Discrepancy in the Division of Labor and Women's Well-being across Union Type

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ABSTRACT

Discrepancies between the sexual division of labor in romantic unions and gender ideology have negative consequences for women's psychological well-being, however, most research on this topic is limited almost exclusively to married women. Therefore, we use Waves 1 and 2 of the National Survey of Families and Households (N = 3,089) to investigate how discrepancies affect women's psychological well-being and whether this differs across union type. We examine this process among second surge cohabitors for whom the link between gender ideology and the sexual division of labor was likely especially salient. As expected, results indicated that discrepancies were associated with higher levels of depressive symptoms among women. Yet, we found that these discrepancies generally matter for cohabiting women's well-being only. We interpret these findings and their implications for women's well-being in light of the deinstitutionalization of marriage and rise in cohabitation over the last 40 years.

Keywords: Cohabitation; Depression; Family Roles; Health; Housework/division of labor; Paid Work

American families have undergone a variety of changes over the last few decades -- one of the most pronounced being a significant shift in couples' attitudes toward the sexual division of labor. Indeed, the last half century has been marked by significant increases in men's and women's valuation of gender egalitarianism -- the belief that men and women in romantic unions should participate equally in both paid and unpaid labor (Thornton & Young-Demarco, 2001). Despite increased support for gender egalitarianism over the final decades of the 20th century many couples practiced fairly traditional divisions of labor (Kroska, 2000; Sayer, 2010). Although women entered the workforce in record numbers, and many of their male partners welcomed their contributions to the family coffers, many still found themselves responsible for most of the domestic and reproductive work within the home (Gupta, 1999; Sayer, 2010; Shelton & John, 1993; South & Spitze, 1994). This general disconnect between attitudes and behaviors is important since research has repeatedly found discrepancies between gender ideology and gendered behaviors to negatively affect women's well-being (Milkie, Bianchi, Mattingly, & Robinson, 2002; Pina & Bengtson, 1993; Ross, Mirowsky, & Huber, 1983; Waldron & Herold, 1986). Nevertheless, examinations of the consequences of such discrepancies have been limited to certain aspects of the sexual division of labor and also primarily to married women, ignoring their cohabiting counterparts. Of these limitations, ignoring cohabitors is especially problematic because the unique characteristics of these unions may make discrepancies more consequential for women's well-being. Cohabitation has been referred to as a "less-institutionalized" relationship compared to marriage (Cherlin, 2004), meaning that cohabitors are not only more free to shape the division of labor in their unions to their ideals but also more burdened to do so as there exist no normative expectations or guidelines for partner's behaviors. Despite knowing that cohabitors have and want more egalitarian arrangements than their married counterparts (cf.

Clarkberg, Stolzenberg & Waite, 1995; Denmark, Shaw & Ciali, 1985; Kaufman, 2000; Sassler & Goldscheider, 2004), we know little regarding the degree to which they are able to conform the division of labor in their unions to meet their gender ideologies nor about the consequences of the inability to do so.

Here, we use Waves 1 and 2 of the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH) to investigate how the prevalence of discrepancies between gender ideology and the sexual division of labor and their effect on women's psychological well-being varies among married and cohabiting women. By using the NSFH we are able to examine these issues among second surge cohabitors – those who cohabited during the 80's and 90's – a group for whom discrepancies were likely not only highly prevalent, but also highly salient to well-being. Results are interpreted both in light of their relevance for the second surge of cohabitors and for their implications for today's young adults, for whom non-marital cohabitation has become a normative stage in family formation.

Background

The Sexual Division of Labor and Women's Well-being

For decades researchers have examined how the sexual division of labor in romantic unions affects women's psychological well-being with particular focus on the number of depressive symptoms they report. Despite numerous studies, findings regarding the relationship between the sexual division of labor and women's depressive symptoms have been inconsistent. For example, some studies have found that increases in both hours and share of unpaid housework are associated with increases in women's depressive symptoms (Benin & Agostinelli, 1988; Bird, 1999; Glass & Fujimoto, 1994; Ross, et al., 1983). Others, however, have found no association on average between shares of housework and depression among women (Brown,

2000; Glass & Fujimoto, 1994). The findings for paid work are no more consistent. Some aspects of paid labor have been found to have limited to no impact on women's well-being such as a woman's share of the couple's earnings (Brown, 2000; Lennon & Rosenfield, 1994), employment status (Lennon & Rosenfield, 1994), or share of total couple work hours (Glass & Fujimoto, 1994). Others have found, however, that employment generally leads to lower levels of depressive symptoms, while increases in paid work hours are generally associated with increases in depressive symptoms (Glass & Fujimoto, 1994). One reason for these equivocal findings is that the effects of the division of paid and unpaid labor within romantic unions on women's psychological well-being depend on women's orientation toward the sexual division of labor.

The Effect of Discrepancies between Gender Ideology and the Division of Labor on Well-being

Although factors like conflict between work and home demands (Bird, 1999; Hughes & Galinsky, 1994; Ross & Mirowsky, 1988; Repetti, Matthews & Waldron, 1989; Simon, 1995) shape how the sexual division of labor affects women's well-being, an additional factor that is central to how paid and unpaid labor arrangements affect women's well-being is gender ideology. According to Greenstein (1996), gender ideology is how a person identifies herself in regard to traditionally sex-typed family roles. Those who have traditional gender ideologies tend to endorse a separation of spheres in which the female partner is responsible for housework and childcare and the male partner is part of the paid labor force and is expected to be the financial provider for the family. In contrast, those who have egalitarian attitudes believe that responsibilities for home, family, work, and financial providership should be shared relatively equally between partners regardless of sex. Because they are associated with lower relationship quality, feelings of inequity, feelings of powerlessness, role strain, and identity discrepancies

(DeMaris & Longmore, 1996; Frisco & Williams, 2003; Milkie et al., 2002; Ross et al., 1983; Pina & Bengtson, 1993), discrepancies between women's gender ideologies and the sexual division of labor in their unions have been associated with lower levels of psychological well-being (Milkie et al., 2002; Pina & Bengtson, 1993; Ross et al., 1983; Waldron & Herold, 1986). For example, Ross et al., (1983) found that among wives who prefer housework, employment is associated with increases in depression, but among wives who prefer paid work, employment is associated with lower levels of depression. Similar findings were observed throughout the last three decades with reports of psychological and physical well-being the lowest when beliefs about, and the actual, division of labor were consistent and highest when they were inconsistent. Waldron and Herold (1986) found that for married women, labor force participation has a beneficial influence on self-reported general health, but only among those with favorable attitudes toward employment. Looking at housework, Piña and Bengtson (1993) found that inequality in housework (i.e., wife does a disproportionate share of housework) resulted in lower feelings of spousal support which lead to lower levels of psychological well-being, but only among value egalitarian and employed wives. Finally, Milkie et al. (2002) found that discrepancies between ideal and actual involvement in childcare, specifically less than ideal father involvement in disciplining and playing with children, was associated with increased stress among women.

Despite consistent findings that women's well-being depends on continuity between gender attitudes and behaviors, past work has fallen short in two respects. First, research has failed to consider two important dimensions of the sexual division of labor, in particular a wife's share of paid work and share of couple's income. Examining these additional dimensions is important because a woman's employment status does not necessarily take into consideration her

level of involvement in paid labor or her providership role in the family. Because responsibilities for particular types of labor and roles (e.g., breadwinner; homemaker) are a central component of one's gender ideology, and hence gender identity, it is necessary to account for the degree to which discrepancies between these aspects of the sexual division of labor and one's orientation toward them affects well-being. Moreover, past work suggests no association between shares of paid work and income on women's well-being (Brown, 2000; Glass & Fujimoto, 1994; Lennon & Rosenfield, 1994). Yet, research has only reported average associations that have likely masked any negative mental health effects related to attitude-behavior discrepancy.

A second limitation of past research is that the consequences of discrepancies for women's well-being have been examined almost exclusively for married women, or if cohabiting women have been included researchers have not distinguish between the two union types. This is problematic as there are many reasons to believe that the effects of discrepancies vary across union type. Additionally, such differences may have been especially prevalent during the last two decades of the 20th century as cohabitation became an increasingly, although not yet normative, stage in family formation.

Differences across Union Type in the Effect of Gender Ideology/Division of Labor Discrepancies

We have chosen to examine differences in how the discordance between gender ideology and the sexual division of labor affects well-being for married women and their cohabiting counterparts during the late 1980s and early 1990s for three primary reasons. First, cohabitation increased rapidly in the decades prior to the early 1990s. From 1970 to 1980, for example, the number of cohabiting couples as captured by the U.S. Census grew three-fold from 523,000 to 1,589,000. Following this first surge, a second surge of cohabitation between 1980 and 1990 saw shares of cohabitors nearly doubled again to 2,856,000. The increased prevalence of

cohabitation alone is enough to justify examining the impact of discrepancy in this rapidly growing and changing family form. The experience of cohabitors as compared to their married counterparts in the 1980s and 1990s might be especially unique, however.

Those cohabitors who formed romantic unions during the second surge of cohabitation in the 1980s and 1990s were a distinctive group. They were members of the first cohort who had socially sanctioned choices to live together prior to marriage or to marry directly. Between the late 1980s through the early 1990s, for example, a slight majority of young Americans began to report that cohabitation was morally acceptable or even a good idea for exploring the future of a relationship (Thornton & Young-Demarco, 2001). Despite changing attitudes, however, cohabitation had not yet become a statistically or behaviorally normative stage in the union progression process.

Historically, cohabitors have had less conventionally gendered beliefs and behaviors than their peers who marry without first moving in together (cf. Clarkberg et al., 1995; Schoen & Weinick, 1993). Research examining this cohort of cohabitors has shown that those who lived together in informal unions placed a relatively low value on specialized, traditional gendered norms, did more equal shares of household chores, and earned more similar amounts of money than did married couples (Brines & Joyner, 1999; Clarkberg et al., 1995; Schoen & Weinick, 1993; Shelton & John, 1993; South & Spitze, 1994). A second reason for examining the differences in marrieds and cohabitors among this cohort, then, is that even though the research showed that these cohabitors were purportedly fairly egalitarian, cohabiting women still shouldered a larger share of the household chores than did their male partners (Shelton & John, 1993; South & Spitze, 1994), suggesting that discrepancies were likely common, perhaps more so than among married couples.

Finally, it is important to examine differences between married and cohabiting women because inconsistencies between ideologies and the sexual division of labor are likely to have different meanings for the two groups. Toward the end of the 20th century both married and cohabiting couples were experiencing the end of the "companionate marriage" due, among other things, to men's declining earning power and increases in women's labor force participation (cf. Ross et al., 1983), but cohabiting women in particular may have been intentionally seeking out more individualized, pure relationships that have now come to define romantic unions in contemporary Western society (Cherlin, 2004). We know that, today, at least, some cohabiting women view living together as a way to escape the traditionally gendered bonds of marriage (e.g., Elizabeth, 2001; Miller & Sassler, 2010; Miller, Sassler, & Kusi-Appouh, 2011). Some are even reluctant to marry because they believe they would be expected to take on more gender-typical roles (Miller et al., 2011). Researchers speculated that similar processes may be operating for at least some cohabiting women in the 1990s as well (cf. Smock, 2000). If these second surge cohabiting women purposefully entered these "new" types of relationships expecting that their (and their partners') beliefs would guide their gendered behaviors, the dissonance between their desired and actual household divisions of labor may lead to relatively high levels of psychological distress.

Conversely, discrepancies may not be as distressing for married women, as most couples enter marriage with a clear understanding of the socially prescribed and predominantly conventional gender roles expected of "husbands" and "wives", even if they prefer not to abide by them (e.g., Brines, 1994; Orrange, 2003; Potucheck, 1997). Indeed, the non-normative nature of cohabitation during this time period suggests that personal philosophies and beliefs would be central to constructing the division of labor. The possible centrality of ideology for cohabitors,

then, means that failure to conform behaviors to attitudes may have been especially distressing to cohabiting women. Last, because the future of their relationships is often unclear for cohabitors (Sassler & Miller, 2011a), psychological distress may be especially compounded by thoughts of whether to remain in a union in which desires for the sexual division of labor are not being met.

METHOD

Data

Data for this study come from Wave 1 (1987-88) and Wave 2 (1992-94) of the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH). The NSFH allows us to examine experiences of a nationally representative sample of women in terms of the divisions of labor, union experiences, gendered beliefs, and psychological well-being. Further, given that numerous studies have utilized the NSFH to examine these factors and their relation, we feel confident in its validity. We restrict the sample to female primary respondents who were married or cohabiting at Wave 2, of working age (under age 60 at Wave 1), and who completed interviews and self-administered questionnaires at both waves. Although self-administered questionnaires and interviews were conducted with spouses and partners of primary respondents in each household in the NSFH, their level of psychological distress was not assessed at both waves. Therefore, we limit our analysis to primary respondents only. Of the 13,017 households interviewed in the first wave of NSFH, 10,005 were re-interviewed in 1992-1994. Of these, n = 6,333 (63.3%) respondents were currently married or cohabiting. Of these couples n = 3,508 (55.4%) had a female primary respondent, n = 3,198 (90.6%) of which were age of 60 or younger.

Dependent Variable

The primary dependent variable is a measure of *depressive symptoms at Wave 2* derived from a 12-item version of the Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale (CES-D)

(alpha = .93). Each item assesses the number of days (0 to 7) in the past week that respondents experienced a particular symptom. Scores for each of the 12-items are summed (Range 0 – 84) and then logged to normalize the distribution of scores.

Independent Variables

To assess the effects of discrepancies between the sexual division of labor and gender ideology on women's depressive symptoms, we examine several dimensions of the sexual division of labor. These include the divisions of paid labor, financial providership, and unpaid labor. Due to data limitations in the NSFH we could not examine the division of responsibilities for care work. All of these dimensions are assessed at Wave 2. We assess the division of paid labor with women's employment status (1 = *employed*) and *share of paid work hours* (Range 0 to 1) which is measured as women's hours of paid work divided by the total number of hours of paid work completed by the couple. Paid work hours were assessed in the NSFH by asking respondents to report the number of hours they usually work per week. In n = 808 cases neither partner reported any paid work hours; in these cases respondents were given a value of .5 for their share of paid work hours.

The second dimension we examine is the sharing of financial providership which we assess with women's *shares of couple's income*. This variable ranges from 0 to 1 and is calculated as a woman's earnings over the past year divided by the reported total earnings of each partner.

The final dimension of the sexual division of labor we examine is the division of unpaid labor. This is represented by women's *share of routine housework* (Range 0 to 1) which is measured as each female respondent's hours of routine housework divided by the sum of each partners own report of their individual time spent on routine housework. In all, respondents

reported their engagement in nine household activities, including: a) meal preparation, b) washing dishes and cleaning up after meals, c) cleaning house, d) outdoor and other home maintenance tasks, e) shopping for groceries and other household goods, f) washing, ironing, and mending, g) automobile maintenance and repair, h) paying bills and keeping financial records, and i) driving other household members to work, school, or other activities. Factor analyses on these nine household task items yielded 2 dimensions of housework (Eigenvalues > 1.0). The first dimension, which has been commonly labeled "feminine" or "routine" housework, consists of items a, b, c, and f. The remaining items -- d, e, g, h, and i -- loaded on a second factor, commonly labeled "infrequent" or "masculine" housework (Coltrane, 2000). Based on the factor analysis and this study's focus on women's well-being, we limit our analysis of housework strictly to the four routine housework items as they are typically performed by women and therefore most relevant to their well-being. This four item measure of routine housework has been used repeatedly in studies employing NSFH data (for review see Coltrane, 2000).

Gender ideology is measured as the summed scale of five items which appear in Wave 2 of the NSFH: (a) "A husband whose wife is working full-time should spend just as many hours doing housework as his wife", (b) "It is much better for everyone if the man earns the main living and the woman takes care of the home and family", (c) "It is all right for mothers to work full-time when their youngest child is under 5", (d) "Preschool children are likely to suffer if their mother is employed", and (e) "It is all right for children under age 3 to be cared for all day in a daycare center". Responses are coded from 0 - 4 for each question and oriented so that higher scores indicate more egalitarian gender ideologies (Range 0 – 20) (alpha = .71).

Respondent's union type is a dummy variable assessed at Wave 2 with currently married as the reference category (1 = *currently cohabiting*).

Control Variables

Several variables which are known predictors of psychological distress and the sexual division of labor are controlled for in our models. These variables include the primary respondent's reported number of *depressive symptoms at wave 1 (logged)*, race/ethnicity which includes dummy variables for *black*, *Hispanic*, *Asian*, and *Native American* with non-Hispanic white as the reference for all, *age* and *age squared* as measured in years, *years of education*, a dummy variable for parental status at Wave 2 (1 = *parent*), and a variable assessing whether the respondent *had a child between Wave 1 to Wave 2* (1 = *yes*). We also control for respondent's union history with two variables: whether the respondent was *cohabiting at Wave 1* (1 = yes) and whether she was *married at Wave 1* (1 = yes).

Although our primary interest lies in the division of labor in couples, which by definition is a relational attribute and a property of the couple, we control for women's personal engagement in paid and unpaid labor and income which are also known to affect their well-being. We account for women's participation in paid labor with a continuous variable assessing *hours of paid work.* We also account for women's *personal income* and *hours of routine housework.*

Due to a significant amount of missing data related to gender ideology and the sexual division of labor at the couple level, we impute this missing information in our models. Data is missing on gender ideology (n = 88), hours of paid work (n = 60), share of paid work hours (n = 629), hours of routine housework (n = 87), share of routine housework (n = 387), and share of couples' income (n = 573). List-wise deletion of this missing data results in the loss of n = 882 (28.6%) cases. Imputation on this missing data is conducted using the " mi impute" command in STATA 11 where we constructed missing values for these continuous variables via linear

regression using the independent variables from our models as predictors. Although there are several respondents with missing information on depressive symptoms in either Wave 1, Wave 2, or both (n = 109), we did not impute this information and therefore remove these cases from our analyses. Therefore, our final analytic sample consists of N = 3,089 cases.

RESULTS

Descriptive statistics for all variables are presented in Table 1 and divided by union type. Sixty-seven percent of women in the sample reported being employed. On average, women contributed 46% of the total hours of paid work in their unions. When employed, women worked 24.0 hours per week, and earned just under $17,000 per year, on average contributing 32.3% of the total income in their unions. Regarding unpaid labor, women in the sample completed 29.2 hours of routine housework per week which was 79.3% of all routine housework done by themselves and their partners.

As shown in the table, married and cohabiting women differ in many but not all respects. Cohabiting women, who make up 9.9% of the sample (n = 306), are significantly more depressed, exhibit more egalitarian ideologies, contribute a larger share of couple's income (37% vs. 32%), work more hours in the labor force, do proportionately less routine housework (76% vs. 80%) and contribute a smaller share of paid work hours (44% vs. 46%) than their married counterparts. Nevertheless, both groups of women are just as likely to be employed, to earn roughly similar incomes, and to spend similar amounts of time in unpaid labor.

TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

Descriptive statistics regarding differences in gender ideology and the sexual division of labor across union type are consistent with findings from previous research. Our first aim, however, was to examine the prevalence of discrepancies between women's gender ideologies

and the sexual division of labor in their romantic unions. To do so as parsimoniously as possible we separated female respondents into three categories (traditional, egalitarian, or transitional) on their gender ideologies as well as their share of paid labor, couple's income, and routine housework.

Female respondents were labeled "traditional" if they reported contributing 25% or less of total paid work hours and couple's income; 75% or more of routine housework, or scored 7 or less out of 20 on the gender ideology scale. They were labeled "egalitarian" if they reported contributing 50% or more of total paid work hours and couple's income; 50% or less of routine housework, or scored 13 or more out of 20 on the gender ideology scale. Finally, female respondents were labeled "transitional" if they reported contributing between 25% and 50% of total paid work hours and couple's income; between 50% and 75% of routine housework, or scored between 7 and 13 out of 20 on the gender ideology scale.

TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

As indicated by the bolded cells along the diagonal for each dimension of the sexual division of labor we consider, far more women experience discrepancy between their gender ideologies and the sexual division of labor in their unions than experience consistency. Among cohabiting women, only 37.3% of women (3 + 40 + 71/ 306 = .373) had gender ideologies that were consistent with their shares of paid work. Only 30.1% (9 + 54 + 29/ 306 = .301) had ideologies that were consistent with their shares of couple's income, and only 25.8% (15 + 43 + 21/ 306 = .258) had ideologies that were consistent with their shares of routine housework. Statistical analyses (not shown) indicated that discrepancies occurred more often for egalitarian cohabiting women compared to traditional or transitional women, with the exception of shares of paid work.

These same patterns of discrepancy across ideology were generally observed among married women as well, however, statistical analysis (not shown) indicated they experienced comparatively more consistency between their gender ideologies and the division of labor in their unions than cohabiting women, with the exception of shares of paid work. 31.3% of married women had ideologies that were consistent with their shares of paid work, 41.4% had ideologies consistent with their share of couples' income, and 34.3% of married women's shares of routine housework were consistent with their gender ideologies.

Table 3 presents results from OLS regression analyses of the effects of discrepancies between gender ideology and the sexual division of labor on women's depressive symptoms. To assess the impact of discrepancy on well-being we interacted gender ideology with each dimension of the sexual division of labor in our models. This allows us to examine the mental health effects of each dimension of the sexual division of labor at different points along the gender ideology scale. To assess differences in these interaction effects across union type, and thus differences in the impact of discrepancies on married and cohabiting women's well-being, we conducted independent samples t-tests on the interaction coefficients from separate OLS regression models for married women (n = 2,783) and cohabiting women (n = 306).

TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE

We employ this procedure as outlined by Clogg, Petkova, and Haritou (1995) and Paternoster et al. (1998) rather than conduct a three-way interaction between gender ideology, union type, and aspects of the sexual division of labor for several reasons. First, examining group differences via statistical interaction is generally appropriate when the error variance of the coefficients is statistically the same. In this instance the standard errors of the interaction terms for gender ideology and the components of the sexual division of labor we have assessed vary

drastically across union type in some cases. Second, given the relatively small number of cohabitors in the sample and the impact this has on the standard errors of our estimates, we do not have enough statistical power to assess statistical significance in a three way interaction. Lastly, a three-way interaction test implies more complexity in the relationship between our variables than we have hypothesized in this paper. Indeed, it would be most appropriate to conduct a three-way interaction if the three component two-way interactions (gender ideology X union type; gender ideology X sexual division of labor; union type X sexual division of labor) were statistically significant. Although the association of union type with depressive symptoms may vary by gender ideology and although the association of the sexual division of labor with depressive symptoms may vary by union type, assessing whether or not this is the case is not the aim of this study. Moreover, if these interactions are non-significant this is likely to affect whether a test of a three-way interaction is statistically significant. Given that tests for three-way interactions must include all lower order terms, eliminating these two-way interactions is not a possibility. Therefore, the simplest, most straight forward way to examine variation across union type in how discrepancies between gender ideology and the sexual division of labor affect depressive symptoms is to conduct separate analyses for married and cohabiting women and compare the interaction coefficients using independent samples t-tests.

As shown in Model 1 for married women and Model 6 for cohabiting women, net of depressive symptoms at Wave 1, background characteristics and other controls, we find no evidence of an association between any of the dimensions of the division of labor we consider and women's depressive symptoms. These null findings, nonetheless, mislead because they mask substantial heterogeneity in depressive symptoms associated with the sexual division of labor. Indeed, all of the dimensions affect women's depressive symptoms, but as the interaction terms

show, these effects depend on gender ideology and union type. Moreover, the results generally show that when the sexual division of labor is discrepant with cohabiting women's gender ideologies, their depressive symptoms increase.

As shown in Model 2, the significant interaction coefficient ($b = -.024$; $p < .05$), indicates that the effect of employment on women's depressive symptoms varied by their gender ideologies. As noted in Table 4, which shows results of tests for statistical differences in the interaction coefficients across union type, the moderating effect of gender ideology on employment status does not vary across union type ($b = -.024$ vs. $b = -.040$; $p < .49$) and therefore also applies to cohabiting women. Because we found no group difference in the interaction term, we estimated a combined model and present the results in Appendix A and Figure 1.

As shown in Appendix A and Figure 1,the coefficient for gender ideology ($b = .016$; $p <.10$), which is the effect of changes in gender ideology on depressive symptoms when women are unemployed, indicates that more egalitarian attitudes are associated with significantly more depressive symptoms among unemployed women. The significant interaction term ($b - .030$; $p < .01$), indicates that for employed women, the effect is the opposite ($b = -.14$; $p < .05$ – not shown). Indeed, as shown in the figure, the highest levels of depressive symptoms among employed married women were found for those with the most traditional gender ideologies (gender ideology = 0).

FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE

Although discrepancies between gender ideology and employment status resulted in increases in depressive symptoms among married women, Models 3 through 5 indicated no such

effects for their shares of paid work hours, couple's income, or routine housework. For cohabiting women, on the other hand, results from Tables 3 and 4 show that the effects of each of these dimensions of the sexual division of labor on depressive symptoms was moderated by gender ideology, such that discrepancies resulted in higher levels of depressive symptoms.

Model 8 and Figure 2 present results from the interaction of gender ideology and cohabiting women's shares of paid work. The coefficient for share of paid work ($b = 3.157$; $p < .05$) indicated that for cohabiting women with the most traditional gender ideologies, increases in shares of paid work, which is increasingly discrepant with their gender ideologies, resulted in more depressive symptoms. As noted by the interaction term ($b = -.269$; $p < .05$), the effect of share of paid work shifts as gender ideology moves from traditional to egalitarian such that for the most egalitarian women increases in shares of paid work resulted in significant decreases in depressive symptoms ($b = -2.230$; $p < .10$ – not shown).

As noted in Model 9 and Figure 3 discrepancies between gender ideology and cohabiting woman's share of her couple's income resulted in significantly more depressive symptoms. Depressive symptoms were lowest for cohabiting women with the most traditional ideologies when they contributed nothing to the couple's total income and significantly increased as their proportion of the couple's income increased ($b = 1.819$; $p < .10$). As indicated by the significant interaction term ($b = -.168$; $p < .05$), the effect of share of couple's income decreased as gender ideology increased such that for women with the most egalitarian gender ideologies the effect of share of couple's income on depressive symptoms decreased as their shares increased ($b = -1.541$; $p < .05$ – not shown).

Figure 4 displays the results from the interaction of gender ideology with a cohabiting woman's share of routine housework (Model 10). The pattern is the opposite of that found for

share of paid work and couple's income but still suggestive that depressive symptoms are highest when gender ideology is discrepant with the sexual division of labor in one's union. As shown, depressive symptoms of cohabiting women with the most traditional gender ideologies decreased as their shares of housework increased ($b = -2.107$; $p < .10$). The significant interaction term ($b = .199$; $p < .05$) indicated that shifts from traditional to egalitarian gender ideologies resulted in a positive effect of share of routine housework on depressive symptoms. For women with the most egalitarian ideologies, depressive symptoms were lowest when their shares of housework were smallest and increased as their shares of housework increased ($b = 1.870$; $p < .05$ – not shown).

FIGURES 2 THROUGH 4 ABOUT HERE

DISCUSSION

Women's valuation of gender egalitarianism has increased significantly over the last several decades and although this increase has been associated with more women in the labor force and more men contributing in the home, complete gender equality has remained elusive. At the same time men's decreased earning power has created thousands of dual-earner households among couples who would prefer a more traditional division of labor (Wilkie, 1991). Like others before us, we argue that the general disconnect between the sexual division of labor in romantic unions and women's attitudes toward it may have had significant ramifications for their well-being. Further, we believed that the impact of these disconnects may differ across union type. That is, we felt that those women who intentionally chose to enter into less institutionalized cohabiting relationships may be especially distressed upon learning that the lack of a wedding ring does not necessarily offer them the freedom to completely "undo" entrenched gender roles. The aims of this study, then, were three-fold. First, we explored the prevalence of discrepancies between women's gender ideologies and the sexual division of labor in their unions. Second, we

examined the degree to which such discrepancies matter for women's well-being by analyzing how a woman's gender ideology conditions the association between the sexual division of labor in her romantic union and her level of depressive symptoms. Last, given significant differences in ideologies, the sexual division of labor, and potential meaning of discrepancies between the two across union type, we explored whether the impact of discrepancy between gender ideology and the sexual division of labor varies between married and cohabiting women.

One of the most substantial findings of this study was that in the vast majority of cases, women's gender ideologies were discrepant with the sexual division of labor in their romantic unions. Indeed, for the dimensions of the division of labor we examined, we found discrepancies in approximately two-third of cases. Although we found discrepancies for women regardless of ideology and union type, we found discrepancies predominantly among egalitarian and cohabiting women. Although our findings that egalitarian women fell short of meeting their ideal divisions of labor are neither new nor shocking, our findings that cohabitors are less likely than marrieds to have a sexual division of labor which conforms to their attitudes is. That some women notably form cohabiting unions to escape the strictures of gendered family roles (Elizabeth, 2001; Miller & Sassler, 2010; Miller et al., 2011), it might be expected that the division of labor in these unions would be more in line with women's gender ideologies than in marital unions where roles are more rigidly defined and expectations for spouses codified. Indeed, it could be argued that cohabitation, especially for second surge cohabitors, should have provided couples with more freedom to construct divisions of labor in their own image, providing them more agency and potentially fewer sanctions than their married counterparts (Cherlin, 2004). Nevertheless, women in cohabiting unions were less likely to have a division of labor that was in line with their ideals. Further research is clearly necessary to understand the

reasons for this disconnect. Nevertheless,, we see a few possible explanations. First, cohabiting unions are more fragile than marital ones (Bumpass & Lu, 2000). Because of this, women who are not married to their partners may be reluctant to risk ending the relationship (or having their partners end it) over arguments about whose turn it is to do the dishes. Second, given that cohabitors are reared in the same gender regime as their married counterparts, it is unlikely that they can overturn established gender norms without a significant amount of cooperation. Because few couples discuss specific strategies for dividing the housework prior to moving in together (Miller & Sassler, 2010), it is not surprising that they revert to hegemonic behaviors in the face of uncertainty (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004).

That so many women experienced discrepancies between their gender ideology and the sexual division of labor in their unions is significant, especially for cohabiting women, as the results of our study show that discrepancies result generally in increases in depressive symptoms. Consistent with past work, employed women exhibit the highest levels of depressive symptoms when they espouse traditional gender ideologies, while unemployed women exhibit the highest amounts of depressive symptoms when they are egalitarian in orientation. We find this for both married and cohabiting women. Yet this is the only dimension of the sexual division of labor where we find discrepancies to matter for both groups. In all other cases, discrepancies affect cohabiting women only.

Although we hypothesized that the consequences of discrepancies would be stronger among cohabitors, we did not expect to find discrepancies to matter so little for married women's well-being. One possible explanation is that discrepancies among married women do not produce conditions that negatively affect well-being (identity discrepancy, poor relationship quality, feelings of inequity, feelings of powerlessness, etc.) to the same extent as cohabiting women.

Although data limitations did not allow us to explore all of these factors, we nevertheless failed to find in supplemental analyses that relationship quality and feelings of inequity substantially mediated the effect of discrepancy on well-being. Another possible explanation for the limited effect of discrepancy among the married is related to selection out of marriage. Indeed, one of the significant differences between married and cohabiting women is relationship duration. Because psychological distress is a factor known to select individuals out of their relationships (Wade & Pevalin, 2004) it is possible that married women most affected by discrepancies dissolved their relationships. The same of course is likely true of cohabitors, yet cohabitation is generally a short-lived arrangement (only 19% of the cohabitors in our sample compared to 77% of married were still living with the same partner from Wave 1), suggesting that the sample of married women is likely to be especially biased in this respect. To test this possibility we examined the effect of discrepancy for married women who were never married at Wave 1 (n = 260). We found only a marginally significant interaction between gender ideology and share of paid work.

In an effort to be more exhaustive than past studies we included two additional aspects of the sexual division of labor in our analyses that had not been previously considered -- a woman's share of paid work and share of her couple's income. Although past work (Brown, 2000; Glass & Fujimoto, 1994; Lennon & Rosenfield, 1994) has shown no association of a cohabiting woman's share of paid work hours and her providership role with her psychological well-being, we found a conditional association such that increases in their share of paid work and couple's income is associated with fewer depressive symptoms for value-egalitarian cohabiting women and with increases in depressive symptoms for value-traditional cohabiting women. Given that there were

so few value traditional cohabitors in our sample, these findings apply primarily to egalitarian, cohabiting women.

Given the differences in the behaviors and attitudes of cohabitors compared to marrieds and the varying meaning of the sexual division of labor across union type we hypothesized that the impact of discrepancies would be stronger for cohabiting women than married women and our findings strongly confirm our assumption. Although a woman is able to change her own household behaviors, modifying relative shares to more closely match one's ideology generally involves concessions from one's partner, as well. The prospect of approaching one's partner with a request for change may be particularly distressing for cohabiting women, some of whom, at least are using these relationships to "test out" whether the couple is suited for marriage (Sassler & Miller 2011b; Stanley, Rhodes, & Markman 2006). The discovery that her partner's behaviors are not aligned with her beliefs may cause a cohabiting woman to question whether this relationship is the right one. Further, the relatively brief nature of cohabitation (cf. Heuveline & Timberlake 2004) may mean that more cohabitors as opposed to marrieds are still "working out" issues of relative contributions to the household with their partners. We might expect that more household contribution negotiations occur during the first few months or years of a co-residential relationship; as cohabitors are less likely to remain living together (without marrying or breaking up) for years, we may be capturing these women during a more contentious part of their relationships than for those who are married. Clearly, more work is needed to better understand the consequences of discrepancy among cohabiting women and differences across union type.

In this study we examined the role of discrepancy among a very specific cohort of cohabiting women. We chose this group, in particular, because they represent the second surge in the rise of non-marital cohabitation. More importantly, however, the cohabitors among this

group were members of the first group for whom living together without marriage was socially sanctioned by a (slight) majority of young people (Thornton & Young-Demarco, 2001). But, despite changing mores and attitudes toward both union types and gender roles, the behaviors exhibited within the households of this second surge of cohabitors were fairly traditional (Shelton & John 1993; South & Spitze 1994).

Although our findings pertain specifically to this group, they may have implications for current cohabitors as well. The fact that a wider swath of the population is now choosing to cohabit likely means that cohabitors, as a whole, represent more varied attitudes and behaviors than those of the previous cohorts (Manning & Cohen, 2012). But the behaviors of the second surge may also be impacting the behaviors of those young people who choose to cohabit today nonetheless. That is, the early forerunners of cohabitation may have unintentionally led to greater institutionalization of (fairly conventional) gender norms within cohabiting unions. At a time when 7.5 million unmarried couples live together (Kreider, 2010) an increase of over 3 million compared to two decades before (Casper, Cohen, & Simmons, 1999), it is hard to argue that expected behaviors within cohabiting unions remain unclear. Despite their own dissatisfaction with the disconnect between their attitudes and behaviors, the second surge of cohabiting women may have unwittingly set the standards of behavior for future cohabitors. Although second surge cohabitors negotiated the sexual division of labor in their unions without the aid of clear guidelines for what the sharing of responsibilities of paid and unpaid labor for unmarried adults living together should be like, they set the foundation for such arrangements for those who followed. The likely consequence of this is that cohabitors today have clearer ideas of what the division of labor in their unions will be like and therefore are less likely to experience discrepancies between their gender ideologies and the sexual division of labor in their unions.

Like all research, our study was limited in some respects. Specific limitations include the number of cohabiting individuals considered and the fact that we could not consider men in this analysis. Cohabiting women comprised nearly ten percent of our sample, but the number of cohabitors considered was relatively small precluding any examination of difference among them. Future work, for example, should examine the differences among cohabitors (i.e., those who consider cohabitation an alternative to marriage as opposed to a precursor to marriage or alternative to singlehood). Further, as union transitions can impact one's gender ideology (Vespa, 2009), the differences between marrieds (i.e., those who married directly versus those who cohabited before tying the knot) should be examined as well. Lastly, because we were concerned primarily with examining the moderating qualities of gender ideology and union type we could not examine sex as a further third modifying factor. Therefore we limited our sample strictly to women. Nevertheless, we think that it is important that sex differences in the moderating role of gender ideology be considered in future work.

Despite a few limitations, this study significantly expands our knowledge regarding the consequences of the sexual division of labor for women's well-being. In addition to showing that most women in the 1990's experienced discrepancies between their gender ideologies and the sexual division of labor in their unions we have shown that the alignment of gender ideology with behaviors is crucial for psychological well-being, especially for those constructing and negotiating behaviors in non-normative environments with few rules and guidelines. Indeed, for second surge cohabiting women and possibly currently cohabiting women it is not so much the actual division of labor that matters for well-being as it is the alignment of those arrangements with one's belief in how it should be arranged.

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Table 1: Descriptive Statistics (N = 3,089)

Variables	Analytic Sample (N = 3,089)	Currently Married (N = 2,783)	Currently Cohabiting (N = 306)
Depressive Symptoms – wave 2	2.24	2.20a	2.54
	(1.08)	(1.07)	(1.12)
Sexual Division of Labor			
Share of paid work	.46	.46a	.44
	(.14)	(.14)	(.17)
Share of couple's income	.32	.32a	.37
	(.27)	(.27)	(.26)
Share of routine housework	.79	.80a	.76
	(.18)	(.18)	(.20)
Employed	.67	.66	.69
Hours in paid work per week	24.04	23.78a	26.42
	(19.58)	(19.54)	(19.82)
Personal Income	16,960.57	16,828.20	18,164.46
	(21,248.66)	(20,491.92)	(27,193.43)
Hours of routine housework per week	29.24	29.29	28.75
	(19.70)	(19.41)	(22.21)
Moderators			
Egalitarian gender ideology	10.304	10.15a	11.74
	(3.721)	(3.75)	(3.15)
Currently cohabiting (reference = married)	.10	---	---
Controls			
Depressive symptoms – wave 1	2.31	2.27a	2.65
	(1.08)	(1.08)	(1.08)
Black	.11	.10b	.23
Hispanic	.07	.06	.08
Asian	.01	.01	.10
Native-American	.002	.002	.003
Respondent's age	34.99	35.52a	30.23
	(10.24)	(10.31)	(8.19)
Years of education	13.07	13.14a	12.41
	(5.25)	(5.23)	(5.41)
Parent	.87	.89b	.75
Had child between wave 1 and wave 2	.26	.26	.23
Cohabiting -- wave 1 (reference = no union)	.06	.04b	.25
Married -- wave 1 (reference = no union)	.74	.80b	.19

a $p < .05$; independent samples t-test
b $p < .05$; chi-square test

Table 2: Cross-tabulation of Discrepancy between Gender Ideology and the Sexual Division of Labor for Cohabiting and Married Women (N = 3,089)

Cohabiting Women (n = 306)

	Gender Ideology			
	Traditional	Transitional	Egalitarian	Total
Share of Paid Work				
Traditional	**3 (11.54%)**	21 (14.09%)	14 (10.69%)	38 (12.42%)
Transitional	6 (23.08%)	**40 (26.85%)**	46 (35.11%)	92 (30.07%)
Egalitarian	17 (65.38%)	88 (59.06%)	**71 (54.20%)**	176 (57.52%)
Total	26 (100.00%)	149 (100.00%)	131 (100.00%)	306 (100.00%)
Share of Couple's Income				
Traditional	**9 (34.62%)**	57 (38.26%)	27 (20.61%)	93 (30.39%)
Transitional	10 (38.46%)	**54 (36.24%)**	75 (57.25%)	139 (45.42%)
Egalitarian	7 (26.92%)	38 (25.50%)	**29 (22.14%)**	74 (24.18%)
Total	26 (100.00%)	149 (100.00%)	131 (100.00%)	306 (100.00%)
Share of Routine Housework				
Traditional	**15 (57.69%)**	94 (63.09%)	66 (50.38%)	175 (57.19%)
Transitional	7 (26.92%)	**43 (28.86%)**	44 (33.59%)	94 (30.72%)
Egalitarian	4 (15.38%)	12 (8.05%)	**21 (16.03%)**	37 (12.09%)
Total	26 (100.00%)	149 (100.00%)	131 (100.00%)	306 (100.00%)

Married Women (n = 2,783)

	Gender Ideology			
	Traditional	Transitional	Egalitarian	Total
Share of Paid Work				
Traditional	**84 (12.86%)**	112 (8.23%)	30 (3.90%)	232 (8.08%)
Transitional	87 (13.32%)	**194 (14.25%)**	146 (18.99%)	443 (15.43%)
Egalitarian	482 (73.81%)	1,055 (77.52%)	**593 (77.11%)**	2,196 (76.49%)
Total	653 (100.00%)	1,361 (100.00%)	769 (100.00%)	2,783(100.00%)
Share of Couple's Income				
Traditional	**415 (63.55%)**	604 (44.38%)	163 (21.20%)	1,182 (42.47%)
Transitional	144 (22.05%)	**484 (35.56%)**	351 (45.64%)	979 (35.18%)
Egalitarian	94 (14.40%)	273 (20.06%)	**255 (33.16%)**	622 (22.35%)
Total	653 (100.00%)	1,361 (100.00%)	769 (100.00%)	2,783(100.00%)
Share of Routine Housework				
Traditional	**500 (76.57%)**	908 (66.72%)	433 (56.31%)	1,902 (66.25%)
Transitional	126 (19.30%)	**371 (27.26%)**	253 (32.90%)	771 (26.85%)
Egalitarian	27 (4.13%)	82 (6.02%)	**83 (10.79%)**	198 (6.90%)
Total	653 (100.00%)	1,361 (100.00%)	769 (100.00%)	2,783(100.00%)

Table 3: OLS Regression of Women's Depressive Symptoms (Wave 2) on Sexual Division of Labor and Gender Ideology by Union Type (N = 3,089)

	Married Women (n = 2,783)					Cohabiting Women (n = 306)				
	Model 1 B	Model 2 B	Model 3 B	Model 4 B	Model 5 B	Model 6 B	Model 7 B	Model 8 B	Model 9 B	Model 10 B
Variables	(s.e.)	(s.e.)	(s.e.)	(s.e.)	(s.e.)	(s.e.)	(s.e.)	(s.e.)	(s.e.)	(s.e.)
Intercept	1.470***	1.330***	1.296***	1.392***	1.842***	1.378	1.066	-.033	.516	3.146*
	(.278)	(.291)	(.286)	(.291)	(.377)	(.952)	(1.006)	(1.157)	(1.031)	(1.242)
Sexual Division of Labor										
Employed	-.052	.153	-.113	-.062	-.058	-.365	.085	-.338	-.397	-.340
	(.081)	(.125)	(.080)	(.081)	(.081)	(.303)	(.557)	(.301)	(.302)	(.301)
Share of paid work	.021	.020	.642**	.018	.018	.095	.139	3.157*	.160	.179
	(.145)	(.145)	(.248)	(.145)	(.145)	(.433)	(.434)	(1.507)	(.431)	(.431)
Share of couple's income	.067	.060	-.012	.302	.059	-.104	-.139	-.156	1.819†	-.248
	(.096)	(.096)	(.113)	(.216)	(.096)	(.324)	(.326)	(.323)	(.972)	(.323)
Share of routine housework	-.165	-.165	-.143	-.165	-.611†	.218	.227	.171	.269	-2.107†
	(.117)	(.117)	(.119)	(.117)	(.319)	(.355)	(.355)	(.353)	(.353)	(1.117)
Hours in paid work	.000	.001	.000	.001	.000	-.000	.000	-.000	-.000	-.002
	(.002)	(.002)	(.002)	(.002)	(.002)	(.007)	(.007)	(.007)	(.007)	(.007)
Personal Income	-2.7e-06*	-2.6e-06*	-2.1e-06†	-2.6e-06*	-2.6e-06*	-3.5e-06	-3.3e-06	-2.9e-06	-3.8e-06	-3.4e-06
	(1.2e-06)	(1.2e-06)	(1.2e-06)	(1.2e-06)	(1.2e-06)	(2.5e-06)	(2.6e-06)	(2.5e-06)	(2.5e-06)	(2.5e-06)
Hours of routine housework	.002†	.002†	.002†	.002†	.002†	.000	-\.000	.000	.000	-.000
	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)	(.003)	(.003)	(.003)	(.003)	(.003)
Moderators										
Egalitarian gender ideology	-.005	.011	.011	.003	-.038†	-.012	.016	.111†	.052	-.159*
	(.005)	(.009)	(.019)	(.008)	(.023)	(.020)	(.035)	(.061)	(.036)	(.070)
Interactions										
Egalitarian gender ideology X Employed	---	-.024* (.011)	---	---	---	---	-.040 (.042)	---	---	---
Egalitarian gender ideology X Share of paid work	---	---	.023 (.038)	---	---	---	---	-.269* (.127)	---	---
Egalitarian gender ideology X Share of income	---	---	---	-.024 (.020)	---	---	---	---	-.168* (.080)	---
Egalitarian gender ideology X Share of routine housework	---	---	---	---	.042 (.028)	---	---	---	---	.199* (.091)
Adj. R^2	.181	.182	.182	.181	.182	.181	.181	.191	.191	.192

Note: All models include controls for the following variables: Depressive symptoms at Time 1, Respondent's age, Race/ethnicity, Years of education, Presence of child in home, Addition of child to home since Wave 1, Union Status at Wave 1, and Respondent's income. Full results available upon request.

† p < .10; * p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001

Table 4: Conditioning Effect of Women's Gender Ideology on Association of the Sexual Division of Labor with Depressive Symptoms by Union Type (N = 3,089)

	Marital Unions (n = 2,783)	Cohabiting Unions (n = 306)		
Variables	B (se)	B (se)	T-statistic for Independent Samples T-test	P-value (one-tailed)
Interactions				
Gender ideology X Employed	-.024* (.011)	-.040 (.042)	-.037	.485
Gender ideology X Share of paid work	.023 (.038)	-.269* (.127)	-2.203*	.014
Gender ideology X Share of couple's income	-.024 (.020)	-.168* (.080)	-1.746*	.040
Gender ideology X Share of routine housework	.042 (.028)	.199* (.090)	1.666*	.048

† p < .10; * p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001 (two-tailed)
Note: All models include controls for the following variables: Depressive symptoms at Time 1, Respondent's age, Race/ethnicity, Years of education, Presence of child in home, Addition of child to home since Wave 1, Union Status at Wave 1, and Respondent's income

Figure 1: Depressive Symptoms (logged) by Employment Status and Gender Ideology

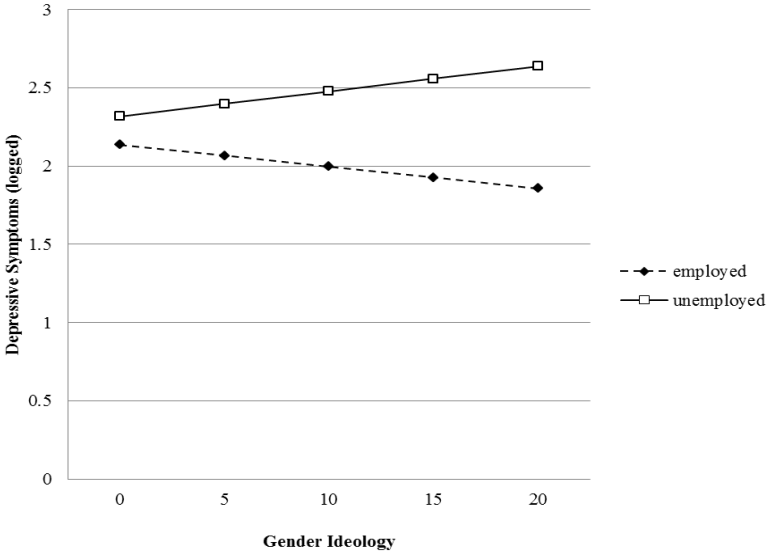


Figure 2: Depressive Symptoms (logged) of Cohabiting Women by Share of Paid Work and Gender Ideology

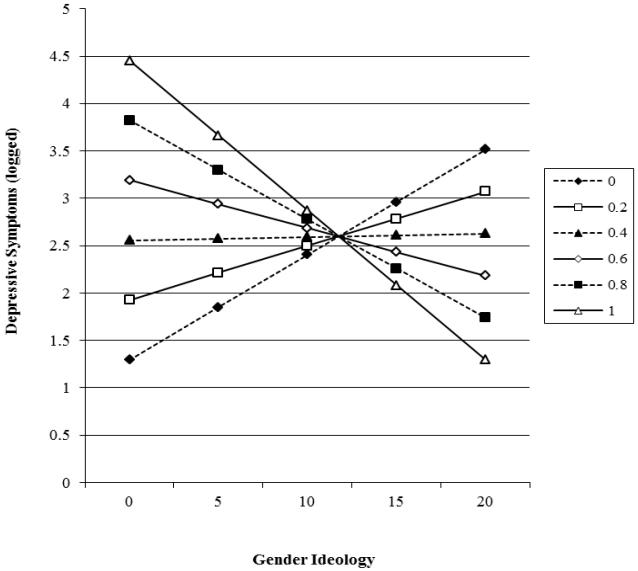


Figure 3: Depressive Symptoms (logged) of Cohabiting Women by Share of Couple's Income and Gender Ideology

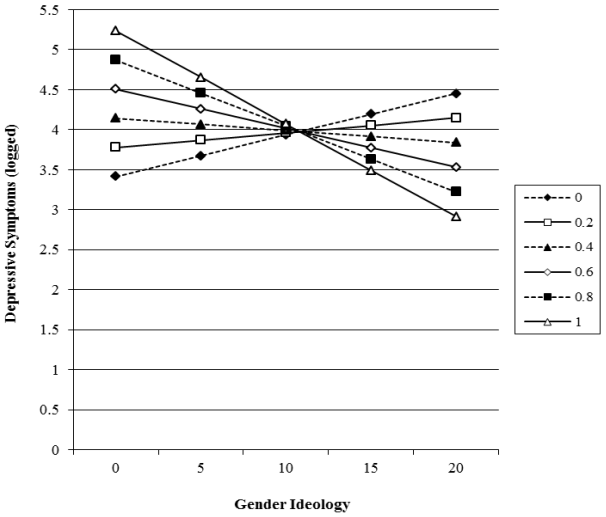
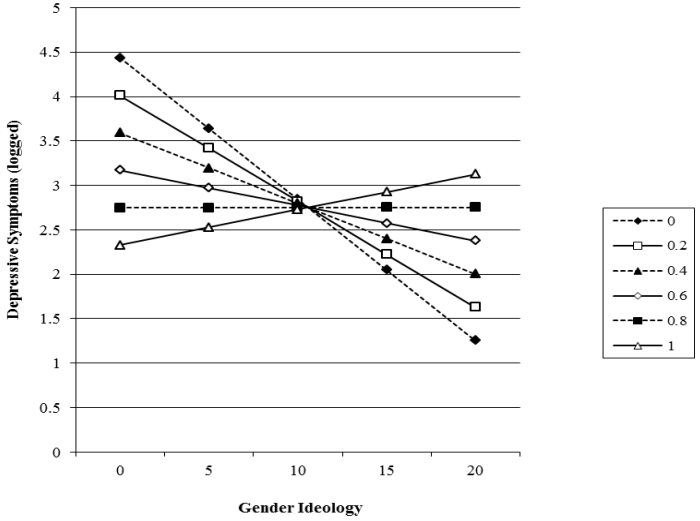


Figure 4: Depressive Symptoms (logged) of Cohabiting Women by Share of Routine Housework and Gender Ideology



Appendix A

Table: OLS Regression of Depressive Symptoms (logged) on Sexual Division of Labor and Gender Ideology for Married and Cohabiting Women (N = 3,089)

	Model 1 B	Model 2 B	Model 3 B	Model 4 B	Model 5 B
Variables	(s.e.)	(s.e.)	(s.e.)	(s.e.)	(s.e.)
Intercept	1.546***	1.361***	1.488***	1.413***	2.089***
	(.265)	(.272)	(.304)	(.273)	(.354)
Sexual Division of Labor					
Employed	-.079	-.182	-.079	-.096	-.088
	(.079)	(.121)	(.079)	(.079)	(.079)
Share of paid work	-.012	-.003	.110	-.013	-.011
	(.137)	(.136)	(.343)	(.136)	(.136)
Share of couple's income	.056	.045	.056	.442*	.045
	(.092)	(.092)	(.092)	(.210)	(.092)
Share of routine housework	-.113	-.112	-.115	-.113	-.770*
	(.111)	(.111)	(.111)	(.111)	(.304)
Moderators					
Egalitarian gender ideology	-.004	.016†	.002	.008	-.052*
	(.005)	(.009)	(.017)	(.008)	(.021)
Currently cohabiting (reference = currently married)	.168*	.164*	.167*	.167*	.167*
	(.066)	(.066)	(.066)	(.066)	(.066)
Controls					
Hours in paid work per week	.000	.001	.000	.001	.001
	(.002)	(.002)	(.002)	(.002)	(.002)
Personal Income	-2.7e-06*	-2.6e-06*	-2.7e-06*	-2.6 e-06*	-2.6 e-06*
	(1.1e-06)	(1.1e-06)	(1.1e-06)	(1.1 e-06)	(1.1 e-06)
Hours of routine housework per week	.002†	.002†	.002†	.002†	.002†
	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)
Depressive symptoms – wave 1	.388***	.389***	.388***	.388***	.388***
	(.017)	(.017)	(.017)	(.017)	(.017)
Black	.131*	.128*	.131*	.130*	.126*
	(.058)	(.058)	(.058)	(.058)	(.058)
Hispanic	.326***	.325***	.325***	.321***	.326***
	(.072)	(.072)	(.072)	(.072)	(.072)
Asian	-.140	-.139	-.141	-.137	-.146
	(.155)	(.154)	(.155)	(.154)	(.154)
Native-American	-.040	-.035	-.041	-.041	-.038
	(.370)	(.370)	(.370)	(.369)	(.370)
Respondent's age	.006	.006	.006	.007	.005
	(.013)	(.013)	(.013)	(.013)	(.013)
Respondent's age squared	-.000	-.000	-.000	-.000	-.000
	(.000)	(.000)	(.000)	(.000)	(.000)
Years of education	-.010**	-.010**	-.010**	-.010**	-.009**
	(.003)	(.003)	(.003)	(.003)	(.003)
Parent	-.007	-.009	-.006	-.007	-.007
	(.059)	(.059)	(.059)	(.059)	(.059)
Had child between wave 1 and wave 2	-.088†	-.080	-.088	-.081	-.091†
	(.052)	(.052)	(.052)	(.052)	(.052)
Cohabiting -- wave 1 (reference = no union wave 1)	.129	.127	.130	.129	.128
	(.082)	(.082)	(.082)	(.082)	(.082)
Married -- wave 1 (reference = no union wave 1)	.121*	.123*	.122*	.126*	.123*
	(.050)	(.050)	(.050)	(.050)	(.050)
Interactions					
Egalitarian gender ideology X Employed	---	-.030**	---	---	---
		(.011)			
Egalitarian gender ideology X Share of paid work	---	---	-.014	---	---
			(.035)		
Egalitarian gender ideology X Share of income	---	---	---	-.039*	---
				(.019)	
Egalitarian gender ideology X Share of routine housework	---	---	---	---	.061*
					(.026)
Adj. R^2	.184	.185	.183	.184	.185

† p < .10; * p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001 (two-tailed)