

All about Equity?
Division of Unpaid Labor, Teamwork, and Couples' Relationship Satisfaction

ABSTRACT

OBJECTIVE: This study aims to understand the role of teamwork in the associations of the division of unpaid labor and feelings of equity with relationship satisfaction.

BACKGROUND: The gendered division of domestic labor is an important predictor of relationship satisfaction but the mechanisms linking them remain poorly understood. To date, egalitarian arrangements are thought to be associated with greater satisfaction largely because partners find them to be fair. Nonetheless, other factors associated with egalitarianism, such as teamwork, may also explain this association.

METHOD: Data come from the Marital and Relationship Survey (MARS), a study of low to moderate income married/cohabiting heterosexual parents ($n = 974$). Regression analyses were used to identify the proportion of the variance in the association of the division of housework and childcare with relationship satisfaction that was attributable to feelings of teamwork (5-item scale) and feelings of equity.

RESULTS: Results show that sharing housework and childcare is generally associated with greater feelings of fairness and teamwork among partners in addition to greater satisfaction with one's labor arrangements and one's relationship overall. Results further indicate teamwork, rather than equity, is the primary variable linking the domestic division of labor to relationship satisfaction.

CONCLUSION: Although fairness is associated with relationship quality, it is the feeling of teamwork associated with egalitarian sharing of labor that most appears to increase relationship quality in couples.

For individuals in intimate relationships, relationship satisfaction is an important determinate of relationship stability and psychological well-being (Frisco & Williams, 2003; Williams, 2003; Hawkins & Booth, 2005). Couples who are satisfied with their relationships are more likely to stay together and less likely to exhibit symptoms of psychological distress. Although numerous factors help determine relationship satisfaction, the way couples divide unpaid domestic labor (i.e., housework and childcare) appears to matter a great deal. Although the effects appear strongest for employed women, research finds that sharing housework and childcare tasks is associated with greater relationship quality overall (Carlson, Hanson, & Fitzroy, 2016; Carlson, Miller, & Sassler, 2018). A recent Pew survey (2007) found that next to fidelity and a satisfying sex life, individuals reported that sharing household tasks was the third most important element for producing a satisfying marriage.

The egalitarian sharing of domestic labor likely shapes relationship satisfaction for numerous reasons. To date, research has focused primarily on one reason in particular – feelings of equity (Amato, et al. 2003; Chong & Mickleson, 2016; Frisco & Williams 2003; John, Shelton, & Luschen, 1995; Wilkie, et al., 1998). Research shows that feelings of equity, that is, a sense of fairness, mediate the association between the division of housework and parenting to relationship satisfaction and happiness (Amato, et al. 2003; Chong & Mickleson, 2016; Frisco & Williams, 2003; John, Shelton, & Luschen, 1995; Wilkie, et al., 1998). Because egalitarian divisions are seen as more fair than conventional arrangements, they are associated with higher levels of satisfaction with the division of labor and thus greater overall relationship satisfaction (Amato, et al. 2003; Frisco & Williams, 2003; John, Shelton, & Luschen, 1995; Wilkie, et al. 1998).

Nevertheless, egalitarian arrangements may affect relationship satisfaction in other ways, as well. Such arrangements may be more satisfying, for example, not only because they are seen as more equitable but also because they bring couples closer together (Schwartz, 1995). Perhaps because egalitarian arrangements both foster and require communication and cooperation between partners they then lead to more teamwork and a closer, more intimate bond (Carlson, Miller, Sassler & Hanson, 2016; Schwartz, 1995). As Deutsch (1999, p. 11) explained, “Equal sharing is not simply an end; it is a by-product of the negotiations over all the details of everyday life in a family.” (p. 11). These negotiations- which require couples to spend a great deal of time together communicating and crafting a shared vision of the relationship-- may affect how couples see their divisions of labor and whether those divisions are fair.

In this paper, we use the 2006 Marital and Relationship Survey (MARS), which contains unique measures of couples’ teamwork, to examine how feelings of equity and teamwork account for the associations of unpaid housework and childcare with individuals’ relationship satisfaction. We find that sharing housework is viewed as far more fair by both men and women than having one partner shoulder the majority of these tasks. We also find that egalitarian divisions of labor are more often associated with feeling like a team, and that teamwork, rather than equity, appears to be the primary mechanism linking the domestic division of labor to relationship satisfaction.

BACKGROUND

Relationship satisfaction is an important factor affecting adult mental health (Williams, 2003). In and of itself, marriage is emotionally advantageous for both men and women (Carlson, 2012). However, being in a low-quality or unhappy marriage can negatively influence psychological well-being (Williams, 2003; Hawkins & Booth, 2005). In particular, being in an

unhappy marriage is associated with lower levels of self-esteem, health, happiness, and overall life satisfaction (Frisco & Williams, 2003; Williams, 2003; Hawkins & Booth, 2005). In fact, being in a low-quality marriage is worse for mental and physical health than dissolving a low-quality relationship (Hawkins & Booth, 2005).

At the same time that relationship satisfaction leads to higher levels of mental health, so too is it crucial for relationship stability. Relationship satisfaction and stability are considered by Amato (2007, p. 41) to be “conceptually distinct, but empirically correlated.” For both men and women, higher levels of relationship satisfaction are associated with greater relationship stability (Frisco & Williams, 2003; Williams, 2003; Ruffieux, Nussbeck, & Bodenmann, 2014; Shafer, et al. 2012). Specific elements of relationship satisfaction such as being married to a person one likes, shares decision making with, and enjoys spending time together with were cited as keys to relationship longevity (Lauer, Lauer & Kerr, 1990).

Relationship satisfaction is important both for individual- and couple-level well-being, and perhaps in no arena of couples’ lives is it more scrutinized than the day-to-day aspects of household living: shared domestic labor and childcare. Couples who share household labor and childcare report higher levels of relationship satisfaction and sexual satisfaction as well as less relationship discord, though the sharing of certain tasks may matter more than others (Carlson, Hanson, & Fitzroy, 2016; Carlson, Miller, Sassler, & Hanson, 2016; Carlson, Miller, & Sassler, 2018). Despite the growth of egalitarian arrangements over time and a desire for more equal divisions, couples who share the housework and childcare equally remain among the minority (Carlson, Sassler, & Miller, 2018; Gerson, 2010; Sassler and Miller, 2017).

Variations in the Division of Household Labor and Relationship Satisfaction

Couples divide the housework and childcare in different ways. These range from conventional (in which the female partner does the majority of the domestic labor), to egalitarian (often defined as within a 35-65% split) (cf. Risman, 1998), to counter-conventional in which male partners take on the majority of the household labor. Whereas numerous studies document the ways such couples divide relative shares of labor and the links between their beliefs about gender and actual practices, less often examined is how satisfied couples with these different types of domestic arrangements are with their overall relationships.

Among conventional couples, relationship satisfaction varies. In many of these unions, the economy of gratitude is strong among wives, especially if they do not out-earn their husbands. These women often report feeling that such arrangements were “natural” or fair or felt grateful for what their husbands did contribute at home relative to their friends’ or family members’ husbands if, occasionally, they wished he would take on a bit more of the load (Hochschild & Machung, 1989; Komter, 1989; Miller & Carlson, 2016). Among women who outearn their husbands or who have high levels of education or occupational prestige, however, feelings about their relationships are more complex. Although some of these women have a sense of guilt that their work does not allow them to take on even more of the housework and childcare, others are unhappy in their relationships because they feel that their partners are not doing enough to help balance the load (Sassler & Miller, 2017; Stone, 2007; Tichenor, 1999).

Although the research is scant on counter-conventional couples, the outcomes are more uniform; couples in which the male partner take on the vast majority of the housework tend to be less satisfied with their relationships (Carlson, Miller, Sassler, & Hanson, 2016; Carlson, Miller, & Sassler, 2018; Sassler & Miller, 2017). Among middle- to low-income parents, for example,

couples with counter-conventional divisions of household labor report lower sexual satisfaction than their egalitarian counterparts (Carlson et al., 2016). In addition, counter-conventional divisions of specific household chores can increase relationship discord; for example, men who do the majority of the laundry experience greater overall relationship discord than those who share it equally (Carlson, Miller, & Sassler, 2018.) The link between relationship satisfaction and domestic labor seems somewhat different for childcare than for housework, however. Although taking on a larger share of the household labor still appears to be a threat to masculinity, engagement in a larger share of fathering seems less challenging to modern manhood (Shows & Gerstel, 2009; Williams, 2010). Research shows that both those who share childcare or who have the male partner do the majority of tasks exhibit greater sexual and relationship quality than those who have the female partner do the majority of parenting (Carlson, Hanson, & Fitzroy, 2016) This is perhaps because definitions of fatherhood have changed to include nurturing and greater involvement with children (cf. Cabrera et al., 2000) but the inclusion of greater household labor into this definition does not yet seem to have occurred (e.g., Miller & Carlson, 2016).

In contrast to their conventional and counter-conventional counterparts, couples in egalitarian unions report numerous positive relationship outcomes such as high levels of emotional intimacy and commitment as well as more frequent and higher quality sexual encounters (Carlson, Miller, Sassler, & Hanson, 2016; Damaske, 2011; Schwartz, 1994). Although these couples may face stigmas for their arrangements outside of their relationships (such as in the workplace), this means that egalitarian couples tend to rely closely on one another for social-support (Deutsch, 1985; Kaufman, 2013; Schwartz, 1994). Compared to conventional

and counter-conventional couples, overall relationship satisfaction is generally highest among egalitarian couples (Sassler & Miller, 2017; Carlson, Miller, & Sassler, 2018).

Mechanisms Linking the Domestic Division of Labor and Relationship Satisfaction

Regardless of the relative percentages of housework and childcare that men and women do, most scholars find that equity, rather than equality, is the mechanism by which domestic labor is linked to relationship satisfaction (Amato, et al. 2003; Chong & Mickleson, 2016; Frisco & Williams, 2003; John, Shelton, & Luschen, 1995; Wilkie, et al. 1998). That is, regardless of how couples divide domestic tasks, feelings of fairness matter most for relationship quality.

Nonetheless, feelings of equity are most strongly linked to egalitarianism, especially for women (Frisco & Williams, 2003; Carlson, Miller & Sassler, 2018). Equity is particularly important for women because they tend to have stronger beliefs than do men that household labor should be shared equally (John et al., 1995; Greenstein 1996; Hohmann-Marriott 2006; Lavee & Katz, 2002). That is not to say that equity is unimportant for men, however. A study using the British Household Panel Survey found that men's relationship satisfaction increased when they engaged in more equitable, versus more specialized, household divisions of labor (Blom, 2017).

A feeling that the division of labor is fair, however, is just one factor in relationship satisfaction. As couples move away from relationships guided by social norms and held together by specialization in the division of labor, Giddens (1992) explains, couples increasingly seek out relationships that are personally fulfilling and that involve mutual self-disclosure and emotional intimacy. Indeed, compared to romantic love which is often rooted in female subjugation, modern relationships are built on confluent love -- open communication, trust, cooperation, and a presumed "equality in emotional give and take" (Giddens, 1992, p. 62). These elements all contribute to an overall sense of teamwork and, ultimately, relationship satisfaction among

partners- a feeling that one's partner has shared goals, strong communication skills, and an enjoyment of shared time together.

Although studies of teamwork as a holistic concept among couples are scant, the evidence is overwhelming that the elements that make up what we term "teamwork" lead to increased relationship satisfaction. Quality partner-level communication, for example, positively affects relationship satisfaction. In their study of dating couples, Meeks and colleagues (1998) found that personal and partner communication variables, among other factors, were significant predictors of relationship satisfaction. Shared time together also influences relationship satisfaction as couples recognize they like each other, enjoy spending time together, and experience friendship and humor (Lauer, Lauer & Kerr, 1990). Finally, a shared sense of values and future plans also has a positive impact on relationship satisfaction. In one study, over three quarters of those in satisfied relationships indicated they always or almost always agreed on issues such as finances, religion, ideas about proper behavior, and aims and goals in life (Lauer, Lauer & Kerr, 1990).

We might expect that egalitarian divisions of household labor and childcare help foster the greatest sense of teamwork among couples. In fact, it should be of little surprise that shifts in relationship ideals from romance to confluence are associated with significant shifts toward gender equality during the latter half of the 20th and beginning of the 21st centuries. Couples do not just spontaneously arrive at egalitarian arrangements as the default division of housework and childcare is to follow hegemonic conventional norms (Blasiure & Allen, 1995). Instead, couples must utilize strong communication and negotiation skills in order to craft an egalitarian arrangement (Sassler & Miller, 2017). Further, couples must spend a great deal of time being mindful that their arrangements remain equal, otherwise wives, in particular, can experience a

great deal of relationship dissatisfaction (Blaisure & Allen, 1995). This mindfulness requires couples to have a shared vision of what they would like their relationships to look like, now and into the future. Finally, sharing particular chores, might foster a sense of teamwork among couples which could in turn increase relationship satisfaction. For example, sharing the dishes is associated with higher relationship satisfaction (Carlson, Miller, & Sassler, 2018). “I wash, you dry” not only allows couples to spend time together completing a (albeit small) goal, but also gives them time to talk about the day and make plans for the next. The communication, shared goals, and time together nurtured by egalitarian arrangements, then, could help explain why such divisions of housework and childcare are associated with higher levels of relationship satisfaction.

METHOD

Data

For this study we use data from the Marital and Relationship Survey (MARS). The MARS is an internet-based survey conducted in March and April of 2006 by *Knowledge Networks* using probability sampling. *KN* provides on-going household panelists with an internet appliance, internet access, Web TV, and a cash payment for completing surveys to reduce excluding members of disadvantaged backgrounds. The response rate was 80.3% (Lichter & Carmalt, 2009). The MARS sample was restricted to couples with co-resident minor children and female partners under age 45. The MARS also over-sampled low- to moderate-income couples. Both married and cohabiting respondents were sampled and information was collected independently from both partners. A total of 1,095 individuals in 605 couples were interviewed. Because we are interested in controlling for several couple-level variables, such as the female partners' share of income, partner's work hours, and couples' total incomes and total hours of

housework per week, we limit our sample to those 487 couples where both partners completed the survey.

Measures

Dependent Variables

We examine three outcomes that are related to equity and equality in couples – 1) overall relationship satisfaction, 2) satisfaction with the division of housework and 3) satisfaction with the division of childcare – all of which are measured at the individual-level. *Relationship satisfaction* is a continuous variable ranging from 0 to 10, with higher scores indicating more satisfaction with one's romantic relationship. *Satisfaction with the division of housework* is an ordinal measure ranging from 0 (*very dissatisfied*) to 3 (*very satisfied*). The MARS did not include a direct question asking respondents if they were satisfied with their division of childcare. Therefore, *satisfaction with the division of childcare* is assessed with a 4-item mean scale that ranges from 0 to 3 with a Cronbach's alpha of .77 (Carlson, Hanson, & Fitzroy, 2016). Respondents reported their level of agreement with the following statements: (a) My [spouse/partner] is the type of parent I want for my child(ren); (b) having child(ren) has brought us closer together as a couple; (c) My [spouse/partner] is completely committed to being there for the child(ren); (d) the importance my [spouse/partner] places on the child(ren) bothers me. Each item ranges from 0- strongly disagree to 3- strongly agree. Item (d) was reverse coded so that higher values indicate more satisfaction with one's childcare arrangement.

Independent Variables

Our primary independent variables are the division of routine housework and the division of childcare. We limit our analysis to routine housework, as questions regarding non-routine housework were non-exhaustive and limited to home repairs and bill paying. Respondents in the

MARS reported their divisions on the following core/routine items (Coltrane, 2000): washing dishes, doing laundry, house cleaning, cooking and preparing meals, and grocery shopping. Each item consisted for 5 possible responses. 0 (I do it all), 1 (I do most of it), 2 (we share it equally), 3 (my partner does most of it), 4 (my partner does it all). Each measure was recoded to indicate the gendered division of the task (e.g., 0 -- she does it all, 2 --we share it equally, and 4 -- he does it all). Each item was summed to create a mean scale that ranged from 0 to 4. Higher scores on this measure indicate a less conventional arrangement, where the male partner does greater amounts of routine housework. From the summary scale we created three dummy variables to indicate conventional, egalitarian, and counter-conventional divisions of labor. Each dummy stands for approximately one-third of the distribution of housework shares. *She does majority of the routine housework* indicates whether the male partner did 35% or less of the housework (scale score of less than 1.4). *Routine housework shared equally* indicates divisions of labor where men did between 35% and 65% of the routine housework (scale score between 1.4 and 2.6), and *he does majority of the routine housework* indicates situations where the male partner completes 65% or more of the housework (scale score equal to or greater than 2.6).

The division of childcare is assessed in a manner similar to housework. Respondents were asked to indicate their division of labor on four childcare tasks: 1) who makes the rules for the child(ren), 2) who enforces those rules, 3) who praises the child(ren), and 4) who plays with the child(ren). This division of childcare measure taps three of the four dimensions of childcare noted by Craig (2006) – passive childcare (rule making), physical/emotional childcare (praising child), and interactive childcare (playing with child and rule enforcement); instrumental care is excluded as questions tapping this dimension were not asked of all parents. Each item was coded to indicate the gendered division of tasks on a 5-point scale from 0 (female partner only) to 2

(shared equally) to 4 (male partner only). We summed these 4 items and averaged the total to create a summary measure, *male partners' share of childcare*. As with housework, then we created 3 dummy variables: *female partner does majority of childcare* (male partner 35% or less of childcare); *childcare shared equally* (male partner does 35-65% of childcare); and *male partner does majority of childcare* (male partner does 65% or more of childcare).

Mediating Variables

We assess three variables -- respondents' perceived equity with the division of housework, perceived equity with the division of childcare, and feelings of teamwork with their partner -- that may account for the relationships of the division of housework and childcare with couples' overall relationship satisfaction and satisfaction with their division of unpaid labor. Fairness in the division of housework and division of childcare is measured with five categories: 1 "very unfair to me", 2 "somewhat unfair to me", 3 "fair to both of us", 4 "somewhat unfair to my partner/spouse", and 5 "very unfair to my partner/spouse". *Perceived equity in housework* and *perceived equity in childcare* are dummy variables where respondents are given a value of 1 if the division of housework/childcare is reported as fair to both of us. *Feelings of teamwork* is a 5-item mean scale capturing one's feelings of communication and cooperation with their partner (alpha = .83). It is comprised of the following items: (a) We enjoy doing even ordinary, day-to-day things together; (b) I find it hard to tell my [spouse / partner] certain things because I am not sure how [he / she] will react; (c) My [spouse / partner] and I discuss things together before making an important decision; (d) My [spouse / partner] and I agree on long-term goals for our relationship; (e) My [spouse / partner] and I have similar views about what is important in life. Each item ranges from 0 – strongly disagree to 3- strongly agree. Item (b) is reverse coded so that higher scores indicate more teamwork.

To assess the possibility of multi-dimensionality in our measure of teamwork, principal factor analysis was conducted. Eigenvalues greater than 1 were used to identify the existence of multiple scale dimensions. Results of these analyses indicated only a single dimension among the scale items.

Control Variables

We control for several individual- and couple-level variables in our models. At the individual level models include, *respondent's age* (in years), and gender (1 = *female*). Respondent's education is measured with a series of dummies for *less than high school*, *high school*, *some college*, and *Bachelor's degree or higher* with high school as the reference category. Respondents' religious affiliation is a series of dummy variables for *Protestant* (reference), *Catholic*, *other*, and *no religion*. The category *other* includes Jewish, Muslim, and Other due to limited number of cases.

At the couple-level we control for each partner's *hours of paid work per week*, and *self-rated health*. Self-rated health ranges from 0 (poor) to 4 (excellent). We also include controls for *couples' total yearly income* (in dollars) and the *female partner's relative share of income*. To account for the possible influence of family size on the division of labor and couples' relationship satisfaction we include controls for the *number of children less than age two in household*, *number of children ages two to five in household*, and *number of children ages six to 12 in household*. Finally, all models include controls for *cohabitation* (1 = yes), and whether *both partner's attend religious services weekly* (1 = yes). Descriptive Statistics for all variables are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics (n = 974)

	Men (n = 487)		Women (n = 48)	
	M	SD	M	SD
Relationship satisfaction	0.06	0.95	-0.06	1.08
Satisfaction with division of housework	0.22	0.91	-0.22	1.08
Satisfaction with division of childcare	2.57	0.66	2.34	0.75
Feelings of teamwork	2.22	0.57	2.20	0.62
Perceived equity in housework	.53		.50	
Perceived equity in childcare	.75		.73	
She does majority of routine housework	.56		.69	
Housework shared equally	.38		.74	
He does majority of routine housework	.06		.05	
She does majority of childcare	.03		.13	
Childcare shared equally	.83		.80	
He does majority of childcare	.14		.07	
Hours spent in paid labor per week	36.93	21.21	15.31	18.49
Protestant	.37		.40	
Catholic	.18		.21	
Other religion	.22		.24	
No religion	.23		.16	
Age	37.90	7.55	34.68	6.20
Self-reported health	3.52	0.99	3.46	0.95
Less than High School	.10		.09	
High School	.35		.33	
Some College	.37		.40	
Bachelor's Degree or more	.19		.18	
		M		SD
<i>Couple-level Controls</i>				
Hours of housework per week		42.25		34.56
Couples' total income (in \$)		53,368.00		153,593.81
Her share of income		.29		
Number of children less than age 2 in household		0.11		0.31
Number of children age 2 to 5 in household		0.57		0.73
Number of children age 6 to 12 in household		0.87		0.95
Currently cohabiting		.11		
Both attend religious service weekly		.30		

RESULTS

Table 2 shows the results of OLS and logistic regressions for the associations of the divisions of housework and childcare with feelings of teamwork and equity. As expected, sharing housework was associated with significantly greater odds of reporting that one's housework arrangement is fair compared to having either the male or female partner complete

the majority of housework tasks. When it came to childcare, respondents who share childcare tasks had greater odds of feeling the division of childcare was equitable than when female partners did the majority of childcare themselves. Only men who did the majority of childcare found this marginally less equitable than sharing childcare.

Table 2: Association of Division of Unpaid Housework and Childcare with Feelings of Teamwork and Equity

	Women		Men	
	Feelings of Teamwork	Feelings of Equity	Feelings of Teamwork	Feelings of Equity
Division of Housework (ref = shared equally)				
She Does Most Housework	-0.15* (0.07)	-1.33*** (0.27)	0.08 (0.06)	-0.74*** (0.23)
He Does Most Housework	0.11 (0.15)	-1.57** (0.58)	-0.18† (0.11)	-1.49** (0.48)
Division of Childcare (ref = shared equally)				
She Does Most Childcare	-0.40*** (0.10)	-1.86*** (0.33)	-0.50** (0.19)	-1.72** (0.63)
He Does Most Childcare	0.11 (0.12)	-0.19 (0.61)	-0.07 (0.08)	-0.61† (0.35)

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

Feelings of teamwork were associated with the division of housework and childcare and were generally greater when tasks were shared. Among women, feelings of teamwork were significantly higher when childcare and housework were shared compared to situations where she did the majority of tasks, but no differences in teamwork were found compared to when their male partners did the majority of tasks. For men, sharing housework resulted in marginally greater feelings of teamwork compared to when he did the majority, but regarding childcare, sharing was associated with higher reports of teamwork compared to when the female partner did the majority of tasks. Indeed, for both men and women feelings of teamwork appear to only suffer when women are primarily responsible for children.

Table 3 displays OLS regression results for women's feelings of satisfaction with the division of housework and childcare. Results from Model 1 indicate that women were

significantly more satisfied with the division of housework when housework was shared than when they did the majority of it. No differences are shown between sharing and having a counter-conventional arrangement where the male partner did the majority of housework. Housework satisfaction was also positively associated with feelings of fairness and teamwork as shown in Models 2 and 3. The difference between egalitarian and counter-conventional arrangements appears to be suppressed by feelings of equity as shown in Model 4. When equity was included in the model, women reported being significantly more satisfied with their housework arrangements when her partner did the majority of tasks than when they were shared. According to supplemental analyses, feelings of equity suppressed this difference because women reported conventional arrangements as less fair than egalitarian housework arrangements (not shown) and fairness was positively associated with being satisfied with one's housework arrangement ($b = 1.05$; $p < .001$). The inclusion of feelings of equity in Model 4 reduced differences between conventional and egalitarian housework arrangement by 47%. Feelings of teamwork, accounted for much less of the difference when included in Model 5. Jointly both feelings of equity and teamwork accounted for 50% of differences in satisfaction between conventional and egalitarian arrangements (Model 6).

Like satisfaction with housework, satisfaction with childcare was significantly higher for women when feelings of fairness and teamwork were high and when they shared childcare with their partners than when they did the majority of childcare tasks on their own. This difference between housework arrangements is reduced by 33% when feelings of equity were accounted for (Model 4), and by 60% when feelings of teamwork were included in the model (Model 5). Jointly, the two variables explain approximately three-quarters of the difference in satisfaction between conventional and egalitarian childcare arrangements among women (Model 6). Also of

note, when both equity and teamwork were modeled jointly, the association between equity and childcare satisfaction was reduced by more than half, suggesting that part of the association is attributable to feelings of teamwork.

Table 3: Association of Division of Unpaid Housework and Childcare with Satisfaction with Housework and Childcare Arrangement among WOMEN

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Panel A: Division of Housework (ref = shared equally)						
She Does Most Housework	-0.65*** (0.11)			-0.34*** (0.10)	-0.56*** (0.11)	-0.32*** (0.10)
He Does Most Housework	0.26 (0.21)			0.61*** (0.19)	0.19 (0.21)	0.52** (0.19)
Feelings of Equity		1.10*** (0.09)		1.05*** (0.09)		0.92* (0.10)
Feelings of Teamwork			0.65*** (0.08)		0.59*** (0.07)	0.39*** (0.07)
Panel B: Division of Childcare (ref = shared equally)						
She Does Most Childcare	-0.45*** (0.12)			-0.30** (0.12)	-0.18† (0.10)	-0.12 (0.11)
He Does Most Childcare	0.22 (0.16)			0.23 (0.16)	0.14 (0.14)	0.15 (0.14)
Feelings of Equity		0.46*** (0.08)		0.39*** (0.09)		0.17* (0.07)
Feelings of Teamwork			0.72*** (0.05)		0.69*** (0.05)	0.66*** (0.05)

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

Table 4 shows how teamwork and equity explain the association of the division of housework and childcare for men's feelings of satisfaction with their arrangements. Men who shared housework with their female partners were significantly more satisfied with their arrangements than men who did the majority of housework themselves. But, they were less satisfied with their arrangements compared to when their partners did the majority of housework. Both feelings of equity and feelings of teamwork were positively associated with men's satisfaction with the division of housework. To a lesser extent than women, feelings of equity suppressed greater satisfaction with having one's partner do the majority of housework since men felt this was more unfair than sharing (Model 4). Equity accounted for some of the

differences between conventional and counter-conventional arrangements – reducing the difference by 18%. Feelings to teamwork mattered little for the association between the division of housework and men’s feelings of satisfaction with their housework arrangements.

Table 4: Association of Division of Unpaid Housework and Childcare with Satisfaction with Housework and Childcare Arrangement among MEN

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Panel A: Division of Housework (ref = shared equally)						
She Does Most Housework	0.32*** (0.09)			0.39*** (0.09)	0.29** (0.09)	0.36*** (0.08)
He Does Most Housework	-0.83*** (0.22)			-0.68*** (0.21)	-0.77*** (0.21)	-0.63** (0.21)
Feelings of Equity		0.44*** (0.08)		0.45*** (0.08)		0.42** (0.08)
Feelings of Teamwork			0.39*** (0.09)		0.33*** (0.09)	0.31*** (0.08)
Panel B: Division of Childcare (ref = shared equally)						
She Does Most Childcare	-0.50† (0.26)			-0.48† (0.26)	-0.28 (0.23)	-0.29 (0.23)
He Does Most Childcare	0.25* (0.13)			0.26* (0.13)	0.28* (0.12)	0.28* (0.12)
Feelings of Equity		0.08 (0.09)		0.06 (0.09)		-0.02 (0.08)
Feelings of Teamwork			0.45*** (0.06)		0.45*** (0.06)	0.45*** (0.58)

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

Although men who did the majority of housework expressed great dissatisfaction with their arrangements compared to sharing, this was not the case for childcare. Indeed, men who reported doing the majority of childcare were significantly more satisfied with their arrangements than those who shared parenting, while those who shared childcare responsibilities were marginally less satisfied than those whose female partner was the primary parent. The difference in satisfaction associated with childcare arrangements was unrelated to feelings of equity, as equity was itself unassociated with satisfaction. Feelings of teamwork were positively associated with feelings of satisfaction with one’s arrangement and explained a good proportion

of the difference between conventional and egalitarian arrangements, but did not explain any of the difference between egalitarian and counter-conventional arrangements.

In Table 5 we examined the association of the division of housework and childcare with women's relationship satisfaction. As expected, whoever did the majority of housework reported significantly less relationship satisfaction than those who shared housework with their male partners. Also as expected, both equity and teamwork had statistically significant positive associations with relationship quality. The difference in relationship quality between conventional and egalitarian housework arrangements was explained almost fully by feelings of equity and teamwork. The introduction of feelings of equity into the model reduced the difference between egalitarian and conventional housework arrangements by 63% from -0.26 to -0.10. The introduction of feelings of teamwork reduced the difference by 66% from -0.26 to -0.09. When both equity and teamwork were in the model (Model 6) the differences in women's relationship satisfaction between egalitarian and conventional divisions of housework was reduced by 86% from -0.26 to -0.04. Interestingly, when both equity and teamwork were in the model together the effect of equity on relationship quality was reduced by 64% from 0.57; $p < .001$ (Model 4) to 0.21; $p < .05$ (Model 6) while the coefficient for teamwork changed little.

Results for analysis of the division of childcare again showed that women reported less relationship satisfaction when they did the majority of childcare compared to sharing it with their male partners (Model 1). This difference was reduced to marginal significance when feelings of equity with one's childcare arrangement were added to the model (Model 4). However, when feelings of teamwork were included in Model 5 alone, the difference between egalitarian and conventional childcare arrangements was reduced by 86% and to non-significance ($p \geq .10$) from -0.52 to -0.07. Moreover, the association between feelings of equity and relationship satisfaction

was reduced substantially (decrease of 62%) when both teamwork and equity were included in Model 6, suggesting that much of the association is due to feelings of teamwork.

Table 5: Association of Division of Unpaid Housework and Childcare with Relationship Satisfaction among WOMEN

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Panel A: Division of Housework (ref = shared equally)						
She Does Most Housework	-0.26*			-0.10	-0.09	-0.04
	(0.12)			(0.12)	(0.10)	(0.10)
He Does Most Housework	0.01			0.20	-0.11	-0.04
	(0.18)			(0.18)	(0.14)	(0.14)
Feelings of Equity		0.59***		0.57***		0.21*
		(0.10)		(0.10)		(0.08)
Feelings of Teamwork			1.12***		1.12***	1.07***
			(0.09)		(0.09)	(0.08)
Panel B: Division of Childcare (ref = shared equally)						
She Does Most Childcare	-0.52***			-0.30†	-0.07	-0.00
	(0.16)			(0.16)	(0.13)	(0.13)
He Does Most Childcare	-0.05			-0.04	-0.18	-0.17
	(0.21)			(0.19)	(0.15)	(0.14)
Feelings of Equity		0.59***		0.58***		0.22*
		(0.10)		(0.14)		(0.10)
Feelings of Teamwork			1.12***		1.12***	1.08***
			(0.09)		(0.09)	(0.09)

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

Table 6 shows the results of analyses assessing the relationships of the division of housework and childcare with men's relationship satisfaction. Results from analysis of housework showed that men who did the majority of housework reported significant less relationship satisfaction than men who shared housework with their partners. This difference was reduced to non-significance when men's feelings of equity were added in Model 4. The same is true when teamwork was added in Model 5. Jointly, equity and teamwork accounted for 61% of the difference between egalitarian and counter-conventional arrangements (Model 6). As observed for women, the effect of equity on relationship satisfaction was reduced (from .25 to .17) when included in the same model as teamwork, but to a much lesser extent. Results on childcare showed that the division of childcare for men was unrelated to feelings of relationship

satisfaction; feelings of equity and teamwork in the division of childcare, however, were positively associated with relationship quality (Model 2 and 3). Nonetheless, when we accounted for the positive association of feelings of teamwork with relationship satisfaction the association between feelings of equity in childcare was reduced to non-significance.

Table 6: Association of Division of Unpaid Housework and Childcare with Relationship Satisfaction among MEN

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Panel A: Division of Housework (ref = shared equally)						
She Does Most Housework	0.03 (0.10)			0.07 (0.10)	-0.05 (0.09)	-0.02 (0.09)
He Does Most Housework	-0.38* (0.19)			-0.30 (0.19)	-0.20 (0.14)	-0.15 (0.14)
Feelings of Equity		0.31** (0.10)		0.25** (0.09)		0.17* (0.07)
Feelings of Teamwork			0.99*** (0.08)		0.98*** (0.09)	0.97*** (0.08)
Panel B: Division of Childcare (ref = shared equally)						
She Does Most Childcare	-0.54 (0.34)			-0.45 (0.33)	-0.05 (0.24)	-0.03 (0.25)
He Does Most Childcare	-0.23 (0.15)			-0.20 (0.15)	-0.17 (0.13)	-0.16 (0.13)
Feelings of Equity		0.31** (0.10)		0.26** (0.10)		0.08 (0.09)
Feelings of Teamwork			0.99*** (0.08)		0.98*** (0.08)	0.97*** (0.08)

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

CONCLUSION

Relationship satisfaction is associated with better mental health and relationship stability (Williams, 2003; Hawkins & Booth, 2005). Understanding the factors that improve relationship satisfaction is therefore important to couples, practitioners, and policy makers. How couples arrange their households and how they feel about those arrangements are central to feelings of satisfaction. When couples believe they are part of a team and see their relationship as fair and equitable, they are more satisfied with the division of labor and their relationship overall.

Feelings of teamwork and fairness are tied strongly to how couples divide labor. Both men and women associate shared housework and childcare with greater feelings of equity relative to those who do not share it equally. However, whereas women reported higher feelings of teamwork when they share either housework or childcare, men only reported higher feelings of teamwork when childcare was shared. These sex differences are reflected in the association between the division of unpaid labor and satisfaction with one's arrangement. Both men and women feel more satisfied with their divisions of housework when they share it relative to doing the majority of the work themselves. Still, some hegemonic gender conventions remain; men report greater satisfaction with the household division of labor when the female partner does most of it rather than when it is shared. Support for convention does not extend to childcare, however, as men who are not doing at least 35% of the childcare are the least satisfied with their arrangements. Similar patterns abound for overall relationship satisfaction; women are most satisfied with their relationships on the whole when housework and childcare are shared. For men, the division of housework and childcare appears to matter little for relationship satisfaction. The only difference is that men who do the majority of housework report lower relationship quality compared to sharing it.

Of note is that counter-conventional arrangements do not appear to be that different from egalitarian arrangements. Even though this is consistent with past work on childcare (Carlson, Hanson & Fitzroy, 2016), it departs from research on housework. Of course, in previous work, scholars separated out individual tasks such as dishes and laundry rather than examining housework more globally (Carlson, Miller, & Sassler, 2018), examined relationship satisfaction qualitatively (Sassler & Miller, 2018), or examined the relationship between the household division of labor and sexual satisfaction more specifically (Carlson et al., 2016). In all of these,

counter-conventional individuals identified worse relationship outcomes than their egalitarian counterparts. In this study, feelings of teamwork are quite similar for counter-conventional housework and childcare arrangements compared to egalitarian ones for women, whereas for men similarities are found only for childcare. Given the social-class composition of this sample, it is, perhaps, not surprising that, for men, non-conventional divisions of childcare are more acceptable than non-conventional divisions of household labor (Miller & Carlson, 2016; Shows & Gerstel, 2009, Williams, 2010). Although each of these studies capture different elements, taken together the findings speak to the role of negotiation in various aspects of relationship satisfaction.

When situations are unclear, couples often default to hegemonic roles (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004). This means that conventional arrangements should be easy to arrive at since they serve as the “fall-back” for most couples. Crafting an egalitarian division of labor is something that, although frequently desired, is seen as more challenging given structural constraints and societal expectations (Gerson, 2010). This might mean, then, that those couples who have managed to arrive at a non-conventional arrangement (whether one in which the work is shared equally or in which he takes on a larger share of the responsibilities) must develop some of the elements of teamwork we have measured here (e.g., communication skills and arriving at a shared vision of the relationship) throughout the process. That is, in the process of breaking the mold, couples develop teamwork-related relationship skills regardless of how they deviated from convention.

Our findings contribute to the extant literature in a number of ways. First, they support those of others (e.g., Lauer et al., 1990, Meeks et al., 1998) who identify that communication, shared time together, and shared future plans are associated with more satisfying relationships.

However, contrary to these authors who most often parse these traits out separately for individuals and couples, we examined the concept of “teamwork” more globally. Our analyses suggest that all of these traits are strongly correlated and load on a single factor indicating the latent construct -- teamwork.

More importantly for the study of the household division of labor, however, our findings contribute to the growing body of literature which examines the mechanisms which link the domestic division of labor to relationship satisfaction. Research by those such as Frisco and Williams (2003) and Chong & Mickelson (2016) find that equity, or the perception of fairness, in the division of household duties, rather than equality, explains why some individuals (women, especially) are more or less satisfied with their relationships. Our research, however, moves beyond the concept of equity and finds that teamwork, not equity, is the primary variable that explains the association between the divisions of household labor and childcare and relationship satisfaction.

Our findings also lend support to Giddens’ (1992) theory of pure relationships. Giddens (1992) argues that relationships have transformed from a permanent form of romantic love with institutionalized gendered obligations to “confluent love” which means that each partner will stay in a relationship as long as he or she gets adequate personal satisfaction from it. Such relationships are often more egalitarian and involve intense communication. Here, we find that it is a sense of teamwork (which involves discussing even difficult topics, having a shared vision for the future, and enjoying time together) rather than equity that appears to shape relationship satisfaction. Sharing the housework and childcare is associated with a greater sense of this teamwork, and, not surprisingly, satisfaction. Not ironically, feeling like part of a whole leads

individuals to be more personally satisfied in their unions. Whether such relationships are more likely to persist long-term based on a sense of teamwork alone remains to be seen.

Although this study makes numerous contributions to our understandings of the links between the division of unpaid labor and relationship satisfaction in couples, there are a few limitations. Firstly, the MARS sample consists of mid- to low-income parents and so the findings may not be generalizable to wealthier and childless couples. Nevertheless, limited resources to outsource childcare and housework make teamwork and feelings of fairness between lower-income partners more salient than for upper-income partners who make up only a small proportion of couples.

Secondly, the study is limited by the cross-sectional MARS data. This inhibits the identification of the causal order between the division of labor, feelings of equity, and feelings of teamwork. Indeed, results from regression models showing reductions in the coefficients for feelings of equity when feelings of teamwork are included are consistent with a spurious association between equity and relationship satisfaction. Yet, they are also consistent with a mediating effect (equity \rightarrow teamwork \rightarrow relationship satisfaction). Figure 1 shows the competing conceptual models. On one hand, feelings of teamwork may shape not only one's satisfaction with their relationship, but also their sense of fairness. Couples who communicate more, who have common ideas about their arrangements, and spend time together, may perceive their partner's contributions to the household differently than those who are less team-oriented. On the other hand, feelings of resentment that stem from inequity may lead couples to spend less time together, may undermine communication, and may lead to divided values.

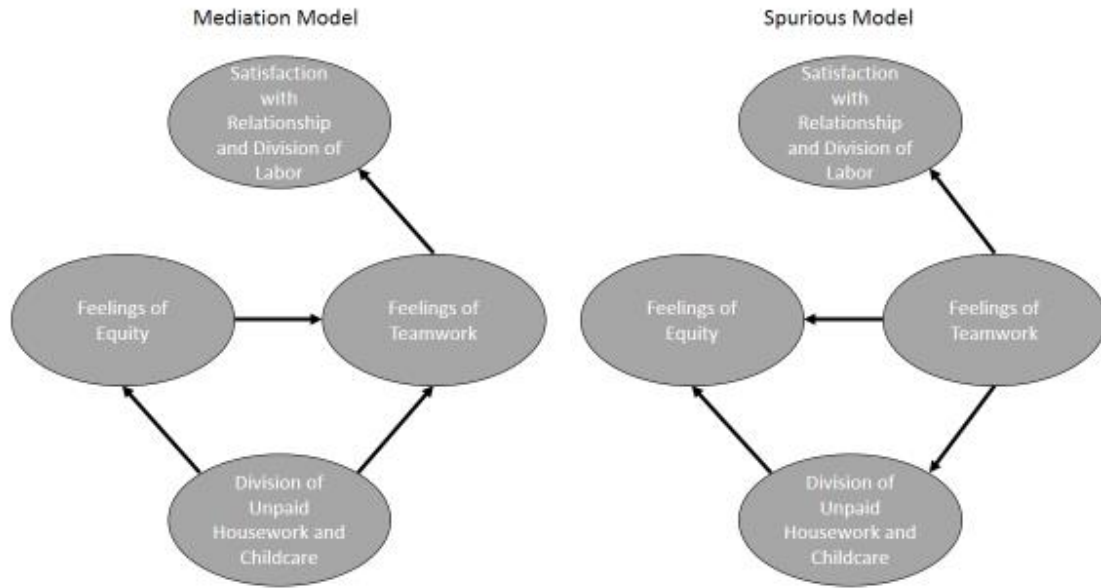


Figure 1: Alternative Models for Associations Among Feelings of Equity, Feelings of Teamwork, and Satisfaction

The same could be said of the association between the division of unpaid labor and teamwork. Our results indicate that teamwork either mediates the association between the division of labor and relationship satisfaction, or that the effect of the division of labor is spurious. Egalitarian arrangements can lead to better teamwork because sharing labor leads to communication, shared vision of the future, and more time together which positively affects relationship quality. But at the same time, if partners are good communicators who have a shared vision of the future and spend a lot of time together, that could lead to more egalitarian arrangements and independently to more satisfaction in one relationship, as well. We ran supplemental analyses examining whether feelings of teamwork were associated with partners' gender ideologies with the aim of examining whether egalitarian attitudes predicted teamwork and thus accounted for the association between egalitarian arrangements and greater feelings of teamwork. Our analyses (not shown; available upon request) indicated no association between

feelings of teamwork and gender ideology, suggesting that teamwork is likely not selective of couples' unpaid labor arrangements.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to fully adjudicate between these competing models (spurious vs. mediation) in cross-sectional data, even if one uses formal mediation tests (e.g., Sobel-Goodman) or specifies different path models in a structural equation framework and compares model fit. Formal mediation tests only assess attribution of change in coefficients, but do not adjudicate causal ordering (Pearl, 2014). Moreover, path models produce the same model fit even when directional paths are reversed. Only longitudinal data tracking couples from the beginning of their relationship could establish temporal and causal ordering amongst these variables. We are aware of no data that would allow this sort of analysis. Nonetheless, whether these associations are spurious or mediated by teamwork, our results unequivocally indicate that teamwork is strongly connected to relationship satisfaction and is the primary variable explaining the association between the division of unpaid labor and feelings of equity with relationship satisfaction.

Even though a number of studies lead us to believe that couples with egalitarian divisions of labor are the most satisfied with their relationships (e.g., Carlson et al., 2016; Schwartz, 1994) few explore why this relationship persists. We find that such arrangements are associated with a sense of teamwork and this teamwork, especially, matters more than the division of unpaid labor itself for relationship satisfaction. Why might this be? Although day-to-day (or even minute-by-minute) negotiations such as who will clean the dishes or discipline the child certainly matter in terms of how one evaluates satisfaction with his or her partner, we suspect that these short-term decisions are less important for relationship satisfaction than elements of teamwork. This is because teamwork is about the long-term, global health of the relationship such as whether

couples have similar values or generally enjoy one another's company. Helping couples develop teamwork-related skills can substantially increase satisfaction with household labor, childcare, and overall within their relationships regardless of their specific divisions of household labor.

REFERENCES

- Amato, P. R., Johnson, D.R., Booth, A., & Rogers, S. J (2003). Continuity and change in marital quality between 1980 and 2000. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 65,1–22.
- Amato, P. R., Booth, A., Johnson, D. R., & Rogers, S. J. (2007). *Alone together: How marriage in America is changing*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Amato, P. R. (2010). Research on divorce: Continuing trends and new developments. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 72(3), 650–666.
- Blaisure, Karen & Katherine, Allen. 1995. “Feminists and the Ideology and Practice of Marital Equality.” *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 57: 5-19.
- Blom, N., Kraaykamp, G., & Verbakel, E. (2017). Couples’ Division of Employment and Household Chores and Relationship Satisfaction: A Test of the Specialization and Equity Hypotheses. *European Sociological Review*, 33(2), 195–208.
- Cabrera, N., Tamis-LeMonda, C. S., Bradley, R. H., Hofferth, S. & Lamb, M. E. (2000). Fatherhood in the twenty-first century. *Child Development*, 71, 127–136. doi: 10.1111/1467-8624.00126
- Carlson, D.L. (2012). Deviations from desired age at marriage: Mental health differences across marital status. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 74, 743-758.
- Carlson, D. L., Hanson, S., & Fitzroy, A. (2016). The Division of Child Care, Sexual Intimacy, and Relationship Quality in Couples. *Gender & Society*, 30(3), 442-466.
- Carlson, D. L., Miller, A. J., Sassler, S., & Hanson, S. (2016). The gendered division of housework and couples' sexual relationships: A reexamination. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 78(4), 975-995.
- Carlson, D. L., Miller, A. J., & Sassler, S. (2018). Stalled for Whom? Change in the Division of

- Particular Housework Tasks and Their Consequences for Middle-to Low-Income Couples. *Socius*, 4, 2378023118765867.
- Carlson, D. L., Sassler, S., & Miller A. J., (2018). Has the Gender Revolution Stalled? A Decomposition Analysis of Change in the Division of Household Labor. Presented at the *Population Association of America Annual Meeting*, Denver, CO. April.
- Chong, A., & Mickelson, K. D. (2016). Perceived fairness and relationship satisfaction during the transition to parenthood: The mediating role of spousal support. *Journal of Family Issues*, 37(1), 3-28.
- Coltrane, S. (2000). Research on household labor: Modeling and measuring the social embeddedness of routine family work. *Journal of Marriage and family*, 62(4), 1208-1233.
- Craig, L. (2006). Does father care mean fathers share? A comparison of how mothers and fathers in intact families spend time with children. *Gender & Society*, 20(2), 259-81.
- Damaske, S. (2011). *For the family?: How class and gender shape women's work*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Deutsch, F. (1999). *Halving it all: How equally shared parenting works*. Harvard University Press.
- Frisco, M. L., & Williams, K. (2003). Perceived housework equity, marital happiness, and divorce in dual-earner households. *Journal of Family Issues*, 24, 51–73.
- Gerson, K. (2010). *The unfinished revolution: How a new generation is reshaping family, work, and gender in America*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Giddens, A. (1992). *The transformations of intimacy*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Greenstein, T.N. (1996). "Gender Ideology and Perceptions of Fairness of the Division of Household Labor: Effects on Marital Quality." *Social Forces* 74(3), 1029-1042.

- Hawkins, D. N. & Booth, A. (2005). Unhappily Ever after: Effects of Long-Term, Low-Quality Marriages on Well-Being. *Social Forces*, 84(1), 451-471.
- Hochschild, Arlie & Maching, Anne. (1989). *Second Shift: Working Families and the Revolution at Home*. London: Penguin Books.
- Hohmann-Marriott, B. E. (2006). Shared beliefs and the union stability of married and cohabiting couples. *Journal of marriage and family*, 68(4), 1015-1028.
- John, D., Shelton, B., & Luschen, K. (1995). Race, ethnicity, gender, and perceptions of fairness. *Journal of Family Issues*, 16, 357–379.
- Komter, A. (1989). Hidden power in marriage. *Gender & Society*, 3, 187–216.
- Kaufman, Gayle. (2013). *Superdads: How Fathers Balance Work and Family in the 21st Century*. New York: New York University Press.
- Lauer, R. H., Lauer, J. C., & Kerr, S. T. (1990). The long-term marriage: Perceptions of stability and satisfaction. *The International Journal of Aging and Human Development*, 31(3), 189-195.
- Lavee, Yoav & Ruth Katz. (2002). “Division of Labor, Perceived Fairness, and Marital Quality: The Effect of Gender Ideology.” *Journal of Marriage and Family* 64, 27-39.
- Lichter, D. T., & Carmalt, J. H. (2009). Religion and marital quality among low-income couples. *Social Science Research*, 38(1), 168-187.
- Meeks, B.S., Hendrick, S.S., & Hendrick, C. (1998). Communication, Love and Relationship Satisfaction. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 15(6),755-773.
- Miller, A. J., & Carlson, D. L. (2016). Great expectations?: Working- and middle-class cohabitators’ actual and expected divisions of housework. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 78, 346-363.

- Pearl, J. (2014). Interpretation and identification of causal mediation. *Psychological Methods*, 19(4), 459.
- Pew Research Center (2007). "Modern marriage: 'I like Hugs and I like kisses but what I really like is help with the dishes.'" *Social and Demographic Trends*.
<http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2007/07/18/modern-marriage/>
- Ridgeway, Cecilia L. & Correll, Shelley J. 2004. "Unpacking the Gender System: A Theoretical Perspective on Gender Beliefs and Social Relations" *G&S* 18(4) pp. 510-531.
- Risman, B. J. (1998). *Gender vertigo: American families in transition*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Ruffieux, M., Nussbeck, F. W., & Bodenmann, G. (2014). Long-term prediction of relationship satisfaction and stability by stress, coping, communication, and well-being. *Journal of Divorce & Remarriage*, 55(6), 485-501.
- Sassler, S., & Miller, A. (2017). *Cohabitation Nation: Gender, Class, and the Remaking of Relationships*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Schwartz, P. (1995). *Love between equals: How peer marriage really works*. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster.
- Shafer, K., Jensen, T.M. & Larson, J.H. (2012). Relationship Effort, Satisfaction, and Stability: Differences Across Union Type. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy*, 40(2), 212-232.
- Shows, C., & Gerstel, N. (2009). Fathering, class, and gender: A comparison of physicians and emergency medical technicians. *Gender & Society*, 23(2), 161-187.
- Stone, Pamela. (2007). *Opting Out? Why Women Really Quite Careers and Head Home*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Tichenor, V. J. (1999). Status and income as gendered resources: The case of marital power.

Journal of Marriage and the Family, 61, 638–650.

Wilkie, J. R., Ferree, M. M., & Ratcliff, K. S. (1998). Gender and fairness: Marital satisfaction in two-earner couples. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 60, 577–594.

Williams, K. (2003). Has the Future of Marriage Arrived? A Contemporary Examination of Gender, Marriage, and Psychological Well-Being. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 44(4), 470–487.

Williams, J. C. (2010). *Reshaping the work-family debate: Why men and class matter*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.