marital satisfaction than other types of dissonance. In addition, husbands may simply be less affected by their wives' within-person dissonance to the extent that the wives' more visible employment behavior is consistent with husbands' own gender role attitudes for how role enactment should be.

The finding that the least satisfied husbands were those in marriages with spouses who share matched sex-typed gender role attitudes and in which wives were not employed deviates from research about Mexican couples' sex-typed gender role attitudes as a Mexican cultural value (e.g., Penalosa, 1968). Further, family income and wives' employment status were unrelated, so it is unlikely that husbands' marital satisfaction suffers as a result of wives' financial contribution. Thus, even when both spouses held matched, more sex-typed gender role attitudes and wives were not employed (which

would be consistent with both spouses' more sex-typed attitudes), husbands in this group were less satisfied with their marriages than other husbands. It appears that holding rigid sex-typed gender role attitudes in marriage even when wives are not employed (and therefore wives' behavior does not challenge spouses' attitudes), husbands tend to be less satisfied in their marriages. Beyond husbands' marital satisfaction, wives' employment and husbands' less sex-typed gender role attitudes may have implications for other domains of family well-being; for example, wives' employment and husbands' less sex-typed gender role attitudes have been found to be associated with higher father involvement and positive outcomes for children (Coltrane, Parke, & Adams, 2004; Ybarra, 1982). In the context of immigration, flexible gender role attitudes within couples may be more protective of husbands' marital satisfaction than matched attitudes in which both couples are more sex-typed.

Limitations and Future Directions

It is important to note several limitations to interpretations of these findings. First, although this study contributes to a very limited body of research on the marital experiences of Mexican immigrant men, the sample was nevertheless restricted to a specific population of Mexican immigrant parents living in North Carolina. The homogenous nature of the sample makes it difficult to predict generalizability to other Mexican immigrants or couples more broadly. Regardless of the population, this study highlights the need for research that incorporates greater complexity in exploring how within-person and within-couple discrepancies are linked to marital satisfaction. Second, though the use of Peplau's (1983) theoretical framework was a strength in that it

incorporates a more diverse understanding of roles than other perspectives, the theory may have been better applied with the inclusion of an affective component of roles. For example, the theory may have been better applied by including a measure to explore how spouses emotionally manage consistencies and discrepancies between spouses' gender role attitudes and wives' employment in their marriages. The addition of an affective component would contribute to a more thorough application of the theory and may contribute to better understanding of the mechanisms through which spouses' gender role attitudes and wives' employment are related to husbands' marital satisfaction. Building on this point, a third limitation is that this study did not explore the processes through which spouses' gender role attitudes and wives' employment affect marital satisfaction over time. Future research would benefit from a longitudinal design and a deeper exploration of the processes through which spouses' gender role attitudes and wives' employment status affects husbands' marital satisfaction across the course of couples' marriages. To this end, future research would benefit from the application of an Actor-Partner Mediator Model approach (Kenny, Kashy, & Cook, 2006; Lederman, Macho, & Kenny, 2011) to examine actor and partner predictors of both husbands' and wives' marital satisfaction as well and the possibility that these associations are directly or indirectly mediated by additional factors. Whether or not similar results would be found to predict wives' marital satisfaction is an important area of future research. Despite this study's limitations, the inclusion of the combination of husbands' and wives' reports of gender role attitudes and demographic variables as predictors of husbands' marital satisfaction were strengths of this study. In addition, this study addressed concerns of

previous research on the lack of diversity in the study of relationships within subgroups of the Mexican American population (Baca Zinn, 1980; Helms et al., 2011; Updegraff et al., 2007).

An important area of future research is to examine the processes through which spouses' gender role attitudes and wives' employment are linked to marital satisfaction. Esteinou (2007) suggested three contexts through which Mexican-origin spouses' gender role attitudes and wives' employment may operate: (a) husbands and wives preserve their sex-typed attitudes, but wives work out of necessity; (b) husbands and wives have conflicting gender role attitudes, which, when wives are less sex-typed than their husbands, may result in disagreement the division of labor; and (c) partners may embrace or modify their role expectations to match wives' employment status. In light of the findings from this study, embracing or modifying role expectations to achieve attitude-behavior consistency may be less important for marital satisfaction, specifically, and sex-typed attitudinal and behavioral consistency within couples as protective of marital satisfaction is questioned. Because the current study did not address the processes through which attitudes and wives' employment behavior are linked to marital satisfaction, a deeper understanding of the contexts proposed by Esteinou and the mechanisms linking them to marital quality is merited. In such an examination, it may be important to examine additional personal characteristics of spouses that have the potential to mediate the links between spouses' gender role attitudes, wives' employment, and husbands' marital satisfaction, including: spouses' psychological distress, aggression, gender role conflict, work-to-family conflict, provider-role ideologies, satisfaction with

the division of labor women's work hours and preferences for paid employment, and the strategies couples' employ in decision-making around wives' employment and work hours (Campbell & Snow, 1992; Falconier, 2013; Gonzalez, 2008; Grzywacz et al., 2009; Helms et al., 2010; Minnotte et al., 2010; Ross et al., 1983; Yucel, 2012; Zvonkovic, Schmiede, & Hall, 1994). From a broader contextual perspective, future exploration of this study's key variables and how the interaction between them may be shaped by the extent to which paid employment is normative among low-income women in the sending and receiving communities and couples' social class in Mexico and the US may be beneficial as well (Bush et al., 2005; Santos, Bohon, & Sanchez, 1998; Menjivar, 2003).

Conclusion

In the context of immigration, cultural adaption, and the economic necessity of wives' employment, flexibility in spouses' gender role attitudes may be important for husbands' marital satisfaction, particularly in marriages in which wives are not employed. Given the many unique external sociocultural stressors immigrant couples face, knowledge of which gender role configurations are most vulnerable to lower levels of marital satisfaction and helping couples talk openly about their expectations may prove useful, particularly in the context of current divorce rates for Mexican-origin couples that are similar to White couples in the US and higher than Mexican couples living in Mexico (Phillips & Sweeney, 2005). This study applied and extended Peplau's (1983) theory of roles by examining how the combination of within-person and within-couple dissonance in gender role attitudes and wives' employment status is linked to husbands' marital satisfaction, and challenges stereotypes about Mexican-origin couples as highly sex-typed

or “traditional” couples. Contrary to previous research, consistency across spouses’ gender role attitudes and wives employment was not protective of husbands’ marital satisfaction when both spouses’ held more sex-typed attitudes and wives were not employed. In contrast to early writings that propose a more one-dimensional depiction of gender and marriage in Mexican origin couples (e.g., Bean et al., 1977; Penalosa, 1968; Ross et al., 1983), findings from the present study suggest that gendered roles and behaviors and their links with husbands’ marital satisfaction are complex and cannot be understood in isolation from one another. Attention to interacting sources of influence, rather than main effects approaches, has been proposed by contemporary scholars advocating a more ecologically valid approach to the study of marriage (Huston, 2000), and marriage among immigrant Mexican couples, specifically (Helms et al., 2011). The findings from the current study further underscore the importance of such an approach and echo the sentiments expressed by Urie Bronfenbrenner over three decades ago in that “the principal main effects are likely to be interactions” (1979, p. 38).

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APPENDIX A

TABLES

Table 1
Descriptive Sample Characteristics

Variables (N=120)	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range
Age (years)			
Wives	28.13	5.46	18 – 47
Husbands	30.33	5.79	18 – 48
First Born	5.87	3.88	0.08 – 13.64
Years in the US			
Wives	8.81	4.41	<1 – 22
Husbands	11.40	5.26	2 – 27
Nuclear Family Size	4.07	0.92	3 – 7
Marital Duration (Years)	7.00	3.96	1 – 15
Education (Years)			
Wives	9.66	3.17	0 – 16
Husbands	9.01	3.18	1 – 18
Work hours (per Week)			
Employed Wives (54%)	38.21	6.35	16 – 60
Employed Husbands (98%)	43.15	8.01	20 – 80
Income (Annual)			
Wives	\$15,138	\$6,559	\$2,500 – \$31,600
Husbands	\$24,647	\$8,713	\$8,000 – \$69,000
Family	\$33,297	\$12,725	\$8,000 – \$83,400

Table 2
Descriptive Statistics and Correlations among the Study Variables

Study Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Legal Marital Status ^a	--							
2. Husbands' Years in the US	.17 [†]	--						
3. Additional Adults Living in Home ^b	-.24**	-.26**	--					
4. Firstborns' Age	.23*	.34***	-.16 [†]	--				
5. Wives' Employment Status ^c	.07	.07	-.03	.08	--			
6. Wives' Gender Role Attitudes	-.10	-.01	.20*	.02	.01	--		
7. Husbands' Gender Role Attitudes	-.14	-.13	.24**	-.24*	-.07	.32***	--	
8. Husbands' Marital Satisfaction	.06	.13	-.31**	.10	-.18*	-.26**	-.23*	--
<i>M</i>	0.69	11.40	0.37	5.87	0.54	2.48	2.73	7.57
<i>SD</i>	0.46	5.26	0.48	3.88	0.50	0.92	1.02	0.96
Alpha	--	--	--	--	--	0.72	0.81	0.90

Note: [†]p < .10, *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.

^a Coded as 0 = not legally married (consensual union), 1 = legally married.

^b Coded as 0 = no other adults in home, 1 = additional adults in home.

^c Coded as 0 = not employed, 1 = employed.

Table 3

Regression Coefficients for Hierarchical Regression Models Predicting Husbands' Marital Satisfaction

Variable	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β
1. Legal Marital Status	-.06	.19	-.03	-.08	.19	-.04	-.10	.19	-.05	-.14	.18	-.07
2. Husbands' Years in the US	.01	.02	.05	.01	.02	.05	.01	.02	.05	.01	.02	.06
3. Additional Adults Living in Home	-.59	.19	-.30**	-.47	.18	-.24*	-.44	.19	-.22*	-.48	.18	-.24*
4. Firstborns' Age in Years	.01	.02	.04	.01	.02	.05	.01	.02	.02	.01	.02	.03
5. Wives' Employment Status				-.38	.17	-.20*	-.35	.17	-.19*	-.33	.16	-.17*
6. Wives' Gender Role Attitudes				-.18	.10	-.18 [†]	-.19	.10	-.19*	-.15	.10	-.14
7. Husbands' Gender Role Attitudes				-.12	.09	-.12	-.11	.09	-.12	-.09	.09	-.09
8. Wives' Gender Role Attitudes X Husbands' Gender Role Attitudes							-.17	.09	-.17 [†]	-.32	.12	-.32**
9. Wives' Employment Status X Husbands' Gender Role Attitudes							.10	.17	.05	-.79	.49	-.42
10. Wives' Employment Status X Wives' Gender Role Attitudes							-.21	.20	-.10	-1.15	.52	-.55*
11. Wives' Employment Status X Wives' Gender Role Attitudes X Husbands' Gender Role Attitudes										.35	.18	.76*
R-squared		.10*			.19**			.21**			.25**	

Note: [†]p < .10, *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.